Cogito

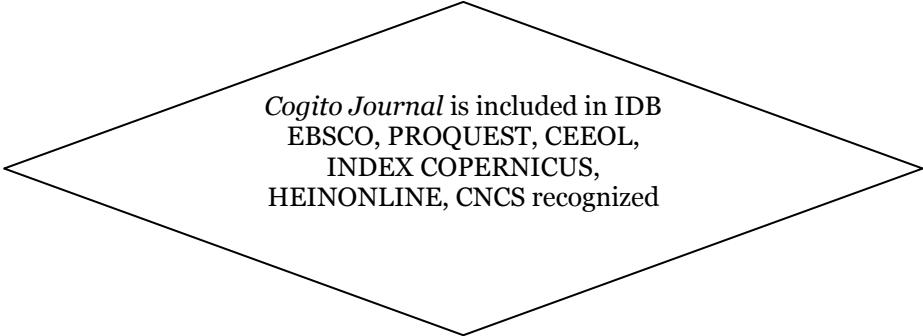## MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH JOURNAL

Vol. VI, no. 1/March, 2014

Review "Cogito" is published under the aegis of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University

Cogito

MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH JOURNAL

Vol. VI, no. 1/March, 2014

Every author is responsible for the originality of the article and that the text was not published previously.

CONTENTS

PHILOSOPHY

HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

THE PHILOSPHER "ELATED BY GOD"

Gabriela Pohoață[*]

gabriela_pohoata@yahoo.com

Mihaela Mocanu[**]

rmocanu100@yahoo.fr

Abstract: Our analysis focuses, starting from the research of basic texts and ideational contexts, on the relationship of the Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza with the divinity, illustrating, in fact, a sui generis modality by which philosophy relates to divinity. Thus, we intend to contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between philosophy and God by means of a philosopher who provides substance to the philosophical belief in God, eluding those prejudices which still persist as to the sense of philosophy towards human salvation.

Keywords: God, substance, reason, freedom, happiness, eternity, intellectual love, necessity, truth.

One would certainly expect to have in view a philosopher and Christian theologian, as in the Christian philosophy the triad: human being-cosmos-God becomes God-human being-cosmos, God being the overarching concept.

Surprisingly, the philosopher we refer to is a modern rationalist thinker who, by understanding the human reason force of penetration masterly illustrated by the well-known formula "Amor Intelectualis Dei", shows to what extent man has the possibility to reach God by means of philosophy.

He lived simply, withdrawn, far from mundane pleasures, leading an austere and peaceful life, dedicated to meditation in order to approach the truth. And it is even more moving the fact that, leading such a life, deprived of all that gives value to life for other people, Spinoza[1] still believed that he was happy. For the Dutch philosopher happiness lies in the love of what is immortal, and only truth is imperishable in the world. Most people are unhappy, Spinoza considers, because they set as target of their desires perishable things such as wealth, lust, glory. But

---

[*] **Prof. PhD., „Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Faculty of Science of Education, Bucharest, Romania.**

[**] **Lecturer PhD., „Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Faculty of Science of Education, Bucharest, Romania.**

[1] Baruch Spinoza is a Dutch philosopher, he was born on 24 November 1632 in Amsterdam, from Jewish parents of Spanish origin or more precisely of Portuguese origin. He is an exponent OF *modern rationalism* along with R. Descartes and G.W. Leibniz. Despite being a theoretician of *both natural and divine determinism*, he remains a philosopher of reference for the *problem of freedom* (s.n.). Everything is based on a certain *understanding* founded in ration, in the Spinozist philosophy, therefore "freedom is understood necessity" (THE ETHICS) s.n.

the satisfaction these things provide us with is not a lasting one: this is the source of sorrow, grief, pain. And then, just when we possess these things, they become for us, Spinoza believes, a source of unhappiness because they give birth, in ourselves and in the others, to jealousy, envy, hatred. Only the satisfaction that true love gives us is clean and sustainable. At any age, under any social circumstances and in state of mind and body, the disinterested search for truth clears up our life[2] and makes it easier for us. But this is just specific for philosophy: to hear the truth and only the truth, without caring about what may ensue from here, without fearing people's judgment. In this respect, Spinoza is a true philosopher. There are lots of volumes written about Spinoza, but *the interrogation that underlies our text comes to shed light on a new aspect for a rationalist thinker, unnoticed so far, the one referring to salvation through philosophy.*

1. We wonder: how was it possible for a philosopher to whom God is the substance to show himself in the last part of his Ethics [3] as being "elated by God"[4]? What should we infer from this spiritual experience in order to make the indisputable connection between philosophy and God?

We believe that in order to answer these questions we need to start from his major work, a masterpiece of Western philosophical literature, the Ethics - *a demonstration in 'more geometrico' of God's existence*, at first glance, but in reality, a genuine mystic hymn, a sigh of the soul longing for God. It goes without saying that for Spinoza philosophy should start with God, in total opposition with his teacher Descartes, who reaches the certainty of God's existence through self certainty. In opposition to Descartes, Spinoza says: "We can't be sure of anything as we can be of the existence of the unconditionally infinite and perfect being, that is of God. For His essentiality, excluding any imperfection, leaves us no reason to doubt His existence, on the contrary, it gives us the supreme confidence of its existence"[5]. In this sense, one can assert that: "God, who is the primary cause of all things and also his own cause, reveals and gives himself to be known"[6].

If so, then where does the hatred with which Spinoza is persecuted by the representatives of the Orthodox Judaism and by those of ecclesiastical Christianity alike, during his life and after his death, come from?

A possible answer to this question relates to the fact that the God of Spinoza's infinite desire is not the God of Christianity and Judaism, who created the world in the omnipotence of his will, and then abandoned it through the act of creation to itself. Spinoza cannot admit an autonomous existence of the world. God is truly and only Him. Spinoza's God goes beyond the idea of God creator and the created world. It is very interesting that the analyzed philosopher asks himself: *what*

---

[2] P.P. Negulescu, *Unpublished Writings*, III, The History of Modern Philosophy, the Ontological Problem, Edition prepared, with introductory study and notes by Nicolae Gogoneața, Bucharest, the Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1972, p.137-157.

[3] Spinoza, *The Ethics*, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981.

[4] The expression belongs to Novalis as well as the assertion: "The Spinozism is oversaturated with divinity" (s.n.).

[5] Ibidem.

[6] Ibidem.

might man and the world be if only God is true? His answer may be interpreted as follows: the world is just a way of God's existence, and man is a way of God's thinking. God is all in all, He is present in all reality, in things and in man alike. Or, more exactly, all reality is contained in God. In Spinoza's language, the things and spirit of people are not independent substances, God alone is the only substance, the things and spirit of people being only forms of this unique substance. Spinoza necessarily reaches such a conclusion: "My opinion about God and nature is entirely different from that usually supported by the newer Christians. For I consider God the inner cause of all things … not the cause that surpasses them. I say that everything is in God and everything is moved in God. Here is what I say in agreement with Paul, even if in a different way, and maybe I agree with all the ancient philosophers and, I dare add, with all the old Hebrews"[7].

2. Spinoza's arguments concerning the existence of God mathematically demonstrated sparked outrage among his contemporaries and posterity; we can now understand why so many competed in the slander of this philosopher elated by God, seeing in him a godless atheist. Spinoza's thinking leaves no room for a personal God who is revealed only in prophets and in Jesus Christ. God's revelation takes place, according to Spinoza, in the whole reality. *"Le Dieu de Spinoza n'est donc pas un Dieu-démiurge, ni un dieu créateur. Unique et existent nécessairement, il agit non par un libre décret, mais par la nécessite de sa nature et toutes les choses découlent nécessairement de sa nature. Si nous parvenons difficilement a reconnaître la vérité de ces démonstrations, dit Spinoza, c'est que nous sommes victimes du préjugé finaliste, qui nous conduit à assimiler les choses naturelles aux chose artificielles, fabriquées par l'homme dans un but déterminé, et à affirmer qu'elles tiennent leur perfection, leur beauté et leur harmonie de la sagesse et de la perfection d'un artisan suprême qui, soit par un calcul intéressé, soit par générosité, ne se préoccupe que des intérêts de l'homme. Mais c'est là mettre la nature de l'envers, détruire la perfection de Dieu en lui attribuant des désires analogues à ceux des humains et introduire un nouveau mode d'argumentation qui consiste le contradicteur non l'impossible, mais a l'ignorance*[8]. Spinoza's God loses the theological note of transcendence and allows solving the most difficult problems of the time: a) the communication of substances and the possibility of knowledge, b) the possibility of freedom under the rule of a mechanistic model of determinism, c) the causes and error free game space without whose understanding a theory of truth itself would be impossible.

The definitions in Part I of his fundamental work[9], like in his whole argumentation, are illustrative in this respect. "By God - Spinoza writes – we understand the absolutely infinite existence, that is the substance that is made of an infinity of attributes, each of them expressing "an eternal and infinite essence" as opposed to "ways" by which we understand "changes in the substance".[10] Since

---

[7] Bh. Spinoza, apud. Wilhelm Weischedel, *On the Back Stair of Philosophy, 34 great philosophers in everyday life and thought*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1999, p. 123

[8] Belelval, D'Yvone, *Histoire de la philosophie*. II, *De la Renaissance a la Révolution Kantienne*, volume publié sous la direction D'Yvone Belelval, Paris, Ed. Gallimard, 1973, p.466.

[9] Spinoza, *The Ethics*, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981.

[10] Ibidem, p.40.

"the existence and the essence of God are one and the same", "God is not only the triggering cause of the existence of things, but also of their essence", is "the natura naturans" and "natura naturata", his own cause ("causa sui").[11]

It has been rightly noted that Spinoza differs from occasionalists (and theologians, actually), in that "God" is not "creator" but "the universal essence of things": according to the former, God created the world by his will, according to Spinoza from the essence of God necessarily follows necessarily the world ...For Spinoza it cannot be said: God creates the world, it can be said: He is the world.[12] We cannot agree with those interpretations that position Spinoza, by his famous thesis "Deus sive nature", in the category of materialists. We do not agree with those who appreciate Spinoza's ontology as a pantheism turned into materialism and atheism.

The arguments are simple and easily to select against such distortions of a deeply deified thinking. We might ask ourselves whether in Spinoza's work we deal with a philosophy of immanence or with one of transcendence. It is generally regarded as a philosophy of immanence, especially due to his pantheism: God does not exist, according to it, neither before the world, nor beyond or outside it. But in this immanence reigns such a transcendence, such an overfulfilment that passes through the core of the being that makes it is possible for this philosophy to be considered the most transcendent of all. *Deus sive Natura sive Substantia* becomes the basis of the understanding of all forms of human assertion and of the conception of man as an integrated part of nature, which also leads to dealing with moral values (good and evil, in particular) in terms of explaining and understanding nature, including human nature (actually in terms of a deterministic outlook on the world and life).[13] The book of Ethics which is about Deo, about God, begins with the notion of substance. This reminds us of the Milesian School. For Spinoza, however, the term 'substance' has a fully radical meaning. It designates neither water nor air, nor fire, nor infinite. The substance is the being as it constitutes its own foundation, as it is in itself, by itself and for itself, that is the being in its absolute self-sufficiency and that does not depend on anything else than itself. The substance is God. It is eternal, which for Spinoza means that is timeless, outside time. Spinoza's substance resembles the representation which Parmenides had about substance. According to the latter, the substance is one, simple, indivisible, eternal. But here, the "eternal" does not mean that it lasts forever. The substance is eternal because it is the being itself. We find here the biblical tradition. In the Bible, when God says "I am the eternal One", it is not different from when he says "I am the One who is" that is "I am the being". The meaning is not, therefore, "I last", but I am the being". Likewise, the substance is infinite for Spinoza. It is God; that's why when he exposed his ETHICS starting from the substance, the starting point is God: of Deo. Spinoza thinks directly the plenitude of being. He cannot even conceive that the infinite

---

[11] Ibidem, p.63,67,70,39.

[12] W. Windelband, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, hrsg.von H. Heimsoeth, 15. Aufl.J.C.B.Mohr, Tubingen, 1957, p.359.

[13] Alexandru Boboc, *Modern Philosophers, Studies of Compared World Philosophy*, Bucharest, Blue Flower Publishing House, 2007, p.68.

God, with His infinite power to exist, could be barred by anything. It is therefore impossible not to exist. Here is fully asserted a monism of the being's existence. *Naturally, we ask ourselves: does this mean a material outlook with accents of atheist thinking? What does atheism mean, when God is everywhere? Having another vision on the divinity means denying it? Pantheism does not mean atheism, and if God is immanent, constitutive of the world, it does not mean that it does not exist. We believe that it is essential to get rid of prejudices and approach the philosophical text thinking freely. "When one begins philosophizing, one must first be a Spinozist.* Your soul shall bathe in the ether of this unique substance in which perished all that was considered true. Any philosopher must have reached this denial of all that is particular; it is the liberation of the spirit and the basis of its absolute"[14]. Moreover, Spinoza "is the main point of modern philosophy: or spinozism, or any philosophy".[15] But Hegel pointed out that the "method used by Spinoza in the exposure of his philosophy is the geometric one which, however, is unusable when it comes to the speculative content being in its place only in the finite sciences of the intellect.[16]

Appreciating the dialectical insights of Spinoza's thought, particularly the principle *Omnis determination est negation*, Hegel drew thus the limits of a reflection that remains at the level of the absolute immobility found out by the isolating and abstracting power of the intellect, that is by the abstract moment of thought. In this respect, Spinoza's theory of substance is enlightening; by means of it – Hegel used to specify – the substance remains "the universal determination and therefore the abstract one"... if we stop at this substance we do not reach any development, any spirituality, any activity.[17] It seems that Hegel was not free enough to be a Spinozist. Not by chance did he state, following into Spinoza' footsteps: "The necessity is blind only to the extent in which it is not understood".[18]

The relationship *necessity-freedom* takes us right to the core of Spinoza's philosophy: how to reconcile, on the one hand, *the divine necessity*, and on the other hand, *the absolute independence of my inner self*?

God is the free cause of the existence totality. This means that God acts only by virtue of the inherent necessity of his being. For Spinoza, God is free because he acts only according to his own nature. This thing needs to be understood: God being the eternal substance, the absolute density of being, his freedom embodies the highest imaginable degree of compelling necessity. The idea of freedom here absolutely coincides with the eternal necessity of his nature. It cannot be a matter of whim or change. Spinoza is indisputably the philosopher of absolute par excellence[19].

Freedom and necessity are no longer two opposed poles; in the absolute, they become synonymous. Therefore, our true freedom cannot be anything else but the

---

[14] G.W. Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, 2nd vol., Bucharest, the Academy Publishing House, 1964, p.443.
[15] Ibidem, p.441.
[16] Ibidem, p.444
[17] Ibidem, p.445.
[18] Hegel, cited works.
[19] Jeanne Hersch, *The Philosophical Wonder*, Bucharest, Humanitas, p.137.

divine necessity. There is no freedom against God, because God is everything, including ourselves. God is all that exists, possesses (or is) absolute knowledge; as human beings, our goal should be to advance as much as possible on the path of knowledge, because, the more knowledge we acquire, the closer we are to God and the freer we become.

Not accidentally, the 5th part of the *Ethics* is entitled "On the Power of the Intellect and on Human Freedom", beginning like this: "At length I pass to the remaining portion of my Ethics, which is concerned with the way leading to freedom"[20]. The path to freedom passes through the optimal use of the intellectual powers. Previously, in the Ethics, Spinoza distinguishes three levels of knowledge. The inferior one is that of knowledge through the senses. Spinoza describes it as "vague experience" as it is a mixture between a person's own ideas about the body and the ideas gained through sensory perception of the objects which are external to it. The knowledge at the second level is offered by "appropriate ideas". These are general ideas, widely spread in the human world, and which Spinoza calls "common notions"; they form the basis for the construction of the third level of knowledge, the highest level, called by the philosopher "intuitive knowledge". By using "appropriate ideas" of the second level, he advanced towards the knowledge of "the essence of things." This knowledge is "the intellectual love of God", as it discerns and understands everything related to God, acknowledging him as the source of all things and perceiving the necessary links between all things. The full knowledge of this type can belong only to God.

3. Far from being a purely theoretical work, Spinoza's Ethics aims at solving some real problems of conduct and expresses the need for an ethical model and for a normative preference, specific to the modern man, who, in Spinoza's work, beyond the "more geometrico" exposure, behaves like the main character of a drama. That is why, it seems, it has been said that the Ethics is "a work of art and not a merely speculative work". Righteously, the five books have been compared to a drama in five acts"[21].

Spinoza himself offers the possibility of such an interpretation, to the extent to which it depicts, in a certain way, "human slavery" or "the powers of the affects" (Part 4) and the liberating function of knowledge. "So, - Spinoza writes - the more things the soul gets to know by means of the second and the third kind of knowledge, the greater is the part of self that remains inadequate and, therefore, it suffer less due to affects"[22].

With the optimism characteristic to the classical rationalism, the great philosopher proposed (in conclusion of the Ethics) the idea of the human being who gets free by himself, making proof of his rationality, without expecting a transcendent salvation. The wise man – Spinoza used to state – "never ceases to exist and to enjoy 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 encounter

---

[20] Spinoza, cited works, 5th part.
[21] H.Hoffding, *Histoire de la philosophie moderne*, Tome Premier, 3 édition, F. Alcan, Paris, 1924, p.307.
[22] B. Spinoza, *The Ethics*, cited works, p.314.

so rarely must be a difficult one. If salvation were within anyone's reach and could be attained without great trouble, how would it be possible to pass unnoticed by almost anyone? But what is great is as difficult as it is rare"[23].

The very idea of the title of our text is meant to edify us on the link between philosophy and God, what is more, on man's possibility to reach salvation by philosophizing, laying claim to philosophy, thus, righteously, the soteriological function. Spinoza's message in this respect is clear: salvation is the goal of philosophy, being related to the human ability to accede to the transcendent consciousness through philosophical knowledge. But this is not so easy to achieve, because what can be more difficult than self-knowledge? Spinoza's rationalist optimism lets us understand that only by understanding the necessity, respectively by the consciousness of transcendence we can attain that state of bliss identified by the famous formula, "Amor intelectualis Dei". This is the state of "elation by God" in which freedom identifies with happiness, in other words, the state of man's salvation through philosophy[24].

REFERENCES

Belelval, D'Yvone, (1973), *Histoire de la philosophie.* II, *De la Renaissance à la Révolution Kantienne*, volume publié sous la direction D'Yvone Belelval, Paris, Ed. Gallimard.

Boboc, Al., (2007), *Modern Philosophers, Studies of Compared World Philosophy,* Bucharest, Blue Flower Publishing House.

Hegel, G.W., (1964), *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, 2nd vol., Bucharest, the Academy Publishing House.

Hersch, J., (2006), *The Philosophical Wonder*, Bucharest, Humanitas.

Hoffding, H., (1924), *Histoire de la philosophie moderne*, Tome Premier, 3ème édition, F. Alcan, Paris.

Negulescu, P.P., (1972), *Unpublished Writings*, III, The History of Modern Philosophy, the Ontological Problem, Edition prepared, with introductory study and notes by Nicolae Gogoneață, Bucharest, the Romanian Academy Publishing House.

Pohoață, G., (2013), *Is There Salvation through Philosophy?,* Cogito Journal no.3, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing House.

Spinoza, Bh., (1981), *The Ethics*, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest.

Spinoza, Bh., apud. Wilhelm Weischedel, (1999), *On the Back Stair of Philosophy, 34 Great Philosophers in Everyday Life and Thought*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House.

Windelband, W., (1957), *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, hrsg.von H. Heimsoeth, 15. Aufl.J.C.B.Mohr, Tubingen.

---

[23] Ibidem, p.320.

[24] 'Is There Salvation through Philosophy?' is the interrogation underlying the article with the same title published in Cogito no.3/2013, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, p.22-31.

UNDERSTANDING DESCARTES' PHILOSOPHICAL METHOD AS A VECTOR OF ETHICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES

Ujomu, Philip Ogo,*

pujomu@yahoo.com

Olatunji, Felix O**

felixolatunji28@gmail.com

Abstract: *This essay focuses on an apparently neglected or otherwise unappreciated aspect of Descartes philosophy which is his moral and futuristic approaches to philosophical living. The focus is to examine the lessons of tolerance, prophecy, humility and steadfastness in Descartes, such as can be applied or adopted by philosophers in the modern day. We examine the degree to which Descartes' views are theoretically valuable, practically useful and methodologically insightful for both philosophers and non-philosophers alike by reviewing the symbolic and demonstrative impacts of Descartes moral and prophetic powers. The justification of the study of Descartes' practical ethics is brought in sharper relief when we not only realize that much of the discourse on Descartes has focus on epistemology and metaphysics but also that "the moral complications of shaping character are many" (Davis, 1990:35), hence there are other serious problems of social structure and agency confronting the contemporary philosopher in Africa.*

Keywords: *Descartes, moral, philosophical knowledge, Descartes' method, ethics.*

Introduction and Problem

There can be no security in traditions that failed us, there is no black market in truth. (Goodman, 1972).

To provide a background for the justification of Descartes project, we may observe that the philosopher in some parts of Africa is faced with problems arising from within and outside his discipline. There are multiple problems that hinder the capacity for creativity, diligence and promise, which are the hallmarks of genuine and enduring philosophical endeavour. There is the absence of adequate financial and material resources to effectively study and practice philosophy in a more accomplished manner. Some practitioners of philosophy have resorted to all sorts of subterfuge and diversions in order to fill the gap existing for them, in the material realm. To meet their needs these engage in actions such as, frolicking and

---

* **Ujomu, Philip Ogo, PhD., Dept of Philosophy and Religions, Faculty of Arts, University of Benin, Benin-City, Nigeria.**
** **Olatunji, Felix O, Dept of General Studies (Philosophy Unit), Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomoso, Nigeria.**

collaborating with dictators, the commercialization of the discipline, the exhibition of feelings of despondency and frustration. All these factors challenge the quality of the teachers, researchers and students as well as social knowledge that are produced.

The consequences of the above are not only that there exists a general feeling of anomie and decay in that country's higher institutions and the society at large, but also that there is an ever increasing gap between major breakthroughs or landmark contributions in the fields of knowledge as science and philosophy. For some scholars in such a society, social and material conditions prevent them from making significant contributions to knowledge. The possible reasons why researchers write their occasional essays, is because they seek promotions through the ranks. Philosophy has become a matter of rank and file. It has become a bureaucratized project, in which most researchers who ought to be gainfully employed are now marking time. Most individuals only wish to become professors in order to seek more financially rewarding jobs usually with the national government or to transfer their services to corporations and international institutions. These concerns raise the fundamental issue of what lessons our study of Descartes' practical ethics of living may deliver to a philosophical enterprise faced with the kinds of problems highlighted.

Descartes' Significance in the History of Philosophy

The significance of Descartes in the history of philosophy is not the subject of any serious doubt. Wilson[1] does not have any reservations in reeling off Descartes name as one of the ten greatest philosophers in history. Wilson places Descartes alongside Plato, Aristotle, Saint Thomas, Spinoza, Leibniz, Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Kant. Leaman[2] by recognizing the ideas of Descartes as one among the outstanding philosophers, he says that "the history of philosophy emphasizes the role of 'Great Thinkers" who are recognized for landmark contributions. Goodman[3] confirms that "Descartes is so widely recognized as the first and one of the greatest modern philosopher (that) Descartes needs nothing from us. The more interesting question is: what can we learn from Descartes?" Although, Goodman[4] focuses his own analysis mainly on the skepticism of Descartes philosophy, yet Goodman draws attention consciously or otherwise, to some moral or ethical qualities and principles underlying Descartes project. According to Goodman[5] "Descartes faced his world as a courageous, humble and hopeful man. Descartes provides or reinforces the means by which his own discoveries will be superseded". Goodman says that Descartes had prepared himself before embarking on his intensive philosophical project.

Previously, scholars who discussed Descartes major works, such as the *Discourse on Methods, The Meditations on First Philosophy,* and *the Rules for*

---

[1] Wilson, Catherine, "The History of Modern Philosophy" in Oliver Leaman The Future of Philosophy: Towards the Twenty-first century (ed), Routledge, London, 1998, p.26.

[2] Leaman, Oliver, "The Future of Philosophy", in The Future of Philosophy: Towards the Twenty-first century (ed.), Routledge, London, 1998, pp. 1.

[3] Goodman, Nelson, *Problems and Projects.* The Bobbs-Merrills Company, New York, 1972, p. 45.

[4] Idem, p. 45-48.

[5] Idem, p. 48.

the direction of the Mind, had perhaps either due to oversight or neglect, not taken care to fully derive or examine the moral principles, defining the ethical basis of the sort of philosophy that Descartes was offering us. It can be said that not only was Descartes offering academic insights into the study of philosophy, but he was offering a system of philosophical and moral practice. Many of the discussions on Descartes have focused on the metaphysical and epistemological aspects of his philosophy. Indeed, there are already exhaustive works on these areas. For instance, Watling[6] focuses his analysis exclusively on the epistemology and metaphysics of Descartes. Moser [7] is more interested in the radical foundationalism endorsed in the *Meditations* of Descartes. So also is Cottingham who emphasizes the importance of Descartes position, especially his bid to answer skepticism by using foundationalism.

The popular emphasis on Descartes epistemology apparently overshadows any serious mention of the ethical foundations of the Cartesian project and his conception of cross-cultural relations. Little mention is made of Descartes explicit recognition of the worth of the individual as a being who has intellect and the capacity to make his own judgment. However, Kennington[8] who innovatively examines the political philosophy of Descartes, contends that Descartes' political teaching is partially obscured because of the notorious caution of his manner of writing. The question then is; does the 'notorious caution' expressed by Descartes detract from the value and validity of the Cartesian project? In holding a view opposed to Kennington's, the argument of this essay is that the caution which is so characteristic of Descartes underlies the moral principles which he recommends to the philosopher.

Descartes on the Function of Philosophical Knowledge

We can trace in Descartes ideas, the emergence of the conditions for the progression of philosophical knowledge and the procedures for attaining this knowledge. Firstly, Descartes reiterated a core attribute of philosophy as practiced by those before him, its argumentative character and the realization that only time-tested and worth methods would ultimately be recognized and endorsed not just for use, but even ironically, for all manners of criticism. Descartes holds that philosophy has been cultivated by the most outstanding minds of several centuries, and in several ages. Yet, it must be noted that every point is disputed and therefore doubtful. To this effect, Descartes says that "I had not enough presumption to hope to fare better there than other had. Although, my work has given me much pleasure, so that I am now showing you the draft, it is not that I want anyone to imitate it"[9].

---

[6] Watling J.L., "Descartes", in D. J. O'Connor (ed.) A Critical History of Western Philosophy, The Freeman Press, New York, 1964, p. 170-186.

[7] Moser, Paul K., "Empirical Knowledge" in Empirical Knowledge: Readings in Contemporary Epistemology (ed.), Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Chicago, 1988, p. 4.

[8] Kennington, Richard, "Rene Descartes" in History of Political Philosophy. 3rd edition (ed.) Leo Strauss & Joseph Cropsey, The University of Chicago press, Chicago, 1987, p. 421.

[9] Descartes, Rene, *Discourse On Methods*, in *Descartes Philosophical Writing* (ed.) G. Anscombe and P. Geach, Bobbs and Merrill, New York, 1980, p.12-18.

The situation has not changed many centuries after Descartes, and it has been described by a scholar in a manner that is rather amusing, yet full of meaning. Catherine Wilson[10] holds the view that "philosophy comes into existence by disowning its past-frequently by revealing the vacuous-ness of what was just said five minutes ago". Gill Howie[11] makes reference to this same process by describing it martially, as the "cut and thrust of the adversarial game or philosophic argumentation". In our view, Descartes had discovered that there was really no other way to achieve the critical and sometimes arduous progression of philosophical knowledge, except through the process of deconstruction and reconstruction. It has been a much thought about idea among scholars that the philosophy is probably one of the few disciplines, if there are any others, where indeed, there is no untouchable figure or idea. More importantly, Descartes would have realized that given the difficulties in acquiring and evaluating philosophical knowledge, there might be even more difficult conditions for its applications. The foresight displayed by Descartes in mitigating the strengths of his work has not been lost on some contemporary scholars. Moya[12] admonishes that "as long as one is doing philosophy, one should not look for a definitely secure position, on pain of finding that the building in which one intended to settle down is now being rebuilt some yards away".

Descartes' recognition of the fact of the difficulty in the progression of knowledge would in turn, bring to light two factors. Firstly and more importantly, Descartes realized the need for, and the personal and social gains, of allowing others to form or derive their own judgment or evaluation on an issue. He knew that in so far as men possessed both the freedom and the intellect, they could, over a period of time arrive at the same conceptual foundations or deduction that some 'superior' mind had synthesized. More so it was evident that given the absence of a monopoly of knowledge and the means of acquiring such, it was only wise, reasonable and prudent to not only offer room for the possibility of competence, that to be rudely shocked by its intrusive appearance, occasioned by an underestimation of a position. To this effect, Descartes[13] says that my design, then, is not to teach here the method every body ought to follow in order to direct his reason rightly, but only to show how I have tried to direct my own". Secondly, Descartes elicited the realization that there was no method or doctrine that was immutable or applicable in every case, gave credence to another postulate of Descartes.

Descartes did not lack or miss that quality which was emblematic of the genuine philosopher whose ideas would endure. He recognized the possibility of difference and the necessity for mutual respect arising from this. He would have realized the benefits of such predispositions towards the attainment of peace, tolerance, cooperation and understanding among diverse peoples. He would have understood that individuals were in need of dignity and respect and would

---

[10] Wilson, Catherine, *op.cit.,* p. 27.
[11] Howie, Gill, *"Feminist Philosophy",* in Oliver Leaman, 1998, *The Future of Philosophy: Towards the Twenty-first* Century (ed.), Routledge, London, 1998, p. 118.
[12] Moya, Carlos J., *The Philosophy of Action: An Introduction*, Polity Press, Oxford, p. 1.
[13] Descartes, *op.cit.,* 1990, p.7.

therefore hold dearly to whatever they believed in, until shown that it required repudiation. Descartes [14] notes that "it is well to know something about the manners of different peoples, in order form a sounder judgment of our own, and not think everything contrary to our own ways absurd and irrational, as people usually do when they have never seen anything else". Descartes [15] says that "I have realized that these whose opinions are quiet opposed to ours are not, for all that, without exception barbarians and savages; many of them enjoy as good a share of reason as we do, or better". The open mindedness of Descartes to accept other views and cultures would well be needed as a guiding principle in a contemporary world plagued by all manners of intolerance, injustice and estrangement.

Indeed, Descartes as "a philosopher is a free and independent thinker, who shares a deep concern for human freedom and responsibility and feels the need of grounding his concepts in the spirit of criticism and independence so essential for authentic philosophy" [16]. For Wild and Edie, this description is all the more important because, the philosopher has a duty to live among, and to dialogue with others, as well as to engage in explorations of the frontiers of knowledge. This in our view reinforces the needed for living what must not merely be a mechanistic and technocratic existence, but rather, but rather, and in reality, a truly philosophical life. Stravinskas [17] notes that essentially, all the moral virtues reduce to prudence, which is the virtue that enables one to accomplish good in the society. This is what Descartes has brought to out attention in so far as his doctrine aims at the promotion of the moral life, and the development of the moral virtues. This is so because, moral virtues are the powers which enable the moral agent to accomplish what is good with ease and facility.

Descartes' Philosophical Method as an Ethical Way of Life

Watling [18] recognizes the importance of Descartes philosophy as an attempt to put the beliefs of his time on a sound basis that would make it possible to separate what was certain from what was profitable, and what was probable from what was mere superstition. This in turn would lead to the discovery of new knowledge, and to the solution of new problems. All through the history of philosophy, only few scholars have been capable of offering acceptable and enduring philosophical methods. Apart from Descartes, others identified are Plato in the *Republic 1*, Francis Bacon in the *Novum Organon* Henri Bergson in *An Introduction to Metaphysics,* Charles Sanders Peirce in *The Fixation of Belief,* and Claude Bernard in *The Experimental Method*. Imagine then for a moment, the plethora of great philosophers who are not in this class [19]. They hold that "Descartes is satisfied with nothing less than the reconstruction of the entire edifice of human

---

[14] Idem, p.10.

[15] Idem, p. 19.

[16] Wild John and James M. Edie, *Maurice-Ponty: In Praise Philosophy*. (Translated) With a Preface by Will and Eddie, The North Western University, USA, 1963, pg. xii-xvii.

[17] Stravinskas, Peter, *"Humility" Our Sunday Visitor's Catholic Encyclopedia"* Our Sunday Visitor Publisher, Indiana, 1991, p. 657.

[18] Watling J.L., *op.cit.,* p. 171.

[19] Bronstein, Daniel, Krikorian, Yervant and Wiener, Philip, "*Chapter One Methodology*", in *Basic Problems of Philosophy* 3rd edition (ed), Prentice-Hall Inc, New Jersey, 1964, p. 1-8.

knowledge on secure foundations. Descartes felt the need of exposing the vain pretensions of mistakes by his contemporaries for genuine knowledge" [20] (Bronstein et al, 2964:1-8).

The methodical aspect of Descartes philosophy has been well discussed in the study of Descartes. There is evidence that Descartes project and approach were appreciated, yet the entrenched and received views on Descartes, failed to permit a systematic and innovative attempt to distill the ethical character underlying the Cartesian project. It is also this kind of received position that Flew expresses when he makes the comment that Descartes Discourse on Method was a brief and brilliant manifesto, "remarkable for its autobiography and to its individualism. A single paragraph may tell you more of the personal life hopes and achievements of Descartes than you could expect to learn of Aquinas from a study of the entire *Summa Theological*. It is no doubt these two facts help to explain why many French intellectuals appear to believe that not merely modern philosophy but philosophy itself began with Descartes"[21]. Even though, Flew[22] recognized the fact that Descartes considers the principles by which he should live while the work of demolition and reconstruction is in progress yet the lure of Cartesian epistemology and metaphysics have continued to overwhelm most writers who seek to offer an analysis of Descartes method of philosophy.

Goodman[23] quickly draws attention to the fact that Descartes emphasis on method faces a lot of opposition in contemporary philosophy, than even skepticism is. There are two main, but differing reasons for this situation. On the one hand, the use of a precise method in philosophy "promises too little because it offers no immediate prospect of a full and final solution of all the imposing problems of traditional philosophy." And on the other hand, the use of a precise method in philosophy equally "promises too much because those who attempt to apply a precise method look upon it as a kind of Alchemist's formula which will automatically give all the answers." In opposition to the critics of Descartes, it can be shown that there are some vital gains in adopting a method for philosophical enquiry. Is it not the case that for any one to be able to write a meaningful philosophical work there must be a method that has been appropriated? It need not be the case that everyone must know a particular method in use. Methods can be discursive, logical or chronological among others. It would seem probable to surmise that the scarcity of methods in the field, and the enduring merit of some of them can only but necessitate that they be appropriated for use where applicable.

It does not seem to us that there is an awareness of the fact that the perennial character and enchanting appeal of the Cartesian philosophy lies in its strong commitment to a moral foundation. Descartes lays the groundwork for his ethical project by postulating his famous principles propounded in the Method. Furthermore, Descartes expresses great faith in the capacity and need to be

---

[20] Ibidem.
[21] Flew, Anthony, *An Introduction to Western Philosophy: Ideas and Argument from Plato to Sartre,* Thames and Hudson, London, 1971, p. 275-279.
[22] Idem, p. 280.
[23] Goodman, *op.cit.,* p.47

systematic in the designing and implementing of any project. However, he realizes that availability of the intellect and the propensity for knowledge to grow, make it necessary for us to see every method as revisable or amendable to suit, either, need, circumstance or expectation. He realizes the need for sincerity and consistency of purpose in the adoption and application of a method or rule of enquiry. The significance of Descartes method as expounded in his *Meditations 1-11*, has been identified by Bronstein, Krikorian and Wiener[24] who show how philosophers like Descartes have developed their methods to attain their set goals.

Descartes developed some certain method, attitude or trait of character, which would facilitate the kind of fundamental intervention that he sought to make in human life and philosophical knowledge. Firstly, Descartes "felt that old systems had been found wanting. He was determined to learn the truth if he could or do without it if he couldn't, but to make no compromise. The preface and the road to truth was the courage and determination to doubt everything that could be doubted"[25]. Descartes displayed an important attitude of insisting on method, with required that along with unremitting and purifying doubt went the patient study of the way in which knowledge might be gained"[26]. According to Descartes[27] "it were for better never to think of investigating truth at all than to do so without a method. Moreover by a method I mean certain simple rules, such that, if a man observes them accurately, he shall never assume what is false as true, and will never spend his mental efforts to no purpose, but will always gradually increase his knowledge and so arrive at a true understanding of all that does not surpass his powers". The reason why Descartes recommends the use of a method in philosophical enquiry is to assure the security of knowledge and the purposefulness of the procedure of seeking this knowledge.

Truth, Courage and Hope as Ends of Descartes' Method

The merit of the Cartesian approach has been emphasized by Bronstein and others[28]. They say that clearly we all are prone to embracing prejudice and other ill-founded notions without proper investigation of scrutiny. The lesson of Descartes is then that there is the need for carefulness, courage and patience in the fact of our ignorance. Descartes insistence on method was occasioned not only by "a keen consciousness of the possibility of error, (but also) the realization that truth cannot be bought quickly or cheaply"[29]. Descartes insistence on method indicates the possibility of hope in the realization of one's ends thus "attention to method is evidence of hope; for no one devises and applies a method unless he hopes to progress by it"[30]. Not only did Descartes believe in humility, hope and sincerity, he realized the capacity of these virtues to facilitate the attainment of

---

[24] Bronstein, *op.cit.,* p.1.
[25] Goodman, *op.cit.,* p.46.
[26] Ibidem.
[27] Descartes, R, *Dualism and the Quest for Certainty, Rules for the Direction of the Mind in Melvin Rader* (ed.) *The Enduring Questions: Main Problems of Philosophy,* Holt, Reinhart and Winston, New York, 1976, p.99.
[28] Bronstein, *op.cit.,* p.4.
[29] Goodman, *op.cit.,* p.47.
[30] Ibidem.

truth. The attainment of truth and certainty was upper most in the mind of Descartes, who believed strongly in the capacity of systematic investigation to provide sound and reliable knowledge of either the self or the other, or even nothing. It is for this reason that Descartes[31] says, "I shall proceed by setting aside all that in which the least doubt could be supposed to exist, just as if I had discovered that this was absolutely false; and I shall ever follow this road until I have met with something which is certain, or at least, if I can do nothing else, until I have learnt for certain that there is nothing in the world that is certain". Descartes recognized that not much could be attained without a great degree of commitment, courage and steadfastness along the path of investigation.

Descartes realized that there could be difficulties and frustration but he also realized the higher values and greater glory associated with seeing method or work to its logical conclusion. Descartes holds that "I made a firm and constant resolution not to fail even once in the observance of them. The first was never to accept anything as true if I had not accept anything as true if had evident knowledge of its being so; that is, carefully to avoid precipitancy and prejudice, and to embrace in my judgment only what presented itself to my mind so clearly and distinctly that I had no occasion to doubt it. I thought I could do not better that to go on with the one I was then engaged in; namely to spend all my life in cultivating my reason, and to advance as far as I could in the knowledge of truth".

Learning Virtues: Humility and Respect for Others in Descartes' Practical Ethics

A major intellectual current in the discourse on virtue and morality emanates from the classical writings of Aristotle and St. Aquinas who studied how virtues and other favourable dispositions or character are formed in man especially in the context of social life. Aristotle[32] says that virtue is classified into two kinds, intellectual and moral, and while the former arises out of teaching, the latter arises out of habit. For Aristotle, we acquire the virtues by first exercising them. The things we have to learn before we can do them, we learn by doing them. For example, we come to be just by doing just acts. In this view, the virtues are modes of choice and states of character. Furthermore, Aristotle argues that virtue must have the quality of aiming at the intermediate. "Virtue is then a state of character concerned with choice, lying in a mean is the mean relative to us, this being determined by a rational principle. It is a mean between two vices, that which depends on excess and that which depends on defect. It is again a mean because the vices respectively fall short of, or exceed what is right, while virtue finds and choose the intermediate"[33].

Aristotle makes an important clarification that, not every action nor every passion admits of a mean because, some passions have names that already imply

[31] Descartes, Rene, *Meditations on First Philosophy,* (translated) Elizabeth Haldane et al (London: Cambridge University Press 1931) in Joel Feinberg (ed.) *Reason and Responsibility,* Wadsworth, California, 1996, p.21.

[32] Aristotle, *Nichomaechean Ethics* (translated) W.D. Ross Great Books of the Western World. Aristotle H. (edited) M.J. Alder, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., Chicago, 1990, pg. 348-351.

[33] Idem, p. 352.

badness, for example, spite, envy, shamelessness, and in the case of actions, adultery, theft or murder[34]. For him, it is not easy to be good because in all things, it is not easy to find the middle always. We see in Aristotle's views the important issues of how virtue is instilled and enhanced by education or what he calls learning. The only way one can be courageous for instance, is by performing acts of courage. Just as Descartes would argue, one cannot be a good philosopher except one is methodical, humble careful and tolerant of other views. Aristotle's conception of the virtues shows that it is not enough for anyone to claim to be virtuous. Rather the virtue that one claims to have must be physically manifest in the person's conduct. In asserting that virtue is a mean or intermediate between either excess or defect, Aristotle calls our attention to that very important but often forgotten, quality of moderation and discretion in the way we do things in all spheres of life. Aristotle and Descartes share the view that human nature can change or be good. They call our attention to the possibility that man is capable of some good and that even the process of making efforts is itself a condition for character formation, and in a way the assurance that can be empowered to become that which was hitherto in the state of potentiality. The idea of virtue as power becomes an important strand in the discourse on virtue.

Aquinas[35] on his part, argues that virtue signifies a certain perfection of a power and "a thing's perfection is considered chiefly in relation to its end and the end of power is to act". So power can be described as perfect in terms of how it is determined to its act. For him, "power can either be in reference to being or, in reference to act. Virtue is the perfection of each of these. Therefore, virtue is a good quality of the mind by which we live rightly and of which no one can make bad use". He says that "the subject of virtue consists in the perfection of a power, an operative habit and a disposition to that which is best. Not every virtue is a moral virtue. Moral virtues belong only to those in the appetitive power." Aquinas maintains that human virtue is a habit of perfection of one of these principles. Aquinas maintains that a perfection of the practical intellect is an intellectual virtue, while a perfection of the appetite is a moral virtue. We see Aquinas attempt to elevate virtue to a higher level of human actualisation when he describes virtue as a power or perfection. By this he implies that it is quality that is not actually open to just anyone. It has to be got from nature as talent or actually worked for. In either case, it stands for the most elemental and important thing that a person represents. Frankena[36] comments that virtues are dispositions or traits that are not wholly innate. They must be acquired, at least in part by teaching and practice, or perhaps by grace. Aquinas stresses the character of virtue as a capacity, gift, ability or resource which can put its owner in good stead with himself and others. Davis[37] reinforces this position when he says that not only does "good conduct

---

[34] Idem, p. 352-354.

[35] St. Thomas, Aquinas, *Treatise on Habits*, QQ 49-89. *The Summa Technological*, Vol. 11 (Translated) Fr. L. Shapcote. Great Books of the Western World. (edited) M. J. Alder, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., Chicagoâ, 1990, p. 5-26.

[36] Frankena, William K., *Ethics,* Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1973, p. 63.

[37] Davis, Michael, *"Who can teach Workplace Ethics?"* Teaching Philosophy, Vol. 13, no. 1, (March), 1990, p. 32-33.

presuppose both good will (with its underlay of good character) and knowledge, but to teach virtue, at teacher would have to be virtuous."

In a recent analysis Swanton[38] emphasizes the nature of virtue as "a trait specifically a human excellence, whose possession tends to enable, facilitate, make natural, the possessor's promoting, expressing, honouring or appreciating value; or Enhancing expressing, honoring or appreciating valuable objects or states of affairs which are valuable". Munoz holds the view that the cardinal virtues are the moral virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. Prudence is the first among all cardinal virtues. Benevolence is a virtue related to the promotion of welfare. For Stravinskas[39] the cardinal virtues set the outlines and structure of a full and complete human life. The development and promotion of the cardinal virtues enables us to seek and obtain the good, as well as to effect what is truly good in this life.

In a further analysis of the conditions for the promotion of the good life Eshete[40] identifies three kinds of virtues: self regarding virtues, other regarding virtues and master virtues. He notes that virtues like courage, prudence and of self interested and altruistic ends. On the other hand there are other-regarding virtues or those traits that are always displayed in the pursuit of the good of others such as generosity. The distinction between self regarding virtues and other regarding virtues is important and useful. This is because, first, it separates those virtues that can be exercised for the sake of one's own good as well as the good of others. Secondly, Eshete argues that this distinction between self and other regarding virtues, serves to demarcate the virtues whose exercise calls for the frustration of a specific desire, as opposed to those whose exercise does not require the curbing of any particular desire. Furthermore, there are important virtues that are neither self-regarding nor other regarding, such as integrity and constancy these virtues belong to a distinctive class called the master virtues. A display of integrity and constancy requires a display of a particular self-regarding or other regarding virtue.

It is possible for one virtue to pose a problem of priority when trying to meet two or more conflicting needs[41]. The question here in, how can we determine which need, to assign priority to, in relation to the application of a specific virtue? In reflective morality, the belief is that a list of virtues has a much more tentative status, so that virtues like chastity, kindness, honesty, patriotism, modesty, toleration and bravery, cannot be given a fixed meaning Dewey[42]. This is so, since each of them expresses an interest in objects and institutions which are changing, however, these virtues may be permanent in form, since no community can subsist without some degree of fair play, public mindedness, respect for life and trust. No two communities conceive the objects to which these qualities are

[38] Swanton, Christine, "*Profile of the Virtues*" Pacific Philosophical Quarterly. Vol. 76, no. 1 (March), 1995, p. 50.
[39] Stravinskas, *op.cit.,* p. 176.
[40] Eshete, Andreas, *"Character, Virtue and Freedom"* Philosophy. Vol. 57, no 222 (October), 1982, p. 500-501.
[41] Swanton, *op.cit.,* p. 50.
[42] Dewey, John, *"The Conception of Virtue in Reflective Morality"* Introductory Readings in Ethics (ed) W. K. Frankena, Prentice-Halls, New Jersey, 1974, p. 246-247.

attached in exactly the same ways. Hence, Dewey introduces a kind of relativism into the idea of virtue, but this does not detract from the focus of our essay which is to examine those virtues that Descartes embodies in the history of philosophy. These include his endorsement of recognition, systematization, humility, tolerance, among others.

Descartes gave precedence to humility and the recognition of the fact that others have the intellectual capacity to gain the understanding of things. Descartes[43] says that "for myself, I have never presumed to think my mind in any way more perfect than ordinary men's indeed, I have often wished I had thoughts as quick, or an imagination as clear and distinct, or a memory as ample and as readily available, as some other people". He had through these words offered others the chance to know, or to be seen as epistemic being and therefore to claim the respect and recognition accruing from this quality. Descartes carries his humility almost to the point of self depreciation. This is the essence of humility, understood as the bringing down of oneself in totality. As Stravinskas[44] would say humility is the natural virtue which stands in opposition to pride, arrogance and vanity. It not only acknowledges and recognizes the worth and value of the neighbour, but it also promotes the well being of conscience, and leads to prudence, astuteness and thoughtfulness. Therefore, Andreassi [45] holds that humility is the supreme moral virtue that enables a person to always abhor or reject self regarding justice. We see how Descartes prepares an embracing ethical framework for his philosophical project. A more elaborate construction of the theory of the virtues needs to be provided as a basis of the moral foundations of the Cartesian project.

The Person of Descartes in His Moral Character and Social Commitment

Evidence of the strong moral character underlying Descartes philosophy is seen his desire to consciously improve the lot of mankind both in the short term and long term. Descartes[46] holds that "I decide indeed that I must still write down any of my discoveries that I judged to be of some importance. I wanted to lose no chance of benefiting the public if I could." Descartes[47] argues further that "for while everyman is bond to procure, so far as in him lies, the good of other men, and a man who is no help to anyone else is really worthless; at the same time our concern must extend further than the present, and it is right to neglect what might be profitable to the living when one's animas is to do something else that will benefit posterity even more." Descartes realized that it was not worth much for a man to develop himself and then leave the rest of his fellows in a state of lack of knowledge or deprivation. Descartes realized the values of working for long-term goals of attaining the good of all men or as many men as possible. He pushed for

---

[43] Descartes, 1981, *op.cit.,* p. 7.
[44] Stravinskas, *op.cit.,* p. 491.
[45] Andreassi, Anthony, "Humility" in *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia (ed)* by Michael Glazier et al, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1994, p. 410.
[46] Ibidem, p. 21.
[47] Ibidem, p. 49.

sympathy for his fellow man and a realization of his altruistic and moral disposition. Given the fact that, Descartes[48] recommends that one must seek to facilitate or "to procure, so far as in him lies, the good of other men, and a man who is no help to anyone else is really worthless", he satisfies the conditions of social morality.

Wiredu[49] argues that morality is necessarily a social enterprise because the problem of morality is portrayed in the fact that everyone is not naturally inclined towards being concerned about the interests of others all the time. Given this situation, he says that morality cannot but be founded upon the principle of sympathetic impartiality, which requires that "a person manifest due concern for the interest of others if in contemplating the impact of his or her action on their interests, the person puts him or herself imaginatively in their position and having done so is able to welcome that impact"[50]. We see that Descartes is motivated by the pursuit of sympathetic impartially. It can be said that the values that Descartes exhibits such as honesty, humility, prudence and steadfastness, are merely aspects of sympathetic impartiality. Thus, even though Wiredu confirms that morality is both a set of rules and a pattern of conduct in relation to these rules, yet, for him, sympathetic impartiality symbolizes a merge or fusion of the two ideas such that, 'the impartiality is what the moral rules embody, while the sympathy is what the moral motivation evinces'[51].

McMahon[52] holds that there exists some connection between acting as morality requires and promoting the interest of others. This connection is such that morality can come into conflict with self interest. If to promote the interest of others is to behave altruistically then to say that there is a link between acting as morality demands and promoting the interest of others, implies that morality has an altruistic aspect. McMahon is quick to point out that affirming a link between morality and altruism does not mean that both cannot diverge. He argues that morality is linked to, yet different from altruism because moral requirements can be distinguished from private projects. Our private projects are those private ends, which we pursue in order to make life meaningful for us. On the other hand, the moral requirements are a finite set of constraints on the projects that we may pursue and the way we may pursue any ends or projects that we desire. Regardless of the projects that people pursue, their respect for the requirements of morality can be seen as introducing into all lives a basic level of altruism. This is because our efforts at respecting such moral requirements sometimes entail that we refrain from those actions which would interfere with the projects of others. By so doing, we are promoting the interests of others in a way.

---

[48] Ibidem.
[49] Wiredu, Kwasi, *"Are there Cultural Universals"*. In The African Philosophy Reader. (ed.) Coetzee P.H. and Roux A.P.J., Routledge, London, 1998, p. 37.
[50] Ibidem, p. 37.
[51] Ibidem, p. 38-39.
[52] McMahon, Christopher, "*Morality and the Invisible Hand*", Philosophy and Public Affairs. Vol. 10, No. 3. (Summer), 1981, p. 250-251.

Descartes on the Future of Philosophy and the Preservation of the Human Community

The recognition of the desire and conviction of Descartes to make a contribution to the well-being and preservation of the human community is more clearly seen through the view that moral rules receive their justification in the context of how they serve the purpose of the community. Life in a human community is possible only if there is among its members a certain amount of mutual help, integrated activities, shared efforts[53]. It may be noted that much of the contributions of individuals in their quest for a better society might often no be discovered, recognized, estimated or rewarded, perhaps until much later in human history. It is in this light that we can say that Descartes input to human knowledge is inestimable in its own right, and compelling in the self-awareness of the limits of human ability.

Furthermore, Descartes[54] says that "I want to make it clear that little I have learnt so far is hardly anything in comparison with what I do not know and still have hopes of finding out". Descartes[55] holds that "it is certain that what still remains to be discovered is intrinsically harder and more hidden than what I have been able to hit on so far". He knew that man was just a minute and finite being in relation to al there is and all that can be known. Goodman[56] points out that Descartes realized that "the universe is so complex and our powers of understanding so limited that we can achieve knowledge only be painstaking, orderly, step-by-step investigation".

The point made by Descartes is further reinforced by Cherniak[57] who contends that we are faced with limits to knowledge owing to the fact that "we are in the finitary predicament of having fixed finite limits on our cognitive resources". He identifies two main reasons, namely, first, "that our innate cognitive biases may cause us to accept some falsehoods and reject some truths" and second that "some interesting true theories may be are likely to be too complex for us to understand". In other words as epistemic agents we humans are increasingly faced with a world in which no one man can possibly have all the knowledge of man is limited by historical, biological, cultural, technological and intellectual constraints.

Conclusion

The Cartesian project conceptualized moral virtues, which were indispensable to a proper human moral and social life as the habits and powers perfected in a person by the performance of deliberate acts. The powers in question here, concerned the basic human capabilities of man to do either moral good or moral evil and to make a critical change in the life of the society and to promote the future of human kind. In conclusion, we argued for the importance of

---

[53] Whiteley, *op.cit.,* p.438.
[54] Descartes, *op.cit.,* p. 49.
[55] Ibidem, p. 52.
[56] Goodman, *op.cit.,* p.47.
[57] Cherniak, Christopher, "*Limits for Knowledge*" Philosophical Studies vol. 49, no. 1, (January) 1986, p. 6.

a seemingly neglected aspect of Descartes philosophy where we showed the nature and significance of virtues and morality in the philosophy of Descartes. We demonstrated the lessons of his theory for the contemporary philosopher existing in a milieu defined by anomie and other restrictions.

REFERENCES

Andreassi, Anthony, (1994), "Humility" in *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia (ed)* by Michael Glazier et al (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).

Aristotle, (1990), *Nichomaechean Ethics* (translated) W.D. Ross *Great Books of the Western World. Aristotle H. (edited)* M.J. Alder (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.)

Bronstein, Daniel, Krikorian, Yervant and Wiener, Philip, (1964), 'Chapter One Methodology", in *Basic Problems of Philosophy 3rd edition (ed)* (New Jersey Prentice-Hall Inc. 1964).

Cherniak, Christopher, (1986), "Limits for Knowledge" *Philosophical Studies* vol. 49, no. 1, (January).

Cottingham, John, (1992), *The Cambridge Companion to Philosophy* Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Cox, David F., (1981), "An Empirical Theory of Ethics: Morality as Defensive Behaviour *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April).

Davis, Michael, (1990), "Who can teach Workplace Ethics?" *Teaching Philosophy,* Vol. 13, no. 1, (March).

Descartes, Rene, (1976), *Dualism and the Quest for Certainty, Rules for the Direction of the Mind* in Melvin Rader (ed) *The Enduring Questions: Main Problems of Philosophy* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston).

Descartes, Rene, (1980), *Discourse On Methods, in Descartes Philosophical Writing (ed.)* G. Anscombe and P. Geach (New York: Bobbs and Merrill).

Descartes, Rene, (1996), *Meditations on First Philosophy,* (translated) Elizabeth Haldane et al (London: Cambridge University Press 1931) in Joel Feinberg (ed.) *Reason and Responsibility* (California Wadsworth).

Dewey, John, (1974), "The Conception of Virtue in Reflective Morality" *Introductory Readings in Ethics (ed.)* W. K. Frankena, (New Jersey: Prentice-Halls).

Eshete, Andreas, (1982), "Character, Virtue and Freedom" *Philosophy*. Vol. 57, no 222 (October).

Flew, Anthony, (1971), *An Introduction to Western Philosophy: Ideas and Argument from Plato to Sartre* (London: Thames and Hudson).

Frankena, William K., (1973), *Ethics* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall).

Goodman, Nelson, (1972), *Problems and Projects.* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrills Company).

Howie, Gill, (1998), "Feminist Philosophy", in Oliver Leaman, (1998), *The Future of Philosophy: Towards the Twenty-first Century (ed.)* (London: Routledge).

Kennington, Richard, (1987), "Rene Descartes" in *History of Political Philosophy*. *3rd edition (ed.)* Leo Strauss & Joseph Cropsey (Chicago: The University of Chicago press).

Leaman, Oliver, (1998), "The Future of Philosophy", in *The Future of Philosophy: Towards the Twenty-first century (ed.)* (London: Routledge), pp. 1-13.

McMahon, Christopher, (1981), "Morality and the Invisible Hand", *Philosophy and Public Affairs.* Vol. 10, No. 3. (Summer).

Moser, Paul K., (1988), "Empirical Knowledge" in *Empirical Knowledge: Readings in Contemporary Epistemology (ed.)* (Chicago: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers).

Moya, Carlos J., (1990), *The Philosophy of Action: An Introduction,* (Oxford: Polity Press).

Munoz, L.J., (1996), *Virtues* (Ibadan: Sefer Books).

St. Thomas, Aquinas, (1990), *Treatise on Habits, QQ 49-89. The Summa Technological, Vol. 11* (Translated) Fr. L. Shapcote. *Great Books of the Western World.* (edited) M. J. Alder (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica inc.).

Stravinskas, Peter, (1991), "Humility" *Our Sunday Visitor's Catholic Encyclopedia*, (Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor Publisher).

Swanton, Christine, (1995), "Profile of the Virtues" *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly.* Vol. 76, no. 1 (March).

Watling, J.L., (1964), "Descartes", in D. J. O'Connor (ed.) *A Critical History of Western Philosophy* (New York: The Freeman Press).

Whiteley, C.H., 'The Justification of Morality' *Philosophy* vol. 57 no. 222 (October 1982).

Wild, John and James M. Edie, (1963), *Maurice-Ponty: In Praise Philosophy*. (Translated) With a Preface by Will and Eddie (USA: The North Western University).

Wilson, Catherine, (1998), "The History of Modern Philosophy" in Oliver Leaman *The Future of Philosophy: Towards the Twenty-first century (ed)* London: Routledge.

Wiredu, Kwasi, (1992), "The Moral Foundations of an African Culture". In *Person and Community: Ghanaian Philosophical Studies 1 (ed.)* K. Wiredu and K. Gyekye. Washington D. C. the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.

Wiredu, Kwasi, (1998), "Are there Cultural Universals". In *The African Philosophy Reader. (ed.)* Coetzee P.H. and Roux A.P.J. (London: Routledge).

THE BUCHAREST PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1913 AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE GREAT POWERS

Nicu Pohoață[*]

nicu_pohoata@yahoo.com

Abstract: In the Romanian historiography, the Bucharest Peace Conference of 1913 has so far been analyzed, as a rule, from the point of view of the negations conducted between the former belligerents, so that the peace treaty concluded on this occasion has been presented, more often than not, as an act of the Southeastern European states that had been involved in the conflict, carried out without any involvement of the Great Powers.

The author of this study provides a new approach, analyzing the foreign policy of the Great Powers, situated in opposed politico-military groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente with a view to influencing the decision making in accordance with their own interests in the region. In this context, the author highlights the unique role of Romania in restoring the peace, in an area that was seen by the contemporary of these events as "the powder keg of Europe".

Keywords: the belligerent states' interests, the Great Powers' interests, "Kavala issue", "Adrianopole issue", the peace treaty revision issue, the issue of organizing a conference of the Great Powers, the issue of power balance in the Southeastern Europe, Romania's role in restoring peace.

In the Romanian historiography dedicated to the Balkan Wars [1], the Bucharest Peace Conference of 1913 has so far been analyzed, as a rule, from the point of view of negotiations conducted between the former belligerents, so that the peace treaty concluded on this occasion was presented, more often than not, as an act of the Southeastern European states that had been involved in the conflict, carried out without any involvement of the Great Powers.

---

[*] **Senior Lecturer PhD., "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" Police Academy, Faculty of Arhivistics, Bucharest; President of Bucharest subsidiary of the Society of Historic Sciences of Romania.**

[1] Among the special works dedicated to the Balkan Wars see especially Iorga, N., ***The History of the Balkan War***, Bucharest, 1915; Iordache, Anastasie, ***The Political Crisis in Romania and the Balkan Wars. 1911-1913***, Paideia Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998; Zbuchea, Gheorghe, ***Romania and the Balkan Wars. 1912-1913. Pages of Southestern European History***, Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999; Topor, Claudiu-Lucian, ***Germany, Romania and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913)***, "Al. I. Cuza", Iaşi, 2008. Among the works with a more general character but very valuable for the current issue, see Cristian, V., ***The Foreign Policy of Independent Romania (1878-1914)***, in vol. ***History of Romanians***, vol. VII/2, coord. Gh. Platon, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 233-292; Buşă, Daniela, ***Political and Territorial Modifications in the South-East of Europe between the Berlin Congress and the First World war***, Paideia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 237-284.

As far as we are concerned, following some older research works[2], we intend to achieve a new approach, analyzing the foreign policy of the Great Powers, situated in opposed politico -military groups, Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente with a view to influencing their decision making in accordance with their own interests in the region. In this context, we would like to point out the unique role of Romania in restoring the peace in an area that was seen by the contemporary of these events as "the powder keg of Europe".

It is obvious that the Bulgarian delegates appointed by the government from Sofia to attend the peace talks held in Bucharest had to face a particularly difficult situation as, during the talks between the belligerents, the result of the military operations, totally to the detriment of Bulgaria, could not be ignored. Therefore, they hoped to make some prior arrangements with the Romanian government, which would have imposed moderation to the delegates of Serbia, Greece and Montenegro in their talks with the Bulgarian party, as they counted on a diplomatic intervention of the Great Powers. During a meeting they had with Titu Maiorescu and Take Ionescu, the Bulgarian delegates expressed their intention to ask for the autonomy of Macedonia within the Peace Conference, at the same time asking the Romanian government to agree on the conclusion of two peace treaties, one with Romania, and the other one with Serbia and Greece.

We cannot fail to notice the ability of the Bulgarian delegates led by the Minister of Finance Toncev, as the acceptance of the two proposals by the Romanian government would have determined to reduce as much as possible the concessions that Bulgaria had to make within the peace talks, as a defeated country. Romania's support of the idea of autonomy for Macedonia would have met the desiderata of the Romanians from the south of the Danube, therefore, the Bulgarian delegates thought, the Romanian government could not refuse such a request. In fact, once this idea accepted by Romania, the other former opponents, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, would have limited their territorial claims in this region. The Bulgarian delegates thus illusionated that they would benefit from Romania's support in this matter, ignoring the fact that the very division of Macedonia had been the stake in starting the Second Balkan War. As far as the second proposal is concerned, we note that it contained the idea of a separate peace between Bulgaria and Romania, with the Bulgarian party meeting the Romanian government's requests, which had been previously agreed by the government of Sofia. Once this proposal accepted by Romania, it would have led to its separation from Serbia, Greece and Montenegro within the negotiations, solution considered possible by the Bulgarian delegates since the Romanian government had not signed treaties of alliance with any of the other Balkan states. Instead, Romania was generously offered the alliance with Bulgaria, which, of course, would have given rise to the obligation of the Romanian government to support the Bulgarian party within the peace talks.

On the other hand, we cannot fail to notice that the Bulgarian delegation's proposals were fully consistent with some projects, older and newer, of

---

[2] See in detail Nicu Pohoaţă, **Romania's Foreign Policy during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913). Romania and the politico-military groups of the Great Powers,** Pro Universitaria, Bucharest, 2010.

Austria-Hungary, which demonstrates that the Bulgarian delegation was relying on Vienna's support during the peace talks, especially due to the fact that the Dual Monarchy diplomacy had maintained its complete freedom of action by not adhering to the non - intervention principle supported by the Triple Entente. The support of the idea of Macedonia's autonomy would have limited the claims of Serbia, and a Romanian-Bulgarian alliance would have been widened and strengthened, in the view of the diplomacy from Ballplatz, the system of the Triple Alliance in South-East Europe.

Titu Maiorescu refused categorically any prior arrangements with Bulgaria. In his daily notes, the Romanian Prime Minister recorded lapidary the content of his discussion with Toncev: *"Propose an immediate agreement and alliance with Romania.I answer that I will speak with the king, but my impression is that we had better arrange it all together, and let our separate arrangement as a threat and pressure on the Serbs and Greeks, if their claims were exaggerated; and, as far as the the alliance is concerned, after the conclusion of the peace, we will take our time to talk"[3].*

Blondel, the French Ambassador in Bucharest, commented differently on the proposals made by the Bulgarian delegates to the Romanian government: *"If they raise the first matter (the matter of the autonomy of Macedonia – author's note), the Serbian and Greek delegates intend to withdraw immediately, declaring that such a conference should deal only with the borders regulation and review the separation agreements which are obsolete following the latest Bulgarian-Serbian war. As to the second proposal, the Romanians are firmly determined (they declared to Mr. Toncev) to reject it categorically"*. Blondel also relates about the content of a discussion he had with S. Radev, the Bulgarian Minister in Bucharest: *"I received this morning the visit of Mr. Radev who exposed briefly the points of view of the Bulgarian delegation and said that it was animated by a sincere desire to conclude a lasting and final peace in Bucharest; he asked for my help, to the extent to which I could help the Bulgarian delegation, to advise Bulgaria's opponents on moderation"*. Blondel replied that "*France, animated by the most peaceful feelings, will seek to facilitate any arrangement which, taking into account the claims of the Serbs and Greeks, will spare the legitimate aspirations of the Bulgarians at the same time*". The French diplomat added: "*... as far as I am concerned, he (Radev - author's note) – could be reassured that all my efforts will continue as previously to pursue the purposes* of conciliation and, if the Romanian delegation acts similarly, an agreement could be concluded quickly, allowing today's opponents to reconcile".[4]

The same day, Blondel informed Pichon about the fact that one of Bulgaria's representatives at the Conference proposed the Bulgarian government, with the view to facilitating an *"honorable withdrawal"* of the Ottoman Empire, to declare Adrianople a neutral city. Bulgaria wanted this proposal to be made in

---

[3] Titu Maiorescu, **Original Daily Political Notes**, in vol. Maiorescu, Titu, **Romania, the Balkan Wars and the Cadrilater,** volume published by Stelian Neagoe, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 147.

[4] **Documents diplomatiques français (1871-1914)**, Paris, 1929-1959, 3e série, tome VII, doc. nr. 483, p. 524-525. Blondel to Pichon, 28 July 1913. It will be cited **D.D.F**

Constantinople by the French government, which was thus supposed to guarantee the *"strict implementation of the commitments made by the Bulgarian government".5*

While the French diplomacy received such requests from the Bulgarian government, Russia was showing its interest in concluding the peace as soon as possible, relying on a diplomatic intervention of the Great Powers in this respect, both in Constantinople and in the capitals of the Christian belligerent states. In a note to the Russian embassy in Paris on July 28, 1913, it is specified that *"the imperial government hopes that the Powers will make very categorical statements, both in Constantinople and in the capitals of the Balkan states, statements complying with the decisions made in London".* It will be necessary *"to let the belligerents understand clearly that they should not count on any financial assistance from Europe until the complete liquidation of this crisis".6*

As to the possibility of a Russian military intervention to determine the evacuation of Adrianople by the Turks, the government from Petersburg proved to be very reluctant. During a discussion between Sazonov and Delcassé, related *to "the risks of an isolated and precipitated action"* carried out by Russia, the leader of the Russian diplomacy showed great reserves as to the possibility of engaging in a dialogue with Germany on this issue. Informed by the Italian Ambassador in Petersburg, Carlotti, on the fact that between Sir Edward Grey and Jagow there was an active correspondence related to the eventuality of an intervention by Russia, Sazonov said to Delcassé that *"we (Russia –author's note) are part of the Triple Entente and not of Triple Alliance"* that is why *"we understand to talk with Paris and London, not with Germany in order to examine the means and conditions of an action, if an action cannot be avoided".* Delcassé, in his turn, believes that *"if, however, a gesture should be made to determine the Turks to get out of Adrianople"* Russia should not be the one to do this, because it would create possible complications. Therefore, Delccassé suggested that after the fast conclusion of the Peace in Bucharest, Romania would be able to get engaged in such an action. He believed that *"the Romanian government will not let itself be asked to be charged with the greatest part of this mission for Europe. It will join some Bulgarian troops to his army. The Italian Ambassador told me that a Romanian-Bulgarian action suited his government and warned me that the Austrian ambassador would reassure me immediately that his government would not dislike it.* **Austria wants to lay its hands on Bucharest again. But I 'm not anxious about it: the Romanian people now has his eyes fixed on Transylvania** (author's underlignment). *The essential today is the evacuation of Thrace. It would be enough for the Romanian army to be provoked to set into motion.7* So, Delcassé believed that such an action carried out by Romania would not meet any opposition from the Great Powers of the Triple Alliance and would not prejudice the Triple Entente's policy of attracting Romania, due to the Austrian-Hungarian contradictions caused by "the national problem". Instead, Delcassé showed himself concerned about the *"categorical*

---

5 ***D.D.F.***, doc. no. 485, p. 525. Blondel to Pichon, July 28, 1913.
6 ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 486, p. 526.
7 ***Ibidem***, doc. nr. 487, p. 526-527. Delcassé to Pichon, July 28 1913.

and increasingly stronger adhesion that Italy had been showing towards the German policy for some time" from where stems the need for a concerted policy of the Triple Entente[8].

While the Great Powers of the Triple Entente were concerned with the use of a means to settle the "Adrianople issue", in Bucharest the final arrangements for the official opening of the Peace Conference were being made. Blondel notified in a report to Pichon that while the Bulgarian delegates made proof of a conciliatory spirit and admitted the obligation to make extensive concessions to their opponents, the Serbian and Greek delegates publicly displayed *"an intransigence that could only make difficult, if not impossible, the success of the Conference.* He considered that *"the whole territory occupied by the Serbian and Greek armies will be immediately recognized as belonging to Serbia and Greece, otherwise the war will continue."* Blondel warned the latter on *"the danger of such an attitude, which might drift away the sympathy of Greece and Serbia which accompanied them, even modify the provisions of Romania and push Austria- Hungary to a demonstration full of dangers".* Blondel added that King Charles I, with whom his ministers shared their impressions, *"seemed very impressed and thought to ask the German Emperor (if he had not already done so) to intervene vigorously in Athens in order to advise it on more moderation. He had us asked, my Russian colleague and I**, to join our efforts with his and with his government in order to relieve as much as possible the bellicose impulses confessed by the Serbian and Greek delegates** (author's underlignment)"*[9].

In the current stage of the research, we do not have a clear evidence that King Charles I would have addressed the Emperor Wilhelm II any telegram in order to ask him to advise the government from Athens on moderation at the opening of the Conference. However, it is common knowledge that on August 1, 1913, the Emperor of Germany, at the request of his sister Sofia, the Greek sovereign's wife, telegraphed the King of Romania in order to ask him to act in a manner which should be favourable to Greece, which claimed the possession of the Kavala[10].

The head of the French diplomacy, Pinchon, taking note of the steps carried out by the French Minister Bucharest, Blondel, warned him: *"There is no need to insist on the caution that I recommended you concerning the advice and opinions you formulate. **For reasons of general policy, the Government of the Republic understands to remain as neutral as possible between the belligerents".***[11]

Meanwhile, the English government efforts towards the government of Berlin[12] as to the "problem of Adrianople" had a certain effect, resulting in a surprising change of attitude of the German diplomacy. On 29 July, Jagow was writing to the German ambassador in Constantinople, Wangenheim, that Berlin

---

[8] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 489, p. 528-529. Delcassé to Pichon, July 28, 1913.

[9] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 490, p. 530-531. Blondel to Pichon, July 28, 1913.

[10] ***Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette. 1871-1914. Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes,*** Berlin, 1922-1926, vol. 35, doc. no. 13696. It will be cited ***G.P.***

[11] ***D.D.F.***, 3ᵉ série, tome VII, doc. no. 494, p. 532. Pichon to Blondel, July 29, 1913.

[12] ***G.P.***, vol. 35, doc. no. 13606. Aide-mémoire sent to the German government by the Lord Granville, 28 July 1913.

strongly disapproved of the Ottoman Empire action, advising him to join the collective approach of the other Great Powers[13]. Boppe, the chargé d'affaires of France in Constantinople, was informing Pichon on this occasion that the German ambassador declared that Berlin *"would like to act on the Ottomans by way of persuasion"* but added that the Austrian- Hungarian Ambassador *"has not made proof of equally s conciliatory provisions"*, declaring that *"it would be impossible to make the Turks leave Adrianople."*[14]

The works of the Bucharest Peace Conference officially began on July 29, 1913. In the opening session, Titu Maiorescu, elected President of the Conference, delivered a speech expressing his hope that the delegates of the belligerent states would ensure *"either by preliminary agreements or by a definitive treaty, the Christian people that are still on the battlefield, a lasting peace based on a right balance between our countries"*[15] Blondel was sending to Paris, under those circumstances, more reassuring information, saying that the delegates were imbued with "a more conciliatory spirit", a proof being the fact that they agreed to a suspension of hostilities for five days. In this context, the French diplomat revealed, as a positive thing, that the attack launched against Vidin had been suspended. The Bulgarian government asked the Romanian government to occupy this city in order to maintain order. But Titu Maiorescu refused, "in order not to encourage, by an even momentary occupation, the hopes of those who would have liked to incorporate Vidin into Romania"[16].

From the very beginning of the Peace Conference, it could be found out that one of the most difficult problems to be solved was that of Kavala. As to this matter, Venizelos was very intransigent, implying that settling it in favor of Greece was the sine qua non condition for peace. Blondel reported in a long report to Pichon the position of the Great Powers towards this delicate problem: *"The joint action of Russia and Austria is stated and my colleagues are far from applying the principle of non- intervention, which you had been predicting for some time, for they pronounced openly in favour of Bulgaria"*. The Bulgarian Minister strove *"to determine the Romanian delegates to share the same feelings". "At present the representatives of the Great Powers are distributed as follows: the Ministers of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy are in favour of Bulgaria, the Minister of England and I have remained neutral, carefully avoiding to pronounce.*

From the very beginning of the Peace Conference, it could be found out that one of the most difficult issue to be settled was that of Kavala. As to this matter, Venizelos was very intransigent, implying that settling it in favor of Greece was the sine qua non condition for peace. Blondel reported in a long report to Pichon the position of the Great Powers towards this delicate problem: *"The joint action of Russia and Austria is stated and my colleagues are far from applying the*

---

[13] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 13611.

[14] ***D.D.F.***, 3 e série, tome VII, doc. no. 494, p. 533-534. Boppe to Pichon, 29 July 1913.

[15] ***The Green Book,*** in vol. Maiorescu, Titu, ***Romania, the Balkan Wars and the Cadrilater***, volume published by Stelian Neagoe, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 230. It will be cited the Green Book.

[16] ***D.D.F.***, 3 e série, tome VII, doc. no. 499, p. 540-541. Blondel to Pichon, July, 30 1913.

principle of non- intervention, which you had been predicting for some time, for they pronounced openly in favour of Bulgaria". The Bulgarian Minister strove *"to determine the Romanian delegates to share the same feelings"*. *"At present the representatives of the Great Powers are distributed as follows: the Ministers of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy are in favour of Bulgaria, the Minister of England and I have remained neutral, carefully avoiding to pronounce for or against the envisioned solutions; the Ministry of Germany discloses voluntarily his favourable feelings towards Greece and towards a direct and complete agreement which should avoid the intervention of the Powers otherwise than to approve and ratify it"*. Blondel stated that: *"the Romanian delegation that wishes that an agreement would intervene upon all points in dispute, looks with an evil eye at what they call the intrigues of the Italian Minister and the too biased action of the Minister of Russia. Blondel added that "the Austrian Minister follows his campaign of approaching Romania and Bulgaria (author's underlignment). But at the same time, his agents are seeking to arouse suspicion among the Serbs, proving them that Romania does not act in defense of their claims"*. The French diplomat also showed that Bulgarian delegates *"are satisfied to foresee a failure* (of the Conference - author's note) *whose result would be to bring the matter up before a European congress from which they hope to obtain the advantages that the Bucharest Conference would not guarantee without any doubt. I believe [...] that they are encouraged in this attitude by the office from Vienna and maybe by that from Petersburg"*. As to the position of France, the French Minister informed Pichon that he was acting in accordance with the instructions he had received". [...] *I am very reserved in my conversations with the Bulgarian delegates and I confine myself to advising them on conciliation, without specifying anything about the subject of their claims.*[17]

The same day, Blondel was drawing up another report towards the head of the French diplomacy in which he was exposing, broadly, some interesting personal reflections on the implications of the policy followed by Austria-Hungary and Russia during the Bucharest Peace Conference. Referring to a campaign led by the "Neue Freie Presse" Blondel showed: *"The press from Vienna insists on some new changes that would be made in the Romanian foreign policy "now being in agreement with Bulgaria against Serbia and Greece" and assigns this change to the resurgent influence of the Vienna office on the one from Bucharest. It adds that "Serbia and Greece lost Romania's friendship and a Romanian-Bulgarian understanding under the auspices of Austria, is imminent". This news, whose biased character is obvious and which was otherwise quite severely appreciated by several Romanian journalists, emphasizes the goal that Austria pursues with a tenacity which is due to its recent failures. It is beyond any doubt that Count **Berthold, by means of the Austrian Minister to Bucharest, has made and is still making some requests for an approach between Romania and Bulgaria, which should be directed against Serbia** (author's underlignment). The Prince Fürstenberg is strongly assisted in this mission by the Italian Minister*

---

[17] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 503, p. 543-545. Blondel to Pichon, July 31, 1913.

who indulges in intrigues and who was threatening, a few days ago, one of the Romanian Ministers with Italy's malevolence in case Romania would not pronounce itself clearly in favour of the Bulgarian claims. "Unfortunately, Mr. Pasic and Venizelos's provisions are still very intransigent and allow Austria to multiply its efforts more confidently, if not even more successfully".

Blondel's considerations about the Russian policy are presented more thoroughly and reflect a disagreement, if not yet of Paris, at least of his own as to the political line toed by the office from St. Petersburg. *"Russia [...] shows an ambiguous attitude, which provides the Austrian and Italian Ministers with all the amenities to put Romania on guard against the support it could possibly expect from its neighbor in the North, "selfish, forgetful and indecisive"; this is how certain Austrian personalities treat Russia. The impression of relief in Romania due to the independence that the government showed ordering mobilization, despite the advice from Vienna, has not vanihsed, but there is a danger from the partisans of the old Romanian foreign policy orientations, which may invoke in favour of their thesis the fragility of the new combinations. That is why I draw Your Excellency's attention on the necessity that must be imposed on the office from Petersburg to take a firm position, not to indulge into vague promises and to be more sincere than it is now, so as to be willing to maintain and strengthen the actual agreement which was concluded a few weeks ago between Russia and Romania, while the Bulgarians' attacks were launched against the allied troops. It is obvious that if Russia, obeying the general policy considerations, means to give up winning Romania definitively, we cannot constraint it to persevere in a line of conduct which it has inaugurated and which has, from my point of view, the biggest advantages; but we can predict the regrets that it will feel the day when Romania would be convinced of the futility of its advances.*

As far as we are concerned - Blondel continued - I could only deeply regret the blow that a new back turnaround of Russia would bring to the undeniable influence that we have started to regain in this country. We will preserve the sympathies which have not abandoned us and which have been asserted most categorically lately, but if our allies show fickleness (although it is not very appropriate to assign them here this flaw), it will be very hard for us to maintain Romania in the line of positive feelings it has recently proved to us and which are partly the consequence of the ones we've shown towards it. The preferences of the office from Petersburg which were, from the very beginning of the Bucharest Conference, in favour of the Bulgarian claims, have already disgruntled the Romanian political circles, not so much because they tend to prevent a weakening of Bulgaria, but because they seem to keep little account of the situation of Serbia and Greece (author's underlignment)".

Blondel further reports how his Russian counterpart explains the policy of the office from Petersburg. *"My Russian fellow, with whom I talked a few days ago about these issues, explained the policy of his government in the following way: as far as Serbia is concerned, he told me, Russia knows that it can always count on a country that, even under the reign of the King Milan, when the Austro-Serbian relations were most cordial, remained in close contact with*

Petersburg; all our efforts should therefore be aimed at not alienating Bulgaria (author's underlignment). As for Greece, he added, we do not want to favor too much its aspirations, nor do we want to provide it with the means of getting closer and threatening Constantinople one day. All the more, we should not let Romania gain too much importance, allowing it to elate with its diplomatic successes (author's underlignment)".

The statements of the Russian Minister Schebeko were commented by Blondel as follows: "My Russian fellow's calculations run the risk of being foiled by events. On the one hand, Serbia, disillusioned, could one day search again, if not an alliance, at least an agreement with Austria and make its powerful friend pay a high price for its dangerous indifference; the attempts have already been sketched in this way in Vienna and Belgrade; encouraged by influential politicians, nobody could assert that they would not succeed in being powered, as long as Russia shows a too great confidence, based on a fidelity it has already won. It seems to me equally possible that the danger that Russia believes it is threatened with by Greece (which has became today the scarecrow of Russia and Italy!), might rather come from the reestablished Bulgaria, whose dreams of Constantinople will be more easily and quickly achievable. Isn't this contingency being prepared in case Austria offers its help to the nation which can, in a more or less distant future, become the most redoubtable competitor of Russia in the race to Constantinople?"

Taking into account these general policy scenarios, Blondel added that he could not fail to notice that Russia "has lost too quickly the memory of the weak effect that the Tsar Nicholas's imperious injunction produced on the Kings of Bulgaria and Serbia in June and that it would be wrong to count on the fact that from now on it may exert on these two countries the influence it once enjoyed. Bulgaria and Serbia are aware of their independence; they have got accustomed to think and act following their own will and Russia, at least I think so, goes towards great disillusions if it does not take into account more, in the future, this state of spirit and obstinates to treat the emancipated nations as if they were still docile. It must strive to win them and not to dominate them. Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece could be useful allies, they will not accept to be complacent satellites"[18].

Basically, the Bulgarian delegation at the Peace Conference was supported by both Austria-Hungary and Russia. The former in order to attract it to the Triple Alliance, by the way of an agreement with Romania, and the letter to regain the influence lost in Sofia in favor of Austria-Hungary. For different reasons, both Austria-Hungary and Russia granted Bulgaria diplomatic support for acquiring Kavala, despite the fact that the policy of Vienna gave rise to great irritation in Berlin and the policy of Petersburg displeased Paris, even if the French diplomacy understood to adopt, at least for the moment, a neutral attitude. Delcassé, the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, advised Pichon on Austria-Hungary and Germany's point of view as to this issue, as it results from a discussion he had with the Austrian Ambassador, Count Thurn: "We will not accept – the Austrian

---

[18] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 507, p. 548-551. Blondel to Pichon, July 31, 1913.

diplomat declared - *a division that would provide the lion's share (to the state winner states–author's note) at the expense of Bulgaria. For example, we will not be able to accept and will not allow the annexation of Kavala by Greece. [...] It's fair for Bulgaria to have a port at the Aegean Sea. The German Ambassador, he added, has told me today that his government will support Greece. For some time, when it comes to Austria, his tone betrays an irritation that he forces increasingly to hide'[19]'*. In his turn, Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador in Berlin, reassured Paris that *"Germany will support the Greek government in the matter of Kavala".[20]*

Given the difficulty of settling the "Kavala issue," which caused dissensions even among the Great Powers belonging to the same politico-military groups, Blondel reported in a report to Pichon of August 1, 1913: *"The ongoing negotiations allow to hope that a definitive agreement will be concluded on all issues, except that of Kavala, coveted by both Greece and Bulgaria. The two parties have invoked the state of the public opinion. Under these circumstances, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Titu Maiorescu-author's note), willing to put an end to the conflict at all costs, thought that it would be possible to have the peace treaty fully signed, provided he was authorized by the Great Powers to submit the following proposal to the conference: the peace treaty to be signed and to include the annexation of Kavala to one of the two countries that were claiming it. But, in the final protocol, to be stipulated that this award should not become definitive until it had been approved by the Great Powers. Mr. Maiorescu hopes that his proposal will be accepted by Greece and Bulgaria, because the party that will be irrevocably deprived of Kavala will be able to invoke, in order to justify itself before the public opinion, the unanimous will of the Powers. The Minister of Foreign Affairs will actually make use of the freedom of action that the six Powers would allow him, through their representatives in Bucharest, only after all means of direct and complete understanding between the belligerents will have been exhausted. I would be grateful to Your Excellency to kindly let me know the answer that I have to give to Mr. Maiorescu's suggestion; my colleagues from Germany, England, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia have addressed the same request to their respective governments."[21]*

The same day, Blondel informed Paris on the state of the Romanian-Bulgarian negotiations: *"Even since yesterday evening, the Bulgarian delegates have met the Romanian delegates. The agreement was made on all points, and a subsequent meeting will unquestionably allow reaching a full understanding. The Bulgarian delegates were tempted, at the same time, once again, to make Romania enter into a separate agreement and demanded the Romanian delegates that, in the event that Romania gets full satisfaction (of its*

---

[19] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 508, p. 551. Delcassé to Pichon, August 1, 1913. Also see Austria-Hungary's viewpoint in ***Osterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914. Diplomatische Aktenstücke des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Ministeriums des Aussern***, Vienna and Leipzig, 1930 (it will be cited ***O.U.A.***), 6th vol., doc. no. 8016, 8029, 8088, and Germany's viewpoint inn ***G.P.***, 35th vol., doc. no. 13700, Jagow to Tschirschky, July 1, 1913.

[20] ***D.D.F.***, doc. no. 509, p. 552. Jules Cambon to Pichon, August 1, 1913.

[21] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 511, p. 553-554. Blondel to Pichon, August 1, 1913.

demands −n.n..), Bulgaria will be able to count on its support in the talks with the Serbs and Greeks. The Romanian delegates responded that Romania had promised to mediate the dialogue in order to make prevail the ideas of conciliation and moderation, and that it will not abandon its promise. [...] The Bulgarian delegates still nurture hope that, at the almost violent insistence of the Italian Minister, Romania will consent to submit an ultimatum to Serbia and Greece in order to compel them to accept their conditions. The Romanian government's response was formal and the Bulgarians no longer insisted*.[22]

The instructions for the French Minister in Bucharest as to the proposal made by Titu Maiorescu, related to "Kavala issue" were formulated by Pichon on August 2, 1913: *"You know which is our reserved attitude in the talks held in Bucharest. We estimate that it is desirable for the negotiations to follow and to be completed without the intervention of the Powers. If, however, a split seems imminent and, if all the Powers accept Mr. Maiorescu's proposal, we will have no objections*".[23]

During the same day, Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador in Berlin, reported that the Romanian, Beldiman, had told him that, in his opinion, *"the Romanian government should not to hesitate to support Greece"*. Commenting on this information, Jules Cambon considered that it was *"a sign of the provisions which the German Government has expressed to the Romanian Minister."* He also added: *"This conversation has revealed to me that the **feeling of support given by Germany to Greece is pressing hard on Romania and weighs a lot in its detachment from Austria** (author's underlignment). As for us, I think that whatever attitude Russia may have, we will not have to abandon the support we have given to the Greeks claims so far, without danger for our future influence on Athens and without leaving free way to Germany"*[24]. Obviously, Jules Cambon had no way to learn that the Emperor Wilhelm II had intervened directly for Romania's attitude favourable to Greece, through the above mentioned telegram sent to King Charles I, one day before. From the French point of view, it seems that more important, however, was the attitude of Germany, due to the fact that it opened the perspective of a disagreement between Russia and France in "Kavala issue."

An attitude contrary to that formulated by Beldiman showed the Romanian Minister in Petersburg, Nano. In an interview with the French Ambassador Delcassé, he told him that *"if Greece obstinates in excessive claims, Romania and Serbia could consider whether they need to maintain (with Greece −author's note.) a solidarity which has become harmful and unjust. Bulgaria and Greece remaining face to face, the situation might change."* As to the "Adrianople issue" Delcassé did not receive the favourable answer he had been probably looking forward to, given that he had supported the idea of a Romanian military action in order to return Adrianople to the Bulgarians: *"If the use of force were required to obtain the evacuation of Adrianople, the Romanian diplomat said, Romania would not be too willing to play alone the role of Europe's gendarme"*. Delcassé added in his telegram to Pichon: *"As the Serbian Minister was attending this*

---

[22] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 512, p. 554-555. Blondel to Pichon, August 1, 1913.
[23] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 518, p. 562. Pichon to Blondel, August 2, 1913.
[24] ***Ibidem***, doc. no. 517, p. 561. Jules Cambon to Pichon, August 2, 1913.

conversation, Nano did not say that Romania would like to join. I estimate that this is Bulgaria".[25] On August 3, 1913, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria sent, through Panafieu, the French Minister in Sofia, a telegram asking President Raymond Poincaré for the diplomatic support of Paris. Among others things, it was shown: *"Please, Mr. President, on behalf of humanity and justice, support Bulgaria in Bucharest as to the issue allocation of Kavala port annexation."*[26]

However, the state reasons triumphed over the sentimental considerations and, therefore, in the response telegram, the President of France contained himself to assure the Bulgarian sovereign, strictly formally, about his best feelings.[27]

Blondel, who had made himself a main duty to inform Paris daily on the works of Peace Conference, in his report to Pichon from the same day recorded among other things: *"I contained myself to answer the delegates by general conciliation advice and I insisted on the interest to sign a viable treaty as soon as possible. I explained my reserve by the desire of the government of the Republic not to take an active part in negotiations and by the inconveniences that our intervention might have causing and justifying contrary interventions. Mr. Venizelos let me know that this attitude was more favourable to him than others and informed me that the other delegations, except for that of Montenegro, would have preferred to see me acting in a more direct way to counterbalance, they say, the efforts of our Italian and Austrian colleagues. As far as the Romanian delegates are concerned, they do not neglect anything to facilitate an agreement. Yesterday they finished almost completely discussing their borders with Bulgaria. No difficulty was raised on their behalf. The English Minister received yesterday evening the authorization to answer Mr. Maiorescu's proposal affirmatively, but had to add that England reserved its right to revise the treaty, if it contained clauses contrary to its interests. The Austrian Minister has just notified the Foreign Minister that his government finds justifiable the Bulgarian claims on the village Kotchana, requested by the Serbs, and proposed, in the event that an amicable solution would not arise between those concerned, to leave this matter (just like that of Kavala) to the Powers' appreciation. Mr. Maiorescu, making this announcement, added that he would much prefer to avoid such a procedure, acceptable if a single point is in dispute. But this procedure becomes dangerous, if it opens too much the way for an intervention of the Powers and the revision of the treaty, undoubtedly desired by Bulgaria and by those who support it. However, the Chairman of the Board added, if we could sign only at this price and in order to avoid thus breakdown of the negotiations and the armistice which expires on Tuesday at noon, we will rally to the Austrian suggestion".* Blondel announced, on that occasion, according to the received instructions received, that *"if the other Powers consent to write down in the final protocol the statements as to Kavala and Kotchana, France will not oppose."*[28]

---

[25] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 520, p. 562-563. Delcassé to Pichon, August 2, 1913.

[26] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 525, p. 567-568. Panafieu to Pichon, August 3, 1913.

[27] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 527, p. 570. Pichon to Panafieu, August 3, 1913.

[28] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 526, p. 568-569. Blondel to Pichon, August 3, 1913. On the position expressed by the Austria-Hungary, see also *O.U.A.*, 7th vol., doc. no. 8177, 8204, 8207.

Russia's position concerning "Kavala problem" was expressed on August 3, 1913, as it appears from a note of the Russian Embassy in Paris, stating that, *"if the matter of Cavala risks to compromise the success of the Conference works,* (the Russian government –n.n.) *declares that it reserves the freedom to review, in agreement with the other Great Powers, the decisions that will be taken by the Conference."[29]* In fact, in the collections of Russian documents, it is specified that Russia effectively supported Bulgaria for incorporating Kavala.[30] On the same day, according to another note from the Russian embassy in Paris, Sazonov made an appeal to accelerate the approach of the Powers in Constantinople in order to enforce the decision of the London Conference on the Turkish-Bulgarian border demarcation, along with their statement regarding the refusal of financial assistance to the Turkish government.[31]

While Russia's position was categorical in supporting Bulgaria, France's attitude was very reserved. Therefore, the government from Sofia resumed the diplomatic efforts in Paris, on August 4, 1913, in order to gain support, especially for obtaining Kavala. What we consider interesting in this respect are some of the considerations listed in the annex forwarded, with the mention *"confidential",* to the head of French diplomacy Pichon by Stanciova, the Bulgarian Ambassador in Paris. Among other things it was stated: *"An agreement between Bulgaria and Romania appears as the only possibility in the future, as the two countries, following this war, will not keep the grudges that cannot be forgiven and that certainly will exist between Serbia and Bulgaria, on the one hand, and between Bulgaria and Greece, on the other hand. From the Russian point of view, the Romanian-Serbian combination, reinforced by Bulgaria, would be a powerful lever action to put pressure on Vienna. [...] Finally, if Romania reentered into the gear of the Triplicate and became again the auxiliary of the Austrian-Hungarian policy, it would be very important for Russia to be able to support a strong Bulgaria which would be able to paralyze the action of Romania. From the point of view of the Straits issue and the balance in the Aegean Sea, it is important for Bulgaria to have a wide access to the Aegean Sea and for this reason it is necessary to be given the port Kavala."[32]*

While *"Austria-Hungary showed an increasing zeal to Bulgaria"[33],* and Russia and Italy were acting, as we have seen, to defend the interests of the Bulgarian government, France not only remained neutral in its attitude and did not answer positively to the insistent requests of Sofia, but it also situated on the opposite position, being favorable to Greece as to the Kavala issue. The reasons for this attitude of the French government were explained by Pichon to the Russian ambassador in Paris, Izvolski, and communicated to Delcassé, the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg: *"We will not be able to leave to Germany the benefit of its attitude towards the government of Athens and the maneuvers of*

---

[29] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 529, p. 570-571, August 3, 1913.

[30] *Ibidem*, note 1, p. 570.

[31] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 528, p. 570, August 3, 1913.

[32] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 531, p. 572-574. Stanciov to Pichon, August 4, 1913. Annex.

[33] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 534, p. 576. Delcassé to Pichon, August 4, 1913. The declarations of the Count Thurn, the Austrian-Hungarian Ambassador in Petersburg are mentioned.

the Triple Alliance, which are confirmed by our intelligence information, they are too serious for us to not strive to counteract them. The Russian Ambassador told me that his government was concerned about the disagreement that might arise between us regarding the annexation of Kavala. Under these circumstances, we made him notice that we are ready to join our efforts with the other Great Powers to regulate the issue, if the belligerents cannot succeed and a resumption of hostilities would be likely to follow."[34]

Asked by Pichon to talk to Sazonov about a possible way of removing a disagreement between France and Russia as to the "Kavala issue", Delcassé, following a meeting with him, showed very skeptical *"In this affair, Austria pushes on the provisions of Russia, just like Germany on those of ours."*[35] The consequence of the Russian policy to support Bulgaria was felt not only in the disagreement between Petersburg and Paris on this matter, but also in the growth of dissatisfaction recorded at the public opinion level in Serbia, which was reported by Descos, the French Minister in Belgrade. In a telegram to Pichon, he mentions the opinion of the French military attaché according to which *"the memories of 1878 do not seem to **justify the Panslav enthusiasm for Bulgaria to the detriment of the clearest interests of the Triple Entente** (author's underlignment)".*[36]

Meanwhile, the Romanian delegation was maintaining an equidistant position, advising the parties involved in negotiations to show moderation and a spirit of conciliation. The British Ambassador in Bucharest, Sir G. Barclay, noted that the rejection by Romania of the proposal of separate peace made by Bulgaria had positive consequences, as in this way was avoided the possibility of resuming hostilities:*"There are no chances, I think*, he informed Sir Edward Grey, *for Romania to make separate peace with Bulgaria. One of the Bulgarian delegates recently spoke of the possibility of eliminating Romania by satisfying its requests and then continue the war against Greece and Serbia. His words were reported to the Romanian Prime Minister, who said, in my presence, that Romania will not sign the peace without the co-belligerents. At yesterday's meeting, at the Conference, the Prime Minister spoke in the same sense when he announced that Romania and Bulgaria had reached an agreement.*[37]

Asked by Titu Maiorescu, on 3 August 1913, as to the English government's attitude regarding Kavala port, Sir G. Barclay responded that *"Her Majesty's Government would not object if Kavala were given to Bulgaria".*[38] It did not appear implicitly the fact that London would oppose if Kavala were given to Greece. On the other hand, within the Triple Alliance, a change of attitude from Italy occurred. The Italian Ambassador in Petersburg, Carlotti, in a discussion with Delcassé, expressed the hope that "*in Bucharest, they will find a solution*

---

[34] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 539, p. 581. Pichon to Delcassé, August 5, 1913.

[35] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 552, p. 592. Delcassé to Pichon, August 6, 1913.

[36] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 550, p. 590. Descos to Pichon, August 6, 1913.

[37] *British Documents on the Origins of the War (1898-1914)*, 11 volumes in 13 tomes, London, 1926-1938 (it will be cited *B.D.O.W.*), 9th vol., 2nd part, doc. no. 1200, p. 953. Sir G. Barclay to Sir Edward Grey, August 5, 1913.

[38] *Ibidem*, doc. no. 1210, p. 961. Sir G. Barclay to Sir Edward Grey, August 7, 1913.

that will prevent resuming the hostilities. As to Kavala issue, it still remains the black point, but it can be dissipated". In total contradiction with everything that various diplomatic representatives of Italy had asserted so far, Carlotti declared that "Italy has not yet taken a position on this issue". Perhaps it was a way to dissociate into a more *"elegant"* way the point of view that Rome had backed up so far, obviously for other reasons, just like Petersburg.

Commenting on the Italian ambassador's answer, in a discussion with Delcassé, Sazonov said that *"this change is the result of the German pressure".[39]*

REFERENCES

British Documents on the Origins of the War (1898-1914), 11 volumes in 13 tomes, London, 1926-1938 (it will be cited **B.D.O.W.)**, 9th vol., 2nd part, doc. no. 1200, Sir G. Barclay to Sir Edward Grey, August 5, 1913.

D.D.F., 3 e série, tome VII, doc. no. 494, Boppe to Pichon, 29 July 1913.

D.D.F., 3 e série, tome VII, doc. no. 499, Blondel to Pichon, July, 30 1913.

D.D.F., 3 e série, tome VII, doc. no. 553, p. 592-59Delcassé to Pichon, August 6, 1913.

D.D.F., doc. no. 485, Blondel to Pichon, July 28, 1913.

D.D.F., doc. no. 509, p. 552. Jules Cambon to Pichon, August 1, 1913.

Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette. 1871-1914. Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin, 1922-1926, vol. 35, doc. no. 13696. It will be cited **G.P.**

Documents diplomatiques français (1871-1914), Paris, 1929-1959, 3e série, tome VII, doc. nr. 483, Blondel to Pichon, 28 July 1913. It will be cited D.D.F.

G.P., vol. 35, doc. no. 13606. Aide-mémoire sent to the German government by the Lord Granville, 28 July 1913.

The Green Book, in vol. Maiorescu, Titu, ***Romania, the Balkan Wars and the Cadrilater***, volume published by Stelian Neagoe, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995,It will be cited the Green Book.

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

---

[39] **D.D.F.**, 3 e série, tome VII, doc. no. 553, p. 592-593. Delcassé to Pichon, August 6, 1913.

NON-REFOULEMENT, INTERCEPTION AND PUSH-BACK POLICIES

Martina Federica Manfredi*

martina.manfredi11@gmail.com

Abstract: The obligation of non-refoulement is found in Art. 33 of the Convention on the Status of Refugees; it binds states with an obligation to restrain from returning a refugee to a state where his life or freedom might be threatened. Therefore, any thinkable act and form of return, expulsion and extradition, by both judicial and administrative authorities, is prohibited. The principle of non-refoulement is one of the key principles in international refugee law, and it reflects the efforts of the international community to ensure that everyone enjoy human rights; however, it is sometimes overlooked in an attempt to adopt "push-back" policies against refugees.

Keywords: non-refoulement, immigration, refugees, human rights, torture, return.

The obligation of non-refoulement is found in Art. 33 of the Convention on the Status of Refugees:

No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, member- ship of a particular social group or political opinion.

The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.[1]

As we can see, this article binds the states with an obligation to restrain from returning a refugee to a state where his life or freedom might be threatened. Once the refugee is inside State territory, said State may not return a refugee *in any manner whatsoever;* this expression, in my opinion, refers to any possible instance of *refoulement*, especially when not submitted to a formal procedure. The consequence of this formulation is that any thinkable act and form of return, expulsion and extradition, by both judicial and administrative authorities, is prohibited.[2]

---

* **Holds a degree in international law from the University of Milan-Bicocca. She is currently working on research in the field of immigration and corporate social responsibility with the same university.**

[1] United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees, Art. 33.

[2] GAMMELTOFT HANSEN, *Access to Asylum – International Refugee Law and the Globalisation of Migration Control*, 2011, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

The formulation of Art. 33, as it is, implies that a physical presence in the State is necessary for the *non-refoulement* policy.

Sometimes this is not possible, as States adopt interception tactics to stop refugees before their arrival at the border. Refugees, however, should have the possibility to present an application and in order to do this they must somehow be disembarked; this is not possible if State authorities on the high seas adopt interception methods. The question of whether the obligations to protect human rights have an extraterritorial application must therefore be examined. The interpretation that must be given is the most favourable possible; therefore, we must interpret jurisdiction as wherever a State agent can act. Jurisdiction must be considered any place in which a State agent is present, either on the high seas, inside State territory, or even in a foreign country. Consequently, the convention applies beyond State territory and the agent of the State has an obligation to respect human rights. The European Court of Human Rights with some hesitation has accepted this principle.

In 1989, the representative of the United States in front of the Executive Committee stated that, while the United States regularly adopted the principle of *non-refoulement,* he did not feel that by doing so the United States applied an existing principle of international law.[3] The US Supreme Court in the 1993 Sale v. Haitian Centers Council case confirmed this position. The case concerned the interception of Haitian boat vessels in international waters by the US Coast Guard; these vessels were then returned to Haiti without determining whether or not the people on board qualified as refugees. The Supreme Court held that, since a refugee on the high seas is in no country, the application of the principle of *non-refoulement* would be an anomaly:

If Article 33.1 applied on the high seas, Article 33.2 would create an absurd anomaly: Dangerous aliens in extraterritorial waters would be entitled to 33.1's benefits because they would not be in any "country" under 33.2, while dangerous aliens residing in the country that sought to expel them would not be so entitled. It is more reasonable to assume that 33.2's coverage was limited to those already in the country, because it was understood that 33.1 obligated the signatory state only with respect to aliens within its territory.[4]

Justice Blackmun however does not share this interpretation. In his dissenting opinion, he states the following:

The terms are unambiguous. Vulnerable refugees shall not be returned. The language is clear, and the command is straightforward; that should be the end of the inquiry. Indeed, until litigation ensued, see Haitian Refugee Center v. Gracey, 257 U.S. App. D.C. 367, 809 F.2d 794 (1987), the Government consistently acknowledged that the Convention applied on the high seas.[5]

---

[3] Statement by the US representative before Ex Com, 15 November 1989.

[4] United States Supreme Court, *Sale v. Haitian Centers Council,* INC., 21 June 1993, *available at http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=509&invol=155*

[5] *ibid.*

Aside from the fact that the Haitians were nearly upon the initial threshold of entry, Justice Blackmun adds:

Non-return is the rule; the sole exception (neither applicable nor invoked here) is that a nation endangered by a refugee's very presence may "expel or return" him to an unsafe country if it chooses. The tautological observation that only a refugee already in a country can pose a danger to the country "in which he is" proves nothing.[6]

Justice Blackmun's opinion is very much in favour of the Haitian refugees and reveals an incredibly modern way of thinking; however it could be argued that Art. 33.2 applies only to refugees actually present in State territory either because real danger could only be posed by a refugee inside the country (although Justice Blackmun argues the exact opposite) or because situations involving extraterritorial interception were not foreseen.[7]

The Supreme Court also held that Art.33, para.1 does not prohibit the return of migrants to other states without giving them the possibility of presenting application for asylum. The obligation of non-return only applies to people who present themselves at the land border; if they are intercepted before reaching the border, they can apparently be sent back.

The text of Article 33 thus fits with Judge Edwards' understanding "that expulsion" would refer to a "refugee already admitted into a country," and that "return" would refer to a "refugee already within the territory, but not yet resident there." Thus, the Protocol was not intended to govern parties' conduct outside of their national borders." Haitian Refugee Center v. Gracey, 257 U.S. App. D.C., at 413, 809 F.2d, at 840 (footnotes omitted). From the time of the Convention, commentators have consistently agreed with this view.[8]

The Supreme Court then proceeded to analyse the *travaux preparatoires.*

In early drafts of the Convention, what finally emerged as Article 33 was numbered 28. At a negotiating conference of plenipotentiaries held in Geneva, Switzerland, on July 11, 1951, the Swiss delegate explained his understanding that the words "expel" and "return" covered only refugees who had entered the host country.

Mr. ZUTTER (Switzerland) said that the Swiss Federal Government saw no reason why article 28 should not be adopted as it stood; for the article was a necessary one. He thought, however, that its wording left room for various interpretations, particularly as to the meaning to be attached to the words "expel" and "return." In the Swiss Government's view, the term "expulsion" applied to a refugee who had already been admitted to the territory of a country. The term "refoulement," on the other hand, had a vaguer meaning; it could not, however, be applied to a refugee who had not yet entered the territory of a country. The word "return," used in the English text, gave that idea exactly. Yet article 28 implied the existence of two categories of refugee: refugees who were

---

[6] *ibid.*

[7] GAMMELTOFT HANSEN, *op.cit.,*

[8] *Unites States Supreme Court, Sale v. Haitian Centers Council.*

liable to be expelled, and those who were liable to be returned. In any case, the States represented at the Conference should take a definite position with regard to the meaning to be attached to the word "return." The Swiss Government considered that in the present instance, the word applied solely to refugees who had already entered a country, but were not yet resident there. According to that interpretation, States were not compelled to allow large groups of persons claiming refugee status to cross its frontiers. He would be glad to know whether the States represented at the Conference accepted his interpretations of the two terms in question. If they did, Switzerland would be willing to accept article 28, which was one of the articles in respect of which States could not, under article 36 of the draft Convention, enter a reservation.[9]

The representatives of Germany, Italy, Sweden and the Netherlands had then agreed with the Swiss position mainly because they were profoundly unwilling to accept any legal obligations in respect of large groups of refugees seeking access to its territory. The Supreme Court then concluded that:

At one time, there was a "general consensus," and in July of 1951, several delegates understood the right of non-refoulement to apply only to aliens physically present in the host country. There is no record of any later disagreement with that position.

Therefore, even if we believed that Executive Order 12807 violated the intent of some signatory states to protect all aliens, wherever they might be found, from being transported to potential oppressors, we must acknowledge that other signatory states carefully - and successfully - sought to avoid just that implication. The negotiating history, which suggests that the Convention's limited reach resulted from a deliberate bargain, is not dispositive, but it solidly supports our reluctance to interpret Article 33 to impose obligations on the contracting parties that are broader than the text commands. We do not read that text to apply to aliens interdicted on the high seas.[10]

This doubtful interpretation is completely in contrast with the definition of refugees. The fact that this interpretation was held on the basis of the *travaux preparatoires* is in direct contradiction with the 1969 Convention on the Law of Treaties, which classifies the *travaux preparatoires* as a supplementary means of interpretation of treaties[11], after ordinary means (such as the literary criterion and the teleological interpretation). In any case, when in doubt, the most favourable interpretation for the victims must be chosen and it is evident that the United States Supreme Court went in the exact opposite direction.

Justice Blackmun's, in his very strong dissenting opinion, states that:

The refugees attempting to escape from Haiti do not claim a right of admission to this country. They do not even argue that the Government has no right to intercept their boats. They demand only that the United

---

[9] *ibid.*
[10] *ibid.*
[11] Convention on the Law of Treaties, 23 May 1969, Vienna, Art. 32, available at *http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/1_1_1969.pdf*

States, land of refugees and guardian of freedom, cease forcibly driving them back to detention, abuse, and death. That is a modest plea, vindicated by the treaty and the statute. We should not close our ears to it.[12]

According to Justice Blackmun, the refugees were simply hoping to be able to present an application in order not to be persecuted and not to be sent back over and over again.

The consideration of *from* where the refugees are sent back is completely irrelevant; what must be considered is the State where the refugee will be sent *to*. It is true that Art. 33 uses both the terms "expel" and "return" and while "return" considers the country of destination, "expel" is obviously related to the country of origin. However, it is the second provision that must be considered fundamental, as Art. 33 emphasizes the obligation of non-return when a refugee's life and freedom might be threatened (with obvious relation to his home country, or the country from which the refugee emigrated). As refugees must not be returned to the borders of any state where their life and freedom may be threatened, it is evident that push-back policies or interception activities would result in the very situation that Art. 33 is trying to avoid. Therefore, I believe that such activities must be considered in direct breach of Art. 33 if they result in a relocation of the refugee to a country where he or she risks persecution.

However, the fundamental point is to find out how States make use of what they perceive as gaps in the law, even though the prohibition of *non-refoulement* is a peremptory norm of international law and applies irrespective of the question whether or not a person is formally recognised as a refugee.[13]

Unfortunately, the principle of *non-refoulement* gives way to policies of non-entry,[14] as is very evident in cases such as Australia's refusal to allow the MV Tampa to enter its territorial waters:[15]

It cannot be doubted that a nation state has a sovereign power to exclude illegally entering aliens from its borders, and to legislate for this purpose: Robtelmes v Brennan (1906) 4 CLR 395 ("Robtelmes"); Attorney-General for Canada v Cain (1906) AC 547 ("Cain's Case"). It is said that, in this case, the people rescued by the MVTampa may be lawfully prevented from entering Australia in the exercise of this sovereign power, but not in exercise of power derived from legislation.[16]

Another relevant case occurred, once again, in Australia; in 2001, there was an amendment to the migration legislation[17] denominated the excision from migration zone. According to this amendment, certain islands have been cut off from the Australian territory[18]; the reason behind this change is that the migration legislation does not apply to those particular islands around Australia. The

---

[12] United States Supreme Court, *Sale v. Haitian Centers Council.*

[13] CORNELISSE, *Immigration Detention and Human Rights,* Leiden, 2010.

[14] *ibid.*

[15] Federal Court of Australia, *Ruddock v. Vardalis*, 18 September 2001, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3bb1cfdc6.pdf*

[16] *ibid.*

[17] Migration Amendment (Excision from Migration Zone) Bill, Act No. 127, 2001, available at *http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C2004A00887/Download*

[18] A map of the excision zone is available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3fd0b8c54.html*

amendment proceeds to specifically list the territories which are included in the excision zone:

Excised offshore place means any of the following:

1. (a) the Territory of Christmas Island;

2. (b) the Territory of Ashmore and Cartier Islands;

3. (c) the Territory of Cocos (Keeling) Islands;

4. (d) any other external Territory that is prescribed by the regulations for the purposes of this paragraph;

5. (e) any island that forms part of a State or Territory and is prescribed for the purposes of this paragraph;

6. (f) an Australian sea installation;

7. (g) an Australian resources installation.

Note: The effect of this definition is to excise the listed places and installations from the migration zone for the purposes of limiting the ability of offshore entry persons to make valid visa applications."[19]

The consequence of this amendment is that migrants can be rescued and brought to these islands where they are allowed to disembark but not to present application for asylum because the islands are outside Australian territory. These migrants are denominated *offshore entry persons:*

Offshore entry person means a person who:

8. (a) entered Australia at an excised offshore place after the excision time for that offshore place; and

9. (b) became an unlawful non-citizen because of that entry.[20]

As the previously listed islands are outside Australian territory, visas presented while in those territories are invalid.

An application for a visa is not a valid application if it is made by an offshore entry person who: (a) is in Australia; and (b) is an unlawful non-citizen.[21]

This amendment constitutes a very dubious interpretation of the principle of territorial jurisdiction, which borders on barely legal.

The UNHCR Executive Committee has passed a number of conclusions concerning *non-refoulement* and its interpretation. Some merely wish to reaffirm the importance of the *non-refoulement* principle, noting the cases in which this principle has been respected and applied even in difficult conditions and expressing concern over the consequences of *refoulement*:

Noted with satisfaction that many States in different areas of the world – and in particular in developing countries faced with serious economic problems – have continued to apply recognized international humanitarian standards for the treatment of refugees and to respect the principle of non-refoulement.[22]

---

[19] Migration Amendment (Excision from Migration Zone),1 Subsection 5(1)

[20] *ibid,* 3 Subsection 5(1).

[21] *ibid*, 4, 46A

[22] UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion No. 29 (XXXIV), 1983, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

Reaffirmed the essential need for the humanitarian legal principle of non-refoulement to be scrupulously observed in all situations of large-scale influx;[23]

Expressed deep concern that refugee protection is seriously jeopardized in some States by expulsion and refoulement of refugees or by measures which do not recognize the special situation of refugees and called on all States to refrain from taking such measures and in particular from returning or expelling refugees contrary to fundamental prohibitions against these practices.[24]

Strongly deplores the continuing incidence and often tragic humanitarian consequences of refoulement in all its forms, including through summary removals, occasionally en masse, and reiterates in this regard the need to admit refugees to the territory of States, which includes no rejection at frontiers without access to fair and effective procedures for determining their status and protection needs.[25]

One particular resolution emphasizes the importance of registration for refugees once they have entered the State:

(a) Acknowledges the importance of registration as a tool of protection, including protection against refoulement, protection against forcible recruitment, protection of access to basic rights, family reunification of refugees and identification of those in need of special assistance, and as a means to enable the quantification and assessment of needs and to implement appropriate durable solutions.[26]

The importance of the principle of *non-refoulement* is then extended to people who are outside of their country of origin but might not qualify as refugee under any of the leading international agreements:

Relevant international treaty obligations, where applicable, prohibiting refoulement represent important protection tools to address the protection needs of persons who are outside their country of origin and who may be of concern to UNHCR but who may not fulfil the refugee definition under the 1951 Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol.[27]

Concerning the rejection of refugees at the border, Conclusion no.15 (XXX), 1979, recommends that:

... where an asylum seeker addresses himself in the first instance to a frontier authority the latter should not reject his application without reference to a central authority.[28]

---

[23] UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion No. 19 (XXXI), 1980, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

[24] UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 55 (XL), 1989, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

[25] UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 85 (XLIX), 1998, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

[26] UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 91 (LII), 2001, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

[27] UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 103 (LVI), 2005, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

[28] UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 15 (XXX), 1979

The effort to allow asylum seekers to enter in direct contact with a central authority is evident; unfortunately, this doesn't happen often as frontier authorities often adopt the practice of returning refugees without even considering the applications.

The UNHCR stated that, as a general rule, refugees should be granted a provisional access in order to present the application and have it examined under fair conditions; this would allow temporary refuge at least until the application is fully considered and a final decision is reached.

To ensure compliance with the principle of non-refoulement, appeals should, in principle, have suspensive effect, and the right to stay should be extended until a final decision is reached on the application.[29]

The UNHCR also underlines how every single refugee is different and how each case must be considered individually:

Each case should be considered in its entirety with regard to both 1951 Convention1 grounds and complementary/subsidiary protection needs. The circumstances that force people to flee their country are complex and often of a composite nature. (…) Basic procedural guarantees should apply equally to any request for international protection.[30]

Concerning the duration for decisions on asylum:

UNHCR notes the introduction of a desirable duration for decisions on asylum applications, and the possibility of prioritizing or accelerating the assessment of claims in first instance procedures. In this connection, the Office underlines the interest of all parties in ensuring efficient, as well as fair, asylum procedures.[31]

The High Commissioner confirmed that the principle of *non-refoulement* applies everywhere; it must be considered, absolutely central for the international refugee protection regime. It does not translate to the right to receive asylum but it is currently the closest provision enforceable but it must not be compromised by doubtfully legal practices such as interception and push-back policies.

REFERENCES

Convention on the Law of Treaties, 23 May 1969, Vienna, Art. 32, available at *http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/1_1_1969.pdf*

CORNELISSE, *Immigration Detention and Human Rights,* Leiden, 2010.

Federal Court of Australia, *Ruddock v. Vardalis*, 18 September 2001, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3bb1cfdc6.pdf*

GAMMELTOFT HANSEN*, Access to Asylum – International Refugee Law and the Globalisation of Migration Control*, 2011, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

---

[29] UNHCR's Provisional Observations on the Proposal for a Council Directive on Minimum Standards on Procedures in Member States for Granting and Withdrawing Refugee Status, 9 November 2004, Comment on Art. 6(1), available at
http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/42492b302.pdf
[30] *ibid*, Comment on Art. 1.
[31] *ibid*, Comment on Art 23 (2) to (4).

Migration Amendment (Excision from Migration Zone) Bill, Act No. 127, 2001, available at

http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C2004A00887/Download

Statement by the US representative before Ex Com, 15 November 1989.

UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 15 (XXX), 1979

UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion No. 19 (XXXI), 1980, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion No. 29 (XXXIV), 1983, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 55 (XL), 1989, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 85 (XLIX), 1998, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 91 (LII), 2001, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

UNHCR Executive Commission, Conclusion, No. 103 (LVI), 2005, available at *http://www.unhcr.org/3d4ab3ff2.html*

UNHCR's Provisional Observations on the Proposal for a Council Directive on Minimum Standards on Procedures in Member States for Granting and Withdrawing Refugee Status, 9 November 2004, Comment on Art. 6(1), available at *http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/42492b302.pdf*

United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees.

United States Supreme Court, *Sale v. Haitian Centers Council,* INC., 21 June 1993*, available at*

http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=509&invol=155

THE MISSIONARY ACTIVITY - MEANS OF ACTION FOR THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Cristina Veronica Andreescu[*]

vyraene@yahoo.com

Abstract: The trait that defines the Byzantine diplomacy of the 6th-11th centuries is the missionary activity. Constantinople was in the twelfth century the most active center of the European diplomacy. Byzantium had a civilizing influence upon the barbaric states and the unity of the empire could be achieved by imprinting a common practicing of orthodoxy. The history of Byzantium represents a separate chapter in the European historiography, characterized by diversity and originality.

Keywords: Byzantium, missions, religion, diversity.

The distinctive feature of the Byzantine diplomacy of the 6th-11th centuries is represented by the missionary activity. The Christian propaganda was associated with the conquests, as Charles Diehl recalled that "to the extent that the missionary was a collaborator of the soldier, he was also a partner of the diplomat."[1] The priest was the one who opened the way for politicians, along with the merchant, whose aim was to keep an eye on the action field of the chancery. Between the 9th-10th centuries, the Byzantine missionary activities were highly successful, turning more people to Christianity. Much of the work of Christianization is a result of brothers Cyril and Methodius activity. In the 7th century the Slavs were to be found in the old Roman provinces that they had previously devastated: Illyricum, Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia, coming soon under the influence of Byzantium. Cyril imagined the first Slavic alphabet for the Slavs and translated into the Macedonian Slav dialect, the Gospels and liturgical texts

This diplomacy had its benefits because, first of all, it brought soldiers and second of all, these vassals formed a protecting line against the invasion. The Emperor also secured important treaties, such as those with Venice, the Croats, the Pechenegs and the Armenians. Following these treaties, Constantinople was in the twelfth century, the most active center of the European diplomacy.

These relationships that the Byzantine Empire had with various foreign countries led to two important consequences: firstly, many foreigners came to Byzantium (soldiers, merchants, travelers and pilgrims) and remained a fairly long time, as to be influenced to some extent by the grandeur and prosperity of this civilization; and secondly, by means of the missionary activity, Byzantium had

---

[*] **Lecturer PhD., 'Carol Davila' University of Medicine and Pharmacy, The Faculty of Medicine, Bucharest.**
[1] Charles Diehl, *Bizanț, Growth and Decay,* National Publishing House, Ciornei, 1940, p. 76.

a civilizing influence upon the barbaric states. The favor offered by the Byzantine diplomacy to the East is highlighted by Charles Diehl: "by its action, it created in the East at least a form of common thinking and feeling, that for the Eastern and Slavic world was what for the Western and German world was Rome."[2]

The unity of the empire could be achieved by imprinting a common brand of foreign elements and by the common practicing of orthodoxy.

In Byzantium there operated a political principle of not bullying the losers. This did not mean that segments of peoples have not been moved from one region to another, and in their place there were placed Greek colonies, whose function was to support the Hellenism.

"Byzantium had generals of Armenian, Persian or Slavic origin; Italians, Bulgarians, Armenians officials; ministers who were converted Arabs or Turks. In this cosmopolitan empire, Greek was the common language for all these foreigners that everyone could understand; and speaking the same language, imperceptibly, all were taking habits and ways of living and of common thinking and were marked with the same seal."[3]

The discordant elements that made up the empire could be brought together by professing a common religion. This is where the religious propaganda intervenes, being active within the empire and beyond its boarders. Byzantium evangelizes and conquers the Slavs in Macedonia, the Arabs in Crete or the Turks from Vardar. It is therefore clearly the importance of the religious connection in the Oriental world, where one can bring into discussion a duality religion-nationality, knowing that the Orthodoxy assumed the role of national unity in the Byzantine state. It was an attempt to transform the *pax Romana* into *pax Christiana* and to fit the foreign policy of the Empire to the work of the Byzantine Church. The Eastern European countries have benefited from the Orthodox Christian tradition of Byzantium, influence that has manifested in three important coordinates: the hermit life, still ardently practiced on Mount Athos, Lavra, a monastic congregation, an intermediate model between the hermit system and community one of monastic life and the coenobitical monasteries (a Greek word from *Kioinobion*, denoting living together) that assumed the existence of organized and centralized communities, with identical discipline and single administration assumed by an abbot.

During the time of Patriarch Photios, several Christian missions strengthened the cultural and political influence of the Byzantium in the Balkans, as well as in Russia and Central Europe. Between the years 862-863, Rastislav, Prince of Moravia, addressed the Byzantines for sending priests. The Prince desire was to establish an independent Church, which could offer an opening to Christianity that provided the detachment from the political influence of the Franks, Bavarians or Bulgarians. The Byzantine mission in Moravia was led by Constantine-Cyril, joined by his brother Methodius. The two arrived in Moravia in 863, their missionary work was a great success due to the introduction of the Slavic language in worship, especially since in theory, only three languages were

---

[2] Ibidem, p. 80.
[3] Ibidem, p. 96.

accepted for religion: Greek, Latin and Hebrew. These languages of worship were called by Constantine "the heresy of the three languages." This denomination will be also adopted by his disciples to describe the views of the opponents, focusing on the concept that all languages may be able to transmit the faith in God. "In support of his position, he cited the fourteenth chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. The verses that follow were to offer arms to his disciples to defend the right of the Slavonic liturgy: "He that speaketh in a tongue, edifieth himself: but he that prophesieth, edifieth the church.... For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle So likewise you, except you utter by the tongue plain speech, how shall it be known what is said? For you shall be speaking into the air. There are, for example, so many kinds of tongues in this world; and none is without voice. For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is without fruit. But in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I may instruct others also; than ten thousand words in a tongue."[4]

The same aim to form an independent church was also the desire of the Bulgarian Khan Boris (852-889), who accepted the conversion to Christianity in 864 and was baptized in Constantinople, calling himself Michael, by the emperor's name. The Bulgarian diocese was disputed by Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photios, conflict which ended in 870 when the fate of Bulgaria remained closely linked to the Byzantine Orthodoxy and the Bulgarian archbishop was appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, occupying a prominent place in the Byzantine hierarchy.

In the early tenth century, Byzantium succeeds in the Christianization of the Alans with the help of the Byzantine monk, Euthymius, Christianization which strengthens the position of the Orthodoxy in the area. The same also century represents the Christianization of other two peoples: the Hungarians and the Russians. The Hungarians were converted in Constantinople, and the Russians, like the Bulgarians, also had the choice between the old and the new Rome, and the choice turned to the Byzantine Orthodoxy. Between 989 and 997, the episcopate of Kiev became the mitropoly that depended on Constantinople; the clergy were generally sent to Constantinople, which allowed the non-involvement of the Kyiv seat in the battles from the Imperial Court. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453), the Russian capital, Moscow, was the one who received the name of "The Third Rome", managing to keep the fight for Christianity started by the old Byzantium.

In his book, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, Dimitry Obolensky states the close contact between Byzantium and the East Central Europe, setting the historical time for the contacts. The first period corresponds to the time between 500 and 650, which was dominated by the settlement of the Avars in Pannonia. The second period, which spans over the last four decades of the ninth century, is characterized by the missions of Constantine and Methodius in Moravia. The last period which comprised the period 900-1200, engaged the relations between the Byzantium and the Magyars.

---

[4] Dimitri Obolensky, *Un Commonwealth medieval (A Medieval Commonwealth): Byzantium*, Corint Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002, p. 162.

"The image that the Byzantium had in the eyes of the others should not be considered exclusively in terms of the politico-diplomatic and military contacts, since it had left Europe a colossal cultural heritage. The entire Roman law, systematized as a great legal corpus in the time of Justinian became subject in the Western universities and was the argumentative armor of the Western Empire in its dispute with the Pontificate. After the fall of Constantinople, a good part of the Byzantine intellectual elite fled to Western Europe, bringing a new breath to the humanist movement found at its peak. Scholars such as Bessarion, who had become cardinal after the failure of the religious union from Florence, brought a whole cultural heritage consisting of priceless manuscripts, which were the basis of prestigious libraries. In this context, scholars of the Italian Renaissance, like Marsilio Ficino or Lorenzo Valla have revived the classical studies translating, for the first time in the West, the ancient Greek works of antiquity directly from the language in which they were written. Moreover, by means of the interpretations of some scholars like the Neoplatonic Georgios Gemistos Plethon, the ancient ideation was associated to the intellectual movement that animated the final period of the Byzantine history."[5]

The Byzantine painting had also found a very suitable land in the rich Moldavia, whose rulers aspired to rule the country after the memory left by the Basileuses, dressed according to the Greek fashion and having around them Greek officers and artists. The Moldavian churches being narrow and dark, the frescoes were extended on the exterior walls, where they played an instructive role, comparable with the Armenia carved facades from Vladimir and the Roman lands.

The religious painting of Byzantine influence remained in Romania under different aspects till 1850, when it succumbed to the art of Western origin.

Lacking the support that it had found in the intellectual and political structures of the Byzantine State, as well as the generosity of the kings and the aristocracy, the Byzantine art declined during the eighteenth century and could no longer withstand the "naturalistic" pressure coming from the West. Eventually, it was reduced largely to a stereotypical illustration of the religious precepts.

The Serbian Annals were known to us very soon after their composition. They have circulated in the Romanian Countries, the proof being the execution of copies of these writings by the Romanians. And not only that, but they were used together with the historical writings belonging to the Byzantine literature as a literary model for the first creations of Romanian historiography. One can say that our cultural beginnings lie under the influence of the Byzantine literature. Demostene Russo in his book, *Hellenism in Romania*, published in 1912 states: "The one who says slavism, says byzantinism"[6], a pretty powerful statement and a little too general. However, the assuming of some patterns of Byzantium, through the Slavic Orthodoxy branch is a sure thing. The Slavonic coating reveals inside a Romanian thinking with Byzantine influences.

---

[5] Ion Toderașcu, Bogdan-Petru Maleon, *The History of Byzantium*, Al.I. Cuza University, Iași, 2009, p. 7.
[6] Demostene Russo, *Hellenism in Romania*, Bucharest, 1912, p. 25 apud Dan Horia Mazilu, *Re-reading the old Romanian Literature, 1st vol.,* Bucharest University Publishing House, Bucharest, 1994, p. 23.

The founders of the Romanian principalities have initiated connections with Byzantium, either on religious grounds or political ones. Many documents confirm the support granted by the Romanian princes to the monasteries of the Holy Mountain. Alexandru Basarab and his son, Vlaicu Voda, have rebuilt the Cutlumuş monastery. A great benefactor of the monastery was also Neagoe Basarab, which is why at the sanctification of the Curtea de Argeş Monastery, founded by this prince, all the abbots of Athos attended.

The evolution of the medieval Europe is differently understood if one takes into account the testimonies of Byzantium, of a city witness of the events that have shaped the course of history forever. Its borders that made possible the interactions with other nations and the Byzantine diplomacy were essential in shaping the image of an integrated state in the history of peoples who have left an impressive documentary legacy. This legacy was also a condition that facilitated the beginning of the history for the Slavic peoples. The Byzantine history also means turning to the values of the classical antiquity as through the Byzantine culture manuscripts of ancient writers, be they Greek or Latin, were brought to light once again.

"Posterity is more grateful to the Byzantine literature for its conservative action than for its creations. The obligation that we have to it is due both to its original results as well as to the love with which it preserved the treasures of the classical antiquity and the classical tradition in philosophy, method and research".[7]

From the Byzantine historiography irradiated influences on the medieval and modern European culture. The period from Constantine the Great to Justinian is an historic space for intellectuals, who saved the manuscripts of the Greek and Roman antiquity, the Empire State organizing *a state scriptorium*. These values were submitted to the Latin West and participated in the affirmation of the great currents of the European culture. The Greek-Slavic and Romanian cultures were born through the intake of the Byzantine paradigm that has made its mark on the entire East.

The Byzantine culture meant the contribution of three elements: the Hellenism, the Roman character, Christianity to which the Eastern part associated a function in defining the historical culture of the Byzantium.

Some important figures are Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (905-959), during his reign Joseph Genesius wrote *On the reigns of the Emperors* in four books. But the most important historian was Michael Psellos with his *Chronographia* covering the years 976-1077 and who wrote in the spirit of the historian that provided the facts faithfully, but not outside the Byzantine rhetoric spirit, followed by other authors as George Cedrenus or John Zonaras.

Anna Komnene (1081-1118), the Byzantine chronograph, was a brilliant author of the Middle Ages through her work, *Alexiad* written in 15 books. The work is well informed and represents an important milestone in the evolution of the Byzantine historiography and literature. In the *Alexiad*, Anna presents the

---

[7] Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople,* The Encyclopedic Publishing, House, Bucharest, 1991, p. 58.

history of the political relations and wars between Alexius I and the Western countries. She describes in detail the weapons and tactics used in the battles. Although subjective, the story of the First Crusade is of a great value for the history, being the only existing Byzantine eyewitness writing, trying to revive a world and a personality. An enthusiastic admirer of the Byzantine Empire, Anna considered the Crusades dangerous both politically and religiously speaking. The book also contributes to the understanding of the feminine mentality and perception in the Byzantium time. There are general ideas about the beauty of history, the value of truth, the objectivity of the historical writing or the educational function of history.

The Byzantine historians thought that the Antiquity must be learned and its writing must be imitated and processed, the ancient model being assumed also stylistically, which meant the translation of quotes, sayings, phrases, allegories, comparisons, mythological allusions. In general, the Byzantine historians expose in their prefaces their conception of history, which is tributary to the great historians such as Thucydides, Polybios, Diodorus of Sicily.

On the Romanian territory spiritual and material influences came from Byzantium, Bulgaria, Serbia, and the Dalmatian world through "cultural corridors" (name used by Razvan Theodorescu). The two important "corridors" were the first one that started from the parts of Macedonia and Serbia and ended the Hungarian plain, and the second one started in the vicinity of the Bosphorus, and ended in the Pontic steppe and in the South-West of Russia. Of their importance, Razvan Theodorescu notes that "they were culturally neither rigid nor tight, the movement of people, goods and ideas between them being current, and their interferences all but rare."[8]

The administrative organization of the Byzantine Empire preserved the Roman organization as a model. In the time of Justinian, Latin was the official language of the government and the national language.

"Nowhere in the world of the Middle Ages was the ancient tradition preserved more than in Byzantium; nowhere did the contact with the Hellenism maintain better. Politically, the Byzantine Empire could claim Rome and proclaim its heir; intellectually, it engaged with all its roots in the fertile soil of the ancient Greece. It convened under its authority, all the Hellenism glorious capitals - Athens, Alexandria, Antioch and Byzantium itself, its capital, that was, in essence, a Greek city. The populations of the monarchy were, for the most part Greek, or at least of a Hellenized race. Most of them spoke Greek, and so they together had a more nimble intelligence and a greater taste of the masterpieces of the ancient literature."[9]

About the contact between the Byzantium and the Romanian countries, Dimitri Obolensky outlines the three reasons that have made the intersection of the two cultural levels possible and not just at one point in history. The first is related to trade, the second to the ambition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to

---

[8] Răzvan Theodorescu, *Bizanț, Balcani, Byzantium, Balkans, the West at the beginning of the Romanian Medieval Culture 10th- 14th centuries,* the Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1974, pp. 346-348.
[9] Charles Diehl, *Bizanț, Growth and Decay,* National Publishing House, Ciornei, 1940, p. 307.

spread its hegemony in the Eastern Europe (by creating the two Mitropolies "Wallachia" and the "Moldovlahia" and from which both they had won party, the Byzantium continuing its authority and the Romanian countries by winning a status comparable to the other states) and the third and most important one is related to the interest for the military aspect (Byzantines wanted to save the capital from the Turks threat, and any help and influence upon Transylvania for its participation in crusades were welcome).

The Slavs mediators helped a lot in the transmission of the Byzantine culture and literature, but at the same time they can not be granted the major role. Direct contacts with Athos have existed, thus passing through the South Slavic branch and a good example is represented by the founding of the Metropolitan Churches in Wallachia in 1359 and in Moldavia in 1401 that have been done "by the inner longing, but not without the incentives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople."[10]

REFERENCES

Cantacuzino, George Matei, (1977), *Springs and Halts,* Bucharest, Eminescu Publishing House.

Diehl, Charles, (1940), *Bizanț, Growth and Decay,* Ciornei, National Publishing House.

Mazilu, Dan Horia, (1994), *Re-reading the Old Romanian Literature, 1st vol.,* Bucharest University Publishing House.

Obolensky, Dimitri, (2002)*, A Medieval Commonwealth: Byzantium,* Bucharest, Corint Publishing House.

Runciman, Steven, (1991), *The Fall of Constantinople*, Bucharest, The Encyclopedic Publishing House.

Theodorescu, Răzvan, (1974), *Byzantium, Balkans, the West at the Beginning of the Romanian Medieval Culture, 10th-14th centuries,* Bucharest, the Academy Publishing House.

Toderaşcu, Ion; Maleon, Bogdan-Petru, (2009), *The History of Byzantium,* Iași, Al.I. Cuza University.

---

[10] Dan Horia Mazilu, *Re-reading the old Romanian Literature, 1st vol.,* Bucharest University Publishing House, Bucharest, 1994, p.25.

THE CRISIS OF EUROPEAN WESTERN CIVILISATION AND THE RISK OF A NEW "MORAL WANDERING"

Dan Mihalache*

dan.mihalache@senat.ro

Abstract: In this brief study, the author aims analyse the modern history of continental Europe in order to identify the steps that led to the emergence of democratic regimes and the risks that they face today. The research hypothesis is that great historical cycles are followed by periods of great social and political unrest that may lead to violent revolutionary movements. French Revolution of 1789, the Great Bolshevik Revolution of September 1917, or the rise of national-socialist fascist regimes in Europe are clear examples that confirm this hypothesis. In what regards the contemporary age, the author identified the crisis of the welfare state and international migration as the major risks faced by democratic regimes. Nazi-based or fascist parties have emerged in many European countries, along with anti-European political movements which rise against migrants and make use of xenophobic and anti-Semitic discourse.

Keywords: historical cycles, democracy, totalitarianism, welfare state, extremism, economic crises.

Introduction

In human history, major social and economic[1] cycles have always been followed by political crises. To mention only the realities of the past two and a half centuries, we see that the rejection of feudal values and economic models led to the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789[2]. The physical violence used for the extermination of political opponents in France created a model that aimed to produce major changes in society and within the state, in order to impose modernization through a major rift within society. The adoption of the Revolution's programmatic document, titled "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" (on 26 August 1789)[3] reflected the emergence of democratic regimes in continental Europe at the political level, and the victory of the bourgeoisie at the economic level. The new societal model imposed by the bourgeoisie, called capitalism, changed the rules within a European society which had been legitimized for ages by the concept of *status*[4]. The concept of "subject"

---

* **Lecturer PhD., Faculty of Political Science, "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest.**

[1] See Francisco Louça, "Nikolai Kondratiev and the Early Consensus and Dissensions about History and Statistics", *History of Political Economy*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1999, pp. 169-205.

[2] See François Furet, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992 and Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000.

[3] See http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Declara%C8%9Bia_Drepturilor_Omului_%C8%99i_ale_ Cet%C4%83 %C8%9 Beanului (accessed on 10.03.2014).

[4] Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, 2nd vol., 1968, pp. 926-938.

specific to antiquity and the feudal era[5], in which the individual had no rights but only obligations, was replaced by a "social contract"[6]. This "contract" introduced for the first time in human history the concept of citizen (i.e. holder of rights and obligations). The relationship between the individual and the state changed, in the sense that another concept soon emerged, namely "individual rights". The four basic concepts of the ideological movement called liberalism, which transformed the individual's status from subject to citizen were: a) individual freedoms; b) private property; c) individual responsibility; and d) equality before the law.[7]

The political sources of modern crises

In the late 18th century and early the 19th century, as a result of the major changes that occurred in various parts of Europe, national state model began to take shape. It was a major change of paradigm, since the "classic" paragon of the Empire (seen as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state), which had shaped the expansion of powerful states ever since the Roman period, was slowly fading away. The concept of "nation state"[8] was the ideological element which inevitably led to the destruction of European empires, due to the pressure put on them by national elites. From the great political, economic, and social disaster represented by the French Revolution of 1789 and up to the onset of World War I, the European society managed to find an inner balance also known in history by the name of "Belle Époque".

These cycles show that, instinctively, human society prefers order rather than upheavals and uncertainty. However, returning to the initial statement, according to which the end of major historical cycles is followed by the emergence of particularly violent social movements, we see that the outbreak of World War took place on a background in which the model of prosperity promised to citizens by the capitalist model was blocked. Colonial policy inevitably produced adversity between modern states, and this, in turn, led to the outbreak of many wars. However, it is clear that for the second time in human history, the Western European society was compelled to transform; this time, the limitations imposed by a different kind of *class* - based exclusively on economic grounds[9], and with bourgeois roots - are removed. The classic expression of this society is the limitation of political rights, especially of the most important political right, the right to vote and to run for elections. Censitary suffrage, which had been the reference model in the pre-war electoral system, had divided the European society into different categories depending on the level of one's wealth. At the economic level, social polarizations were theorised by Marx[10] and the representatives of the

---

[5] Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Man*, Polirom Publishing House, Iaşi, 1999.

[6] For more details see J.J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Mondero Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007.

[7] *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism*, ed. Ronald Hamowy, Los Angeles, Sage Publications, 2008, http://www.libertarianismo.org/livros/rhteol.pdf (accessed 10.03.2014).

[8] See the definition that Max Weber gave to the nation-state: "a political enterprise institutional in nature" who has monopoly over "legitimate physical force" in Max Weber, Economie et Société, I, Paris, Plon, 1971, p. 97.

[9] Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, cited works, pp. 926-938.

[10] For the classic theory of Marxism, see Karl Marx, *The Capital: political economy crisis,* the Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1955-1960.

Marxist school. At the beginning of the 20th century, the European society had changed due to the evolution and development of the capitalist regime; a new social category had developed, hitherto unknown in human history: the proletariat. If, according to Marxist theory, in 1789, the bourgeoisie was the new progressive class, which destroyed by violence the outdated and dusty old society and managed to impose its economic, social and political model, in the early 20th century, it was the proletariat who put pressure on society in order to balance social roles and to improve living standards.

Due to its peculiarities, World War I fostered the rise of a new kind of society, the "mass" society[11]. The masses, i.e. all the people who, for over a century had been discriminated against, both politically, because of censitary suffrage, and economically, because of gaps in wealth redistribution, put pressure on the political system and national power groups to win their natural rights. Where the link was the weakest, namely Tsarist Russia (as also shown by Lenin), the revolutionary anarchist and anti-system forces managed to destroy the state, according to the 1789 model. But the whirlpool of pressure put on by the anti-liberal elites did not impose bourgeois values. In the case of the Socialist Revolution of September 1917, the revolutionary forces destroyed the former elites[12], profoundly transformed society, but failed to impose the democratic values and regime[13]. The system was different, redistribution got expressed in an ideological key, at an ideal level, meaning that property as a whole belonged to the people, so, actually, to no-one. Concepts such as private property, individual liberty, or citizenship were removed and replaced with a totalitarian regime which governed on behalf of the people but without them.

The end of World War I resettled a large part of the European society, based on principles that were different from those promoted by the liberal bourgeoisie in 1789. As we have already said, the Bolshevik revolution in Tsarist Russia removed the democratic regime and all the elements which gave it legitimacy, and replaced them with an egalitarian and communitarian societal model.

Benedeto Croce and the concept of "moral wandering"
In the western area there is the example of the Italian society, which, after more than a century of modernization, also known under the name of "Il Risorgimento", preferred to accept the offer of a charismatic leader: Benito Mussolini. To a society which was sore and impoverished by the war, he offered the promise of social peace, provided that the regime of parliamentary democracy was removed[14]. Then, there is also the German case; a former corporal in the imperial Prussian army, Adolf Hitler, took hold of power by promoting a

---

[11] See the fundamental work of Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009.

[12] Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror. A Reassessment*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, pp.13-37.

[13] Richard Pipes, *A Short History of the Russian Revolution*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, pp.113-144.

[14] Renzo De Felice, Il fascismo. Le interpretazioni dei contemporanei e degli storici, *Laterza,* Bari, 1970.

programme in which social exclusion was legitimised by the racial factor[15]. We see that during the first part of the 20th century there developed three movements which, later on, were classified as authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, and whose main opponent was the democratic regime. But how was it possible for conservative, anti-democratic, and millenarian movements to take hold of political power and impose themselves for decades, while being based on the violation of fundamental human rights?

An explanation comes from one of the most important European theorists, Benedetto Croce. Although he focussed mainly on the Italian case, his analysis could be extrapolated to all the three societies (Italian, German, and Russian) which allowed for power to get into the hands of political powers, which, while pretending to free the people and remove inequalities, brought a social model based on the subject-master principle. The "master" in this case is nothing but the ruling political party (Bolshevik, fascist or national-socialist). And the subject is the citizen.

To answer a question that was constantly raised by the public opinion in democratic states, relative to the nature of fascism and the mechanism whereby it had been accepted by the Italians, Croce said that "...fascism was not the intention or the wish of just one class, being supported not only by a limited segment of the population, being an aberration of conscience, an act of civil discouragement and a lesson produced by the war..."[16], in which "... this deadly past regime (fascism, a.n.) was a sad parenthesis"[17].

Croce advised that this "parenthesis" be closed so that the future might develop[18]. Croce compared the totalitarian temptation with a "disease" which makes a healthy body get ill in order to corrupt it. Yet the Italian theorist added that this "microbe"[19] lurks in any society and it may produce "moral wandering and moral sickness"[20]. Italy, and, by extension, classic parliamentary democratic liberal regimes, were attacked by this microbe, and this led to "a lowering of the sense of freedom"[21]. The success and the support enjoyed by these regimes in a large part of the national body was explained by Croce by the fact that it manifested "worldwide", being an instance of "wandering" of humanity.

Croce's conclusion is that we may talk about a historical "parenthesis" which manifested within western civilisation and this is why it need be overcome.

Social peace and the capitalist state

The great crises of the capitalist model and of democratic regimes that occurred between the two world wars challenged the validity of bourgeois values. Soon after the end of World War II, the world's division according to ideological principles put new pressure on bourgeois-democratic regimes. Their answer was

---

[15] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Pacifica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993.

[16] Benedeto Croce, Scritti e discorsi politici (1943-1947), Bari, vol. I, 1976, p. 46.

[17] Idem, *Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915*, Laterza, Bari, 1977, p.VIII.

[18] Idem, „La liberta italiana nella liberta del mondo" in „Per la nuova vita dell'Italia", *Scritti e discorsi* 1943-1944, Ricardi, Napoli, 1944, p.56.

[19] Idem, „Ingenuita dei censori della storia", in *Quaderni della critica*, 1946, p.102.

[20] Enzo Erra, *Le radici del fascismo, una storia da riscrivere,* Edizioni Settimo Sigillo, Roma, 1998, p.27.

[21] Benedeto Croce, *Scritti e discorsi politici (1943-1947),* Bari vol. I, p.7, 56, vol. II, pp. 46, 357.

not only political (the onset of the Cold War) but also economic (the welfare state model). However, it is important to notice that this model of social development did not emerge in the 1950s but in the 19th century.[22]

The "social state" or the "social welfare state" refers to the active way whereby the state, through its institutions, gets involved in the economy and in society, out of the wish to provide its citizens with particular *material* protection, or, as it is also known, *social* protection. Social protection includes, first of all, *social security* (provided through insurance schemes), but also *social services*, which refer to various forms of material help provided to its most vulnerable citizens[23].

By successive policies, the governments of western states developed bilateral relations with unions, and the latter became partners in the process of public policy making, even though before World War II they had been seen as enemies of capitalism.

The new post-war political regimes understood that the capitalist regime had entered a new stage, in which it was no longer possible to maintain the former interwar employer/employee relationships. One of the major requests of ideologically leftist political movements was social in nature. The second level was ideological in nature and, following in Marx's footsteps, it wondered whether capitalism, seen as "man's exploitation by man", was able to survive within a democracy in which the system of universal suffrage could have brought to power far-left anti-system governments. The solution to the questions raised by these two levels came from the welfare state. Capital owners accepted the idea of providing minimal income, health and unemployment insurance, and a retirement system which could guarantee the preservation of the capitalist market economy. A share of the profit was redistributed, which allowed for new social programmes to be set in place.[24]

Successive reforms in the field of social protection allowed western societies to keep "social peace" throughout the cold war, up to its end in 1991, when the USSR dissolved.

The crisis of the welfare state and the resurgence of extremist movements

The crisis of the welfare state began in the 1970s, when the first oil crises took a heavy toll on the profitability of the industrial activities developed on the old continent. Faced with increasing pressure from the population and unions, industrial capital witnessed its profitability drop. The states' increasing expenses with social programmes imposed overall higher taxes, and this was another factor which made profitability plummet. On the background of a constant increase in the price of raw materials, the pressure put on by the welfare state model, after 1990, and along with the onset of the globalisation phenomenon, led to a genuine "exodus" of European

---

[22] Sabin Drăgulin, *Welfare and Liberalism Populist deviations*, in Cecilia Tohăneanu (coord.), *Theories versus political ideologies, The European Institute Publishing House*, Iaşi, 2012, pp.181-182.

[23] Ibidem, p.181.

[24] Claus Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State*, (edited by) John Keane, Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1984, p.310.

capital towards other economic areas, where the cost of manpower was much lower. In economic theory this phenomenon is called "relocation" of production[25]. This progressive de-industrialisation of developed western economies created a serious unemployment problem as well as a decrease in the funds available to states to preserve social services. Along with this process, the phenomenon of international migration sky-rocketed. Each decade, more and more people leave their traditional areas towards richer areas. This migration, economic in nature, along with migrations caused by domestic political crises, manifesting in civil wars or due to natural disasters, becomes stronger with each decade.

The phenomenon of international migration, mostly clandestine, produced several reactions within the European society, and this fostered the rise of extremist parties. In the Netherlands, a country which had always had a lax policy in the field of emigration, the "Party for Freedom", which has a radical position against economic migration, emerged in 2006. In 2010, it won 15% of the ballots cast by Dutch voters during general elections. In Italy, the North League has been in parliament for over 15 years, and it advocates for tax autonomy and for stricter laws against emigrants. Other parties with similar goals are also active in Norway (the Progress Party), Switzerland (the People's Party) and Great Britain (UKIP). In France, an interesting position has been adopted by the "National Front", led by Marine Le Pen. In the past 20 years, this political organisation has maintained an anti-European and discriminating policy against foreigners. Jobbik in Hungary, and Golden Dawn in Greece have programs that are neo-Nazi in nature.

An MP for the "Progress Party", currently in the opposition, declared openly that "At the borders, the police cannot allow groups of French, Roma and Bulgarians to enter the country, because we already know that they are very dangerous..."; quoting the local press, "Sandsberg's text (who is the second man in the party) referred initially only to the Roma population, but he also mentioned the French and the Bulgarians so as to avoid being accused of discrimination".[26]

In 2010, the People's Party from Switzerland won the general elections while using a populist rightist message in which it showed that there was a direct link between the rise in criminality and the number of asylum seekers. It is interesting to notice that the number of seats in Parliament won by this party rose compared to the 2007 elections.[27]

The moment when labour market restrictions were removed by Great Britain for Romanians and Bulgarians made Nigel Farage, the leader of the extremist and xenophobe party UKIP, state for The Daily Star that , "the opening of the doors to 29million Romanians and Bulgarians is going to become a huge issue. If I was a Bulgarian, I would be packing now, because 46% of that country is now living in poverty".[28]

---

[25] Philippe Villemus, *Délocalisations, aurons-nous encore des emplois demain?,* Seuil, Paris, 2005.

[26]http://www.ziare.com/social/rromi/parlamentar-din-norvegia-tineti-rromii-francezii-si-bul garii-afara-din-tara-1233478 (accessed on 11.03.2014)

[27]http://www.europalibera.org/archive/news/20031020/445/445.html?id=1398562 (accessed on 11.03.2014)

[28] http://www.mediafax.ro/externe/liderul-unei-formatiuni-xenofobe-din-marea-britanie-mil ioane-de-imigranti-romani-si-bulgari-ar-putea-veni-in-tara-10410454 (accessed on 11.03.2014)

During the last decades, in France, the already "traditional" far-right party the "National Front" has adopted an anti-Semite and xenophobe discourse, managing to attract the sympathy of an important part of French voters. The Honorary President of this party, Jean Marie Le Pen, while criticising the decision made a French Court in Nice, whereby local institutions were forced to give 75 Euro per day to the Roma which had been evicted from a camp without being offered an alternative place to stay, said that "tens of thousands, thousands of thousands of these Roma will leave to come to us. In fact, 75 per day and per capita are a miracle for them... Someday you will have to change the name of the Promenade des Anglais into Romanade, so numerous will be those answering the call that you have launched just now".[29]

The North League, a party led for over two decades by the charismatic Umberto Bossi, was the promoter of some laws directed against emigrants, which were adopted by the Italian Parliament in 2002. The so-called Bossi-Fini law[30], adopted on 30 July 2002, is based on four principles: the expulsion of illegal emigrants and their escorting up to the borders; granting permits of stay only if there was evidence that the emigrant had a stable job; tougher penalties for human traffickers and granting permits of stay to emigrants who took care of elderly, ill or disabled people; and using the ships of the Military Marine in order to block trafficking in clandestine emigrants.

Since 2010, in the Dutch political arena, the "Party for Freedom" led by Geert Wilders adopted a xenophobe message directed against emigrants from Eastern Europe. In 2010, he summoned the Minister of Labour in Parliament, in order for the latter to apply the measures needed to postpone the liberalisation of the labour market for Romanians and Bulgarians, stating that: "On the labour market, East-European migration will hurt the other people. They brought hell in our streets, in our cities, and this is why hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians and Romanians must not be allowed to reach the Netherlands just a year from now"[31].

In Greece, the neo-Nazi rooted political organisation called the "Golden Dawn", established in 1993, managed to enter the Greek Parliament after the 2012 elections, winning 21 seats. Also relevant is the message sent by one of this party's MPs in March 2013, during an electoral rally: "Should Golden Dawn enter Parliament (as opinion polls show), we will raid the hospitals and kindergartens and we will throw immigrants and their children in the street, so that their places may be taken over by Greeks".[32]

If we are to take into account their Internet presentation, "The Movement for a better Hungary" is a political party which promotes the protection of historical identities, Christianity, family, and authoritarianism. It is accused of having promoted anti-Semitic and xenophobic messages (against emigrants, Jewish

---

[29] http://jurnalul.ro/stiri/externe/politicianul-francez-de-extrema-dreapta-jean-marie-le-pen-ataca-din-nou-romii-din-romania-649747.html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

[30] http://www.garantedetenutilazio.it/informazioni/domande_frequenti/arg1/index.html_elem_0003.html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

[31] http://www.ziare.com/articole/partidul+libertatii+olanda (accessed on 11.03.2014).

[32] http://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/international/extremistii-de-dreapta-din-grecia-vor-sa-interzica-imigrantilor-accesul-la-spitale-si-gradinite.html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

people, and Roma people)[33]. In order to exemplify this statement, I quote the leader of this political organisation, Gabor Varona, from a speech delivered during a political rally in Budapest, in the summer of 2012: "We must send back hundreds of thousands of Roma outlaws. We must show zero tolerance to Roma parasitic life and crimes... we must ask the European Union to adopt several hundreds of thousands of Hungarian citizens and educate them according to the European culture. When they manage to do that, we will take them back".[34]

The phenomenon of international migration within the EU

The European Commission's Annual Report on Immigration and Asylum for 2012 shows that on 1 January 2011, 33.3 million people lived within EU member states, which amounts to 6.6% of the EU entire population. Out of these, 12.8 million people were communitarian migrants, while the rest of 20.5 million people came from extra-communitarian countries. At that time, the most important emigrant communities in the EU were hosted by: Germany (about 7.2 million people), Spain (5.6 million), Italy (4.6 million), the United Kingdom of Great Britain (4.5 million) and France (3.8 million). Thus, the 20.5 million extra-communitarian citizens who immigrated illegally to EU countries represent 4% out of a total population of 502.5 million people. Worldwide, expressed as a percentage, they represent 9.4% out of the total number of 214 million known regular migrants. It is worth noticing that from 2005 to 2011 their numbers rose from 8.8% in 2005 to 9.4% in 2011.

Conclusions

Paradoxically, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the USSR represented a death blow to the model of the welfare state. As long as the ideological and economic straitjackets imposed by the "Cold War" worked, governments and great capitals were forced to ensure social peace by developing care systems at the expense of capital accumulation. Their removal along with the onset of globalisation produced a genuine "exodus" of capitals towards areas in which the welfare state is less developed or absent, in which the taxes imposed by developing countries may be reduced due to the lobby of investors, and labour costs are insignificant. This process let to a de-industrialisation of Western Europe. The phenomenon of international migration is a factor which, according to the view of extremist European parties, worsens the crisis of the welfare state. The existence of a high standard of living is the main factor underlying the development of international migration out of economic reasons. Economically rough periods were followed by social and political crises. It seems difficult to believe that after the traumatic experiences faced by Europe during the inter-war period and during World War II a new "moral wandering" may happen today. Yet, major economic crises open the way to extremist, xenophobe, racist, and anti-Semitic movements. Croce's warning is still valid nowadays, more than 70

---

[33] http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jobbik (accessed on 11.03.2014).
[34] http://adevarul.ro/international/in-lume/nationalistii-maghiari-jobbik-cer-toleranta-zero-fata-parazitismul-tiganilor-1_50b9fe467c42d5a663ae8778/index.html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

years after it was launched. This is why western civilisation needs to be careful in order to avoid a new historical "parenthesis".

REFERENCES

Burke, Edmund, (2000), *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest.

Canetti, Elias, (2009), *Crowds and the Power*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest.

Conquest, Robert, (1998), *The Great Terror. A Reassessment*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest.

Croce, Benedeto, (1976), *Scritti e discorsi politici (1943-1947),* vol. I, Bari.

Croce, Benedeto, (1977), *Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915*, Laterza, Bari.

Croce, Benedeto, (1944), „La liberta italiana nella liberta del mondo" in „Per la nuova vita dell'Italia", *Scritti e discorsi* 1943-1944, Ricardi, Napoli, p.56.

Croce, Benedeto, (1946), „Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915", Laterza, Bari, „Ingenuita dei censori della storia", în *Quaderni della critica*, p.102.

De Felice, Renzo, (1970), *Il fascismo. Le interpretazioni dei contemporanei e degli storici,* Laterza, Bari.

Drăgulin, Sabin, (2012), *Welfare and Liberalism Populist deviations*, in Cecilia Tohăneanu (coord.), *Theories versus political ideologies,* The European Institute Publishing House, Iaşi.

Erra, Enzo, (1998), *Le radici del fascismo, una storia da riscrivere,* Edizioni Settimo Sigillo, Roma.

François, Furet, (1992), *Reflections on the French revolution*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest.

Hitler, Adolf, (1993), *Mein Kampf*, Pacifica Publishing House, Bucharest.

Louça, Francisco, (1999), Nikolai Kondratiev and the Early Consensus and Dissensions about History and Statistics, History of Political Economy, vol. 31, no. 1.

Le Goff, Jacques (1999), *The Medieval Man*, Polirom Publihing House, Iaşi.

Marx, Karl, (1955-1960), *The Capital: political economy crisis,* the Political Publishing House, Bucharest

Offe, Claus, (1984), *Contradictions of the welfare state*, (edited by) John Keane, Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press.

Pipes, Richard, (1998), *A Short History of the Russian Revolution*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest.

Rousseau, J.J., (2007), *The Social Contract,* Mondero Publishing House, Bucharest.

Weber, Max, (1968), *Economy and Society,* Plon, Paris, vol. 2.

The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism, ed. Ronald Hamowy, (2008), Los Angeles, Sage Publications, http://www.libertarianismo.org/livros/rhteol.pdf (accesat 10.03.2014).

Villemus, Philippe, (2005), *Délocalisations, aurons-nous encore des emplois demain?,* Seuil, Paris.

On-line Resources

http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Declara%C8%9Bia_Drepturilor_Omului_%C8%99i_ale_ Cet%C4%83 %C8%9 Beanului (accessed on 10.03.2014).

http://www.ziare.com/social/rromi/parlamentar-din-norvegia-tineti-rromii -francezii-si-bulgarii-afara-din-tara-1233478 (accesat 11.03.2014)

http://www.europalibera.org/archive/news/20031020/445/445.html?id=13 98562 (accessed on 11.03.2014)

http://www.mediafax.ro/externe/liderul-unei-formatiuni-xenofobe-din-mar ea-britanie-milioane-de-imigranti-romani-si-bulgari-ar-putea-veni-in-tara-10410 454 (accessed on 11.03.2014)

http://jurnalul.ro/stiri/externe/politicianul-francez-de-extrema-dreapta-jea n-marie-le-pen-ataca-din-nou-romii-din-romania-649747.html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

http://www.garantedetenutilazio.it/informazioni/domande_frequenti/arg1/ index.html_elem_0003.html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

http://www.ziare.com/articole/partidul+libertatii+olanda (accessed on 11.03.2014).

http://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/international/extremistii-de-dreapta-din-grecia-v or-sa-interzica-imigrantilor-accesul-la-spitale-si-gradinite.html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jobbik (accessed on 11.03.2014).

http://adevarul.ro/international/in-lume/nationalistii-maghiari-jobbik-cer-toleranta-zero-fata-parazitismul-tiganilor-1_50b9fe467c42d5a663ae8778/index. html (accessed on 11.03.2014).

THE STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN ROMANIA

Florentina Burlacu[*]

florentina.burlacu@yahoo.com

Abstract: Civil society in Romania didn't evolved too smooth over time. It was born in the mid-nineteenth century due to the influences from the education received by young Romanian intellectuals in Western Europe. Civil society has experienced a period of prosperity in the interwar period but afterwards it had greatly suffered during the communist regime. Its fall brought with it a revival of the civil society and a development influenced by the spreading of mass media and new technology.

Keywords: Civil Society, Romania, Citizens, Democracy.

1. Modern theories on the state and civil society

Michael Walzer defines civil society as the sphere of human non-coercive association between the individual and the state, in which people take collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent of government and the market.[1]

The seniority of the formula "civil society" in political analysis, from Aristotle to Durkheim, from St. Augustine to Marx, is making it the bedrock of a presentation of the various theories concerning the state.[2]

Locke's statement, namely that the state exists to protect a set of pre-political natural rights led the theories concerning civil society to new horizons. Locke agreed with the idea that political power organizes civilization in a broad sense, but he wanted to put civil society on a foundation more lasting than the understanding of the common good.[3]

A state with limited powers and the respect of its laws will make it possible for the persons carrying rights to follow their own interests. If Locke was right and the property was both a natural right and a prerequisite for moral independence and personal autonomy, then it would be possible an understanding of a civil society which reserves a prominent place to the economic laws and processes.[4]

Hegel shows the distinction between the state and civil society. He makes the state to be the condition of possibility of civil society, the sphere in which people try to satisfy their needs through work in an organized way in which corporations play a crucial role, without which it would degrade into a war of all against all, a

---

[*] **Independent researcher.**
[1] Michael Edwards, *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society,* Oxford University Press 2011, p. 4.
[2] Dominique Colas, translated by Vasile Savin, Cătălin Simion, Diana Crupenschi, *Political Sociology,* Univers Publishing, Bucharest 2004, p. 292.
[3] Michael Edwards, *op.cit.*, p. 20.
[4] Idem.

return to the state of nature. The rule of law, even if the expression is posterior to Hegel, allows the existence of civil society.[5]

Hegel's state is the organization of the organization, whose elements are the family and civil society, organized themselves, but it is not an absorbent body, an undifferentiated totality, living, which would absorb the individual within it.[6]

Civil society is the sphere in which the tension between the individual and overall, the contradiction of the policy itself between One and Multiple, is raised when the solution is found: the (selfish) interest of the individual may assert here and at the same time, it integrates the individual in institutions of "class" and "status" that regulates corporations in a "policy", by its inclusion in the state. The state is the condition which provides the possibility of the existence of civil society, since without the state civil society would destroy itself.[7]

"Civil society is the [stage of] difference which intervenes between the family and the state, even if its full development occurs later than that of the state; for as difference, it presupposes the state, which it must have before it as a self-sufficient entity in order to subsist itself. Besides, the creation of civil society belongs to the modern world, which for the first time allows all determinations of the Idea to attain their rights."[8]

Far from being the place of a sort of harmony created only by economic laws, or by the only logic of necessity, Hegel's civil society is the place of social antagonisms which are opposing conflicting interests, but they find a political solution, and that is the point where this theory is different from Marx and Durkheim's theories.[9]

Marx inverted Hegel's theories prioritizing civil society whose political economy is its anatomy, and examines the historical development as differentiation within the civil society that the state is separated little by little, until it reaches a radical contradiction that would lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat.[10]

Durkheim tries to "save" the social component of the individual identity, which was present in the existing theories of civil society in the eighteenth century, but was lost in the utilitarian theories of the nineteenth century. In this context it is not surprising to find in Durkheim's political opinions support for the intermediary bodies - occupational and professional groups - that stand between the individual and the state. These types of groups were cataloged by some theorists as beeing unfavorable for the principle of individual autonomy, but for Durkheim they were the only guarantee of social solidarity among individuals that in different circumstances were atomized. He was convinced that only in these types of modern organizations moral authority can exist in a society governed by individualistic ethics.[11]

---

[5] Dominique Colas, *op.cit.,* p. 293.
[6] Ibidem., p. 309.
[7] Idem.
[8] G.W.F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right,* Cambridge University Press 1991, p. 220.
[9] Dominique Colas, *op.cit.,* p. 310.
[10] Ibidem., p. 293.
[11] Adam B. Seligman, *The Idea of Civil Society,* Princeton University Press 1995, p. 122.

In this theory we find echoes of the definition that Hegel gave to civil society, which is seen as a realm that exists between the family and the state, with the major difference that whereas for Hegel this entity was ethical only at birth, for Durkheim this was the only organizing principle through which ethical, social life could exist.[12]

Gramsci points out that the state is not reducible to a political institution, to the governmental apparatus, but it includes the "private" device of hegemony or the civil society. The concept of state includes, therefore, elements of civil society "the state is equal to political society plus civil society, hegemony protected by coercion."[13] The state provides balance between political and civil society.[14]

Gramsci claims that civil society encompasses a vast complex of „educational" institutions aimed to create, to disseminate, to universalise the ideology of the ruling class that holds the state apparatus, to expand and inculcate to the majority of the society the morals, tastes, manners, religious models, philosophical models, ideological formulations of the political ruling class.[15]

We mentioned these theories to refamiliarize ourselves with the notion of civil society and with the relationship that it has with the state. Next we will analyze the civil society not theoretically, but practically, as it arose and evolved in Romania.

2. Civil Society in Romania

The emergence and development of civil society in Romania is directly linked to the development of a public sphere, a process facilitated by the emergence of a large number of newspapers in the 1860s and the presence of an intellectual class educated in Western Europe. These elements have occasioned many social, cultural, religious and political debates.[16]

While 80% of the population continued to live in rural areas, the cities developed a number of social networking until World War I period. Political and cultural elite clubs were organized around the two major parties, the Conservatives and Liberals. At that time they were the main forms of involvement in social and political life. For example, the club Junimea from Iasi dominated cultural debates on Romania's development and established some rules, which subsequently generated significant effects.[17]

In the rural areas the first peasant associations arose in the early twentieth century as part of a reform process stimulated by the educational program initiated by Spiru Haret, which at the time was the Minister of Education. They also created several rural banks and agricultural associations, associative forms that continued to exist until the communist regime came to power. Another type of association was the Socialist Club, who claimed to be the representative of the interests of the forming state of the industrial workers in the cities.[18]

---

[12] Idem.

[13] Antonio Gramsci, *Selected Writings,* Politics Publishing, Bucharest 1969, pp. 195 – 196.

[14] Mihai Milca, *The Genesis of the Theory of Elites: The Challenge of the Neo-machiavellians,* Economic Publishing, Bucharest 2001, p. 206.

[15] Ibidem., p. 210.

[16] Todor Arpad, *Civil Europe – Civil Romania,* „EU Civis: Civil Europe – Civil Hungary – Civil Austria – Civil Romania" Project, Pro Democrația Association 2008, p. 9.

[17] Idem.

[18] Idem.

The Romanian Orthodox Church has undergone a process of adapting to new trends, initiating a process of developing charitable activities, which did not previously exist, for example the canteens for the poor. Because the state did not engage in redistributive activities (social activities), charities have benefited from a favorable ground for development, becoming a field of activity for many women in high society or sometimes even from the middle class. Later, some of these associations have turned into organisations that promoted women's rights. One of the most important associations was National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women (SONFR). The main source of income for these associations was represented by donations made to the charity from the people of high society.[19]

In this period were founded some of the first public institutions, not with the funds provided by the state, but with the donations from the upper class: hospitals (Brancoveanu, Elisabeta), public libraries (The Foundation Carol I, Ferdinand and Carol II), kindergartens and orphanages, adult education institutions. Romanian Academy has become one of the main recipients of donations from non-religious people.[20]

After the creation of Greater Romania through the unification with a number of multicultural provinces like Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina and Basarabia, the evolution of the legislative framework has been accelerated, and by adopting the Law 21/1924 (Law Marzescu) was created the legal framework for the applying of the principle of freedom of association mentioned in the Constitutions of 1866 and 1923.[21]

The number of associations and foundations increased dramatically in the interwar period. Many of these cultural associations were created in order to popularize certain skills in the population (both urban and rural). Another type of association was the one that promoted women's rights, especially the right to vote, here we can mention Romanian National Council of Women (CNFR 1921-1939), and other types of associations involved its members in social activities. Also, religious and ethnic minorities have established their own cultural associations designed to protect their identity and cultural heritage. However, due to structural factors, compared with the European average, the level of associations in Romania remained low during this period. Despite the economic progress, the number of poor remained very high and with the spread of totalitarianism in Europe, nationalism has gradually become the only accepted form of civic action.[22]

During the communist period the majority of the activities of civil society, whatever their nature, were subordinated to the Communist Party through the state apparatus. In 1948 the romanian state nationalized most private companies, and after that all economic activities are brought under the direct control of the state or organized as production cooperatives. By 1962, the entire surface of the

---

[19] Idem.
[20] George Ursul, *From political freedom to religious independence: The Romanian Orthodox Church 1877-1925* in Stephen Fisher-Galati, Radu Florescu, George Ursul, *Romania between East and West. Historical essays in memory of Constantin C. Giurescu, East European Monographs,* Boulder 1982, pp. 217 – 244.
[21] Todor Arpad, *op.cit.,* p. 10.
[22] Idem.

agricultural land, except for the mountainous areas, was nationalized or put on agricultural cooperatives. No social activities were tolerated, they were being seen as opposition to the regime and the sentence was imprisonment for 5-10 years.[23]

A series of informal social networks have always existed among intellectuals, but they have become highly politicized after the Cultural Revolution in 1971 and in the context of the movement called romanian protochronism. The School of Paltinis developed an impressive network of intellectuals who refused the cultural policy imposed by the state, in the same time discussion groups were formed around the student magazines - Student Opinion and Dialogue. Many intellectuals have begun to publish letters of protest outside Romania. Many of these young protesters became major figures in the development of civil society in the 90s, we can remember the intellectuals gathered around the Group for Social Dialogue.[24]

The Revolution of 1989 was the time of rebirth of the romanian civil society. After the initial establishment, on December 22, 1989 of the Council of National Salvation Front as a body of state power that included a series of figures known as opponents of the Ceausescu regime, the intention of transforming the organization into a political party led to the resignation of these people and they joined civil society that opposed the new political leadership. After the 1992 parliamentary and presidential elections, the relations between civil society and political power normalized, culminating with the change of the political power in 1996, when the main alliance that ruled was the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR) which contained a number of civic organizations from the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania. Although initially these organizations should have had a role in formulating the policies of the new power, they were gradually removed from the political decision-making.[25]

The increasing number of civil society organizations can be considered spectacular, from minimal numbers in 1989 to 13.000 in 1996 to over 44.000 in 1999[26] and reaching 53.000 in 2008. Since legally the Marzescu Law from 1924 was not abolished, this was the legal basis for the registration of the newly established non-governmental organizations. Over the years, the complexity of the legal framework for the functioning of the various activities of civil society organizations has increased continuously. However, only in 2000 was implemented a clear and predictable legal framework in terms of the procedure for registration of NGOs, its management and the relations between the government and NGOs.[27]

The process of European integration has increased the importance of civil society, especially in terms of the ability to influence the political factor. After 1999, when the European Union integration has become almost a certainty, non-governmental sector has managed to effectively use EU requirements, conditions often only defined broadly, to advance their own agenda. Moreover,

---

[23.]Idem.

[24.]Ibidem., p. 11.

[25.]Ibidem., p. 12.

[26.]Eugen Baican, Florin Duma, *The NGO's social care in Romania,* Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Studia Europeea, XIIV 1999, pp. 1-2.

[27.]Todor Arpad, *op.cit.,* p. 13.

reports of the various civil society organizations have been constantly used by the EU bodies to assess Romania's progress, which influenced the attitude of the political class. An example is the existence of several moments in which different reports of the romanian organizations were discussed during a meeting of the government.[28]

But the associations and foundations that are active in the general area of human rights were by far the most visible in terms of media coverage during the democratization of Romania.[29]

If in 1997, 90% of the active NGOs in Romania were located in urban areas, from this percentage 76% are located in the capital of the county, but until 2004 the situation has improved, increasing the percentage of rural organizations to a third. In 2003 Bucharest hosted the largest number of NGOs and the region of Transylvania, was by far the leader in terms of associative life.[30]

Next we will present some specific cases in which civil society, or rather civil society organizations were able to impose to the governments and local authorities making decisions and adopting legislation that was consistent with the interests of the community and of the citizens who compose it.

3. Civil society and public policies

Public policies are promoted by the interaction between civil society and government institutions through a permanent process of negotiation given that power, even and uneven, is relatively evenly distributed in society.[31]

The lack of formal barriers combined with the legal provisions on transparency of decision provides important opportunities for civil society organizations to refer and intervene from an early stage to correct certain political decisions with potentially adverse effects. After 2003, there have been countless cases where legislative initiatives posted on the Internet for public consultation have been modified as a result of feedback from civil society.[32]

In recent years the most visible civil society organizations are the environmental protection associations and the associations and foundations that protect human rights.

With the increasing prominence of environmental protection issues, environmental associations have gained an increasing importance in Romania. For a long period of time, the most visible environmental organization in Romania was Greenpeace, but in recent years a number of Romanian organizations have achieved significant successes in addressing environmental issues.[33]

The association Save the Danube and the Delta has prompted a number of legislative changes to limit the economic exploitation of fisheries and to protect the conservation of biodiversity in the Danube Delta and in the Danube River.[34]

[28.]Ibidem., p. 14.
[29.]Ibidem., p. 20.
[30.]Ibidem., p. 21.
[31.]Vasile Ostaciuc, *Introduction in the theory of public policies*, Self published book, Bucharest 2006, p. 58.
[32] Todor Arpad, *op.cit.,* pp. 16 – 17.
[33.]Ibidem., p. 20.
[34.]Idem.

Another example is the campaign "Save Rosia Montana" that slowed the start of the largest exploatation of gold in Romania, this campaign brought together an important number of institutions and personalities in a comprehensive advocacy effort.[35]

Romanian Academy has developed even an analysis of the risks and benefits of the Rosia Montana Project, the findings pointing out that the exploitation of gold with cyanide is dangerous for the environment and human health, also the detonation of the four mountains housing the famous and priceless Roman galleries would bring to the Romanian state a huge loss, inconsistent with the national interest and the principles of sustainable development. Another institution which strongly opposes this project is The Romanian Orthodox Church.

Another visible campaign is the one that is opposing to the exploitation of shale gas through hydraulic fracturing, this campaign is strongly supported especially by the people that are living near the mining perimeters, but also by many local authorities and even by the representatives of The Romanian Orthodox Church.

The danger that this type of operation poses to the environment and human health is very high mainly due to the high risk of contamination of the groundwater with chemicals, toxic and carcinogenic substances.

The campaign "Save the virgin forests" initiated by WWF-Romania drew attention to the state of the forests in our country which are subjected to uncontrolled deforestation. In December 2011 a protocol was signed between the Minister of Environment and Forests and WWF-Romania, which provides cooperation in identifying, mapping and protection of virgin forests in Romania and also identifying financial mechanisms to compensate the owners of virgin forests.

Following this campaign in 2012 was issued the ministerial order which clearly defines the criteria for identification of virgin forests and gives to the identified virgin forests the strictly protected forest status. This organization is actively involved in the public debate on forestry legislation, drawing attention to some articles of the new Forest Code and the Law on restitution of forests that would have negative effects on forests in our country.

Another campaign "Save the mountain rivers in Romania" ended with the signing of a cooperation protocol between the Department of Waters, Forests and Fisheries and the organization WWF-Romania.

The Protocol provides the commitment to align hydropower production in Romania to European Union legislation on nature conservation by issuing a bill containing measures that will be implemented first in the Danube region and will expand to the mountain rivers. These mountain rivers have suffered most from the construction of small hydropower plants that have crippled protected areas in the Carpathian Mountains.

Other campaigns aimed at the protection of endangered species like brown bears, lynxes, red ducks, small cormorants, sturgeons and dolphins.

---

[35]·Idem.

In the field of human rights we present the advocacy activities undertaken by a number of NGOs, such as Transcena to amend the Law on preventing and combating domestic violence and to expedite the issuance of Protection Orders for women victims of domestic violence.

Introduced by Law 25 of 2012 the order of protection is a step forward for the Romanian legislation, but it doesn't serve its purpose because the number of refusals of establishing such an order is too big and the time that elapses from the request until its enforcement is too long, sometimes putting in danger the life of the victim.

UNICEF in partnership with the Ministry of Health has revived the program "Baby-Friendly Hospital Initiative" (BFHI) in 2008. BFHI was started as a means to promote exclusive breastfeeding from birth and combating child abandonment.

In parallel UNICEF intensified its advocacy efforts for a new law banning the use of breast milk substitutes in hospitals.

After the participation to a series of public consultations organized by the Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sports on the National Education Act, Save the Children organization has proposed several amendments. One of its proposals which sought to legislate the principle of participation of children and young people in decision-making activity in schools has been included in this law.

Save the Children supported the right to education of children of asylum seekers. Law 122/2006 on asylum in Romania, in its original form, provides access to preparatory course in order to enter the education system only for children who have been granted refugee status. Formalities for granting this status could take up to two years, time in which the child couldn't be enrolled in school. Following the amendment of this law minor asylum seekers shall be given access to education.

4. Conclusions

Civil society has gained greater importance in the contemporary period during which the state becomes stronger and there is a need for a counterweight. Thus arose the civil society organizations that have provided citizens with a chance to make their voices heard and to fight for a cause they believe in.

These organizations follow the drafting of the laws that affect their field of work and participate to the consultations organized by the respective ministries proposing various amendments. NGOs are pulling alarm signals when one or more articles of law could have negative effects on people or on the area that is intended to be reglemented, also when it is omitted an important aspect they are the ones to make proposals to remedy that mistake.

Through their power of negotiation and persuasion these organizations can manage to influence governmental decision and hence the public policies of a state. Their strength comes from the number of members and supporters they have and the visibility in the media of the campaigns they promote.

Civil society is constantly evolving along with the changing technology that is used to convey the message, to educate ordinary people and to mobilize loyal members. A good thing is that more and more young romanians are involved in

supporting important causes for their freedom and for their health, but also for their children.

Romanians started to give increasingly more importance to the environmental problems understanding that an unpolluted environment guarantees a healthy life for them and for those close to them.

Furthermore, human rights took on a special significance for a people which have long been denied certain rights. Now citizens are free to support their views in front of the authorities and to seek through democratic means, to impose their will on the elaboration and implementation of decisions that they consider fair.

REFERENCES

Arpad, Todor, (2008), *Civil Europe – Civil Romania,* „EU Civis: Civil Europe – Civil Hungary – Civil Austria – Civil Romania" Project, Pro Democraţia Association.

Baican, Eugen; Duma, Florin, (1999), *The NGO's social care in Romania,* Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Studia Europeea, XIIV.

Colas, Dominique, translated by Vasile Savin, Cătălin Simion, Diana Crupenschi, (2004), *Political Sociology,* Bucharest, Univers Publishing.

Edwards, Michael, (2011), *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society,* Oxford University Press.

Gramsci, Antonio, (1969), *Selected Writings,* Bucharest, Politics Publishing.

Hegel, G.W.F., (1991), *Elements of the Philosophy of Right,* Cambridge University Press.

Milca, Mihai, (2001), *The Genesis of the Theory of Elites: The Challenge of the Neo-machiavellians,* Bucharest, Economic Publishing.

Ostaciuc, Vasile, (2006), *Introduction in the theory of public policies*, Bucharest, Self published book.

Seligman, Adam B., (1995), *The Idea of Civil Society,* Princeton University Press.

Ursul, George, (1982), *From political freedom to religious independence: The Romanian Orthodox Church 1877-1925* in Stephen Fisher-Galati, Radu Florescu, George Ursul, *Romania between East and West. Historical essays in memory of Constantin C. Giurescu, East European Monographs,* Boulder.

ASPECTS OF THE SEMANTIC ASSIMILATION OF ANGLICISMS IN ROMANIAN AND THEIR POSSIBLE STYLISTIC VALUES

Liliana Florina Andronache,[*]

andronache.liliana@yahoo.com

Cristina Veronica Andreescu[**]

vyraene@yahoo.com

Abstract: The focus of the present paper is the review of some aspects regarding the semantic assimilation of words of English origin, of the situations in which Anglicisms keep the original meaning from the source-language (English), of the changes undergone in the target language (Romanian), and last but not least of the connotations that certain loan-words may take under the influence of other Romanian words.

Keywords: Anglicisms, semantics, assimilation, stylistic value, Romanian, connotation.

The present paper is dedicated to the study of the semantic assimilation of words of English origin, of semantic limitation[1] (for example, *câini de pază*[2] ai democrațiilor), of semantic generalization or extension[3]: (*lider* de audiență, de piață) and of semantic specialization (*blush* – a word frequently used in the field of cosmetics). In the second part of the study, we shall approach a discussion about the (positive and negative) connotations a word or phrase of English origin may take in Romanian. For a better understanding of the phenomena discussed here, we have extracted a few contexts from the Romanian written press.

The official language [4] (manifested through normative papers, press, publishing houses etc.) does not permit the free development of changes (especially on a phonetic level), rather attempting to submit it to the norm through laws and restrictions.

---

[*] **Junior Lecturer PhD., The Faculty of Medicine, "Carol Davila" University of Medicine and Pharmacy, Bucharest.**
[**] **Lecturer PhD., The Faculty of Medicine, "Carol Davila" University of Medicine and Pharmacy, Bucharest.**
[1] Stoichițoiu Ichim, Adriana, *Asimilarea împrumuturilor englezești: aspecte actuale ale dinamicii sensurilor* în Pană Dindelegan (coord.), 2002, p. 253 approaches concepts like „denominative neology", illustrated in the press through limitations or extensions of the meaning.
[2] Stoichițoiu Ichim, Adriana, *Aspecte ale influenței engleze în româna actuală*, București, Ed. Universității din București, p. 135.
[3] *Idem.*
[4] GRAUR, Alexandru, *Tendințele actuale ale limbii române*, București, Ed. Științifică, 1968, p. 37-38.

Limitations of the meaning

The Anglicism *body* (plural *body-uri*) has undergone a semantic **limitation**, being more frequently used with the meaning of item of clothing for new-born babies and infants. Despite that, it is still part of sports and free-time activities such as: *body building* (Anglicism)*, body painting[5]* (Anglicism) etc.

The English loan-word *cherry* (plural *cherry-uri*), not assimilated into Romanian from a graphical point of view, whose basic meaning is that of „cireşe", seems to have **limited** its meaning and has begun to referto any „alcoholic beverage of liquor type, with cherry flavor[6]").

If we take into account the incidence of the sports contexts in which the word *boss* appears (Anglicism, plural *boşi*), we can easily state that the word has been submitted to a limitation of the meaning, being more frequently seen in sports contexts (such as *boss-ul giuleştean)* or with a **pejorative** meaning.

In Romanian, the English word *boy* has suffered from a limitation of the meaning, indicating the boy who fetches the ball in some sports. Still, the phrase *băiat de mingi* is preferred in Romanian.

Extension of the meaning

The generalization or the extension of the meaning is done by amplification or change of the field of reference and it is rather frequent compared to the limitations of the meaning.

In Romanian, the word *dressing* (Anglicism, plural *dressinguri*), despite its occurrence in MDN with a single meaning (that of „room, closet, in which may be stored all the clothing in the house") – not registered in the English dictionaries – has undergone an **extension** of the meaning towards the gastronomic field, being thus used with the meaning of „cold sauce based on salad or salad dressing, used to season the salads" (cf. OED).

The English *planning* (with its articulated form *planningul*) whose meaning registered in the small dimension dictionary of the Popas [7] is that of „planning; adjustment; thorough working plan" has undergone an extension of the meaning. The word tends to be used especially in the phrase *planning familial*, which refers to the training of young couples in order to solve the problems that may arise in a relationship, sexual issues included.

In Romanian, the word *brandy* has *coniac* as a synonym, but the first is more frequently used, which is detrimental to the second, and because of that, it can be considered a "luxury" Anglicism[8].

---

[5] The word appears in the small dictionary of Elena Epure.

[6] POPA, Catrinel; POPA, Marinela; POPA, Ion, *Mic dicţionar ortografic, ortoepic, morfologic şi explicativ al unor cuvinte de provenienţă străină, neadaptate, folosite în limba română*, Bucureşti, Ed. Niculescu, 2007, p. 25.

[7] Ibidem, p.66.

[8] There is a classification of neologisms, category which comprises Anglicisms (English loan-words), according to which, from a functional point of view, we can talk about **useful (necessary)** and **useless/ stylistic/ „unnecessary"** (IORDAN, Iorgu, *Limba română actuală. O gramatică a „greşelilor",* Bucureşti, Ed. Socec&Co., S.A.R., 1943, p. 470)/ **„luxury" neologisms**. This classification was suggested by Sextil Puşcariu (PUŞCARIU, Sextil, *Limba română. I. Privire generală*, Bucureşti, Ed. Minerva, 1976, p. 371). The first designate lexical units

The word *bec* has been phonetically assimilated to Romanian, being borrowed from the English *back*. Under the influence of the English language, it has started to extend its meaning and it now designates any „back football player". Despite the fact that some dictionaries recommend the plural male form *beci*, the use has spread the internal derivative *fundaş* (cf. DEX *fund* + suffix *−aş*, plural *fundaşi*).

The anglicism *catering* (with its articulated form *cateringul*) appears in MDN with the meaning of „service of food delivery on a plane". There is no doubt that the word has extended its meaning, at present being used not only with reference to food delivery on a plane, but to any event (social or not), irrespective of the location. Elena Epure[9] (2006: 22) indicates this generalization of the meaning through the phrase *outside catering*, which refers to food delivery for special events.

(1) *Compania aeriană TAROM va plăti cu 660.000 de euro mai puţin pe an pentru produsele şi serviciile de **catering**, după ce a renegociat contractul cu compania Alpha Rocas aceste costuri, se arată într-un comunicat al Ministerului Transporturilor.* (www.gandul.info, 22.03.2012)

(2) *Comisariatul Judeţean pentru Protecţia Consumatorilor (CJPC) Cluj a dat, în urma unor controale la 18 pizzerii şi zece firme de **catering**, amenzi de aproape 20.000 de lei, la care s-au găsit cantităţi însemnate de produse alimentare cu termenul de valabilitate depăşit.* (www.gandul.info, 12.07.2010)

The word *nursă*[10] (rarely) <*nurse* (French, English), has extended its meaning compared to the language of origin, besides the fact that it is submitted to the process of morphologic assimilation in Romanian. If in the language of origin it indicated the „asistenta medicală", in Romanian the term has come to designate other things as well. Thus, we deduce from MDN that *nursa* is a 1. Nanny for infants 2. Woman who dedicates herself to attending to the needs of sick chidren; nurse's aide, nurse (< French, English *nurse*).

MDN also registers the verb *a accesa* with the following meanings „(informatics) **1.** To have access, to be granted access to a network, to a program **2.** To get an instruction from the memory to perform (cf. English *access*)". The word has extended its meaning, being also used outside the computer science filed, in the phrase *a accesa fonduri europene*.

(3) *Multe din aplicaţiile ce **accesează** lista de contacte a telefonului nu oferă utilizatorului nicio justificare pentru acest comportament: nici ce date citesc şi nici cărui scop serveşte această instrucţiune.* (www.libertatea.ro, 25.06.2012)

(4) *România nu **a accesat** decât 7,67% din banii UE, dar <<paznicii>> fondurilor europene au luat prime de mii de lei.* (www.libertatea.ro, 1.09.2012)

which do not exist in the target language, thus being hard or even difficult to translate, while the unnecessary loan-words appear as synonyms for already existing words in the target language.

[9] EPURE, Elena, *Dicţionar de cuvinte împrumutate din limba engleză*, Bucureşti, Ed. All Educational, 2006, p. 22.

[10] Word also seen in BĂNCILĂ, Florica; CHIŢORAN, Dumitru, *„Remarks on the Morphological Adaptation of English Loan-Words in Romanian"* în Analele Universităţii Bucureşti, XXV, 1976, p. 39.

The word of English origin, *fault*, is mainly used to refer to sports, and it is sometimes used in politics with the meaning of "attack to the opponent".

(5) *Pedeliştii schimbă regulile jocului la Camera Deputaţilor:* **fault** *la PSD şi PNL.* (www.gandul.info. 15.11.2010)

Another word, a compound one this time, also of English origin, is *drugstore* (plural *drugstore-uri*). Even though DOOM$_2$ marks it as an Anglicism, it is a „luxury" one, since the frequently used word is *drogherie* (plural *drogherii*; French *droguerie*). There is a difference in meaning between the two words, in the sense that the first is explained in MDN as follows: a shop where pharmaceutical products, cosmetic products, books, ice-cream etc. are sold (< American *drugstore*). The second appears in DEX with the following definition: a shop where perfumes and eau de toilette are sold, as well as some pharmaceutical products.

Specialization of the meaning
The term *casting* (Anglicism, with its articulated form *castingul*) is for sure a good example of the **specialization of the meaning.** Although it is registered with two meanings in a small-dimension lexicographic work [11] (1. „Sports competition which consists in performing a limited number of target shooting, with the rod" and 2. „actor selection for a movie, show or TV show"), it has kept and registered in use only its second meaning.

The English word *bypass* has specialized its meaning, being highly used in the medical field, more exactly in surgery.

We can state that the term *lifting* (plural *liftinguri*) is also distinguished through a semantic specialization, being more and more used in the field of cosmetics, in phrases like *lifting facial* or in the medical field, in contexts like *lifting la sâni.*

The two English lexical units, *miss* (G-D. *lui miss*, plural *miss*) and *mister* (G-D. *lui mister*, abreviated *Mr.*), have undergone a specialization of meaning, being most of the time found in beauty contests.

The second part of this chapter will highlight the stylistic values of Anglisicism, focusing less on their obvious **positive connotations** (usually, names of professions [12] : *account director, client service director, creative director, deputy creative director, executive creative director, group director, nurse, make-up artist, manager, managing director, marketing & sales director, media director, project manager, merchandiser, steward, strategic planning director*) and more on the **negative (depreciative**, **pejorative**[13]: *business – bişniţă, businessman – bişniţar*) or **ironical connotations** added to the initial meaning of the word registered in dictionaries.

---

[11] Popa, *op.cit.,* p. 23

[12] All compound names in which the term *director* appears are mentioned in the work of EPURE, Elena, *Dicţionar de cuvinte împrumutate din limba engleză*, Bucureşti, Ed. All Educational, 2006, p. 29-30.

[13] The pejorative meaning is often marked in Romanian by means of augmentative suffixes with deprecatory meaning - *anie, -ălău, -oc, - og/-oagă, -(o)man.*

(6) *[...] Dana Argeşan - **make-up artist**, care are o şcoală de automake-up în care oricine poate învăţa tehnici de machiaj profesionist.* (www.libertatea.ro, 17.11.2012)

(7) *Fostul **manager** al cântăreţei americane susţine că aceasta era dependentă de medicamente prescrise - consumând până la 30 de medicamente pe zi.* (www.gandul.info, *19.10.2012)*

(8) *Pentru mai mult detalii despre acest eveniment am vorbit cu Cristian Hossu, **project manager** al Internet and Mobile World 2012.* (www.evz.ro, 17.09.2012)

DŞL[14] defines **connotation** as „any emotional sign of a word which is added to denotation. The denotation is only one, while the connotations may be several, due to secondary, individual, variable or even accidental characteristics depending on linguistic and extra linguistic contexts". The connotation may be perceived as a deviation from the denotative meaning, by developing new meanings of the initial word, being thus analyzed in relation with *neology* or *semantic dynamics*[15]. The connotation may be easily decrypted in the context, which makes it dependent on it.

Dictionaries register connotation under the form of diastratic marks indicated immediately after the entries. These marks usually appear in between brackets: (familiar), (popular), (slanginess) etc.

Şerban-Evseev[16] speak – in the subchapter called *Denotaţie şi conotaţie* – about the meaning of the two words, defining *connotation* as a component of the lexical meaning, and not necessarily as a distinct meaning of a particular word. They also mention the fact that it can quiver between some abstract categories (which they mark in between inverted commas): „good" vs. „bad", „positive" vs. „negative", „pleasant" vs. „unpleasant", „beautiful" vs. „ugly", „acceptable" vs. „unacceptable".

Connotations may be classified[17] according to the field and the concepts designated which are referred to. We can thus speak of hystorical-cultural connotations, „scientific" connotations, social-political connotations, moral-ethical connotations, ethno-geographical connotations, esthetic connotations etc.

The Anglicism *show* (plural *show-uri*) has gained a pejorative meaning due to its frequent use, besides the meaning registered in dictionaries („recital of slow music, variety show, performed by a musichall actor, by a singer or by a band; radiophonic show, for sport events or exhibits[18]"), designating concepts such as *ceartă, dispută* or *a se da în spectacol* etc. It may be found in phrases like *a face show* in the press.

---

[14] DŞL2 = BIDU-VRĂNCEANU, Angela; CĂLĂRAŞU, Cristina; IONESCU-RUXĂNDOIU, Liliana; MANCAŞ, Mihaela; PANĂ-DINDELEGAN, Gabriela, 2005, *Dicţionar de ştiinţe ale limbii,* Bucureşti, Ed. Nemira, p. 133.

[15] See Bidu-Vrănceanu & Forăscu (2005: 48-51) for a more detailed analysis.

[16] ŞERBAN, Vasile; EVSEEV, Ivan, *Vocabularul românesc contemporan. Schiţă de sistem*, Bucureşti, Ed. Facla, 1978, p. 141.

[17] Classification found at Şerban-Evseev, *op.cit.,* p.143-145.

[18] Popa, *op.cit.,* p. 75.

(9) *În timp ce la București, președintele suspendat, Traian Băsescu, i-a dat replica președintelui interimar, Crin Antonescu, Mazăre **a făcut show** la mitingul USL din Constanța.* (www.libertatea.ro, 13.07.2012)

(10) *Este esențial să găsească două-trei glume demne de a umple timpul de emisie. Păi ce, dom'le, **facem show** sau nu mai facem?* (www.academiacatavencu.info, 7.11.2012)

(11) *Dinamo **a făcut show** cu Pandurii, scor 3-0, într-un **meci** în care atât **fanii**, cât și jucătorii, l-au comemorat pe "Unicul Căpitan", de la moartea căruia au trecut 12 ani.* (www.cancan.ro, 2.10.2012)

MDN also borrows the pejorative meaning of the Anglicism *bodyguard*, that of „gorilă", besides the basic meaning which indicates „garda de corp, paza (cuiva)".

(12) *La inflația asta mi-aș dori să am și eu unul. **Un bodyguard** nu pentru VIP-uri și nici pentru cămătari. Nu o „**gorilă**" și nici unul de la „servicii".* (www.adevarul.ro, 24.05.2012)

Mioara Avram (2001: 129) refers to *bișniță* as to the assimilated etymological doublet of *business*. The word has achieved a negative connotation in Romanian, designating any „insignificant business (maybe also unjust"). The non-assimilated English loan-word has kept a neuter meaning from a stylistic point of view in Romanian. Through comparison with the two words, even their derivatives (*bișnițar, bișnițăresc, a bișnițări, bișnițăreasă* and *businessman*) have acieved the same connotations. Consequently, *bișnițar* appears in DEX marked as (familiar) and refers to any „person who does business, gaining personal profit by unfair and evil means". The second compound, *businessman*, has a positive connotation, indicating the honest *om de afaceri*.

(13) ***Bișniță** cu locurile de cămin. Vezi prețul cerut pentru un loc* (www.jurnalul.ro, 11.09.2012)

In conclusion, we can state that the dynamism of the language, the need to designate new things and phenomena by means of loan-words (of English origin, in this particular case), can determine changes in the meaning of the words of the language of origin, sometimes under the influence of the words from the target language, with the purpose of meeting the needs of communication.

References
Journalistic sources
www.academiacatavencu.info
www.adevarul.ro
www.cancan.ro
www.evz.ro
www.gandul.info
www.jurnalul.ro
www.libertatea.ro

Lexicographic sources

1. DEX = COTEANU, Ion; SECHE, Luiza; SECHE, Mircea (coord.), 1998, *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române (The Romanian Language Explanatory Dictionary),* 2nd edition, Bucharest, The Encyclopedic Universe Publishing House

2. DOOM₂ = VINTILĂ-RĂDULESCU, Ioana (coord.), 2005, *Dicţionarul ortografic, ortoepic şi morfologic al limbii române (Spelling, Orthoepic and Morphological Dictionary of the Romanian language),* 2nd edition, Bucharest, the Encyclopedic Universe Publishing House

3. EPURE, Elena, 2006, *Dicţionar de cuvinte împrumutate din limba engleză (Dictionary of Brrowings from English)*, Bucharest, All educational Publishing House

4. MDN = MARCU, Florin, 2008, *Marele dicţionar de neologisme (The Great Dictionary of Neologisms)* 10th, Bucharest, Saeculum Vizual Publishing House.

5. OED = *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary for Current English*, 1995, 5th edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

6. POPA, Catrinel; POPA, Marinela; POPA, Ion, 2007, *Mic dicţionar ortografic, ortoepic, morfologic şi explicativ al unor cuvinte de provenienţă străină, neadaptate, folosite în limba română (A Small Spelling, Orthoepic and Morphological dictionary of some Foreign Unadapted Words, used in Romanian),* Bucharest, Niculescu Publishing House.

Studies and articles

1. AVRAM, Mioara, 2001, *Cuvintele limbii române între corect şi incorect (Romanian Language Words between Correct and Incorrect)*, Bucharest, Cartier Publishing House.

2. BĂNCILĂ, Florica; CHIŢORAN, Dumitru, 1976, "Remarks on the Morphological Adaptation of English Loan-Words in Romanian" in *the Annals of the University of Bucharest*, XXV, p. 35-44.

3. BIDU-VRĂNCEANU, Angela; FORĂSCU, Narcisa, 2005, *Limba română contemporană. Lexicul (The Contemporary Romanian Language. The Lexic)*, Bucharest, Humanitas Educational Publishing House.

4. GRAUR, Alexandru, 1968, *Tendinţele actuale ale limbii române (Current Trends of Romanian)*, Bucharest, The ScientificPublishing House.

5. IORDAN, Iorgu, 1943, *Limba română actuală. O gramatică a „greşelilor", "(The Current Romanian Language. A Grammar of "Errors")*, Bucharest, Socec&Co.Publishing House, S.A.R.

6. PANĂ DINDELEGAN, Gabriela (coord.), 2002, *Actele Colocviului Catedrei de limba română 22-23 noiembrie 2001. Perspective actuale în studiul limbii române*, (*The Papers of the Romain Department Colloqui, 22-23 November 2001*), Bucharest, The University Publishing House, Bucharest.

7. PUŞCARIU, Sextil, 1976, *Limba română. I. Privire generală (The Romanian Language. I. An overview)*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House.

8. STOICHIŢOIU ICHIM, Adriana, 2002, *Asimilarea împrumuturilor englezeşti: aspecte actuale ale dinamicii sensurilor (Assimilations of English Loans)* in Pană Dindelegan (coord.), 2002, p. 249-262.

9. STOICHIȚOIU ICHIM, Adriana, 2006, *Aspecte ale influenţei engleze în româna actuală (Aspects of English Language Influence on Contemporary Romanian),* The University Publishing House, Bucharest.

10. ȘERBAN, Vasile; EVSEEV, Ivan, 1978, *Vocabularul românesc contemporan. Schiţă de sistem (Contemporary Romanian Vocabulary. System Sketch),* Bucharest, Facla Publishing House.

THE ART OF TRANSLATION

Doina Ivanov[*]

doina.ivanov@gmail.com

> *Motto:* "*The present-day rapid development of science and technology, as well as the continuous growth of cultural, economic, and political relations between nations, has confronted humanity with exceptional difficulties in the assimilation of useful and necessary information. No way has yet been found to solve the problems in overcoming language barriers and of accelerated assimilation of scientific and technological achievements by either the traditional or modern methods of teaching. A new approach to the process of teaching and learning is, therefore, required if the world is to meet the needs of today and tomorrow.*"[1]

Abstract: "*This paper focuses on the art of translation especially translation practice, which is useful to those who would like to enter the translator's profession. I will make references to the key aspects of the process of translation. The current paper is intended to inspire and encourage the readers to discover the secrets of the art of translation, because understanding someone else's words or written message in a foreign language is far more complicated than we are inclined to think.*"

Keywords: translation, linguistic equivalence, accuracy, abduction, induction, translator's reliability.

Outside and inside perception of translation

Nowadays every aspect of our social and political life is mediated by translators and interpreters. Translation and interpreting are part of the academic landscape and numerous universities offer programmes in the field. Translation is a point of contact between peoples, and the translator is the mediator, who makes explicit the differences between cultures in the world. Translation can be perceived from the outside (user's point of view), or from the inside (translator's point of view). For people who are not translators it is simply a text; for people who are, it is mainly an activity.

From the inner point of view of the translator, the activity is most important: the process of becoming a translator, doing research, and networking, translating texts, editing the translation, and delivering the finished reliable text to the teacher/client.

---

[*] **Senior Lecturer PhD., Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest.**

[1] Lozanov, G., *Suggestology and Outlines of Suggestopedy*, Philadelphia: Gordon & Breach, 1992, p. 9.

Inside/internal perception: a translator thinks about translation from inside the process, knowing how it's done, having a practical sense of the problems he has encountered, some solutions to those problems, and the limits on them (the translator is aware of the fact that a translation will never be a perfect reflection of the original).

Outside/external perception: a non-translator thinks about translation from outside the process, not knowing the whole process of it, how it's done, but believing that it's a well-made translation. Outside translation users would like to have a text translated reliably and rapidly.

Reliability

Text reliability consists in the trust a user can place in it as a representation or reproduction of the original. A discussion of text reliability is venturing into the territory traditionally called "accuracy" or "equivalence" or "fidelity". There is no single touchstone for a reliable translation, no single formula for abstract "equivalence" that can be applied easily in every case. The translation should be reliable, accurate and effective, literal and readable in the target language. A text that meets these demands is called a "good" or "successful" translation.

Some users demand literal translations, others demand semantic (sense-for-sense) equivalence. "Fidelity" of a translation means not an exact one-to-one correspondence between original and translation. Reliably translated texts cover a wide range from the lightly edited to the substantially rewritten, with the "accurate" or "faithful" translation somewhere in the middle. From the translator's internal point of view, "creative interpretation" signals the undeniable fact that all text-processing involves some degree of interpretation and thus some degree of creativity, and the translator's sense that every target language is more or less resistant to his/her activities.

The translator's reliability means professionalism.

The translator should be accurate, attentive to details, her/his work must be correct. A good and versatile translator knows that her/his task requires not only "accuracy" but also some commentary, adaptation, and sometimes even imaginative re-creation.

Aspects of translator's reliability
Reliability regarding the text
1. The translator is very attentive to the meaning of each word in the context;
2. Research: the translator does careful research, in reference books, and internet databases;
3. Checking: the translator always checks her/his translation closely before delivering to the client.

Reliability regarding the client
1. The translator should feel entirely competent in her/his area of specialization. The translator also knows whether she/he can handle the task or not. If the translation is beyond her/his abilities than the translator refuses it politely;
2. Promises: the translator should make realistic promises to clients regarding delivery dates and times, and then keeps those promises.

3. Friendliness: the translator is friendly, and offers helpful advice.

4. Confidentiality: the translator must never disclose confidential matters learned through the process of translation to third parties.

Reliability regarding the technology

1. Hardware and software: the translator works with a modern type of computer, a recent version of Microsoft Word, an Internet connection, an e-mail address, and a scanner.

The process of translation: abduction, induction, deduction[2]

The translator is a lifelong learner. Translation for the professional translator is a constant learning cycle that moves through the stages of instinct, experience, and habit, and, within experience, through the stages of guesswork (abduction), pattern-building (induction), and rules and theories (deduction). The translator is at the same time a *professional* for whom complex mental processes have become second nature, and thus subliminal, and a *learner* who must face and solve some problems in conscious analytical ways.

Charles Sanders Peirce[3], the American philosopher and founder of semiotics, described the process of translation in three terms:

Instinct – the translator begins with an intuitive, and instinctive sense of what a word or phrase means, how a syntactic structure works;

Experience – the translator looks for the unknown words and phrases in a source text, then translates them, moving back and forth between the two languages, feeling the similarities and dissimilarities between words and phrases and structures; and

Habit – in time the translator sublimates specific solutions to specific experiential problems into unconscious behavior patterns, which help her or him to translate more rapidly, decreasing the need to stop and solve such problems.

The translator's experience is more complicated than simply what s/he experiences in the act of translating. Charles Sanders Peirce[4] described the translator's experience in terms of abduction, induction and deduction. This is what Peirce calls <u>abduction:</u> the act of making an intuitive leap from confusing/unexplained data to a reasonable hypothesis. Competent native speakers of a language do not always use that language in a way that certain observers are pleased to call rational: they do not say what they mean, they omit crucial information, they conceal their true intentions, they use irony or sarcasm, and they speak metaphorically. The philosopher explained how we make sense of speakers who flout the rational rules of conversation; the listeners, the interpreters make inspired guesses, or abductions. Understanding or intuiting problematic utterances has as much to do with creative imagination, and intuition. Learning a foreign language obviously requires thousands of guesses. And, of course, translators are forever stumbling upon words they have never seen

---

[2] Peirce, C.S, quoted in Douglas, R., *Becoming a Translator,* London and New York, Routledge, 2012, p.63.

[3] Ibidem, p.62.

[4] Ibidem, p.64.

before, words that appear in no dictionary they own, words for which they must find exact target-language equivalent by tomorrow. A translator may spend hours tracking down a difficult word: poring through dictionaries on the shelf and online, calling and emailing friends who might know it. A translator may hate or love this part of this job; the reasons to continue the search are the following:

• Translator ethics, the professional's determination to submit an accurate and correct translation;

• Professional pride, the translator's need to feel good about the work s/he does;

• Love of language, producing a deep satisfaction in the word-hunt or the "rightness" of the right word, or both;

• A pragmatic concern for repeat business: the client who is pleased with the translator's work will call her or him again.

From the linguistic point of view, the translator is experiencing a transformation of what people do with words – language is what people do with words. The translator transforms what people do with words. In order to translate quickly and accurate a professional translator should internalize words and certain linguistic transfer patterns – well-worn pathways from one language to another that s/he has traveled so many times. Practice doesn't make perfect, but it brings exponential increases in speed and reliability.

"*Induction, is the type of logical reasoning, beginning with specifics and moving toward generalities, and deduction beginning with general principles and deducing individual details from them*"[5]. Peirce considered that "*neither induction nor deduction is capable of generating new ideas*"[6]. Using these three approaches to processing experience Peirce explained "*the translator's move from untrained instinct through experience to habit*"[7]. The translator's experience begins "abductively" first at the beginning of her/his activity when s/he makes a first approach to the foreign language, leaping from incomprehensible sounds to a wild guess at what the words might mean; and a second approach to the source text, leaping from an expression that makes sense but seems to resist translation (seems untranslatable) to a target-language equivalent. The abductive form of this experience is one of not knowing how to proceed, being confused, but somehow making the leap to understanding or reformulating an utterance.

The meaning of a word is its use in the context-language

Translation is considered to be an activity about words and their meanings: what the words in the source text mean, and what words in the target language will best capture or convey that meaning. Words and meanings are only important for the translators in the context.

---

[5] Ibidem, p.64.
[6] Ibidem, p.64.
[7] Ibidem, p.64.

The Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein considered that "*the meaning of a word is its use in the language*"[8]. Words and meanings take on their importance in intimate connection with people. They tell us a lot about the people around us, and help us to understand them better.

We almost learn words and their meanings from people and as a function of our complex relationships with people. The only really reliable way to learn a new word, in fact, is in context, as used by someone else in a real situation, whether spoken or written. Only then does the new word carry with it some of the human emotional charge given it by the person who used it. A word learnt in a dictionary will most often feel ordinary, awkward, even if its dictionary meaning is correct; other people who know the word will feel uncomfortable with its user.

A prime example of this are the students' control papers full with words taken straight out of a dictionary, words that they have never heard before in a real conversation. For the teacher who knows those words, the test papers seem gibberish, because the words are used mechanically and without attention to the nuances of actual human speech or writing.

Another example is the bad translation done by someone who doesn't speak the target language fluently, and has painstakingly found all the words in a dictionary.

Cultural knowledge
The translators should always be aware of the far more complex phenomena of cultures and intercultural competence that arise out of experience of cultures. They need to know, for example, how to say "mi-e dor" in English, German and so on, and the more aware the translators become of these complexities, the better translators they'll be.

Translation theorists have been aware of the problems attendant upon cultural knowledge and cultural difference at least since ancient Rome, and translators almost certainly knew all about those problems long before theorists articulated them.

Some Renaissance translators were inclined to accuse medieval literal translators of being ignorant of cultural differences; but a large number of researchers demonstrated the opposite aspect. The Medieval translators were not ignorant of cultural or linguistic difference; they noticed all the differences they encountered, set them aside, and proceeded as if they did not exist. That was of course the tradition imposed by the audiences for whom they translated in the Middle Ages.

Cultural knowledge and cultural difference have been a major focus of translator training and translation theory for as long as either has been in existence. The main emphasis was put on the so-called "realia", words and phrases that are so and exclusively grounded in one culture that they are almost impossible to translate into the terms of another, as for instance: "doina de dor şi jale" (Romanian popular song). There were long debates held over when to paraphrase, when to coin a new word by translating literally, and when to

---

[8] Ibidem, p. 90.

transcribe. And these "untranslatable" culture-bound words and phrases continue to fascinate translators and translation theorists. How can be defined the points where one culture stops and another begins? The borders are no easier to draw than those between languages or communities.

Immersion in cultures

The professional translators continue to immerse themselves in cultures: local cultures, regional cultures, national cultures, and international cultures. They read voraciously. They learn new foreign languages and sometimes, they spend as much time as possible in the countries where those languages are natively spoken. They nose out differences: if things are done a little bit differently, a word or phrase is pronounced differently or given a slightly unexpected twist, people walk differently, dress differently, gesture differently, the translators pay attention. Perhaps there is a cultural boundary that needs to be crossed. Why do translators want to cross it? Simply. Because it's there. Because that is what translators do, they cross boundaries. No matter what else they do, translators should continually immerse themselves in cultures of the world.

The importance of text analysis

The ability to analyze a source text linguistically, culturally, and politically is very important for the translator. The importance of analysis goes most without saying. Wherever translation is taught, the importance of analysis is taught. The following tips were highlighted by R. Douglas[9] in his work, and I must confess, that they are very helpful for future translators:

- *"Never assume you understand the source text perfectly.*
- *Never assume your understanding of the source text is detailed enough to enable you to translate it adequately.*
- *Always analyze for text type, genre, register, rhetorical function, etc.*
- *Always analyze the source text's syntax and semantics, making sure you know in detail what it is saying, what it is not saying, and what it is implying.*
- *Always analyze the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic relationship between the source language and the target language, so that you know what each language is capable and incapable of doing and saying, and can make all necessary adjustments.*
- *Always pay close attention to the translation commission (what you are asked to do, by whom, for whom, and why), and consider the special nature and needs of your target audience; if you aren't given enough information about that audience, ask; if the commissioner doesn't know, use your professional judgment to project an audience."[10]*

The six analytical principles mentioned above are taught at translation training courses because they do not come naturally; they must be taught by a translation teacher and by experience.

---

[9] Robinson, D. English professor at Lingnan University, Hong Kong/ Robinson, D. Profesor de engleză la Universitatea Lingnan, Hong Kong.
[10] Ibidem, pp. 198-199.

The most experienced professional translators will gradually move "beyond" analysis in much of their work, precisely by internalizing or sublimating it. It will seem to professional translators as if they rarely analyze a text or cultural assumptions, because they do it so unconsciously and so rapidly. The analytical procedures taught in most translator training programs are not consciously used by professional translators in most of their work, because they have become second nature. And this is the desideratum of professional training: to help students first to learn the analytical procedures, then to sublimate them, make them so unconscious, so automatic, and so fast, that translation at professional speeds becomes possible.

REFERENCES

Baker, M., (2011), *In Other Words – A Course book on Translation,* London and New York, Routledge.

Lozanov, G., (1992), *Suggestology and Outlines of Suggestopedy.* Philadelphia, Gordon & Breach.

Robinson, D., (2003), *Performative Linguistics: Speaking and Translating as Doing Things with Words,* London and New York, Routledge.

Robinson, D., (2012), *Becoming a Translator,* London and New York. Routledge.

THE USE OF THE GENERATIVE LEXICON IN THE INTERPRETATION OF WORDS

Ionela Guşatu[*]

ionela.gusatu@yahoo.com

Abstract: This paper presents a new model of lexical description, the generative lexicon. As we are going to see, the generative lexicon offers a more detailed representation of the meaning of a word than any other representation and it helps us to understand why some structures are well formed in a language while others are not.

Keywords: generative lexicon, argument structure, event structure, qualia structure.

1. Introduction

The theory of the generative lexicon was proposed by James Pustejovsky in his book entitled *The generative lexicon*[1] (1995). It has emerged as a critique of the way in which the lexicon, as part of a general linguistic theory, was commonly understood. For Pustejovsky, the current understanding of the lexicon is a "static set of word senses, tagged with features for syntactic, morphological, and semantic information" and thus, "different word senses have been generally associated with distinct lexical items".[2] Pustejovsky points out two issues that have not been taken into account in the description of the lexicon and which are crucial for him: *the creative use of words in new contexts* and *the evaluation of lexical - semantic patterns based on compositionality*[3] (Pustejovsky, 1995:1). Both of them define what Pustejovsky considers to be generative aspect of the lexicon.

The generative lexicon is defined as „*a core set of word senses, typically with greater internal structure than is assumed in previous theories, is used to generate a larger set of word senses when individual lexical items are combined with others in phrases and clauses*"[4]. The operations that generate these "extended senses" are called generative mechanisms and include operations such as type coercion, selective binding and co-composition.

The generative lexicon includes three levels of representation:

- argument structure (ARGSTR)
- event structure (EVENSTR)
- qualia structure (QUALIA)

---

[*] **Junior Lecturer PhD., The Faculty of Medicine, "Carol Davila" University of Medicine and Pharmacy, Bucharest.**

[1] Pustejovsky, James, 1995, *The Generative Lexicon*, The MIT Press, London.

[2] Ibidem, p.1.

[3] Ibidem, p.1.

[4] Ibidem, p.2.

2. Lexical-**semantic** representations

2.1. The argument structure identifies three types of arguments and one type of nonargument: true arguments, default arguments, shadow arguments and adjuncts.

1. <u>True arguments</u> (T-ARG):
This category includes arguments that cannot be omitted. Their non-omission does not depend on the grammatical features (such as the omission of subjects in languages with pro-drop parameter), but on the semantic properties of a lexical item. A true argument is *John* in the example (1):

(1) <u>*John*</u> *ran.*
2. <u>Default arguments</u> (D-ARG)
Default arguments are those arguments which, for semantic reasons, are not necessarily expressed syntactically. Thus, in the example below, the prepositional phrase can be implied, although it is clear that a house is always built using a dominant material (concrete, wood, brick, etc.).

(2) *John built a house <u>out of bricks.</u>*
3. <u>Shadow arguments</u> (S-ARG)
Shadow arguments are those arguments whose presence is allowed only if they belong to a subtype of the type which, if expressed by an argument, would generate a pleonasm. It is known, for instance, that *to dance* means to perform movements in accordance with the rules of a dance. Therefore, the idea of *dance* is included in the concept of *to dance*. This prevents the use of the word *dance* as an argument of the verb *to dance*, because *dance* and *to dance* would form a pleonastic structure: *to dance a dance.* However, *to dance* accepts as an argument a semantic subtype of *dance*, such as *a waltz.* Regarding the *waltz*, the generative lexicon states that it is a shadow argument. Other examples of this type are in (3):

(3) *John sang <u>a song</u>.*
4. <u>Adjuncts</u> modify the logical expression, are part of the situational interpretation and are not tied to any particular lexical item's semantic representation. These include expressions of temporal or spatial modification:

(4) *John went to Ploieşti <u>on Tuesday.</u>*
Given this typology, Pustejovsky (1995) believes that the arguments for a lexical item, $ARG_1,..., ARG_N$, are represented in a list where the argument type is directly included in the argument structure, as shown in (5):

$$
(5) \quad \begin{bmatrix} build \\ ARGSTR = \begin{bmatrix} T - ARG_1 = x : human \\ T - ARG_2 = y : artifact \\ D - ARG_1 = z : material \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

2.2. The event structure characterizes both the basic event type of the lexical item and its subeventual structure: states, processes and transitions(6).

(6) *to be (state)*
to walk (process)
to arrive (transition)

To represent an event structure, we must take into account two things: 1) the specific events and their types and 2) the restrictions on these events. The restrictions refer to the temporal relationship and to the prominence of an event. The prominence of a subevent is expressed by the HEAD marker.

$$(7) \quad \begin{bmatrix} build \\ EVENTSTR = \begin{bmatrix} E_1 & = & process \\ E_2 & = & state \\ RESTR & = & <_\alpha \\ HEAD & = & process \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

In (7), from the aspectual point of view, the verb *to build* is composed of two subevents e_1 and e_2. The emphasis is on the process (e_1) which precedes the state (e_2).

2.3. Qualia structure represents the novelty of the theory presented by Pustejovsky. It describes four essential characteristics of the meaning of a word: the *constitutive role* (the relation between an object and its constituent parts: material, components), the *formal role* (which distinguishes the object within a larger domain, its physical characteristics: orientation, form, dimension), the *telic role* (the purpose and the function of the object) and the *agentive role* (factors involved in the origin of the object: artifact, creator). All these characteristics help to better describe the meaning of a word. However, we must take into account that even if every category expresses a qualia structure, not all lexical items carry a value for each qualia role.

For example, to differentiate between semantically related nouns (a *novel* and a *dictionary*), Pustejovsky[5], mentions that we need to think about what we do with them, and this has to be different. Although both objects are *books* in a general sense, what distinguishes them is that we *read* a novel and *consult* a dictionary. Thus, the respective qualia values encoding this information are: the telic role "reading" and "consulting". Another difference between these two words refers to the structure of the text: in the case of a novel we are dealing with *a narrative, a story* and in the case of a dictionary, with *a word list*. Thus, we obtain the constitutive role of the two words. The difference between these two words lies also in the way in which they were produced: the novel was *written*, and the dictionary was *compiled* (the agentive role).

---

[5] Ibidem, p.77.

$$(8) \quad \begin{bmatrix} novel \\ Qualia = \begin{bmatrix} CONSTIT & = & narrative \\ FORMAL & = & book \\ TELIC & = & to\ read \\ AGENT & = & written \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} dictionary \\ Qualia = \begin{bmatrix} CONSTIT & = & list\ of\ words \\ FORMAL & = & book \\ TELIC & = & to\ consult \\ AGENT & = & compiled \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

The information on the function of the object (the telic role), on the way in which it was created (the agentive role), on the components (the constitutive role) are absolutely necessary in the interpretation of compounds or phrases, and also in the case of evaluative adjectives such as *good*.

The qualia structure includes information which is conveyed by the other two levels of representation, the argument structure and the event structure. The inclusion is done by the values of qualia features.

For example, in (9), the verb *to build* presents three arguments (two of them are syntactically represented, and the third one is implied) and two subevents (process and the resulting state) which are joined in the qualia structure below:

$$(9) \quad \begin{bmatrix} build \\ \\ EVENSTR & = & \begin{bmatrix} E_1 & = & e_1 : process \\ E_2 & = & e_2 : state \\ RESTR & = & <_\alpha \\ HEAD & = & e_1 \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ ARGSTR & = & \begin{bmatrix} ARG1 & = & 1 \begin{bmatrix} human \\ FORMAL & = & physobj \end{bmatrix} \\ ARG2 & = & 2 \begin{bmatrix} artifact \\ CONST & = & 3 \\ FORMAL & = & physobj \end{bmatrix} \\ D-ARG1 & = & 3 \begin{bmatrix} material \\ FORMAL & = & mass \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ QUALIA & = & \begin{bmatrix} create\_lcp \\ FORMAL & = & exist(e_2,2) \\ AGENTIVE & = & build\_act(e_1,1,3) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

(Pustejovsky, 1995: 82)

3. The generative lexicon and phrases

3.1. The generative lexicon and the noun phrase

Noun phrases consisting of a head noun and a prepositional phrase do not allow any randomly taken word to attach to the head noun: in (10d), the head noun *house* presents items that disallow the adjunct in (10c). Thus, analyzing the phrase from the point of view of the generative lexicon, and more specifically from

the qualia structure of the head *house*, we notice that it only accepts prepositional phrases which make reference to the constitutive role (10a) or telic role (10b), namely to the types of houses. Other prepositional phrases that can attach to this head may be: *of stone, of wood,* etc.

(10) *a. house of bricks*
    b. house for vacantion
    *c. *house of books*

$$
d. \begin{bmatrix} house \\ QUALIA \;=\; \begin{bmatrix} FORMAL & = & building \\ CONST & = & walls, doors, roof \\ TELIC & = & to \;\; inhabit \\ AGENTIVE & = & to \;\; build\_act \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

The noun phrase *house of bricks* can be semantically explained as follows:

1) the nominal head *house* (11a) presents two true arguments in the argument structure (the one who builds the house and the object that results – the house) and a default argument (the material used in the building of the house). In the event structure, we notice that the type of the event is a state, and in the qualia structure, the four roles provide a detailed description of the head, that is: the house is a building (the formal role) which consists of walls, doors, roof, windows (the constitutive role), is made to be inhabited (the telic role) and it was built (the agentive role).

2) Having all this information about the head-noun, now we observe what types of adjuncts can be attached to the head-noun. Therefore, an adjunct such as the prepositional phrase *of bricks* (11b) may be attached to the head-noun because it makes reference to the material used in the building of the house. This information will appear in the formal role of the noun phrase *house of bricks* (11c).

The prepositional phrase *of books* would have been impossible to attach to the head-noun because it does not refer to any of the roles in the qualia structure.

$$
(11) \quad a. \begin{bmatrix} house \\ ARGSTR \;=\; \begin{bmatrix} ARG1 & = & x:human \\ ARG2 & = & y:building \\ D-ARG & = & z:material \end{bmatrix} \\ EVENSTR \;=\; \begin{bmatrix} E1 & = & state \end{bmatrix} \\ QUALIA \;=\; \begin{bmatrix} FORMAL & = & building \\ CONST & = & walls, doors, roof \\ TELIC & = & to \;\; inhabit \\ AGENTIVE & = & to \;\; build\_act \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

$$b.\begin{bmatrix} bricks \\ QUALIA \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} FORMAL \quad = \quad z \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$c.\begin{bmatrix} house \quad of \quad bricks \\ ARGSTR \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} ARG1 \quad = \quad x:human \\ ARG2 \quad = \quad y:building \\ D-ARG \quad = \quad z:bricks \end{bmatrix} \\ EVENSTR \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} E1 \quad = \quad state \end{bmatrix} \\ QUALIA \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} FORMAL \quad = \quad y(building) \wedge z(bricks) \\ CONST \quad = \quad walls, doors, roof \\ TELIC \quad = \quad to \quad inhabit \\ AGENTIVE \quad = \quad to \quad build\_act \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

3.2. The generative lexicon and the verb phrase

As in the case of noun phrases, we cannot randomly attach a complement or an adjunct to the head of a verb phrase. In (12a), the structure *to drink wine* is properly formed because the head-verb *to drink* requires a complement in the category of *fluids*. Since *wine* is part of the above mentioned category, it follows the correct form of the verbal phrase in (12a). Therefore, other noun phrases that can attach to the head *to drink* are: *water, juice, brandy, etc.*

The representation in (12b) shows that the head denotes a process with two true arguments. The process and its arguments are joined in the agentive role of qualia structure. The representation shows that as long as the argument is not specified, the verb may not receive any complement. Any operation which specifies the liquid to be drunk, as in (12c), leads to the coherent expansion of the verb (12d).

(12)*a. to drink wine*

$$b.\begin{bmatrix} drink \\ ARGSTR \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} ARG1 \quad = \quad x:human \\ ARG2 \quad = \quad y:liquid \end{bmatrix} \\ EVENSTR \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} E1 \quad = \quad process \end{bmatrix} \\ QUALIA \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} AGENTIVE \quad = \quad to \quad drink\_act(e1,x,y) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$c.\begin{bmatrix} wine \\ QUALIA \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} FORMAL \quad = \quad y \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$d. \begin{bmatrix} drink \quad wine \\ ARGSTR \quad = \quad \begin{bmatrix} ARG1 & = & x:human \\ ARG2 & = & y:wine \end{bmatrix} \\ EVENSTR \quad = \quad [E1 \quad = \quad process] \\ QUALIA \quad = \quad [AGENTIVE \quad = \quad to \quad drink\_act(e1,x,y)] \end{bmatrix}$$

Conclusions

As we have seen in this paper, the generative lexicon plays a significant role in the interpretation of words. At the same time, we have noticed that we cannot attach any word to the head of a phrase, but we have to take into account its qualia structure in order to form correct structures in a language.

REFERENCES

Ionescu, Emil, (2011), *General Linguistic Textbook,* Bucharest, All Publishing House.

Katz, Jerrold J., Fodor, Jerry A., (1963), *The structure of semantic theory*, Language 39.

Pustejovsky, James, (1995), *The Generative Lexicon*, The MIT Press.