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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHILOSOHY AND SCIENCE IN THE WORK OF DIMITRIE CANTEMIR AND G.W. LEIBNIZ

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Abstract: *We intend, in our paper based on the research of the texts and ideational and cultural contexts of the work of the two thinkers, scientists and scholars, European encyclopaedists, to analyze how they related to the two forms of knowledge, respectively, which was the path (method) followed (by each one toward the Truth, toward God.* ***We plan to argue how the method is reflected in the Cantemirian and Leibnizian thinking paradigm.***

Keywords: *philosophy, God, metaphysics, orthological paradigm, cognitive paradigm.*

The theme proposed for the comparative research of the two thinkers whose destinies intersected toward the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century is generous, but particularly difficult in terms of identifying, explaining and arguing some of the deepest philosophical and scientific issues that highly preoccupied these two universal spirits, with encyclopaedic formation.

Dimitrie Cantemir undoubtedly represents the *uomo universal*e prototype of the Romanians, concentrating all cultures from his time in an original philosophical paradigm that will have influence on the Romanian philosophical mentality, in a decisive way, up to Titu Maiorescu's time[1].

The idea of the Leibnizian universalism was well noticed by Dilthey, on the background of a veritable history of modern culture: "Leibniz - Dilthey wrote - is the most universal spirit that new European peoples produced before Goethe. If the highest benefit of the philosopher consists in bringing the culture of an epoch to self-consciousness and systematic classification, thus enhancing the powers of this culture, then no other thinker from Plato and Aristotle did it so comprehensively and creatively as this great German philosopher. The powerful forces, that coexisted in the culture of the seventeenth century - namely: the Greek idealism of Plato and Aristotle, the purifying Protestant Christianity and the new science of the time based upon the knowledge of nature - have perfectly harmonized in this spirit endowed with a deep power of understanding and exploration. It seems that the nature itself meant him for this titanic work"[2].

It is common knowledge that in philosophy there is no universal method, as each philosopher had his own method: Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Husserl and,

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[1] G. Pohoaţă, *Romanian Educational Models in Philosophy*, Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany, 2012, p.34.

[2] W. Dilthey, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, apud. G. Pohoaţă, in *Metaphysics and Science in G.W. Leibniz*'s Work, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, Bucharest, p.27.

implicitly Cantemir and Leibniz. Therefore, their thinking paradigms are different. **Thus, Dimitrie Cantemir's paradigm of thinking harmoniously combines the philosophy of science towards Truth but, to the same extent, Cantemir will question the relationship between Christian faith and philosophy. Cantemir cultivates a flexible model of comprehension, sensitive both to discursive thinking and to ethical and religious experience[3].**

Cantemir's work includes – according to P.P. Panaitescu [4] recognized interpretation - a whole spiritual evolution: a first period (up to1700) dominated somehow by the Orthodox religious vision (main works: *the Divan or the Wise Man's Parley with the World*, *1698; The Undepictable Image of the Sacred Science, Small compendium of General Logic, 1700);* the second period (1700-1711), characterized by the determinist (in the field of deism) and empiricist position of *the Hieroglyphic History (1705);* the third period (1711-1723)*, in which his main scientific works (History of the Ottoman Empire; Description of Moldavia, the Chronicle of the Durability of the Romanians-Moldavians-Wallachians*).

The main idea throughout this work, formulated even in the Small Compendium, is that science and philosophy can save the man, an idea which announces a combination of humanistic traditions with those of the new age of the "Enlightenment". Closely related to these arguments is also the fact that Dimitrie Cantemir's education, in the first part of his life, was a humanistic, theological and philosophical one. Thus, at the age of 25, he wrote first book, the "Divan" [5] , a sui-generis combination of philosophy-theology, ethics, followed by a theological metaphysics in *Sacrosanctae*[6], which points out an orthological paradigm of the Cantemirian thinking. We can somehow appreciate that the Prince-Philosopher starts from theology-philosophy towards science but he did not stop at the sacred science (revelation), not even in the *Undepictable Image of the Sacred Science,* but he prepared the orientation towards history and science, fully asserted in the *Hieroglyphic History* and later in his historical works. In fact, by his encyclopaedist spirit, by his thematic novelty, by his attempt of theoretical approach, to a great extent free of prejudices, Cantemir's work accounts for preoccupations and thoughts specific to the modern man in the context of the Romanian culture. [7] It was not by mere chance that, while Leibniz was the

[3] Şt. Afloroaie: *Dimitrie Cantemir – The Metaphysical Fortress of a Prince*, in vol. Dimitrie Cantemir, *Interdisciplinary Perspectives* - coordinated by B.Creţu, Iaşi, The European Institute Publishing House, 2010, p.105.

[4] P.P. Panaitescu, *Dimitrie Cantemir. Life and Work*, the Academy Publishing House, 1958, p.254-255.

[5] D. Cantemir, The *Divan,* edition prepared by V. Cândea, E.P.L. Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969.

[6] D. Cantemir, *Sacrosanctae scientiae indepingibilis imago,* translated into Romanian with the title *Methaphysics*, by Nicodom Locusteanu at Ancora Publishing House, with a forward by Em. Grigoraş, 1928.

[7] Al.Boboc, *Romanian Philosophy, Historical and Philosophical Studies from a Comparative Perspective*, Cluj-Napoca, Grinta Publishing House, 2007, p.24-25

President of the Berlin Academy, Dimitrie Cantemir was proposed, on the 11th of July 1714, to become a member of the Berlin Academy, an act that legitimates the international scientific value of the Romanian scholar's work, which met the requirements of his time and the multilateralism of the German thinker.

What are the grounds of this decision given that, after the moment of his election, Cantemir will write the works which will have established him in Europe: is it the case of the History of the Increase and Decrease the Ottoman Empire, Descriptio Moldaviae or the Chronicle?!

We consider that Cantemir's erudition was in full accordance with Leibniz's projects and we refer especially to the project of a "**universal science**", which proves and illustrates the German thinker's openness toward a well-organized and qualitatively harmonized encyclopaedism, in universal forms of comprehension, of unification in order to reach balance under all its aspects. The idea of a "**characteristica universalis**" is decisive in Leibniz's projects. This is due to the fact that it has the function of a "**universal language within the general science**", being worth as a "**tool or means that benefits the general science**", which, in its turn, "**liaises the rigour of demonstration to the light of invention".**[8]

Moreover, Leibniz's conviction was that all languages have a common origin, the words not being completely arbitrary; his ideal was to unify the basic methods and sentences in a universal discipline.

To determine the boundaries and virtues of such a science is among the first duties of a researcher who wants to discover the grounds of human knowledge. The tool should have been a **universal encyclopaedia**[9] supposed to depict a collection of human knowledge in all areas, logically grouped, after a demonstrative method, starting from the simplest ones. As such an encyclopaedia overcame the powers of a man, even Leibniz's erudition, the scholar conceived a society of scholars who should work systematically for the inventory of all human knowledge. He proposes even to the Royal Society in London, to the Academy of Sciences in Paris, and finally, to the great princes of his time, some commentators believe that even to Louis XIV – to take upon themselves such a task. Although he did not succeed in determining anyone to take on such an undertaking, the fact that it could have been possible to accomplish it was enough to keep unaltered in his mind the thought of its characteristic.

Since the stated purpose of this *scientia generalis* is to contribute to a demo Encyclopaedia, that is to prepare the ground for a scientifically based "encyclopaedic presentation", it cannot take another model than Mathematics, to be an encyclopaedia *more mathematica*... Unlike Cantemir, in Leibniz's view, ***the longing for the method*** is under the influence of the Cartesian school which brings "light upon Mathematics", but the German philosopher wants to identify the research method

[8] M. Schneider, *Leibniz Konzeption der Characteristica universalis zwischen 1677 und 1690*, in: revue Internationale de Philosophie, no. 2(1994), p.214.

[9] L. Couturat, *La logique de Leibniz,* Paris, Alcan, 1901, p.281.

with that of making proof: things must be known in the same way in which knowledge is proven"[10].

Nowadays it is commonly accepted in professional research that the Leibnizian renewals concerning the substance theory (and metaphysics in general) is supported by its achievements the field of Mathematics (in fact, by the modernization of this key area of science of all times!)

As far as **Mathematics** is concerned, an area in which he is innovative, Leibniz focuses less on the "technical" functions (related to calculus) and more on the logical and methodological ones, particularly on the role of Mathematics in promoting logic.

In fact, the principles that justify the new calculus present obvious analogies with those that inspired **monadology** and, in the space theory, Mathematics and philosophy are interdependent. Leibniz often stressed that "**Mathematics is a promotion of logic**" but not of the mere formal logic, of "this more general logic penetrated by metaphysics, whose study area is **order** and the application of the laws of harmony".[11] With the denomination of "universal Mathematics" liaises, in the seventeenth century, the "postulate of a mathematization", and this means: specifying the methods and scientific procedures of reasoning. Leibniz was the protagonist of this postulate as the projects of "logical-rational foundation" shows, related to those of an "encyclopaedic presentation of all sciences", which Leibniz used to call a "*scientia generalis*", "*Elementa veritatis Aeterna*", "*Encyclopedia nova*" and others[12].

Maybe that is why Leibniz wanted to confess:

"But as far as I am concerned, I am keen on Mathematics only because I find in them the signs of the art of invention in general. I reached Metaphysics, and I can say that it is out of love, because I went through all these stages; as I did not realize that true Metaphysics is not at all different from true logic, from the art of invention in general; as Metaphysics is actually a natural theology; God himself is the source of universal goodness and, at the same time, the principle of any knowledge" [13]. Thus, Leibniz starts from *Dissertatio de arte combinatoria* (1666), written at age of 19, goes through *Discours de la métaphysique* (1686), where he exposes his philosophy in French, will reach his peak with *Essais de Théodicée*, in which Leibniz, in reply to Pierre Bayle's arguments, tries to reconcile the existence of human liberty and of evil in the world with God's Omnipotence and Goodness. At the request of the Prince Eugene of Savoy, Leibniz writes in 1714 two systematic presentations of his

[10] W.Windelband, *Die Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*....Bd. I,7, und 8. Aufl. Leipzig, Verlag von Breithoff & Hartel, 1922, p.460, 464.

[11]. A. Rivaud, *Histoire de la philosophie*. Tome III, L'époque classique, P.U.F., 1950, p.487.

[12] M. Scheiders, *Funktion und Grundlegung der Mathesis Universalis in Leibnizschen Wissenschaften*, in: Studia Leibnitiana, Sonderheft 15, 1994, p.163.

[13] Dietrich Mahnke, *Leibnizens Synthese von Universal Mathematik und Individual Metaphysik,* 1st part, Halle,1925, p.571, note 140, apud. C. Noica, cited works, p. 65.

philosophy: *Monadology* and *Principes de la nature et de la grâce fondés en ration*.

Leibniz's work [14] covers almost all possible areas of man's assertion (theoretical and practical), ranging from the scholar and researcher (in science and logic, philosophy and theology, Mathematics and natural sciences; linguistics; music and poetry, arts in general, language sciences, theory of history, science of law, economics and state etc.) up to counselling in economics, foreign policy, ecumenical policy, organization of science and libraries; organization of information and so on. It very is important to know that within this work is achieved a unity among: ***ars, scientia, philosophia*[15]*, teoria cum praxis*, a unity that the famous Denis Diderot (Encyclopaedia, 1765)** had put in connection with "this man, who himself alone brought to Germany as much glory as Plato, Aristotle and Archimedes together brought to Greece".

We can also say that Leibniz sums up the contrary aspirations of an entire world, bringing along four or five different traditions: "We find in his work the entire heritage of Antiquity, of Middle Ages, of Renaissance and that of the seventeenth century. But in this way he is himself, highly prodigious ... He responds best to the exigency established by Plato: philosophy envisages assemblies. And in order to reach this, Leibniz makes use of a reflexive method that could be called a *metaphysical counterpoint*. Having very recently selected several themes, some leading reasons, he will develop them, harmonize them into a whole, following the example of a conductor, master of hundreds of performers. Its aim was that of School (of scholastic); he built up a complete system of the world, a whole encyclopaedia of facts and ideas accessible to our spirit."[16].

What is most important in Leibniz's work lies in principles, paraphrasing Hegel. He is the philosopher with the highest number of principles. The system of principles acts actually constantly in Leibniz's developments. The first illustration: *Principes de la nature et de la Grâce fondés en Raison* (1714) ; *Système nouveau de la nature et de la communication des substances* (1695), and even *Monadology* (1714).

But this system becomes effective from the perspective of metaphysics: "So far - Leibniz wrote – we have spoken as simple physicists; now we must rise to metaphysics, making use of the Great principle, little shared, which claims that nothing can be done without sufficient reason, that nothing can happen without it being possible to him who, knowing many things, should confer a Reason that must be sufficient to determine why it is so, and not otherwise. This principle once raised, the first question entitled to be asked will be: *why is there something rather than nothing?* For nothing is simpler and easier than something And, in

[14] G. Pohoață, *Metaphysics and Science in G.W. Leibniz's Work*, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, Bucharest, 2012, p.24.

[15] W. Totok, *Die Begriffe ars, scientia und philosophia bei Leibniz*, in: Leibniz, Tradition und Aktualiti. V. International Leibniz-Kongress, 14-19, November 1998.

[16] A. Rivaud, *cited works,* p.422.

addition, assuming that things must exist, we must be able to justify why they should be so and not otherwise".[17]

It is an essential text for understanding the role and place of "principles" in all Leibniz's developments, which represents a unit just by the interaction (as a system) of principles, where the "principle of reason" has absolute applicability, to any kind of truth, for it is the very definition of truth, expresses its nature.

But in order to avoid a necessitarism (universal need), Leibniz looked for the solution in the difference between finite and infinite or in considering the mathematical infinite. But the appeal to the sphere of Mathematics has another end than that of a panmatematism. As noted "whenever he seems to subordinate the mathematical principles to the metaphysical ones, he actually subordinates them to the principles of his logic, as evidenced by the repeated references to <<characteristica universalis>>[18] and further on to << Mathesis universalis>>.

The approach of the Leibnizian philosophy is impossible without reference to his science, physics, mathematics, or logic. It is not the problem of individual substance, of monad or monadology, of the infinite or the reform of dynamics and the metaphysical force or the predetermined harmony system that we are concerned with in our analysis, but we bring them into attention in order to argue that the German thinker developed **a philosophical system scientifically based**, somehow a **metaphysical epistemology** developed in ***Monadology***, whereas in Cantemir's work philosophy has a theological foundation, being able to speak of a **theological metaphysics developed in the *Divan* and *Sacrosanctae*.**

It is very interesting to highlight in the context of our analysis how the **idea of God** is reflected in the works of the two thinkers, both having an encyclopaedic formation, but belonging to different cultures and having a distinct background. For Cantemir, who had an excellent knowledge of the biblical texts[19], God is the Creator, Master, King, Father arguing in the following way: "the Creator, having accomplished his creation according to his wisdom and power has taken a rest" "Master of all creation, the eternal King, the Heavenly Father", qualities that Cantemir assigns to divinity in the Divan, the Chronicle and Hieroglyphic History. The most original names for God (which cannot be found in the Divan or in the Chronicle) are mentioned, without any doubt, in the most daring work of fiction of his time: ***the Hieroglyphic History***; here, the author had no patterns, linguistic patterns; he ignored them, giving free rein to his imagination and creativity in terms of expression, having a full mastery of his "creation" as that of the allegorical narration undertaken. The author also refers to God when he says: "Only when the Creator of the nature (he who keeps creating restlessly), according to his free and powerful will, would ever leave it willingly".[20] Here, the Creator is

[17] G.W. Leibniz, *Principes des la Nature et de la Grace fondes en Raison*, Hamburg, F.Meiner, 2. Aufl. 1982 (paralel text in French and German), p.12, 14.

[18] G. Pohoață, *Metaphysics and Science in G.W. Leibniz's Work*, Bucharest, ProUniversitaria Publishing House, 2nd edition revised and improved, 2012, p. 196.

[19] Stela Toma, *The Names of God in the Romanian Cantemirian texts,* in the volume. *Philology and Literature, Research-Studies*, Bucharest, Semnal Publishing House, 2002, p.142.

[20] The *Hieroglyphic History,* Stela Toma-N.Stoicescu edition, *Complete Works,* 4th vol. Bucharest, the Academy Publishing House, 1985, p.537.

the one who "ensures" the progress of the universe, without stopping (undetermined creation=no borders, no edges) he "ensures" the ongoing of nature, with the meaning of: "nature considered as a whole of everything that it contains (world, earth, flesh)". [21]

I insisted on the original texts with the help of the eminent philologist, the Cantemirist Stela Toma in order to clearly uphold the predominantly theistic vision of Cantemir as to divinity. Similarly, Leibniz is the exponent of theism, because God is the Creator, the monads are "flashes of divinity", God is the ultimate Reason, the architect, the monad of monads. In relation to God, Cantemir express an orthological paradigm, with the following structure: Orthodox theology-philosophy-science. Leibniz remains the rationalist thinker, in search of evidence to prove that God exists, developing a cognitive paradigm, characteristic of the Western speculation, but which dissolves itself in Theodicy, where the German philosopher expressed the essence of his philosophy. It is eloquent what Leibniz wrote in his Preface to Theodicy: "We can see that Jesus Christ, bringing to an end what Moses had begun, wanted the divinity not to arouse only feelings of fear and awe, but also of love and affection. What means to make people feel beatitudes beforehand, to give them here, down, the feeling of future happiness. As there is nothing more pleasurable than to love what is worth loving. Love is that affection which makes us enjoy the perfections of what we love and nothing is more perfect and charming than God. In order to love Him, it is enough to think of his perfections; and this not so difficult, since we find within ourselves their ideas. God's perfections are those of our souls, but he possesses them limitless; He is an ocean from which we have received only drops: we possess within ourselves some power, knowledge, goodness; but entirely they are in God. The order, proportions, harmony enchant us, painting and music prove it. God is only order, He always keeps the right proportions, gives rise to universal harmony: all beauty is an outpouring of His rays.[22]

That is why Leibniz appreciates the knowledge of God and His ways, as the only way for man to improve his life and to improve as a human being. God is the great idea of his philosophy.

It is amazing how the two thinkers used philosophical and scientific knowledge with a soteriological purpose (saving) to get closer to God, combining reason with faith, otherwise the optimal way for humans to get closer to divinity.

Philosophy and science in order to build a vision of existence;

Philosophy and science in order to substantiate research method in knowledge;

Philosophy and science for political purposes;

Philosophy and science for soteriological purposes;

Philosophy and science in reaching the Truth! Philosophy and science in reaching happiness by means of perfection, and it lies in the multitude of knowledge.

[21] Stela Toma, cited works, 142.

[22] G.W. Leibniz, *Theodetical Essays*, translated by Diana Morăraşu şi Ingrid Ilinca, Iaşi, Polirom, 1997, p. 27.

By the structure of a new Weltanschauung that they propose, both Cantemir and Leibniz make an epistemic distinction between what was called *via antique* and, *via moderna*, thus marking the assertion of the truly modern era in the world history.

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LEIBNIZ AND CANTEMIR – ISSUES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Abstract: *This paper is focused on the liaison between two eminent figures of the 17th and early 18th centuries: the great German philosopher Leibniz and the prominent figure of the Romanian intellectual scenery, Dimitrie Cantemir. The present attempt is set mainly on building a possible relationship between their respective political patterns. We will depict some of the Leibnizian political initiatives, as well as the deeper meaning behind Cantemir's political activity. Could the two of them actually meet on the common ground of rational decision governing political enterprise?*

Keywords: *Leibniz, Cantemir, political arithmetic, rational decision.*

Introduction

The 17th century, from which we depart, also extended throughout the beginning of the 18th century, is a complicated time. It stands out by the political pressure derived from the clashes between imperial "geopolitics" and the newborn configuration of national identities. Leibniz lives and creates in a somewhat obscure century. To some respect, even one of his most significant work, *The Monadology*, may easily be interpreted in a socio-political key, to the extent that is offers a "solution", a "medicine" albeit mainly idealistic, to the human and social disease of his time. This is why researchers have often considered that Leibnizian monads could and should be superimposed on the fractured image of the Germanic states that comprised the Holy Roman Empire. Did these monadic entities actually offer a viable pattern for some future social, political and religious fraternization? But this obviously amounts to a separate discussion. For now, it is clear that a philosopher such as Leibniz shows a profound interest in solving the conundrums of the emergent modern world. On the other hand, Dimitrie Cantemir is equally bound by politics and, as a statesman and political thinker, functions under a similar ideal: the necessity for identity roots and development, a pan-Christian approach, a keen eye set on the Ottoman "danger", and so on. Furthermore, his son, Antioch builds up on the genetic material of his father by becoming an eminent diplomat of the Russian Empire, while also stepping in Leibniz's shoes by continuing, at least symbolically, the role Leibniz had assumed when he had asked for that well-known, yet unconsumed, audience to the Court of Louis XIV. And this is how the circle is completed. Let us begin now.

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1. The political arithmetic pattern (Graunt, Petty, Leibniz)

I have extensively discussed, in a previous study[1], the "political arithmetic" problem. It should prove useful to revisit here some of these ideas. As I have already mentioned in my short introduction, there is a 17th century extended crisis situation in sight. A crisis related to the perpetual altercation among the European superpowers, to the escalating conflicts brought about by the absolute responses of the major European entities. In his book on Leibniz and the 17th century issues, Meyer notes that: "Exceptionally small members which represented no power – such as Holland, Burgundy or Switzerland – relinquished by their very nature their claims to statehood. Exceptionally large members – France and England – suspended the sovereignty of their neighbours potentially, in so far, that is, as the latter were unable to withstand their attack. [...] The *securitas publica* became the most disquieting problem of the time. And this is most clearly seen in the relation between France and the United Netherlands, and between France and constitutionless Germany"[2]. This was, then, a problem of power balance, translated into a major European problem, which had also been augmented following the enthronement of Louis XIV. Therefore, it became almost impossible to guarantee the safety of individual countries.

On the other hand, the second half of the 17th century brings about some possible solutions for "resetting" the precarious political climate. This is the case with what we traditionally regard as "political arithmetic", following the ideas of John Graunt and William Petty. Leibniz refers to the latter with reverence: "I've strongly supported the thoughts of Mr. Petty, who illustrated the application of mathematics to economic-political matters. I myself [...] showed that there is a type of mathematics with respect to the evaluation of reasons and that sometimes it is necessary to add them, sometimes multiply them together, in order to determine the sum. This has not been remarked enough by logicians"[3]. Therefore, as Leibniz synthetizes, political arithmetic is an instrument of rational decision making, of weighing motives and consequences. There is a natural correspondence between scientific calculus and political decision, and it stands to reason that this should be fathomed, speculated and applied. The world can and should be mathematically governed – this is what Petty discovered. In an article on the birth of statistics and the new natural science, Giuseppe Leti writes that Petty "held that the questions of State follow the laws of algebra and that social reality had a mathematical structure. To best describe and interpret this, mathematical procedures had to be applied, ensuring that social phenomena were treated with precision"[4]. Leibniz himself, as we will presently see, navigated on similar waters.

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[1] Alexandru Ştefănescu, "On the Sources and Ambitions of Political Arithmetic", in Cecilia Tohăneanu (coord.), *Teorii versus ideologii politice?* (*Political Theories versus Ideologies?*), Iaşi, European Institute Publishing House, 2012.

[2] R.W. Meyer, *Leibnitz And The Seventeenth-Century Revolution*, Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1952, p. 21.

[3] G.W. Leibniz, *Acad.*, I, xiii, 551.

[4] Giuseppe Leti, "The Birth of Statistics and the Origins of the New Natural Science", *Metron* 58, No. 3-4, p. 198.

2. Foreign politics issues in Leibnizian writings (*Specimen, Consilium*)

When citing earlier Leibniz's words regarding Petty, I deliberately omitted a phrase that proves, without a doubt, the overlapping of their respective political arithmetic projects. The complete fragment is: "I've strongly supported the thoughts of Mr. Petty, who illustrated the application of mathematics to economic-political matters. I myself, in a small book anonymously printed in 1669 on the election of the King of Poland at the request of an Ambassador who had to go to Warsaw, showed that there is a type of mathematics with respect to the evaluation of reasons [...]". The reference is straightforward. Leibniz mentions his writing entitled *Specimen demonstrationum politicarum pro eligendo rege Polonorum*. This is a relevant example when speaking of superimposed mathematics and politics. In short, the work takes into account four different candidates to the Polish royal position, designated in turn by Brandemburg-Prusia, Austria, France and Russia. To be more precise: Philipp Wilhelm von Neuburg (Brandenburg), Prince Karl von Lothringen (Austria), the Prince of Condé, (France) and Alexei Mihailovici (Russia). The purpose (which is clearly electoral) of this writing is to undoubtedly prove that Philipp Wilhelm von Neuburg (the candidate that Leibniz supported) is the best choice. The text is redacted in a logical-propositional manner, being comprised of 60 propositions, 12 corollaries and four conclusions. There are two profoundly connected perspectives at hand – one concerns itself with political arguments, the other with human features. What Leibniz does is mainly to "calculate" various arguments and reasons regarding Polish political and military display, distribution of power, qualities of the ideal candidate and so on.[5]

This example of an arithmetically bound political proposal is dated 1669. Three years later, he will plot a similar construction, yet infinitely more ambitious. I am referring to his political project known as *Consilium Aegyptiacum*, which was intended to be presented before Louis XIV. *In nuce*, Leibniz spoke of a French invasion of Egypt, which is precisely what he had in mind for the French king, although, after endless tergiversations, he never got the audience he had asked for. There are two separate stakes here that merit discussion: politics and religion. As for politics the main agenda is set on relinquishing the European interstate conspiracy, while grasping a sound and reasonable political construction. Here, Leibniz is shrewd enough to indicate that France is to assume the role of the leader for the presumably unified European politics, thus the role of a "European arbiter". The second question is religious in nature and it implies a unified offense against the Turkish danger. Leibniz has in mind here a triumphant construction of Christian dissemination throughout the entire world. Needless to say that these political and religious ambitions come together as a whole. Irrespective of the France-Egypt relationship, the stakes are huge, as they involve a universalistic ambition. Retracing this Leibnizian initiative, Jean Baruzi points out the main

[5] See Jérémie Griard, *The* Specimen Demonstrationum Politicarum Pro Eligendo Rege Polonorum: *From the Concatenation of Demonstrations to a Decision Appraisal Procedure*, in Marcelo Dascal (ed.), *Leibniz: What Kind of Rationalist?*, Vol. 13, Springer, 2008; and Markku Roinila, *Leibniz on Rational Decision-Making*, Vantaa, Dark Oy, 2007.

political directions of the project: "La Suède et la Pologne, au lieu de se déchirer l'une l'autre, pénétreraient dans la Sibérie et la Tauride; l'Angleterre et le Danemark conquerraient l'Amérique du Nord; l'Espagne, l'Amérique du Sud; la Hollande, l'Inde orientale; la France s'attaquerait à l'Afrique «posée en face d'elle» et à l'Égypte"[6]. However, the immediate benefits of the project, which Leibniz choses to disguise, deeply relate to the ever growing German problem. It stands to reason that both the political and the religious balance are desirable questions in regard to European peace and security. But Leibniz also aims at providing a steady climate that would release the pressure put on a fractured and somewhat disoriented Germany. And the fact remains that his project, that seems colossal in its ambitions, is built according to the requirements of political arithmetic. His calculus is pragmatic-scientific, while also aiming at some conceptual-metaphysical finality. And this is why Leibniz's "arithmetic" is somewhat different from Petty's, as it fathoms not only the realm of sensibility and social reasoning, but also the empire of truth and grace (much like Cantemir himself).

3. Is there a rational pattern for Cantemir's political initiatives?

Much like our German philosopher, Cantemir is also a gifted "handler" of politics. I depart here from the suggestions made by Dan Bădărău in his book on the Moldavian prince. First, as history proves, we have Cantemir's visits to Constantinople, especially the third one, before 1700, a time spent in order "to form useful relations amongst Turkish statesmen, important Greeks and foreign ambassadors"[7]. Still, Cantemir's political activity can be easily seen as a semi-failure, since he could not stop the downfall of his brother Antioch. His relationship with the Sublime Porte is ambivalent of course, but it will soon enter a critical phase. The growing discontent and antipathy towards the Ottomans is bound to influence his short reign from 1710-1711, as well as the future relation with Russia. What is Catemir's political calculus while assuming the Moldavian leadership? First, he sees that freeing Moldavia from the Ottoman suzerainty will further empower not only the Moldavian reign, but also the socio-economic conditions of its population. The policies of any minor state, in the context of powerful neighbors, must be weighed carefully. It is, thus, at stake a form of preoccupation that Leibniz also was confronted with in regard to the German problem, as proven by the fact that he needed to devise a plan that would shift European awareness away from the "German frailty" issue. This is also the case with Cantemir, since Moldavia itself was fragile in relation to both its intestine struggles and the Turkish yoke.

Another question that merits attention is the "Russian problem" and the new direction of Cantemir's political vision. In fact, if we are to believe Cantemir, he had always had his eyes set on Moscow, maintaining close relation with the Russians even when in Constantinople. In a letter sent to Peter the Great, dated September 1721, he writes: "Being in Constantinople, I did not go back on the word I have

[6] Jean Baruzi, *Leibniz et l'Organisation Religieuse de la Terre*, Paris, F. Alcan, 1907, p. 10.

[7] Dan Bădărău, *The Philosophy of Dimitrie Cantemir*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1964, p. 60.

sworn to His Excellence, Mr. Peter Andreevici Tolstoy... And as soon as I returned to Moldavia, before and after Your Highness took the time to visit our country, I kept the same faith in my heart"[8]. Cantemir's decision to eventually openly side with the Russians is, anyway, susceptible to adverse interpretations. In his *History of the Romanians in Trajan's Dacia*, A.D. Xenopol sees Cantemir's gesture as a form of treason. He tells us that Cantemir proves excessively pragmatic when, in the context of an imminent new Russian-Turkish war, he chooses to side with the seemingly stronger, prevailing party. Bădărău on the other hand contradicts such a view, stating that Cantemir did not act driven merely by political prudence, thus becoming a mere "visionless opportunist"[9]. It's more likely that his political act is a result of some intimate convictions regarding the best course of action to ensure Romanian political freedom. Personally, I am inclined to a "middle" opinion. For, much like Leibniz, Cantemir sets the stage for a pragmatic political game, while also aiming at a higher, superior conceptual finality. The "game" is a conniving political scheme, as long as we bear in mind that it cannot simply be a "game". What brings legitimacy to Cantemir's game? Following Bădărău's suggestions, I conceive this game to be threefold, implying: liberty (freedom from the Ottoman pressure), justice (amending the feudal aristocracy regime), and faith (namely further empowering the Orthodox Church).[10]

4. (In place of an) ending: from Dimitrie to Antiokh and back to Leibniz

There is a rational pattern to Dimitrie Cantemir's politics, even though it does not necessarily support the same scientific rigors that Leibniz had imposed. On the other hand, it is fairly interesting to follow the "genetic" destiny of politics and diplomacy. It is significant that, in regard to his son Antioch, the Russian diplomat, a model perfected by Leibniz in the 17th century clearly applies to the imperial political pattern of the 18th century.

The fact that Dimitrie and Antioch, father and son, belong to different cultures should not raise a wall between the two of them, nor should it make perfect strangers out of them.[11] As a diplomat, Antioch lives in London between 1732 and 1738, brilliantly succeeding in reestablishing the balance of Russian-English relations, after the 1720 downfall. But the French episode (from 1738 to 1744) seems of more interest here, again the stakes being the restoring of sound diplomatic relations. For Antioch's political activity in Paris[12] symbolically meets with Leibniz own Parisian experience from the 1672-1676 period. And although there are many differences to take into account, the similarities are striking as well. The political context is not that different, and both of these men have in mind a European concord desideration. Last but not least, politics aside,

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[10] See *ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
[11] Dimitrie's influences on his son, Antioch, can be found in Vasile Harea, *Dimitrie Cantemir and His Son Antiokh*, Iaşi, „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University Publishing House, 1999.
[12] See Marcelle Ehrhard, *Le Prince Cantemir à Paris (1738-1744): un ambassadeur de Russie à la Cour de Louis XV*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1938.

Paris offers a generous intellectual context. Unfortunately, Antioch could not profit enough from such an experience, as he passed away in 1744. Leibniz instead found infinite inspiration is the fecund model of the 17th century French intellectual life and it would be safe to assume that, throughout his life, this model guided some of his most significant works.

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THE CRITICAL THINKING IN DIMITRIE CANTREMIR'S WORK

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Abstract: *Dimitrie Cantemir is a complex cultural personality, a thinker summing up the contradictory features of his age. Living at the "crossroads of times" between the Mediaeval and the Modern world, Cantemir achieves through his work a synthesis of Eastern and Western cultural models. Furthermore, Cantemir combines the creative spirit with the critical thinking, the constructive attitude with the appreciative stand.*

Keywords: *critical spirit, cultural model, objectivity, rational knowledge, image.*

Critical thinking, a component of the modern thought

Critical thinking is a fundamental trait of modern thought, an indicator of the freedom of thought and of expression. It implies a rational examination of ideas and institutions, as well as of the reasons guiding our behavior, being a ferment of the debates in modern public area. In fact, critical thinking is a perennial feature of philosophical thinking we also find at the Ancient thinkers, for instance, at the Sophists and the great system-builders such as Plato and Aristotle. In each case, however, the critical spirit is manifested in specific forms determined by historical and cultural contexts. Philosophy, being a rational construction of a global image on the world and humankind, is also a reflection on its own rationales and principles, is "the thinking that thinks about itself", according to Aristotle's assertion. Therefore, critical consciousness involves self-reflection, an aspiration towards objectivity, the assessment of things from the perspective of trans-subjective values and the rational control of the discourse.

In modern culture, the critical attitude originates from the writings of the Renaissance humanists, who had the courage to rethink man's position in the universe, but mainly in the work of thinkers who founded the modern scientific spirit in outright opposition to medieval scholasticism.[1] Let us mention, first, the Englishman Francis Bacon, who problematized the new inductive method, open to experience, the author of an interesting theory about "idols" (errors, prejudgments, illusions, phantasms) which control our mind and from which we need to free ourselves by a salutary critical attitude. Along with Bacon, we should right away mention René Descartes, a somewhat younger contemporary, but who would further on gain a greater notoriety in universal culture. Descartes would develop a theory of knowledge starting from the inner to the outer experience,

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[1] Garabet Ibrăileanu, *The Critical Spirit in Romanian Culture. Notes and Impressions*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1984, p. 14.

based on the famous methodical "doubt" in order to test the validity of knowledge. The two thinkers' meeting point is the idea that genuine scientific research requires a prior critical examination of previous knowledge.

Gradually, we come closer to the time of Cantemir and Leibniz when critical thinking becomes an indispensible tool of knowledge and of the attitude towards the world as embraced by the Enlightenment thinkers. Kant is the one who would theorize critical thinking and criticism as a fundamental attitude in the field of knowledge, of practical reason and aesthetic judgment. It is significant that precisely Kant, the philosopher who placed the concept of "criticism" in the title of his works had a strong and profound influence on Romanian culture, an influence that is visible in the work of the most original Romanian thinkers from Eminescu (who translated the first part of *The Critique of Pure Reason)* to C. Radulescu Motru, Lucian Blaga and Constantin Noica.

In the Romanian culture, Cantemir is the landmark for the beginnings of the critical approach in various fields, although we can also mention the existence of other precursors endowed with the spirit of observation and sporadic critical approaches. Nonetheless, as he acquired the elements of a modern, rationalist vision of the world, Cantemir systematically applied critical thinking throughout his work, in historiography (the critique of the sources and distorted images about the Romanian people), in philosophical and political thinking (the boundaries of natural knowledge, based on sensorial data, the criticism of moeurs, of corruption, of duplicitous politics) and mainly the assessment he made of mentalities and features characteristic for the Romanian people. The critical attitude always comes from relating actual facts to certain values, seen as ideal benchmarks, as desirable stases. Therefore, critical thinking is born out of the conscience that there is a discrepancy between the rightful and factual stasis. Cantemir is endowed with this critical consciousness toward the social and political realities in the Romanian countries, realities that were far from the ideals inspiriting his philosophical thought and political action.

Highlights from the development of critical thinking in Romanian culture

In his synthetic work *The Critical Spirit of Romanian Culture*, in 1909, Gabaret Ibrăileanu proves that in the Romanian space there was a close connection among several components of the modernization process. The first factor, having a major importance, is the salutary, fruitful and stimulating contact with the movements of ideas from the Western cultures. Western influences "convey" to Eastern Europe new ideas, beliefs and attitudes, and also truly revolutionary technical tools and economic practices. These influences are visible as early as the Renaissance, especially in the artistic field, and after 1500, are manifest in the introduction of the printing press, the translation of religious books in Romanian and their spreading across the entire territory inhabited by Romanians. In this way, the unity of Romanian language is cemented and gradually the elements of modern culture are shaped, as Western influences increase and displace Eastern cultural models: Byzantine, Slavonic and Phanariot. During the 17th and 18th c., the cultural elite from the Romanian territory shape up

step by step and in more elaborate forms their national consciousness, which also meant the formation of more complex representation of the Romanian people's identity and its ability to "tailor up another destiny", as later in the fire of the 1848 Revolution, poet Andrei Muresan, in a song that became our national anthem. Thus, a critical self-consciousness emerges directed towards changing the social conditions and states of things which stifled the assertion of Romanians as an independent nation. When he referred to the beginning of our critical thinking, Ibrăileanu underlines the Western influence exerted through the Polish filiation on the 17th c. Romanian chroniclers and writers, which contributed substantially to the emergence of the old Romanian literature and national historiography. On this occasion, Ibrăileanu briefly praises Cantemir, saying: "If we add to them the cosmopolitan D. Cantemir, who was a direct product of European and multilateral culture, we see that we are dealing with a real cultural movement", which would have be shortened by two centuries the road to modernity of the Romanians if this favorable course had not been brutally interrupted by the instauration of the Phanariot rule.[2]

For Ibrăileanu, there is a close correlated between the increase in scope and depth of Western influences and the progressive consolidation of critical thinking, since "the key issue at stake was that of knowing what to be introduced into this culture and how", advocating "the introduction of what was necessary and the rejection of those elements from a foreign culture that were unnecessary"[3]. This is, therefore, the role of critical thinking, namely to be a "filter" for foreign influences, to distinguish among the items that we should borrow from Western culture and that we should ignore or reject as inconsistent with our spiritual formula. Indeed, it was a crucial issue for the Romanian culture retraceable from Cantemir to this day.

Before returning to Cantemir, it is instructive to mention some other highlights in the evolution of the critical spirit in Romanian culture. Thus, a radical critical attitude is found in the 18th c at the Transylvanian representatives of the Enlightenment, a movement called "The Transylvanian School" who opened up a broad frontline to fight for national rights and to rehabilitate the Romanians' image. The critical and militant thinking of the Transylvanian School reaches also Moldavia and Wallachia, with important consequences, so that in the first half of the 19th c., under the ever stronger influence of Western ideas, major political, ideological and cultural changes took place, preparing the 1848 Revolution. We mentioned only one of the most important intellectuals of the time, Mihail Kogălniceanu, a historian, a writer and a politician, a supporter and an agent of social and political reforms. Significantly, Kogălniceanu, the editor of "Dacia Literară" (1840) is the first modern theorist of the critical spirit and the national character in Romanian culture. A few decades later, Titu Maiorescu, also a founder of modern R6omanian culture, a leader of the cultural movement called "Junimea", turns the critical spirit into an ordering principle of modern cultural construction. Initially, the critical thinking was directed by Maiorescu against "the

[2] *Ibidem,* pp. 14-155.
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 183

forms without substance", of the institutional forms imported by the 1848 generation from the Western space, indiscriminately and without any adequacy. In time the critical spirit was absorbed into the body of Romanian culture as an indispensible factor of modernization. In this respect, Maiorescu enunciated an imperative that is still true today: "Criticism, even bitter, only to be right, is an essential element of our support and prosperity, and whatever the sacrifices and in the midst of any ruins the sign of truth must be thrust"[4].

Frontlines of critical thinking in Dimitrie Cantemir's work

To understand Dimitrie Cantemir's critical attitude towards the cultural life of the Romanians and certain trends of his time, we should reconstruct in broad lines the picture of political and social realities in the three Romanian countries around the year 1700. The century that ended, the 17th c., was one of major cultural achievements in the Romanian space. Thus, a host of scholars, writers, historians and clergymen we cannot mention here were able to raise the general level of Romanian culture, through memorable achievements, so that in the year 1700 there was a solid foundation for the transition to modernity. Along the chronicles of Grigore Ureche (1647) and Miron Costin (1675) we also mention a series of important translations from religious and secular literature, such as the translation of the *Psalms* into Romanian by the head of the church Metropolitan Dosoftei (1675). But this century of great cultural achievements is crowned by the translation and printing of *The Bible from Bucharest* in 1688, at the initiative of Ruler Şerban Cantacuzino and the contribution of several scholars, from the entire Romanian space. This book had a large circulation throughout the Romanian space, helping to the unification of the language and the consolidation of the Romanians' cultural unity.

Therefore, in late 17th c. and early 18th c., Moldavia and the Romanian Country reached a cultural stage which organically combined the mediaeval culture with tendencies ushering a new cultural horizon. An eloquent confirmation of this reality is the brilliant artistic and cultural synthesis achieved at the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu in the Romanian Country. At the same time, in Moldavia, Dimitrie Cantemir stood out as an exceptional personality. Along with these founders are the High Dignitary Constantin Cantacuzino (having a vast cultural, humanist, European horizon), Antim Ivireanu, Ion Neculce and other prominent scholars. However, the organic development of Romanian culture is interrupted by the establishment of the Phanariot rule in 1711 in Moldavia in 1716 in Wallachia.

Cantemir knew, like no other in his time, the history of his people, the negative social conditions and the internal political disputes in which he was involved, and the European geopolitical context, which was then unfavorable to the Romanian Countries and which changed in our favor only in the 19th c. Telling thereon are his works on Romanian themes: *The Hieroglyphic History* (1705), *The Description of Moldavia* (1714) and *The Chronicle of the Ancientness of*

[4] T. Maiorescu, *The New Direction in Romanian Poetry and Prose-writing*, in *Works,* Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1978, pp. 213.

Romanian-Moldavian-Vlachs (1719-1723). The last two works were written at the request of the Berlin Academy, which elected him as its fellow member in recognition and appreciation for his vast knowledge. In an inspired study, Lucian Blaga believes that the life and the spiritual figure of the Moldavian prince can be put under the strange symbol of „the unicorn", „a being that is half real, half story and legend." In Blaga's representation, Cantemir's life is „a life lived at the crossroads of time, which summarizes, by its steep profile, by the adventures that exalts and tear it apart, a set of the most dramatic situations in our history"[5]. The events and situations Blaga refers to, without mentioning them explicitly, are just Cantemir's overthrow and his escape into exile at the court of Peter the Great court, Constantin Brâncoveanu's beheading, the establishment of the Phanariot rule in Moldavia and Wallachia, the religious division of the Romanians in Transylvania.

This is, in broad lines, the historical background against which Cantemir writes *The Description of Moldavia*, where he deplores "the pitiful state" of the country as compared to "its greatness" at the time of Stephen the Great. Cantemir's dissatisfaction with the situation translates into an extremely critical discourse aimed at several frontlines. The main directions and themes of Cantemir's criticism would be:

1. The critical attitude towards the adoption of Slavonic and Cyrillic alphabet instead of Latin. Cantemir regrets that the Romanians broke away from Latin tradition in writing and "teaching". Thus, the adoption of the Cyrillic alphabet was deeply wrong, which largely explains our isolation from the Western culture and "the barbarism that mires today Moldavia"[6]. However, the author notes down, as translations from religious texts were made into Romanian language, Moldavia "began to wake up and step by step come back to light from the dark depths of barbarism which had spread over the country."[7] It goes without saying that the state of "barbarism" is equivalent to the dominance of the Slavic language.

2. The critical analysis of historical sources and the rejection of false theses about the history of the Romanian people. In this line of action, Cantemir carries on the work done by chronicler Miron Costin, who criticized the ideas of Romanian and foreign authors on the origin of the Romanian people. Cantemir pursues as an assumed goal, like a moral imperative, the restoration of the historical truth and the rejection of false images about the Romanians' origin, launched by "the hatchers of lies". Cantemis is fully dedicated to the history of his people, to the knowledge of its past events, endeavoring "to bring them to light and to show them to the community."[8] The thesis of the continuity of the

[5] Lucian Blaga, *The Writs*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2002, pp. 242-243

[6] Dimitrie Cantemir, *The Description of Moldavia*, translation by Petre Pandrea, Bucharest, Minerva, Publishing House, 1981, p. 257.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 259.

[8] Dimitrie Cantemir, *The Chronicle of the Ancientness of Roman – Moldo – Vlachs,* a text chosen and established, chronological table, preface and notes by Stela Toma, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1981, p. 5.

Romanian element within the area of ancient Dacia is also highlighted in a special way, Cantemir always speaking about the fact the population formed after the cohabitation between Dacians and Romans "has continuously lived in Dacia (i.e. in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania)"[9].

3. The criticism of certain rulers who submitted the country to the Turks, the criticism of the corrupt boyars and dignitaries who undermined the ruler's central authority by lying and plotting against at the Ottoman Porte and who exploited the labor of peasants and lower strata. In *The Hieroglyphic History* we have a very expressive portrait of these intrigues, betrayals and games behind the scenes, told in an allegorical and symbolic manner. Many pages from *The Description of Moldovia* refer to the subject matter. Corruption and nepotism undermine the effectiveness of the administration. High officials get their jobs "through the intercession of relatives" without taking into account the merit, so that dignities are occupied by "men full of pride, haughty, rebellious and who not only do not know how to handle the affairs of the country, but also lack any good habits."[10]

4. Cantemir's critical attitude towards geopolitical relations of the time and towards the Ottoman Empire is evident in all his writings after 1711. Thus, in his short study *Monarhiarum phisica examinatio*, Cantemir considered that Ottoman Empire was a "monster who gives the creeps to the law of nature", so that the "terrible kingdom" of the Ottomans would have no legitimacy and should just vanish.

5. The criticism of negative psychological traits, attitudes and practices that would belong to the "nature" of the Romanian people. Cantemir opens up the series of theoretical and applied research dedicated to our national identity. He is the first author who describes, with the means available to him, the spiritual profile of the Romanian people, combining multiple reference planes. Cantemir's characterizations are sketchy, but dense and expressive, careful to alternate lights and shadows, to observe the truth and not to depart from empirical evidence. As known, Cantemir builds up a predominantly negative image of the Romanians. He categorically states that in addition to "the true faith and hospitality, we do not find too easily something to be praised." Further on, he sets up a true catalog of "bad habits" that would belong to "their nature", formulating in a critical outburst many serious accusations about the Moldavians' lifestyle.

Constantin Noica tried to explain Cantemir's critical attitude toward his people by the idea that we are dealing with a confrontation between two cultural models. Cantemir was originally formed by the Eastern cultural model, but he gradually stepped out of its framework through an intense study and personal effort, so he gradually assimilates elements of the Western culture model. Noica considers that Cantemir's attitude expresses the crisis of Romanian consciousness

[9] *Ibidem,* p. 13.
[10] D. Cantemir, *The Description of Moldavia*, cited. ed. p. 192.

in the transition toward modernity[11]. So, Cantemir becomes aware of the cultural gap between Moldavia and the European countries. This comparative assessment operates implicitly in Cantemir's works. He makes a harsh criticism of the Romanian people from the perspective of Western historical and ethical categories that did not fit the Eastern world. The perspective from which he refers to the Romanians is "the more enlightened world," which was then the Western and not the Eastern World. Therefore, his criticism, says Noica, was "at the same time just and unjust."

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TURKEY AND EUROPEAN UNION. REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract: *This paper approaches the process of enlargement of the European Union (EU), a process that represent an important part in the history of the European space, bringing into attention the accession of Turkey, a strategic country between Europe and Asia. The accession of Turkey remains, however, an important issue in the process of enlargement of EU and, in the same time, due to the its size and its economic and social specificities, the costs of enlargement could be very high. The accession of Turkey, a country with 97% of the territory in Asia, and with 67 millions of Muslim inhabitants, mainly agrarian, has become increasingly difficult. In order to achieve our goal, we use the historical perspective, the comparative analyses and the case study.*

Keywords: *Turkey, European Union, enlargement, integration.*

Is Turkey a European Country?

Turkish ties with Europe are very old, they starting with the takeover by the Ottoman Empire Byzantine traditions, and continuing with Turkey's involvement as an important European diplomatic actor, allied, in a first step, with Catholic France against the Habsburg Empire and then with Great Britain against Russia.[1].

Moreover, we can say that, to some extent, the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which led to the birth of the modern Turkish state, occurred because the revolution and *Young Turks,* during World War I, allied with Germany against traditional partner, United Kingdom.

The Second World War led to a reconsideration of the fundamental ideas of the existence of a European identity of Turkey[2]. As a final compromise and

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[1] Nicolae Iorga, 2000.

[2] Dimitri Keridis, *Turkey and the identity of Europe Contemporary Identity Polices on European Frontiers*, The Constantin Karamanlis Institute for Democracies Series on European and

totalitarian regimes on the existence of a reconsideration of the concept of European superiority compared to the rest of the world, have shaped Europe without global ambitions, which is in a constant review of its historical past.

In this context and taking into account the fact that Turkey did not participate in the Second World War, unlike the First World War, where, we stress, has intervened as a European state, its image as an associated partner of Europe altered, significantly.

Regarding the progress of modernization of the Turkish state, we are saying that although elections based on multipartiditsm were introduced in 1950, and became a NATO's member in 1952, the democratic transition is far from complete.

Also modernization efforts undertaken since thorough revision of the Constitution, in 1982, failed to lead to the elimination of all disfunctionalities at the institutional level[3]. The possible membership of Turkey to the European Union is undoubtedly a very sensitive subject, primarily for reasons of size, population and religion of this country.

The opinions on the impact of Turkey's accession, are, on the one hand, negative if it relates only to the economic size, taking into account the potential labour force, and, on the other hand, positive if it is taken into consideration the geostrategic potential of this country. From the political point of view, Turkey is questionable due to the concept of European space.

We consider it useful to introduce here a reference to the relevant documents of the Council of Europe which introduce three criteria on European identity, **geographic** - the state belongs all or is a part of European territory, **cultural** - the existence of close links with European culture, and **political will** - taken into account **considered,** if the other two criteria do not provide a clear answer.[4]

Nevertheless, Turkey must not abide by the above mentioned criteria since it has been a founding member of the Council of Europe. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to observe that the question if Turkey is or is not a European country did not come about in 1949, when it joined this organization.

The main challenge the idea of the adhesion of Turkey at the UE is confronted to regards the imperious need for throwing light on the effective extension of the European's frontiers.[5] Given the fact that, so far, EU avoided to transparently debate and speak with one voice upon this issue, controversial approaches will continue to set up. Accordingly, if EU will continue to postpone assuming a decision based on both the will of the European citizens and leaders, the confusion on the Union's capacity to act as a global player would affect the European project's credibility.

International Affairs Constantin Arvanitopoulos Editor *Turkey's Accession to the European Union* An Unusual candidacy, Athens, pp. 149 – 152.

[3]. Ibidem, p. 156 (The fundamental text continues to impose restrictions regarding a democratic and liberal society. Cf D. Keridis, *op.cit.*).

[4] Pierre Fauchon, *The frontiers of Europe*, Information report, French Senate, 8 June, 2010. www.senat.fr.

[5] Thanos Dokos, *Turkey and the European Security*, The Constantin Karamanlis Institute for Democracies Series on European and International Affairs Constantin Arvanitopoulos Editor *Turkey's Accession to the European Union* An Unusual candidacy, Athens, p. 75.

Anyway, since we already refer to Georgia as a European country, we could admit that Turkey also belongs to Europe. In fact, Byzantium was the seat of the Eastern Christian church and Anatolia was the cradle of much of the Hellenic civilization representing the root of the Western culture. Besides theses cultural arguments, Turkey is a founding member of the Black Sea Cooperation Organization and it plays a leading role in many European institutions. Turkey also has a European vocation given the large number of Turks living in Western Europe, and the fact that EU countries are Turkey's main trading partners. Although its Islamic elements represent an important challenge, Turkey is qualified to be a moderate factor in a multicultural Europe.

As a whole, the geographical argument, first to be put forward by the adversaries of Turkey's integration to sustain that it could not be a part of European doesn't seem realistic in our opinion, especially if we take into account the current global developments.

2. A geopolitical approach of the Turkey accession

From a strategic perspective, it is unanimously accepted by politicians and experts that the Turkey/EU relations could be useful for both parties. This hypothesis stands on the evidence that Turkey could offer an added value to the European security and Defence policy, certainly, the weak field of a political Union.[6] In practice this view could be correct although not thoroughly. In this regard, we must not forget that the European Union has been engaged from the start to respect a series of fundamental values corresponding to the promotion of peace and stability through the world together with the functioning of a market economy. It is true that recent European strategies on external relations[7] give impetus to the strengthening of the European Southern dimension. In terms of security, Turkey has all the arguments to play an active role in several conflict areas as, for example: Middle East, Central Asia, and Southern Caucasus. Thus, by fostering good relations with neighbouring countries such as Syria and Iran, Turkey could bring a significant contribution to world peace and prosperity, as well as to the prosperity of its own citizens.

Meanwhile, we have to be aware that the nationalist Turkish opinions consider that the European Security and Defence policy would partially respond to the positive issues emerging from UE adhesion Turkey, since their country is an important member of the NATO alliance,. The powerful relations to be built in the framework of NATO with United States, Israel and Arab world are also determinant for pledging in favour of the Turkey's accession to the EU. And last but not least, today, most regional conflicts are common for the EU and Turkey as

[6] Z Y On, *Domestic Politics, International Norms and Challenges to the State* Turkey EU relational in the post – Helsinki Era, Turkey and the European Union, Ali Carkoglu Barry Rubin Editors, p. 23.

[7] New neighborhood Strategy of EU. This strategy was developed within two Communications, the first on 8 May 2011 – A partnership for shared democracy and prosperity with the South of Mediterranean Sea and the second –on 25 May A new Strategy regarding a moving neighborhood which contains an extended approach of the neighborhood.

well: Black Sea, Caucasus, Mediterranean Sea, Middle East, the only major discords regarding Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Instead of acting as a European member, Turkey could:

- develop projects focusing on nuclear and military matters;
- make use of its national interests considering its key position as an energetic distributor for Europe and water supplier for Middle East;
- begin to closely work with Russia which is interested to strengthen its role of super power in the Orient. It is useful to remind that the economic relations between the two countries are constantly improving: 35 Billions dollars in 2012 and a larger cooperation within the energetic field are of mutual interest.

Moreover, the absence of a stability model example for the Arab states may cause additional challenges for the European diplomacy. Consequently, the risk of a displace–ment of the power centres in Mediterranean Sea has to be taken into consideration.

Turkey is also an important vector for the energetic security of Europe given the strengthened cooperation which could be developed with Azerbaijan, Greece and Italy.

For this reason, the relation EU – Turkey should be mutually self balanced, on a hand by persuading the European leaders that EU could have a greater weight on the international scene together with Turkey, and on the other hand, by making the European values assumed by this country. Without objection, the strategic position of Turkey may be considered as essential for the general stability of the region.

3. Overview upon the accession process

Following the Central and Eastern enlargement, confirmed by the new provisions of the Lisbon Treaty, the current accession integration process is jointly involving Union institutions, governments and parliaments of the member states in accordance with a more strictly procedure.[8] The 1999 European Council decision to agree on the Turkey's candidacy has strongly weighted upon the internal political developments in this country. This decision, which reaffirmed that the achievement of the political criteria in Copenhagen is a prerequisite condition to open accession negotiations, has also established, in an indirect way, the conditions required to a future candidate member.

After the end of the armed conflict in Eastern –Southern part of Turkey[9] a new pro EU governmental coalition was committed to achieve the necessary political and economic reforms. It has finally succeeded to set up sound premises with a view to the introduction of long expected domestic changes. Following the legislative elections in November 2002, the party Justice and Development has formed a governmental majority, for the first time after 1991. Notwithstanding its Islamic roots, this party has demonstrated a firm engagement against the accession of Turkey to the EU.

[8] Art. 49 TUE.

[9] (during the first half of 1999).

Nevertheless, after launching the accession process in 2003[10] which was welcomed at the European level, Turkey was once more confronted again with the political, due to the strong opposition made by the military forces to party AKP and moderate Islamic President Gull. However, the alignment reforms of Turkey slowed off in 2007 just when the Prime ministry Erdogan's Party calmed down the conflict with the army. Consequently, Union lost in certain manner its control over this candidate country. Moreover, the economic crisis contributed to the dramatic drop off of the European interest for the accession of this country and the decrease of public opinion enthusiasm against its membership to the EU.[11]

In the period of time 1999 - 2005, under the accession perspectives impetus, Turkey resumed accelerated reform process focusing on the political and economic fields.[12] Although the European Council from Rome has positively appreciated these commitments, it also emphasised the need to strictly observe the political criterion.

Further, the June 2004 European Council concluded that a decision on the Turkey accession could be having been issued in 2005.[13] Based on the recommendations of the European Commission, the December 2004 European Council has esteemed the Turkish progress regarding the political criterion except for a few delays related to the legislative instruments to be adopted and put into practice. Eventually, Turkey was capable to open the accession negotiations on October 2005.

Although in the course of the period 2005-2008, the advancements were less evident, (8 chapters open one closed) several legislative acts stress the efforts deployed by Turkey to accomplish the political requirements:

- Reform of art. 31 of the Penalty Code, softening the punishments in case of judicial pursuit for reasons of public identity defamation;
- Law regarding foundations aiming at introducing extended rights for minorities religious communities;
- Reform of the judicial system, civil control of the military forces as well as the safeguard of the economic, social and cultural rights.

Nevertheless, the expression freedom and the religious freedom together with several challenges related to fight against corruption remain insufficiently implemented. As far as schedule of negotiations chapters is concerned, it seems that Turkey's failed in putting in practice its European engagements. Among some possible explanations we could find that a series of European member states blocked the opening of 12 new Chapters while Turkey confronted itself to many internal dysfunctions.

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[10] European Council from June 2003 welcomed the engagement of Turkey with a view to the continuation of the reform process. The Council also decided that Turkey, together with Romania and Bulgaria, should participate as an observer at the Intergovernmental conference for adopting the Constitutional Treaty.

[11] Jean – Francois Bayart, Liberation, 2 April 2013.

[12] Turkey and European Union before the French Presidency, Information report nr. 412, Delegation for the European Union, French Senate.

[13] Conclusions of the European Council, June 2004.

The installation of the economic crisis in Europe has negatively contributed to the improvement of the accession negotiations perspectives. So, during the Belgian Presidency in the second half of 2010, Turkey didn't succeed to open any new Chapter. The European Council from December 14 underlined that Turkey lacked to achieve its engagements devolving from Ankara protocol and therefore it is necessary to maintain the measures adopted in 2006 with a view to freezing 8 Chapters. Meanwhile, these conclusions reiterated the need to proceed to a normalization of the relations with Cyprus.[14]

As a general rule, the Commission has constantly sustained that the rhythm of the negotiations have to go hand in hand with the respect of the reforms applied by Turkey. In this context, the Union expressed its preoccupations for the strengthening of the dialogue with Turkey on external matters such Balkans, Middle East or Caucasus.

In other terms we must note an ambiguous conduct of the EU in a period when the acceleration of the reforms would have been easier and the Turkish population would have accepted more sacrifices, given the large support for membership within the EU which existed along 2006 - 2007.

The launch of a new "chapter" of negotiations on 5 November came after a three-year hiatus in Turkey's bid during which no new areas of negotiations were opened. EU enlargement commissioner Stefan Fuele said the 28-member bloc's accession talks with Turkey should be speeded up to help Ankara implement democratic reforms. "Recent developments in Turkey underline the importance of EU engagement and of the EU remaining the benchmark for reform in Turkey."[15]

Commission reports in recent years were followed by heated exchanges between the EU and Turkey, which regards criticisms of its democratic standards as unjustified. But the Commission has been unexpectedly moderate in the 2013 report, with the exception of some criticism of the Turkish government for its handling of the so-called 'Gezi Park' protests as well as its uncompromising approach towards other key policy areas. In several areas the report commends the Turkish government, such as for the 'democratisation package' it has announced and its initiatives aimed at ending the conflict with Kurdish insurgent groups.[16]

4. Europe and Turkey, a sinuous relation

18 after applying to join the EU and 8 years after the beginning of the negotiations to join the EU in 2005, a series of political obstacles, notably over Cyprus and resistance to Turkish membership in Germany and France, have slowed progress.

France is the Member States which showed much resistance to the accession of Turkey. Maybe it is not without interest to remind the tough position of the former President Valery Giscard d'Estaing made during as a President of the European Convention.[17] The French public opinion was firmly against the opening

[14] European Commission, Progress Working Paper, 2011.

[15] EU to resume membership talks with Turkey, www.euractiv.com, 23/10/2013.

[16] Commission report signals thaw of EU-Turkey relations, www.euractiv.com, 22/10/2013.

[17] The accession of Turkey will represent the end of the Union, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, *Le Monde*, 11 January 2003.

of the negotiations with Turkey, only isolated point of views being registered (Michel Rocard).

Moreover, a change of the French institutional text which stipulates the obligation to hold a referendum in order to agree over the candidacy of a Members State to the EU was perceived as a protection measure.[18] A worsening of the bilateral relations was registered when France condemned the Armenian genocide. (French parliament took position against the Armenian genocide on 15 February 2011).

During 2013, both Angela Merkel and Francois Hollande expressed new positions aiming at continuation of the relations with a Turkey becoming more reticent as regards the European adhesion. In October 2013, Germany dropped its opposition voiced after Ankara's crackdown on anti-government protests earlier this year.

According to the provisions of the European Treaties, the conflicts between two Member States have to be regulated before a member State applies for membership. The unsolved Cyprus situation represents still a barrier for Turkey to join EU.

In the course of the accession negotiations EU-Turkey, OUN Plan for Cyprus didn't work so far. Despite its statement in favour of the Anan plan, Turkey hasn't made sufficient efforts to settle the situation in this region. It is also true that neither EU did not imposed to South Cyprus a position leading to the ceasing of conflicts with Northern Cyprus, in a period when the candidacy of Turkey was not put up on the agenda of the European Council.

The EU recent developments encourage the resumption of the settlement negotiations aiming at a long term stability situation. The Cyprus issue should be resolved through the establishing of a bi-zonal and bi-communal federation with *a single international legal personality, a single sovereignty and a single citizenship*.[19]

Some Turkish analysts believe that EU could have done more in order to bring both parts of the conflict to a balanced solution allowing a smooth way to the integration of Turkey. Nevertheless, a permanent pressure from the EU is important in order to give impetus to the European engagement of Turkey and thus overcoming some hostile behaviour (as seen during the Cyprus Presidency in second half 2012).

The fragility of the achievement of the political requirements by Turkey was put on table in May and June 2013, when demonstrations related to Gezi Park took place in the middle of Istanbul and raised a series of interrogations regarding the respect of the democratic reforms by the regime. Faced with growing criticism at home and abroad for **his government's handling of the "Gezi Park" protests** Turkey's prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, proposed on 30 September a long-awaited democratic reform plan., Erdoğan promised to introduce changes to the laws regulating protests and gatherings, which came to

[18] Art. 88-5, The French Constitution, amendment 2007.

[19] Antiparliamentary Conference PC PCFSP? CSDP Conclusions, Athens 3-4 April 2014.

the fore when the Turkish police cracked down on the Gezi Park protests on grounds that the protests were “unauthorized” and thus “unlawful”.[20]

The European Commission praised recent judicial reforms in Turkey. It accused Turkish police, however, of using excessive force to quell protests earlier this year, urging the government to strengthen oversight of the police and to press ahead with investigations into their conduct. “The legislation and practice [in Turkey] puts too much emphasis on the lawfulness of demonstrations, as opposed to their peacefulness, contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights."[21]

With growth rates of 9,4% in 2004 and 4,5% in 2007, the Turkish economy performed spectacular evolutions after the financial and monetary crisis it was confronted to in 2001. The economic boom of Turkey contrasts with the problems of the EU economies. These economic progresses are based on the growth of the external trade having positive effects upon the commercial balance.

At present, we must be aware that that the membership of Turkey is uncertain, at least on short and medium term. As many geopolitical annalists consider, the negotiations between Brussels and Ankara have the objective to feed the diplomatic agenda, otherwise it would be difficult to imagine how a blocked Union could manage the inconstancies of the Turkish society, namely the Islamic tendencies, the neighbourhood with Syria, Irak and Iran or the problem of Kurdistan.[22] And we must not forget the resistance of a large part of the population towards the authoritarian policy of Prime Minister Erdogan.

Conclusions

Turkey has to continue its reform process in order to adapt its institutional framework, set up between the two World Wars. The authors are of the opinion that it would be more reasonable to continue in achieving an institutional stability step by step, following the model of the construction of the EU, especially regarding the application of the rule of law and the separation of powers,

It is not an easy task to asses about the future evolutions of EU and Turkey in 25-30 years. An equivocal approach as regards Turkey would be counter productive for the Union. An open support of the accession process will compel the Turkish authorities to respond to criticism and take adequate measures.[23]

In this spirit, The European Affairs Committee of the House of Lords recommended that Union should proceed to concrete efforts in order to conduct a coherent approach with a view to Turkish accession, a transparent win-win relation acting in the benefit of both parts.[24]

To conclude, we appreciate that Turkey still suffers from a democratic deficit which makes not possible its integration at short term. Anyway, fulfilling Turkey's European vocation calls for good faith on the part of European leaders, too. The stated goal of Turkey's EU accession talks is full membership, an objective that

[20] Erdogan launches democratic reform plan, www.euractiv.com, 01/10/2013.
[21] Nils Muižnieks, the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Council of Europe, July 2013.
[22] Le Point, 7 June.
[23] Information Report, French Senate, cited works.
[24] European Affairs Committee, Report on the Enlargement, 2009, www.parliament.uk

has been formally approved by EU states. To adjourn it without well motivated reasons means an abandon of their previous agreement.

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THE TECHNOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT OF UNIVERSITY-INDUSTRY COLLABORATION: EVIDENCE FROM A REGIONAL CASE STUDY

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Abstract: *Universities are one of the key actors within national and regional innovation systems. The nature of university-industry collaboration changed during the last decades and it varied across regions. Different factors determine the interaction between these organizations. First of all, public policies, both national and regional, play as starting factor in promoting university-industry relationship at regional level, especially in Southern Italy.*

Nevertheless, cultural and institutional barriers still remain, both from academy as well as business side. Besides, the poor innovative attitude that dominates some Italian regions may affect university-industry interaction.

The effort of Apulia decision maker to create a critical mass of research-innovation-technology system is producing appreciable outcomes in terms of changes affecting university-industry relationship. Opposite, certain barriers coming from different educational model and institutional behaviours remain; particularly, long-term university views contrast with short-term and concrete needs of industry.

Keywords: *innovation, university-industry collaboration, regional policy.*

Introduction

Economic literature pointed out the importance of university-industry linkages [1] as the main form of knowledge production for stimulating new technologies within the Regional Innovation System[2].

Over the last decades, important changes happened in the rationale of university-industry relationship. In general terms, a trend towards a narrower interaction among universities and companies has been observed. Nevertheless,

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[1] B.A. Lundvall, *One Knowledge Base or Many Knowledge Pools?* Danish Research Unit for Industrial Dynamics, DRUID Working Paper, Alborg, 2006.

[2] J. Fagerberg, D.C. Mowery, R.R. Nelson, *The Oxford Handbook of Innovation*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2005.

such process is far from being a universal and barrier-free trend as economic, cultural and institutional factors may hinder or foster it. Although both university and industry have mutual interest in knowledge and research abilities formation and in technology transfer as well, they sometimes operate separately and follow different ways. The nature of university-industry collaboration varies also across regions because of different factors, starting from those connected with the industrial structure to those related to institutions and legal frameworks.

Moreover, the relationships between university and industry can be due to individual venture, encouraged by devoted public policy or thanks to the matching between both these modes.

In Apulia region, more than in Italy, the most of university-industry collaborations pertained to the second way. In the early stage, public subsides contributed to reinforce research capacity, although they have not sufficiently been able to transfer a stronger absorptive capacity of technology to firms.

In the recent stage public policy for research, innovation and technology transfer seems to focus on firms' absorption capacity thanks to the support of a wider knowledge infrastructure system, based on four public and one private universities and several research centers recognized by the Ministry of Research and University, mostly subsidize by continuous public financial aids.

Nevertheless, the regional production system is mostly formed by SMEs and specialized in traditional manufacturing; consequently, firms have not adequate financial resources to produce R&I and absorb technologies. Under these conditions, the university-industry joint projects become the most efficacy way to give continuity and spreading research-innovation-technology transfer chain.

The goal of this paper is to identify how different components of the innovation process interact each other and which are the barriers and the positive conditions that affect the collaboration between university and industry in Apulia region.

A literature review

The Triple Helix innovation model[3] underlined the new role of universities[4] together with firms and governments in aiming at development and use of new knowledge and responding to collective expectations in a global context[5]. According to the Triple Helix approach, increasing interactions are associated to the transformation within the internal culture[6] and praxis of universities[7] as well as entrepreneurial strategies.

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[3] H. Etzkowitz, L. Leydesdorff, The Dynamics of Innovation: From National Systems and "Mode 2" to a Triple Helix of University–Industry–Government *Relations*, Research Policy, Vol. 29, n. 2, 2000, pp. 109-123.

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[6] C. Edqvist, *Systems of Innovation: Technologies, Institutions and Organizations*, London, U.K.: Pinter.

The economic literature considers the changing role of university over time[8] as well as the nature and organization of the knowledge society[9] within higher education system[10].

The relationship between university and industry is more and more considered of high relevance for local and regional development[11] since it provides the generation of applied scientific knowledge that can be used by local[12] high-tech industry attracting knowledge based firms to relocate into regional system[13].

In fact, despite several barriers, selected policy measures were designed to build new fields of knowledge and to introduce new mechanisms for transferring university-based knowledge to regional actors that can potentially strengthen regional innovation and economic development. The quality of university-industry interdependencies can actually improve the return on research investment, empowering trade technology and, consequently, create new job opportunities.

The new concept of entrepreneurial university emphasized the importance that this innovation could play with universities in terms of knowledge dissemination at regional level[14]. According to the Regional Innovation System approach, regions represent meaningful drivers of innovation, supported by direct and indirect linkages, cooperation and synergies among regional economic actors including academia, regional institutions and enterprises[15]. Other scholars[16] refer that university is expected to play a leading role in regional innovation and to encourage start-ups.

Similarly, industry is expected to reorganize itself in a network system able to attract external inputs. Finally, government is expected to develop programs together with other actors to enhance the linkages among universities, industry and policy makers. These three "triple helix" is expected to act as a hub able to implement a regional growth strategy.

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The role of university within Apulia technological framework

The Apulia university system is formed by five universities. The oldest is the University of Bari that was created in 1924 and the University of Lecce, recognized as public university in 1967. In the early '90s, Polytechnic was born from a separation of the University of Bari as well as the University of Foggia in 1999. Finally, in 1995 the Free University "Jean Monnet" was founded by private operators.

Within the hard science research area, the University of Bari is specialized in Agro-food Science, Biotechnology/Life Science, Chemistry, Physics and ICT; Humanities area is specialized in law, economics, philosophy and languages, whilst Polytechnic in Aerospace engineering, Automotive and Mechanics. The University of Salento mostly focuses on Physics, Nanotechnology and Engineering. The University of Foggia is specialized in Agro-industry, whilst the private university does not show a specialization yet.

The specialization of regional universities, joint with a long manufacturing tradition, represents the base of national/regional policy and the *humus* for university-industry collaboration.

The first demonstration of the efficacy of this relationship is Tecnopolis Novus Ortus, funded by National Government since the 80's. It is an incubator of technological SMEs that hosts a lot of companies specialized in new materials production and control, ICT, Biotechnology and in the connected higher education.

Tecnopolis experience, connected with the crisis of industrial districts (leather, footwear, clothing, textile, mechanics) suggested regional government to introduce the law n. 23 of 2007 on Technological Districts, that involve companies, universities and research centres in order to develop a common strategic plan. The contents of this law, based on the clustering method and just applied by industrial districts in many Italian regions, encourages specialized networking within high-technology branches, such as aero-space, food, cultural heritage, biotechnology and life science, energy and environment, logistics and production technology, mechanics and mechatronics, new materials and nanotechnology, information and communication technology, that design a critical mass of research, innovation and technology and, in addition, may be a tool of international visibility and networking. In this context, the role of universities emerges as a push and agglomeration factor as well.

Following the experience of industrial districts, The Ministry of University and Research promoted the so called Centres of Competence whose main goals are to create technological connections and technology transfer among and across firms, and empower human capital.

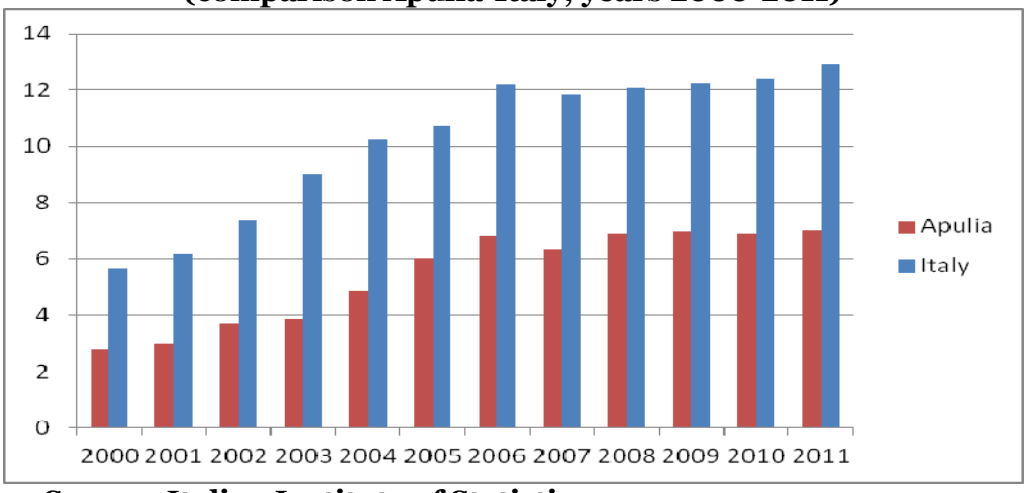
Nowadays, the Regional Innovation System is formed by 5 Universities, 30 Public and Private Research Centers, 6 Inter-regional Centres of Competence, 3 Enterprise Incubators, 7 Industrial Liaison Offices, 21 Public Research Infrastructures, 6 Technological Districts and 17 Productive Districts.

A stimulating factor for university-industry collaboration is the share of graduates in S&T (Science and Technology) on total amount. In fact, a small number of graduates in S&T could determine a lower international

competitiveness in high-tech sector in the medium-long run. This is due to the difficulties of companies to recruit researchers with high scientific training and qualification. Inter alia, encouraging young people to scientific and technical disciplines is one of the goals of Horizon 2020.

Data from the Italian Institute of Statistics related to the 2011 refer that in Apulia region the share of graduates in S&T/a thousand residents in the 20-29 years age group represents only the 7% of the total whilst the average value in Italy is 12,9% and in the EU27 16.8%. In Italy, in the 2012 almost all the most developed (particularly Lombardia, Emilia Romagna and Tuscany) showed higher values than the national average. Although the percentage of graduates in S&T in Apulia increased between 2000-2011, it still remains at a lower level compared to the national average.

Fig. 1: Graduates in technical-scientific disciplines (comparison Apulia-Italy; years 2000-2011)



Source: Italian Institute of Statistics, 2012.

Then, even if the growing need of technical and scientific graduates is potentially able to trigger a virtuous circle of growth for research and technological innovation, the small amount of graduates in hard science depends on the scarce amount of matriculated at scientific faculties after the secondary education.

The production system in Apulia region

Firms' size is considered a major driving factor of technological change and innovation, as it influences the nature and type of financial capacities direct to adopt new technologies, and the firm's ability to successfully adapt innovative equipments and process. This is particularly important for the sort of the organizational form we have in countries, which is largely based on small and medium sized enterprises.

Lall[17] found a positive relationship between firms' size and the level of their innovative activities including the propensity to collaborate. Larger sized firms tend to possess the human resources required to establish and sustain interactions while small firms look more to sectoral associations. In addition, larger sized firms are generally more innovative mostly due to greater resources (knowledge and skills).

More specifically, Apulia is characterized by small and micro firms that represent about the 99,5% of the total and only the 0,35% of them have more than 50 employees. Several firms are located in different territorial production systems and the most of these are concentrated in low-tech sectors (textile, clothing, footwear, furniture, food) and depending by subcontractors in several stages of production.

The most recent data from the Italian Institute of Statistics dataset underline that in the last decade the regional economy showed a decrease in the "made in Italy". In addition, the innovation performance of the Apulia firms, despite the presence of some top level cases, is still weak compared to the rest of the country. The gap is probably due to the smaller amount of resources invested by the private firms, characterized by a lower size average. The wide presence of small and micro firms gets an underestimation of the real R&D activities, since the most of these is not much formalized and hard to detect and account[18].

The Regional Innovation Scoreboard [19] shows that European countries include regions at different levels of performance. This report uses a synthetic indicator to assess the performance of each region for certain number of variables.

The calculated index assumes a minimum value of 0 for the lowest performing region and a maximum value of 1.0 for the best performing region.

As result, only in few cases the index refers values higher than 0.50. The following table confirms the medium-low innovation degree of the overall regional performance either in terms of internal efficiency or external matching.

Tab. 1: Some variables of regional performance (Regional Innovation Scoreboard, 2012)

	2007	2009	2011
Population with tertiary education	0.28	0.32	0.30
SMEs innovating in-house	0.39	0.54	0.59
Innovative SMEs collaborating with others	0.12	0.14	0.13
Public-private co-publications	0.15	0.15	0.15
Employment in medium and high tech manufacturing & knowledge intensive services	0.34	0.38	0.38
Sales of new-to-market and new-to-firm products	0.37	0.31	0.47

Source: Regional Innovation Scoreboard, 2012.

[17] S. Lall, *Technological Capabilities and Industrialization*, World Development, Vol. 20, n. 2, 1992, pp. 165–186.

[18] I. Favaretto, A. Zanfei, *Rapporto Finale 2007-Innovazione e Centri di Ricerca nelle Marche*, Progetto Inter-universitario, Università di Urbino, 2007.

[19] Regional Innovation Scoreboard, 2012.

University-industry interaction in Apulia: recent evidence

In the last fifteen years, regional universities are making great efforts to promote technology transfer, although operating within an organizational, financial and legal context not so much developed yet and often affected by financial restrictions and changing regulations.

Data show some relevant outcomes reached by universities and institutions as detected by Netval annual report. More specifically, our elaborations related to the most recent survey of Netval[20], compare some remarkable elements between Apulia and Italian case in the 2012 (we use the most recent data related to a single year as it provides less fragmented information and more specific details).

Among the five regional universities, only four provided data suitable to compare them with the national sample. The following table displays a lower average value in terms of annual budget compared to the national sample. Anyway, the survey gets a regional value not so low, as it is positioned on the extreme of its range (195,3 Millions euro). In fact, only 14 universities are within the range >100-≤200 (Meuro) and 22 within >200->500, among 53 answering universities out of 61 belonging to the sample. Data also show very low average values in terms of doctoral students (384.3 vs 512.7). With regards to scientific and technological research funds, regional average value is quite low compared to the correspondent national value. If we consider the "top 5" universities, which indicate a higher level of research funds (approximately 121 Meuro/university), there is an overall increase compared to the 2011. About inventions, active patents and licensing data show lower average values compared to the national ones. Spin offs by public research, although characterized by a lower average values compared to the nationals, are growing in absolute terms.

More specifically, Tuscany is the region hosting the highest number of spin offs (10.7%), followed by Lombardy (10.6%), Emilia Romagna (10.2%) and Piedmont (9.6%); Apulia recorded 8.3% (corresponding to 91 spin offs). If we compare Apulia with other regions, we find that our region is characterized by a younger profile as regarding spin offs average life (about 3.4 years).

Table 2. Some characteristics of universities at regional and national level (year 2012)

	Total Apulia	Average Apulia	Total Italy	Average Italy
Tot annual budget univ/inst (M€)	781,1	195,3	12,027,4	226,9
Doctoral students	1.537	384,3	27.174,0	512,7
Total research funds	40,8	10,2	1.496,4	28,8
Inventions	10	2,5	399 (n=51)	7,8
Pantents licensing	12	3,0	201 (n=52)	3,9
Active patents	116	29,0	3.356 (n=49)	68,4

[20] NETVAL, *Survey on the Valorization of University Research*, 2014.

Spin offs (Year 2012)	10	4,0
Spin offs (Total number)	91	20,25

Source: *Own elaboration based on NETVAL survey (2014).*

Conclusions

Apulia region acted in the framework of the institutional planning activity, whose outcomes and perspectives are up to dated within the regional Smart Specialization Strategy 2020. The regional government is supported by three operative agencies (ARTI, Innova Puglia, Puglia Sviluppo), that complete the panel of the main actors of the industrial policy.

However, a lot of barriers against the university-industry interaction still remain. The past demonstrates the positive impact of cooperation; in fact, recurrent partners are likely to capitalize on their collaboration experience by transferring the knowledge got through the involvement in different partnerships; the lack of a complete knowledge about university-industry collaboration impedes the entrance of lower transaction related barriers and reduce additional effects arising from the international cooperation.

A problem of misunderstanding affecting university-industry cooperation is the different mentality that characterizes university's environment and industry needs. Academia staff is more interested in publishing its research than doing work suitable to industrial needs, so university's research is not really transferable to the industrial sector. In the same time, many firms believe that innovation is better performed in-house and that universities don't produce research that could lead to marketable inventions. In fact, interactions between industry and university get few formal research contracts, being mostly informal and constrained over time.

The evolution of university-industry relationship has a well defined background: the present structure of industry is the outcome of territorial resources and abilities that university tries to support in terms of education and research. Then, the cooperation between industry and university is a natural evolution within this context, although it is still a gap.

Following and respecting this starting point, regional government fostered and, at the same time, modernized the regional economy and is continuously implementing a coherent policy to save the strengths and transform the weaknesses of its social and economic system within a global context, which is characterized by the competitiveness among continental economic systems as well as territorial assets.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL COMMENTS AND METHODOLOGICAL DEBATES AS REGARDS THE RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME. CASE STUDY – THE PATRIARCHATE OF JUSTINIAN MARINA (1948-1977)[1]

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Abstract: *This study aims at investiating the relation between State and Church during the communist regime (1945-1989) with particular focus on Patriarch Justinian Marina (1948-1977). The proposed investigation has a twofold objective: to make some comments on recent bibliography of the subject and to sketch the main methodological debates that constitute the historiography of the relation between State and Church. Since the subject is not only complex, but also sensitive, the diversity of methodologies might be a positive feature. However, for the moment only the methodologies from historical sciences and political sciences can be pointed out. Hence, the scientific debate on the subject needs the methodological contribution from theology and communication sciences (especially the discourse analysis).*

Keywords*: State, Church, historiography, methodology, Patriarch Justinian.*

The relation between Church and State can be correlated with the relation between religion and politics. What can be said about the former in relation to the latter is the difference made by the institution which confers a larger applicability to the principles, ideas and theories that belong to religion and politics. If the confluence between religion and politics can exist beyond history (or, at least, within the field of the history of ideas), the relation between Church and State must take into consideration a good deal of histories: political history, Church history, cultural history and, why not?, economical history. Hence, it naturally raises the question of sources which are very diverse (as expected, concerning the history of ideas, the primary sources consist in written documents: fundamental writings of philosophers, theologians from the Early Church, but also writings of Church leaders such as articles, speeches, and so on). The diversity of sources implies a series of related difficulties such as the hierarchy of importance and the justification of crossing the sources. All these are just some of the general points that define what is called methodology.

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This study has two objectives: to make some comments on the relevant bibliography on the subject (namely the relation between the Church and State under the communist regime, with particular focus on the Patriarchate of Justinian Marina) and to explore those methodologies that each of the discussed books have set up in order to scientifically approach the subject. The utility of such effort consists, mainly, in the identification of those methodological possibilities to explore a problem which is characterized by extreme difficulty because the application of Manichean scheme to the historical development is probably the worst thing that can happen. Hence, the intimate conviction of this study is that we now live in a time when Justinian Marina is no longer seen either as "Red Patriarch" (that is small functionary of the Church in order to serve uncritically the interests of the Communist Party), or as a hero in the struggle against the communism. If there is something clear, then it is the need to contemplate in nuances and, at the same time, the richness of nuances shall not prevent the intellectual and moral judgment by the establishment of some categories of responsibility.

Bibliographical comments

Historiography concerning the relation between Church and State during the communist regime to which belongs the Justinian Marina's connection with the communist bureaucracy (the party, the Security, state institutions) begins with the revolution from 1989, even though the historiography could be written when events took place (that is before 1989). The reasons are obvious and it is not worth discussing them. What must be underlined is the fact that the year of 1989 as moment of restoring the freedom did not lead automatically to the study of this issue. In the opinion of the historian Cristian Vasile, soon after 1989, the Church history concentrated either on drawing some portraits to high clergy, or on revealing persecution of low clergy (priests, deacons)[2]. In both cases, the analysis was not related but incidentally to the Church as institution and none as regards the relation between Church and State. The major stimulus in the direction of explicit study of the relation between Church and State during the communist regime in Romania came not from within but from the outside, that is from Olivier Gillet, a Belgian that aimed at reflecting upon the Church connection to nationalism[3]. What attracted the historians' interest was rather an issue of methodology which, according to the historian Cristian Vasile, consisted in the selection of sources: "Olivier Gillet, for example, make use of especially official writings that appeared in the Church publications that were under the control of the party. The essential question is to combine these writings with other genre of sources, from the oral history to the documents produced by Security or some

[2] Cristian Vasile, *The Orthodox Romanian Church in the first Communist Decade*, Curtea Veche, Bucharest, 2005, p. 16.

[3] Olivier Gillet, *Religion et nationalisme: L'idéologie de l'église orthodoxe roumaine sous le régime communiste*, Editions de l'Université du Bruxelles, Bruxelles, 1997; (*Religie şi naţionalism. Ideologia Bisericii Ortodoxe Române sub regimul communist)*, Ed. Compania Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001.

other repressive institutions"[4]. The polemics around the publication of this work in the Romanian language were not prevented by author's caution that was held from the very beginning of his historical investigation due to the interdiction imposed on the former Security archives (as it is known, the National College for the Study of Security Archives was established, following vivid debates, in 2000, under the mandate of Emil Constantinescu, but the archive was not moved under the custody of the College but in 2006, under the mandate of Traian Băsescu): "[...] the opening of the former Security archives will allow the young generations of historians to make research on the dark age of communism. As regards the history of Churches in Romania after the second world war, these archives will provide, of course, with the necessary material for analysis and interesting interpretations"[5].

Another work that is able to stimulate public interest, but apparently to a weaker intensity and lesser amplitude is the one which is authored by the political scientist Lavinia Stan and the theologian Lucian Turcescu. Although there are Romanian authors, the work *Religion and Politics in Post-communist Romania* might be seen as foreign regard because, exactly as it was Gillet's case, had been published first abroad and only afterwards in Romanian translation[6]. Even though the work "examines the interaction between religion and politics in Romania [following the revolution of 1989 N.D.], pointing out both the influence of religious factors and religious symbols upon the political process, and also the impact of politics upon the most important Churches from this country"[7], at least in some significant chapters (Chapters 3 and 4 with respect to "Religion and nationalism", respectively "The politics of relations between Orthodox and Greek-Catholics") this book suggests an intimate connection to the problem of Church and State relation before 1989. Exactly as in the case of Gillet, the background criticism made with respect to the Romanian professors from abroad has a methodological consistency: "First of all, the discussion on the matter of relation between religion and politics in post-communist Romania should not be necessarily directed to the issues that are established by Romanian media and, by extension, foreign media. The press has neither the goal, nor the interest to point out those aspects of Church involvement in society which has no concrete, palpable results."[8] To this methodological objection, one can add inaccuracies, vagueness, errors that the book-reviewer argues as useful in itself, but that has not relevancy for the present study, devoted to the methodology question.

Between the works of O. Gillet (1997/2001) and L. Stan & L. Turcescu (2007/2010) it is worth mentioning three contributions that have something

[4] Cristian Vasile, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

[5] Olivier Gillet, *ibidem 3,* p. 8. The fragment is quoted by Cristian Vasile, *op.cit.*, p. 18 with the follosing remark: "if this phrase lacked, then one could reproach to the author that he underestimates of documents capacity to modify (or at least to shade) some of research results".

[6] Lavinia Stan, Lucian Turcescu, *Religion and Politics in Post-Communist Romania,* Oxford University Press, 2007; *Religion and Politics in Post-communist Romania*, foreword by Sabrina P. Ramet, Curtea Veche, Bucharesti, 2010.

[7] Lavinia Stan, Lucian Turcescu, *Religie şi politică..., ibid.*, p. 29.

[8] Radu Carp, *Religion in Transition. Hypostases of Christian Romania*, Eikon, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 173.

valuable to say on the subject announced by the title: Cristina Păiuşan, Radu Ciuceanu, (*Biserica Ortodoxă Română sub regimul comunist 1945-1958) The Orthodox Romanian Church under Communist Regime 1945-1958*, vol. I (2001)[9]; Cristian Vasile, (*Biserica Ortodoxă Română în primul deceniu communist)*[10] *The Orthodox Romanian Church in the first Communist Decade* (2005) şi George Enache, Adrian Nicolae Petcu, (*Patriarhul Justinian şi Biserica Ortodoxă Română în anii 1948-1964)*[11] *Justinian Patriarch and The Romanian Orthodox Church between 1948-2009,* (2009). The work signed by researchers C. Păiușan and R. Ciuceanu is rather a collection of documents from the Security archives (informative reports, personal notes of informers) which represents something new for the Romanian historiography at that time. According to the authors, the collection of documents is meant to reflect on "the way in which the orders of Security rulers with respect to the Church were applied, the abuses being related not only to the zeal and bad faith in applying these orders to the whole Church but especially to the directives given by the Communist ruling". [12] Hence, the immediate consequence of this fresh initiative is the fact that "makes a step forward in the documentary reevaluation of attitudes and activities of the Romanian Orthodox Church, of its clergy during the years when Communism settled in".[13] One can't skip the elementary remark that even though the year of 1989 marked the institutional warrants for the freedom or research, only after 2000-2001 the historiography began to inquiry the difficult problem and, by the way of consequence, the extremely sensitive issue of State and Church interaction during the communist regime (1945-1989). At the same time, the authors claim what is not the book: "the accomplishment of a history of relations between clergies during the period of 1945-1958, of possibility and impossibility of Security to infiltrate the Church institutions with its members or the recruitment of informers from the interior of Patriarchy, Metropolitan Seats, Bishoprics, something that belongs to the domestic analysis of attempts to disparage an institution that resisted the strong and concentrated efforts in this direction"[14].

The work of historian Cristian Vasile about the first years of the Orthodox Church during the Communism (2005) follows two other works that deal with the Greek-Catholic Church[15]. These three books marks the *de facto* starting point of a historiography in the strictest sense of the word not only because they are self-independent approaches which deals critically with sources, but also because they respect "the fundamental principle of each equilibrated analysis that is the

[9] Cristina Păiuşan, Radu Ciuceanu, *The Orthodox Romanian Church under Communist Regime 1945-1958*, vol. I, National Institute for the Study of Totalitarism, Bucharest, 2001.

[10] Cristian Vasile, *The Orthodox Romanian Church in the first Communist Decade*, Curtea Veche, Bucharest, 2005.

[11] George Enache, Adrian Nicolae Petcu, *Justinian Patriarch and The Romanian Orthodox Church between 1948-2064*, Partener Publishing House, Galaţi, 2009.

[12] Cristina Păiuşan, Radu Ciuceanu, *op.cit*., p. 17.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

[15] Cristian Vasile, *Between Vatican and Kremlin. Greco-Catholic Church under Communist Regime*, Curtea Veche, 2003 and *Greco-Catholic Church under Communist Regime 1945-1989, Documents and Evidences*, Polirom, Iaşi, 2003.

authors independence with regard to the subject"[16]. But this methodological principle is "ignored in Romania where in terms of religion and politics only Cristian Vasile, Petre Guran, Mirel Bănică and Mihail Neamțu had retained it, even though this independency permits the author to subscribe to another methodological principle that is unanimously accepted in the West: the possibility to critically approach all actors that are involved and even the denial of initial hypotheses of the analysis"[17]. Leaving aside the positive remarks that the two scholars make on the researcher in history Cristian Vasile, one shall bear in mind two principles that ground the design of any methodology which investigates a subject: "the author's independency with regard to the subject" and "the possibility to critically approach all actors that are involved and even the denial of initial hypotheses of the analysis". It does nothing else than to reinforce the idea that a paper is not written in order to demonstrate a hypothesis (the attachment to the intimate conviction), but, in the contrary, in order to reach the truth that might mean the contradiction of the hypothesis (the attachment to the reality).

The third work of reference appears under the signature of historians George Enache and Adrian Nicolae Petcu under the title *Patriarhul Justinian şi Biserica Ortodoxă Română 1948-1964*. At least in apparency, these two historians are the most akin to the orthodox ecclesiastical environment. However, it does not foreclose the accomplishment of the first systematic study, according to the rules of historiographical research, about the Patriach Justinian[18], an objective that at the time when Cristian Vasile wrote about the Romanian Orthodox Church in the first communist decade was perceived in a radical manner. More precisely, in between two radical positions (Justinian as "Red Patriarch" and Justinian as a hero of the resistance against the communism), few were inclined to contemplate the nuances, that is a Justinian Marina that manifested one position when it came of the Greek-catholic question or the dissolution of monastery Vladimirești and another position as regards his conflicts with those priests that became supporters of the communist regime, his numerous interventions in supporting the arrested priests (the period 1948-1949)[19].

As another example of positive evolution in the historiographical landmarks it is worth mentioning the filling of a gap that was signaled by Cristian Vasile in 2005: "the lack of memoirs of an orthodox clergy in the studied period". Even if Cristian Vasile evoked some exceptions from his remark such as the memoires authored by Lidia Ionescu Stăniloae, especially as regards the politically fueled conflict between Bishops Nicolae Popovici of Oradia and Justinian Marina of Moldova and by the Father Gala Galaction, the gap has not been filled but in 2011

[16] Lavinia Stan, Lucian Turcescu, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] I consciously excluded the book by Dr. George Stan, *Father Patriarch Justinian Marina*, Biblical and Mission Institute of The Romanian Orthodox Church, Bucharest, 2005. The reason for this exclusion is the fact that the book reflects rather personal memories, full of nostalgia, than a rigorous analysis, grounded on documents and oral testimonies.

[19] Cristian Vasile, *cited works*, p. 19.

when the memoirs of Patriarch Justinian[20] and Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania have been published[21].

In concluding this bibliographical summary, one can observe that although the historiography on the relation between the Romanian Orthodox Church, especially at the level of superior hierarchy (The Holy Synod, the Patriarchy as administrative institution) and the Romanian State during the communist regime started many years after 1989, the year when the freedom has been obtained, that is the necessary condition for a scientific research, however since 2001, when Olivier Gillet's study indirectly stressed the problem, there are some important steps that were made so the evolution is entirely positive.

Methodological debates

The second point of the present discussion resides in the methodological debate. Following the chronology of editorial activity that we have previously sketched, but at the same time paying attention to the methodology that each designs, one must observe certain diversity (something that is natural). As complex and sensitive subject, the relations between the State and Church under the communist regime, with or without attention to the Justinian Marina's long Patriarchate, shall not be restricted to a single view. So far, the proposed methodologies comes either from the field of history, or from the one of social sciences. The problem is that not all the books mentioned earlier, although they represent historiographical contributions, have clear methodological considerations as it is expected. Among them, only Cristian Vasile (2005) and Lavinia Stan – Lucian Turcescu (2007/2010) have clear methodologies. As concerns the other contributions, the methodologies can only be reconstituted, with all the risks that flow from this situation. It is true that, contrary to the authors George Enache - Adrian Nicolae Petcu (2009), the pair of authors Cristina Păiușan and Radu Ciuceanu (2001) make some methodological considerations.

Hence, the collection of documents by Cristina Păiușan and Radu Ciuceanu (2001) has some introductory studies. The complex nature of relations between State and the Romanian Orthodox Church between 1945 and 1958 implied the need to guide the analysis alongside three fundamental axes: "the change of structure imposed upon the institution of Church by the new regime; the relations between State-Party and the Orthodox Church as regards the application of the new democratic realities; the research of direct and efficient action of the repressive apparatus on the orthodox priests and monks"[22]. At the basis of relations between the General Direction of People's Security and the Romanian Orthodox Church laid the presumption of guiltiness, precisely the state of guilt of the Romanian Orthodox Church in its capacity as mystical and religious institution at all its levels: from hierarchs, through the inferior clergy up to monks). This inspired the main informative coordinates of the book: strict

[20] Justinian – The Patriarch of The Romanian Orthodox Church, Memories (editors Prof. Dr. Remus Rus şi Drd. Dorin-Demostene Iancu), Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2011.

[21] Valeriu Anania, Memories, Polirom, Iaşi, 2011 (especially the chapters „Under Justinian Patriarch" pp. 181-253 şi „Moartea patriarhului Justinian", pp. 634-639)

[22] Cristina Păiuşan, Radu Ciuceanu, *op.cit*., p. 17.

supervision of the Church and the activity of verification and folder opening with regard the hierarchs, priests and monks[23].

Cristian Vasile's study on the Romanian Orthodox Church during the first decade of communism, before all, aimed at "reconstructing the relations between Church and State during the communist period"[24]. Because the book premise is the fact that prior to theorizing one must know in detail as much as possible the historical facts, the reconstruction of facts and events is much more important that interpretations, evaluations[25] that the author does not hesitate to make when necessary. To make it happen, the researcher in contemporary history resorts to a number of sources: first of all, the archives of former State Security which speak about the activity of intelligence surveillance and repression (the opening of criminal folders) that are under the custody of the Romanian Intelligence Service or the National College; secondly, the resort to oral history testimonies; it follows then the memoirs of high prelates, the collection of normative acts gathered in *Monitorul official*, the written media (Church publications, daily press from that time, especially *Scânteia* and *Jurnalul de dimineață*). One must mention, obviously, the bibliographical sources, as they exist with regard to the subject. A very interesting source that the historian mentions is the professional literature from the Russian Federation, at least for the reason that the subordination of the Romanian Orthodox Church had been decided at Moscow[26]. The chief difficulty for the researcher (at that time and today too) is the impossiblity to get into the arhives of the Holly Synod of the Orthodox Romanian Church which are kept at the Antim Monastery. Another difficulty reside in "the obscure access to the archives of the State Secretary for Churches"[27], the institution through which the State under the monopoly of Communist Party controlled *de facto* and *de jure* the religious life in Romania.

The appeal to a variety of resources needs, taking into consideration the subject, their crossing. Although the archives of former Security represent a primary source, it is not fully credible because sometimes the ideological zeal of Security workers have distorted in a conscious manner the reality. Hence, the oral history represents a "subjective source", it is a tool to control and check the accuracy of information from the State Security. A crossing can be made with the memoirs too, despite the exaggerations they are tempted to make. I appreciate that if the informative notes by Security distorts in a negative manner the reality (from ideological considerations), the memoirs in most cases apart from the situation that they are written as a diary, distorts the reality in a positive manner (from self-justification considerents).

The book of scholars Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu (2007/2008) propose a methodology rather affiliated to the political sciences than historical sciences. From the very beginning, the authors stress out the fact that only Sabrina P. Ramet "has examined systematically the interaction between religion and politics"

[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Cristian Vasile, *op.cit.*, p. 7.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

and "she understood the importance of relation between Church and State during democratization"[28]. The purpose of their work was to investigate the interaction between religion and politics in Romania, pointing out the double quality of religion: "as leading force in political life" and "legitimate factor in political action"[29]. At methodological level, the authors want to give up what they call "the old paradigm", that is "the fragmentary approach" of the relation between the two historical institutions. According to the old paradigm, it is examined only the relation that the State establishes with one Church, ignoring consciously "the interaction and competition between the multitude of Churches that are active at a certain moment in that country"[30]. The concepts that define the old paradigm are "symphony" (also called "caesaro-papism") as concerns the Orthodox Church (originated in the realities of the Byzantine Empire) and the concordat with respect to the Roman-Catholic Church (starting with 1630). In return, the authors suggest a new paradigm by which one can find the typologies of relation between state and Church. The fresh contribution that the authors claim to bring to the subject is that they propose four models of relation between Church and state (the model of strict separation specific to the United States of America; the model of State-Church, typical to England, Nordic countries and Greece; the pluralist/structural pluralist model, typical to the Netherlands and Australia; the controlled quasi-pluralist model that is typical to Romania) and, at the same time, they show the way in which these models have influenced six fields of public interest in post-communist Romania[31]. Hence, contrary to the paradigm of fragmentary analysis which "sins" by the fact that it ignores the "dynamics of competition between Churches for the recognition by the state", they advance a "thematical and multidimensional approach" (the new paradigm), the authors paying tribute to the comparative study of Stephen Monsma and Christopher Soper (1997)[32]. Because this is a methodology inspired by the exigencies of political sciences, each of the four models is checked out from the perspective of compatibility with democracy, precisely with the need of "twin tolerance" as shown by the political scientist Alfred Stepan, precisely: the freedom of government in relation with the Churches and the freedom of the Churches in relation to the state[33]. Surprisingly, from the bibliography of the book one shall note the lack of reference to Radu Preda's book, *Biserica în stat. O invitație la dezbatere (1999)* which evokes three European models of relation between State and Church (the radical separation or "the French model"; the total identification or "the English model" and distinct cooperation or "the German model") and, at the same time, it proposes an orthodox model ("the post-Byzantine model")[34].

[28] Lavinia Stan, Lucian Turcescu, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-43.

[32] Stephen Monsma, Christopher Soper, *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Democracies*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, 1997.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 46. For the theory of „twin toleration" as minimal requirement of democracy, see A. Stepan, „Religion, Democracy and the Twin Tolerations", *Journal of Democracy*, no. 4 (2000), pp. 37-57.

[34] Radu Preda, Church in State. *An invitation to debate*, Scripta, 1999.

The attempt of theologian and university scholar Radu Preda to look forward for an orthodox model rises the need of a theological methodology (or, at least, one that is specific to Church historiography) in order to problematize the relation between Church and state from a theological perspective (historical, systematic-fundamental). If for the methodology of political sciences (at least as it is shown in the contribution of the two scholars) the Byzantine symphony does not represent "a partnership among equals", being "more despotic than theocratic" [35] (from which flows their definition as "tacit support for the antireligious campaigns led by the state"[36]), for the theological methodology it is likely that symphony is slightly different perceived. Hence, Jean Meyendorff considers that, starting from the Novel VI by Emperor Justinian (535) that symphony represents "a state of spirit and not system of government" from which its characterization as agreement and not servitude[37].

Conclusions

This study aimed at investigating the recent debates about the relation between the Romanian Orthodox Church and State during the communist regime (1945-1989), with focus on the Patriarchate of Justinian Marina starting from two perspectives that are strictly related: the relevant books and methodologies that they contain. As regards the bibliography, despite the freedom of scientific investigation that was obtained in 1989, the historiography does not start but after 2001, partly as response to the book published by a Belgian researcher on the Romanian Orthodox Church and the nationalism (1997/2001) and partly as natural consequence of the opening, even partial, of the access to the archives of former State Security (by the establishment of the National College in 2000). As regards the methodology, here one can remark the diversity that can be encouraging: the historical methodology and political science methodology. There are attempts the approach the relation from a methodological perspective that is akin to theology, but for the moment it is still expected at the systematic level. What totally lacks is a methodology that is proper to communication studies, cu direct application to the writings of high prelates (pastoral letters, speeches, homilies, articles). The diverse methodology even though not so... diverse, is encouraging at leat from the reason that the relation between the State and Church during the communist regime is characterized mainly by complexity.

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[37] Jean Meyendorff, *The Orthodox Church yesterday and today* (trad. Cătălin Lazurca), Anastasia, Bucharesti, 1996, p. 25. A good debate on the subject of symphony during the Byzantine period cand be found in the book of Stefan Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (trad. Vasile Adrian Carabă), Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 2012.

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THE EHICS OF FINANCIAL JOURNALISM. A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: *Media ethics represents one of the most important debate and research fields. Media theorists, academics, moral philosophers or public intellectuals are interested in discussing very controversial aspects regarding the professional status of journalism, the core values that should guide an honest journalistic investigation, the criteria that a journalistic product must meet in order to be published, the gap between seeking the profit and informing the public, and so on. The media are omnipresent in our life and their way of functioning is an ongoing subject of debate. My article concerns a specific form of journalism, the financial journalism. Since the 2008 economic crisis this type of journalism is under serious scrutiny and it is my intention to outline some of the key ethical aspects specific for this particular kind of journalism.*

Keywords: *media ethics, commodification of information, free-market system, financial journalism, ethical standards.*

1. 2014 will certainly be remembered by the historians of the Romanian press as the year where one of the most respected journalists in our country, Robert Turcescu, revealed the fact that he was in fact working undercover being recruited several years ago by a secret service agency of the Romanian army. Besides the drama of the live confessions this was also the moment where profound questions regarding media ethics were raised. Simply put, it was the moment were important journalists in the public arena asked if it was possible to be a journalist and work for a secret service company at the same time[1]. I consider this is the perfect opportunity to ask what I consider an equally important question has to be answered in this context: is it possible to hold shares to an important company if you are a business journalist? Thus, what I am trying to do is use this opportunity created by the heated debate around the hidden officers working undercover in Romanian press to put forward another important issue: the problematic relation between the financial journalist and the companies he is reporting about. The main reason I am trying to analyse this aspect is related to common sense question that was initially put in the aftermath of the 2008 economic crash by Her Majesty The Queen of England but unfortunately remained unanswered: why did nobody tell us that an economic crash was inevitable? There were numerous attempts to answer this question. Among the most important ones if the project of

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[1] *Online* document http://www.tolo.ro/2014/09/22/ofiter-acoperit-si-ziarist-nu-merg-impreuna/ accesed at 25.09.2014.

Damian Tambini[2], a senior Lecturer at the London School of Economics that aims to underline some of the key aspects that should shape any further ethical code for the financial journalists. I consider it is very important to present some of those aspects since any further regulations regarding the media should consider the cases professor Tambini is analysing.

I consider there are two important aspects regarding the ethics of financial journalism. First of all there the question regarding the professional status of the journalist: is it possible for a journalist working in the financial sector to work for several other institutions (Secret service agencies, government agencies, private business, etc.)? The second one is related to a fundamental right of the press in general: the freedom of expression and it applies to almost all the institutions providing information for the public. Is it possible to be financed by an organization and criticize it at the same time if it serves the public?

The answer to the first question is relatively simple: holding shares in a private business and report objectively about it is impossible. I shall present a case that will illustrate just how dangerous this type of ambivalent commitment can be. In 2000 two columnists – Anil Bhoyrul and James Hipwell – of the *The Mirror* were dismissed as a result of an internal investigation that proved serious misconduct from the two of them. Piers Morgan the editor of the paper was also under investigation for negligence. In 1998 the column *City Slickers* first appear in the *The Mirror*. What the two journalists soon discovered was their immense power in influencing the values of shares on the stock market. As James Hipwell declared, "We have created a monster that was out of control. Every time I tipped a share the price shot up between 30 percent and 100 percent the next morning. Suddenly *The Mirror* was engulfed in the Slickers craze – and it was getting scary. Its top ten tips for 1999 produced a return of 142 per cent in terms of performance over the year"[3]. Both journalists were writing articles in the influential column of *The Mirror* in order to manipulate the stock market and then benefit from it. As it turned out, Piers Morgan was also buying the shares his subordinates were writing about. When the Press Commission sanctioned him as well he claimed he was only doing what other readers of the column were instructed to do. What happened in 2000 proves to be extremely problematic since the public deserves to be informed neutrally and objectively by people who have nothing to gain other than their salaries for the information they are presenting. The readers of the financial press are entitled to honest and disinterest information and this was exactly what *The Mirror* was failing to do.

In order to prevent this type of misconduct there should be clear regulations that could allow the investigators to take measures against those who deliberately fail to obey those rules. The next paragraphs of my article will be devoted to a close comparison between the British deontological regulations and the Romanian ones. In Romania there are two ethical codes that guide the activity of journalists:

[2] *Online* document http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/WhosWho/AcademicStaff/pdf/Tambini-What_is_financial_journalism_for.pdf accesed at 25.09.2014.

[3] James Hipwell, Press Complaints Commission, Report 50, www.pppc.org.uk. *apud* Karen Sanders, *Ethics and Journalism*, London, Sage Publications, 2003, p. 124.

the ethical code of the Romanian Press Club and the Deontological Code of the Journalist elaborated by the Convention of Media Organizations. Although there are some regulations stipulated by those codes that could be used against the journalistic misconduct described before there is no clear rule against the journalist who is buying the shares he is writing about. For example, a more accurate rule that can prevent this type of ambivalent commitment is the so called "abuse of professional status". Thus, the Romanian Deontological Code of the Journalist stipulates that

"2.5.1. The use of the journalistic professional status in order to obtain personal benefits or in favour of a third part represents a serious offence against the ethical norms and it is unacceptable"[4]

The case of "City Slickers" columnists was one where the journalists were directly benefiting from their status and privileged access to information. But the rule is not clearly against their type of behaviour. In the case of the code elaborate by the Press Complaints Commission the rules are more specific:

"I. Even if the law does not prohibit it, journalist must not use for their own profit financial information they receive in advance of its general publication, nor should they pass such information to others

II. They must not write about shares or securities in whose performance they know that they or their close families have a significant financial interest without disclosing the interest to the editor or to the financial editor

III. They must not buy or sell, directly or through nominees or agents, shares or securities about which they have written recently or about which they intend to write in the near future."[5]

As we can easily observe the regulations preventing journalists from benefiting from their privileged access to information are more specific and clear. Even if the importance of the Romanian stock-market cannot parallel that of Great Britain, for instance, it is very important to take this type of cases and regulations into consideration. There are clear differences between the two media environments since their historical paths were different. The rise of the business press in the developed countries paralleled the rise of financial capitalism. As the data gathered by specific institutions prove, the world's largest companies by sector are those functioning in the finance and energy sector[6]. This is the main reason some media researchers claim that we are not living in a post-industrial era but in a "hyper-industrial era in which information production, selling and

[4] *Deontological Code of the Journalist elaborated by the Convention of Media Organizations*, *online* document http://www.paginademedia.ro/2010/05/codul-deontologic-al-jurnalistului-elaborat-de-conventia-organizatiilor-de-media/, accesed at 25.09.2014.

[5] These rules can be found at article 13 in the *Editor's Code of Practice* developed by The Press Complaints Commission. *online* document http://www.pcc.org.uk/cop/practice.html accessed 25.09.2014.

[6] In order to underline the importance of finance reporting I analysed the top of the most profitable companies by their sector. As it turned out the economic branches of fossil fules and finance (insurance and banking) were the most prolific. *Online* document http://www.transnationale.org/countries/majors.php, accessed at 25.09.2014.

consumption becomes an important factor of the overall economy but does not substitute for the economic importance of the finance capital can fossil fuels."[7]

The rise of finance capital called for a professional business press. This type of press is rather new and it gained importance as the public thrived for more financial information. As one of the most reputed journalists working in this field right from the beginning recalls: "When I started working as a full-time business journalist some twenty years ago, the profession barely existed outside the *Financial Times* or the *Economist*. What business and financial journalism that existed in the mainstream media was in its own ghetto were it struggled to get out onto the main news bulletin or onto the front pages (...) There was very little training for financial journalists, and many of my colleagues regarded it as a stepping stone to something more glamorous in politics, entertainment or consumer affairs."[8] The growing need for economic information was also a result of the rise of big corporations and finance capitalism. But despite the fact that the business press grew enormously it proved to be unable to foresee such a major event as the crisis of 2008. And the 2008 crash raised serious concerns about the ability of the business press to objectively inform the public.

2. This unsolved mystery – why the financial journalist failed to foresee the crisis – leads us to the second question of our article: can a journalist still enjoy it right to the freedom of expression when his institution is signing advertising contracts with private company, a bank or an insurance company?

To answer this question we must take a closer look to some of the political reasons the economic press became so important. The rapid grow of the financial press is also related to the neoliberal agenda of deregulating markets and, most important, of forcing citizens to be more responsible with their own financial status. Since the retirements funds and medical insurance were no longer managed by public institutions everybody had to pay closer attention to their financial situation. But this is not the only reason. The rise of financial journalism and its importance is also closely related to the rise of *casino* capitalism[9] or *gambling* capitalism where huge profits were made on the financial market: money were made out of selling money (insurance policies, interest rates, etc.) The financial market is highly volatile and easy to temper with and this is exactly why objective information is crucial. But even more important than objective data is the ability of the financial journalists of analysing this type of system. But, as we shall see, this was almost impossible since the concentration of the capital on the information market allowed the formation of huge media corporations whose only

[7] Christian Fuchs, *Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies*, London, New York, Routledge, 2011, p. 207.

[8] Steve Schiferers, inaugural lecture, Department of Journalism City University London, *online* document

https://www.city.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0016/151063/The-Future-of-Financial-Journalism-in-the-Age-of-Austerity.pdf, accessed 24.09.2014.

[9] Takis Fotopoulos, „The Myths about the Economic Crisis, the Reformist Left and Economic Democracy", *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 2008).

concern was maximizing the profit.[10] Thus, the 2008 economic crash was not foreseen by those who were in charge of doing so for several reasons. After investigating most of the reasons different authors are putting forward I came to the conclusion that there are mainly to types of reasons that lead to the inability of the financial press to foresee the coming disaster: there were structural causes generated by the deregulation of the information market and the creation of profit-oriented huge media corporations and more practical matters regarding the hyper-specialisation of financial journalist[11]. If I were to highlight some of the most important of those reasons I would came up with the following list:

1. The profit based media institutions cut funds for investigation journalism.
2. The opinions that would gravely contradict the public common sense would be avoided.
3. The sensitive subjects that could trigger a response in a law suit were to be avoided.
4. The information that was not provided by official sources was to be avoided.
5. Critical articles about the press institution's sponsors could not be published.
6. The rise of PR and his corollary, the so-called *churnalism*[12] – publishing information (articles) provided by the PR agencies.

The constant decrease of journalistic standards was the subject of countless articles and books. Even in our country public intellectuals have criticised in violent terms the journalistic practices dominating the public media arena in the recent years[13]. But the criticism was highly personalized and it almost always put

[10] Christian Fuchs, *Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies*, cap. *The Concentration of Capital in the Information Sector*, London, New York, Routledge, 2011, , pp. 203–207.

[11] As Steve Schiferers emphasizes "The huge volume of detailed information led to a reinforcement for many publications of the 'beat' system of reporting, where journalists specialized in a narrow section of the financial world such as the bond market, oil prices, or a particular industry sector. This led to a 'silo' mentality where reporters were unable to connect the dots between say financial markets and housing markets." Steve Schiferers, inaugural lecture, Department of Journalism City University London, *online* document

https://www.city.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0016/151063/The-Future-of-Financial-Journalism-in-the-Age-of-Austerity.pdf, accesed 24.09.2014.

[12] There are heated debates around this new type of practice called *churnalism*. In 2011 a website was created to detect the stories that were fabricated by PR agencies: "The website, churnalism.com, created by charity the Media Standards Trust, allows readers to paste press releases into a "churn engine". It then compares the text with a constantly updated database of more than 3m articles. The results, which give articles a "churn rating", show the percentage of any given article that has been reproduced from publicity material. The Guardian was given exclusive access to churnalism.com prior to launch. It revealed how all media organisations are at times simply republishing, verbatim, material sent to them by marketing companies and campaign groups." You can find a more detailed account of this type of practice and the attempts to fight it at http://www.theguardian.com/media/2011/feb/23/churnalism-pr-media-trust.

[13] Probabaly one of the most aggressive articles against the practices used by a Romanian television, Antena 3, is the article of a well-known public intellectual Vlad Mixich.

the blame on particular journalist and not on the context. A lot of energy is devoted into the investigation of particular cases and less time is being spent in identifying the structural causes that led journalism to such low professional standards. The most obvious reason is in fact the profit-oriented media companies are constantly trying to lower their production costs. Thus it is very profitable to get information from a news agency than sending a reporter to investigate. It is very profitable to raise some people and pay them to say whatever you want than spent time in organizing a genuine debate. There are researchers focusing on the constant decay of news and journalistic investigation. 1974 was the year when the most powerful man on the planet – as the press often characterise him – the president of the United States, Richard Nixon, resigned as a result of a journalistic investigation. Nowadays it seems almost impossible to produce an investigation of that type. Bill Kovach and Tom Rosentiel's book[14] which is still considered one of the most important among media theorists emphasises the constant decrease of journalistic materials. Thus, they are insisting on the fact that today's televisions are naming "investigations" ludicrous subjects so ordinary and so remote from political and economic abuse of power than it is almost impossible to consider them worthy of that name. "Local televisions news often employs its I-teams [investigation teams] in such stories as 'dangerous doors' reporting on the hazards of opening and closing doors or as 'inside your washing machine', a look at how dirt and bacteria on the clothes consumers put in their washers get on other clothes."[15] This type of agenda is the result of what Nick Davis[16] is calling the avoidance of the "electric fence" – that is the avoidance of sensitive subjects that could lead to a probable lawsuit or other PR pressure techniques. He is presenting a lot of cases were journalists were fired as a result of external pressures coming from powerful lobby and PR groups. One of the many examples he cites that is particularly interesting in the context of the recent armed conflict between Israel and Palestine is the one were a powerful organization, HonestReporting, led a sustained campaign against CNN. They claimed to have sent up to 6000 e-mails a day to the chief executive and which resulted in they being invited to CNN's headquarters in Atlanta to meet managers who, they say, 'showed genuine sensitivity to HonestReporting's concerns'. They have complained that CNN was failing to describe Palestinian bombers as 'terrorists' that too little attention was given to Israeli victims".[17] This is only one of the many examples were financially potent organization can influence major media institutions.

This example leads us to the second aspect in the list I provided and it refers to the avoidance by the mainstream press of the sensitive ideas. When the credit card frenzy was at its peak in Romania, the governor of the National Bank, Mugur Isărescu, appeared on television trying to explain the dangers of those credits. He

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http://www.reportervirtual.ro/2014/03/antena-3-sau-invazia-gandacilor-un-comentariu-de-vlad-mixich.html *online* document accesed at 24.09.2014.

[14] Bill Kovach and Tom Rosentiel, *The Elements of Journalism*, New York, Three Rivers Press, 2001.

[15] *Ibidem*, p. 153.

[16] Nick Davis, *Flat Earth News: An Award-winning Reporter Exposes Falsehood, Distortion and Propaganda in the Global Media*, London, Vintage, 2009.

[17] *Idem.*, p.124.

was widely criticized for taking a measure that proved to be very wise in the aftermath of the economic crisis. He stated that Romanian banks should not be allowed to give credits so great that the pay rate would be greater than 25% of the person's income. Many criticized this measure since one of the most famous and well promoted campaigns was "get your credit with your identity card!".[18] What is very interesting is the fact that he didn't receive at that time the proper support from the financial press. The legitimate suspicion is that the right to freedom of expression was limited in that case by the advertising contracts signed with the banks promoting that type of loan. The fact that the press avoids what might upset the public is the direct result of bending every journalistic standard when confronted with the viewer's ideas. In this hyper-commercialized press the consumers know best and it is not the journalist job to teach them otherwise.

This type of avoidance becomes even more problematic when the basis of democracy – the freedom of expression – is threatened by economic factors. An example of this kind is that of the online debate platform Think Outside the Box and Coca-Cola. The 6th of May 2011 Adevărul Holding shut down a website that was hosted on his webpage under the name *think.adevarul.ro*. In a press release following this action, Adevarul explained his action as a result of serious misunderstandings in the editorial and promotion collaboration "As a result of public pressure and the efforts of several journalists including those working for Active Watch (an NGO specialized in monitoring the deontological problems în Romanian press) very interesting facts surfaced. In fact, the manager of McCann-Erickson advertising company, Mihai Trandafir, made very explicit and violent threats targeted to Adevărul Holding. The email he send to the manager and to the owner of Adevarul Holding were published as the scandal escalated. In his own terms Mihai Trandafir said: "It is beyond our power of understanding and completely inacceptable that a media company that we were preparing a special project with for a special day[19], to atack us this way. We are expecting your official position and we will make sure that all our clients find out about this issue. As you can imagine we shall not pay any of the Coca-Cola orders".[20]

As a result of the obedient course of action taken by Adevărul Holding, Vlad Epurescu, chief editor at Adevărul, resigned. In a very dual manner the owner of Adevărul Holding closed the site but sent an open letter to the advertising company saying that "the journalistic and editorial independence is the first and the most important value of Adevărul Holding. The money cannot buy it"[21]. A few days later the owner of Adevărul declared"I know about the advertising mafia and

[18] Mugur Isărescu was one of the declared ennemies of this type of credits that some economist call "financial weapons of mass distruction". In an 2012 article he explained why he believes it is still very dangerous to reinstate this type of financial product.

http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Finante-Banci/118122/isarescu-credit-cu-buletinul.html#Scene_1, *online* document accesed at 25.09.2014.

[19] Coca-Cola was preparing to celebrate 125 years of existence.

[20] *Online* document

http://www.criticatac.ro/7214/presiunile-politice-si-economice-de-la-intact-si-adevarul-holding-sunt-inacceptabile/

[21] http://www.paginademedia.ro/2011/05/coca-cola-adevarul-episodul-2-amenintarea-agentiei-%E2%80%9Cnu-vom-plati-niciuna-dintre-comenzile-coca-cola%E2%80%9D/

the resulting pressures. The smaller the media trust the bigger the pressure. If the advertising companies allow themselves to behave this way than the media trust are waiters in this industry: just tell us how to write for the advertising money."[22]

In a later attempt to clear the company name, Bogdan Enoiu stated that "As a result of the situation presented by Adevărul, we wish to make a few statements: The actions of Mr. Trandafir do not express the position or the way of doing things of McCann-Erickson. The Coca-Cola company was not involved in this action. We apologize for the situation that was created."[23]

This type of ethical challenges is also the result of the ideological homogeneity that characterises nowadays press if widely criticised but the results are yet to be seen. Thus, Nick Davis, an award winning British journalist, is emphasising this lack of critical debates in the mainstream press. "The years of Reagen and Thatcher demolished that counter-culture and replaced it with a new consensus. So, for example, a database search reveals that, in 2006, Fleet Street papers[24] had almost ceased to refer to the structure of their own society, a subject which generated the most powerful global debate of the twentieth century: in 2006 they referred more often to crap than they did to capitalism."[25]

Conclusions

As one can easily imagine it is very difficult to deal with cases where a large company is making serious and violent threats against the freedom of expression without questioning the status-quo[26]. This type of threats do not appear out of nothing they are the result of a system that allows little political influence on the privately-owned press but very important economic control through advertising contracts on this type of press. Without questioning the fundamental problems: is the deregulated free-market information system the best way to provide the public with honest information? Is the privately-owned media company free from all kind of financial pressure? Is the business press able to fight the enormous influence of banks and still report objectively on the dangers of certain products such as "the credit card with the identity card"? it is not possible to analyses a

[22] *Online* document, http://www.reportervirtual.ro/2011/05/peter-imre-stiu-despre-mafia-din-publicitate-si-presiunile-care-se-fac.html..

[23] *Online* document, http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/agentia-amenintat-adevarul-isi-cere-scuze-1_50ada3da7c42d5a6639889c3/index.html.

[24] Fleet Street is a street in the City of London that was home until 1980 to the National British Press. In 2005 Reuters, the last major media company left, but the name of the street is still being used to refer to the national press in Great Britain.

[25] Nick Davis, *Flat Earth News: An Award-winning Reporter Exposes Falsehood, Distortion and Propaganda in the Global Media*, London, Vintage, 2009, p. 128.

[26] When comparing the totalitarian state and the democratic one Nick Davis underlines the elements proving the existence of the "hidden" ideology of the democratic state: „In a totalitarian state, media lies stand up and insult their readers direct to their faces. (...) In the totalitarian state, ideology stands up and announces itself in every sentence. (...) In a democracy, the ideology is still there in every sentence, but it lies down and hides beneath the surface. There is no need for a totalitarian regime when the censorship of commerce runs its blue pencil through every story" *Ibidem*, p. 152.

situation like the one presented above. The possible answers to these questions that key decision makers in the journalistic field offer cannot give many reasons to be optimists.[27] This type of perspective of a completely commercialized press at high levels in the decision making process of the media companies should make us wonder if we are willing to sacrifice the ideal of a free press working to inform the citizens in a democracy for the sake of the profit. As we can see the particular problems identified by specialists working in the field (the over-specialization of financial journalists unable to see the bigger picture), the lack of critical voices, the lack of serious journalistic investigation, the replacement of economic news with human interest news, are all rooted in a much deeper problem: our inability to find the right balance between the interest of he media owner and the interest of the citizens. This may transform the press from the watchdog it is supposed to be into a nice friend of the institutions it should be investigating.

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[27] For example, "John Wilson, controller of editorial policy at BBC said: 'News is a way of making money, just as selling bread is a way of making money. No one believes that news and journalism are simply a service to democracy'." *Ibidem*, p. 135.

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A MISTERY OF THE ROMANIAN LITERARY HISTORY: TUDOR ARGHEZI DISEASE

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Abstract*: The Romanian poet Tudor Arghezi has always had a negative attitude towards doctors and their job. The poet's reluctance resulted from a mysterious disease that almost cost him his life in 1939. Following the diagnosis made by several Romanian medical celebrities, his death seemed inevitable and would be caused by cancer, as most of the doctors said. The condition of the famous patient remained a mystery to experts; Dr. John Făgărăşanu tried to diagnose the affliction accurately and gave it the name "Tudor Arghezi disease", but it has never been recognized officially. The poet has made a full recovery, surprising all the specialists, and continued to write, having a long-lasting career in literature and press. His cure came from a healer, Dumitru Grigoriu-Argeş, who administered him a misterious injection.*

Keywords: *Tudor Arghezi, Romanian literature, literary history, diseases writers.*

Tudor Arghezi's life, even though it was a long one and marked by 71 years of diligent writing both in literature and press, had several dramatic episodes. One of them was a mysterious disease that suddenly confined the poet to bed in 1939. Despite the efforts of numerous Romanian renowned physicians, the poet's death seemed inevitable. The disease he was suffering from was rare, which led Dr. Ion Făgărăşanu to propose (unsuccessfully though) in 1971 at an international congress of surgery that the disease should be named after the illustrious patient.

The famous doctor Dumitru Bagdasar estimated then that Tudor Arghezi had only one month to live, advising the poet's relatives and friends, among whom was Alexander Rosetti, to give the poet's manuscripts for publication to a publishing house as the poet's end was inevitable[1]. Arghezi had consulted all the renowned Romanian physicians but without good results. Only the morphine injections relieved the excruciating pain the patient was experiencing.

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[1] Alexandru Rosetti, *Travels and portraits*, Sport-Tourism Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, p. 204.

Despite the doctors' pessimism, he was miraculously healed, contradicting all expectations. Even if the unconventional cure was obtained with a less common and contested treatment, Arghezi did not admit that the treatment he received from doctors was beneficial. He always claimed to have been cured by a healer whose name was Dumitru Grigoriu-Argeş, who used intramuscular miraculous bee venom that would have cured thousands of patients, as told by Grigoriu-Argeş himself. The poet later testified that he saw himself a register in which his savior wrote the names of the patients he had healed using the controversial method. This mysterious doctor that practiced medicine in a hospital in Curtea de Argeş City was recommended to Arghezi by a friend, the film director, Soare Z. Soare.

The way Tudor Arghezi describes this doctor confirms the controversies that surrounded the practice of Grigoriu-Argeş: the physician comes quickly to the poets' house located in the slum of Mărţişor, in Bucharest, to see Arghezi, who had been confined to bed for some time by a terrible ailment. Those that saw the doctor were astonished by Grigoriu-Argeş's appearance. He was a tall man, with red beard and a yellow mantle, a blue coat, a green waistcoat and colourful pant. Even his shoes had different colours [2]. However, Tudor Arghezi's life hung by a thread. Although he believed that Grigoriu-Argeş was mad, he had no choice but to accept the odd healer. He immediately gives him an injection containing a mysterious combination of substances and urges his patient to get up. The miracle happened and Arghezi was back on his feet.

He strongly deprecated the practice of medicine and the doctors' job, saying that they were nothing else but "medical beasts". His repugnance went so far that Arghezi wrote a play called *The Syringe* during his detention at Târgu-Jiu, in 1943. Moreover, together with the director Paul Călinescu, Arghezi also wrote a screenplay for a movie (*Hidden Weaknesses* [3]) which he envisioned as a sequel of *The Syringe*. In this screenplay doctors were also main characters. The poet wanted to present the hidden weaknesses of some people that didn't respect their job, doctors being among those he criticized most. During his convalescence, Arghezi was supported financially by the big industrialist Nicolae Malaxa. In an interview[4], the renowned physician George Emil Palade admitted that he was the one who kept the connection between Arghezi and Malaxa.

The doctors who examined Arghezi at the time argued that the patient had had another disease four years earlier, in 1935[5]. Two of the doctors who treated him in 1939, D. Bagdasar and G.E. Palade, the latter being at the beginning of his career then, became the main targets of the ironies in Arghezi's literature and articles. But even if he was healed by a controversial practitioner, after 16 years the patient suffered a relapse from the same disease, in 1955. Meanwhile, Dr. D. Bagdasar died, but after some analyses Dr. Ion Făgărăşanu proved that the renowned neurosurgeon Dumitru Bagdasar was right in 1939, when he made a

[2] Ibidem, p. 205.

[3] Ibidem, p. 205.

[4] C.D. Zeletin, *With George Emil Palade in San Diego, talking about «Tudor Arghezi» disease*, in *Literary Romania*, no. 50, December 19-25, 2001, pp. 12-13.

[5] On this subject also in C.D. Zeletin, *With George Emil Palade in San Diego, talking about «Tudor Arghezi» disease*, in *Literary Romania*, no. 50, December 19-25, 2001, pp. 12-13.

diagnosis in Tudor Arghezi's case. The Romanian poet had a benign tumour, not a malignant tumour, as many specialists said. His disease was in fact a pus that led to a paralysis at the level of his backbone.

Doctors discovered that the treatment applied by Dr. Dumitru Bagdasar was actually the remedy of Arghezi's disease, Grigoriu-Argeş taking advantage of the delayed effect of the treatment prescribed by the neurosurgeon. Grigoriu-Argeş' injections had only a placebo effect on the patient, but supported the theory that he discovered a miraculous treatment. However, doctors regained Arghezi's confidence in 1959, when the same "medical beasts" saved his wife's life.

Whether he gave to his patient a real medicine or only one with a placebo effect, the practitioner Grigoriu-Argeş, an eccentric physician (he also published scientific articles and even a brochure in 1937) helped him recover from a simple sciatica and not from cancer, a disease with which Tudor Arghezi had been diagnosed by many renowned physicians. His recovery was probably a result of the unconditional trust the patient had in him. However, Dumitru Grigoriu was not an amateur in the field of medicine, working as a doctor at the hospital from Curtea de Argeş. Besides the legend according to which he managed to heal an impressive number of patients using this secret method, he introduced as a treatment in medicine a special mixture which was not miraculous in terms of its active ingredients, but only in terms of the proportion in which each substance was dosed. It's worth mentioning that he wrote in an article [6], published in 1932, seven years before he healed Tudor Arghezi, that the new mixture should be used in a clinic to treat the patients that suffered from sciatica, so that he could test and eventually patent his product for widespread use.

The hypochondriac Tudor Arghezi

Arghezi has always been a hypochondriac. In the letters[7] he sent to the young teacher Aretia Panaitescu when he was a monk at Cernica Monastery, he complained of terrible migraines, being, as he wrote it, even near death. Arghezi describes in the letters he sent to his friend, Gala Galaction, the terrible headaches he experienced, the pain being afterwards localized in his spinal column. It was the pain which led to a life-threatening disease later, in 1939. The poet even opened a case against doctors from the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest and obtained an 18-month suspension of Dumitru Bagdasar. Tudor Arghezi even asked for compensation for the 18 months of inactivity during which he could not honor contracts with some publishers.

The Romanian poet did not have the fate of a genius who dies young. He lived 87 years, although he was an inveterate smoker who could not give up cigarettes until the last days of his life. In his youth he was convinced that he would not live long. In some letters the young poet even described how, at the monastery, being close to death, he was given the last Eucharist.

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[6] Dumitru Grigoriu-Argeş, *A new treatment characteristic to sciatic neuralgia*, in *Medical Bucharest*, no. 1, 1932, pp. 5-6, apud G. Brătescu, *Healthcare yesterday and nowadays*, Medical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1984.

[7] Published in Barbu Cioculescu, *Tudor Arghezi: Self-portrait in letters*, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982.

The disease Tudor Arghezi suffered from left traces in his poetry. Nicolae Manolescu[8] mentions the poems *Scorching Ashes*, *The Buffalo of Fire* and *A Beast has Fallen Asleep*, from the volume *One Hundred and One Poems*, published in 1947. These poems are similar to the prayer of a dying man, being full of funerary symbolism. The same symbolism is also found in his youth poems, from *Black Agate* series of poems. The difference is that death is now felt at a physiological and empirical level:

"My mouth is like a scorched crust
And my slobber tastes like souse
My tongue is like a rub stone to sharpen a scythe
The walls, beams and my house fell on me
They all become my coffin.

A latch breaks my body, a staple tears me
I have broken locks in my throat.
I am wrapped in a chain of dead nails"
(*Scorching Ashes*)

As a sign of the inevitable death, the inner being and the outer universe are mingled, invading the body that is still alive. This is the same domestic environment in which life and love were once harmoniously interwoven, in his youth poetry:

"You sneaked inside me with your song
That afternoon, when
The lock of my soul's window, no longer strong,
Opened wide in the wind,
And your music I heard, without knowing.

Your song filled the whole place,
Its drawers, boxes and carpets
Like melodic lavender sachets. See,
The latches have been blown away,
And my monastery is left exposed, in disarray.

.....

The clouds crushed too, with the thunder
Inside the universe that I had kept secluded."
(*Morgenstimmung*)

[8] Nicolae Manolescu, *Critical History of Romanian Literature. 5 Centuries of Literature*, Paralela 45 Publishing House, Piteşti, 2008, p. 629.

Such poems related to death are full of religious and thanatic symbols: "church", "bell", "goat" (which symbolises the Devil), "buffalo" (an animal which is believed to lead the souls of the dead).

Conclusion

Tudor Arghezi disease was not recognized and named after the Romanian poet's name but this biographical dramatic episode he has gone through was an important moment in the history of Romanian medicine, challenging the mind of the best physicians in our country. Because of the terrible pain he endured in 1939, Tudor Arghezi was close to death. The mysterious disease started suddenly and ended the same way, without any logical explanation, after he was given an injection that presumably contained bee venom. Besides his physical suffering, the disease left traces in Tudor Arghezi's literature both in his youth and later.

These new aspects of the Arghezian literature were studied in the past by many specialists in literary history, linguistics and medicine. Among them we can mention Nicolae Manolescu Alexandru Rosetti, C.D. Zeletin and G. Brătescu. Their research is far from being comprehensive on the subject, literary critic Nicolae Manolescu (in his book *Critical History of Romanian literature. 5 Centuries of Literature*) making a short analysis of how "Tudor Arghezi disease" was reflected in his poetry. In addition, in 1982 Barbu Cioculescu publishes numerous letters sent by Tudor Arghezi, in which the poet makes many confessions to Gala Galaction and describes the terrible effect that the diseases he suffered from had on him. The numerous implications that "Tudor Arghezi disease" had for the poet's writings and even for Romanian literature deserve a thorough research, especially by studying the way in which his literature has changed over time.

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