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NOVEL ASPECTS CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN *DIMITRIE CANTEMIR* – *G.W. LEIBNIZ* AND THE *ACADEMY OF BERLIN*

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Abstract: *Our approach attempts to be a necessary clarification regarding D. Cantemir's connection with the European scientific life based on novel research, little known, which we submit to analysis in order to put an end to any speculation which could arise, out of ignorance or ill will, even after the celebration of 300 years from Dimitrie Cantemir's election as a member of the Academy of Berlin. We intend to tackle a few aspects envisaging the relationship between Cantemir and Leibniz in terms of the universalism and encyclopaedism of their thinking¹ and, especially, Cantemir's relations with the Academy of Berlin.*

Keywords: *Encyclopaedism, universalism, scientific and philosophical knowledge, the Academy of Berlin.*

The Romanian and foreign researchers of Dimitrie Cantemir's scientific activity brought to light a documentary material of greatest significance and interpretations that differentiate from one stage to another, occasioned by various events related to Dimitrie Cantemir's life, work and personality.

First of all, P.P. Panaitescu argued with clear evidence Cantemir's role in the reform period² and Eduard Winter provided an extensive correspondence which

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¹ The approach of the two thinkers' personality in terms of their work and role in the scientific and political life of modern Europe is to be found in the articles : *Dimitrie Cantemir and G.W. Leibniz – Encyclopaedists with European Vocation*, *Cogito*, no.4/2010 and the *Relationship between Philosophy and Science in Dimitrie Cantemir and G.W. Leibniz's Works*, *Cogito*, no.3/2014, author: Gabriela Pohoată, coordinator of the International Conferences and of their internationally indexed volumes: *The Encyclopaedic and Universal Dimension of Dimitrie Cantemir's Work*, October 2012; *Dimitrie Cantemir - Educator of the Romanian People*, October 2013, coordinator and moderator of the philosophy and education sections within the International Conferences: *Dimitrie Cantemir's Work – Symbol of Civilizations' Convergence*, October 2010, as well as of the International Symposium: *Dimitrie Cantemir - G.W. Leibniz and the Academy of Berlin*, 11 July 2014, dedicated to the anniversary of 300 years since the election of the Romanian Prince as a member of the Academy of Berlin.

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

reveals the Leibnizian and Pietist contacts with reforming Russia, including the Romanian scholar³.

The academician Emil Pop brought important and novel evidence about Cantemir's links with the Academy of Berlin⁴, whose member he was, and Truțer⁵, based on E. Winter's documentation also reported some other sources about the relations with the Pietist circles. We have also added the relationship established between the German Pre-Enlightenment geographic trend and Cantemir's work, a trend asserted at the Universities of Gotha and, especially, at Halle.

The important issue which ought to be answered is that of Cantemir's relationship with the historiographical climate of the time. From the older or newer investigations we can clear infer his connections with the Leibnizian circles, especially with the Academy of Berlin, with the University of Halle and with the learned men who, through their preoccupations, were ascribed to the European Pre-Enlightenment.⁶

The Cantemirian historiographical research acquires a new glow in the time frame if we remind the fact that through his works he opened the path to knowledge for an entire human geography from the South-Eastern Europe⁷, meeting with the Leibnizian approach of getting to know some regions, still not integrated in the circuit of universal values.

Dimitrie Cantemir and G.W. Leibniz

Both the work, especially the philosophical one, and his eventful life entitle us to try a rapprochement between the Moldovian Prince and the German philosopher Leibniz. Blaga's appreciation is significant in this respect: Cantemir, through his work and activity, "reflects, to local sizes and under the circumstances of our Eastern location"⁸, the spiritual profile of the German thinker. Cantemir was born twenty-seven years later than Leibniz⁹ and died seven years after him. Both scholars were members of the Academy of Berlin, but in 1714, the year of Cantemir's reception, Leibniz was no longer at the head of the Academy, his illness having compelled him to retire to Hannover. Two destinies

Le Prince Demetre Cantemir et le mouvement intellectuel..., Russe sous Pierre le Grand, in *Revue des Études slaves*, VI, 1926, fasc.3-4, p.261-262.

³ E. Winter, *Halle als Ausgangspunkt der Deutschen Russlandkunde in 18 Jahrhundert* Berlin, 1953; alte lucrări ale lui Winter: *E.W.Tschirnhaus und die Fruhaufklärung in Mittel und Osteuropa*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas*. Bd.VII, Berlin, 1960; *Fruhaufklärung den Kampf gegen den Konfessionalismus in Mittel und Osteuropa und die deutsch-slawschen Begegnung*, Belin, 1966.

⁴ Emil Pop, *Dimitrie Cantemir and the Academy of Berlin*, in *Studies*, 22, 1969, no.5, p.825-847.

⁵ Tiberiu Truțer, *Novel Aspects concerning Dimitrie Cantemir's Relationships with the Academy of Berlin*, *Forum Journal* no.10-1971, p. 75-81.

⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, *Dimitrie Cantemir and the South-Eastern European Pre-Enlightenment*, in *Tribuna* XVII, 1973, p.39-43.

⁷ Al. Duțu, *The Romanian Humanists and the European Culture*, Bucharest, Minerva Printing House p.156-190.

⁸ Lucian Blaga, *Origins (Isvoade)*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1972, p.150.

⁹ We owe the association of Leibniz with Cantemir to Dan Bădărău, who wrote two monographs at a few years' interval, one on *Cantemir's Philosophy*, Bucharest, the Academy Publishing House, 1964, the other on *Leibniz: Life and Philosophical Personality*, Bucharest, 1966.

that marked modernity through the universalism and encyclopaedism of their thinking¹⁰, two personalities deeply rooted in the socio-political reality of their time, both thinkers being intimate advisers of the Tsar Peter the Great. Cantemir sees in the Russian Tsar Peter I the same support that Leibniz had hoped to get from the King of France, Louis XIV. To this end, Leibniz spent several years in Paris, hoping to persuade the "Sun King" to attack the Turks; he was ready to argue his idea that the defeat of the Turks would mean a very bright moment for the French monarchy. Without going into the analysis of the historical events, which are well-known, we mention that Leibniz, disappointed by Louis XIV, published in 1648 "Mars Christianismus", a pamphlet directed against the monarch in whom he had once put his hopes, particularly regarding the fate of small German states.

Dimitrie Cantemir, after the unfavorable outcome of the fight of Stănilești, settled in Russia where he was all the time next to the Tsar and did not give up attempting to persuade the monarch to crush the Ottoman power. In this regard he wrote several works out of which the most important are – *The History of the Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire* "Monarchiarum Phisica Examinatio". We consider it necessary to recall here that both the German the Roman philosophers were supporters of the theory of "enlightened monarchies" a theory which guided their work in the socio-political field.¹¹

Being contemporaries, although they never met and we have no evidence of any link between them, such as correspondence or meetings, however, at a thorough analysis of their works both in the political and scientific and philosophical field, we can notice some approaches and even contact points. Both thinkers' works tackle various fields of human knowledge: from logic, mathematics and physics to metaphysics and theodicy, from literature, music, geography and ethnology to legal sciences, history and politics. Universal spirits, both Cantemir and Leibniz showed a keen interest in extended knowledge. Almost all the fields of knowledge were researched and represented by their creations, making a brilliant summary between the theoretical and the practical dimension of thought, between tradition and innovation.

In the spiritual geography of Central and South-Eastern Europe, Cantemir won one of the most prestigious places and names. Author of widespread works, the Romanian Prince became, at the turn of the 17th and 18th century, a familiar name in the realm of European and non-European letters, often intermingling with the preoccupations of some scholars and men of letters, of whom we remind Voltaire, Leibniz, Francke and Cotton Mather, N. Tindal and Busching. He is certainly significant for the Romanian culture firstly, but also for the world history owing to the ideas he spread. He was a universal author by the extension of his work, encyclopaedic coverage and, last but not least, because he mediated a successful Eastern-Western dialogue in an epoch bearing the mark of

¹⁰ G. Pohoată, *Dimitrie Cantemir - G.W. Leibniz, Encyclopaedists with European Vocation*, Cogito, no.4/2010, p. 9-15.

¹¹ Bele Mircea, *Cantemir and Leibniz*, on Sargentia. Acta Musei Regionalis Devensis, Deva, 1977, vol.XIII, p.329-333.

mutations¹². Dimitrie Cantemir is undoubtedly the universal prototype of *uomo universale* of the Romanians, concentrating all the cultures of his time in an original philosophical paradigm that will influence in a decisive way the mentality of the Romanian philosophy up to Titu Maiorescu.¹³

Cantemir's erudition responded to Leibniz's projects and, especially, to the project of a "**universal science**", which proves and illustrates the openness of the German thinker towards a qualitatively organized and harmonized encyclopaedism, comprised in universal forms of unification, under the sign of reaching a balance under all its aspects. The idea of a "**characteristica universalis**" is decisive in Leibniz's projects. As it has the function of "**a universal language within the general science**", worth as a "tool or means the general science makes use of", which, in turn, "**links the rigor of demonstration to the light of invention**".¹⁴

Moreover, Leibniz's conviction was that languages have a common origin, and words are not completely arbitrary; his ideal was the unification of methods and fundamental sentences in a universal discipline.

Determining the boundaries and virtues of such a science lies among the first duties of a researcher who wants to discover the grounds of human knowledge. The tool was meant to be a **universal encyclopedia**¹⁵ that was going to illustrate a collection of human knowledge in all fields, logically grouped after a demonstrative method, starting with the simpler one. As such an encyclopedia was beyond the powers of a man, even with his erudition, the philosopher set up **a group of scholars meant to work systematically to conceive an inventory of all human knowledge**. He even suggested the Royal Society from London, then the Academy of Sciences from Paris and, finally, the great princes of his time, including Louis the XIV, according to some commentators, taking on such a task. Although he did not manage to convince anyone to get involved in his undertaking, the fact that this was possible was enough for him to preserve unaltered the thought of his characteristic.

The idea of the Leibnizian universalism was well noticed by Dilthey, against the background of a veritable history of the modern culture: "Leibniz - Dilthey wrote - is the most universal spirit that the new European peoples produced before Goethe. If the highest achievement of the philosopher consisted in bringing the culture of an era to self-awareness and systematic clarification, thus strengthening the powers of this culture, then no other thinker from Plato and Aristotle did it in such a comprising and creative way as this great German philosopher. The powerful forces that coexisted in the 17th century culture, namely: the Greek idealism of Plato and Aristotle, the purifying Protestant Christianity and the new science of the time based on the knowledge of nature -

¹² Virgil Căndea, *Dialogue Eastern-Western. Tradition and Innovation in Dimitrie Cantemir's "Divan"*, in the Bulletin of the National Commission for UNESCO, 1964, 6, no.1-2, p.41-61.

¹³ G. Pohoată, *Romanian Educational Models in Philosophy*, Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany, 2012, p.34.

¹⁴ M. Schneider, *Leibniz Konzeption der Characteristica universalis zwischen 1677 und 1690*, in: *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, no.2 (1994), p.214.

¹⁵ L. Couturat. *Opuscles et fragments inédits de Leibniz*, Alcan, 1903, p.100.

were perfectly harmonized in this spirit endowed with a deep comprehension and insight. Nature itself seemed to have meant him to perform for this titanic work¹⁶. Leibniz and Cantemir were integral personalities that defy a specialized analysis. If one puts together the results of fragmentary researchers on Cantemir the historian, the geographer, the man of letters, the philosopher, the orientalist, the musicologist, the statesman, the diplomat and the warrior, they fail to fully reconstruct his image. The same holds for Leibniz – his portrait cannot be reconstructed from pieces because of man’s non-linear personality¹⁷. The only key we have to understand and compare them is the hypothesis that each used a coherent way of thinking in all his areas of activity, resorting to the same concepts and the same mental strategy regardless of the field of application. The fact that both poured out multiform creations, leaving behind scores of books and opuscles on subjects ranging from history, metaphysics and morals to the political and social problems of their day enables us to follow the traits of their ways of thinking and to see the extent to which they actually were, for both, modalities of the European thought of 1700.¹⁸ In fact Leibniz’s influence on Cantemir was not direct, and, judging by the data available today, one cannot view it as being of the nature of those contaminations which so greatly delight text analysis. Using the wealth of concepts supplied by their philosophical culture, Dimitrie Cantemir and Leibniz had the same interests, sympathies and preferences with regard to some fundamental questions connected with restricting the role of divinity, with their confidence in the intrinsic character of the processes around us and with the mechanism by which possible things become actual. This is the cautiously laicizing and boldly rationalistic tendency of the year 1700. Thus, a real point of connectivity between Leibniz and Cantemir is linked to the appreciation of the natural and supernatural world. The German thinker shows that “God’s commands or actions are usually divided into ordinary and extraordinary ones. But we are asked to believe that God does nothing out of the order¹⁹”. The idea is also present in Cantemir’s thought who expressly states that “God and nature do nothing without order²⁰ or, elsewhere, he assigns God general will”.

In many respects Cantemir proved to be close to Leibniz's views and we cannot say that he imitated the German philosopher in any single case or even that he met him, at least once.²¹ In his work *'Sacrosanctae Scientiae Indepingibilis Imago'* the Romanian philosopher adopted the prototypes which he took over from Van Helmont; these prototypes used by Cantemir “show a manifested similarity to the monads of Giordano Bruno’s upon which Leibniz

¹⁶ W. Dilthey, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes*, apud. G. Pohoată, in *Metaphysics and Science in G.W. Leibniz's Work*, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, 2012, p.27.

¹⁷ Lucia Blaga, *Our Leibniz*, in *The Sand Clock*, Cluj, Dacia Publishing House, 1973, p. 212

¹⁸ Mircea Malița, *Cantemir and Leibniz*, Dacoromania, 2, Munchen, 1973, p.11-15.

¹⁹ Leibniz, *Discours de Metaphysique*, Bucharest, Humanitas Printing House, 1996.

²⁰ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Monarchiarum Phisica Examination (The Examination of the Nature of Monarchies)*, translated into Romanian by Sulea Firu and published in the Journal “*Studies*”, vol. V/1951.

²¹ Dan Bădărașu, *Leibniz*, Bucharest, The Scientific Publishing House, 1966, p.99-100.

established his philosophy”²². The Leibnizian Monadism also contains a hierarchy of monads which argues the famous principle of “natura non facit saltus” which for Cantemir meant that everything was born from water, gradually, during the 6 days of the creation. Finally, the monads act independently of each other, according to Leibniz, which in Cantemir’s thought is translated into the prototypes’ possibility of bringing forms to existence but not being able to be their cause. In other words, the lack of bond involves the prototypes independence of action and the monads closure into themselves involves the same.

Dimitrie Cantemir and G.W. Leibniz were universal spirits not only in the scholar sense, but also by their cultural behaviors in the world of their time. Their approaches beside the great personalities (political, scientific, etc.) remain significant for the duties of some scholars and men of culture in general, no matter in what epoch they would act!

Both thinkers used scientific and philosophical knowledge in conceiving some political, theological projects, confirmed by history, some even becoming achievable, pleading for a united Europe both politically and especially culturally, spiritually.

“At the dawn of the 19th century, in his *Status Europae Incipiente Novo Seculo* - Hans Poser stated at Leibniz Congress in 1994 - Leibniz wrote: << *Finis saeculi novom rerum faciam apernit* >>. *And for us, for the millennium that begins the same thing applies; because we face the same duties, namely to truly achieve Europe: to blend the old with the new in a solution for the order crisis... Leibniz and Europe – this means more than a theme of congress, facing us with a theme to be solved at the beginning of the coming millennium.*²³

What the two scholars and politicians had in mind for the Europe of their time - the idea of a spiritual and cultural unity - remains forever at the historical horizons of the world as a valid project, however, a project to be followed with a chance (not just hope!) to be put into practice!²⁴

Cantemir and the Academy of Berlin

The Academy of Berlin was founded with the original title of the Brandenburg Society of Sciences *Societas Scientiarum Brandenburgica* on the 11th July 1700 after long endeavors of the philosopher and mathematician G.W Leibniz to establish a German Academy after the model of the French Academy established in 1635 and of the English Royal Society of 1662. He was the first President until his death in 1716. The actual academic work began only in 1710 when he inaugurated the Academy periodical publication “*Miscellanea Berolinensia*”. At that time the President G.W. Leibniz was living sick and depressed in Hanover. The German historians consider this first academic stage as a wintry one, characterized by King Frederick I’s definite interference in the

²² Ibidem, p. 100.

²³ H. Poser, *Leibniz und Europa. Einfuhrung in das Kongressthema, in: Leibniz und Europa. VI. Internationaler-Leibniz-Kongress, Hannover, 18. bis 23. iuli 1994: vortrage, II, Teil, 1995, p.16.*

²⁴ G. Pohoatã, *Metaphysics and Science in G.W. Leibniz’s Work*, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, Bucharest, 2012, p. 17

internal affairs of the Society, without providing him with any material or moral remarkable solicitude in exchange. The situation got worse due to Leibniz's absenteeism, and the king had appointed one of his officials, a trustworthy man, over the Academy with the title of *praeses honorarius* also called *protector*, who hermetically liaised the Academy Council with the King, arbitrating with respect to the Council judgments, especially to the new members' proposals. Between 1713 and 1725 this position was held by the Baron Marquard Ludwig Printzen, State Councilor and Obermarschal, but who was not a member of the Academy. It is stated that the measure outraged G. W. Leibniz seriously. Under these circumstances, one of the most prominent scientific personalities of the Academy remained Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, (1660-1741), a reformed theologian and bishop, preacher at the Royal Court. The latter was Leibniz' main collaborator, both politically and in the action of establishing the Academy, having a great scientific and moral prestige in the academy. From 1733 until his death in 1741 he was the President of the Academy.²⁵

The event of Cantemir's election to the Berlin Academy has been so far reconstituted by few accurate documents. It is known, indeed, the full text of his membership diploma, dated 11 July 1714 and signed by the Vice President of the Academy from that time, the numismatist Johann Charles Schott, 1672-1717. The Latin text of this diploma was first published by T. S. Bazer in his famous biography of D. Cantemir, published posthumously in 1783 and translated into Romanian by Sever Zotta.²⁶

On the 11th July 1714 the Berlin Academy accepted him as a member, after the Oriental literary department had pronounced itself in favour of it on 31st May 1714. With effect from 1 August 1714, Cantemir was recorded on the list of the Brandenburg Society of Sciences's members. This membership was not due to Leibniz's proposal, as it had been assumed in older research works, and it was not triggered by the Berlin scholars' desire to please the Tsar either, as N. Iorga stated. It is worth mentioning the well-known fact that Leibniz had connections with Peter the Great, whom he had personally met and advised to set up an Academy of Sciences in Russia. We appreciate that that this circumstance highly contributed to the election to the German Academy of relatively numerous German scholars with whom the Tsar had surrounded himself, determined, in his turn, to westernize the cultural life of the state. Indeed, many of these scholars gradually became members of the Academy of Berlin - Heinrich Huysen in 1710, Cantemir in 1714, Thomas Consett in 1724, Michael Schendo Vanderbech in 1726, Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer in 1730.²⁷

We note with satisfaction that all these were, at the same time, intimate admirers of Dimitrie Catemir, whose personality had already been spiritually domineering in that period. But among them, H. Huysen was not only a high state dignitary, but also a diplomat who had travelled a lot around Europe, so

²⁵ W. Hartkoff, G. Dunken, *Von der Brandenburgischen Sozietat der Wissenschaften zur Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1967.

²⁶ Sever Zotta, *On the Cantemirian Family*, "Ioan Neculce" Bulletin, 1931, fasc.IX, p.36-37.

²⁷ R. Amburger, *Die Mitglieder der Deutschen*, Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1700-1750.

from the beginning he had benefitted from a special prestige at the Academy of Berlin, which was under the protectorate of the King, exercised through a dignitary of his. H. Huyssen was in continuous correspondence with the German scientists, he was mediating the relationships between the Russian scholars and the Society of Berlin and also arranging the exchange of books and manuscripts of cultural and political interest. He was ascribed the mission to recommend his colleagues from Russia to be elected, Cantemir being among them.²⁸

When the Baron H. Huyssen informed the Oriental literary department in 1714 that the former ruler of Moldavia, Dimitrie Cantemir, was interested in becoming a member, bringing scientific contributions in the Oriental field, this offer must have awakened a considerable echo and a general benevolence, owing to the prevailing scientific goals of the Society. We find it very important to highlight in our analysis that the first initiative came from Cantemir, a fact which usually fails to be pointed out, although such offers perfectly comply with new membership acceptance rules of high scientific societies.²⁹ The justifying basis of Cantemir's demand is provided by the History of the Ottoman Empire, which ensures the complete and immediate success of his attempt as evidence of the high scientific quality of his work.

In addition to his scientific contributions on the Near Eastern world, the Oriental literary department also expected Cantemir to provide information about his homeland. In connection with his membership admission to the Academy, he was asked within the meeting of 31 May 1714 by Jablonsky, through the Baron von Huyssen, to submit reliable information on the situation and boundaries of the two Romanian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia. This can be considered the first suggestion from the Academy of Berlin to write *Descriptio Moldaviae*. Characteristic was also the fact that, in the year of his admission, in the magazine *Neuer Buchersaal der Gelehrten Welt* from Leipzig (New Library of the Learned World) appeared a letter in Latin addressed by Cantemir to a "noble and learned personality" in which he gave an account of his activity in the field of writing, a kind of *memorial of his scientific works and preoccupations*, transmitted to the Academy leadership by H. Huyssen, the Brandenburg Society's competent liaison and Counselor of Peter I.

Since Cantemir was not known yet in the learned circles of Germany at that time, Huyssen considered it appropriate to give him a helping hand through his close friendship with the publishers in Leipzig. At that time, Cantemir had already written remarkable literary and scientific works in Romanian, Latin and even Turkish. But it was only in the years after his admission to the Academy that he brought to an end his writings which, as posthumous publications, were translated into English, French, German and Russian and have greatly contributed to establishing his European fame: *Descriptio Moldaviae* (1716) and *Incrementa Atque Decrementa Aulae Othomanicae* (1714-1716).³⁰

²⁸ Information received from the Direction of the Academy of Berlin Archive, apud. Emil Popcited works, p.827.

²⁹ Adolf Armbruster, *Dimitrie Cantemir and the German World*, Viața românească, 26, 9, 1973, p.122-127.

³⁰ Werner Bahner, *Cantemir and the Academy of Berlin*, in 20th Century, Universal Literature Journal, Bucharest, 1973, 16, no.11-12, p.93-97.

We would like to point out that of a particular importance for understanding Dimitrie Cantemir's life and work is the Academician Emil Pop's publication, for the first time in our country, of the protocols of the meetings in which Cantemir's admission to the Academy of Berlin was discussed and decided, as well as the reference to one of his works - *Dacia Vetus et Nova*.³¹

In Emil Pop's paper are published three excerpts from the minutes of the Academy of Berlin regarding Cantemir's admission to the Academy.

The first document found in connection with Dimitrie Cantemir's election is the final part of the minutes of the meeting dated 31 May 1714 of the "literary-Oriental class" chaired by D.Jablonski³², whose text we cite below:

"The secretary gives an account of one of Baron Huyssen's letters that the exiled Prince of Wallachia³³ would like to be admitted to the Society and he offers to provide the Oriental information he possesses. He would have a complete history of the Turkish kings with their portraits, which he wants to publish, translated into Latin, with brief remarks.

They decided to accept the offer and to ask H. Huyssen to give a helping hand as to how such a welcome could be made in the most courteous manner; in exchange, to ask [D.Cantemir-n.n] to communicate reliable information about the real situation and [on] the borders of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, on which geographers are so diverse" [in opinion].

At the beginning of the document the following marginal indication is found "The Wallachian Prince envisaged as a member".

We find the second document, this time the decisive one, in the minutes of the meeting of the Academy Council dated 11 July 1714, chaired by the Vice President Johan Chuno³⁴, attended by the councilors Duhram, Schott and D. Jablonsky. In the second part of the agenda, in the chapter "Receptiones" it is written: *"The Secretary tells from the incoming letters from the Baron von Huyssen that the Wallachian Prince asked to be admitted to the Society. After reading these letters, along with the one of the Prince to the Baron von Huyssen, it is decided that, although generally and in terms of the title requested there is no reservation, however, it is necessary to ask for Mr. Protector's opinion in this matter. [The task] to give his account was taken on by Mr. Jablonski".*

Although the positive decision of the Council appears in this text subject to further ratification of the great dignitary, the protector Printzen, yet it remains legally valid – the diploma bears the date of this meeting, although the final clarification of D.Cantemir's situation took place within the next meeting.

³¹ Tiberiu Trușter, *cited works*, p. 75.

³² The Archive of the Academy of Berlin, Protocolle der Literarisch-Orientalischen Classe, 1711-1743, f.22, see annex 1. All the minutes are in German in Gothic writing. Difficult to decipher. The sheets of paper and the writing are generally very old and partly damaged. Cf. the research of Academician Emil Pop, *cited works*, p.828.

³³ In the document as in the following ones D. Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia is named as Prince of Wallachia.

³⁴ The Archive of the Academy of Berlin, Protocollum Concilii Societatis Scientiarum, angefangen Anno 1700, I. Teill, 1700/1715, no.6, f.83(see annex 2), cf. Emil Pop, *cited works*, p. 828.

In the Council's meeting of 1 August 1714 chaired by Schott in the presence D. Jablonsky and Chuno, at the first item Printzen's response and the preparation of D. Cantemir's diploma³⁵ are being discussed. *Here is the text: Mr. Vicepresident asks if and what was done by his Excellency Mr. von Printzen concerning the Wallachian Prince's admission. Mr. Jablonsky informed that after he had handed over the letters regarding this matter to his Excellency and he had read some of them, but he kept the one concerned, yesterday, on another occasion, he returned it again. His Excellency had no objection on both dates, from where he [Jablonsky-nn] infers that he found nothing to remind and it is only necessary to ponder on how to accomplish the issue in a way that match with the person's Highness, the nation genius and the honor of the Society, for which purpose the diploma has to be particularly developed, fact which has been approved therefore*".

At the beginning of the text there is the marginal indication: "The admission of the Wallachian Prince". Thus, in the Council Meeting of 1 August 1714, finding the protector's approval, the admission of D. Cantemir to the Academy is confirmed.³⁶

From this quite wordy text we can infer the distinction between the clemency reserved to the great dignitary, the "protector" Printzen and the warm-hearted and determined attitude of the three scholars from the Council, particularly of D. Jablonsky. The latter's urge was followed exactly: D. Cantemir's membership diploma is full of praise. These are, therefore, the documents representing an evidence for the event of D. Cantemir's election. Throughout the running of the event discussed above, we can notice step by step the important and ongoing role of H. Huyssen, who keeps appearing, again and later, in D. Cantemir's relations with the Academy of Berlin. For our analysis, it is important to state that Huyssen was among the first people Leibniz trusted, collecting with his help, ever since 1703, information on the situation of sciences and arts in Russia, as well as on the geography of the country and the languages spoken there.

When Cantemir's admission to the Brandenburg Society of Sciences was under discussion, Leibniz had particularly strained relations with the King of Prussia. Leibniz spent the time from December 1712 to August 1714 in Vienna, attempting to carry out his plan, conceived long before, to establish an academy of sciences there, too. Since April 1714 he ceased corresponding with the leadership of the Brandenburg Society. Against common usage, he was no longer consulted on recruitment. Naturally, however, the Secretary of the Society, Jablonsky, considered it necessary to inform him, in a letter dated 28.07.1714, on Dimitrie Cantemir's recruitment. The secretary undoubtedly regarded this recruitment as such a great asset to the Oriental studies from the Academy of Berlin, that he found it necessary to inform Leibniz, who had always manifested

³⁵ Ibidem, p.829.

³⁶ Emil Pop, cited works, p.828-829 anexele 2&3, p.839-840. All these minutes are to be found in the Archive of the Academy of Berlin, *Protocollum Concili Societatis Scientiarum* angefangen. Anno 1700. Sig.I: IV nr.6, f.83 and f.86. The extract of the minute of the meeting dated 11 July 1714 is also published by Helmut Graszhoff in his work *Antioh Dimitrievic Kantemir und West-Europa*, Berlin, 1965, pp.6-7, apud. Tiberiu Trușter, cited works, p.78.

an unusually high interest in this area. It is therefore necessary to remove any speculation on the proposal of Cantemir's election as a member of the Academy of Berlin by Leibniz who was President at the time. He was informed by his close associates Jablonsky and Huyssen, but he never met Cantemir.

Dimitrie Cantemir becomes the first Romanian scholar member of a high foreign scientific society. Let us not forget that Dimitrie Cantemir was not only the first Romanian academician, but that after him for 152 years, up to the establishment of Romanian Academy, there was no countryman of his to be awarded this title and that 178 years passed until a second Romanian was elected member of a foreign academy - Victor Babeș who became a member of the Academy of medicine from Paris on 26th July 1892. Before Dimitrie Cantemir no other scholar from South-Eastern Europe enjoyed the honor of being member of the Academy of Berlin. But leaving aside the personal significance of this exceptional distinction, it is known that, by choosing D. Cantemir as a member of the Academy of Berlin, the first and undoubtedly the greatest act of integrating the Romanian spirituality into the Western European scientific community was accomplished. Each detail, each episode of this historical event is worthy evoking, our historians having the moral duty to investigate and make known all the information related to Dimitrie Cantemir's life, personality and work.

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SENECA – A FEW ASPECTS OF A SUI GENERIS CHRISTIANITY

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Abstract: *The idea of this text is to show that even before Christ, according to Saint Justin the Martyr and Philosopher, **a seed of Logos could provide an imperfect form of knowledge even to the one who, through its own contemplation and struggle, wished to come closer to the Truth.** In this light can be understood also the way in which Seneca, without having knowledge about the Christian teachings, uses philosophy in a soteriologic sense, in order to provide his times with a Sui Generis Christianity, trying to rebuild the man by virtue, using philosophy. Appreciating the time, the alienation from evil, and the thought to death of which nobody can escape - are fundamental ideas of Seneca's philosophy, which emphasizes the role of freedom which man must exercise throughout life.*

Keywords: *Seneca, sui generis Christianity, death, virtue, time, evil, reconstruction.*

This article tries to present some of the outstanding similarities existing between Seneca's teaching and the Christian teaching - both occurring in the same time period, but in different places - and to highlight also the fundamental differences between them, apart from the fact that one is philosophy and the other religion.

Seneca lives in the Roman Empire in a time of deep crisis, of attack against the very human being, in an atmosphere of terror, issue that will make his philosophy to have **soteriological accents**¹, and to constitute a **means of learning the way in which life must be lived, of saving reconstruction of man.**² For Seneca, **in its genuine condition, philosophy must be a work on the human being** and not of the structures³, and the scope of achieving this vision was the **project of another world and it was an historic one**, was that **of the present Roman**. By putting philosophy not in the service of explanation, but **as a life direction**, he looks toward a possible history, a better one.

Over time, we notice that certain elements of the philosophy of some great thinkers can be found partially also in a strong or weak form, in the Christian teaching. As of them, some lived before Christ and others during his days or after, but was impossible for them to take note of the Christian precepts,

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¹ Gheorghe Vlăduțescu, *Philosophy in Ancient Rome*, Bucharest, Albatross Publishing House, 1991, p. 159.

² *Ibidem*, p. 158.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

naturally appears the confusion related to this aspect, whereas the Christian religion is revealed.

Saint Justin the Martyr and Philosopher, Christian apologist from the second century, provides an explanation which creates **a solid bridge of understanding and appreciation of the profane philosophy of all times**, through the **theory of the Logos**. He claims that **each reason has a seed of the Logos**, and by this, through its own effort and contemplation, it can provide **some imperfect form of knowing the truth**, from here deriving also the similarity between some of these theories, and the Christian teaching: “All writers, through the seed of the Word, which was found in them from nature, could see the truth only poorly [...] **Each** of them, when they saw, partly, his closeness to the word of God, the One spread in the world, **could each speak one partial truth.**”⁴ And as a philosopher that has passed through many currents in the search for truth, he continues: “... not because the teachings of Plato would be foreign matter from those of Christ, but because they **are not entirely similar**, as it happens with those of the other stoics and poets and writers, **I have distinguished myself a lot from the latter.**”⁵ Gh. Vlăduțescu also, along with other researchers, considers Seneca's teachings as being marked by **a Sui Generis Christianity**⁶, **unacquired, however, by faith**, but **built through philosophy** and declared as Stoicism, by their supporter himself. Although both teachings **wish to rebuild the man** and the world, **the scopes are essentially different, one being philosophical and the other religious**. Jean Bayet considers Seneca as being “**an unaware precursor of Christianity**”⁷, referring to the disconcerting mixture of realism and spirituality, between commitment and evasion specific to its philosophy, and this opinion also sends us with the thought of the words of the Apostle Paul: “When the **pagans who have no law**, by their nature abide the law, they, by not having any law, they are law to themselves. Which shows the **deed of the law written in their hearts**, through the testimony of their conscience.”⁸ To exemplify the similarities and differences, I will refer to the issue of evil, time, and death. Starting from the Pauline approach from *The Epistle to the Romans* and from Seneca's approach from the *Letters to Lucillius*, I am going to show the similarity but also the great differences in respect of denunciation and of explaining evil in the world.

In the *Epistle* it is said that **both evil and death, have entered into the world through sin**, and thus the gift of Revelation provides the **explanation of their appearance**: “All have sinned; **the wages of sin is death**; For wanting is in me, but doing good I do not find; And if I do what I do not want, it

⁴ Saint Justin the Martyr, *The Second Apology*, in *The Greek Apologists*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1997, XIII, p. 115.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Gheorghe Vlăduțescu, *cited work*, p. 168.

⁷ Jean Bayet, *The Latin Literature*, p. 503, apud. Gh. Vlăduțescu, *cited work*, p. 168.

⁸ *Holy Scripture*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1988, Ep. Rom. 2. 14-15.

is no longer I who do it, but the sin that dwells within me. Therefore I find in me, who want to do good, **the law that evil is present with me.**⁹

Seneca **finds the existence of evil** even since the beginning of the first letter **“we lose most of our life by doing evil”**¹⁰, but can not provide a non-contradictory explanation of its existence, he raises questions, but the answers given are not satisfactory. Starting from the pantheistic idea, that the world and man are related to divinity (reason), that the divine order is reflected in the world, and the god just does good and can do no harm even if he wanted to¹¹, Seneca is wondering how is it that the evil still occurs, and why is it allowed?

On the basis of the Stoic conception on the fact that **man is good and pure by birth, and society is the one that vitiates him:** “Nature did not make us inclined toward any vice, but free and unharmed”¹² and noting the **overwhelming omnipotence and power that vices**¹³ **have** in relation to the power of good in the life of society, Seneca concludes that the **world has been and will always be the same**, even if sometimes, for some reason, passions calm down - it will not be perfectly good.¹⁴

Because he cannot explain the origin of evil, Seneca strives to give it a **utility**, saying that it is **needed by virtue so that the latter may exercise itself:** “for life without worrying is like a dead sea, you have nothing to push you to fight, to test your spiritual strength.”¹⁵ Therefore, the relentless urging of the philosopher is that **man to gather all strengths of his being against evil**, weakness and passions, for virtue consists in **contemplation of the truth** and in the **action in accordance with it.**¹⁶ And yet, although he does not have the concept of sin from Christianity - its connection with the fallen nature, the concupiscence: *“But those things which proceed out of the mouth **come from the heart** and they defile a man.”*¹⁷ - for Seneca, passion, evil, are deeply related to the man's soul: *“Therefore, we must know that the **evil** which we suffer from comes not from the places where we are, but on the contrary, **within us**, right down from our bowels.”*¹⁸ *Stressed and explained in Christianity, and highlighted only by Seneca, in order to manifest itself, **evil needs one condition - time.***

For Christianity **time begins with creation**, and it is the mode of the existence of the being, whereas eternity is the mode of existence of God. Depending on its characteristics, time can be divided. **The Edenic period** was given as a **possibility of spiritual growth** of man, and with all that through by falling it is altered in a certain way, becoming also **a measure of the**

⁹ *Ibidem*, 3.23, 6.23, 7.18-21.

¹⁰ Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius*, translated into Romanian by Gheorghe Guțu, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1967, p. 3.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, Ep. 95, p. 363.

¹² *Ibidem*, Ep. 94, p. 347.

¹³ G. Guțu, *Lucius Annaeus Seneca – The Life, Time and Moral Work*, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999, p. 189.

¹⁴ Seneca, *cited work*, Ep. 97, p. 372.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, Ep. 67, p. 181.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, Ep. 94, p. 347.

¹⁷ *Holy Scripture*, Matthew 15.18.

¹⁸ Seneca, *cited work*, Ep. 50, p. 121.

transition toward death, it nevertheless retains its value, in that it offers the chance of gaining repentance, establishing itself as a **time of ascension**. The time of repentance is the **redemption of the time wasted**, by restoring communion with God, and on the contrary, after a lifetime well lived, a moment of sin may lose connection with God. Therefore, when addressing the Ephesians, **Saint Paul** is telling them: “**Redeemed time, because the days are evil.**”¹⁹, and the meaning of the verb redeem relates to depleting occasions, to get the best part of this time that is given to us to live. The Christian cannot be enclosed in the present, he is always open toward the future, leaning also toward the past, so that the three are experienced in an existential unit not only among themselves, but also with the people we have met, and with God.

As the acts committed in life have **an impact on contemporaneity and on posterity**, towards good or evil, hence is amplified the value of time of the present life and also increases the responsibility for the way in which we used it. Loss of time without a creative valorization, the indifference towards its extent of ascending, of axiological ascension, constitutes a major damage: “God gave you the time of life - says Saint John Chrysostom - to spend it in His service, and when you are wasting your time of life in the most unworthy manner, you wonder where is evil? Do you not know that **nothing should be saved as time should?! The gold that you have lost can be acquired again, but the time may be hard to fix.**”

Historical time does not flow endlessly, but **with the end of the world, it also ends**, in order to enter into eternity, **the eighth day**, the one in which according to the way in which man's time on earth is used, he deals, endlessly, with good or evil. This is how, although in Christianity there was not too much talk about what is time, how important is the way we use it! **Temporality and eternity, although ontologically distinct, are not in an opposition or exclusion**, because our soul is immortal and has the ability to be, through faith and life in Christ, a meeting place between time and eternal life. Therefore, the man fulfilling and living the commandments, has the chance to **make the temporal eternal**, i.e. to get out of the present for “**an already, but not yet.**”²⁰

As Saint Pavel advised to use the time meaningfully, Seneca also, right in the very first letter to Lucillius, although he is concerned to find an answer regarding the nature of time, knows that it is **an ephemeral wealth**, even if emotionally, inside, we can still attract it close to us, and draws attention on the **major importance it has in our life**, because: “All, Lucillius, is foreign to us, **only time is ours**”²¹, thus pointing to the fact that **our being is inseparable from time**, and cannot be regarded otherwise.

Although **time is the only wealth with which man comes into the world**, and its capital importance escapes our understanding because **we do not grant it its true value**, allowing both us and others to waste it: “**We waste most of our life by doing evil**, a large part of it by doing nothing, and

¹⁹ *Holy Scripture*, Efes. 5.16.

²⁰ Fr. Dumitru Stăniloae, *The Orthodox Dogmatic Theology*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1996, pp. 226-232, Vol. I.

²¹ Seneca, *cited work*, Ep. 1, p.3.

our whole life, doing something else than we should.” Hence, here is how time can be stolen or won, and consequently to be used well or bad, specifying that of all kinds of wasting, **carelessness is considered the most shameful.**

Seneca thinks that the **life that has been given to us is not short**, but we are the ones who **waste the richness** received, moreover, **not the time interval lived is important, but the value that time has acquired.** Speaking of an exterior and an interior time, Seneca highlights on the fact that the second narrows and tends to disappear, if man chooses an existence stranger to virtues.²² Because life cannot be thought and lived outside time, **its quality is directly influenced by the way in which we use time**, therefore Seneca suggests different ways of relating to it, depending on the time lived: past, present, future.

The past, for the one who has lived his life beautifully, can be **updated by remembering it**, having so an enlightening quality both for us and for others, as how a foreign past can also serve as a guide or as detour. **The present** must be lived intensely **now**, as if **it would be the last moment**, without wasting the present time in future projections and based on illusory hopes, nor wasting it with useless concerns as regards the social life. As for the **future**, the thought of it must **suppress everything that means hope**, and to prepare a scenario in which **the darkest expectations are almost fulfilled**, in such a way that mind to be prepared for any event, and the spirit will not be troubled, or how we might say otherwise, to prepare for any confrontation in good time.

For both Christianity as well as for Seneca, **there is a day in which the world will perish**: for the first is the Revelation and the Eschaton with **the final judgment - heaven and hell** - for at the second, however, **the end would be, will bring with it the birth of another world.**²³ **Hence the reason of time cyclicity in Seneca's variant, and without judgment!** Although a pantheist, Seneca does various exercises of interpretation, as for example “what if?”, so you have the impression that each variant adds something to cover for all existing situations: starting from the idea of a single cause, divinity may be the world's reason, something more than order in a natural way, perhaps the intentional principle which might manifest as providence?²⁴ However, this last possibility, for the stoic pantheism, **relates to physics and not to theology**²⁵, this not being the case - as in Christianity - of a personal God. Therefore Seneca could say that anything that is under the rule of divinity is not protected from change: “The world will not always have this order. A day will come that shall deviate it from the current path. All come at the time determined: must be born, must grow, must perish....what is compiled will be scattered, and what is scattered shall be compiled... in the everlasting art of divinity who rules over all.”²⁶ That means that time is consumed, and then it starts all over again.

²² Eugen Cizek, *Seneca*, Bucharest, Albatross Publishing House, 1972, p. 130.

²³ Gheorghe Vlăduțescu, *cited work*, p. 179.

²⁴ *Ibidem.*

²⁵ *Ibidem.*

²⁶ *Ibidem.*, p. 194.

For Seneca, the correct appreciation of our own time, its valuation, presupposes man to realize that every day that passes adds more to death, whereas **“all the time behind us is under her command”**²⁷, i.e. any option to chose and alter the past is unsustainable, because it is already a dead time. This is how example by example, and then directly, Seneca is preparing the ground for the man to get accustomed to the thought of death.

We note from first letter to Lucillius, such as the master wants to prepare his disciple, taking him from the beginning to deep water, i.e. **telling him about time, evil, death**, and following that later, through rehearsals and thoroughness, the teaching given to sit and bear fruits. Anyway, for the Stoicis, **the examination of conscience made in the evening, and morning meditation**, marks the fact that **death is always available** and that is why each action must be analyzed from this perspective, because **each pair of day and night is an allegory for life and death**.

Noting the **inescapable nature of death**, Seneca believes that **philosophy is the one that teaches you to die**. Being aware of the fragility of man, of all things caducity and of the terror with which death reigns, **Seneca wishes to liberate man from this awful burden**²⁸, **trying to reconcile him with a need that can not be escaped from**, and offering him as an alternative the variant of the quiet wise, who is waiting unafraid and at peace with the destiny, the great test. **The thought of death** of which the Holy Parents are talking about, is also present at Seneca, but with a different arrangement, and is present in the letters: 1, 4, 13, 54, 65, 77, 83, 91, 99.

Seneca launches the idea “that death is not only not to be feared, but thanks to it, we have nothing to fear, said with reference to the fact that **suicide** is not a desertion from the duties of life, but it is an honorable alternative, a **sign of man's liberty from death**, for certain situations such as illness, tormented old age, humiliating situations. The thought of death and **meditation on this supreme test** bring us a gift, **freedom**, in fact **death gives us also the date of birth for eternity**. Neither the separation from our loved ones should bring an unmeasured pain, because nothing can be changed anyway, and furthermore, since there is the possibility that they may have reached to be a nobody, living in shame, as are many others, it is better that death took them quickly.

According to the various views on death, noting that people are afraid also of a place of torment and of knowing that they will not be anywhere, Seneca urges to **despise death through indifference** and to practice virtue. This stoic serenity arises from the awareness that pain must be defeated, although it is present everywhere, and that we have no other way anyway. Anyway, **Seneca manages to extract mortality from the scope of death**, considering it **an event for which you have to prepare yourself all your life**, and being the biggest confrontation which he himself had to sustain. And like Socrates, but in other direction, the **philosophy that he preached, has been updated also by deed, in the hour of the end**.

²⁷ Seneca, *cited work*, Ep. 1, p.3.

²⁸ G. Guțu, *cited work*, p. 201.

For Seneca, **the stake is therefore not life, but a life passed through the filter of moral virtue. When virtue ceases, the role of man in the world fades out**, and therefore, the golden rule of the stoic is being one with the universe. At the end of a long apprenticeship which resembles catharsis, Seneca's man can acquire **a certain inner balance** by **discovering the true values** - i.e. the price of time, the meaning of death, of friendship, poverty and wealth - and **by realizing which are the illusions** that have puzzled him, to try **to clear himself of them**²⁹, in order to be able to **use reason better**, i.e. in accordance with the reason of the world, or like St. Maximus the Confessor would say 6 centuries later, according to the "reason of things thought by God."

For Christians, death is a passage from earthly life in the one of the private judgment, and by its unavoidable and unexpected nature, is a key moment of man, as we are talking about his salvation or his punishment, and the way he is preparing himself for this event. The mention of death bears fruit if it is unsuppressed, whereas is a watchman against sin, therefore the Holy Parents make this urge: "Saint Gregory of Nazianzus advises his apprentice - It is advisable to live for the age to come and to do **of this life a continuous remembrance of death**; St. Basil the Great, when asked by philosophers of his time, what is the **greatest philosophy, he answered that is the thought of death**; Saint John Climacus (of the Ladder) - **The thought of death be with you even when you fall asleep and when you wake up.**"³⁰ As for the Holy Apostle Paul, he considered death "the last enemy that shall be destroyed", and associated it closely to the sin: "the sting of death is sin."³¹ We die because we all live in a fallen, corrupted, divided, broken world. Although **tragic, death is also a blessing**. Even though **it was not a part of God's plan**, is no less **a gift of God**, being an expression of His mercy and compassion. For us humans, eternal life in this fallen world, trapped forever in the vicious circle of evil and sin, would have been a terrible and unbearable destiny. Because of this, God has given us an escape by breaking the union between soul and body in order to recreate, to reunite them at the universal resurrection and return them so to the plenitude of life.

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²⁹ Pierre Grimal, *Seneca or the Conscience of an Empire*, Bucharest, Universe Publishing House, 1992, p. 319.

³⁰ Jean Claude Larchet, *The Christian Facing with Illness, Suffering and Death*, Bucharest, Sophia Publishing House, 2004, p. 130.

³¹ *Holy Scripture*, I Cor. 15. 26 and 15. 56.

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MYSTIC KNOWLEDGE OF SAINT DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE AND PLOTINUS

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*“Human thinking working autonomous can be an expression of the natural longing for God, but not a way of reaching the absolute truth [...], the **limit of the being is the limit of knowledge.**”¹*

Abstract: *The intention of this essay is to highlight the existence of a thrill that calls man to its existential fulfillment, which is to meet and to stay with God. Although the directions are different, depending on the way how Divinity is perceived - Christianity being based on Personal Trinity, the creation out of nothing, and the insurmountability between the created and the uncreated, and Plotinian philosophy being centred on the apophatic but impersonal One, and on the idea of man's kinship with the divine, because it originates from it - mysticism remains the path through which man expresses his apophatism, the mystery of the being that was not created only for a fleeting life. If for Plotin, the mystical experience was perhaps only an ecstasy of the intellect, seeing the light of your own mind that was extending through Eros toward the One - having to wait until the true meeting - in the Areopagite mystical theory takes place a personal meeting manifesting itself through love and by being out of yourself in a biunique way, giving man the chance of deification.*

Keywords: *mystic, apophatic, Personal God, created, uncreated, One, emanation, kinship.*

The present paper wishes to emphasize the calling that man has toward perfection, the longing toward the absolute that encourages him to search for something that is beyond this world. Will be presented two types of mystical theories, which at first sight may seem similar, the Plotinian and the Areopagite, a close analysis however will show them as two uneven parallel paths, with common things on portions, but which in the whole they offer an entire different perspective.

Both **monasticism and mysticism**, are not pure Christian vocations, but they are related to the **characteristic of human nature**, therefore they shall meet in various environments, and with different forms, that are not related to imitation. **The way in which the mystics interpret the union with divinity arises from what they believe about God, and this faith is**

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¹ Nichifor Crainic, *The Course books on Mystic: Mystical Theology, German Mystic*, Sibiu, Deisis Publishing House, 2010, pp. 395-396.

influenced by what they experience.² Therefore, the mystic does not wish to learn something about God, but to become one with Him, this meaning that it can be from: an identity in the literal sense, absorption in God, until the union experienced as a perfection of love, while keeping identity.

In the Christian vision, starting on the thread of reason and living a virtuous life, man can have also certain hunches or approximations relating to the fundamental questions of life, the level difference between the being created and the uncreated - in the absence of Revelation - is however insurmountable in ascendant terms, therefore everything that is being put into theory, starting from man toward God, is a beneficent effort but imperfect and limited, whatever descends from God toward man, can bear the stamp of the sacrament, the impossibility of being trapped in concepts, is however unlimited and absolute, and the **meeting of the soul with God**, even though most of the times is initiated by man - whether he is a Christian or not - **is not achieved unless the Lord answers.**

The mystical feature of Platonism develops from the concept relating to the **nature of the essentially spiritual nature of man**, from the **faith of his kinship with the divine**, therefore the search of the soul to meet God is regarded as something natural, a climbing, a return in which he realizes which is his true condition.³ Plotinus frames his philosophy in Plato, especially as regards the issue of the soul's climbing up to One, being however deeply original, with a unifying vision on Plato's teachings and on the discussions generated there from over the centuries.

The Plotinian system can be addressed in two ways: regarded **as a large hierarchical structure**, or **in an introspective way of the self**. Three principles govern the hierarchy of Plotinus: the highest, absolutely simple, is **the One or the Good**, next is **Nous** (which cannot be translated correctly, as an approximation this is the Intellect, or the Intellectual Principle⁴) and the **Soul**. He speaks about an emanation, an overflowing in steps, “without the divinity to be diminished and according to a principle of necessity”⁵, the Intellect emerging from the One, the Soul from the Intellect, and the results of the emanation from the Soul are concrete forms of life, so that the emanation is a progress of the simplicity of the One, and the reverse movement is that of returning, of attracting all things towards the Good, the balance being kept by these processes of exiting and returning.⁶

Anything strives to return to the One, to the plenitude of existence, and this process takes place in the opposite direction, being a movement of desire, of the Eros, which in his turn is rooted in contemplation and intensifies through contemplation: “All aim toward contemplation [...] and reach it as best as they

² Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys*, translated into Romanian by Elisabeta Voichița Sita, Sibiu, Deisis Publishing House, 2002, p. 13.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁴ In MacKenna's translation, for Enneads, apud. Andrew Louth, *cited work*, p. 65.

⁵ Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, Bucharest, All Publishing House, 2008, p. 420, Tome I.

⁶ Andrew Louth, *cited work*, p. 67.

can according to their nature, managing to contemplate [...] some truly, others by imitation [...]"⁷ For Plotinus, **the supreme thing is not the farthest, but the most inner thing**, so that **finding the One means finding yourself**. "Our homeland is there where we came from and there is the Father. [...] you must leave all and not look any more [...] to wake up the vision which everyone has, but few use."⁸ The path of moral and intellectual purification, the katharsis, will bring peace "and will no longer be a fight in the soul"⁹, so that souls which were enticed by the pleasure of freedom tending toward the multiple and which "have forgotten God the Father, no longer know neither themselves nor the One"¹⁰, have the possibility to reach the realm of Nous. Here duality is still present, the discursive thinking is replaced with a more intuitive one and knowledge is given by the unity between the knower and the known, and although full of beauty, it is however a rational projection which sends to the One.¹¹

Reaching downright ethereal through purification, from the realm of the Intellect, soul can not do more to reach the One, **the initiative no longer belongs to him**, although "only through a leap we can reach this One..."¹² Everything occurs **suddenly**, without however to assume that the One - as not being aware of something beneath him - would be the one attracting the soul, and there occurs **a passage „from himself into another"**¹³ **„becoming identical with the divine"**¹⁴ and beyond the self awareness. It is a story of the experience that Plotinus himself had, at least four times in the time in which Porfir, his apprentice, knew him. The ecstasy is a reality of the union with the One, is beyond utterance "it fills his eyes with light [...] and **the light itself is what you see**"¹⁵ and consists, **in a presence** that goes beyond all knowledge,¹⁶ no word can describe the extent and the attainment of this unknown One, only that for the divine and happy man the liberation comes through detaching himself from the pleasures from here, being **„a run of the single toward The Single."**¹⁷

For Plotin, the essence of the mysticism could be associated either with a purifying and solitary journey of the soul, which though related to the divine has forgotten his home and is running without fellow travelers and care for them, with an transcendent One and who is not aware of those seeking for him, without knowing or unburden their ascent. Only on the basis of these features, can be noted from the beginning the **differences in substance, and the radical opposition against the Christian vision**, for which: there is an ontological

⁷ Plotinus, *Enneads* III, 8, 1 apud. Andrew Louth, *cited work*, p. 67

⁸ Idem, *Works I*, translated in Romanian by Andrei Cornea, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2003, *Enneads* I, 6, 8-9 p. 171

⁹ *Ibidem*, *Enneads* I, 2,5 , p. 430

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, *Enneads* V,1,1, p. 315

¹¹ Andrew Louth, *cited work*, p. 77

¹² Plotinus, *Enneads* V, 5,8, apud. Andrew Louth, *cited work*, p. 77

¹³ Andrew Louth, *cited work*, p. 78

¹⁴ Plotinus, *Works I*, *Enneads* IV, 8,1, p. 251

¹⁵ Idem, *Enneads* VI, 7, 36, apud. Andrew Louth, *cited work*, p. 77

¹⁶ Idem, *Works I*, *Enneads* VI, 9,4 , p. 293

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 11, p. 311

gap between the creature made from nothing, and God Uncreated with whom is not related (only in Jesus Christ the divine and the human nature are united without mixing), our ascension is facilitated by the descent of God through Incarnation, the aid and watch of God occur through the work of the grace, and the Christian life is characterized by catholicity, personal ascent but also by dedication. All these differences observed do not wish to minimize the effort of life, experience and true asceticism of Plotinus' life, nor to deny or minimize the experience and the joy he felt, but only to stress that it is possible that the ecstasy he experienced was not the encounter with God, but **he saw the light of his own mind**¹⁸, an ecstasy of the intellect that even the Christian ascetics attain, but without going beyond it, and for which they still have to wait.

St. Dionysius the Areopagite, or Pseudo-Dionysius, is a mysterious figure, about which neither the name nor the period in which he lived are known (centuries I or V-VI), important being however the **substantial infusion of his teachings in the Christian mysticism**. The Dionysian system - to which will be added later the teachings of St. Maximus the Confessor, and in the XIV-th century, those of Saint Gregory Palamas - makes the distinction **between *οὐσία* the incognizable divine (being), and Its manifestations** (dynamic attributes or energies, *δυναμεις*)¹⁹, the revealing energies which have inspired the divine names. The dynamic doctrine of Dionysius, which sets the trend of the Byzantine ideation, has not been picked-up in the West, nor understood. This is the reason why, paradoxically, the teaching mentioned, **deciphered correctly will lead in the Eastern Christianity to the halting of Plato's Hellenism**, or partially interpreted - in the West, will be the gate through which the neoplatonic elements will enter. It is often said about Dionysius that he is a platonician with a Christian feature, in Lossky's vision (to which I subscribe entirely) there is another decryption. In order to win in the arena of the thinking dominated by neoplatonism, **this Christian thinker in disguised as a Neoplatonic**, becomes a master of the method of the philosophy in question and by a victorious opposition, ends up being **accused of parricide, because he used impiously what belongs to the Greeks against the Greeks.**²⁰

It starts from an act of faith, making not natural philosophy, but **Christian philosophy**²¹ called by N. Crainic **trans churchianity**²², in which the **life of the entire Universe is seen as a participation in God**, as an altar to worship Him, each thing created **participating in the grace according to its ability given through creation, in an hierarchical order** (heavenly and churchly, each being invested with order, science and action) which extends from

¹⁸ Archimandrite Sophrony Sakarov, *We Shall See Him As He Is*, translated into Romanian by Raphael Noica, Bucharest, Sophia Publishing House, 2005, p. 248.

¹⁹ Vladimir Lossky, *The Vision of God*, translated into Romanian by Remus Rus, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1995, p. 115.

²⁰ Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Complete Works and the Scholias of Saint Maximus the Confessor*, translated into Romanian by Dumitru Stăniloae, Bucharest, Paideia Publishing House, 1996, Epistles, p. 259.

²¹ Nichifor Crainic, *Holiness, Human Fulfillment*, Iași, Publishing House of the Metropolitan of Moldavia and Bukovina, 1993, p. 46.

²² Idem, *The Course books on Mystic*, p. 215.

the pure, angelic spirits, up to the inert matter. The light of the divine grace descends in cascade from the Father of Lights, “flooding in a graduated participation the hierarchical steps”²³, which are not static and receive knowledge from the upper step and give it in their turn to the lower step. Under the burning and attracting love of **God, Which “is neither something from those that are not, nor something from those that are”²⁴, man** - which also has an innate longing for the Creator - **receives by the sacrifice of the Redeemer the chance to overcome the hierarchical step** on which he finds himself, that one at the border of the material world with the spiritual one, **in order to reach the seraphims through knowledge and ecstatic experience, in the third heaven, as Saint Paul says.** Therefore, for Saint Dionysius, the mystic life is characterized **by love and contemplative over awareness**, and is called *theosis*²⁵, **deification.**

In the Dionysian concept, he sees **knowledge as a theandric act** for Christianity - in different proportions human and divine - and although it is an insufficient knowledge (because only the one following the divine pattern is complete and belongs to God) this is not despised also, and this theory speaks about a cataphatic theology or through statements, and about an apophatic theology or through denials, both necessary, but the latter is more comprehensive and deeper. There is however the **exception, unexpected, beyond the power of man, simple, immediate, which unites and following the divine pattern, the mystical contemplation.** It is the subject of the short treatise of *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius and differs from any earthly knowledge, is not obtained neither with the eye of the vision nor with that of mind, it is a faculty superior to any intellectual operation whereas things are not lowered to the level of our understanding, but we leave ourselves, and stop any kind of activity and of common knowledge. As is not a substantial participation, yet real, **mystical knowledge is not absolute, for we do not know the divine nature, but very high graces.**²⁶

It needs cleansing, prayer and love, “to give up also to the clean things, and the angelic ones, and also to the divine lights”²⁷ and this path is compared to Moses climbing on Mount Sinai, climbing when after he has passed **beyond the world in which you are seen and you see**, has entered into the **mysterious, over-bright Darkness of ignorance**²⁸, where it is about a mysterious union, “in which what is above seeing and knowledge, **is seen and known by not seeing and unawareness**, unable to be seen nor known.”²⁹

It can therefore be said that **Saint Dionysius values knowledge of any kind**, because through statements we understand the existence of God, by denials we feel Him with the purest part of our soul, **mystical knowledge**

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

²⁴ Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, *cited work*, On Mystical Theology, p. 250.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, On the Divine Names, p. 150.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, On the Divine Names II, 6, p.141.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, On Mystical Theology I, 3, p. 248.

²⁸ Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, translated into Romanian by Vasile Răducă, Bucharest, Bonifaciu Publishing House, 1998, p. 25.

²⁹ Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, *cited work*, On Mystical Theology, p. 248.

however is the highest, being the direct experience or experimentation of Him, being the participation over the centuries and over the place, to the eternal life, the deification.³⁰

From those exposed until now, apart from the differences presented in a general way on page 4, the following are outlined:

Plotinus' God is not unknowable by nature, because when the inherent qualities of the being are removed by negations - i.e. multiplicity - is reached the absolute unity existing beyond the being, because the being is posterior to the One.³¹ **For Dionysius, God is impossible to be known in nature** - the creation ex nihilo being only a gift of the Revelation - and the **ecstasy is when man leaves the being as such; at Plotinus is rather a reduction of the being to the absolute simplicity. For Dionysius the union with God is not identification such is for Plotinus, but the complete entry into Him**, Which is beyond any opposition, as it is not unity but the cause of unity and of multiplicity, and this is the reason for which the Saint "glorifies the name of the Trinity, the most sublime name, which is above the name of the One."³² In this unifying contemplation, **the divine and human love are at the maximum, Dionysius daring to say that God also leaves Himself, out of love for people:** "the divine Eros is also ecstatic, not allowing those in love to be theirs, but of those they are in love with."³³ **The Eros is present at Plotinus also, but it only animates the being.**

In conjunction with the differences in essence that exist between the Aeropagite and Plotinian mysticism, should however be mentioned also the **real, confusing elements**, which have given rise to the attempts to consider the Aeropagite doctrine as a Platonic Trojan Horse, namely the **kinship of expressions** and the **existence of a specific parallelism of themes**. Beyond any resemblance or difference between Saint Dionysius and Plotinus, **mysticism remains the path by which man manifests his apophatism, the mystery of the being that was not created only for a transitory life.**

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³⁰ Nichifor Crainic, *The Course books on Mystic*, p. 406.

³¹ Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, p. 27.

³² Idem, *The Vision of God*, p. 105.

³³ Saint Dionysius the Aeropagite, *cited work*, On the Divine Names, p. 150.

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ROMANIAN FASCISM DURING WORLD WAR II. THE NATIONAL-LEGIONARY GOVERNMENT (SEPTEMBER 1940 – JANUARY 1941)

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Abstract: *In the summer of 1940, the Greater Romania disintegrated by successive territorial concessions to the revisionist neighbouring states (USSR – June, Hungary – August and Bulgaria – September). The dictator King Carol II abdicated on 6 September 1940 and a government supported by Nazi Germany was formed. It was made up of military and local allies of the Nazis – Legionnaires. The two governmental camps did not get along and between Legionnaires and General Ion Antonescu (Head of government) a power struggle started. The legionnaires were less concerned about the government, using its power to take revenge on former political adversaries. There were murders, robberies on private property and pogroms against the Jews. The National Legionary government ended in violent activity, by a street battle with the army in January 1941.*

Keywords: *Romanian fascism, Legionary Movement, Holocaust, World War II, Ion Antonescu.*

After Vienna Dictate (August 30, 1940), the Legionary Movement members showed their hostility to the authoritarian regime of King Carol II. The legionaries' opinions were complex according to the degree of involvement in the power struggle within the organization. The founding members had the most extreme opinion, foremost of whom were the Commanders of the "Annunciation", Ilie Gârneață and Radu Mironovici, who were dissatisfied with Germany's attitude and suggested an alliance with Russia to try to put a resistance to Hungary's claims. The group of the former county leaders thought that they needed to maintain the alliance with the Axis promoted by Corneliu Codreanu, and the issue of the conceded territories would be solved in the context of the events' development. The group controlled by Horia Sima, which at that time represented the majority, avoided a clear position and tried to contact Iuliu Maniu to study the common action possibilities¹.

There were a few public manifestations of protest regarding the concession of north-western Transylvania, especially in Sibiu² and among the

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¹ The Directorate of the National Central Historic Archives (henceforth, DANIC), the Fund of the General Police Directorate, file no. 35/940, f. 5.

² *Large protests in Sibiu*, in the *Universe*, 3 September 1940, year LVII, no. 242, p. 1.

Transylvanians living in Bucharest³, but they were rejected violently by the police forces. Carol II was not willing to lose control of the situation although the events did not justify taking measures against the people manifesting about the loss of the country's territorial integrity. Given this situation, Horia Sima decided that it was time to launch the coup which he had been planning since mid-August. The general plan was the same as in December 1938 and September 1939, on the model of the Bolshevik coup of 1917. However, given the previous failure regarding the concentration of the terrorist elements in the capital city, the center of the action was moved to Braşov. After the Vienna Dictate, Braşov became a border town. Horia Sima had planned the attack prior to the dictate, probably to render the public opinion sensitive to the problem of Transylvania. The initial plan had "traditional" centers in the "revolutionary" actions organized by Horia Sima as early as 1938: Cluj, Timişoara, Deva, Alba-Iulia, Braşov, Ploieşti, Bucharest and also Constanţa where Eugen Teodorescu had assumed the responsibility of the preparations. After 30 August 1940, Cluj was no longer part of the plan. The main attack location was the radio station Bod close to Braşov, from where the legionaries were supposed to send signals regarding the launching of the attacks in Timişoara, Deva and Alba-Iulia. In Bucharest, the plan entailed sabotage attacks with not-so-well-designed attempts to occupy the radio station Băneasa and the Telephone Palace, accompanied by agitations around the Royal Palace⁴.

Keeping the secrecy, Horia Sima informed only a few persons outside his terrorist group about the planned coup, among whom Ion Zelea-Codreanu who encouraged him. Throughout August, he had worked together with Nicolae Petraşcu at reorganizing and arming the nests but they did not manage to mobilize a sufficient number of legionaries willing to sacrifice themselves. The terrorist groups were made up of 15 members and all in all their number amounted to approximately 1,000 persons. On the day of the Vienna Dictate, Horia Sima went again to the German Legation but left without receiving any support for forming a nationalist government⁵. This situation together with the general atmosphere of chaos determined Horia Sima to launch the attack. On 1 September he signed a circular letter requesting the King's abdication and announced the public opinion about the intention of the Legionary Movement to take over the responsibility to form a nationalist government⁶. The circular should have been read by Ion Zelea-Codreanu on air at the radio station Bod to give the revolutionary signal around the country. The launch of the coup was decided for 3 September. In the meantime, the manifest was multiplied in 2,000 copies out of which only half were kept in Bucharest⁷. Before leaving for Braşov, Horia Sima let the German diplomats know of his intentions. Although the latter

³ *Yesterday's Demonstration in Bucharest*, in the *Universe*, 3 September 1940, year LVII, no. 242, p. 1.

⁴ Sima, Horia, *The End of a Bloody Reign (December 10, 1939 – September 6, 1940). The Legionary Movement fight against the Regime Carol II*, Metafora, 2004, pp. 367-368.

⁵ Traşcă, Ottmar; Stan, Ana-Maria, 2002, *Iron Guard Rebellion in Foreign Archives (German, Hungarian, French)*, Bucharest, Albatros, p. 11.

⁶ DANIC, the Fund of the General Police Directorate, file no. 255/1940, f. 2.

⁷ Sima, Horia, *cited works*, pp. 319-322.

advised him to give up his plan for being too dangerous for the country's security, they did not inform the authorities about the information they had⁸ and waited to see the internal reactions after the Vienna Dictate.

Failed *coup d'Etat*

The action had been planned to be launched at the same time in all locations: at 21:00, on 3 September 1940⁹. Horia Sima traveled from Bucharest to Braşov on 3 September, disguised as an officer. There he waited for his old collaborator, Ion Boian, who had prepared several houses for Sima, to change the locations from where he would follow the attack. The main terrorist groups acted in Braşov, having been recruited from Cluj, Bucharest, Prahova, Galaţi, Sibiu and Bukovina. Overall, there were 500 persons involved, approximately half of the entire terrorist force mobilized for the coup.

The attack encountered problems from the very beginning because at the radio station Bod the gendarmes identified the aggressors and after a fire exchange they removed the terrorists from the station. The team leaders, Ovidiu Găină and Dumitru Leontieş, although wounded, managed to run and hid in the part that was to be taken over by the Hungarians¹⁰. Although the army received the order to apprehend them, the officers were not willing to organize a reprisal against the legionaries that wanted the overthrow of the regime of Carol II and engaged in superficial searches without finding them¹¹.

The attacks on the Police Station and the County Prefecture failed because the aggressors were evacuated by the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, the legionaries who occupied the Telephone Palace in Braşov managed to resist and completed a disinformation campaign in the provinces regarding the legionaries' activities in town. Even though the army surrounded the building, they did not fire and the only authorities that reacted were the police and the gendarmes¹². Horia Sima preferred to blend in the crowd wearing a disguise and observe the operations' development. Following the clashes with the police forces, five legionaries and two policemen died¹³. The "revolutionary" attack failed from a qualitative point of view, but it also caused panic in Bucharest because it disoriented the authorities.

In Constanţa, around the decided time, a few legionaries gathered and shouted slogans from the roof of the county police headquarters: "Down with the traitors and those responsible for the national catastrophe". Then the police forces mobilized. Groups of legionaries occupied the police and gendarme stations around town. The population got frightened by the fire exchanges. Initially, the panic was significant because it was believed that the Soviet sailors from the ship "Moscow" that was close to the harbor would come and occupy the

⁸ Traşcă, Ottmar; Stan, Ana-Maria, *cited works*, p. 12.

⁹ Danic, the Fund of the General Police Directorate, file no. 262/1940, f. 91.

¹⁰ Sima, Horia, *cited works*, p. 371.

¹¹ Chioreanu, Nistor, *Living Graves*, Iaşi, the European Institute, 1992, p. 74.

¹² Puşcariu, Ion, *An episode in the History of the Legionary Movement: 3 to 6 September 1940 in Braşov*, in *Permanenţe*, 2001, year IV, nr. 9/2001.

¹³ Sima, Horia, *cited works*, pp. 371-378.

town. The legionaries tried to take a hold of the telephone central station and post office headquarters but unsuccessfully. However, they barricaded themselves in the County Prefecture and said they would only leave when general Ion Antonescu would be appointed prime minister¹⁴. Eugen Teodorescu, when he had agreed to organize the operations in Constanța, had promised to attract the local military officers on the side of the coup, but he did not succeed in doing it. However, the two sides managed to come to an agreement and the military did not organize any reprisals. In the conflict in Constanța three legionaries and seven gendarmes and policemen died¹⁵.

In Bucharest the actions were involved only the Băneasa Radio Station, the Telephone Palace and the Royal Palace due to a lack of manpower and to the authorities' experience with such actions. The deepest impression was left by the attack of Dimitrie Groza and the CML at the Royal Palace where a wooden scaffolding was set on fire and a hand grenade was thrown creating panic¹⁶. The legionaries entered the Băneasa Radio Station wearing disguises and claiming to be soldiers from the guard. However, after having caused some damage to the machines, they were neutralized. The same operation was attempted at the Telephone Palace but it failed because there were serious safety measures¹⁷.

The attacks, although striking given the panic they created, were unimportant from the point of view of its true potential of taking over power. However, as Leo Trotsky stated, the main objective of such a model of coup was its power to mislead the authorities and not the military importance of the actions. However, Romania's situation was not very desperate and the revolutionary atmosphere on which counted Horia Sima was missing. The military remained loyal to the authorities and therefore, one of the key cards of the coup was missing. Maybe the impact would have been even bigger if the determined locations had been occupied but the planning of the coup had been rudimentary. Nicolae Petrașcu had been arming the terrorist cells from the second half of August¹⁸, but on 3 September each member barely managed to have a revolver and the available hand grenades were very few¹⁹. Nevertheless, Horia Sima decided to launch the attacks counting on the support of the population, which at least in Brașov did not get involved.

The "revolution" did not continue in the other towns as part of Sima's plan. The main cause was the lack of manpower and also the failures of the central operation. Thus, Ion Zelea-Codreanu refused to be part of the actions after all and he went to Călimănești, the place from where he was supposed to travel on 3 September to the Bod Radio Station to read the legionaries' appeal for the abdication of the King. Anyway, given the events' development and the failure of occupying that location, his mission could not have been fulfilled and therefore,

¹⁴ Danic, the Fund of the Council of Ministers Presidency, file no. 522/1940, f. 12-13.

¹⁵ Sima, Horia, *cited Works*, pp. 379-387.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 384.

¹⁷ *Last night there was an attempt disturbance of internal order, in the Universe*, 5 September 1940, year LVII, no. 244, p. 1.

¹⁸ Chioreanu, Nistor, *cited works*, p.72.

¹⁹ Pușcariu, Ion, *An episode in the History of the Legionary Movement...*

the legionaries did not organize any revolts in Timișoara, Deva and Alba-Iulia as the radio message did not reach them anymore.

In the end, the majority of the “revolutionary” legionaries had to surrender due to the failure of having the population’s and the military’s support for their anti-Carol actions. Some radicals managed to resist until the appointment of general Ion Antonescu as Prime Minister on 4 September.

Although it did not “rise” for the “revolution” against Carol II, the urban population was motivated by the legionaries’ actions to come forward and participate in protesting marches against the regime. Initially, only a third of the protesters were legionaries²⁰, and therefore the King paid attention to the street popular manifestations and was forced to take measures consented by the opinion public. Thus, released on 1 September, general Ion Antonescu, who was considered to be the most capable to manage the crisis, was appointed Prime Minister by Carol II on 4 September and appealed to calm from the legionaries. On the morning of 5 September the legionary resistance in Brașov and Constanța was concluded and the situation seemed thus resolved. However, on the afternoon of 5 September legionary and non-legionary protesters gathered in a central square in Bucharest and started marching to the Royal Palace where they shouted anti-royal slogans²¹. Carol II asked generals Ion Antonescu and Dumitru Coroamă (the new commander of the II Army Corps), both of whom were pro-legionary, to take measures against the protest, but the two generals said they could not order to shoot at the population as long as no bullets were fired for the lost territories²². In the evening of the same day, the legionaries were allowed to organize a street manifestation to support general Ion Antonescu in front of the National Theater, but the police intervened in force and then retrieved²³. Gun shots were heard, and the rumor spread of new legionary unrest in Bucharest²⁴. General Ion Antonescu asked for the King’s abdication in favor of his son, Michael I, claiming that that was the only way of stopping the protests.

The new “State Leader” was accepted by all the internal political forces. The legionaries would have wanted to gain power but the signs received by Horia Sima from the German Legation in Bucharest were unfavorable to such a solution. Furthermore, the new legionary “cadres” were of inferior “quality” compared to the legionaries that had died in prisons, and Horia Sima was not considered a politician capable of administering a serious situation like that experienced by Romania in September 1940. Both the National Peasants Party and the National Liberal Party refused to collaborate with a pro-German government run by general Ion Antonescu, which they nonetheless recognized. Hence, the legionaries became the general’s only political partners.

²⁰ Vălenaș, Liviu, 2000, *Talks with Mircea Dimitriu. Legionary Movement – between truth and mystification*, Timișoara, Marineasa, p. 70.

²¹ *Legionnaire and civic demonstrations yesterday*, in the *Universe*, 8 September 1940, year LVII, no. 247, p. 5.

²² Sturdza, Ilie-Vlad, 2002, *Wandering through a crazy century. From Legion of the Archangel Michael to the Foreign Legion*, Bucharest, Vremea, p. 37.

²³ *Legionary rally last night in Bucharest*, in the *Universe*, 7 September 1940, year LVII, no. 246, p. 7.

²⁴ Dorian, Emil, 1996, *A Diary in Times of Persecution*, Bucharest, Hasefer, p. 126.

Horia Sima returned to Bucharest only after the abdication of Carol II. General Ion Antonescu had sent Mihai Antonescu to negotiate with Sima in Braşov on 5 September. The latter requested the release of all the legionaries that had been arrested during the coup attempt, request which was immediately granted²⁵. After his return to Bucharest on 6 September at 13:00, Horia Sima ordered the conclusion of any legionary manifestations, and told the movement's members to wait for new instructions²⁶.

The Legionary Ministries

When he came to power, Ion Antonescu not only had the support of the "traditional" political elites, but also had the "confirmation" of the Reich. Moreover, he had had contacts with the Legionary Movement prior to September 1940. Corneliu Codreanu had met the general after the 1937 elections asking for his advice regarding the position he was supposed to take in those conditions.

The legionaries would have wanted to control power alone but the signals received by Horia Sima from the German Legation in Bucharest were unfavorable to such a direction. Furthermore, the new legionary "cadres" were of inferior "quality" compared to the legionaries that had died in prisons, and Horia Sima was not considered a politician capable of administering a serious situation like that experienced by Romania at that time.

General Ion Antonescu noticed that lack of competency among the new legionary leaders and he would have wanted them to take care of the "youth's nationalist education" rather than to deal with the country's current affairs. Horia Sima became irritated by the general's delays and therefore he rushed the return of the "exiled" legionaries from Berlin, who had lived there since 1939 due to the "persecution" organized by Carol II. Their majority was in conflict with Horia Sima, but the new leader needed them because they were known members of the organization. The "Group from Berlin" returned on 15 September 1940 and was awaited with pomp by about 300 legionaries at the *Gara de Nord* (the central train station) in Bucharest. The group was made up of Elena Codreanu (the wife of the late Corneliu Codreanu), and the "nucleus" Constantin Papanace – Ion-Victor Vojen – Gheorghe Ciorogaru (all opponents of Horia Sima)²⁷.

On 13 September 1940, Horia Sima organized a big legionary manifestation in Bucharest on the occasion of the anniversary of the birthday of the "Captain" Corneliu Codreanu. The city's streets were filled with militants of the organization dressed in green shirts and singing nationalist songs. Facing multiple pressures, Antonescu agreed to form a mixed government on 16 September. The "traditional parties" (PNL and PNȚ) refused to be part of the cabinet for political reasons. Thus, technicians, military men and legionaries were appointed in the new government. The Germans instructed general Ion Antonescu not to assign to the extremists positions dealing with the economy to avoid unpleasant experiences. Of all the important ministries the legionary

²⁵ Sima, Horia, *cited works*, pp. 394-403.

²⁶ *Ban of all demonstrations of legionnaires until new instructions*, in *Universe*, 7 September 1940, year LVII, nr. 246, p. 5.

²⁷ Danic, the Fund of the General Police Directorate, file no. 252/1940, f. 57.

received only that of internal affairs. For safety reasons, Antonescu named lieutenant-colonel Alexandru Rioșeanu as under-secretary of state in this ministry, and thus the abuses were relatively under control. However, the legionaries had control locally because out of the 45 counties only one prefect was from the military. At the beginning, the right-wing extremists tried to avoid any conflicts with the prime minister, and Horia Sima claimed publicly that the organization led by him managed to seize power “through the wisdom of general Ion Antonescu, the Head of State and the leader of the legionary regime”²⁸.

In the first phase of the national-legionary governing, the movement occupied the following positions: Horia Sima – vice-president of the Council of Ministers, Constantin Petrovicescu – Minister of Internal Affairs, Mihail Sturdza – Minister of Foreign Affairs, Traian Brăileanu – Minister of Education, Arts and Religious affairs, Vasile Iasinschi – Minister of Labor, Health and Social Protection, Alexandru Constant – State Secretariat for the Press and National Propaganda²⁹. Subsequently, other members of the former Berlin “Commandment” were included in the cabinet, such as Constantin Papanace at the Ministry of Finance. Locally, the highest positions were occupied in general by the collaborators of Horia Sima from the phase of the county reorganization that followed September 1938³⁰.

When the Legionary Movement came to power it was a “pale shadow” of the organization that came on third place in the 1937 elections. Generally, the new local cadres had not been through the “training phases” instituted by Corneliu Codreanu for the legionaries, as they had been recruited in a hurry by the “persecution commandments” to organize terrorist attacks as a reaction to the authorities’ violent acts. The central leadership was included inferior cadres from the new generation, insufficiently trained politically to assumed state responsibilities. Moreover, the lack of unity was everywhere although they tried to keep up appearances not to cause the German authorities’ dissatisfaction.

The Fight for Power with Ion Antonescu

For Germany Romania was a strategic element in Hitler’s plan of assuming hegemony over Eastern Europe. Apart from the geopolitical advantage, Romania also had raw materials necessary for the war industry. Hence, its internal stability was very important to Berlin. On the other hand, the Reich’s government could not give up the national-socialist ideology and had to thus support the extremist nationalists as well, who were following the same guidelines as the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP).

Normally, it would have been ideal for the Germans to count on a strong leader of the local pro-Nazi party without having to have a governing coalition with other forces. And in Romania this was not the case. Moreover, the legionary leader had insignificant power compared to his ally that was heading the cabinet – a prestigious military man, respected by everybody. However, in reality Hitler liked this kind of situations because he actually did not like a strong local

²⁸ Trașcă, Ottmar; Stan, Ana-Maria, *cited works*, pp. 15-20.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

³⁰ Chioreanu, Nistor, *cited works*, p. 75.

politician who might have wanted to negotiate from the same position with the head of the Reich. The *Führer* did not have a special position to the Legionary Movement as political organization. Other strong pro-Nazi leaders such as Ante Pavelić (in Croatia) or Cardinal Tiso (in Slovakia) were kept in shadow without being allowed to control with authority the newly states founded on nationalist ideology in Zagreb and Bratislava.

Horia Sima tried on numerous occasions to win over the total support of the Germans but did not accomplish much. He asserted his power from the movement's ideology – close to the Nazi ideology -, and from the “hundreds of legionaries that had died for the cause of nationalism”. The Germans had been very careful with whom they collaborated and the Legation in Bucharest observed with interest the situation of the Legionary Movement. After the abdication of Carol II, the Reich's diplomats in Bucharest did not endorse Horia Sima to hold the power monopoly because they considered that the legionaries were not ready to ensure the country's correct administration³¹. Nevertheless, the Legionary Movement was given the assistance of the NSDAP that wanted the Nazi ideology exported in the countries allied with Germany in the war against the western democracies and against communism³². Hence, Horia Sima maintained a top position (vice-prime-minister) even though Ion Antonescu considered that he was not ready to take part in Romania's government.

Ion Antonescu, although started from positions politically inferior to Horia Sima, knew how to better present his offer to the Reich's leaders. Hitler needed political stability but also the loyalty of the Romanian military in the war against the Soviet Union.

The Reich's chancellery did not ignore the misunderstandings between Horia Sima and Ion Antonescu. The Germans disapproved of the legionaries' unjustified abuses considering that the new pro-German regime should win over the population's trust³³. Thus, shortly after the appointment of Ion Antonescu, Hitler agreed to meet the general to discuss internal affairs problems. During these meetings, the *Führer* was impressed by the character of Ion Antonescu seeing in him a key pawn in building the war against the Soviet Union. Moreover, after the complications that had arisen during the military adventure in Greece, Romania's territory was included in the itinerary of the German troops³⁴.

Thus, Ion Antonescu overshadowed Horia Sima in the relation with Hitler. The legionaries' leader was never summoned by the German chancellor for an audience and he had never had meetings with high officials from Berlin. The legionaries had tried many times to establish relations with the German government. Mihail Sturdza, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, accompanied the “Head of State” to Berlin in December 1940³⁵, where the latter met with Hitler to

³¹ Trașcă, Ottmar, Stan, Ana-Maria, *cited works*, p. 11.

³² Heinen, Armin, 1999, *Legion “Archangel Michael”. Social movement and political organization. A contribution to the problem of international fascism*, Bucharest, Humanitas, p. 428.

³³ DANIC, the Fund of the General Police Directorate, file no. 252/1940, f. 117.

³⁴ Heinen, Armin, *cited works*, p. 430.

³⁵ According to the decree-law of 6 September 1940, which registered the abdication of Carol II, all the state powers were passed onto Ion Antonescu who carried the title of “Head of State”.

discuss issues of military strategy. Although he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the legionary dignitary was not invited to take part in the important discussions and he did not receive an audience with the Reich's chancellor.

Ion Antonescu was sympathized internally as well. The majority of the important politicians thought that the legionaries' involvement in the government was an adventure and that anarchist forces should not be encouraged. General Antonescu managed to convince Iuliu Maniu and Constantin I.C. Brătianu of the necessity of an alliance of Nazi Germany as the only solution for territorial re-integration. On the other hand, the population trusted more a military man than a high school teacher who had showed that his fighting tactics as a revolutionary translated into terrorist attacks.

The Abuses Committed by the Legionaries

In the confrontation between Horia Sima and Ion Antonescu for supremacy in the state hierarchy, the legionaries compromised themselves without any "sabotage" actions from the general. The young legionaries regarded the national-legionary state as a source of rapid enrichment and thus, initiated a campaign of abusive seizures. The victims of these excesses were Jews, former local liberal and peasant politicians about whom the legionaries said that they needed to pay for "their activities against the nation" throughout the 1920s and 1930s. All these ill-treatments gave Ion Antonescu enough reasons to request the legionaries' dismissal from the government.

In the history of the Legionary Movement until 1940 there had not been any shock troops, the so-called "armed arms of the party", like those created by Mussolini or Hitler to seize power by pressure. At the beginning of the 1930s Corneliu Codreanu had tried to establish the "Iron Guard" to intimidate the "anti-Romanian actions" from Bukovina and Bessarabia (the "Jewish problem"). Much later, after the death of Ion Moța and Vasile Marin in February 1937, Corneliu Codreanu was guarded by a team of young athletic legionaries. Subsequently, this nucleus extended to form the "Moța-Marin Unit" aimed at reacting in case physical abuses would have been "orchestrated" against the legionaries by their political rivalries. In both cases, the authorities had intervened promptly not being willing to accept the development of "party armies" in Romania.

After having taken over power, the legionaries created a paramilitary organization under the name of "The Legionary Police". This structure functioned in parallel with the state police and during the first phase of the national-legionary government it had equal attributions with the institution of the ministry of internal affairs. The idea of a Legionary Police appeared right after the abdication of Carol II. Although the legionaries had not yet been asked to be part of the government, the organizations' members acted like such by virtue of the fact that they had an ideology similar to that of the German state, Romania's new ally. The legionaries justified the existence of a parallel police by the need of stopping those who had governed Romania during the royal dictatorship to take refuge abroad. Among the persons that the legionary police was looking for at the beginning of September 1940 there were in general

members of the state police and of the special services that had participated in the reprisals against the Romanian extremist nationalists during the royal dictatorship.

In its first days of existence, the Legionary Police functioned as announced and on 8 September 1940 it arrested Gabriel Marinescu, the former prefect of the Capital's Police. He was caught at the Romanian-Yugoslavian border while he was trying to cross over the Danube on to the Serbian shore³⁶. It is less likely that the Legionary Police managed to organize itself as a functioning structure in such a short period of time. Most probably these "seizures" were the fruit of the surveillance actions that the legionaries had been organizing against state officials since 1937³⁷.

The organization of the Legionary Police proper had probably started after the formation of the national-legionary government on 16 September 1940. In general, were recruited young unemployed men with the purpose of pay them back for their activity during the clandestine period. The priest Ion Dumitrescu-Borșa claims in his memoirs that Horia Sima organized the Legionary Police, integrating only people that were loyal to him from all points of view³⁸. Another element of the Legionary Police was the group of young Macedonians who had entered the new structure after having taken refuge from the territory conceded to Bulgaria³⁹. In general, the Macedonians had been a problem for the Legionary Movement, given their violence, but at the same time they had been very loyal regarding the tasks assigned to them.

The statute of the Legionary Police was not defined very clearly compared to the state police. It did not have an organization regulation and it activated chaotically taking arbitrary measures and substituting the attributions of the state police⁴⁰. In numerous cases citizens dissatisfied with the Legionary Police addressed the state police that told them that there was nothing it could do as long as there was a void in the legislation.

The Legionary Police helped fulfill all the seizures of fortune and the arbitrary arrests during the existence of the "national-legionary state". Because it was not subordinated to any centralized structure but only to the organization's leadership, the Legionary Police was "free" to break the law.

In the end, the protests of the public opinion caused the change of the structure's statute. Starting with 12 October 1940, the legionaries were not allowed to carry on any arrests in Bucharest anymore. All the searches and person apprehensions were fulfilled by the state police. If the legionaries justified the arrest of a person on legal bases, the act would be carried on only in the

³⁶ Prundeni, I.I., *The executioner tried to flee: Gabriel Marinescu*, in *Porunca vremii*, 14 September 1940, year IX, nr. 1748, p. 1.

³⁷ Țiu, Ilarion, 2007, *Legionary Movement after Corneliu Codreanu*, vol. I, *Royal Dictatorship (February 1938 – September 1940): mechanisms of generation exchange*, Bucharest, Vremea, p. 16.

³⁸ Dumitrescu-Borșa, Ion, 2002, *Trojan horse intra muros. Legionary memories*, Bucharest, Lucman, p.343.

³⁹ DANIC, The Fund of the General Police Directorate, file no. 252/1940, f. 33.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 1.

presence of and by a representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs⁴¹. Nevertheless, the abuses continued and in the provinces the statute of the Legionary Police remained the same.

After the assassinations from Jilava on the night of 26/27 November 1940 and the murder of Nicolae Iorga and of Virgil Madgearu (27 November 1940), the conflict regarding the statute of the Legionary Police broke out. Ion Antonescu told Horia Sima to dissolve this structure because it fueled the people's uncertainty given its non-institutional character. On 30 November 1940, the minister of Internal Affairs, general Constantin Petrovicescu (a legionary) gave the following order: "Given the fact that the Legionary movement assigns its members far more important missions, the Ministry renounces the services of the legionary police starting with 1 December 1940"⁴². Despite the minister's order, the Legionary Police continued to function after that date as well, especially in the provinces. Its abuses represented one of the main causes of the misunderstandings between Ion Antonescu and the Legionary Movement, contributing to the failure of their governing collaboration.

During the period of the movement's legal activity, Corneliu Codreanu had promised a "new Romania" in which the administration's abuses would remain a "sad memory". Thus, after the legionaries made it in the government, the population that had been convinced by Corneliu Codreanu of the capacity of social renewal that the legionaries could bring awaited the conclusion of the bureaucratic abuses.

In reality, the renewal about which spoke Corneliu Codreanu was an illusion like other promises made by the Legionary Movement. In the administration were hired untrained young legionaries, most of whom had barely graduated from college and had never worked before⁴³. The rejuvenation of the civil servants brought on by the Legionary Movement proved to be a great disappointment because they saw their positions within the administration as the fastest way to getting rich. The new civil servants together with the Legionary Police launched a campaign of "witch hunt" and invented imaginary crimes⁴⁴. Initially, the target of the searches were the Jews, affected by the establishment of the "Romanization committees" shortly after the accession to power of the pro-German nationalists. However, the searches started reorienting gradually to the rich citizens living in the cities. They were accused of having collaborated with the regime of Carol II or of getting rich illegally. Sometimes even foreign citizens (especially French and English) were the target of the seizures made by the legionaries under the pretext of carrying out "sabotage acts"⁴⁵.

These abuses were funded on the new legislation that allowed requisitions of goods acquired unlawfully by the former state employees. Normally the goods were supposed to be sold at auction and the revenues deposited in the treasury of "The Legionary Aid", an organization established for helping the refugees from

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 220/1940, f. 12.

⁴² *Ibidem*, file no. 45/1940, f. 1.

⁴³ DANIC, The Fund of the General Police Directorate, file no. 263/1940, f. 17.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 262/1940, f. 94.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, file no. 220/1940, f. 8.

the provinces conceded in the summer of 1940. However, the persons responsible for that action abused the possibility of making searches. Their zeal was not complimentary as most of the sold goods were not registered fiscally and made their way into the pockets of those who “took action in the field”⁴⁶.

The most frequent plunder of the rich citizens were the “donations” to the Legionary Aid. The citizens were often summoned to the local headquarters of the Legionary Movement without knowing why, and at the end of the meeting were forced into signing documents donating part of their personal fortune to the humanitarian organizations founded by the legionaries⁴⁷.

In the end, the population was exhausted by the psychological terror imposed on some citizens, and the central leadership of the Legionary Movement was assaulted by memoranda of protest⁴⁸. The tension was so great that some of the former dignitaries committed suicide because they could not stand the psychological pressure anymore. On 3 October 1940, Petre Andrei, the former minister of education in the Armand Călinescu government, killed himself in Iași where he was a university professor⁴⁹. He had strongly sustained the dissolution of the Legionary Movement. A few weeks before his assassination, Nicolae Iorga had announced that he would not publish the last volume of *The History of the Romanians* because he had to present the period of the royal dictatorship and he would offer the legionary civil servants plenty of reasons to take measures against him⁵⁰.

Sometimes even members of the Legionary Movement showed their dissatisfaction with the new face of the organization by sending protest letters. They were disappointed because legionaries from outside the counties were given leadership position of the local organizations or because the new employees of certain administrative positions promoted their collaborators on clientelist criteria⁵¹. In some cases, the revolt of the protesting legionaries was also caused by the fact that the old people responsible for the abuses within the administration had been kept in their positions, coming to an understanding with the new legionary civil employees about dividing the influence zones from where they could acquire illegal revenues⁵².

During the existence of the national-legionary state, not all the legionaries that had administrative positions acted in the manner described above. Nevertheless, the abuses present in the archives are too numerous not to be taken into consideration. Following the events of 21-23 January 1941, the image created by the corrupted legionaries who had administered the organizations in the provinces turned against the movement. Especially within the military and the police, the employees that were hired after September 1940 from the legionary forces were the target of ironies and mockery. Although they had not

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, file no. 263/1940, f. 14.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, file no. 262/1940. F. 100.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 252/1940, f. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, file no. 220/1940, f. 8.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, file no. 152/1940, f. 19.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, file no. 263/1940, f. 11-14.

⁵² *Ibidem*, f. 15.

always behaved unlawfully, they became the “scapegoats” of the failure of the national-legionary government⁵³.

Anti-Semitism was one of the main arguments legitimizing the Legionary Movement in the Romanian interwar political arena. During the 1930s, especially in towns around Bukovina and Moldova, brawls between legionaries and Jews were frequent. The authorities had always intervened to calm the spirits down, and thus anti-Semitism had never reached the level of street fights in Romania.

After having gained power, through the “Romanization committees”, the legionaries had acquired the instrument of their Anti-Semitism’s affirmation. However, they acted mostly economically against rich Jews and not ethnically at the level of the entire Jewish population as it was happening in Germany. For example, in Târgu Neamț, at the end of November 1940 the local organization of the Legionary Movement called for the leaders of the Jewish community to its headquarters. Through coercion and psychological terror the latter were deprived of their real estate proprieties or of important sums of money. These valuables entered the possession of the legionary local leaders who forced the rich Jews to sell them their proprieties on insignificant sums of money compared to their real value⁵⁴. The situation got the attention of the General Police Inspector who sent a representative from Bucharest for inquiries. The police had been informed by dr. Wilhelm Filderman, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania, proving that the abuses had been substantial. The inquiry of the General Police Inspector confirmed the information received and he ordered the punishment of the guilty⁵⁵.

Among the non-economical measures taken against Jews was the evacuation of Jewish tenants from buildings in downtown Sibiu. They were directed to the town’s outskirts. No incidents were registered because the Jews obeyed the orders given by the legionaries⁵⁶. Furthermore, there were cases when posters with anti-Semite slogans were put on Jewish shops, but this was not a generalized phenomenon⁵⁷. The ethnical Jews could observe Mosaic sermons and rituals without any major problems from the legionaries, except for a few insignificant incidents⁵⁸.

As the conflict between general Ion Antonescu and Horia Sima intensified, the legionary leader became intolerant of his comrades who did not agree with his politics. This group had formed in the summer of 1939 in Berlin and could not have been attracted totally in leadership positions to annihilate its opposing potential. The priest Ion Dumitrescu-Borșa was one of the key members of the group. He was an important member of the Legionary Movement and had been the last secretary general during the clandestine period. Moreover, he had been part of the group of legionaries who had fought in Spain in 1936-1937, alongside

⁵³ *Ibidem*, file no. 252/1940, f. 167.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, file no. 258/1940, f. 1-10.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 29.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, file no. 252/1940, f. 150.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 147.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 29.

the three great “legionary heroes”: Ion Moța, Vasile Marin and Gheorghe Cantacuzino-Grănicerul. The memoirs of Ion Dumitrescu-Borșa describe the experience of the conflict with Horia Sima, in which the latter tried to remove his opponents.

Normally the conflict would have stayed within the movement. By tradition, the legionaries did not wash their dirty linen publicly and solved their tensions in internal meetings. To diminish the power of Horia Sima within the Legionary Movement, Ion Antonescu supported the opponents’ “party”⁵⁹. The “Head of the State” had revealed on many occasions his desire to become the leader of the Legionary Movement and hoped that he could achieve his objective via several “famous” legionaries. His plan failed because the Germans did not want him to become very strong politically⁶⁰, and Horia Sima launched the persecution of his opponents.

Corneliu Codreanu had cultivated within the Legionary Movement the cult of the personality. Through his behavior as leader of the organization he left the idea of a strong leader able to eclipse any forces that might contest his legitimacy. Horia Sima was a perfect match of this archetype and did not allow anyone to challenge his authority. Even from the start he counted on those who had pushed him to the leadership of the Legionary Movement – the leaders of the local organizations from the clandestine period (1938-1940). They were not known to the old legionaries but had actively participated in the sabotage actions against the authoritarian regime of Carol II. The most active were the students of the Legionary Students Corps, the high school students of the Blood Brotherhoods and the workers of the Legionary Workers Corps. After September 1940 they received administrative positions and they were therefore loyal to the “Commander”⁶¹.

By mid-November 1940, Horia Sima initiated the “war” against the legionaries supporting Ion Antonescu and arrested them. He put them under house arrest, under the guard of the Legionary Police. Apart from some legionaries that were in conflict with Sima from 1939 (such as Ion Dumitrescu-Borșa or Gheorghe Ciorogaru), two of the brothers of Corneliu Codreanu (Decebal and Horia) were also placed under house arrest, as well as the father of the “Captain” (Ion Zelea-Codreanu)⁶². By acting in such a manner, Horia Sima compromised himself as leader of the movement. Iridenta Moța, the sister of the founding member of the Legion and the wife of Ion Moța, announced that she intended to establish the newspaper “Libertatea” (Freedom) in Orăștie as an attack against Horia Sima and to take a stand against the arrest of her legionary “companions”⁶³. Around Christmas 1940, Sima ordered the release of his opponents from house arrest but he suspended their right to live in Bucharest. These unjustified measures contributed to the growing suspicion of the German

⁵⁹ Dumitrescu-Borșa, Ion, *cited works*, p. 327.

⁶⁰ Heinen, Armin, *cited works*, p. 428.

⁶¹ DANIC, the Fund of the General Police Inspectorate, file no. 262/1940, f. 1.

⁶² Dumitrescu-Borșa, Ion, *cited works*, pp. 341-352.

⁶³ Danic, the Fund of the General Police Inspectorate, file no. 252/1940, f. 153.

Legation in Bucharest of the legionary leader. It seems that the mission recommended Berlin to offer exclusive support to Ion Antonescu.

Conclusions

The national-legionary government of September 1940-January 1941 was a big failure. The Romanian nationalist extremists were not capable of concentrating on such an effort because they lacked the political experience (the Legionary Movement had had parliamentarians only for short periods of time between 1931 and 1932). The new generation represented by Horia Sima also failed in adapting to the rules of political life. After 1938, the organization had functioned subversively and the new members who came to power understood to continue behaving as they had done during the clandestine years. The youth of the cadres recruited hastily during the “persecution” also contributed to the failure of the political project of the national-legionary state.

Horia Sima had been a very good organizer in the clandestine period but totally failed as representative of the Legionary Movement in the country’s governmental institutions. He surrounded himself by people loyal to him who had helped him greatly when he used to live in secret locations, but who were not able to give him proper counsel when he was vice-president of the Council of Ministers. The fear of losing the leadership of the Legionary Movement determined him to remove the experienced “companions”, thus reaching the embarrassing situation of arresting the opposition from his own organization.

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GENDER QUOTAS IN POLITICS. A SHORT ANALYSIS

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Abstract: *This short study is meant to present an overview of the gender equality issue in Romanian politics, starting from a quantitative analysis and using the statistics regarding women representation in Romania and in the Parliaments of EU member states. The authors also examine different approaches of the gender equality issue in Romania and the attempts that were made to address it.*

Keywords: *gender, political representation, gender relations, gender equality, gender quotas.*

Introduction

Starting with the collapse of the bipolar regime, the birth of a single pole world and the onset of the globalization phenomenon, the gender equality has become a topic which is more and more present in the theoretical and political debates at the EU level. Although the issue is significant and involves important transformations at the public level, it hasn't been given enough visibility in our national mass media, being rather regarded as a less relevant subject, more appropriate for the consolidated democracies, and which may generate reactions within a society that had just come out the transition period. Moreover, at the political level in Romania, for a certain period of time the gender quotas idea was ignored, refused or at best regarded with reluctance.

Coming from a scientific approach, our purpose is to distinguish the women promotion pattern through gender quotas, based on statistical data, and taking into account various arguments and counterarguments identified in the public speech.

One may say a quantitative approach, based on analyzing statistics, is limited, and, as some experts would describe it, „improper...because it does not contribute to the understanding process and explaining the gender gaps and the factors which are impacting political representation”¹. However, we chose to use

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¹ Oana Băluță, “Gender, politics and media: stereotyped representations. How do we draw the line?”, *Politics Sphere*, vol. XXIII, no.183, 2015, p. 107,

<http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/183/art10-Baluta.php> (visited 16.03.2016)

this research method because it provides the mere foundation for any further study. Without clearly seeing the gap, expressed in statistical terms, we will not be able either to provide an accurate view on this issue or to inquire into the gap's nature.

When exploring the relationship between the number of political decision makers, their gender and their real role in taking major decisions, we basically deal with subjective perceptions and stereotypes, given the lack of a solid approach of the post-December political life in this respect. Analyzing the official statements of a number of politicians will allow us to identify their main positions regarding the gender quotas.

The legislation and the gender representation experience in Romanian politics

The first step in our analysis is to look at the legal framework on which a gender quotas policy could be grounded.

The founders of the Romanian Constitution have shown at the article 16, paragraph 3: *„Access to public, civil, or military positions or dignities may be granted, according to the law, to persons whose citizenship is Romanian and whose residence is in Romania. The Romanian State shall guarantee equal opportunities for men and women to occupy such positions and dignities.”*²

Following this constitutional provision, the Romanian law system includes several regulations that enforce gender equality and the non-discrimination principle. Thus, the Law no. 202/2003³ updated regarding the equality between women and men and the Law no. 48/2002⁴ on preventing and sanctioning all forms of discrimination, alongside with the Law on financing the political parties which stipulates at article 14, paragraph 2 that: *„The amount allocated annually to political parties cannot exceed 0.04% of the income provided in the state budget. Political parties which promote women on the electoral lists on eligible seats will receive an amount from the state budget which will be increased proportionally to the number of mandates obtained in the election by women candidates”*⁵ represent the basic framework for promoting the gender equality within the political environment.

However, the experience of the Romanian post-communist Parliaments shows an overall picture in which men are totally favored in terms of representation, while rather few women became MPs during the last two decades.

Legislature	Proportion of seats held by women in Parliament
1990-1992	4,9%
1992-1996	3,7%
1996-2000	4,7%

²http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/site.page?den=act2_1&par1=2#t2c1s0sba16 (visited 15.03.2016)

³http://www.dreptonline.ro/legislatie/legea_egalitatii_sanse_femei.php (visited 15.03.2016)

⁴ <http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/legea/48-2002.php> (visited 15.03.2016)

⁵ <http://www.roaep.ro/finantare/subventii-publice/> (visited 15.03.2016)

2000-2004	10,8%
2004-2008	10,2%
2008-2012	9,8%
2012-present	11,5%

(Table 1)

The data presented in Table no. 1 speak for themselves and show that women in Romania are under-represented at the parliamentary level. A possible explanation of this phenomenon may be that both men and women generally „... believe that politics is men’s field, because the empirical truth tells us that politics is truly a men’s field”.⁶

Another explanation identified by the specialists is related to how the legal framework itself was designed, specifically: „... failure of tinting, structuring and adapting the principle to the Romanian context, general and abstract formulations on this subject, imprecision in defining concepts, excessive use of the equality term”.⁷

A third explanation would be that the Romanian society has been gradually reconnecting itself to the great ideas of the Western civilization or, as the scientific literature describes it, has been going through a synchronizing process. However, this is a very difficult process, influenced by traditions, stereotypes and representative models, which have built in time a certain mentality that is, no doubt, hard to transform.

Addressing the possible reasons for gender discrimination, Mihaela Miroiu states that the political space “is the world of elite male oligarchies which excludes women and, of course, is inaccessible to most men as well.”⁸ The approach is interesting, as the author identifies a double discrimination, both for women and men, due to the way they are recruited as political elites. More exactly, the transition from the totalitarian communist regime to a democratic regime led to maintaining a patriarchal attitude enforced by the financial argument, while the privatization and the development of the capitalism in Romania led to a social polarization. Therefore, the discrimination against women is double, both based on gender and on wealth, while men discrimination has only a financial reason.

Gender policy – between the political attitude and the conservative mentalities

In order to understand even partially the nature of gender relations in the political space, we must call on scientific works. During the last one and a half decade, several researches were made to measure different aspects of the

⁶ Sarah Childs, *Women and British Party Politics. Descriptive, Substantive and Symbolic Representation*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p.141.

⁷ Alina Hurubean, “The gender equality policy. The stakes of growing the public profile and the audience share”, *Politics Sphere*, vol. XIX, no. 155, 2011, p.25, <http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/155/arto5-Hurubean.php> (visited 16.03.2016).

⁸ Mihaela Miroiu, *The Road to Autonomy. Feminist Political Theories*, Polirom Publisher, Iași, 2004, p. 230.

Romanian citizens' perceptions on the relationships between women and men, as well as the level of acceptance for gender policies in Romania.

One of these was conducted in 2000 by the *Open Society Foundation*. Following this research, "The gender Barometer" was published, which contains answers to a series of specific questions.⁹ We have selected only three of them, which are most relevant to our topic.

a) In your opinion, who should lead in public life (administration, politics or at work?). The responses were: in large cities, 21% said men, 3% women and 72% - it does not matter; in small and medium towns the percentages were: 35% men, 2% women, 61% it doesn't matter, while in the rural area 45% said men should lead, 1% women and 49% said it did not matter.

b) What would you choose for....?¹⁰

- Member of the City Council: 39% men, 5% women, 56% said that gender is not important;

- Chairman of the City Council: 44%, 4%, 52%;

- President of the association of parents: 21%, 24%, 55%;

- School principal: 33%, 13%, 54%;

- MP (deputy or senator): 44%, 5%, 51%;

- President of the state: 73%, 3%, 24%;

c) Is there a real equality between men and women? In large cities 59% said "no" and 31% "yes", while 13% were undecided. In small and medium towns percentages were 57%, 33%, 10%, and in villages 44%, 39% and 17%.

Analyzing the answers to the first question we note there is a significant difference of opinion based on the type of residence, urban or rural. If in large cities 21% of the respondents said that men should lead, in small and medium towns, the percentage increased with 50%, reaching 35%, while in villages it was double - 45%. At the same time, a significant response is the one regarding women, which reveals small percentages such as: 3%, 2% and 1%. Basically, the number of those who believe that women should lead in public life is very small.

On the second question, it looks like women are rather favored for being elected in positions/ offices considered less important for the public, which are underpaid or unpaid, such as President of parents association. 24% of those interviewed considered women should lead in this case, and only 21% men. At the same time, for School Principal the difference is 20% - 13% women vs. 33% men, which is smaller than in other cases. Instead, for positions of high visibility and professional prestige, the percentages grow in men's favor, depending on the social importance (member of the City Council 39% vs. 5% ratio of men to women, for the chairman of County 44% vs. 4%, for MP 44% vs. 5% and for President the ratio reaches 73% vs. 3%). Overall, we notice the same small percentage of those who believe that women are suited to perform in these high level public offices: 3-5%.

The last question regarding the awareness of gender inequality is interesting, as the answers are more uniform for the different categories of

⁹ See <http://www.fundatia.ro/barometrul-de-gen-2000> (visited 15.03.2016).

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 142.

public. Thus, 59% of the residents of big cities answered “No”, 57% of those living in small and medium towns, 44% of the people in rural area. For the “Yes” answer the ratio is 31%, 33% and 39%.

There is a clear conclusion that we can certainly draw from this data. During the 2000s, the overall public perception was that men should lead in public life, while the role of women was seen as rather insignificant.

Gender representation

The gender equality issue has been among the concerns and attention of the EU institutions for a long time. Thus, the EU drafted since 2000 a recommendation calling on Member States to use the quotas as a temporary measure in order to balance the participation of men and women in the parties’ internal structures, and also at the electoral level. In addition, the European Commission developed “The Women Charter and the Strategy for equality between men and women (2010-2015)” and “The Action Plan for equality between men and women”; a solution chosen for implementing gender equality was the establishing of a “Network” within the European Commission for promoting women in taking decisions in politics and economy.¹¹

This approach is part of a larger effort of the United Nations which (since 2000) aims at achieving gender equality and women empowerment. From the UN point of view, regarding politics, one of the targets which had to be reached by 2015, was that women must have held 30% of the seats in the national parliaments.¹² In the second table we will see that, while significant progress was made, this objective has not been achieved everywhere, Romania included.

As early as 1982 Romania ratified the UN Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW)¹³, and in 1988 all the subscribing states received a recommendation which called for implementation of positive discrimination temporary measures in order to enhance women integration on the labor market. In 1997 an initiative which regarded the implementation of these principles was rejected by the Romanian MPs.¹⁴

In 2010 a different attempt was made and another bill was proposed: „Bill on introducing a quota for political representation in the Romanian Parliament”. In 2013, it was rejected by the Chamber of Deputies. The number of votes is suggestive: 254 for rejection, 33 for adoption and 8 abstentions.¹⁵

¹¹ European Commission’s Network to Promote Women in Decision-making in Politics and the Economy, *The Quota-instrument: different approaches across Europe*, June 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/quota-working_paper_en.pdf (visited 15.03.2016).

¹² ONU, *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2010* <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDG%20Report%202010%20En%20r15%20low%20res%2020100615%20.pdf> (accesat 15.03.2016).

¹³ See the Convention on eradication of all forms of Discrimination against women, <http://declaratie.transcena.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Conventia-asupra-eliminarii-tuturor-formelor-de-discriminare-fata-de-femei-cedaw.pdf> (visited 18.03.2016).

¹⁴ It is about a bill 56/1997 signed by Ivănescu MP, member of the Democratic Party http://www.cdep.ro/pls/proiecte/upl_pck2015.proiect?idp=61 (visited 18.03.2016).

¹⁵ This proposal was initiated by the MP Sulfina Barbu http://www.cdep.ro/pls/proiecte/upl_pck2015.proiect?idp=12039 (visited 18.03.2016).

In 2015 two other initiatives were registered:

- The first one is a bill for amending and supplementing the Law no 115/2015 regarding the election of the local public administration, for amending the Public administration Law no. 215/2001 and for amending and supplementing the Law no. 393/2004 regarding the status of the elected local officials.¹⁶

-The second one regards the amending of the Law no. 208 from July 20, 2015 on the election of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and for organizing and functioning of the Permanent Electoral Authority, which was signed by 154 of MPs.¹⁷

At the national level, as shown in the first table, there are two different stages within the seven legislatures of the Romanian Parliament. During the first post-communist decade, between 1990 and 2000, the percent of women in Parliament was less than 5%. The second one (since 2000) reveals a slight trend change: the percent has doubled revolving around 11%. However, the current percentage is under the EU average.

Place	Country	Unicameral				Bicameral			
		Year	Total number	Women	%	Year	Total number	Women	%
1 (5)	Sweden	2014	349	152	43,6	-	-	-	-
2 (10)	Finland	2015	200	83	41,5	-	-	-	-
3 (14)	Spain	2015	350	140	40,0	2015	265	104	39,2
4 (18)	Belgium	2014	150	59	39,3	2015	60	30	50,0
5 (21)	Denmark	2015	179	67	37,4	-	-	-	-
6 (22)	Netherlands	2012	150	56	37,3	2012	75	26	34,7
7 (24)	Slovenia	2014	90	33	36,7	2012	40	3	7,5
8 (26)	Germany	2013	631	230	36,5	NA	69	28	40,6
9 (30)	Portugal	2015	230	80	34,8	-	-	-	-
10 (42)	Italy	2013	630	195	31,0	2013	321	91	28,3
11 (44)	Austria	2013	83	56	30,6	NA	61	18	29,5
12 (48)	United Kingdom	2015	650	191	29,4	NA	782	192	24,6
13 (49)	Luxembourg	2013	60	17	28,3	-	-	-	-
14 (51)	Poland	2015	460	126	27,4	2015	100	13	13,0
15 (58)	France	2012	577	151	26,2	2014	348	87	25
16 (69)	Estonia	2015	101	24	23,8	-	-	-	-
17 (71)	Lithuania	2012	141	33	23,4	-	-	-	-
18 (86)	Bulgaria	2014	240	49	20,4	-	-	-	-
19 (89)	Czech Republic	2013	200	40	20,0	2014	81	15	18,5
20 (93)	Greece	2015	300	59	19,7	-	-	-	-

¹⁶ This proposal was initiated by the MPs Alina Gorghiu and Maria - Andreea Paul (Vass) http://www.cdep.ro/pls/proiecte/upl_pck2015.proiect?idp=15438(visited 19.03.2016).

¹⁷ This proposal was initiated by the MPs Alina Gorghiu and Maria - Andreea Paul (Vass) <http://www.cdep.ro/proiecte/bp/2015/1100/50/8/in1158.pdf> (visited 18.03.2016).

21 (98)	Slovakia	2012	150	28	18,7	-	-	-	-
22 (101)	Latvia	2014	100	18	18,0	-	-	-	-
23 (112)	Ireland	2011	166	27	16,3	2011	60	18	30,0
24 (119)	Croatia	2015	151	23	15,2	-	-	-	-
25 (130)	Romania	2012	401	55	13,7	2012	168	13	7,7
26 (136)	Malta	2013	70	9	12,9	-	-	-	-
27 (140)	Cyprus	2011	56	7	12,5	-	-	-	-
28 (153)	Hungary	2014	198	20	10,1	-	-	-	-

(Table no. 2 - The data in the table below has been compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the basis of information provided by National Parliaments by 1st February 2016¹⁸)

As we can observe from the statistics (updated on February 1, 2016) on the first column, Romania is currently situated on the 26th place from 28 EU member states. At the European level, Romania is outturned only by three countries (Malta, Cyprus and Hungary). This percentage itself is, to a certain point misleadingly, because it takes into account only the Chamber of Deputies. Overall, if we are to include the Senate as well (second column), the percentage would be even smaller (11, 95%). This means that Romania the second last.

This reality reflected in the EU statistics provides the opportunity both to generate a real debate regarding a more balanced representation for both genders, and to inquire into possible measures or policies that would create the framework for empowering women to be more present in local councils, county councils and in the Parliament.

Arguments and counterarguments regarding the introducing of gender quotas

At the international level, there is already a vast experience regarding the gender quotas. Since the 60s, the Northern European countries have raised the question of creating the conditions through which women can have access to domains, such as politics, which for centuries have been dominated by men. This explains why in Sweden, participation of women is 43.6%, in Finland, 41.5%, 37.4% in Denmark. These countries occupy three of the top five places in the EU (see Table No. 2).

According to data provided by the United Nations Development Programme, the use of this reference pattern has enabled a substantial increase in the number of women in politics in various countries in Latin America.¹⁹

¹⁸ Women in national parliaments, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classifo10216.htm> (visited 15.03.2016).

¹⁹ Elizabeth Guerrero, *Political Quotas for Women: Myths & Facts*, United Nations Development Programme, December 9 2013, <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourperspective/ourperspectivearticles/2013/12/09/political-quotas-for-women-myths-facts-elizabeth-guerrero.html>(visited 18.03.2016)

Thus, the Romanian promoters of gender quotas consider that introducing these quotas will lead to an acceleration of the gender balanced representation process, because: “the internal experience of the last 20 years has proved that the mechanisms which were focused on ensuring fair representation of women in politics were not enough²⁰. As the Quota Project²¹ shows us, the regulations of the gender representation in politics are a reality in 88 world states, among them: France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Slovenia, Serbia, Argentina, Brazil.

In 1997 Paula Ivănescu tried to introduce the positive discrimination principle by amending the financing political parties’ law, but she received a powerful reply within the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies on 8th of September, from Mona Muscă (MP).

As a representative of the National Liberal Party, Mrs. Muscă expressed her disagreement with the gender quotas idea, by saying that if:

“... we take into consideration the women percentage in the Romanian Parliament, we are on the last places in the world”. However, this situation “... can’t be solved through a positive discrimination...” because “... as a liberal I don’t believe in positive discrimination” and I consider that “...women can make politics on the same criteria as men”. “... I think we are as intelligent or not as you, so gentlemen, let’s treat each other as equals, this is how I think a society should work and let’s not divide it on gender criteria, or on any other criteria, except competency”.²²

Mrs Muscă’s opinion can be seen as ideologically correct and it is grounded in a fundamental liberal value: liberty. This is the beginning of the entire civil rights and liberties system, among which we distinguish equality before the law. Mrs. Muscă opinion falls within the concept of the European liberals, which feels that the gender quotas, seen as a form of positive discrimination is not always consequent with liberalism as a doctrine.

An interesting argument used at the parliamentary level against gender quotas belongs to Minodora Cliveti (MP): „In 2008 “the uninominal vote” was introduced in Romania, eliminating the voting list, the only one which could have allowed us to implement certain mechanisms for promoting women as policymakers - quota, reserved seats, alternation of women and men candidates, these being the most effective. Under these circumstances, the way it was designed, the bill will not be able to change in any way the percentage of women in the Romanian Parliament, if we don’t return to voting lists, and then, in this system, apply the positive discrimination mechanisms, which were approved and recommended by the Council of Europe and the European Parliament.”²³

²⁰ See the motivation of Sulfina Barbu, MP

<http://www.cdep.ro/proiecte/2011/300/30/3/em449.pdf> (visited 19.03.2016).

²¹ Quota Project, *Global Database of Quotas for Women. Country overview*, <http://www.quotaproject.org/country.cfm> (visited 18.03.2016)

²² Chamber of Deputies, the Chamber of Deputies Meeting on 8 September 1997 <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/steno/steno2015.stenograma?ids=1055&idl=1> (visited 19.03.2016).

²³ Press release Agerpres, 1st april 2011, „Minodora Cliveti: „Viewpoint on the legislative proposal Mrs. Sulfina Barbu, MP”, in Tudorina Mihai, *Gender quotas in politics and their implementation in Romania*, disertation, National School of Political and Administrative Sciences, 2011, p.63.

The argument used by Cliveti is correct because the uninominal vote basically canceled any practical ability for political parties to enforce the positive discrimination principle.

Currently, the change of the electoral law and the return to voting lists through the Law no. 208/2015²⁴ reopened the debate. It is interesting that this availability to dialogue came from PNL, given that just a few years ago this party rejected the topic by using ideological arguments.

At the debate hosted by the website "The Romanian World" the question: Do you think that women in Romania need special seats to succeed in politics? Are the Romanians so misogynists that a woman can succeed in a career only by positive discrimination?

The pro quotas answers were in following terms: "... women should have reserved seats in politics in order to eliminate the problems related to their underrepresentation... a law regarding the gender quotas in politics could raise the engagement level of women in local and central administration...it may not be perceived as a liberal measure, but we must be realistic and straight. After centuries of misogyny we cannot change attitudes overnight without regulations". The answers against gender quotas were expressed as follows: "...it is an initiative based on which someday we would say to someone else - «although you are more qualified/competent, we cannot promote you because there are enough people of your gender, and the other gender must be represented as well.»...."Imposing gender quotas is an offense to women dignity to be equal to men and not to be treated as some sort of distinct minority ..."²⁵

Instead of conclusions

As we pointed out throughout the research, according to statistical data, we can say that, although the number of women in our country is higher than men's number, there is not a balanced representation at the political level. Despite some progress, considering the number of women in politics has doubled after 2000 compared to the first decade of the post-communist period, this number continues to stay low.

In our opinion, there are a couple of questions that should be on the public agenda, related to the gender equality issue: do we need positive discrimination policies transposed in regulations or not? And if there is an objective need for such regulations, should they take the form of laws and norms or should they rather be internal rules of political parties?

From this point of view, it is necessary to draw attention to the internal regulations of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and the National Liberal Party

http://media1.webgarden.ro/files/media1:4f869b1f10e27.pdf.upl/Tudorina_Mihai__Cotele_de_gen_si_aplicarea_lor_in_Romania.pdf (visited 19.03.2016), p.63.

²⁴ Romanian Parliament, Law 218/2015, <http://lege5.ro/Gratuit/g4ztknjvge/legea-nr-208-2015-privind-alegerea-senatului-si-a-camerei-deputatilor-precum-si-pentru-organizarea-si-functionarea-autoritatii-electorale-permanente> (visited 19.03.2016).

²⁵ Romanian world, Debate for and against the gender quotas in politics. Are having women "special" needs in politics? January 16th 2016,

<http://lumearomaneasca.ro/index.php/2016/01/16/video-dezbatare-pro-sau-contra-cote-de-gen-in-politica-au-nevoie-femeile-de-locuri-speciale-pentru-a-face-cariera/> (visited 19.03.2016)

(PNL) through which voluntary quotas were imposed. For example, the 43rd article (3) of the PSD statute requires that: “In the leading bodies of the Party at all levels it is recommended that a number of women, youth and pensioners are represented, proportionally to their share in the party: 30% women, 25% youth and 10% pensioners, from the members of the leading bodies.”²⁶

In fact, statistics shows that the parliamentary parties in Romania have failed to impose the presence of women in management positions. Considering this, it may seem more effective to enforce such measures by laws, as the global experience shows us that this is probably the easiest way to reach the goal of gender equality. This would be an option for further correlating our political space with the patterns and values specific to western democracies.

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²⁶ *** Intern Regulations of the Social Democratic Party, p.29, <http://www.psd.ro/wp-content/themes/psd/pdfs/Statut-PSD.pdf> (visited 19.03.2016)

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THE ROLE OF THE PRESENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND NGOS THAT CAMPAIGN FOR DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS

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Abstract: *Human rights organizations and the NGOs that are campaigning for development must work together to stimulate and support the implementation of the principles of sustainable development in rural Romania. These two types of non-governmental organizations have a common past and broadly want the same thing, namely improving people's lives.*

Keywords: *NGOs, Human Rights, Sustainable Development, Rural Area, Romania.*

Human rights organizations and the organizations that campaign for development

The curious separation of the human rights from the concept of development began immediately after the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, when Cold War politics thwarted the efforts to forge a treaty that legally compels its observance by all signatory governments. Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were bifurcated along political fault lines that were existing at the time, there were created various treaties and mechanisms to promote them through the United Nations system.¹

In the 1960s, with the establishment of new international human rights organizations, began in a serious way the worldwide defence of the civil and political rights. The development has emerged as an independent field in the same period. The World Bank provided loans since 1948, and this sector has begun to grow slowly in the 1950s, then slightly faster developing in the 1960s, while in the 1970s and 1980s this process began to accelerate, reaching at the point when in 2000 the development aid became an annual business of 64 billion dollars.²

But in the '90s the development was in crisis and the NGOs for human rights were faced with dramatically changed conditions. Trends and certain forces have created strong incentives for the development and human rights, which were separated almost at birth, to begin to reunite.³

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¹ Paul J. Nelson, Ellen Dorsey, 2008, *New Rights Advocacy: Changing Strategies of Development and Human Rights NGOs*, Georgetown University Press, p. 13.

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem., p. 14.

Since the mid 1990s the human rights movement began to take seriously the economic and social rights guaranteed in the international human rights treaties; NGOs working in the two areas of development and human rights were united in social movements of human rights defenders advocating for food, health, education, clean water and other rights, they often challenged the doctrines of development, and the organizations fighting for development adopted in their approaches actions which were founded on the basic rights. Thus was born this joint effort to bring the social and economic norms of the human rights to the attention of world politics, just as human rights advocates have legitimized in the 60s and 70s the civil and political rights of the people.⁴

The NGOs fighting for developing and the ones acting on Human Rights have three characteristics: their loyalties, professional connections and basic methodologies. Human rights organizations prepare their agendas and missions to complete the consolidation of the international norms concerning human rights and also for the protection and implementation of the human rights that have been recognized by the founding treaties.⁵

Most NGOs on Human Rights focused on the civil and political rights, and largely on the behaviour of governments. These organizations are associated with the agencies and offices of human rights subordinated to governments or those belonging to the United Nations or other NGOs on Human Rights, and they receive a great deal of funding from private donors and foundations.⁶

Although their methodologies vary, the basic activities of human rights organizations are promoting standards in this area, investigating and documenting human rights violations, advocacy and support for victims in lawsuits (Welch, 2001).⁷

The legitimacy of NGOs on Human Rights is based on the internationally recognized standards and principles, anchored in the respect for human dignity and codified in the international law that they promote and defend. Technical expertise, rigorous impartiality and other attributes are very important, but these are secondary sources of legitimacy.⁸

International NGOs fighting for human rights and for development are changing their methods and approaches to respond to the economic effects of globalization. They work together in advocacy, adopting the strategies of other organizations and adapting their own strategies, also adopting new methods that are crossing the historic demarcation line: human rights organizations advocate for the NGOs that promote development and for environmental NGOs, and at the same time an extensive range of traditional organizations are campaigning for human rights. These changes are known as the new rights advocacy.⁹

We define the term of new rights advocacy as defending social, economic and development policies, locally, nationally and internationally, making explicit

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Ibidem., pp. 16-17.

⁶ Ibidem., p. 17.

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ Ibidem., p. 18.

⁹ Ibidem., pp. 18-19.

reference to international human rights standards. The new advocacy activity makes explicit appeals to those standards, promoting both the civil and political rights, together with the economic and social rights, targeting a wide range of actors.¹⁰

Human rights organizations in Romania

According to the latest available data from the Registry of Civil Society (2010), 12.54% of all NGOs have as the main area of intervention civic participation and influencing public policy. Of all these civil society organizations, the majority - 68% have as their field of activity human rights and democracy, 15% act for consumer protection, 45.5% fight against discrimination and 56% deal with good governance and public policy changes.¹¹

NGOs have an important role in defending human rights, they assist people whose rights have been violated, they also put pressure for amending national legislation and develop educational programs for understanding and respecting human rights. The awareness regarding human rights and the ways of defending them constitutes the base of the enforcement of human rights in everyday life.¹²

NGOs in Romania have been actively involved in promoting human rights and have had a strong influence in making certain fundamental changes in the areas of children's rights, the rights of women (gender equality), combating discrimination and promoting minority rights, freedom of expression, supporting a fair electoral process. Thus there was an increase in visibility and trust in the civil society.¹³

The associations and foundations active in the field of human rights were most visible in the media in the period of the democratization of Romania. The changes that occurred after 1989 were the premise of the development of the civil society as the guarantor of democracy and the defender-promoter of human rights and liberties.¹⁴

NGOs and major movements such as the Civic Alliance that emerged in the early years of democracy affirmed and promoted the multi-party system, the principles of the market economy, the human rights and fundamental freedoms and the principles of participatory democracy. These organizations were the main agents of the change process of the relationship between the citizens and the state institutions in a period that was attempting to redefine the state's role in society.¹⁵

In the years 1992-1993 followed a consolidation period of these civil society organizations, then appeared some new organizations that heavily influenced public policy in their fields of activity: Association for the Protection of Human

¹⁰. Ibidem., p. 19.

¹¹. Civil Society Development Foundation, 2012, *European Civil Society House. The Romanian Perspective*, Bucharest, p. 9.

¹². Ibidem.

¹³. Ibidem.

¹⁴. Civil Society Development Foundation (CSDF), *Romania 2010. The nongovernmental sector - profile, trends, challenges*, Coordinators: Mihaela Lambriu, Anuța Vameșu, Mircea Kivu, Bucharest, 2010, p. 158.

¹⁵. Ibidem.

Rights - Helsinki Committee (APADOR-CH), the League for Human Rights (LADO), Romanian Independent Society of Human Rights (SIRDO), Pro Democracy Association. These organizations represented a permanent discussion partner of international bodies, which led to a change in the government's attitude towards civil society and allowed NGOs to participate in public policy changes.¹⁶

The 90's agenda of these NGOs was primarily focused on aligning Romania's fundamental documents (Constitution, national legislation) to the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights and to the other international instruments of human rights. There have been affirmed and regulated: the national minority rights, the right to property, the right to information, children's rights, respect for human rights by the police or in prisons.¹⁷

The integration process into the European Union in the period 1993-2004 has increased the importance of the civil society, particularly in terms of the capacity of influencing the public factor.¹⁸

In reality, there are NGOs which, although the majority are established and act in the sphere of social service provision, they had and continue to have a sustained activity in the field of human rights or the promotion of citizen participation. It is difficult to separate clearly the core business of NGOs.¹⁹

The involvement of these NGOs in the fight for human rights was represented by several types of actions. We mention the actions meant to lead to legislative changes to implement fully the constitutional provisions, but also those of international treaties and conventions to which Romania is party, as well as monitoring how normative acts are applied by authorities (including the development of alternative reports to the ones from the Romanian state and meant for the UN Committee for Children's Rights, US Department of State, OSCE, etc.). Meanwhile involvement consists in reporting abuse or situations of ignorance of the law, media and public opinion awareness, in carrying out civic education programs designed to inform the public about the content of these rights, and conducting advocacy actions.²⁰

The themes addressed by NGOs in this field have been extremely diverse and depended on the context of the development of Romanian society. Thus, NGOs advocating for the promotion and protection of human rights dealt with: promoting the right to life, physical integrity and individual freedom, the fight against ill-treatment and torture, freedom of expression and the right to information, children's rights, minorities rights and social rights, women's rights and equal opportunities, consumer rights and advising citizens on their rights.²¹

The most important supporter and funder of the human rights organizations from Romania was the European Union. Through multiannual funding (in the PHARE Financing Memoranda), the European Union has consistently supported

¹⁶. Ibidem., pp. 158-159.

¹⁷. Ibidem., p. 159.

¹⁸. Ibidem.

¹⁹. Ibidem.

²⁰. Ibidem., p. 160.

²¹. Ibidem., pp. 160-163.

NGOs from Romania, starting from organizational development activities and construction of support structures and continuing to support activities that promote partnerships, the creation and development of specific services, influencing the processes and monitoring activities and public decisions, the identification and promotion of actions meant to reinforce the non-governmental sector.²²

Financing in support of democracy and human rights have been granted by other donors such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe, Balkan Trust for Democracy, embassies like the Netherlands Embassy.²³

In recent years, the donors activity mentioned above was restricted continuously, and because of this, human rights organizations, like the whole Romanian non-governmental sector, were forced to seek alternative sources of funding.²⁴

The Role of NGOs in rural development

In recent decades non-governmental organizations fighting for human rights joined those who campaigned for development because they understood that the two fields overlap. Human rights cannot be respected in a community, if that community does not enjoy some development.

The right to safe drinking water and food, to an unpolluted environment, the right to education and health, children's rights, women's rights (gender equality), the rights of older people and disadvantaged groups in general, can never be respected in a poor community where it's a constant struggle for survival.

For people to know and to respect human rights, rights that were born with, they must be educated in this regard, and to be educated it is necessary that their basic needs (water, food, clothing, housing, safety) to be satisfied.

People living in rural areas have the right to safe drinking water, electricity, sewerage, paved roads and other facilities that will make life easier and help them carry out their activities in a more easy way, and why not, they will be able to start small businesses that can lead to the development of the community.

The population living in rural areas should be educated to realize the rights they have and which they should enjoy in the relationships that occur between citizens and local administration or central state institutions.

Most NGOs are established in the urban area and they operate there, their target group is urban population. But for the rural population, which is the poorest, little is done.

The NGOs should focus on helping the rural people, there they might establish social enterprises with which to raise the living standards of communities.

In the publication „Partnerships in Rural Areas: Civil Society Involvement in Rural Development” it is stated that in most European countries and in Romania too, civil society has registered a notable evolution through the involvement in

²². Ibidem., p. 168.

²³. Ibidem.

²⁴. Ibidem.

rural development and through the participation in developing local strategies to sustainable development.²⁵

The development of rural communities doesn't concern exclusively the deciding factors from the central, regional or national level. To ensure the development of the rural areas it is necessary to mobilize all stakeholders - local authorities, organizations and representatives of the civil society - and forming a solid partnership between them. Within this partnership the major local challenges are discussed, priorities are set, development solutions are identified, measures and integrated strategies are applied.²⁶

There are two main models of partnership:

- In the first model a new legal entity is set up which brings together local partners. This entity may take various legal forms (most are non-profit associations), but it must be representative for the local parties involved, it must be open, transparent and to be accountable to both the local population and its financiers. It is important that partnerships are not dominated by a single interest group;

- The second model can be used when there is no need or desire to create an additional structure, when it is advantageous to appeal to the administrative capacity of a partner who already has experience. It will become the „responsible body” and the other partners will form a committee that will make decisions and select projects.²⁷

In the rural area townships there must be constructed action groups composed of local authorities, local institutions, associative structures, business representatives and relevant NGOs. These Local Action Groups (LAGs) will develop integrated strategies and will submit joint projects.²⁸

PREPARE is a partnership that was born in 2000 at the initiative of two European NGOs Forum Synergies and ECOVAST in collaboration with national rural networks from Sweden, Finland, Estonia and Hungary. It is funded from various sources both public and private, it enjoys the support of the Foundation „CS Mott” through a series of grants. This partnership has grown steadily and helped the formation of new rural networks, which joined later, in the following countries: Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Czech Republic.²⁹

PREPARE aims to strengthen civil society in the rural areas and to promote cooperation between local actors, namely governments and all stakeholders of rural development, especially in the new Member States of the European Union. It aims the welfare of the rural communities across Europe and neighbouring countries, starting from the premise that rural people have the desire and

²⁵ Theme publication, 2015, *Partnerships in Rural Areas: Civil Society Involvement in Rural Development*, No. 37, 2nd year edition, RNDR, p. 4.

²⁶ Ibidem., p. 6.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem., p. 10.

²⁹ Ibidem., p. 12.

capacity to adapt and build a better life for themselves, and in this context they need support from the civil society and the government.³⁰

In the fall of 2014 the partnership was oriented towards two main groups of countries, namely the Black Sea countries: Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, Turkey, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and the Maghreb countries: Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.³¹

NGOs are private organizations consisting of groups of people with common interests, they support and promote the interests of society and support the development of different communities. They are considered grassroots organizations, of individuals, set up to help others. These community organizations are formed by groups of individuals who have come together to promote their interests, such as women's associations, youth clubs, cooperatives and farmers associations.³²

Non-governmental organizations can support human resources development in the rural areas through training and professional counselling to help the unemployed labour force in order to reduce unemployment and exploit opportunities in the labour market. They may carry out educational programs for children and young people from rural areas by organizing public events - meetings, shows, concerts, conferences and symposiums with cultural and educational topics.³³

To help young people pursuing education NGOs can involve the parents in actions to combat school absenteeism, they should understand the crucial role of education and culture in shaping their children. Non-governmental organizations have the possibility to organize camps and creative centres for children and youth, on various topics such as literature, theatre, music, film, folk dances, ancient customs.³⁴

NGOs that form partnerships in the rural areas can provide access to the members of rural communities to training courses, information seminars, counselling and dissemination of real interest information for the rural area, employment services and mediation services. NGOs can support local authorities in providing the necessary spaces to conduct these activities.³⁵

Long-term partnerships between NGOs and local authorities can lead to the implementation of actions to stimulate entrepreneurial culture and sustainable development in rural areas and the continued promotion of equal opportunities for unoccupied social categories from the rural areas (youth, women middle aged), providing business skills applicable in the context of personal, family businesses and small farms.³⁶

Katar Singh argues that „development” implies a change that is desirable, meaning „unfolding”, „revealing” or „opening up” to something that is dormant.

³⁰. Ibidem., pp. 12-13.

³¹. Ibidem., p. 14.

³². Ibidem., pp. 23-24.

³³. Ibidem., p. 24.

³⁴. Ibidem., pp. 24-25.

³⁵. Ibidem., p. 25.

³⁶. Ibidem.

When the term is applied to human beings it refers to unfolding or opening up their potential powers.³⁷ Romanian farmers have enough potential to develop their communities, and even the country as a whole, but they need financial power to achieve these goals.

The World Bank recognizes that rural development is essential to improving the quality of life in most developing countries. Many of its programs are focusing on improving technology transfer, access to services and economic conditions in rural areas.³⁸

The campaign to support the Romanian peasants

The initiative which we present below arose from a partnership made up of three associations: The Association Growing Together Romania from Brasov, The Association Civic Intervention Group from Brasov and Agora for Life from Belgium.³⁹

The project „Adopt a peasant” is part of the Bio Romania initiative belonging to The Association Growing Together Romania, initiative that is campaigning for greening Romania, which is based on the promotion and preservation of Romanian traditions, and especially the promotion of the clean and authentic food from our country.⁴⁰

The initiative „Adopt a peasant” makes an appeal to the city inhabitants to purchase traditional products from the small producers from rural areas. At first the campaign will focus on a few cities: Bucharest, Brasov, Buzau, Covasna, Sibiu and Prahova.⁴¹

In order to achieve this objective there will be identified the local producers and their story will be presented to the public on the social network of the campaign with a short movie that will show the products that the producer has for sale, and the posts will include their contact details.⁴²

Urban residents are urged to choose and to „adopt” one of the peasants from around their hometown and to purchase products from him weekly, monthly, annually or at the interval which they both agree, depending on what and how much they produce. Finally they will establish in agreement how the product will reach the recipient from the city.

This relationship between the rural and the urban inhabitants will bring gain to both parties, firstly it encourages the local economy by helping those who live from subsistence agriculture and also helping Romanian artisans, and secondly the urban resident will eat healthy and natural products from Romania.

The initiative mentioned above has great potential and should be extended nationally so that all the cities in Romania to benefit from the real traditional products.

³⁷ Katar Singh, *Rural Development: Principles, Policies and Management*, 3rd Edition, SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009, p. 2.

³⁸ Gary Paul Green, *Handbook of Rural Development*, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013, p. 13.

³⁹ https://www.facebook.com/Adoptă-un-țăran-753535381444697/info/?tab=page_info

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ <http://www.voceatransilvaniei.ro/campanie-inedita-pentru-sprijinirea-taranilor-romanicum-vrea-o-asociatie-sa-sustina-micii-producatori-de-la-sate/>

⁴² Ibidem.

The project „Adopt a peasant” could save many lives in rural but also in urban areas. This commercial exchange can help those from the villages to survive and it may raise a little their standard of living, and in return those from the cities will receive health, these natural products will help them to lead healthier lives, free of carcinogenic chemicals, preservatives and food additives.

The figures from the Romanian Statistical Yearbook show that we have enough agricultural products per inhabitant which could be introduced in this ingenious program. In the table below we present the statistical data from the Romanian Statistical Yearbook from 2015 to demonstrate the unsuspected potential of our country.

Production of the main agricultural products, per inhabitant⁴³

	<i>M.U.</i>	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013 ¹⁾	2014 ²⁾
<i>Cereals for grains</i>	<i>kg</i>	730,2	825,5	1034,5	639,3	1045,6	1108,6
<i>Wheat</i>	<i>kg</i>	255,4	287,0	354,0	264,1	365,1	381,0
<i>Rye</i>	<i>kg</i>	1,6	1,7	1,6	0,9	1,2	1,2
<i>Maize</i>	<i>kg</i>	391,5	446,6	581,6	296,8	565,7	602,2
<i>Sunflower</i>	<i>kg</i>	53,9	62,4	88,8	69,7	107,2	110,0
<i>Sugar beet</i>	<i>kg</i>	40,1	41,4	32,8	35,9	51,5	70,2
<i>Potatoes</i>	<i>kg</i>	196,6	162,2	202,3	122,9	164,6	176,8
<i>Vegetables</i>	<i>kg</i>	191,6	190,8	207,3	176,2	198,2	191,0
<i>Fruit</i>	<i>kg</i>	65,0	70,1	73,5	56,3	65,0	65,4
<i>Meat³⁾</i>	<i>kg</i>	70,8	64,5	67,4	66,4	65,0	66,1
<i>Milk</i>	<i>litres</i>	276,8	242,7	248,5	241,0	243,8	253,8
<i>Wool</i>	<i>kg</i>	1,1	1,0	0,9	1,0	1,0	1,1
<i>Eggs</i>	<i>pieces</i>	305	306	314	319	320	333

Note: For the 2009-2014 period, the usual resident population on July 1st of each year was used, estimated under the conditions of comparability with the final results of the Population and Housing Census - 2011.

- 1) Rectified data as against those previously published.
- 2) Provisional data.
- 3) Meat calculation includes live weight of slaughtered animals for consumption.

Data source: The Romanian Statistical Yearbook 2015.

As it can be seen from the statistics the years 2011, 2013 and 2014 were extremely favourable for grain production, which increased quite a lot. The same years mentioned above were good for potatoes, vegetables and fruit, but the

⁴³ NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS, 2016, *ROMANIAN STATISTICAL YEARBOOK 2015*, Coordinator of edition: Tudorel ANDREI - President NIS, Coordinating team: Dan Ion GHERGUȚ, Mihaela Elena IAGĂR, Beátrix GERÉD, Ilie DUMITRESCU, Adriana CIUCHEA, Gheorghe VAIDA-MUNTEAN, Doina BADEA, NIS, Bucharest, p. 493.

growth of these categories was not so great. The best year for meat and milk was 2009, after that followed an alternative period of decreases and increases from year to year. Eggs have registered a steady increase starting in 2009 with 305 pieces and reaching in 2014 to 333 pieces.

Conclusion

The rural areas in Romania are, mostly, poor areas where people live a hard life with many shortcomings. Human rights organizations and the ones fighting for development must join forces to launch, in partnership with the local and central authorities, projects that help improve the living standards of people living in rural areas.

These projects aimed to help develop rural communities must respect the principles of sustainable development. When the community gets to enjoy a certain level of development and its members will have a better standard of living, we can start educating people to acknowledge and respect human rights. To educate the community to respect human rights, the members of that community must have at least the basic needs fulfilled.

In the development of a community, whether rural or urban, the most important thing is to respect the principles of sustainable development, it is essential that future generations can enjoy the resources, beauties and wonders of this earth.

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https://www.facebook.com/Adopta-un-taran-753535381444697/info/?tab=page_info

QUALITY OF LIFE ASSESSMENT AT THE ELDERLY – EFFICIENT METHOD OF CARE

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Abstract: *Population ageing is one of the most critical issues we face. It is accompanied by overwhelming health problems, but also social and economic problems. Fertility and mortality rates continue to decline being the main cause of population ageing¹. From this perspective Romania is a country with an ageing population, the share of population over 60years was 20.3% in 2010 (National Institute of Statistics of Romania). Western and most recently Eastern European countries, as well as countries from Asia and Africa, have reviewed the social and economic policies on ageing, proposed and carried out special programs aiming to improve the elderly quality of life². Chronic diseases are often comorbidities in older people, lowering functionality, reducing the quality of life and increasing long-term care or health care costs in general. In „Sf. Luca” Hospital Bucharest, we designed a study on the quality of life of elderly patients diagnosed with cancer using specific scales, the WHO Quality of Lyfe Scale and Rotterdam Symptom Checklist Scale in order to cover multiple dimensions of personal life: physical and mental health, dependency rate, social health, environmental issues, spiritual life, activities of daily living, and scales of physical and mental suffering caused by cancer.*

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¹ WHO: World Health Statistics 2010.

² Demography The third Report 2010- EU

Using these tools to assess quality of life is very helpful for the medical team in order to make medical care services more effective and efficient.

Keywords: *quality of life, elderly, care services.*

Introduction

Population ageing, one of the most critical issues that humanity deals with is accompanied by health, social and economic problems. On September 2011 in New York, United Nations summit held on chronic diseases. According to World Health Organization, chronic diseases such as cancer, diabetes, heart disease, stroke account for 63% of deaths in the world³. Chronic diseases affecting the elderly population, associated in comorbidities more often contribute to functional incapacity, diminish the quality of life and lead to increased demands for medical services and thus long-term care costs. Ageing is a process in which quality of life represents a priority and a goal. Researches dedicated to quality of life are particularly useful for medical practice, aiming at quality of life dimensions expressed by: emotional and mental well-being, interpersonal relations, material wealth, personal affirmation, physical well-being, independence, social integration, providing basic human rights^{4,5}. Over 800 generic and specific instruments are known to assess quality of life in the medical field⁶. The purpose of using these tools is multiple: the detection of psychosocial problems, evaluating the benefits of medical treatment, medical evaluation activity, the design of effective health care programs⁷. An elderly patient needs are not just the symptoms, he needs understanding, information and human presence. Geriatrics and gerontology are branches belonging not only to biology and medicine, but also to philosophy and humanities. As physicians should advocate for geriatrics active ageing, sick elderly quality of life, protection of rights and interests of our patients^{8,9}.

Methods

This is a prospective study on 90 patients, mean age $72.5 \pm 8.95y$, 53.33% women, hospitalized in 2014 in "Sf. Luca" Hospital, Bucharest, Romania. The

³ UN summit – *Prevention and Control of Non-communicable Diseases Political Declaration*, September 2011.

⁴ A. Leplège, S. Hunt, *The problem of Quality of Life in Medicine in: Journal of American Medical Association*, 278, 47–50, 1997.

⁵ J. Alison, I.J. Higginson, *Measuring Quality of Life: Are quality of life measures patient centered?* in: *British Medical Journal*, 322, 1357–1360, 2001.

⁶ A. Bowling, M. Keynes, *Measuring health: A review of quality of life measurement scale*, Open University Press, 1997.

⁷ B. Neil, D.L. Dumitrașcu, I. Lupu, D.I. Dumitrașcu, G. Breaz, E. Vatman, D. Perșa, *New Heart Disease Related Quality of Life Questionnaire-the official Romanian version, A brief presentation in: Romanian Journal of Cognitive and Behavioral Psychoterapies*, 3, 189–197, 2003.

⁸ I. Zanc, I. Lupu, *Medical Bioethics. Principles, Dilemmas, Solutions*, Cluj-Napoca, "Iuliu Hațieganu" Medical University Printing Press, 2004.

⁹ A. Rumboldt, M. Graham, *Ethics in Nursing Practice*, London, Baillière Tindall, 1997.

patients diagnosed with cancer of different locations were evaluated from the perspective of quality of life using the following instruments: Rotterdam Symptom Checklist (RSCL) and The WHO Quality of Life Scale (short version in Romanian). Patients included in this study were collected demographic data: age, sex, place of residence. The study was approved by the Ethical Committee of Hospital by the principles of the Declaration of Helsinki of the World Medical Association.

Material

Checklist RSCL consists of 37 items and **3 main subscales of:** physical symptom caused by cancer (21 items)=Range 22-88p; psychological symptom caused by cancer (8 items)=Range 7-28p; daily activities (8 items)=Range 1-7-32p.

The **WHO Quality of Life Scale** (short version in Romanian) includes six areas: quality of physical and mental (psychic) life, degree of independence, social and spiritual quality of life and environmental quality of life.

Aim

The study analyzed: The relationship between RSCL score and: general health/quality of life, the reported types of cancer, the associated diseases and the commonly incriminated symptoms.

Results

1. Statistics: Out of 90 patients enrolled in the study 53.33% are women, by age groups over 50% from young old (60-70y), 30% elderly (70-80y) and 14% very old (80y). 35.55% are from urban area. Lung cancer is the most common (48%) followed by breast cancer (29%) and the abdominal and prostate cancer are similar percentages of 11-12% (**Fig.1**). The most common associated diseases are Ischemic cardiac disease (71%) and High blood pressure (59%) and Dementia (36%).

2. Results of the relation between RSCL score and

a) **General health:** 57 patients (63.33%) get high scores (101-143p) indicating worse general health. 86% of men achieve scores above 100p, suggesting bad general health, comparative with women which get low scores (59-99p) in rate of 56%, suggesting better general health (**Fig.2**).

b) **The types of cancer reported:** All patients with breast cancer get low scores (59-100p). 86% of patients with pulmonary cancer get very high scores (102-143), as well as those with abdominal cancer (105-137p). Half of patients with prostate cancer get average score (89p) that can represent therapeutic successes in this type of cancer (**Fig.3**).

c) **The associated diseases:** The patients without co morbidities get low scores (59-83p). The patients with hypertension (HBP) get high scores (129p), general health depending not only on the type of cancer but also on the hypertension degree. Very high scores achieve patients with diabetes mellitus, dementia and hip fracture (102-143p) (**Fig.4**).

d) **Distribution of the symptoms at elderly patients:** Fatigue is a symptom frequently incriminated both sexes, regardless of cancer (39%). Nausea and vomiting are predominant symptoms in women with breast cancer (26%).

Medium level pain, loss of appetite, constipation are found in both sexes, with abdominal cancer (3-7%). Diarrhea is claimed especially by women with abdominal cancer (9%). Dyspnea are common especially in men with lung cancer (40%). Emotional damage (tension, worry, nervousness, depression) is evident in both sexes, mainly in women (32%) (Fig.5).

3. Results of the WHO Quality of Life Scale: Higher score indicates a better overall health. 35.63% of patients have low (bad) scores regarding the degree of independence. For all patients the scores were satisfactory, almost good in terms for spiritual life. In terms of both physical and mental quality of life for a rate of 60% of patients have average scores (satisfactory) and only a small percentage of them (12%) have low scores (general malaise). The scores for quality of social life and living environment are average, similar for all surveyed patients (Table 1).

Conclusions

Physical symptoms present and objected to RSCL are in direct relation to gender and type of reported cancer. Women getting a lower RSCLscore representing a better quality of life than men. The consumptive cancers (abdominal and pulmonary) shows lower brutally the quality of life. There is a direct proportion between RSC Lscores obtained and the presence of comorbidities, suggesting poor quality of life for chronic diseases such hypertension, diabetes mellitus, dementia or hip fracture. General health obtained by WHO-Q Lscale is directly proportional with physical and mental quality of life. The degree of independence adversely affects cancer patients' quality of life, regardless of gender. A low operating level is associated with a large number of unmet needs. Spiritual life increases the cancer patients' quality of life, regardless of gender.

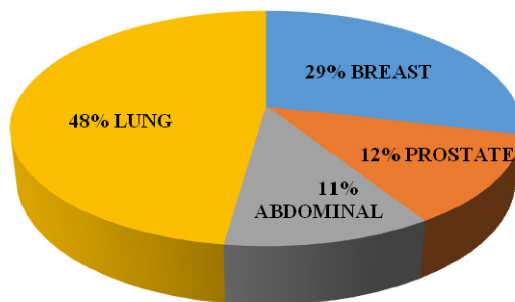


Fig.1 - The prevalence of cancer by location

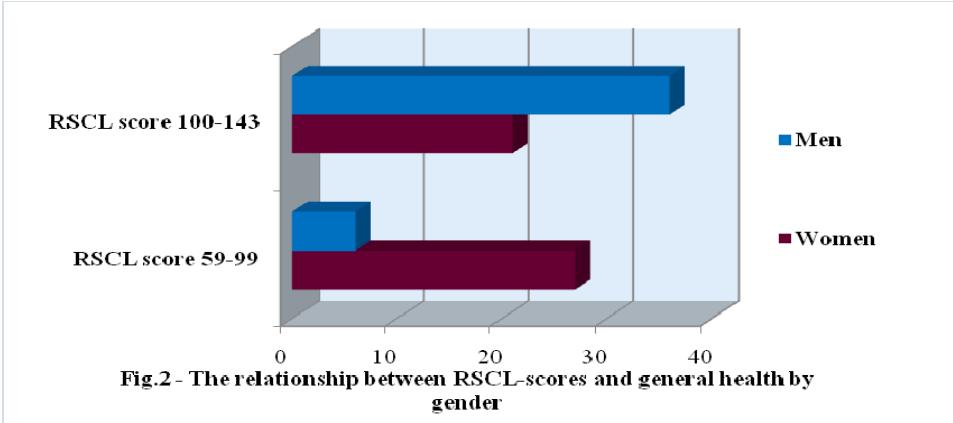


Fig.2- The relationship between RSCL-scores and general health by gender

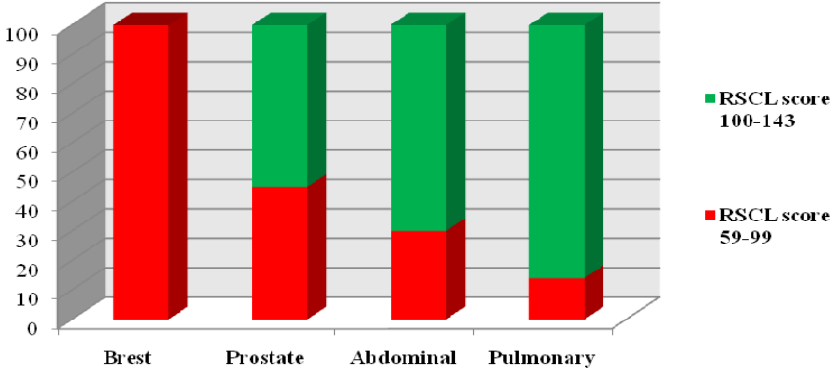


Fig.3- The relation between RSCL score and type of cancer

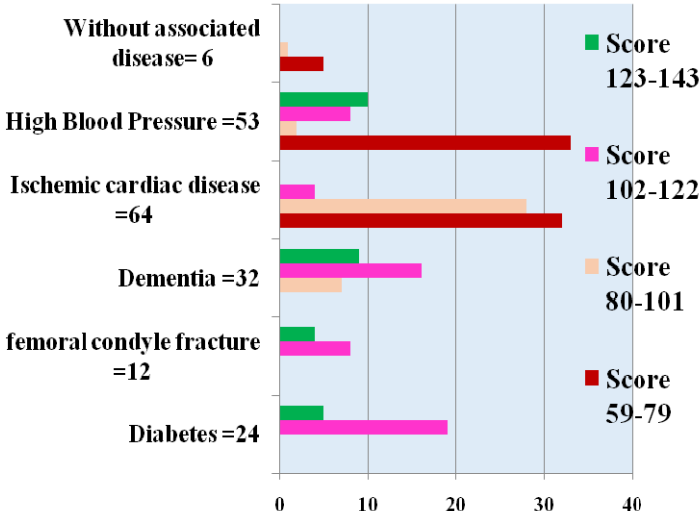


Fig.4- Relation between the RSCL score and the associated disease

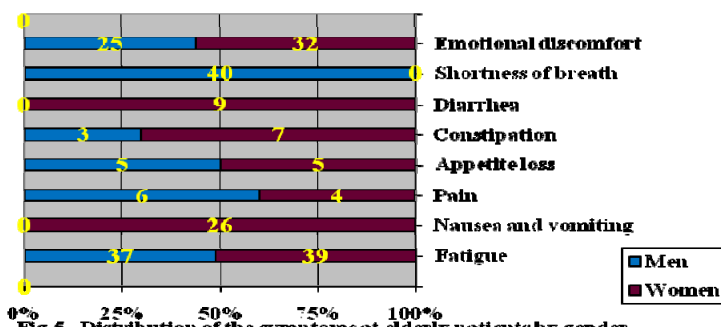


Fig.5- Distribution of the symptoms at elderly patients by gender

Quality of life/ medical categories	PHYSICAL	PSYCHIC	LEVEL OF INDEPENDENCE	SOCIAL	ENVIRONMENT AL	SPIRITUAL LIFE QUALITY
Excellent						
Good						11.11%
Good enough	58.88%	65.55%		8.88%	11.11%	2.22%
Satisfactory	28.88%	26.66%		14.44%	82.22%	86.66%
Quite bad	7.7%	3.3%	7.77%	76.66%	6.66%	
Bad	3.3%	3.3%	13.49%			
Very bad	1.1%	1.1%	78.74%			

Table 1. The WHO QoL Scale

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DATA MINING IN THE BANKING SYSTEM

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Abstract: *Large data archives are now kept in electronic banking and financial institutions. The large size makes it impossible to analyze their data by man and this has led to some models to help in the decision making process. This paper discusses the areas that can be applied, namely: risk management, credit risk, financial risk, etc. in which case the techniques used for data mining can be used in banks and financial institutions to improve their business.*

Keywords: *bank, CRM, data mining, financial institutions, system.*

1. Introduction

The most important and valuable assets for a profit are represented by data, and data mining allows knowledge extraction of known data, specifying future values at the same time helping to optimize business decisions to be taken in business. Data mining techniques can help solve the problems in the financial and banking institutions in the development of patterns of correlations between information so that the results will be evident because the volume of data is large.

In addition to data mining techniques there is also Business Intelligence that can identify customers and products on which rules can be set so as to better revenue management¹.

Data mining tools used in large databases can facilitate:

- automatic discovery of patterns known
- trends and behavior data

The IT sector has helped financial and banking sectors to cope with all the challenges in the economy. We know that banks have a strong relationship with customers becoming an important factor for their success.²

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¹ Dass Rajanish, *Data mining in banking and finance: a note for bankers*, Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad.

² B. Subashini, Dr. K. Chitra, *Data Mining Techniques and its Applications in Banking Sector in International Journal of Emerging Technology and Advanced Engineering*, Volume 3, Issue 8, August 2013.

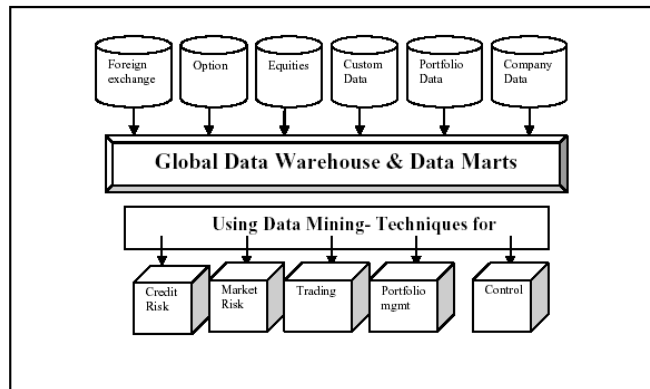


Figure 1. Using Data Mining Technique in different financial activities

The categories to which Data Mining and Business Intelligence can be applied can be seen as follows:³

- *Management portfolio;*
- *Management customer relationships.* Banking financial institutions have large database containing customer information, information that can be extracted from these data stores. Data Mining can be used in all three stages of the customer relationship, as follows: a stage to attract customers, customer value growth stage and control stage⁴. The information collected is used for different purposes such as to perform marketing research or to analyze the market according to customer needs;⁵
- *Risk managemet.* Data Mining techniques help customers analysis: if they make payments or delay in the rate on credit cards, they can distinguish borrowers who are involved or if they offer a bad loan, etc.
- *Financial risk.* The risk generally can be defined as the result of an accident which causes a trader adverse consequences. It can be said that the result of any banking transactions is subject to potential risk. The most important are: currency risk, equity risk, credit risk, interest rate risk, etc.
- *Credit risk.* One of the main components in the lending process is the credit risk. Credit risk is the risk that represents unrealized losses or profits, so it is achieved due to non-fulfillment of contractual obligations or due to external causes to the contract.

2. Algorithms and Data Mining techniques used

The algorithms used in data mining can solve various problems that can be solved and modeled and the functions used are divided into two categories:

³ J. M. Zytkow and W. Klösgen, *Handbook of Data Mining and Knowledge Discovery*. New York: Oxford, 2002;

⁴ Rajanish Dass, *Data Mining in Banking and Finance: A Note for Bankers*, Indian Institute of Management Ahmadabad, 2006;

⁵ S.S. Kaptan, *New Concepts in Banking*, Sarup and Sons, Edition, 2002;

- a. Supervised learning has the following features:
- it contains input data and their responses;
 - it is equivalent to optimizing an error function measuring the difference between the responses it must produce and those they produce;

The algorithms used are:

- *Decision trees* are used in Classification. Decision trees are used in selecting the best direction when uncertainty appears. Algorithms are used in data mining to business problems.

A decision tree consists of:

- decision points;
- points of opportunity;
- natural conditions;
- gains.
- Generalized linear models used in Classification and Regression;
- Naive Bayes used in classification. Bayes technique is less widely implemented in data mining and the technique is a classification method which is based on the name of Thomas Bayes (1702-1761). This technique allows to make an analysis between independent and dependent variables using the probability theory for each of the relationships.

- Support Vector Machine used in Classification and Regression. This algorithm has been introduced in 92 by Böser, Guyon & Vapnik and has become from then until now the most popular since it is easy to be used and solves a great variety of problems

b. Unsupervised learning has the following features:

- it contains only data entry;
- it is based on statistical properties of the data;
- it is based on a conceptual model extracted from the data but not on the concept of the error function;

The algorithms used are:⁶

- K - Means. This algorithm is one of the simplest algorithms that solve problems related to the group. In this algorithm there are a number of clusters k (center) established a priori, cluster that is found in each group , and its purpose is to minimize the objective function knowing that the function square error is given by:

$$J(V) = \sum_{i=1}^c \sum_{j=1}^{c_i} (\|x_i - v_j\|)^2$$

where:

$\|x_i - v_j\|$ is the Euclidean distance between x_i and v_j

c_j is the number of points

c is the number of clusters

⁶ Bharati M. Ramager, *Data Mining Techniques And Applications in International Journal of Computer Science and Engineering*, 2009;

This algorithm has the following advantages:

- it is easy to understand and quick;
- when datasets are separated from each other or are separate, then they provide the best results;

It has the following disadvantages:

- the number of clusters must be stated;
- if there are two or more classes overlapped, this algorithm does not solve and specifies the number of classes;
- Non - Negative Matrix factorization (NMF). It is used for decomposition of multivariate data. Here we meet two algorithms, i.e. minimizing the least squares and the other minimizes the divergence of Kullback – Leibler’s theory.
- One Class Support Vector Machine.

Data Mining Techniques used are:

- association and succession. The association and correlation are used for finding items commonly used in large data sets. In this technique it is found if an event is or is not connected to another event. Association rules include: association multidimensional rule, quantitative association rule, direct association rule, indirect Association rule, Association rule on several levels⁷. This technique generates models evidencing rules of correlation between attributes set.
- clustering. The clustering is to identify objects that have similar classes. This technique combines transactions that have similar behavior in one group⁸. This technique is used for grouping similar entities from a data set showing major differences compared to a group.
- classification. Classification is the technique most used in Data Mining, starting with a set of data to develop a high model. In this type of analysis are well suited the applications for detecting the fraud and credit risk. The classification test data are used to estimate the accuracy of classification rules.^{9,10}

3. Application concerning knowledge extraction from large data volumes

In order to carry out the application we started from the implementation of a warehouse in SQL Developer that is based on a questionnaire concerning the launch on the market of a bank credit card for students at Piraeus Bank. The application was made on classifications performed with the help of Oracle Data Mining, application called `w_classification_2`. In this application we selected

⁷ Bharati M. Ramager, *Data Mining Techniques And Applications* in *International Journal of Computer Science and Engineering*, 2009;

⁸ Hillol Kargupta, Anupam Joshi, Krishnamoorthy Siva Kumar, Yelena Yesha, *Data Mining: Next Generation Challenges and Future Directions*, Publishers: Prentice-Hall of India, Private Limited, 2005;

⁹ S.S. Kaptan, N S Chobey, *Indian Banking in Electronic Era*, Sarup and Sons, Edition 2002;

¹⁰ S.S. Kaptan, *New Concepts in Banking*, Sarup and Sons, Edition, 2002.

V_DM_QUESTIONNAIRE table, the target WAS SC and CaseID: IT was CODE_CLIENT.

From the connection made, we selected Support Vector Machine, Decision Trees and Naïve Bayes after we saw the results that occurred.

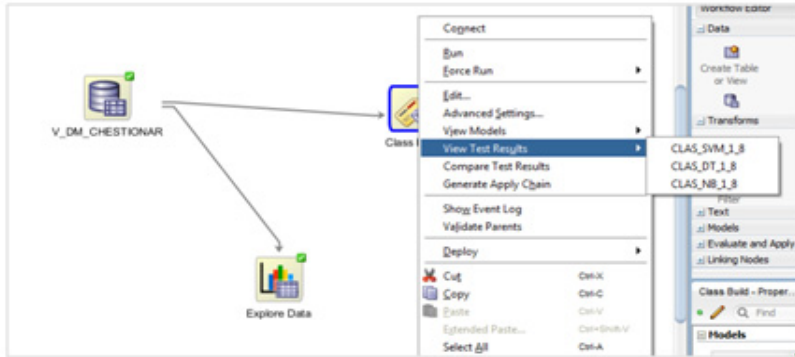


Figure 1 - Comparing the results

From the graph designed for CLASS SVM we can notice that, if its performance is studied, the algorithm has the average accuracy of 8.3255% and the predictive confidence of 3.9601%.

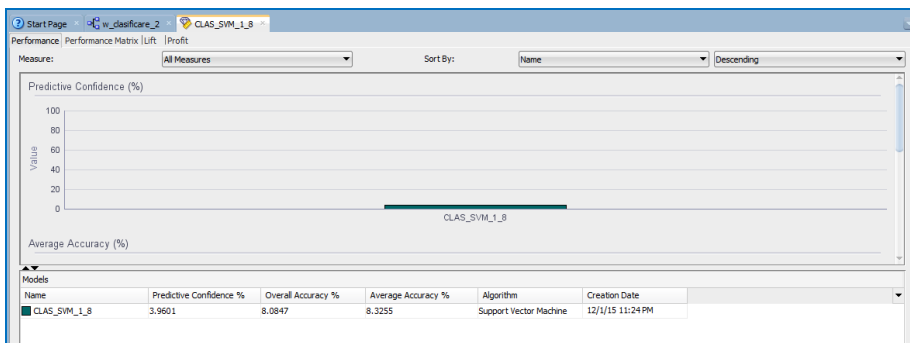


Figure 2 – Class SVM (performance)

From the costs matrix, for the SVM model we can notice that the average accuracy is 8.3255. For the prediction of 0% we have 45 instances which are related to the value 2578, also 45 instances related to the value 3,899, and again 45 instances related to the value 55,689, while for the prediction of 100% we have 45 instances related to the value 22,247,696.

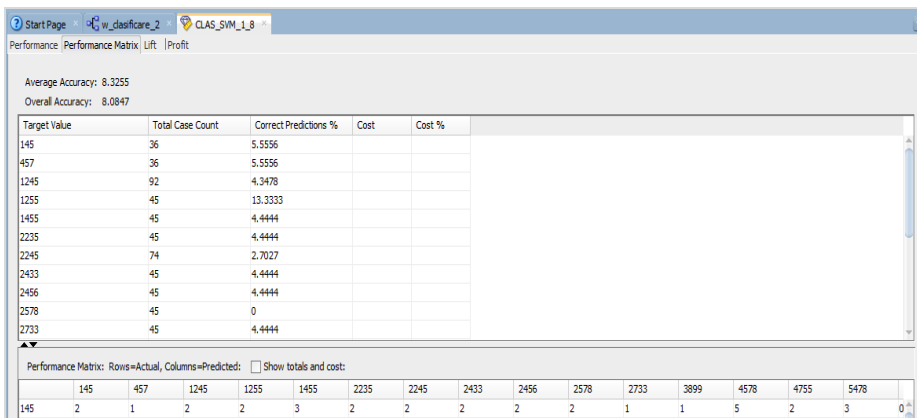


Figure 3 – Class SVM (Matrix Performance)

From the above chart we can notice a high learning rate of the model within the quintiles ranging between 65 and 96 having cumulative records of 21.1742%. Basically, the concept of lift can be understood as a ratio of two percentages: the percentage of the positive correct classification of the model and the percentage of positive real classification resulting from the testing data.



Figure 4 – Class SVM

From the graph designed for CLAS DT we can see that, if its performance is studied, the algorithm has the average accuracy of 59.0909% and the predictive confidence of 57.1429%.

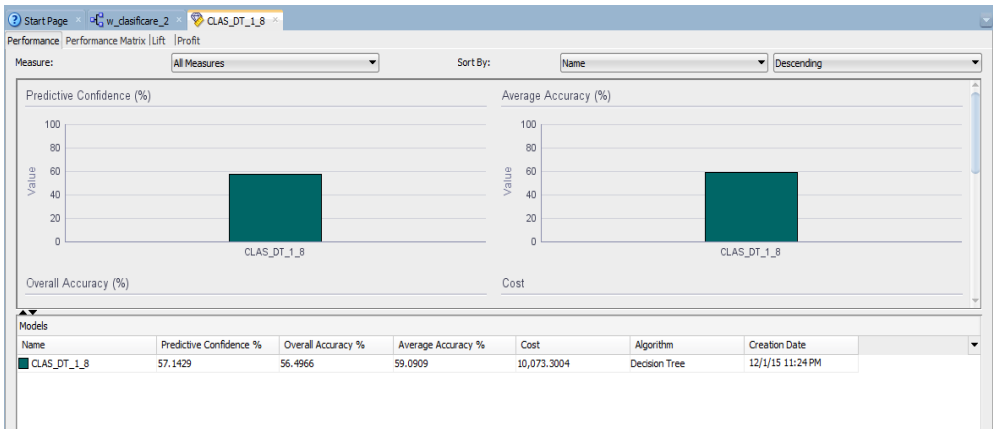


Figure 5 – Class DT (performance)

From the matrix costs, for DT model we can see that the average accuracy is 59.0909.

For the prediction 0% we have 92 courts/instances which are related to the value 1245 and 45 instances related to the values 3899, 1255, 2235, 2456, 2578, 2733, 88 789 and 102 354, and for the prediction of 100% we have 36 instances related to the values 145, 457 and 5478, 45 instances related to the values 1455, 2433, 3899, 4578, 4755, 22543, 55 689, 74 665 855 and 22,247,696 and 74 instances related to the value 2245.

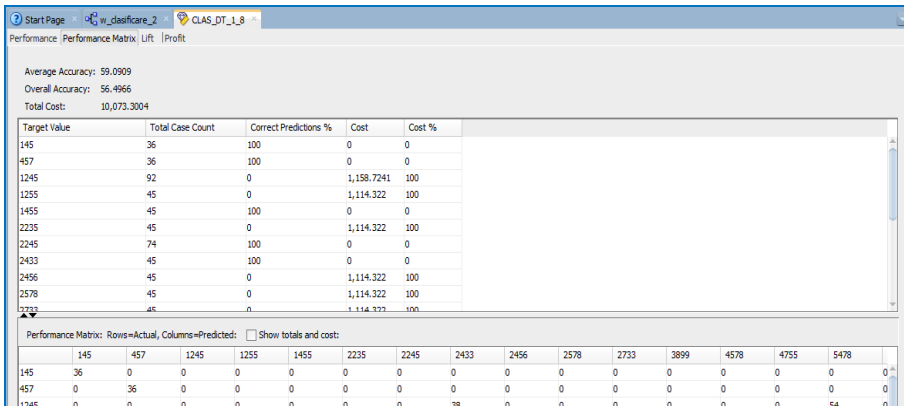


Figure 6.7 – Class DT (Matrix Performance)

From the graph below we can observe a high learning rate of the model, an increase in the quintiles, having cumulative records of 21.1742% and the cumulative target density of 0.2045.

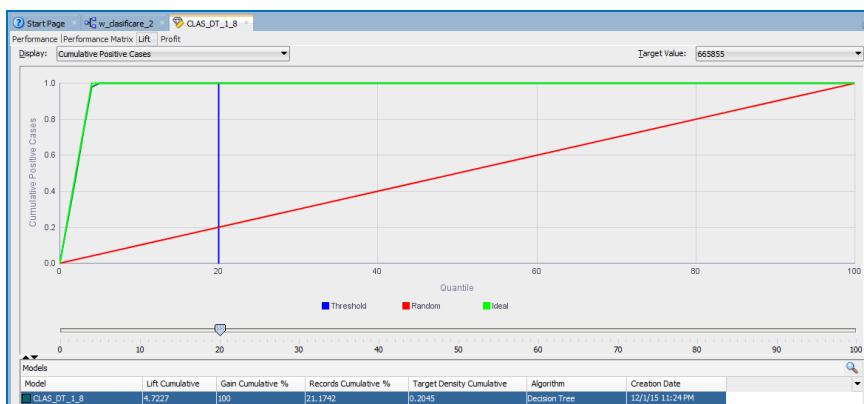


Figure 6.8 – Class DT

From the graph designed for CLAS NB we can see that, if its performance is studied, the algorithm has average accuracy of 79.1502% and 78.1573% the predictive confidence of 78.1573% (Figure 6.9)

From the costs matrix (Figure 6.10), for DT model we can notice that the average accuracy is 59,0909.

For the prediction 0% we have 45 instances related to the values 1255, 2235, 2578, 5578, for the prediction of 41,3043% we have 92 instances related to the value 1245, and for the prediction of 100% we have instances related to the values 36 145, 457 and 5478, 45 instances related to the values 1455, 2433, 2456, 2733, 3899, 4578, 4755, 22543, 55689, 88789, 102354, 665855, 22247696 and 74 instances related to the values 2245. From the graph designed, we can notice a high learning rate of the model, an increase in the quintiles having cumulative records of 21.1742% and the cumulative target density of de 0.2045.

Conclusions

In order to extract information from data is used the tool Data Mining is used that allows us to make more accurate decisions. The data is analyzed in the whole banking system supporting decision-making.

Many industries, including banking, telecommunications, etc. use Data Mining because the applications utilized are used in detecting credit card fraud, predicting customer behavior in banking, etc.

The techniques used by Data Mining can help banking and financial institutions, namely: to detect fraud, to acquire new customers, to analyze existing models and achieve their market trend and new models to be launched.

Data Mining has applications in almost all fields and is therefore one of the most important frontiers between information and database systems with a promising trend in the field of information technology.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF SAUSSURIAN STRUCTURALISM

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Abstract: *Ferdinand de Saussure did not intend to focus on a linguistic or communicational model, but his pioneering studies in linguistics outlined a 'structural' model, that highlighted the relationship between elements of communication around the nucleus message-meaning. The Swiss linguist abandoned the practice of studying the origin of languages and tried to describe the 'structure' of language. With his positioning, Saussure founded a new way to approach linguistics, anthropology, communication, psychology et al., namely structuralism, which aimed at studying the organized wholes. The real development of structuralism occurred after the death of Ferdinand de Saussure, even if the groundwork in structural approaches remained, for all structuralist researchers, Cours de linguistique générale.*

Keywords: *structuralism, linguistics, communication, language (langue), Ferdinand de Saussure.*

In full approach of Indo-Germanic diachronic linguistics, the Swiss professor Ferdinand de Saussure laid the foundations of a different perspective that would lead, over the years to the setting of a distinct research perspective: structuralism. Moreover, reforming the linguistic way of thinking, he established the semiology (or semiotics), framing linguistics within the large limits of this new scientific area. With the experience of teaching some Indo-European languages: Sanskrit, Persian, Lithuanian, old German or Latin, both at *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris and at The University of Geneva, the Swiss professor imposed a new direction, with teaching the course on general linguistics, *i.e.* since 1906. Moreover, this period, rich in terms of organizing new contents, will be later on reflected in a reference work for future generations of linguists, semioticians and researchers in the field of communication theories: *Cours de linguistique générale*¹.

Professor Saussure died in 1913, without managing to publish his studies. *Cours de linguistique générale*, being published for the first time in 1916, is the result of his students' transcription of course notes and conferences held between

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¹ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, Paris, Bibliothèque scientifique Payot, 1972 (first published in 1919).

1907-1911. His book is groundwork, both in terms of disciplinary areas organization (semiotics) and structure of a distinct methodological apparatus and of a new theory: structuralism. Regarding the latter aspect, the structural(ist) model concerns the relations between the components of the communication acts, so as to create meaning, which, in terms of communication, implies moving the focus from the process and actors to the message. Structuralism, today understood in terms of reductionism, as an early stage in the history of linguistics (until Chomsky's generative grammar appeared²), is actually a much broader concept, which refers to an explanatory model of linguistic system, as a structure mediating between objective reality and subjective perception. Even though this term is never mentioned throughout the book *Cours de linguistique générale*, no conceptual limits were traced and the subject was not defined, structuralism originates in Saussure's fundamental work. That is because the proposed language study method may be viewed as organized (organic) whole and not as summative whole. Sebeok³ was the one to reformulate, in a Popperian manner, a method that transcends popperianism, defining Saussure's structuralism as involving a successive reduction of variants to invariants and postulating the organic/natural characteristic of parts.

Regarding the foundation of semiotics, it is important to understand how the enhancement of 'organic' subject of linguistics was made. This subject does not involve a physical reality, but a distinct entity, language. Once the language, seen as a system of signs, is a particular case of other sign codes, it means that linguistics, discipline that aims at studying language – no matter the approached perspective – is a particular case of semiology, as well. But, to understand the relations between linguistics and semiotics, let's try to read Saussure work in relation to four proposed distinctions⁴.

Starting from the idea that language is itself a dual study subject, the first of these dichotomies refers to, in the attempt to define the coverage area of linguistics, the difference between language (*langage*) and speech. Language (*langue*), defined as „*le produit social déposé dans le cerveau de chacun*”⁵, exists within linguistic community as an amount of semantic prints, deposited in the minds of this community representatives, like a dictionary whose copies, in circulation equal to the number of speakers of that language, are fairly shared to them. On the other hand, speech (*parole*) represents putting language in act. If language, understood as a code, represents the study object of linguistics, speech is concerned only with particular occurrences, language facts, namely, its effective use. The fundamental difference between the two elements, *langue* and *parole*, is that it is not only a function of the speaking subject, but also a product that the individual passively records. Basically, *langue* is a convention and *parole* is

² Noam Chomsky, *Three Models for the Description of Language*, *IRE Transactions on Information Theory*, no.2(3)/1956, pp.113-124

³ Thomas Sebeok, *Playing with Phantasms. Semiotics and Anthropology*, Bucharest, All Educational Publishing House, 2002, p.68.

⁴ Nicoleta Corbu, *The Semiotic School: Building the Meaning*, in Paul Dobrescu, Alina Bârgăoanu, Nicoleta Corbu, *History of Communication*, Bucharest, comunicare.ro Publishing House, 2007, p. 218.

⁵ Ferdinand de Saussure, cited work, p.44.

putting into act that particular convention so as to create meaning. The sum of the two entities, *langue* and *parole*, forms the language (*langage*) that cannot be classified in any category of human facts. Language (*langage*) is multiform and heteroclitic, while language (*langue*), one of its constituents, is a whole in itself and constitutes a principle of classification⁶. Even if it is a whole in itself, the language (*langue*) is, paradoxically, a theoretical construct, a simple way of understanding language facts, and a social institution that escapes premeditation and it is not subject to the rules of external reality organization, which he describes. Language (*langage*), however, is the only case in Saussure's dichotomies (Lesenciuc, 2010:91), the only structure built by exceeding structuralist principles, but, curiously, that was the basis of defining the structuralist theory⁷:

*Évitant de stériles définitions de mots, nous avons d'abord distingué, au sein du phénomène total que représente le langage, deux facteurs: la langue et la parole. La langue est pour nous le langage moins la parole*⁸.

Starting from the previous dichotomy, we witness the birth of the one regarding the particular sign. The manner in which the speech act has two facets, in the same way, the sign itself, as a tool in language, has two facets too. The language (*langue*) print on the sign is like a concept, while that of speech represents the acoustic image. For a more precise delimitation, Saussure keeps the *sign* notation to denote the concept combination with the acoustic image:

*Nous proposons de conserver le mot signe pour désigner le total, et de remplacer concept et image acoustique respectivement par signifié et signifiant; ces derniers termes ont l'avantage de marquer l'opposition qui les sépare soit entre eux, soit du total dont ils font partie*⁹.

The signified is therefore the mental concept, the linguistic community members agreed meaning, the semantic print from the mind of each signs user, while *the signifier* designates the visible, physical existence of the sign, initially called acoustic image (noting that, in *Cours de linguistique générale*, the Swiss semiotician distinguishes between verbal and graphical signifiers, the linguistic object not being defined by combining the written word with the uttered one, and *langue* being seen separable from the alphabet). Considering enough to define the signifier by appeal to the acoustic image, Saussure believes it takes place in time and it has the same features as time has: it represents a duration and it is measurable in one dimension. Thus, the signification relation is defined as the association between the sign and the external reality, more precisely, between

⁶ Idem, p.25.

⁷ Adrian Lesenciuc, *Theory of Communication*, Braşov, 'Henri Coandă' Air Force Academy Publishing House, 2010, p.91.

⁸ Ferdinand de Saussure, cited work, p.112.

⁹ Idem, p.99.

signified and that particular reality. In a graphical representation, the signifying relation may take the following form:

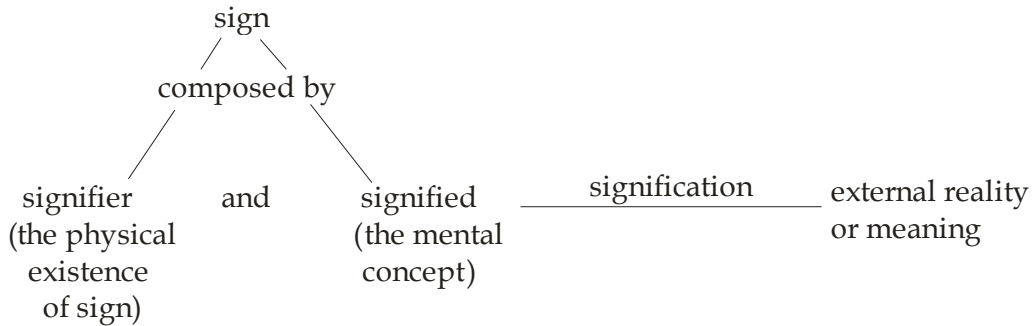


Fig. 1 The signifying relation in Saussure`s model (apud Fiske¹⁰)

In the signifying relation, the connections between signifier and signified are not direct, but mediated, following the linguistic convention: „*Le lien unissant le signifiant au signifié est arbitraire, ou encore, puisque nous entendons par signe le total résultant de l'association d'un signifiant à un signifié, nous pouvons dire simplement: le signe linguistique est arbitraire*”¹¹. The principle of arbitrariness has as foundation, the fact that an organic, natural relation cannot be built between the mental concept and the acoustic image, this “pair of heterogeneous objects” being conventional. The arbitrariness of signifier-signified association leads to the sign arbitrariness, namely, to the lack of direct link between signifier and the external reality.

At the sign level, the whole is not an addition of constituent elements, but a functional, structural whole. The linguistic sign, according to the light dual structure model: wave + particle, becomes functional only if the two sides overlap. Moreover, the sign dual nature (concept + acoustic image) leads to the language dual nature (thought + utterance). If, at the sign level, one can hardly operate with the term of mediator, this being the attribute of meaning, seen as a language print, at the language level, the role of mediator between the entity devoid of materiality (thought) and spirituality (utterance) is the language attribute:

*Le rôle caractéristique de la langue vis-à-vis de la pensée n'est pas de créer un moyen phonique matériel pour l'expression des idées, mais de servir d'intermédiaire entre la pensée et le son, dans des conditions telles que leur union aboutit, nécessairement à des délimitations réciproques d'unités*¹².

Following the idea of mediation between thinking and uttering (thought and speech), Saussure proposes a way of meaning construction by appealing to

¹⁰ John Fiske, *Introduction into Communication Science*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2003, p.67.

¹¹ Ferdinand de Saussure, cited work, p.100.

¹² Idem, p.156.

differences, i.e. by knowledge of how signs function through appeal to differences, and not to assigned meanings. This approach of the structural whole, probably discussed in class by the Swiss professor, but not included in *Cours de linguistique générale*, would be later on named in his notes, fundamental principle of semiology (or of “language” usually designed as language, and not because of previous stages):

*In language there are no signs, no meaning, but **differences** between signs and **differences** between meanings, which 1. exist exclusively ones in relation to the others (in both directions), being therefore inseparable and solidary, but 2. that will never come to correspond directly. From here, one can immediately draw the conclusion that, in both areas, (in fact, inseparable), everything is **negative** in language, relying on a complicated opposition, with no need of any kind of positive fact intervention¹³.*

Therefore, classical graphical representations of the sign in Saussurean studies interpretation, i.e. classic semiologic (semiotic) triangles, are only ways to reduce to non-structuralist interpretation of a structural, functional whole, i.e. language, whose print is visible in a sign.

Focusing the linguistics study on language, Saussure found that he can operate on two distinct directions: the first one, the *synchrony*, related to a certain moment of its development, the other one, *diachrony*, aiming at language history, throughout its evolution. As the beginning of last century in linguistics was characterized by the influence of two schools, French at the synchronic level, and Indo-Germanic the diachronic level, and as Saussure belonged to the former one, his course on general linguistics focused on the synchronic dimension, although issues related to diachrony were not abandoned. The Swiss professor reminds us, among other things, phenomena regarding diachronic approach, like language mutability (generated by signs arbitrariness) and collective inertia resistance to linguistic innovation, but, starting from the statement „*A n'importe quelle époque et si haut que nous remontions, la langue apparaît toujours comme un héritage de l'époque précédente*”¹⁴. He admits that the only object of linguistics is a normal, regular life of an already established idiom, namely, the only way (later on defined as structuralist) to study how language functions, is that of synchronic linguistics. The choice of synchrony is due to a certain particularity of diachronic facts, which does not depend only on an external feature, but also on the internal one, under the action of which the linguistic system moves and that does not behave on a regular basis, while synchronic facts possess a certain regularity, with no imperative characteristic. From this perspective, „*l'objet de la linguistique synchronique générale est d'établir les principes fondamentaux de tout système idiosynchrone, les facteurs*

¹³ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Writings on General Linguistics*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2002/2004, p.75.

¹⁴ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, p.105.

*constitutifs de tout état de langue*¹⁵. The synchronic linguistics option has been also explained in another Saussurian text, in a sketch of a book designed by the Swiss linguist, discovered in 1996, where he states that: „*Speech is a phenomenon; it represents the practice of a talent found in humans. Language is consistent of all forms that this phenomenon takes within a community of individuals and at a determined period of time*”¹⁶.

The last dichotomy proposed in *Cours de linguistique générale*, later on exploited in communication theories, starts from the idea of fixing on every linguistic term, that became *articulus*, an idea, or, its signification. We understand by this an association (continuing the dichotomy signifier-signified) between form and content, opposing surfaces and not separable ones, language (*langue*) becoming thus comparable to a sheet of paper: „*La langue est encore comparable à une feuille de papier: la pensée est le recto et le son est le verso; on ne peut pas découper le recto sans découper en même temps le verso*”¹⁷. Basically, the form-content dichotomy contributes, on the one hand, to the perception of signifier-signified dichotomy not as a summative whole, but inseparable in its component parts, on the other hand, to association of language with form and not with content¹⁸.

Constituting itself into an essential work in the field of linguistics, semiology/semiotics and in shaping structuralism principles, *Cours de linguistique générale* focuses on language issues, arbitrary and differential signs system, collective product of linguistic groups, shared among its members, as long as „*la linguistique a pour unique et véritable objet la langue envisagée en elle-même et pour elle-même*”¹⁹. The work is fundamental and foundational in other fields of study, as well: communication sciences, cultural studies, anthropology and it is recommended to be consulted for an adequate initiation in communication theories that switch the focus from actors and process onto relation.

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¹⁵ Idem, p.141.

¹⁶ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Writings on General Linguistics*, p.131.

¹⁷ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, p.157.

¹⁸ Idem, p.169.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

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