

# *Cogita*

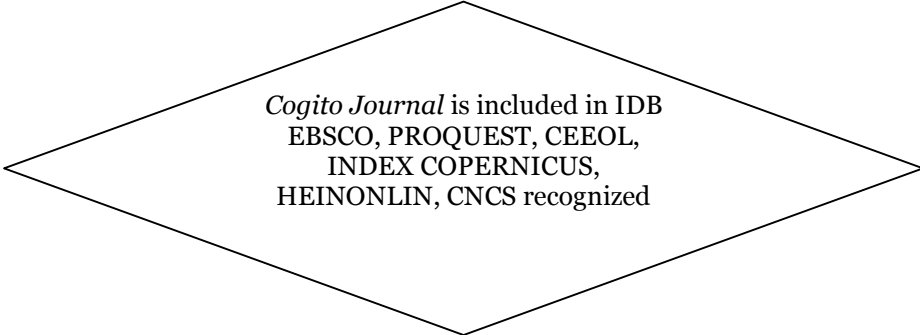
**MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH JOURNAL**

Vol. V, no. 2/June, 2013

**Bucharest, 2013**  
**ISSN 2068-6706**

**Review “Cogito” is published under the aegis of  
“Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University**

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*Cogito Journal* is included in IDB  
EBSCO, PROQUEST, CEEOL,  
INDEX COPERNICUS,  
HEINONLIN, CNCS recognized

## CONTENTS

<b>GETTIER'S ASSUMPTIONS .....</b>	<b>7</b>
------------------------------------	----------

Majid Amini

<b>MOSCA, GRAMSCI E LA DISTINZIONE GOVERNANTI-GOVERNATI. ALCUNE CONSIDERAZIONI PRELIMINARI .....</b>	<b>11</b>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Luca Basile

<b>COMMUNICATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. TWO CASE STUDIES .....</b>	<b>23</b>
---------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Dumitru Borțun

<b>REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THEORY AND IMPLEMENTATION ....</b>	<b>28</b>
-------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Elisabeta R. Roșca

<b>THE ROMANIAN OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES AFTER THE SPURIOUS ELECTIONS FROM NOVEMBER 1946. THE CASE OF THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT .....</b>	<b>41</b>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Ilarion Țiu

<b>FROM THE WHITE REVOLUTION TO THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION - THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, LEGAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT THAT LED TO THE FALL OF MONARCHY IN IRAN .....</b>	<b>58</b>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Rustin-Petru Ciasc

*PAPERS PRESENTED AT  
THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF  
THE FACULTY OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS  
"DIMITRIE CANTEMIR" CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY  
MAY 2013*

<b>THE STRUCTURE OF THE ROMANIAN NOUN PHRASE .....</b>	<b>63</b>
--------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Ionela Gușatu,  
Mirel Anghel,  
Diana Ligia Tudor

**HISTORICAL SPECIFICITIES OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF  
SUBJECTIVITY IN SALMAN RUSHDIE'S FICTION..... 70**

Roxana Elena Doncu,  
Cristina Veronica Andreescu,  
Roxana Corina Sfetea

**CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SOURCE OF FRANCIS BACON'S  
THEORY .....80**

Mirel Anghel,  
Roxana-Corina Sfetea

**LES ESPACES HÉTÉROTOPIQUES DANS LES RÉCITS DE  
VOYAGE DE MAXIME DU CAMP ..... 84**

Diana Ligia Tudor,  
Ionela Gușatu,  
Mirel Anghel

**MYSTIFICATION AND COMPENSATION IN TUDOR ARGHEZI'S  
LIFE AND WORK..... 93**

Mirel Anghel,  
Diana Ligia Tudor,  
Ionela Gușatu

**THE MAIN METHODS USED IN THE INTERPRETATION OF  
WORDS ..... 99**

Ionela Gușatu,  
Cristina Veronica Andreescu,  
Roxana Corina Sfetea

*PAPERS PRESENTED AT  
THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF  
THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES,  
"DIMITRIE CANTEMIR" CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY,  
9<sup>TH</sup> MAY, 2013*

**EUROPE AS REVERSED "PHILOSOPHICAL GEOGRAPHY"..... 108**

Alexandru tefănescu

<b>THE PLACE AND ROLE OF EUROPOL IN EU ARCHITECTURE.....</b>	<b>115</b>
Marius Eugen Radu	
<b>EUROPEAN POLITICAL LIFE OR IS EUROPE READY TO HAVE A POLITICAL ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION? .....</b>	<b>122</b>
Victor Negrescu	
<b>A DYSTOPIAN SWIRLING MODE: THE CATALYTIC EUROPEAN FOUNDATION .....</b>	<b>132</b>
Viorella Manolache	
<b>THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LAW AND MORAL CRISIS IN THE RULE OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS .....</b>	<b>141</b>
Anca Păiuşescu	
<b>THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF GIVING EVIDENCE IN CIVIL MATTERS - INTERPRETATION OF THE E.C. REGULATION NO. 1206/2001– .....</b>	<b>148</b>
Vlad Mihai Dorel	



# GETTIER'S ASSUMPTIONS

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**Abstract:** Edmund Gettier single-handedly changed the course of epistemology in the latter half of the twentieth century through two counterexamples against the classical conception of knowledge. This note is primarily concerned with the implicit assumptions underlying the counterexamples that Gettier adduced to prove the insufficiency of the dominant description of knowledge dating back to Plato.

**Keywords:** Assumptions of Gettier's Cases, Description Theory of Proper Names, Law of Disjunction Introduction (Addition Rule), Relevant Logic.

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Edmund Gettier's groundbreaking article, 'Is Justified True Belief Knowledge?'<sup>1</sup> What Gettier did was to challenge one of the enduring philosophical accounts of knowledge that can be traced back at least to Plato's *Theaetetus*. According to this tripartite classical conception of knowledge, a subject *S* knows a proposition *P* if and only if (i) *P* is true, (ii) *S* believes that *P*, and (iii) *S* is justified in believing that *P*. By constructing two counterexamples, Gettier managed to show that the three conditions can be satisfied and yet one will not be in a position to make any claim to knowledge. In other words, the satisfaction of the three conditions fails to constitute a *sufficient* condition for the acquisition of knowledge.

Consequently, Gettier's paper not only changed the course of epistemology but also generated an industry of philosophical work on its own. In relation to the latter, although the article has been subjected to numerous analytical and critical examinations, there is one aspect that has been left relatively untouched and underworked: namely, the *implicit* assumptions involved in Gettier's argumentation. Gettier himself *explicitly* mentions that his counterexamples to the classical conception of knowledge rely on two assumptions: 'First, in the sense of 'justified' in which *S*'s being justified in believing *P* is a necessary condition of *S*'s knowing that *P*, it is possible for a person to be justified in believing a proposition that is in fact false. Secondly, for any proposition *P*, if *S* is justified in believing *P*, and *P* entails *Q*, and *S* deduces *Q* from *P* and accepts *Q* as a result of this deduction, then *S* is justified in believing *Q*.' (*Ibid.*, p. 121) However, in the construction of his counterexamples, Gettier relies on *two* other assumptions that apparently have gone unremarked.

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<sup>1</sup> Edmund L. Gettier, 'Is Justified True Belief Knowledge?', *Analysis*, 23(6): 121-3, 1963.

Gettier's *Case I*: Suppose that Smith and Jones have applied for a certain job. And suppose that Smith has strong evidence for the following conjunctive proposition:

(d) Jones is the man who will get the job, and Jones has ten coins in his pocket.

Smith's evidence for (d) might be that the president of the company assured him that Jones would in the end be selected, and that he, Smith, had counted the coins in Jones's pocket ten minutes ago. Proposition (d) entails:

(e) The man who will get the job has ten coins in his pocket.

Let us suppose that Smith sees the entailment from (d) to (e), and accepts (e) on the grounds of (d), for which he has strong evidence. In this case, Smith is clearly justified in believing that (e) is true. But imagine, further, that unknown to Smith, he himself, not Jones, will get the job. And, also, unknown to Smith, he himself has ten coins in his pocket. Proposition (e) is then true, though proposition (d), from which Smith inferred (e), is false. In our example, then, all of the following are true: (i) (e) is true, (ii) Smith believes that (e) is true, and (iii) Smith is justified in believing that (e) is true. But it is equally clear that Smith does not *know* that (e) is true; for (e) is true in virtue of the number of coins in Smith's pocket, while Smith does not know how many coins are in Smith's pocket, and bases his belief in (e) on a count of the coins in Jones's pocket, whom he falsely believes to be the man who will get the job. (*Ibid.*, p. 122)

*Assumption of Case I: Description Theory of Proper Names.* In setting up his *Case I*, Gettier relies on the entailment from '(d) Jones is the man who will get the job, and Jones has ten coins in his pocket', to '(e) The man who will get the job has ten coins in his pocket', on the supposition 'that Smith sees the entailment from (d) to (e), and accepts (e) on the grounds of (d), for which he has strong evidence.' (*Ibid.*, p. 122) But, the entailment from (d) to (e) can work only if one already subscribes to a description theory of proper names whereby one can legitimately replace a proper name with a description: namely, drop 'Jones' in favour of the description, 'The man who will get the job has ten coins in his pocket'. However, if one happens to believe *à la* Saul Kripke that proper names are not shorthand for descriptions and are in fact rigid designators, the entailment fails to work.<sup>2</sup>

Gettier's *Case II*: Let us suppose that Smith has strong evidence for the following proposition:

(f) Jones owns a Ford.

Smith's evidence might be that Jones has at all times in the past within Smith's memory owned a car, and always a Ford, and that Jones has just offered Smith a ride while driving a Ford. Let us imagine, now, that Smith has another friend, Brown, of whose whereabouts he is totally ignorant. Smith selects three place-names quite at random, and constructs the following three propositions:

(g) Either Jones owns a Ford, or Brown is in Boston;

(h) Either Jones owns a Ford, or Brown is in Barcelona;

(i) Either Jones owns a Ford, or Brown is in Brest-Litovsk.

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<sup>2</sup> Saul Kripke, *Naming and Necessity*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980.



Each of these propositions is entailed by (f). Imagine that Smith realizes the entailment of each of these propositions he has constructed by (f), and proceeds to accept (g), (h), and (i) on the basis of (f). Smith has correctly inferred (g), (h), and (i) from a proposition for which he has strong evidence. Smith is therefore completely justified in believing each of these three propositions. Smith, of course, has no idea where Brown is. But imagine now that two further conditions hold. First, Jones does *not* own a Ford, but is at present driving a rented car. And secondly, by the sheerest coincidence, and entirely unknown to Smith, the place mentioned in proposition (h) happens really to be the place where Brown is. If these two conditions hold then Smith does *not* know that (h) is true, even though (i) (h) is true, (ii) Smith does believe that (h) is true, and (iii) Smith is justified in believing that (h) is true. (*Ibid.*, pp. 122-3).

*Assumption of Case II: The Logical Rule of Disjunction Introduction.* In setting up his *Case II*, Gettier obviously relies on the rule of Disjunction Introduction – alternatively called the Addition rule – for the entailment from ‘(f) Jones owns a Ford’ to ‘(h) Either Jones owns a Ford, or Brown is in Barcelona’. According to the rule, a proposition *P* entails the disjunction of *P* with any other proposition, say, *Q*, and thereby one may infer ‘*P*  $\vee$  *Q*’ from *P*. Thus, by using his explicit assumption that knowledge is closed under entailment along with this particular rule of inference for disjunction, Gettier is able to infer (h) from (f). But, there has been a long line of *relevant logicians* that have objected to the unrestricted use of this inferential rule where *P* turns out to be *false*.<sup>3</sup> Basically, the argument states that if the ground for asserting ‘*P*  $\vee$  *Q*’ is *P*, then to state that *P* is false as Gettier stipulates in his second counterexample when he remarks that ‘Jones does *not* own a Ford, but is at present driving a rented car’ (*Ibid.*, p. 123), then far from enabling us to advance any further in the construction of the counterexample, it completely undermines the very justification for asserting ‘*P*  $\vee$  *Q*’ in the first place. Moreover, in undermining Gettier’s move in his second counterexample further, relevant logicians insist that in using the disjunction introduction rule (Addition rule) to arrive at ‘*P*  $\vee$  *Q*’, one needs to heed the requirement that the disjuncts must be *relevant* to each other where this is clearly not the case in Gettier’s propositions (g), (h), and (i). Thus, his second counterexample fails to reach the conclusion that the satisfaction of the tripartite classical conditions of knowledge are insufficient to culminate in knowledge.

At this juncture, one may wonder whether a rejection of the *implicit* assumptions of Gettier and thereby a subscription to idea of proper names as rigid designators along with the rules of relevant logic for disjunction might rescue the traditional understanding of knowledge from the devastating impact of his counterexamples. Fortunately or otherwise, this is not the case as one can easily generate other counterexamples in such a way that do not involve Gettier’s own implicit assumptions. However, the more important or fundamental question is to what *extent* these new and other counterexamples against the classical conception of knowledge rely on assumptions that might turn out to be in their own right

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, A. Anderson and N. Belnap, *Entailment*, Vol. I, Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1975, or S. Read, *Relevant Logic*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

rather controversial to the point of being even readily rejected. In other words, the question still remains that if we manage to strip down our philosophical assumptions – whether epistemological, metaphysical, or semantic – to the bare minimum, would the classical conception of knowledge still stand on its ground? Although the question is patently an empirical one, one might be tempted to speculate that within a *minimalist* philosophical framework the classical theory of knowledge may still correctly capture the essence of what it is to know something.

# MOSCA, GRAMSCI E LA DISTINZIONE GOVERNANTI-GOVERNATI. ALCUNE CONSIDERAZIONI PRELIMINARI

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**Abstract:** *The article presents some guidelines for a large-scale effort research on the relation between Antonio Gramsci and Gaetano Mosca. The main topic is focused on the communal attention for the fundamental theory of society's subdivision between ruler and ruled. From this argument, the different historic canon thereto conferred is tried to be put in light by virtue of a different meaning of the "Political Science", paid to an alternative perception of the classical liberal system's crisis.*

**Keywords:** *hegemony, ruler, statesmanship, élite, philosophy of praxis.*

## Introduzione

Approfondire il carattere della relazione da Gramsci intrattenuta, nei *Quaderni*, con le tesi di Gaetano Mosca, ed interrogarsi sui circoscritti termini della possibile avvicinabilità, ad alcune condizioni, della *teoria dell'egemonia* alla posizione elitistica può rilevarsi utile. Utile poiché affrontare l'argomento consente di evidenziare, una volta di più<sup>1</sup>, come tale dispositivo appaia costruito su basi alternative a quelle contraddistintive della tradizione sia del marxismo orientale che occidentale. Ciò vale per una pluralità di questioni: dal perché Gramsci fuoriesca dall'alternativa fra 'democrazia formale' e 'democrazia sostanziale', sino a quella, che vi presiede, concernente la matura formulazione del rifiuto della opposizione fra 'vita' e 'forme' e la presupposizione di un soggetto a cui esclusivamente affidare il compito della ricomposizione della reale totalità storico-politica. Nella presente sede non potremo far altro che abbozzare le prime linee di una ricerca che esigerebbe ben più ampio svolgimento, coll'intento di configurare, magari, un passo avanti su un terreno in cui, al momento, non sono emersi molti studi.

## Scienza politica e storicizzazione

Il primo elemento di convergenza fra l'elitismo moschiano e la teoria gramsciana dell'egemonia è dato dalla comune ispirazione realistica. Se, però, nel primo caso tale aspirazione sembra svilupparsi sino a sfiorare l'equivalenza tra *storia* ed *empiria* – o quanto meno la saldatura dei due poli in questione<sup>2</sup> –, nel

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<sup>1</sup> Sulla estraneità di Gramsci alla tradizione marxista ha insistito M. Montanari nella *Introduzione* ai suoi *Studi su Gramsci*, Lecce, PensaMultimedia, 2002, pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. in proposito, fra gli altri, le osservazioni di G. Zarone in *Classe politica e ragione scientifica – Mosca, Croce, Gramsci*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1990, pp. 47-55.

secondo costatiamo affermata un'ottica organicamente ed integralmente storicistica, in cui un ruolo importante appare giocato proprio dalla critica dei modelli positivistico-deterministici di previsione e di naturalizzazione di 'regolarità' (che esercitano una certa influenza anche sulla elaborazione moschiana) in favore della apposita rifondazione della nozione di 'previsione' medesima<sup>3</sup>, ricollegabile, almeno per certi versanti, alla lezione di Labriola. Del resto, nei *Quaderni*, Gramsci tratteggerà proprio un originale ipotesi di ridefinizione della 'scienza politica' in congruenza al 'programma di ricerca' della filosofia della prassi. Alla luce di essa, tale ambito disciplinare si troverà ad essere sottratto ai criteri di rigida generalizzazione empirica tipici della diretta continuità tra l'approccio sociologistaico e i prevalenti schemi della politologia di matrice normativo-liberale<sup>4</sup>. Del resto, lo specifico della interlocuzione con Michels rende quanto mai evidente tale aspetto<sup>5</sup> (torneremo ad accennare all'argomento in conclusione). Gramsci punta, dunque, a riformulare gli strumenti della scienza politica storicizzandoli integralmente. Egli mira a ricostruirla in quanto scienza *critica* e non *positiva*, conformemente al ruolo che proprio la filosofia della prassi deve, più in generale, soddisfare all'interno del presente.

Il problema si trova impostato in riferimento a Machiavelli e secondo il tentativo di filtrare molte delle argomentazioni crociane – a cominciare dalla nota distinzione tra 'etico-politico' e 'politico-passionale' – sul terreno della acquisizione della concreta mediazione fra teoria e prassi, della loro 'unità-distinzione'. Da questa si ingenera, com'è noto, sul piano prettamente politico-ideologico, il confronto con la 'questione degli intellettuali'. Il tema iniziale e da risolvere «in una trattazione su Machiavelli», scrive Gramsci, è quello «del posto che la scienza politica occupa o deve occupare in una concezione del mondo sistematica (coerente e conseguente) – in una filosofia della praxis –. Il progresso fatto fare dal Croce, a questo proposito, agli studi sul Machiavelli e sulla scienza politica, consiste precipuamente (come in altri campi dell'attività critica crociana) nella dissoluzione di una serie di problemi falsi, inesistenti o male impostati. Il Croce si è fondato sulla distinzione dei momenti dello Spirito e sull'affermazione di uno spirito pratico, autonomo e indipendente, sebbene legato circolarmente all'intera realtà per la dialettica dei distinti. In una filosofia della prassi la distinzione non sarà certo tra i momenti dello Spirito assoluto, ma tra i gradi della soprastruttura e si tratterà pertanto di stabilire la posizione dialettica dell'attività politica (e della scienza corrispondente) come determinato grado superstrutturale: si potrà dire, come primo accenno e approssimazione, che l'attività politica è il primo momento»<sup>6</sup>. La fissazione del 'primo livello' sovrastrutturale costituito dalla politica rinvierebbe a una larga discussione sul modo in cui Gramsci legge – soprattutto implicitamente – la interpretazione

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. in proposito, fra gli altri, N. Badaloni, *Gramsci: la filosofia della prassi come previsione*, in *Storia del marxismo*, III-2, Einaudi, Torino, 1981, pp. 251-339.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. sull'argomento alcune osservazioni presenti in G. Sola, *Scienza politica e analisi del partito in Gramsci*, raccolto in *Gramsci: il partito politico nei "Quaderni"*, a cura di S. Mastellone, Centro Editoriale Toscano, Firenze, 2001, pp. 27-29.

<sup>5</sup> Esplicativo appare in proposito il § 25 del Q. 11 (Ed. Einaudi, a cura di V. Gerratana, Torino, 1975).

<sup>6</sup> A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 463.

crociiana del suo statuto di autonomia, specie in ambito italiano, da Machiavelli<sup>7</sup> al medesimo Mosca<sup>8</sup>, ma ci è impossibile attardarci in proposito, mentre occorre guadagnare come tale ‘messa a fuoco’ attenga alla tesi della traducibilità reciproca tra politica e storia (e, di qui, tra ideologia e filosofia). Essa consente l’appropriazione dell’unità della dialettica storica e del nesso dinamico tra ‘struttura’ e ‘sovrastruttura’ (di contro a quanto asserito da tutta una tradizione che dalla Seconda Internazionale trapassa nella Terza) concentrato nella ben nota categoria del ‘blocco storico’. Ecco come Gramsci rassoda e circoscrive, in forma di appunti, un siffatto grumo di problemi: «In che senso si può identificare la politica e la storia e quindi tutta la vita e la politica. Come perciò tutto il sistema delle superstrutture» - di cui viene affermato inequivocabilmente il *contenuto di realtà*<sup>9</sup> - «possa concepirsi come distinzioni della politica e quindi si giustifichi l’introduzione del concetto di distinzione in una filosofia della prassi. Ma si può» - si interroga il nostro - «parlare di dialettica dei distinti e come si può intendere il concetto di circolo fra i gradi della sovrastruttura? Concetto di blocco storico, cioè unità tra la natura e lo spirito (struttura e superstruttura) unità dei contrari e dei distinti»<sup>10</sup>.

L’adesione al principio della storicizzazione integrale non esclude, però, *tout court* la possibilità di avvalersi di rilevazioni empiriche determinate e di commisurarvi anche la individuazione di elementi di legalità che, tuttavia, non debbono venir dilatati incorrendo in quella sorta di viziosa riproduzione di ipostasi tipica della mentalità deterministico-positivistica e della sua intrinseca esposizione al rovesciamento sul lato della fallacia metafisica. In tal senso alcuni conseguimenti validi nell’ambito della discussione circa il rapporto fra filosofia della prassi e scienza economica - e, in particolare, a riguardo del punto, cruciale nella architettura dei *Quaderni*, relativo al contributo dato da Ricardo, entro il quadro dell’economia politica ‘classica’, alla prospettiva della stessa filosofia della prassi ed alla enucleazione della nozione di ‘mercato determinato’<sup>11</sup> - possono venire legittimamente traslati in chiave generale<sup>12</sup>: «occorre [...] stabilire ciò che significa ‘regolarità’, ‘legge’, ‘automatismo’ nei fatti storici. Non si tratta di ‘scoprire’ una legge metafisica di ‘determinismo’ e neppure di stabilire una legge generale di causalità. Si tratta di rilevare come nello svolgimento storico si costituiscano delle forze relativamente ‘permanenti’, che operano con una certa

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. sul tema M. Ciliberto, *Benedetto Croce tra Machiavelli e ‘machievellismo’*, in Id., *Filosofia e politica nel novecento italiano – Da Labriola a “Società”*, De Donato, Bari, 1982, pp. 135-161.

<sup>8</sup> Il riferimento va, innanzitutto, ai contenuti della *Premessa* di Croce alla IV edizione laterziana del 1947 degli „Elementi”, la quale riproduce la recensione apparsa in *La Critica* del novembre 1923. Cfr. sul tema G. Zarone, *Classe politica e ragione scientifica*, cit., pp. 163-188; e F. Focher, *Croce e la scienza empirica della politica*, in Id., *Logica e politica in Croce*, F. Angeli, Milano, 1987, pp. 73-86.

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. sul tema F. Frosini, *La religione dell’uomo – Politica e verità nei “Quaderni del carcere” di Antonio Gramsci*, Roma, Carocci, 2010, pp. 189-203.

<sup>10</sup> A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1569.

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. sul tema i contributi di N. Badaloni, *Gramsci: la filosofia della prassi come previsione*, cit., e *Gramsci e l’economia politica*, in “Critica marxista”, n. 4, 1994, pp. 35-41, e F. Frosini, *La religione dell’uomo moderno*, cit., pp. 143-146.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. in merito G. Sola, *Scienza politica e analisi del partito in Gramsci*, cit., p. 30.

regolarità»<sup>13</sup>. Nell'ottica gramsciana ciò che importa è chiarire come nessuna acquisizione empirica e nessun ricavo di principi di legalità determinati possano essere elevati a 'presupposti' ed esigano, invece, di essere iscritti nella complessità del processo storico.

La posizione di Mosca non si mette al riparo da un simile rischio. L'argomento si trova affrontato in luogo della elaborazione di una apposita *teoria dei rapporti di forza*, definente una precisa sezione del 'sistema dell'egemonia-filosofia della prassi': «Lo studio di come occorre analizzare le 'situazioni', cioè di come occorre stabilire i diversi gradi di rapporto di forze può prestarsi a una esposizione elementare di scienza e arte politica, intesa come un insieme di canoni pratici di ricerca e di osservazioni particolari utili per risvegliare l'interesse per la realtà effettuale e suscitare intuizioni politiche più rigorose e vigorose. Insieme è da porre l'esposizione di ciò che occorre intendere in politica per strategia e tattica, per 'piano' strategico [...], per organica o scienza dell'organizzazione o dell'amministrazione. Gli elementi dell'osservazione empirica che di solito sono esposti alla rinfusa nei trattati di scienza della politica (si può prendere come esemplare l'opera di G. Mosca: *Elementi di scienza politica*) dovrebbero, in quanto non sono questioni astratte o campate in aria, trovar posto nei vari gradi del rapporto di forza»<sup>14</sup>. Basandosi su un genere di qualificazione dei fattori sociali comunque concludente alla loro parziale 'naturalizzazione', ravvisandovi elementi normali-irriducibili, Mosca non perviene ad una soddisfacente giustificazione storico-reale e non arriva a stringere la trama di nessi obiettivi in cui si iscrive e reagisce, mutandola, l'azione politica. In alternativa a simili atteggiamenti, Gramsci propone la distinzione di tre diversi livelli di rapporti di forza su cui incardinare l'analisi politica d'insieme. Il primo livello riguarda «il rapporto di forza strettamente legato alla struttura»; vi è, poi, quello propriamente *politico* – a sua volta articolabile nei «diversi momenti della coscienza [...] collettiva»<sup>15</sup> – e il livello dei rapporti militari (meno approfondito). Il secondo livello, a cui corrispondono proprio i problemi della scienza politica, può esser affrontato solo ricorrendo alla formulazione – dice Gramsci riprendendo un'immagine di matrice crociana – di appositi 'paragoni ellittici', i quali non valgano come termini di un certo 'codice', bensì in qualità di elementi connessi al canone scientifico impiegato per la rifondazione della scienza politica medesima<sup>16</sup>.

Vi è un brano del Q. 15 volto a qualificare la diversità dell'impostazione gramsciana rispetto all'influenza del paradigma naturalistico-positivista che attraversa l'ambito della scienza politica e l'insieme delle scienze sociali contemporanee. Al suo interno riscontriamo evidenziato come il discorso della scienza politica si trovi ad essere sostituito dalla sociologia, in maniera tale che la seconda tenda ad assorbire la prima, anche se i contenuti davvero incidenti di essa appaiono da ricondursi all'altro ambito disciplinare, lasciando emergerne

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<sup>13</sup> A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1479.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, pp. 1561-1562.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 1583.

<sup>16</sup> Esplicativo è in proposito il § 2 della II parte del Q. 10; cfr. R. Gualtieri, *Le relazioni internazionali*, „Marx e la 'filosofia della praxis' in Gramsci", in *Studi storici*, n. 4, 2007, p. 1033.

l'esigenza della rifondazione. «La fortuna della sociologia è in relazione con la decadenza del concetto di scienza politica e di arte politica verificatasi nel secolo XIX (con più esattezza nella seconda metà, con la fortuna delle dottrine evoluzionistiche e positivistiche). Ciò che di realmente importante è nella sociologia non è altro che scienza politica. 'Politica' divenne sinonimo di politica parlamentare o di cricche personali. Persuasione che con le costituzioni e i parlamenti si fosse iniziata un'epoca di 'evoluzione naturale', che la società avesse trovato i suoi fondamenti definitivi perché nazionali, ecc.. Ecco che la società può essere studiata col metodo delle scienze naturali. Impoverimento del concetto dello Stato conseguente a tale modo di vedere. La scienza politica significa scienza dello Stato e Stato è tutto il complesso di attività pratiche e teoriche con cui la classe dirigente giustifica e mantiene il suo dominio non solo ma riesce a ottenere il consenso attivo dei governati, è evidente che tutte le questioni essenziali della sociologia non sono altro che le questioni della scienza politica»<sup>17</sup>.

### **Mosca e la crisi della 'società liberale'**

Ora, se si rapportano queste considerazioni allo specifico dell'opera moschiana, subito viene ad evidenziarsi un aspetto dal profilo ancipite. Da un lato, infatti, tutta l'elaborazione di Mosca può essere considerata quale scaturita da un intento di critica del sistema parlamentare<sup>18</sup>. D'altro lato, – fermo restando lo slittamento di atteggiamento su tematiche centrali dalla *Teorica* agli *Elementi*, e, insieme, la constatabilità del problema specifico soprattutto all'interno delle coordinate della stessa *Teorica* –, la generalizzazione che egli opera della formazione e della composizione della classe politica in quanto specificazione di una minoranza organizzata (a cui, proprio entro la *Teorica*, troviamo appaiato lo studio della cosiddetta 'formula' politica, cioè del rapporto tra forme e forze politiche) risulta desunta, in termini fenomenici, dalla cogenza del sistema parlamentare e della sua crisi. Se ne ricava che, pur avendo svolto – specie negli *Elementi* – una recisa critica ai paradigmi deterministico-evoluzionistici, colpevoli di espungere le dinamiche del potere dalla sfera storica, data la cancellazione del discrimine fra storia e natura, Mosca – anche in virtù di una cognizione della relazione fra ciò che è variabile e ciò che appare collocabile al di sotto di una regolarità determinata comunque esemplata da alcune tendenze interne al positivismo (basti pensare a Taine<sup>19</sup>) –, nel costruire gli assi portanti della propria analisi sociale, ricade nella fallacia dell'ipotesi. Il terreno di verifica di un simile atteggiamento è dato, del resto, dal modo in cui egli affronta la duplice veste formale ed effettiva del potere, sollecitato dall'esigenza di analizzare la realtà dei centri del potere entro la complessa trama statuale, donde il guadagno della ulteriore duplicità fra autorità e dominio, fra amministrazione legale e

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<sup>17</sup> A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1765.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. in proposito alcune circoscritte indicazioni presenti in E. A. Albertoni, *Il pensiero di Gaetano Mosca e la sua collocazione negli studi politici in Italia*, in *La dottrina di Gaetano Mosca ed i suoi sviluppi internazionali*, Palermo-Milano, Società siciliana per la Storia Patria, 1982, p. 82; i lavori di E. Ripepe, *Le origini della teoria della classe politica*, Milano, 1971, e *Gli elitisti italiani*, Pisa, 1974 (II vol.); e G. Zarone, *Classe politica e ragione scientifica*, cit., pp. 197-203.

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. in proposito l'analisi svolta in *Ibidem*, pp. 55-80.

gestione clientelare (l'ordito delle «critiche personali» come dice Gramsci). Siffatta, ulteriore precisazione della fenomenologia della classe politica, se si radica nella *Teorica*, trova sviluppo compiuto nella seconda parte degli *Elementi*<sup>20</sup>. Inoltre, nel caso degli anni venti e trenta (anche rispetto all'insediarsi del fascismo) la preoccupazione di Mosca e di altri sembra mantenersi attestata sulla critica alle degenerazioni della vita politica e, insieme, sull'istanza della conservazione di una forma di organizzazione sociale incardinata sulla riproduzione per *élites* delle funzioni direttive, coincidenti con la circolazione ristretta delle informazioni e del 'sapere'. Del resto, ancora nel '28, Mosca era tornato ad enfatizzare le opportunità di una divaricazione strategica tra ciclo economico e ciclo politico, isolandolo dall'influenza dello stesso conflitto sociale<sup>21</sup>. Precedentemente, nel '25, egli si era battuto contro la nuova legge sulle prerogative del capo del governo in base ad una argomentazione che tornava ad insistere sul suffragio universale quale causa principale del radicale incrinarsi dello Stato liberale<sup>22</sup>. In definitiva, lo studioso siciliano non sembrava recepire in maniera adeguata le sollecitazioni poste dalla trasformazione industriale della società e dall'inedita ed inusitata assunzione di protagonismo e di soggettività da parte delle masse<sup>23</sup>. Ciò appare coglibile anche all'altezza della stessa critica alla trasformazione del regime rappresentativo in regime corporativo. Sul terreno teorico la complicità tra impianto conservatore ed ipostasi delle contrazioni del sistema parlamentaristico rivelava l'ipoteca di una sorta di arresto della storicizzazione effettiva gravante sui risultati della sua opzione di scienza politica. L'indagine moschiana non può essere rinchiusa all'interno dei confini della mera ripresa della tradizione realistico-machiavelliana (al cui centro vi è l'attenzione per la 'realtà effettuale'). Essa ha puntato a definire una precisa strategia di restaurazione dello Stato liberale, pur assumendo l'irreversibilità del mutamento in senso pluriclasse della natura dello Stato. A tal proposito egli ha enfatizzato l'esigenza di dislocare l'impegno analitico dal campo della metodologia giuridica a quello squisitamente politico proprio in virtù della crisi dello statuto classico dello Stato di diritto. Ciò non di meno, Mosca non ha archiviato il compito della neutralizzazione dei conflitti precedentemente affidato allo Stato come apparato giuridico, ma ha investito di tale funzione la circolazione delle *élites*<sup>24</sup>. Collocandosi su una base ideologica del tutto diversa, Gramsci si è posto il problema di declinare il punto di vista storicistico come l'unico coerente ed

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<sup>20</sup> Cfr. in proposito le osservazioni di G. Sola – di cui però non possiamo condividere molte accentuazioni generali – nella *Introduzione* a G. Mosca, *Scritti politici*, Torino, UTET, 1982, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> G. Mosca, *Cause e rimedi della critica del regime parlamentare*, in *L'évolution actuelle du régime représentatif*, Payot, Lusane-Géneve, 1928, ora in G. Mosca, *Partiti e sindacati nella crisi del regime parlamentare*, Bari, Latenza, 1949, pp. 87-115.

<sup>22</sup> *Prerogative del capo del governo – Discorso pronunciato al Senato nella seduta del 19 dicembre 1925*, ora in *Ibidem*, p. 283.

<sup>23</sup> Per alcune osservazioni qui formulate siamo debitori nei riguardi delle sintetiche indicazioni presenti in M. Montanari, *Crisi della ragione liberale*, Lacaita, Manduria, 1983, pp. 154-155.

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. su questo aspetto, fra gli altri, le sintetiche osservazioni svolte da A. Bisignani in *Temî politici – Spazi, rappresentazione, pace nella storia del pensiero politico*, Esa, 2009, pp. 54-55, che sviluppano, con accentuazioni diverse, anche alcuni elementi presenti, fra l'altro, in E.A. Albertoni, *Dottrina della classe politica e teoria delle élites*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1985.



adeguato al significato epocale della crisi dello Stato liberale, che ha rotto i termini consueti dell'egemonia (afferita alla relazione tra ambiti nazionali), diffondendo il politico nel vincolo fra spazio statale e società civile, evidenziando la centralità della riproduzione sociale e del ruolo politico delle masse, mettendo in discussione le modalità consolidate di costruzione delle classi dirigenti e, infine, dischiudendo margini inediti per la ricomposizione solidale del genere umano.

Alle rigidità contraddistintive dell'applicazione del criterio per cui «la società può essere studiata col metodo delle scienze naturali», in chiave di 'evoluzione naturale', ma anche ai vari riflessi di ogni misura analitica tendente a cristallizzare la disposizione delle forze politiche e dei soggetti sociali (com'è, sempre di nuovo, almeno in certa misura, nel caso di Mosca), Gramsci contrappone la ricognizione dell'indirizzo di massima espansione del mutamento di morfologia della dimensione politica, coincidente con la crisi irreversibile dello statuto classico della sovranità<sup>25</sup>. In tal maniera, il comunista sardo rende attivo il proprio criterio di storicizzazione integrale, raccordando gnoseologia dei soggetti storici e prospettiva egemonica di trasformazione.

Affrontare, ora, più da vicino i contenuti del confronto che questi svolge con le posizioni di Mosca nei *Quaderni* può consentirci di approssimare alcuni contorni di tale prospettiva e, dunque, della declinazione del principio democratico che ne deriva.

### **Due accezioni della distinzione governanti/governati**

Prima, però, di sondare brevemente l'argomento è utile dar ulteriore riscontro a quanto sin qui osservato facendo riferimento alle considerazioni che il Sardo esprime al Q. 19, nel paragrafo dedicato alle *Interpretazioni del Risorgimento*, in merito alla ristampa nel '25 della *Teorica*, pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1883: «La ristampa del libro di Mosca è uno dei tanti episodi del diletterismo politico dei liberali del primo e del secondo dopoguerra [...]. I concetti politici del Mosca sono vaghi e ondegianti [...], i suoi principii di tecnica politica sono anch'essi [...] astratti e hanno carattere piuttosto giuridico. Il concetto di 'classe politica', la cui affermazione diventerà il centro di tutti gli scritti di scienza politica del Mosca [...] non è [...] giustificato teoricamente. Tuttavia, il libro del Mosca è utile come documento. L'autore vuole essere spregiudicato per programma [...] e così finisce per mettere in vista molti aspetti della vita italiana del tempo che altrimenti non avrebbero trovato documentazione»<sup>26</sup>. L'astrattezza dei concetti moschiani – a cominciare dalla sostenuta accezione della nozione di 'classe politica' – appare attribuita all'elevazione del referto empirico (la cui registrazione Gramsci pur ritiene utile per la ricognizione analitica) al piano della compiuta ricostruzione storico-sociale. Benché la posizione di Mosca avverta, come detto, – certo lungo una direttrice che andrà, via via, approfondendosi negli *Elementi* ed altri scritti politici successivi –, la corrosione del progetto di giuridizzazione integrale contraddistintivo della fase di stabilizzazione liberale, la

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<sup>25</sup> Sul tema cfr., fra gli altri, i due saggi di F. Izzo, *Dalla territorialità all'industrialismo: la democrazia oltre lo Stato nei "Quaderni del carcere"*, e *Nazione e cosmopolitismo nei "Quaderni del carcere"*, in *Democrazia e cosmopolitismo in A. Gramsci*, Roma, Carocci, 2009, pp. 147-183.

<sup>26</sup> A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., pp. 1978-1979.

sua incapacità di soddisfare davvero la medesima istanza della adeguata storicizzazione, conclude, comunque, a replicare nell'esame delle forme del sistema politico il carattere descrittivo-regolativo della strumentazione propriamente giuridica.

Consideriamo la definizione matura che Mosca fornisce negli *Elementi* della cruciale distinzione fra 'governanti' e 'governati': «Fra le tendenze e i fatti costanti» – egli argomenta – «che si trovano in tutti gli organismi politici, uno ve n'è la cui evidenza può essere a tutti manifesta: in tutte le società, a cominciare da quelle più mediocrementemente sviluppate e che sono arrivate appena ai primordi della civiltà, fino a quelle più colte e più forti, esistono due classi di persone, quella dei governanti e l'altra dei governati. La prima, che è sempre la meno numerosa, adempie a tutte le funzioni politiche, monopolizza il potere e gode i vantaggi che ad essa sono uniti; mentre la seconda, più numerosa, è diretta e regolata dalla prima in modo più o meno legale, ovvero più o meno arbitrario e violento, e ad essa fornisce, almeno apparentemente, i mezzi materiali di sussistenza e quelli che all'unità dell'organismo politico sono necessari»<sup>27</sup>. Appaiono chiari gli elementi di discriminazione tra l'atteggiamento che presiede alla argomentazione appena ascoltata e quello contraddistingue il sistema dell'egemonia gramsciana. Basti pensare giusto all'impegno della nozione di 'classe' estraniata dalla realtà dei processi economico-sociali, alla combinazione tendenzialmente lineare fra 'principio di minoranza' e distinzione fra 'governanti' e 'governati', o, ancora, alla immedesimazione diretta fra il momento del governo e quello della direzione<sup>28</sup>.

D'altra parte, occorre portare l'attenzione *ad res* sui termini della originale appropriazione gramsciana della suddetta distinzione. Afferma il dirigente comunista al § 4 del Q. 15: «Bisogna proprio dire che i primi ad essere dimenticati sono proprio i primi elementi [...] Primo elemento è che esistono davvero governanti e governati; dirigenti e diretti. *Tutta la scienza e l'arte della politica si basano su questo fatto primordiale, irriducibile.* Le origini di questo fatto sono un problema a sé, che dovrà essere studiato a sé [...], ma rimane il fatto che esistono dirigenti e diretti, governanti e governati». «Nel formare i dirigenti è fondamentale la premessa: si vuole che ci siano sempre governanti e governati oppure si vogliono creare le condizioni in cui la necessità dell'esistenza di questa divisione sparisca? cioè si parte dalla premessa della perpetua divisione del genere umano o si crede che essa sia solo un fatto storico, rispondente a certe condizioni? Occorre tener chiaro tuttavia che la divisione di governanti e governati, seppure in ultima analisi risalga a una divisione di gruppi sociali, tuttavia esiste, date le cose così come sono, anche nel seno dello stesso gruppo, anche socialmente omogeneo; in un certo senso si può dire che essa divisione è una creazione della divisione del lavoro, è un fatto tecnico. Su questa coesistenza di motivi speculano coloro che vedono in tutto solo 'tecnica', necessità 'tecnica', ecc. per non proporsi il problema

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<sup>27</sup> G. Mosca, *Scritti politici*, cit., p. 608.

<sup>28</sup> Conveniamo in proposito con l'osservazione svolta da A. Burgio in *"L'orchestra non crede che il direttore sia un padrone oligarchico" – Su democrazia e transizione in Gramsci*, in *Gramsci tra filologia e storiografia – Scritti per Gianni Francioni*, Napoli, Bibliopolis, 2010, pp. 125-126, che pure sviluppa un'interpretazione molto differente dall'orientamento pervadente le presenti note.

fondamentale»<sup>29</sup>. Gramsci, dunque, riconosce e assume la distinzione governanti/governati e, in certa misura, la sua irriducibilità. Correttamente, il Finocchiaro ha osservato come la diversa declinazione che in Mosca ed in Gramsci è possibile ravvisare della distinzione ponga in evidenza la netta escursione a proposito dello statuto epistemologico ad essa affidato<sup>30</sup>.

Nel caso del primo essa si configura, infatti, quale descrittore un genere di legalità sociale le cui manifestazioni fenomeniche appaiono escludere modificazioni di portata tale da giungere a porre in discussione la prevalente esplicazione morfologica. Tale aspetto ‘chiama in causa’ il nodo dell’inquadramento del ruolo della *classe politica* e della sua formazione. Guidato dalla persuasione nella riproduzione *semper et ubique* della endiadi in discussione, Mosca riconosce la presenza nella società – e in particolare nella società moderna-contemporanea – di due opposte tendenze. L’una – quella ‘democratica’ – contempla e promuove la sostituzione o l’integrazione della classe governante con quella governata. L’altra – ‘aristocratica’ – punta alla stabilizzazione ed alla preservazione della classe dominante in essere. Tali tendenze gli appaiono anch’esse costantemente presenti – in forma latente o patente – entro ogni organismo sociale. Inverando un modulo classico della riflessione politica, Mosca ne designa i modi di combinazione proprio con i principali tipi di organizzazione politica e di trasmissione del potere (negli *Elementi* troviamo operata una apposita generalizzazione individuante quattro sistemi portanti: a) autocratico-aristocratico; b) liberale-democratico; c) autocratico-democratico; e d) liberale-aristocratico<sup>31</sup>). Sempre contemplando l’ingente possibilità del verificarsi di contrazioni autocratiche determinate, egli ammetterà – soprattutto in chiave di ‘esperimento ideale’ – l’eventualità di un certo grado di coerente soddisfacimento degli attributi di eterogeneità e di pluralismo interno alla classe politica in un regime di ‘governo misto’. La cosa lo spingerà a revisionare il giudizio sul regime rappresentativo-parlamentare riconducibile alla prima formulazione della *Teorica*, benché – come considerato – non si estinguano i motivi di critica *a fundamentis* delle principali forme di esso (si pensi al principio del suffragio universale). D’altra parte, l’ispessimento della sua capacità di inclusione e di rappresentanza di massa continuerà ad essere classificato in termini prettamente economico-corporativi, ne e resteranno stigmatizzate le possibili derive tutte concentrabili nella individuazione del pericolo di una più rigida e primitiva riproduzione della distinzione governanti/governati, in quello della abolizione della divisione dei poteri e della ulteriore involuzione della classe dirigente per quanto riguarda le competenze

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<sup>29</sup> A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1752 (*corsivo nostro*).

<sup>30</sup> M.A. Finocchiaro, *Gramsci e la teoria dell’elitismo democratico*, in *Identità come progetto*, a cura di E. Orrù, Tema, Cagliari, 1998, p. 29; ma anche Id., *Gramsci e Mosca*, in *Gramsci e l’Italia*, a cura di R. Giacobini, D. Losurdo, M. Martelli, La Città del Sole, Napoli, 1994, pp. 111-164; e *Beyond Right and Left – Democratic elitism in Mosca and Gramsci*, Yale University Press, New Have – London, 1999.

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. su questo tema – seppure con accenti assai distanti dall’approccio presiedente alle nostre modeste annotazioni volte esclusivamente a definire un possibile schema di analisi –, fra gli altri, N. Bobbio, *Gaetano Mosca e la teoria della classe politica*, in Id., *Saggi sulla scienza politica in Italia*, Bari – Roma, Laterza, 1996.

cognitive e di governo<sup>32</sup>. A tal proposito, varrebbe la pena focalizzare come, almeno per certi versi, il modello michelsiano plasmato sulla 'legge ferrea dell'oligarchia' declini l'opposizione governanti/governati entro l'orizzonte contemporaneo, e con esso, la critica che da tale legge deriva della forma-partito (in particolare, delle organizzazioni del movimento operaio) in direzione rovesciata rispetto alla diagnosi moschiana. Di qui, poi, occorrerebbe tornare sul terreno del confronto con Gramsci<sup>33</sup>. Tuttavia, al momento dobbiamo limitarci a segnalare come la visuale di Mosca collochi implicitamente nella acquisizione di soggettività politica e di autonomia da parte dei ceti subordinati il fattore decisivo di crisi della stabilizzazione liberale, e tenda, invece, a replicare il carattere di ristrettezza di quest'ultima. Ne è di riprova, primariamente, la configurazione in senso democratico che egli fornisce della fisionomia considerata ottimale della classe dirigente. Nel caso di Gramsci, invece, la diversa impostazione epistemologica della distinzione governanti/governati si regge su una preta misura di storicizzazione integrale che ne illumina la regolarità tendenziale *entro un mobile rapporto tra forze*.

## Conclusioni

Riconoscere tale aspetto conduce a evidenziare come fermare la distanza di Gramsci dall'élitismo moschiano solo sul piano epistemologico appaia assai inadeguato<sup>34</sup>. Si tratterebbe, invece, di approfondire il legame diretto della tematica proprio con l'ambito dell'analisi della crisi irreversibile del sistema di stabilizzazione liberale-classico (e del suo nesso strategico con la figura dello Stato-Nazione<sup>35</sup>). Su questa via, l'esigenza principale risulta quella di recepire la *teoria dell'egemonia* in quanto assaiata su una peculiare analitica e su una peculiare gnoseologia dei soggetti storico-politici<sup>36</sup>, corrisposta ad una concezione della democrazia non riducibile allo spazio dell'ordinamento procedurale (dal quale pure essa non pretende di prescindere<sup>37</sup>), e rivolta ad ampliare ed irrobustire la composita rete degli attori che vertebrano il nesso inscindibile tra Stato e società civile. Lo stesso tema del 'moderno Principe' va letto, ci pare, in tale direzione<sup>38</sup>. Nella presente sede ci siamo limitati ad avanzare determinati spunti

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<sup>32</sup> Per le osservazioni svolte, sia pure guidati da un differente giudizio sull'ottica moschiana, siamo debitori nei riguardi della argomentazione e della ricostruzione profilata da G. Sola nella sua *Introduzione*, cit., pp. 66-73.

<sup>33</sup> Sul rapporto Gramsci-Michels sono da menzionare, fra gli altri, gli studi – di cui pure non possiamo dividerne molte accentuazioni – di F. Bettoni, *Gramsci e Michels: un itinerario critico*, in *Roberto Michels tra politica e sociologia*, a cura di G.B. Furiozzi, Firenze, Centro Editoriale Toscano, 1984, pp. 195-251; e C. Malandrino, *Gramsci e la "Sociologia del partito politico" di Michels*, in *Gramsci: il politico nei "Quaderni"*, cit., pp. 115-139.

<sup>34</sup> Ci pare questo uno dei principali limiti riscontrabile nella interpretazione formulata entro i ricordati contributi del Finocchiaro.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. in proposito G. Vacca, *Gramsci e Togliatti*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1991, pp. 76-92; e F. Izzo, *Democrazia e cosmopolitismo in A. Gramsci*, cit..

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. in proposito G. Vacca, *Gramsci e Togliatti*, cit., pp. 45-58.

<sup>37</sup> Esplicativo appare in proposito il § 49 del Q. 14. Cfr. in proposito Ibidem., pp. 41-43.

<sup>38</sup> Particolarmente significative appaiono in proposito le osservazioni di M. Montanari in *La finalità etico-sociale del partito politico*, in Id., *Studi su Gramsci*, cit., pp. 185-215.

per lo svolgimento di uno studio comparativo che – indubbiamente – dovrebbe assumere più ampio respiro.

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# COMMUNICATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. TWO CASE STUDIES

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**Abstract:** *In today's world, in which all real challenges underwent a modernization process, we are growingly urged by the need of a new form of responsibility: the communicational responsibility. This need is felt at all levels of human life – from day-to-day life to international life; from interpersonal relations, to interstate relations; from communication between generations to communication between different cultures and opposable ideologies.*

*Not until recently responsibility referred, as a moral value, only to our actions from which the acts of communication were excluded. People's indifference toward the consequences of their acts of communication stems from the ancestral creed that speaking is different from doing.*

*However, the specialists in communication sciences have changed this perspective after Roman Jakobson talked of the "acts of communications", after John Langshaw Austin launched the 'speech acts theory', theory developed by John Roger Searle and by other philosophers of language. It became obvious that "communication" means "action", that the effects of the communication acts – verbal or non-verbal – are as important for man's life as the effects of other human acts. Today we know: the consequences of communication are as natural as those of any other act – briefly, "communication" means "doing".*

*The episode of "Mohammed cartoons" (2006) and the speech of Pope Benedict XVI, "On faith and reason in Christianity and Islam" (2006) – these are two case studies that show the absence of communicational responsibility.*

**Keywords:** *intercultural communication, the cultural referential, the ideological referential, the communicational responsibility, the norms of communicational behavior.*

## **Communicational responsibility – a new form of responsibility**

*In today's world, in which all real challenges underwent a modernization process, we are growingly urged by the need of a new form of responsibility: the communicational responsibility. This need is felt at all levels of human life – from day-to-day life to international life; from interpersonal relations, to interstate relations; from communication between generations to communication between different cultures and opposable ideologies.*

*Not until recently responsibility referred, as a moral value, only to our actions from which the acts of communication were excluded. People's indifference toward the consequences of their acts of communication stems from the ancestral*

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creed that speaking is different from doing. More or less conscious, this creed represents the tacit axiom of a cultural paradigm in which the spoken word is perceived in three hypotheses: i) as a result (consequence) of a deed (“*We shall do this!*” or “*Do you know who I used to be?*”); ii) as a preparation (anticipation) of the deed (“*I am going to get married*” or “*From Monday I’ll get down to business!*”); iii) as means of evading from the deed (“*See you soon!*” or “*Whatever God decides!*”). The linguistic phrase of this attitude towards the spoken word (and, implicitly, towards “talkers”) is “*Let’s stop talking and let’s get down to business!*” It conveys the belief that “speaking is different from doing”, that speaking is something *else*.

In traditional societies – in Karl Popper’s terminology, “closed societies”<sup>1</sup>–, as the peasant societies from the South-Eastern Europe have been until recently, the repulsion towards abstraction systematically led to a cult of the Concrete (“let’s get down to business!”, “theory like theory, but practice is killing us”, “he spoke well, but on too general terms”); any attempt of using abstraction is labeled as “theory”, the term being used in an improper sense, which, in this semantic context, has a pejorative connotation.

In postmodern societies or in those which haven’t yet completed the attempts of modernization, the cult of the concrete is interwoven with the traditional lack of confidence in the takers, in the ones that use words effortlessly (“*many words will not fill a bushel*”). In 1991, many of the subjects of a survey performed on the streets of Moscow by the French TV channel *Antenne-2* affirmed that they never trusted Gorbaciov since he was talking too much. Similarly, Nicolae Ceausescu feared that his party would become a “club of discussions” eluding completely the nature of the political language and, implicitly, the psycho-social impact of the official discourse<sup>2</sup>.

However, after Roman Jakobson talked of the “acts of communications” (*Essais de linguistique generale*, 1960), after John Langshaw Austin elaborated the ‘speech act theory’ (*How to Do Things with Words*, 1962), theory developed by John Rogers Searle (*Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, 1969) and by other philosophers of language, it became obvious for specialists in communication sciences that “communication” means “action”, that the effects of the communication acts – verbal or non-verbal – are as important for man’s life as the effects of other human acts. Today we know: the consequences of communication are as natural as those of any other act – briefly, “communication” means “doing”. In other words, a word said to the wrong person, in the wrong moment and in the wrong place or in the wrong manner can

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Popper, *Open Society and Its Enemies*, vol. I – The Spell of Plato, Humanitas, 1993, pp. 194-227.

<sup>2</sup> The Romanian dictator’s conception on the nature of language came to light on October 28<sup>th</sup> 1977 when he passed Law no. 29/1977 which established the norms to be observed by the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania when addressing to each other. Article 1 anathematized the words “mister” and “madam”, which belonged to the Bourgeois mentality, deciding that in the work relations the names of “tovarisch” [*comrade*] or “citizen” shall be used instead (however, the law did not provide any sanction for the breach of this article!).



destroy a friendship or a love relationship<sup>3</sup>, a political alliance or an international treaty, the peace in a country or the world peace<sup>4</sup>; the same is valid for an inappropriate gesture or look...

### **Two case studies: “Mohammed cartoons” and „Benedict XIV about Christianity and Islam”**

The episode of “Mohammed cartoons” from the beginning of 2006 articulates the paradigmatic conflict between the laic West and Muslim countries (non-secularized). The publishers of the caricatures and the defenders thereof are guided either by the axiom of the “freedom of speech” (presupposition of the laic occidental paradigm) or based on a broader axiom – “freedom of thought”, which has always been proper to occidental civilization, manifesting inside the Church and against it as well (which gave Inquisition a rough time!). In exchange, the thinking of those that felt offended and set the European embassies on fire resides in the interdiction of the graphic representation of the Prophet (Islam is iconoclast); they don’t even need the “freedom of speech” because for them the “freedom of thought” is inconceivable (not because they are Muslims but because they are fundamentalists). The result of the publication of “Mohamed cartoons”: hundreds of thousands of people on the streets, tens of cars set on fire in Italy, violent acts in Lebanon, Christians burnt alive in Nigeria – in total, 30 dead people and tens of wounded. Ghaddafi dismissed the minister of internal affairs and the chief of police and the Italian minister for reform, Roberto Calderoli (Northern League), who wore on TV a T-shirt with a Mohammed cartoon, resigned after 11 protesters were killed in front of the Italian Consulate in Lebanon (former Italian colony). This dentist, aged 49, was known for his xenophobe statements; Calderoli considered that it is “hypocritical” to differentiate between “terrorist Islam” and the pacific one, alleging that “it’s time to cease inventing stories about the dialogue with these people”. Regarding the illegal immigrants in Lebanon, Calderoli said that “the period of the carrot has come to an end and now it’s time for zero tolerance. All these Ali Babas should turn to Allah, or to their own governments”. Therefore, from a disastrous politics of immigration to maximum intolerance – both extremes being the result of the absence of the concept of “cultural paradigm”. As the absence of this concept pushed Danish journalists to an irresponsible act (in terms of communicational responsibility), it determined others to defend Calderoli and his followers.

But we also had our dentists here, in Romania: for instance, Alina Mungiu, who hoped in the successful export of “democratic forms” and deplored the fact that the Occident “proved much weaker in exporting worthy and appropriate contents”<sup>5</sup>. How can the Occident export some contents that are the product of a

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<sup>3</sup> In the short story „The Hitchhiking Game” (Laughable Loves, 1969), Milan Kundera thoroughly describes the intimate, extremely delicate mechanism of the deterioration of a love affected by small and frequent strokes of words, gestures, looks and intonations.

<sup>4</sup> As regards the defiance toward world peace, the “Danish cartoons” (2005), which we will refer to herein, is well-known; it almost led to the inflammation of the conflict with the Occident and Islam

<sup>5</sup> Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, „Unsacred Wars. Mohammed and the Evangelists”, in *Revista 22*, no. 832, Friday, February 17<sup>th</sup>, pg. 14.

unique and irreparable history, a history of his own? How can it export its own history? It is as if we would fantasize that we would have, some day, the Bin Ben in Bucharest, as a sign of Romania's modernization!

Another episode that articulates the absence of communicational responsibility is the speech of Pope Benedict XVI, "On faith and reason in Christianity and Islam", delivered at Regensburg University in Germany on September 12<sup>th</sup> 2006 (it was Tuesday!). In this "academic lecture", the Pope did not miss the chance of identifying Islam with the principle of violence, with Violence itself, quoting from a six centuries old document: "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached (referring to the dialogue in 1391 between the Byzantine emperor Manoil II Paleologul with a Muslim scholar about the Christian and Islamic truths).

This academic speech had some less academic consequences: the Pope of the Vatican has been demanded to apologize by the organization "Muslim Brotherhood", by the president of Yemen, the Shiite party in Iraq, etc. Thousands of resentful Egyptians hit the bricks, mobilized by the "Muslim Brotherhood"; in Basra, Iraq, the demonstrators burnt portraits of the Pope and set a church on fire (it's true, not used for religious purposes since it was under construction), which determined Iraq government to take security measures in all Christian churches in Bagdad; the same measures have been taken by the Palestinian Authority at the Nativity Church in Batleem, guarded by soldiers; other five Christian churches have been attacked by furious protestors in Gaza Strip and Cisiordan; on behalf of the Muslim Theologies that it presides, Yussef Al-Qaradaui, influent religious leader in Quatar, demanded the Muslims to protest in a day of "peaceful rage" (Friday, September 15<sup>th</sup>); the theological schools in Iran were closed down in the following Sunday (September 17<sup>th</sup>) and so on.

As usual, the reactions of the Muslim believers have been considered "out of all proportions" by the European commenter who perceived them as a new argument in favor of the "congenital" violence of Islam and who said, between the lines: "Look, the Pope was right!" There have been few European commenters that stepped out of this vicious cycle signaled by Thomas Kuhn (circularity of the arguments in any paradigm) and who grasped the irresponsibility of the papal discourse. Great part of our commenters that analyzed the "Benedict XIV on Christianity and Islam" episode proved to have partially and/or superficially understood the issue. We suppose that neither of them was acquainted with the concept of "paradigm". Let's see how one of the most competent political analysis of our times, Cristian Pârvulescu, commented on this episode: the Muslim reactions to the Pope's speech show that "there is a lot of bad-faith" (from the part of the Muslims!), that "there is no availability towards dialogue" (of course, from the part of the Muslims as well!), and the "Vatican remarks have not been considered enough" (of course, by the Muslims); he deplored the fact that "the Muslims demanded the Pope to apologize"<sup>6</sup>... Once again, paradigm had its say! We are dealing with the same type of interpretation that dominated the European

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<sup>6</sup> The show „Sunday Marathon”, *Radio România Actualități*, September 17<sup>th</sup> 2006, 6.25 P.M.

press in the “Mohammed cartoons” scandal from which only 7 months had passed. It seems that these people wouldn’t learn anything from their own experience. In fact, they can’t learn, they are the prisoners of their own paradigm. From inside this paradigm they see the world as any prisoner does: behind the bars of his cell!

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# REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THEORY AND IMPLEMENTATION

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**Abstract:** *The paper presents a structure of the principal categories of countries by the level of development, by the level of income and by a set of indicators such as: GDP/capita, ratio of inflation, life expectancy, urban degree, education degree and other. Are presented the origines of regional science and its constituent sciences (regional planning and forecasting, urban and rural economies, planning of land use a.s.o.). As a support of the statistical knowledge of quantitative, qualitative and structural sizes of the regional development, at the European Union level, Eurostat elaborated The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics - NUTS, on three basic levels, used in all Member States, so in Romania, too. In the paper are prezented some regional development key-indicators, for Romania in the years 1998 and 2005, such they result from the Regional Operational Programme 2007 - 2013 and in the year 2010.*

**Keywords:** *regional science, regional economy, regional development, NUTS.*

**Introduction.** Is already a common thing to talk about *developed countries* and *countries in course of developing*, when we are approaching the economy at global level but what mean these concepts and what is the measure of them?<sup>1</sup> At individual level, most of times, the wealth is measured by the level of minimum wages per capita but at macroeconomic level exists a set of indicators used in international studies which emphasized the differences among countries and we include here: gross domestic product/capita, unemployment ratio, life expectancy, contribution of agriculture at the gross domestic product creation, consumption of energy per capita, ratio of inflation, urban degree, education degree and other.<sup>2</sup> After 1990, a distinct group of countries is composed by the

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<sup>1</sup> Biji, M.E., Lilea, E. Rosca, R.E., Vatui, M., *Statistica pentru economisti*, Editura Economica, Bucharest, 2010, p. 537; Anghelache, C., *Masurarea & compararea dezvoltarii economice*, Editura Economica, Bucharest, 1996, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> If we analyse some of the enumerated indicators used as measure of the level of development in a few countries we can draw some conclusions. So, in 2008 the greatest levels of gross domestic product/capita were registered by countries such as: Luxembourg (about 110 thousand USD), Norway (about 95 thousand USD), Switzerland (about 64 thousand USD), Denmark (about 62 thousand USD), Ireland (about 60 thousand USD), Iceland (about 53 thousand USD) a.s.o. In the same year, GDP/capita in Romania barely exceeded 9 thousand USD (source: *World Development Indicators*, The World Bank, <http://data.worldbank.org>). Compared with the level from the European Union, in the year 2003 GDP/capita in Romania represented 30% from the EU average (source: *Regional Operational Programme 2007 - 2013*, Ministerul Dezvoltarii, Lucrarilor Publice

countries with economy in transition from the controlled economy at that of market. Among these, some registered a visible economic growth, such as: China, Poland or Hungary. United Nations and World Bank classify the countries in three categories: *countries with reduced incomes*, with a GDP/capita at the level from 1994 less than 725 \$, *countries with high incomes* with a GDP/capita over 8.955 \$ and *countries with medium incomes*, situated between the two extremes. The discrepancy among the countries with high incomes, which are the countries from Western Europe, USA, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, registered a significant reduction in the last century, but not the same thing happened among the countries with high and low incomes, although some of them registered an important economic growth, such as so named „the new industrialized countries” (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong) or Japan. Many countries from Latin America, which have passed to a democratic system, introduced economical reforms and registered economic growth although for a short period.<sup>3</sup> As noted,

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si Locuintelor, Romanian Government, <http://www.inforegio.ro>). In the year 2009, GDP/capita in EU 27 was 23.6 thousand €, with high levels in the mentioned Member States, but also in Netherlands (about 35 thousand €), Austria (about 33 thousand €), Belgium (about 31 thousand €), Germany and France (about 29 thousand €) a.s.o. and on the other hand there are the Member States with less than 10 thousand € per capita: Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Bulgaria (source: Eurostat, <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>). The ratio of inflation in some countries at global level in 2009 was: 3.4% in Luxembourg, 3.8% in Norway, 2.4% in Switzerland, 3.4% in Denmark, 4.6% in Ireland, 12.7% in Iceland a.s.o. In Romania the ratio of inflation reduced from 9.0% in 2005 to 7.8% in 2008 (source: *World Development Indicators*, The World Bank, <http://data.worldbank.org>).

<sup>3</sup> We must have in view the term of comparison, for it can consider a certain evolution as significant economic growth. For example, between 1938 and 1980, among the countries from Latin America, only Brazil has registered a growth ratio of the income per capita higher than the 14 richest OECD countries (3.4% on Brazil compared to 2.9% in OECD), Mexico had a growth ratio similar to OECD, Ecuador and Venezuela had slightly lower rates (2.7% and respectively 2.6%). The rest of region registered rates between 2.2% (Argentina and Costa Rica) and 1.2% (Honduras). The period of years '90 was more difficult for the Latin America countries, the annual average ratio of income growth not exceeding 1% (source: Edwards, S., *Protectionism and Latin America's historical economic decline*, in *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 31, 4, 573-584 (2009), [doi.org/10.1016/j.jpolmod.2009.05.011](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpolmod.2009.05.011)). On sectors, Latin America known a high rate of growth of the foreign trade with goods in the last decade of the XX century, compared with other regions in the world: an increase of 9.3% in 2000 compared with 1990 at exports, respectively close by 12% at imports, followed by two years of recession regarding the participation of this zone at the international economic exchanges. In 2003, the value of exports had a significant increasing in Argentina (with 15%), Uruguay (17%), Brazil (21%) and Paraguay (36%). Exports increase of these countries was generated by increased investment in domains such as: hydrocarbons and mining industry, development and modernization of the natural gas and oil transmission networks (in Bolivia and Ecuador), development of the copper and gold mine (Chile and Peru) a.s.o. The year 2003 meant for the Latin America the return after the economic recession from the beginning of year 2000, with a growth of foreign trade, different manifested in zone: for example, Mexico entered in decline in 2003, Brazil and Argentina began the economic recovery in 2003, after a crisis of almost four years (source: <http://www.biblioteca.ase.ro>, <http://www.curierulnational.ro>). An explanation for the lack of sustained economic growth, comparable with that of developed countries is related to the competitiveness limits. It is considered that Latin America put in the way of competition significant impediments, more than USA, Europe or East Asian countries do and these are associated with the productivity. So, the political changes that eliminate competition are associated with large and continuous decline of productivity and production, while political changes leading to increased competition are associated with large increases of productivity and outputs in

some countries from Eastern Europe, with economy in transition, registered economic growth in certain domains and the examples are going on.<sup>4</sup>

From this concise analysis we can deduce that in certain intervals of time and in certain regions from the globe was registered economic growth, on activity sectors such as: industry, agriculture, constructions, tourism, foreign trade a.s.o., which determined the outlining of the concept of *regional development* met in all zones of the world and among all the categories of countries (countries with high, medium and low incomes). As notion, the regional development is associated with *the regional science*, as science which elaborates methods and techniques of rigorous and systematic analysis of the processes in which the space, distance, location play an important role. *The regional economy* constitutes as a subdivision of the economic science, which approaches the economic development problems at the regional level, with their characteristics related to the analysis of regional resources, regional economic growth, regional imbalances and the most adequately solutions for their improvement, regional planning a.s.o.<sup>5</sup>

**Content of regional science.** Modern economy registered many tendencies of separation between the micro and macroeconomic levels. At the interference of the two levels are found *the problems of the regions*, including the problems of *the local economies*, which approach means an approach at *spatial scale of the economy*. Constituted on a solid foundation of quantitative methods, *the regional science* offers new models for the analysis of regional development and its impact of any kind: economic, social and cultural. At the regional level, the relationships among the components of the economic system and their behaviour are more easy to study, outlining *the regional economy* sphere of investigation, as a basic discipline within regional science.

Preoccupations in the domain of regional economy were identified even at the level of *classical economic liberalism*, but the history of regional science has its origins at the early twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> Those who founded the regional science were the representatives of *the German school of spatial economy*, among we

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some industries (source: Cole, L.H., Ohanian, E.L., Riascos, A., Schmitz, A.J.Jr., *Latin America in the rearview mirror*, in Journal of Monetary Economics, 52, 1, 69 (2005), doi.org/10.1016/j.jmoneco.2004.09.002).

<sup>4</sup> According to a study of UniCredit Group New Europe Research Network, the countries from Easten and Central Europe (ECE) succeed to double the market share in the last years (1995 - 2005), reaching to hold about 4% from the total exports at the global level. The countries from ECE have earned advantages in the production sectors such as: transport equipment (for example: spare parts, ships, locomotives), electric and optic equipament (electric motors, radio/TV equipament, medical and optical instruments, computers a.s.o.). Sectors with important growths were: *wood and woodworking industry* in Romania and Turkey, *machines and equipment industry*: in Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Turkey, *constructions* in Romania, Poland, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Croatia, *wholesale and retail trade* in Romania and Bulgaria, *hotels and restaurants* in Croatia, *telecommunications* in Romania and Bulgaria (source: <http://www.financialdirector.ro>).

<sup>5</sup> Nicolae, V., Constantin, L.D., *Bazele economiei regionale și urbane*, Ed. Oscar Print, Bucharest, 1998. p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> We mention here the work of the most important classical liberal economist who followed after Adam Smith and who has remarked by the profoundness of his ideas, by his influence in the political life in England, as Parliament member, namely David Ricardo (1772 - 1823) and his "Theory of comparative costs".

mention names like: J. von Thünen, A. Weber, W. Christaller and A. Lösch, whose contributions were enriched, after the World War II, by the representatives of American, Dutch, French, German, Russian schools and other. Delimitation as science occurred in years '50 and its ascending evolution within the contemporary international scientific community owes a lot at *The Regional Science Association International* - *RSAI*, founded in 1954 and which had in view the promotion of the ideas exchange related to the development of regions.<sup>7</sup>

It can be considered that the ideological base is offered by *microeconomy*, which by its methods related to the location of the enterprises and households, was an authentic source of inspiration for the analysis of location (ReVelle, S.C., Eiselt, A.H., 2005),<sup>8</sup> from the spatial theory of prices (Brekke, R.K., et al., 2010) at the theory of residential location (Richardson, W.H., 1977).<sup>9</sup> Also *the mezoconomy* offered the base for new domains of investigation for regional economy, related to the theory of economic exchanges (Behrens, K., et al., 2007), the spatial theory of prices, the analysis of general spatial equilibrium (Raa, T.T., Berliant, M., 1985), the input - output analysis (Hewings, J.D.G., Jensen, C.R., 1987), the migration theory (David, Q., et al., 2010), reaching to the treatment of some problems such as: the regional convergence (Quah, T.D., 1996), the regional and urban markets of labour (Crampton, R.G., 1999), the sustainable growth (Munn, E.R., 1992) a.s.o. At the constitution of the regional science, as distinct domain, a contribution had also the approach in a spatial conception of some notions and methods from geography (Candea, M., Bran, F., 2001; Barnes, J.T., 2009), econometry (Paelinck, J., 1978), statistics (Unwin, J.D., 2009; del Campo, et al., 2008), mathematics (Weber, R., et al., 1990), sociology (Degenne, A., Lebeaux, M.-O., 1996), politology (Hall, C.M., 2007) a.s.o., which gives a pronounced interdisciplinary character to regional science.

At present the regional science development is achieved by the enlarging its aria of investigation, in its framework appearing and developing some disciplines with a relative new content, such as: regional planning (Soubrier, R., 2000; Getz,

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<sup>7</sup> *RSAI - The Regional Science Association International* is an international professional community interested in the study of regional impact of national and global processes of economic and social exchange. Activity of this association has at base many different disciplines, but also interdisciplinary approaches which outline a theoretic framework of regional problems approach. In 1990 RSAI changed its structure to reflect better the regional growth and development, today including three superorganizations located in North America, Europe and Pacific (source: <http://www.regionalscience.org>).

<sup>8</sup> *The analysis of location* (implementation, positioning, location) refers to the design, formulation and solving of a category of problems related to the facilities location in a given space. They were identified four components that characterize the location problems which are: (1) *the clients*, which supposed that they are already located in certain points or routes, (2) *the facilities*, which will be located, (3) *a place* where are located the customers and facilities, (4) *a measure unit* which indicates the distances between customers and facilities (source: ReVelle, S.C., Eiselt, A.H., *Location Analysis: A synthesis and survey*, in *European Journal of Operational Research*, 165, 1, 1-19 (2005), doi.org/10.1016/j.ejor.2003.11.032).

<sup>9</sup> *Residential location theory* was developed as an alternative to the model of "exchange with the exterior", considering the issues such as: the multiple centres of employment, environmental quality, non-work trips, local jurisdictions a.s.o. (source: Richardson, W.H., *A generalization of residential location*, in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 7, 3, 251 (1977), doi.org/10.1016/0166-0462(77)90012-6).

D., 1986), regional forecasting, urban economy (Helsley, W.R., 2004), rural economy (Wood, H.E., Thomas, R., 2009; Iorio, M., Corsale, A., 2010), planning of land use (van Lier, N.H., 1998), spatial sustainable growth a.s.o.<sup>10</sup> Regional economy, as a component of regional science, studies a large range of problems such as: location of economic objectives, spatial equilibrium, regional economic growth, spatial mobility of production factors (Ottaviano, P.I.G., Thisse, F.J., 2002), efficiency of spatial structures (Zenou, Y., Smith, E.T., 1995), use of economic and mathematical methods of analysis and decision for the inclusion of spatial aspects in the traditional economic theories, substantiation of regional strategies and politics a.s.o.

Regional economy uses the standard methods ensemble of *the general economic theory*, which are: input - output models, models of economic growth (Nijkamp, P., Rietveld, P., Snickars, F., 1987), models of the evaluation and multicriterial analysis (Geneletti, D., van Duren, I., 2008), but also some instruments of other adjacent disciplines such as: geography and theory of planning and their methods of classification (Eyton, J.R., 1993), geographical informatic systems (Bullen, N., Moon, G., Jones, K., 1996) a.s.o. But between the economies of regions and national economies are significant differences related to *the degree of opening of the regional economies*, bigger than the same indicator in the national economies in which they are located (Constantin, L.D., 1998; Korka, M., Tusa, M., 2004; Dobrota, N., 1997), *the labour and the capital* have a bigger degree of mobility among the country regions, being absolved by the legislative restrictions (Beugelsdijk, S., van Schaik, T., 2005), *the compulsions* related to legislation, politics, language a.s.o. have a slight action at the

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<sup>10</sup> *Regional planning* is an ensemble of creating/knowledge activities of the national and regional institutional structures, inventory of the resources, identification of the potential markets, inventory of the existed infrastructure and facilities, establishing of the objectives and priorities in development a.s.o. Generally, *the economic forecasting* consists in the prevision of the economic activities and in the case of regional sciences, in the establishing of quantitative dimension of the future evolution of regional economic and social indicators depending on the evolution from the previous period. *Urban economy* includes the ensemble of activities which takes place in urban spaces and which have as result the towns development, the improvement of the economic environment, the increasing of the economic prosperity of the life. *Rural economy* is a component of the economic development, which includes the activities carried on in the rural spaces, financial support, rural strategic development, local initiatives in the aim of life quality increasing in these zones. In the European space the rural zones development is important because the statistics reveal that over 50% from the population of the 27 Member States lives in rural areas and 91% from territory is rural. In these conditions the economic diversification in the rural communities and the management of natural resources in rural spaces are priorities in the politics of European Union rural development (source: <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rurdev>). *Planning of land use* has in view the future measures of planning and management of land use, monitoring and mediation the negative consequences of the use on land and the support of the essential resources production. An actual concept related to the community politics of the equilibrium and territorial cohesion is *the integrated spatial development*, which has as objective the mobilization of the regions and towns potential for the sustainable growth and the creation of more jobs (source: <http://www.eea.europa.eu/ro>). *Spatial sustainable development* is an application of the sustainable development at the regional level. While the regional development has economic connotations and a meaning of the economic development disparities reduction, the regional sustainable development contains the ecologic component and the component connected by the use of resources considering the needs of the future generations.



interregional level than in the case of international migration of production factors (Montalvo, G.J., Reynal-Querol, M., 2005), *the system of the interdependent relations among regions* is more developed than the system of international relationships, which have impacts on the methods of regional analysis. Related to the last aspect it should be pointed that the regional economy studies both *the interregional* and *intraregional relationships* which are established among the local economies (Rietveld, P., 1991), but is compulsory the distinction between the regional economy, which has as object of study the regions problems and the economy of the localities (urban, rural), which treats the economic and social development of localities on the base of elements which compose the locality as a system and its functions. Regional economy approaches also *the regional politics*, as modalities of the regional development implementation by well - balanced economic growth, equity in development, the reduction of the unemployment, the development of the regional sub-markets, the land use and the zoning a.s.o. Conceptually, the regional politics is frequent associated with the notion of *arrangement of territory*. So, in France, for example, the term *aménagement du territoire* acquired an economic content (as in Romania, too) and in other countries are used terms such as: *raumordnung* in Germany, with spatial organization signification, *physical planning* in England, with meaning of natural planning, *ordinacion del territorio* in Spain, with meaning of organization of territory a.s.o., terms with regional connotations (Merlin, P., 2009). Notion of regional development is used also in the official documents of European Union and OECD, where it is considered adequate to cover all the co-ordonates of regional politics.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *The European Carta of Arrangement the Territory*, the first programmed document in the domain of the territory arrangement of European Council, adopted at the European Conference of Ministers Responsible with the Arrangement of Territory from Torremolinos (Spain, May 1983) defines the arrangement of territory as: "spatial expression of the economic, social, cultural and ecologic politics of society". At the European level the notion of regional development has two senses, one used within the European Union, that of *spatial planning*, which is not totally overlapped on the meaning of mentioned terms, used by the Member States or by some regions, with reference to the organization modalities of the territorial development that characterize each country. Spatial planning refers to the elaboration of a strategy concerning the public investments and/or the public assistance based on the general estimation of the national territory, its components and the relationships among them, as well as on the larger European and/or global context. *Regional planning* has a larger signification, related to the pursuing of some great social and economic objectives, to the disparities among regions. There where this approach is dominated, the Governments play an important role. The principal European documents in force which synthetize the experience concerning the arrangement of territory, besides the European Carta of Arrangement the Territory, at which Romania aligns its politics are: *The Scheme of Development the Earth Community (SDEC) - The Balanced and Sustainable Spatial Development of the Territory of the European Union*, a document adopted at the Informal Council of Ministers Responsible with the Arrangement of Territory from the European Union countries (Germany, May 1999), *Guiding principles for a territorial sustainable development of the European continent* - document of the Council of Europe, adopted at the European Conference of Ministers Responsible with Arrangement of Territory (Hanovra, Germany, September 2000) and *the European Territorial Agende*, document of the European Commission (May 2007). In Romania, the legal framework of the conducting of the territory arrangement and urbanism activities is *the Law no. 350/2001 on the arrangement of territory and the urbanism* (source: *Ministerul Dezvoltării, Lucrărilor Publice și Locuințelor*, Romanian Government, <http://www.mie.ro>).

In the context of the regional economic development is identified *the local development*, as an activity of diversification and growth of the economic and social activities in the territory by the mobilization and co-ordination of the existed resources and energies. It can be or not the result of the public authority intervention, sometimes the phenomenon appearing spontaneous, but there are also situations when the public and organized intervention has not effects on the local development.

Regional economic development finds its place in the national economic strategies on medium and long term (Iorio, M., Corsale, A., 2010; Rosca, R.E., 2007), having in view the realization of some objectives which ensure a certain interregional equity, in conditions of efficiency and elimination of some negative effects.

**Statistical levels of regional development.** Necessities of the regional development analysis determined the establishing of some regional statistical limits within the EN, which by its organism of statistics (Eurostat) elaborated The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics - NUTS, at the begining of years '70.<sup>12</sup> NUTS recognizes two types of regions which are: *normative regions*, which have fixed boundaries concerning the transmission of local authority, the number of inhabitants according to the best economic use of the resouces and the historical factors can be the base of an agreement for the mention of the autonomy of such administrative division and *analytical or functional regions* obtained by the division on specific geographical criteria such as the altitude or the type of soil or on economic and social criteria such as the homogeneity, the complementarity or the polarization of regional economies. NUTS is a hierarhical classification on regional levels from 1 at 3. NUTS subdivides each Member State into a number of regions of level NUTS 1, each of them is then subdivides in regions of level NUTS 2 and these are devided, at their turn, in regions of level NUTS 3. By elimination the local level (municipalities), the internal administrative structure of Member States is generally based on two of these three superior regional levels. So, the administrative structure can be, for example, at the levels NUTS 1 and NUTS 3 (Länder and Kreise in Germany) or at the levels NUTS 2 and NUTS 3 (régions et départements in France, Comuniais Autúnomas y provincias in Spain).

The present nomenclature is valid from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2008 and devides the economic territory of EU in 97 regions at the level NUTS 1, 271 regions at the level NUTS 2 and 1303 regions at the level NUTS 3. Except these were defined two levels of the territorial and administrative units (LAU - Local Administrative Units) which are: a superior level (upper LAU level), which forms the level NUTS 4, valid in the following countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakia and United Kingdom and the inferior level

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<sup>12</sup> NUTS is a statistical instrument based essentially on *the grouping method*, applied in different variants (source: Badia, J., Bastida, R, Haït, J.R., *Statistique sans mathématique*, Ellipses, Édition Marketing S.A., Paris, 1997, p. 7; Isaic-Maniu, A., Mitrut, C., Voineagu, V., *Statistica pentru managementul afacerilor*, Ed. Economică, Bucharest, 1999, p. 37).

(lower LAU level), which forms the level NUTS 5, comprises of about 120000 towns or equivalent units from the 27 Member States of EU.<sup>13</sup>

In Romania was made an administrative and territorial structure which includes a regional level NUTS 3 (41 districts and Bucharest Municipality), aggregated in 8 regions of development - territorial units without juridical personality - which correspond at the level NUTS 2.<sup>14</sup> The level NUTS 1 is provided by the dividing of the territory in four macroregions of development, but it is less used at present.<sup>15</sup>

In 2003, according with a study of Eurostat, the most developed region from Romania, which is Bucharest, registered 57.9% from the level of gross domestic product per capita in European Union (EU25=100) and the lower developed region, which is North - East registered 21.7% from the same indicator, comparative with Great Britain, where the most developed region - Inner London - registered 277% from GDP/capita in the European Union or with Region Bruxelles from Belgium, with a percentage of 237%.

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<sup>13</sup> Beyond the scope to ensure the comparability among the regions situated at the same NUTS level, each level still contains regions which differ in terms of the surface, the number of inhabitants, the economic growth or administrative power. This heterogeneity at the community level reflects the existed situation in each Member State. In terms of surface the biggest regions are situated in Sweden and Finland:

- Manner - Suomi (Continental Finland) with 303000 km<sup>2</sup> and Norra Sverige (Sweden) with 288450 km<sup>2</sup>, at the level NUTS 1;
- Övre Norrland (Sweden) with 153440 km<sup>2</sup> and Pohjois - Suomi (Finland) with 133580 km<sup>2</sup>, at the level NUTS 2;
- Norrbottens län (Sweden) with 98250 km<sup>2</sup>, Lappi (Finland) with 93000 km<sup>2</sup> and Västerbottens län (Sweden) with 55200 km<sup>2</sup>, at the level NUTS 3.

Concerning the population, in 2005 were also differences among regions:

- at the level NUTS 1, Nordrhein - Westfalen in Germany and Nord - Ovest in Italy have most inhabitants (18 million and respective 15 million), while Åland in Finland is the most sparsely populated region;
- at the level NUTS 2, Île de France and Lombardia have 11 million and respective 9 million inhabitants, while 14 regions, most of them peripheral regions and islands, have about 300000 inhabitants: Åland, Burgenland, Guyane, Ceuta, Melilla, Valle d'Aosta/Vallée d'Aoste, Luxembourg, La Rioja, Corse, Açores, Madeira and three regions from Greece;
- at the level NUTS 3, the Spanish provinces Madrid and Barcelona, the Italian provinces Milano, Roma and Napoli, the German city Berlin and the Greek Attiki, all have more than 3 million inhabitants, while some regions from Germany, Spain, Belgium, Austria, United Kingdom, Greece and Gozo Island from Malta have under 50000 inhabitants (source: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>).

<sup>14</sup> Accordance with NUTS requirements is ensured by the Law no. 315/2004 on the regional development in Romania, published in the Monitor Oficial no. 577/29.VI.2004. The eight development regions of Romania are: *North - West* (included the districts: Bihor, Bistrita - Nasaud, Cluj, Maramures, Satu Mare, Salaj), *North - East* (included the districts: Bacau, Botosani, Iasi, Neamt, Suceava and Vaslui), *South - West* (included the districts: Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinti, Olt, Valcea), *South - East* (included the districts: Braila, Buzau, Constanta, Galati, Tulcea, Vrancea), *South* (included the districts: Arges, Calarasi, Dambovit, Giurgiu, Ialomita, Prahova, Teleorman), *Centre* (included the districts: Alba, Brasov, Covasna, Harghita, Mures, Sibiu), *Bucuresti - Ilfov* (included the capital Bucharest and the district Ilfov) and *West* (included the districts: Arad, Caras - Severin, Hunedoara, Timis).

<sup>15</sup> *Macroregion 1* includes the regions of development North - West and Centre, *Macroregion 2* includes the regions North - East and South - East, *Macroregion 3* includes the regions South and Bucharest - Ilfov, *Macroregions 4* includes the regions South - West and West.

An image of the regional development dimension in Romania, elaborated at the level NUTS 2, results from the indicators presented in the Table 1.

Table 1. Key-indicators of the regional development in Romania in years 1998 and 2005  
(national average = 100)

Region	GDP/capita		Unemployment ratio		FDI*/capita		SMEs/capita*		Rural inhabitants	
	1998	2004	1998	2005	1998	2005	1998	2005	1998	2005
North - East	79.8	69.2	133.6	115.2	15.3	7.7	71.3	64.5	123.9	125.5
South - East	100.1	90.7	112.5	108.5	42.7	63.8	101.4	91.4	94.7	98.7
South	85.8	83.4	97.1	123.7	65.5	41.2	77.0	67.7	129.0	129.3
South - West	90.0	83.3	104.8	125.4	11.9	31.9	85.9	70.2	120.8	116.4
West	100.9	114.7	101.9	86.4	99.1	76.3	91.2	105.7	83.8	80.7
North - West	95.5	97.2	84.6	67.8	41.9	45.4	106.5	109.0	104.9	104.0
Centre	105.9	104.2	98.1	123.7	87.7	62.9	101.1	105.7	87.1	88.9
Bucharest - Ilfov	162.2	191.5	47.1	40.7	598.3	593.5	194.1	228.2	24.8	21.1

\*FDI - Foreign Direct Investments.

\*\* includes the active local units in industry, constructions, trade and other services with less than 250 employees per 1.000 inhabitants.

Source: *Regional Operational Programme 2007 - 2013*, Ministerul Dezvoltării, Lucrarilor Publice si Locuintelor, Romanian Government, <http://www.inforegio.ro>.

Analysis shows that the tendencies of development at the regional level NUTS 2 are the result of the combination of some local development models with the influences exercised by various factors and in a lesser extent true regional tendencies. Region North - East is influenced by the dependence on the agriculture, by the location near the borders with Ukraine and Republic of Moldova, as by the mountainous character of a part from its territory. Also in the regions South and South - West the agriculture is the dominant economic activity. In the regions West, North - West and Centre, the neighbourhood of the West European markets, as well as the low dependence by the primary sector (agriculture, sylviculture, extractive industry a.s.o.) make that the number of foreign investors to be higher, which determined a more accentuated development of regions. Region South - East combines low developed districts with some more developed such as: Constanta, Galati and Tulcea. In Romania, the regional disparities are increasing due to the concentration of the economic growth around Bucharest, while in some zones from the country are registered dramatic diminutions of the economy. A comparative analysis among Member States of European Union related to the interregional disparities proves that *the relative interregional disparity* (the ratio between the region with the biggest GDP/capita and that with the lowest GDP/capita)<sup>16</sup> in

<sup>16</sup> Jaba, E., *Statistica*, Editura Economica, Bucharest, 1998, p. 97.

Romania, in 2003 was 2.7, in Belgium 3.1, in France 3.0, in Greece 1.8, in Netherlands 1.7.<sup>17</sup> Compared with 2003, in Romania the disparity was 3.5% in 2007, 3.8% in 2009, 3.9% in 2010. *Unemployment ratio* has a relative level of 71% from the average level on country in Region Bucharest - Ilfov, 86% in regions West and North - East and it reached at 157% in Region Centre, in 2010. In the same year, *number of SMEs/1.000 inhabitants* had a relative level of 232% compared with the average level on country in Region Bucharest - Ilfov, 114% in Region North - West and only 64% in Region North - Est. *Degree of urbanization* was 167%, compared with the average level on country, in Region Bucharest - Ilfov, 115% in Region West and only 75% in Region South.<sup>18</sup>

Such territorial delimitations have the role to orient the public efforts in the creating of the legal framework of supporting the activities at the territorial level, in the providing of facilities and the efforts of the investors towards regions and sectors where exists the resource that they need or that they can capitalize (available labour, touristic potential, accessible external markets, required infrastructure and access ways a.s.o.).

**Conclusions.** The few emphasized characteristics of the economic development at the global level and in Romania show us that the problem of regional development has risen as a solution at the economic difficulties in which were and still are some regions. If the theorists have defined the concepts and they have outlined the object of study of the regional science with its diversity of disciplines orientated to the study of territory, the politicians have outlined the strategies of resources inventory, economic diagnosis and implementation the politics of regional development. Indifferently how are named these politics (aménagement du territoire, raumordnung, physical planning, ordinacion del territorio, amenajarea teritoriului or other) at the Member States level and if they correspond perfectly or partly with the orientations of European Union, their role is that to provide instruments of achievement the balanced economic growth, reduction the unemployment, development the regional sub-markets, using the regional resources a.s.o. At the European level, the necessity of use some unitary criteria by the Member States in the dividing of territory on regions has determined Eurostat to elaborate a standard grouping under the form of The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics - NUTS, very useful in the realization of the interregional comparisons and in the analysis of the disparities in regional development.

### Acknowledgements

Thanks and the entire gratitude to the distinguished professors, who have created the opportunity to express the scientific ideas, opened up new possibilities of affirmation of the scientific truths and left to foresee new research directions through this modern and authentic valuable publication.

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<sup>17</sup> Data have as source the Eurostat statistics used to substantiate the Regional Operational Programme 2007 - 2013, elaborated by Ministerul Dezvoltarii, Lucrarilor Publice si Locuintelor, Romanian Government (source: <http://www.inforegio.ro>).

<sup>18</sup> Source: calculated by the data from *Anuarul statistic al Romaniei*, NIS Bucharest, 2012.

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# THE ROMANIAN OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES AFTER THE SPURIOUS ELECTIONS FROM NOVEMBER 1946. THE CASE OF THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT

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**Abstract:** *After the November-1946 elections, the leaders of the Legionary Movement decided to stop observing the protocol with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, negotiated in late 1945 by Nicolae Petra cu with the Communist Party officials. The authorities initiated campaigns for arresting active legionaries, which caused a panic behaviour among the adepts of the organization. The leaders of the Movement were summoned to react as the communists, once having legally reached to power, wanted to repress the legionaries.*

*On the other hand, Horia Sima, in Western Europe, wanted in his turn for the Legionary Movement to give up the neutrality politics. With American support, he disposed organizing within the country an information service in favour of the democratic powers. To this purpose, Eugen Teodorescu was sent in the country, with the mission of setting in motion a legionary network that should obtain whatsoever information on the Communist and Soviet activity in Romania.*

*Consequently, in late 1947, the Legionary Movement manifested again as opposition force against the regime installed in Bucharest after the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1944, paradoxically benefiting of USA's support. The Americans were disposed to "erase" the legionaries' extremist past, hoping they would find allies disposed to make active opposition within Romania's borders.*

**Keywords:** *Legionary movement; Anti-Communist resistance; Cold War; espionage; Political processes.*

After the finish of World War II, the leaders of the Legionary Movement who lived in the country decided to stop whatever opposition form against the communist regime led by Dr. Petru Groza. The Iron Guard was under the incidence of the Armistice Convention from September 1944, which at point 15 stipulated forbidding all "Nazi"-nature organizations. The neutrality of the Legionary Movement was consecrated through an agreement in principle among the organization's leaders and the Ministry of Internal Affairs led by Teohari Georgescu. This "neutrality agreement" entered into force on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1945. After the falsified elections from 1946 however, the leaders of the Legionary Movement reconsidered their position towards the regime. This way, since late 1947, they had been increasingly preoccupied with reorganization.

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### **Abandon of the “neutrality agreement” by the legionaries**

After the elections from November 1946, the communist authorities initiated visible opposition-intimidation measures. This way, through the Order no. 50.000 of the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1947 of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Siguranța (Romanian secret service), Police and Gendarmerie were authorized to arrest the citizens that would have manifested themselves as “instigators”<sup>1</sup>. In the appended instructions, the legionaries were also stipulated, which attests that the regime reckoned no longer valid the “neutrality agreement” adopted in December 1945. Arrestment for “anti-democratic manifestations” had been also operated in 1946; however they were rather intimidation measures, the arrested persons not having received liberty-privation sanctions.

Ever since the spring of 1947, the communist government increased the sanctions against its political opponents or against the opponents to its collaboration with the Soviet Union. In April 1947, Nicolae Orezeanu, great landlord from the village of Racovița (county of Vâlcea), was arrested for “propaganda and instigation against the democratic regime”, as he had urged the inhabitants to arm themselves, so as to overthrow “by their own strength” the government. Orezeanu was on the list of the legionaries whose status had been settled by the “non-aggression agreement”, as he had been a victim of the “screening” (he was confined in the camp from Caracal, in 1945). Following the inquiry, the gendarmes also discovered that Nicolae Orezeanu had declared he would take back the land of the appropriated peasants on his estate as a new war was to start soon, after which the communists would be removed from power. As regards Groza Government, the great landlord declared it was the “scum of society”, being composed of “bandits and robbers”. After having been retained a while at the Police Headquarters Râmnicu Vâlcea, Orezeanu was sent in custody in a prison (most likely at Pitești), where he expected his trial<sup>2</sup>. The same fate was shared by Ștefan Ciobanu, from the village of Dracea (county of Argeș), who was arrested in April 1947 for critics to the Government and admiration declarations to the Legionary Movement. Ciobanu, member of PNL-Tătărescu during his arrestment, had been head of legionary mesh before the War. Based on the Order no. 50.000/1947, he was sent in custody to the prison of Pitești<sup>3</sup>.

The arrestment from the spring of 1947 had no longer the role of intimidating the political opponents. The order of “confining the instigators” had been applied throughout the year, the regime aiming at neutralizing the opponents that openly manifested hostility. In November 1947, the “legionary-origin reactionary”, Ștefan Ionescu, was arrested, the chief of the butchery from the village of Burdujeni (county of Suceava). He had declared that Groza Government consisted in “thieves that will lead the country down the drain”. As regards Stalin, he asserted he was “a bandit that steals everything from the country to feed his hungry army”. Furthermore, Ionescu recommended the inhabitants in the area not to observe the Armistice Convention and the Peace Treaty, “instigating them to revolt and

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<sup>1</sup> Romania’s National Archives – Direction Central Historical National Archives (subsequently DANIC), Fund of the Gendarmerie’s General Inspectorate, file no. 27/1947, f. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, f. 501.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, f. 59.

rebellion against the current regime”. Following his attitude, he was arrested in the prison Gherla<sup>4</sup>.

The arrestment was not only reduced to some local leaders of the Legionary Movement. The authorities started in 1947 the offensive against the right-wing extremists with terrorist potential, especially those parachuted from Germany, in 1944. This way, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1947, Filon Verca, head of a team parachuted in Banat, who, after the “neutrality ” had legalized his status and activated as teacher at the High-School “Traian Doda“ from Caransebeș, was arrested. The circumstances of Verca’s arrestment are special. In 1945, when he legalized himself and his group, he also refused to deliver the arms. One of the comrades, Nicolae Târziu, compared however to the police and unveiled the strategy. The authorities took then no action, in 1945, waiting for the propitious moment to pass to arrestment in the case of the non delivered arms. The operation was consumed in August 1947, when Filon Verca reached in the inquiry of the Safety from Timișoara. He managed however to escape, being condemned, in his absence, to 20 prison years<sup>5</sup>.

When they had not in the file “subversive issues” in the case of the legionaries returned from Germany after the war, the authorities resorted to the strategy of re-judging older trials. This way, Constantin Coniac, worker at Bocșa Română (county Timiș-Torontal), was arrested in October 1947 and deferred to the Martial Court of Bucharest in order to serve a 15-year hard-labour sentence, given in the absence, for having participated in the events from the 21<sup>st</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> of January 1941. Coniac had his papers in order, received after having returned in the country (September 1945), when he compared to the police accompanied by Vică Negulescu. However, now, in 1947, the authorities decided to reopen the non-executed sentence. The local representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs interpreted as legionary activity, Coniac’s action of setting up a canteen for the workers of the site Bocșa Română. For surveys, he was sent to Bucharest, accompanied by a gendarme. He met Decebal-Corneliu Andrei in a tramway that circulated from the station Gara de Nord to the Prison of the Martial Court. Andrei transmitted Coniac’s misfortune to Vică Negulescu. Intervening by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Negulescu obtained his comrade’s freedom, after a one-month arrestment. After leaving the prison, Constantin Coniac met Negulescu, who transmitted him that the authorities had issued arrestment mandates for all legionaries with older trials. There was nothing left to do but preparing their defence<sup>6</sup>.

### **Negotiations in “country commandment” as regards reorganizing the Legionary Movement**

The authorities’ attitude after the 1946-elections determined some legionaries to make pressures on the “Country’s Commandment”. The legionaries

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<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, f. 223-226.

<sup>5</sup> Verca, Filon, *Parașutați în România vândută: mișcarea de rezistență: 1944-1948*, Timișoara, Gordian Publishing House, 1993, p. 214.

<sup>6</sup> Archive of the National Council for Studying the Security’s Archives (subsequently ACNSAS), Fund Penal, file no. 431, f. 490-501.

who felt targeted by the government's campaign of "confining the instigators" launched posters in the country's capital and main cities, wherein there was the call "to action" against the communists. For instance, in May 1947, in the area Dorobanți from Bucharest, the policemen found the following poster stuck on a window shop: "Your time has come, stinky Jews / Death draws near to you, robbers and bandits / Who brought sorrow in our country / The time will come for you to stand in nail / From diaper to white beard / God is with us, even His Son / God help us to escape the Jews" (signed: "A Romanian")<sup>7</sup>. The posters and manifests continued to appear in the summer of 1947. This way, in the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1947, manifests in Romanian and Ukrainian were thrown from a train in the area Dornești-Rădăuți, with the following content: "Romanian brothers, the day of your liberation comes soon, the communists will be destroyed throughout the world, be united and arm yourselves, the Red Army must be attacked, intellectuals from all branches who are purged, you will soon be put out of service, make the connection with the band brothers in the mountains, who will help to save you, start the fight, destroy bridges, factories etc. Long live free, national and independent Romania"<sup>8</sup>.

The officers of the Legionary Movement's "Country Commandment" and in the first place Nicolae Petrașcu and Vică Negulescu, could not omit these signals from the comrades. After the entrance into force of the "neutrality agreement", this was the very purpose of maintaining the "Country's Commandment", to impede the sliding of the active nestles towards extremism. The two above-presented manifests are significant for noticing the rise of the internal tension within the organization. First, the anti-Semitic message had been utterly banned after the end of the War, in the conditions in which the legionary Movement – both in exile and the country – had announced it renounces the inter-War ethnic-criteria discriminatory theses. Secondly, the appeal to supporting Bucovina's partisans also raised problems for the "Country Commandment", as Nicolae Petrașcu had announced he did not support any resistance movement. Consequently, Petrașcu, Negulescu and the other leaders in the country were forced to make a decision, as they were losing the Legionary Movement of their hand. The records of the Ministry of Affairs claimed that in the country approximately 48.000 legionaries existed, whereof 12.400 had "degrees and functions" in the organization<sup>9</sup>. Of course, not all of them were active, but most of them were aware that, if the regime initiated a repression campaign of the organization, all individuals known to ever have been connected to the Iron Guard would be subject to inquiry. The precedent exists of the "sorting" from 1944-1945. In 1947, the most powerful organizations were in the student centres. For instance, in Bucharest, around 1.000 legionary students activated<sup>10</sup>.

Even if they were aware something had to be done, Nicolae Petrașcu and Vică Negulescu did not know where to begin, as they were faithful to the "neutrality

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<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, Documentary Fund, file no. 11572, f. 24.

<sup>8</sup> DANIC, General Direction Fund of the Police, file no. 45/1947, f. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, Central Committee Fund of the Romanian Communist Party – Administrative Political Department, file no. 4/1952, f. 13.

<sup>10</sup> ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file no. 181086, vol. 2, f. 136-139.

agreement". Especially Petrașcu, retired at Sibiu, at his family, wished peace with the communists, hoping the legionaries would be left alone. The first actions, quite frail, were initiated in early 1947, when the two decided to remake the connections between legionaries. In order not to compromise the action, it was decided for the legionary units to have new heads. In principle, they were appointed by Petrașcu, he nevertheless also let Vică Negulescu and Nistor Chioreanu make decisions. Anyway, any appointment had to be subsequently confirmed by Petrașcu<sup>11</sup>. The most significant action was changing the leadership of the legionary organization of the Capital, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1947.

However, finally, the decisive impulse for initiating the Legionary Movement's reorganization came from abroad, from Horia Sima. He sent Eugen Teodorescu in the country, to check the organization's real situation. Sima had quite vague information on his Romanian subordinates. The safest source had been Ovidiu Găină, fled across the border in 1946<sup>12</sup>. But he was not accurately acquainted with the "neutrality agreement", as he had not agreed to Petrașcu's strategy and consequently did not participate in the negotiations with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in late 1945.

Teodorescu's arrival in the country was not only connected to the dispositions received from Horia Sima, but also to initiating a contact between the Legionary Movement in exile and the American Secret Services. What had happened? Eugen Teodorescu, together with a group of approximately 40 comrades, was caught by the end of the war in Austria's American-occupation area, somewhere between Linz and Salzburg. Through the engineer Caraion, who set up a "National Committee" of the Romanians from Salzburg, he managed to make acts to stay in Austria, on the grounds he had been confined in Nazi camps during War. In time, however, his legionary activity was disclosed by USA's secret services. The Americans already prepared the recruitment of Germany's former collaborators from Eastern Europe, who had somehow activated against the Soviet Union, in the end of the War. After gathering information, they arrested the potential collaborators, under various pretexts. It happened that way with Eugen Teodorescu, who was arrested in late March 1946, together with the advocate I.V. Emilian. The American military police brought him to CIC<sup>13</sup> headquarters from Linz, where he was interrogated by captain Lainet, head of the counter-sabotage service. The inquiry followed Teodorescu's past in the Legionary Movement, the questions proceeding from a survey. He was set free, but he was called from time to time for other questions related to the Legionary Movement's pre-war activity: the reason for a "Legionary Workers' Body" (relation with the left-wing ideology), the Movement's standpoint on capitalism and economy in general etc. The inquirers were interested in the Western Europe's areas wherein legionaries existed, but also in the activity of the ones within the country. After a few rounds of researches, Teodorescu was advanced the proposal to work for CIC. Taken by surprise, he wanted first Vasile Iașinski's permission (confined in a camp at Salzburg at the time), as he still reckoned himself a legionary and needed a

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<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, Penal Fund, file no. 431, vol. 1, f. 34-37.

<sup>12</sup> ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file no. 181086, vol. 2, f. 213-220.

<sup>13</sup> *Counterintelligence Corps* – USA Army's secret service during the Second World War.

hierarchical superior's assent for such an action. Cap. Lainet coldly answered him after the formulation of these arguments; therefore Teodorescu accepted the collaboration, lest he should be arrested. For the beginning, the Americans wanted to provide data on the Romanians in Linz, and then to leave for Romania in a mission, in order to study to what extent a legionary organization-based information services could be organized.

From Linz, Eugen Teodorescu went to Salzburg, where he met Vasile Mailat. He had also been inquired by CIC, which had likewise advanced the proposal for him to work for the Americans. The two agreed to accept the mission to leave for the country, especially as they knew Sima's desire to send somebody in Romania, to find the Movement's real situation. The task given by the Americans could be combined with Horia Sima's disposition. They decided to send a courier in Italy, to the "Commander", for their mission to be accepted. After five weeks, from Italy, towards Austria, Ovidiu Găină came, accompanied by Mircea Dimitriu. According to Sima's dispositions, Găină should have left for the country, and not Teodorescu. Ovidiu Găină was acquainted with post-War Romania's new realities, considering he had activated from 1944 to 1946 in the country. However, Teodorescu argued it was very hard for him to introduce him in CIC's network, as he had discussed with cap. Lainet about a possible mission in Romania. Following some discussions, they settled Teodorescu would however leave. He compared to cap. Lainet, whom he communicated he accepted the mission to leave for the country, together with other two legionaries. But the departure was delayed, as cap. Lainet was replaced from his function. The new head of the counter-sabotage service of the CIC from Linz, Mr. Insen, gave priority to his own network of Romanians prepared to leave in mission in the country. A team led by slt. Maghirescu (non-legionary) was led by the American soldiers to Arad, but he returned after a month, with no results.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1947, Eugen Teodorescu met again Vasile Mailat, at Salzburg. On this occasion, Mailat handed to Teodorescu a note from Horia Sima, who commissioned him to leave for the country, to see the legionaries' real situation. He had to communicate the "Commandment" to lay the stress on reorganization and any initiative with political character was forbidden – no one was allowed to politically employ the Legionary Movement through personal decision.

The meeting with Mailat brought to Eugen Teodorescu not only instructions from Horia Sima, but also a new contact with the American special services. Vasile Mailat had been approached by a certain Malner, Austrian at origin, having recently left the camp from Glasenbach. The connection between Mailat and Malner had been mediated by Alexandru Randa, likewise confined at Glosenbach. Malner told him he worked for the American services in Frankfurt, needing to be recommended a legionary to collaborate with. If he found them, an American information officer was to arrive at Salzburg for this mission. Considering that the CIC from Linz had abandoned the collaboration with him, Teodorescu accepted the new contact, especially that he now had an official mission from Horia Sima. Through Mailat, Eugen Teodorescu received from Malner 50 dollars, 1.000 Austrian schillings and the necessary documents facilitating the illegal passage in Romania.

The departure to Romania occurred at mid May 1947, Teodorescu being accompanied by Dragoș Hoinic. Through Traian Puiu, Hoinic's brother in law, the two contacted at Vienna, Gheorghe (Ghiță) Stoia, who dealt with the illegal trade between Austria and Hungary. After two weeks, Stoia facilitated their clandestine passage to Hungary. They took the train to Budapest, then to Beckesksaba, where they contacted the legionary Petre Lipovan's relatives. One of his cousins carried them by motorcycle to a border village, crossing the frontier in Romania, at Salonta. They walked to Arad, wherefrom they took the train to Bucharest. Teodorescu and Hoinic met by chance, in Gara de Nord, Niță Ghimbășanu, who led them to Vică Negulescu. At their sight, Negulescu wanted them all to go to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, to legalize his situation. Teodorescu told him he wished to return to Austria, intending to speak first of all with Nicolae Petrașcu.

The meeting occurred in a week, somewhere in the period June-July 1947, on the lakeside Tei in the Capital. Petrașcu submitted to Teodorescu the situation of the legionaries in the country, attempting to justify the circular from August 1945 and the "neutrality agreement". Nicolae Petrașcu insisted for Horia Sima to be informed that he attempted to contact him to receive "absolution" and even to leave the country, however he did not succeed. At the end of the discussion, Eugen Teodorescu also communicated to Petrașcu the second component of his mission, respectively constituting a pro-American information service with the Legionary Movement's support. After a few weeks, in July 1947, Teodorescu and Hoinic returned in Austria<sup>14</sup>.

As the new instructions from Horia Sima had very serious implications on the relation between the Legionary Movement and the authorities, the leadership nucleus of the "Country Commandment" reunited for discussions. The meeting took place in early August 1947, under the pretext of a trip in the Mountains of Făgăraș, at Bâlea Lake. Nistor Chioreanu went in Aurel Călin's company, who also informed him about the meeting, and Nicolae Petrașcu made team with Vică Negulescu. Petrașcu broadly narrated them the discussion with Teodorescu. First, the legionaries in exile had information that, in 1948, in Romania, new elections were scheduled, under international surveillance, in order to avoid the scandal of counterfeiting the 1946-scrutiny. The Legionary Movement would have been authorized to submit lists in the new conjecture. Therefore, Horia Sima gave dispositions to the "Country's Commandment" to initiate reorganizing the Legionary Movement, on counties, so that, when the electoral campaign began, it should be prepared for action. Sima's instructions, brought through Teodorescu, recommended a prudent reorganization – only the skeleton to be constructed (county heads, possibly mesh heads), from trustful people that should be placed on the election lists.

Petrașcu was not delighted with the received dispositions, claiming those in the exile did not "optimally see" the realities in the country. First, he did not want the Movement to provoke the communists (he also omitted that, after the elections, the authorities had taken manifold measures against the organization's members). Finally, at the pressure of the other participants in the discussion,

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<sup>14</sup> ACNSAS, Penal Fund, file no. 335, vol. 1, f. 567-574.

Petrașcu accepted to begin the reorganization, but he recommended his collaborators prudence in choosing their people<sup>15</sup>.

Nevertheless Petrașcu was not inwardly convinced about the necessity and, especially, the efficacy of the reorganization. Therefore, he searched for a parallel contact with Horia Sima, mistrusting Teodorescu's plans to establish a pro-American information service, on the Legionary Movement's structure. In September 1947, Decebal-Corneliu Andrei's wife, of Italian origin, decided to repatriate, considering Romania's ever tenser situation. At departure, Vică Negulescu handed him a letter addressed to Horia Sima, in which he made a "report" on the country's political situation and on the legionaries. Andrei's wife should have contacted the legionaries from Italy, so that they might transmit the letter to Sima<sup>16</sup>. One does not know whether the information reached Horia Sima.

The most powerful organization regrouped in 1947 was the one of the Capital. Reactivating *the nestles* had begun previous to Eugen Teodorescu's arrival in the country, once with the shift of the leadership from Nelu Rusu to Mircea Nicolau, in March 1947.

Who was Mircea Nicolau? During the national-legionary government, he held the position of police inspector at Craiova, being arrested for "rebellion", despite not being in town on the 21<sup>st</sup> -23<sup>rd</sup> of January 1941. He was sentenced to 15 prison years, serving his sentence at Aiud, Craiova, Văcărești and Jilava. After the adoption of the "neutrality agreement" he was pardoned, in 1946, following an appeal to the Military Court of Justice and Cassation. After the liberation, he continued his studies, graduating the Faculty of Philosophy, in 1946. Meanwhile, he resumed the connections with the Legionary Movement, visiting Vică Negulescu several times. This one had initially traced no task for him, discussing general issues, but also the situation of the Movement, after the negotiation of the "neutrality agreement"<sup>17</sup>. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1947 however, Mircea Nicolau received from Negulescu the task to lead the organization of Bucharest. Nelu Rusu, who had fulfilled this responsibility so far, was known by the authorities for legionary activity, but he had also shown quite inactive lately

The command was delivered in the presence of Nicolae Petrașcu and Mircea Nicolau. The organization of Bucharest had the following structure in March 1947. The head of the "Legionary Working Body" (CML) was eng Semergiu, who worked at the Ministry of the Public Works. Nelu Rusu introduced him in March to Nicolau, in Cișmigiu Park. The "Body Răsleți" (Solitary) was led by Emil Bulhac, CFR clerk. The connection with Mircea Nicolau was achieved within the CFR Palace, at mid March. The head of the "Legionary Student's Body" (CSL) was Petre Sultana, however she had behaved quite vaguely lately. Sultana seems not to have been notified that Nicolau had reached to the Capital's leadership. The leadership of the "Girls' Body" was held by Titi Găță, who was to contact Mircea Nicolau through Vică Negulescu. In Capital, no FdC ("Cross Fellowships" – the pupils division) organization existed, the head on the country being Costache Opreșan, who worked directly with the "Country's Commandment". The group of the

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<sup>15</sup> Chioreanu, Nistor, *Morminte vii*, Iași, Institutul European, 1992, p. 155-161.

<sup>16</sup> ACNSAS, Penal Fund, file no. 431, vol. 1, f. 34-37.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, f. 50-62.



Capital's "Suburban organizations" was led by Dumitru (Mitică) Staicovici. He was in direct contact with Nicolau, as they knew themselves from the prison of Aiud. The Capital's organization was constructed in extreme conspiracy, its head only being known by the heads of the subordinate Bodies or at most by their substitutes<sup>18</sup>.

The most powerful Body of the Capital was the "Răsleți", led by Emil Bulhac. According to the instructions regarding the activity in illegality, it was organized on *nestles*, consisting in 3-4 members. In line with the conspiracy rules, Nicolau did not know the members of *the nestles*, being in direct connection only with Bulhac. Only when special tasks had to be traced, Mircea Nicolau met with the members of *the nestles*.

Unlike Emil Bulhac, eng. Semergiu did not manage to organize the workers in a compact structure. Generally, *the nestles* of the "Legionary Working Body" were composed of workers that did not work together, but at different enterprises. It was risky to constitute nestles in factories, where the surveillance of the communist syndicates was rigorous, and the legionary activity could be disclosed. Generally, on the Capital's level, there activated workers from: STB, Malaxa, Vulcan, Army's arsenal, waiters, Gas and Electricity, CFR, but also from other units within the Bucharest administrative divisions called "Red" and "Blue". Nicolau did not know the name of the CML unit heads, and he had never had connections with them. The dispositions and the funds were traced/paid in through eng. Semergiu<sup>19</sup>.

The second most important organization on national level, after the one of the Capital, was the "Cross Fellowships". They started to resume their activity, in accordance with the new dispositions of the "Country's Commandment", after the beginning of the high-school courses, in October. The legionary pupils generally met in public places, such as, for instance, the parks or forests on the outskirts of the towns. Sometimes, the meetings were held at the members' residences<sup>20</sup>. As usually, the FdC-s especially dealt with the courier activities. A radicalization of the FdC-s' activity were registered in the spring of 1948, when the authorities' measures against the Legionary Movement were tightened<sup>21</sup>.

Reorganizing the Legionary Bodies in 1947 aimed at observing Horia Sima's dispositions of reactivating the organization, in view of participating to the presumptive free elections, in 1948. However, Romania's signals did not lead to such a perspective, on the contrary. The opposition had been cast outside the law, and its main leaders, headed by Iuliu Maniu, were imprisoned in late 1947. Therefore, the reorganization of the Legionary Movement had to be redirected, in the possibility of a direct confrontation with the regime. There were not needed heads of the counties on the lists, but leaders of the radical *nestles*, who should organize the resistance against the governmental measures, when necessary. Was the Legionary Movement capable of achieving something like that, after two years

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<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, f. 162-163.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, f. 50-62.

<sup>20</sup> DANIC, MI Fund-Diverse, file no. 2/1947, f. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, loc. cit., file no. 6/1932, f. 52.

of inactivity and control from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as a consequence of the “neutrality agreement”?

After Eugen Teodorescu’s second arrival in the country, in November 1947, the “Country’s Commandment” decided, in parallel with the informative activity, to initiate a “subversive activity. It was clear for everybody that, once with organizing the pro-American information service, the neutrality politics ended, and if the authorities discovered one of these activities – of “espionage” or “subversive” – the arrestment started. The responsibility of mobilizing the “fight”-potential *nestles* was incumbent on Nistor Chioreanu, who also had this responsibility in 1944-1945, after the parachuting of Germany’s teams. Chioreanu gave dispositions for the legionaries involved in this activity to be organized in 3-4-person teams, which should be prepared to take action whenever he would ask. However, as in 1944-1945, the legionaries from *the nestles* prepared for resistance had no armament, being advised to cope as they can<sup>22</sup>. In 1947, Decebal-Corneliu Andrei found out an armament and ammunition deposit unknown by the authorities existed somewhere close to Ploiești. Vică Negulescu sent him to verify, however he discovered nothing. Likewise, the heads of the “Country’s Commandment” were noticed by Șerban Secu that one or two wireless telegraphy apparatuses were hidden in a locality from Transylvania. Likewise, after the searches, nothing was discovered. The “Commandment” did not even have resources for counterfeiting identity documents, vital action for an illegal activity. Asked by Gabriel Bălănescu on this issue, Vică Negulescu advised him to cope as he can<sup>23</sup>. The situation was more critical than in the spring of 1945, when at Petrașcu’s arrival in Bucharest, Nelu Rusu (through the organization of the “Women”) he had managed to forfeit documents for a few clandestine comrades.

Despite these difficulties, Nistor Chioreanu decided however to continue the planning of the “subversive action”. In Transylvania, he appointed Șerban Secu as person in charge, in Banat, he appointed Puiu Florescu, and in Oltenia and Muntenia, he appointed Ion Jurubiță. For Moldova, Chioreanu had no fiduciary, tracing for Vică Negulescu this responsibility. Negulescu appointed as person in charge with Moldova, Gabriel Bălănescu. Gheorghe Brahonschi was to deal with the subversive organization in the university centres, as in the previous years. Likewise, the issue of the pupils from FdC pertained to Constantin Opreșan’s attributions, whom Chioreanu himself had invested at the command of this Body<sup>24</sup>. For the safety of the communication, a secret code was used. It had been created by a legionary before the war, being perfected in 1947, through eliminating some information-decrypting difficulties<sup>25</sup>.

The action of the “Country’s Commandment” for mobilizing the “fight”-potential *nestles* did not give the expected yield. Firstly, most legionaries were not disposed to involve themselves in such a dangerous action, which would have them made compare in a military court for “undermining the State”. Only those known by the authorities for their extremist activities, who could be arrested

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<sup>22</sup> ACNSAS, Penal Fund, file no. 335, vol. 1, f. 536.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., file no. 431, f. 23-25

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., file no. 335, f. 536.

<sup>25</sup> DANIC, MI Fund–Diverse, file no. 5/1948, f. 1-5.

anytime, pre-eminently involved themselves, as they had nothing to lose. Secondly, there was a serious resistance-financing issue. At his arrival in the country in the summer of 1947, Eugen Teodorescu had in his pocket a few dollars and Austrian schillings. The Americans who sent him in Romania were willing neither to finance a resistance action, nor to send armament. Likewise, Horia Sima had no possibility to send money in the country, as he illegally lived in Italy and very rarely showed up. The active legionary organizations, especially the Capital's, gathered contributions mostly for helping the imprisoned comrades and their families. Only in February 1948 Nicolae Petrașcu disposed a "battle" for collecting funds, to the purpose of financing the clandestine activity. Only 300.000 lei were collected, the action being hastily made<sup>26</sup>.

Some Bodies managed to independently administer themselves and to print leaflets whereby they called the legionaries to opposition against the regime. This way, by the New Year 1948, the "Cross fellowships" launched the manifesto "Dear comrades" wherein an appeal was made to mobilization: "Despite the enemies who want to see us divided and weak, we welcome the New Year 1948 with faith in our legionary road and we listen to the order of our Commander Horia Sima. Comrades, do not stop for one second your fight in the first place with yourselves, in order to become the faithful and strong soldiers that the nation expects. On everyone's shoulders, heavy responsibilities will soon push. Prepare yourselves! Not fleeting and worthless enthusiasm, but thorough comprehension of our mission in front of God and our country. There is particularly one thing you must perseveringly deal with throughout your activity: the issue of the recruiting. Keep the continuity. Show your strength and unceasingly prepare the best elements. Happy birthday! Long live the Legion and the Captain" (signed: Deputy Chief FdC, Vasile Văleanu)<sup>27</sup>.

However, the mobilization claimed by the leaflets of the Legionary Bodies did not have mass effect. The only important moment when the illegal opposition's anti-governmental activity was noticed were the elections for the Great National Assembly from the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1948 (the scrutiny took however place without international observers and without other parties except the Communist-tolerated ones on the lists!). On this occasion, the legionaries, in cooperation with the National Peasant Party led a denigration campaign against the regime, through diverse harassment activities. This way, the posters of the Popular Democracy Front were torn, anti-governmental leaflets were printed and disseminated, anti-communist slogans were written on fences and walls etc. Some "reactionaries" advised the citizens not to pick up their voter cards, to refrain from voting, or to annul the bulletin through wrongly applying the seal. The most intense such activities were registered in the counties of Arad, Prahova, Tecuci, Hunedoara and in Bucharest<sup>28</sup>. In the town of Oltenița, portraits of Mihai I, Horia Sima and Corneliu Codreanu were stuck one night<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file no. 151086, vol. 2, f. 50.

<sup>27</sup> DANIC, MI Fund–Diverse, file no. 6/1932, f. 65.

<sup>28</sup> ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file no. 10312, f. 143-146.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, f. 10-11.

### **The Legionary Movement's pro-American information service**

Both due to the enthusiasm lack for “subversive actions” and to the fund lack, the action of organizing an opposition “in the field” against the communist regime, in the autumn 1947 – spring 1948, failed. The Legionary Movement’s “Country’s Commandment” focused its attention also on another activity during this period, respectively creating an information service for the Americans.

After leaving the country, in July 1947, Eugen Teodorescu returned in Austria, so as to report his mission from Romania. At Salzburg, he met Vasile Mailat, Malner and a certain Auner (Austrian having left the camp from Glasenbach, who worked for the Americans, as Malner). With Mailat, he discussed the situation of the Legionary Movement in the country, so that the information should be forwarded to Horia Sima. The discussion with Malner and Auner referred to the possibilities of founding a pro-American information service, among the legionaries. He transmitted the two that he had laid the bases of a small “kernel of informative network in Romania, which has also started working”<sup>30</sup>. As a matter of fact, he did not realize that, but he only disposed of a “report” drawn up by Vică Negulescu<sup>31</sup>. Then, Malner and Auner asked him a few informative notes on the situation in Romania: the mood, economics, law of agricultural-product collection, situation of the industry, Gheorghe Tătărescu’s memorial, possible resistance groups, Iuliu Maniu’s arrestment, king Mihai I’s situation, status of various political men, officers’ mood etc. Teodorescu was asked to elaborate a budget “per capita” framed in his informative network. He was to receive 1.000 dollars monthly, calculated in lei at the official currency, for a network of ten people. The notes drawn up by Eugen Teodorescu had to be signed “617“, and the ones written by his collaborators in the country with the subsequent figures to 617. Malner wanted Teodorescu to immediately leave for Romania, and to organize two deliveries of material monthly. Eugen Teodorescu however objected, claiming the time was too short and he would send a material monthly. Beside organizing the service and gathering material, he also had to arrange a wireless telegraphy connection (he was instructed to use this means of communications). After a week since his arrival at Salzburg, Teodorescu was introduced to a certain Turner, American information officer, who kept a civilian appearance. He studied the notes he had drawn up, being delighted with the information he could obtain through the legionary network.

In early September, Eugen Teodorescu also had an important meeting on legionary line, with Traian Borobaru (Horia Sima’s close collaborator), who arrived at Salzburg. This meeting was organized by Vasile Mailat. Teodorescu submitted to Borobaru, the Legionary Movement’s situation in the country, as well as its connections with the chain Turner–Malner–Auner, that he had to communicate to Horia Sima. In the closing of the discussion, Borobaru communicated to Teodorescu that he will deal by himself with the information service, without involving Nicolae Petraşcu. The latter had to continue taking care of the Legionary Movement, the two activities – of reorganization and informative

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<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, Penal Fund, file no. 335, vol. 1, f. 567-574.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., file no. 431, vol. 1, f. 19-20.

– being independent. Eugen Teodorescu had to remain in the country at most six months and thereafter return to Austria. If Petrașcu had to come abroad, he would be let this know through couriers. After this discussion, Borobaru went to Bavaria, returning in early October. Meanwhile, Teodorescu found out from Mailat that both Borobaru and Malner and Auner had discussions. It is not clear to what extent Horia Sima was involved in this information activity, however it is certain that Traian Borobaru worked with the Americans. The information in the country had to be sent to Vasile Mailat, who forwarded them. The informative service wherein the Legionary Movement was involved was connected to other American superior centres, passing over Salzburg.

Eugen Teodorescu's departure towards the country was scheduled in late October 1947. He received from Auner 1.000 dollars, plus sympathetic ink, so as to be used in writing the informative notes. As in the summer, he left Salzburg with Dragoș Hoinic, whom he gave 450 dollars. Thereafter the two went to Vienna, in order to contact Ghiță Stoia, to the purpose of facilitating the illegal passage of the Austro-Hungarian frontier. Nevertheless, on the road, Hoinic got sick, Stoia replacing him in his mission towards Romania. They crossed the border between Austria and Hungary, at mid November, reaching to Bucharest on the same route as in June.

The day after their arrival in the Capital, they contacted Vică Negulescu, whom Teodorescu informed about Borobaru's dispositions: The "Country's Commandment" should deal with the reorganization and those arrived from Austria with the information service. For this last mission, he asked a contact, and Negulescu recommended Decebal-Corneliu Andrei (friend with Costache Oprișan, head of FdC and with many contacts in the Legionary Movement). Teodorescu and Andrei met after a few days, establishing a plan on how to work and how to report a material: military, political, economic, social information on important political men, on the activity of the Government and of the opposition, on the militaries' mood etc. A horizontal network had to be organized – throughout the country, and a vertical one – on fields of activity. Every network head had to keep up contact with Decebal-Corneliu Andrei, who communicated afterwards with Teodorescu<sup>32</sup>.

After Teodorescu's arrival in Bucharest, Vică Negulescu called Nicolae Petrașcu and Nistor Chioreanu from Sibiu, for deliberation. The meeting took place in Nelu Rusu's house. The discussions were adversarial, as Teodorescu could not prove he had an order from Horia Sima for organizing the espionage service. Unlike the first arrival, in the summer, Teodorescu really had no signal from Sima, only from Traian Borobaru (his secretary), who worked with the Americans in Germany. However, in 1947, not even Borobaru had regular contacts with Sima, who lived in Italy, hiding his identity. Consequently, because of the intricate situation, Teodorescu was advised to work discreetly and not to involve too much the Legionary Movement in the information activity<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, Penal Fund, file no. 335, vol. 1, f. 567-574.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, f. 504-505.

After the meeting, Petrașcu and Chioreanu left for Sibiu, and Eugen Teodorescu remained in connection with Vică Negulescu, from the “Country’s Commandment”. He did not have frequent meetings even with this one, for conspiracy. He was however in permanent dialogue with Decebal-Corneliu Andrei, who, until mid-December, managed to gather by himself a few informative notes, after the model required by Teodorescu at his arrival in the country. They were transcribed with sympathetic ink and sent through Ghiță Stoia in Austria. Stoia crossed the border illegally, on the route of his arrival in the country, being helped by Aurel Călin<sup>34</sup>. He arrived safely at Vienna, sending his information to Salzburg, to Vasile Mailat, through Gogu Gheorghiu<sup>35</sup>.

On the other hand, the suspicion of the members of the “Country’s Commandment” as regards Teodorescu’s action was maximal. This way, after Ghiță Stoia’s departure towards Austria, Vică Negulescu ordered Decebal-Corneliu Andrei to leave in Occident, in order to contact Horia Sima. He managed to cross the Romanian-Hungarian border, however he turned back for lack of money to continue his trip<sup>36</sup>.

Returned to Bucharest, Decebal-Corneliu Andrei continued his activity of information collection. In early February 1948, from Austria to Romania, Dragoș Hoinic came, clandestinely crossing the frontier, by Beba-Veche. He had received instructions for Teodorescu from Gogu Gheorghiu, and sympathetic ink, as pills, from Vasile Mailat<sup>37</sup>. Hoinic met Vică Negulescu and Decebal-Corneliu Andrei, in the latter’s house. A scandal sparked, as Eugen Teodorescu and Ghiță Stoia had not managed to adequately use the sympathetic ink in December 1947, and the informative notes reached to Salzburg could not be read. In February 1948, problems with the sympathetic ink had appeared again, as they used wrongly the solving formula and it became unusable<sup>38</sup>. Finally, Dragoș Hoinic wrote the informative notes with regular ink, risking to be arrested for espionage, in case he was searched. Decebal-Corneliu Andrei supplied him with data on the situation of the oil production, the political reports in general and a few military information<sup>39</sup>. He left by late February, through the border Pîlu (county of Arad), serving as guide also to the professor Dragoș Protopopescu. Before leaving, he met Nicolae Petrașcu, to whom he ordered to personally meet Horia Sima, or at least Traian Borobaru, to whom he should transmit the real situation in the country and should receive instructions for the future. Arrived at Salzburg, he sent the informative notes to Vasile Mailat, who put him into contact with Borobaru. Mircea Dimitriu participated in the discussion with Traian Borobaru<sup>40</sup>.

After Dragoș Hoinic’s leaving to Austria, Eugen Teodorescu required a new meeting with Nicolae Petrașcu. The meeting was organized by Decebal-Corneliu Andrei, the chosen place being Domeniilor Park from Bucharest. Teodorescu was

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<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, f. 567-574.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., vol. 2, f. 212-213.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., file no. 431, vol. 1, f. 19-20.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, loc. cit., file no. 335, vol. 2, f. 212-213.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, loc. cit., file no. 431, vol. 1, f. 32.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, loc. cit., file no. 335, vol. 2, f. 220-221.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, f. 212-213.

dissatisfied with not receiving support from Petraşcu. After this discussion, Eugen Teodorescu received a first important aid from the “Country’s Commandment”, through involving the Capital’s organization in the information-collection action. This way, Decebal-Corneliu Andrei contacted Mircea Nicolau, who appointed Luca Dumitrescu to collaborate to the operation. Andrei and Dumitrescu developed an information-collection network, according to the model brought by Eugen Teodorescu in December 1947. Therefore, in the framework of the Capital’s “Răsleţi Body”, five informative teams were constituted, with numbers from 14 to 18. Each team consisted in five people, including their head. The team no. 14 was led by C. Diaconescu (recruited by Mircea Nicolau), the team no. 15 was led by Cristian Petrescu (recruited by Luca Dumitrescu), the team no. 16 was led by Puiu Anastasescu (recruited by Luca Dumitrescu), the team no. 17 was led by Gheorghe Gall (recruited by Luca Dumitrescu), and the team no. 18 was led by Nonu Sassu (recruited by Mircea Nicolau). The team no. 14 started its activity in early March, the team no. 15 and the team no. 16 was constituted in late March and the team no. 17 and the team no. 18 were constituted in April. They were quite difficultly organized and they only had regular action in April 1947. On the occasion of the Easter, they were no longer complete and could not be subsequently reorganized.

According to Decebal-Corneliu Andrei’s instructions, Luca Dumitrescu had to personally contact every head of team in order to pick up the information. In his turn, the head of the team was in direct contact with its four members. He talked to them orally and thereafter drew up the informative note, towards Luca Dumitrescu. He made a synthesis of the data he received, he thereafter submitted them to Decebal-Corneliu Andrei (he met him every 7-10 days). Luca Dumitrescu’s informative report had to have seven points: 1. news as regards the government’s activity; 2. PCR activity; 3. historical parties and opposition in general; 4. news on the Legionary Movement (within the organization and government’s attitude towards the Legionary Movement); 5. news from the Legionary Movement dissidents’ camp; 6. news on the resistance movements; 7. sundries<sup>41</sup>.

Many times, the information received from the members of the teams were speculative and they were collected from persons who did not necessarily have connections in the circles of the power or of the army<sup>42</sup>. The information produced by Luca Dumitrescu’s teams were like: “Troop movements in Muntenia. (17<sup>th</sup> of April). Through Braşov, a 10-wagon train with Romanian militaries (circa 50 people in the wagon) passed. The train passed towards Predeal. A second lieutenant was noticed. The rest mostly consisted in officers. They are believed to be from an officer-school”<sup>43</sup>.

The information gathered by Decebal-Corneliu Andrei through the “Răsleţi Body” from Bucharest did not manage to reach Austria, to the American special services. In late April 1948, Dragoş Hoinic left from Linz to Romania, possessing 620 dollars, sent by Vasile Mailat, through the intermediary of Gogu Gheorghiu. He had likewise received verbal and written information, sympathetic ink, as well

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<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., file no. 431, vol. 1, f. 186-193.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, f. 216-228.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, f. 606-608.

as various addresses destined to Eugen Teodorescu and Nicolae Petraşcu. They did not reach their addressees, as Hoinic was arrested little after his illegal passage in Romania<sup>44</sup>. The entire information network fell during the following weeks. Not only because Hoinic's arrestment, but also because of Eugen Teodorescu's imprudence. He did not observe the rules of conspiracy and shortly after his second arrival in Romania, the authorities discovered his presence in the country, and also the information service in the Americans' favour<sup>45</sup>. Following his track, the Ministry of Internal Affairs also discovered Luca Dumitrescu's network.

### **The process**

The "espionage" process took place in 1949, Vică Negulescu being identified as head of "lot" by the authorities. He was also charged with creating within the organization of Bucharest an espionage-department, which supplied Eugen Teodorescu with information.

In the indictment, Vică Negulescu was guilty: "initiated and constituted together with Nicolae Petraşcu and Mircea Nicolau a fascist-type subversive organization, political and paramilitary, consisting in elements of the former Legionary Movement, to the purpose of preparing an overthrow of the democratic regime; he organized an espionage network with Nicolae Petraşcu's assent, with elements taken from the group subordinated to Mircea Nicolau, who collected information with political, economic, military and social character, that he transmitted to the American espionage service, through the intermediary of Horia Sima and with the support of Eugen Teodorescu". Beside reorganizing the Capital, starting with March 1947, Mircea Nicolau was also accused of having involved himself in building an espionage network in favour of the Americans. The last point of the indictment in Nicolau's case referred to his activity after the arrestment of May 1948, when he helped Nistor Chioreanu to remake the "Commandment". Another member of the "lot" was Luca Dumitrescu, the legionary who dealt with organizing the information network subordinated to Decebal-Corneliu Andrei. Despite not having been involved in this activity, Nelu Rusu was included in the "lot", having led the Capital's organization before Mircea Nicolau. He was accused of maintaining the connections with Vică Negulescu after March 1947, to whom he supplied "various information" (in fact, the two mutually notified themselves on the regime's intentions towards the legionaries). Without any connection to Luca Dumitrescu's "espionage network", the trial also had Constantin Conic as culprit. In July 1948, he was to be sent abroad by Nistor Chioreanu, so as to present the situation in the country to the leaders in exile. Overall, 20 persons were included in the "lot", most of them involved in the "affair" of the information network organized by Luca Dumitrescu on the level of the Capital<sup>46</sup>.

The sentence was issued on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1949, the main culprits received the following sentences: Vică Negulescu (aged of 44 years old) – lifelong hard labour, 10 years civic degradation and wealth confiscation for high treason;

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<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., file no. 335, vol. 2, f. 212-213.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, Informative Fund, file no. 233979, vol. 3, f. 165.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, Penal Fund, file no. 431, vol. 1, f. 2-17.



Mircea Nicolau (aged of 35 years old) – lifelong hard labour, 10 years civic degradation and wealth confiscation for high treason; Nelu Rusu (aged of 38 years old) – 25 years hard labour, 10 years civic degradation and wealth confiscation for high treason; Constantin Coniac (37 years old) – 25 years hard labour and 5 years civic degradation for organizing and participating in fascist-type organizations<sup>47</sup>. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 1950 the Military Court of Cassation and Justice rejected the appeals formulated by the condemned ones<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, loc.cit., vol. 2, f. 136-151.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, f. 383-387.

# FROM THE WHITE REVOLUTION TO THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION - THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, LEGAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT THAT LED TO THE FALL OF MONARCHY IN IRAN

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**Abstract:** *The main objective of this paper consists of the presentation of the reform program which was launched by the last Shah of Iran, Mohamed Reza Pahlavi, to modernize and emancipate the country. It was built especially to strengthen those classes that supported the traditional systems. Thus, the Shah announced the White Revolution as a step towards westernization, hoping to get rid of the landlords influence and create a new base of support among the working classes. He had intended the regeneration of Iranian society through social, economic, judicial and religious reforms, with the long-aim of transforming Iran into a global power. But this reform program lead to strong tensions with the landlords and others notables and has brought the rising popularity of the "religious opposition". This paper aims at outlining the failures of some of the reforms and the antagonism with the clergy and other elites, would ultimately contribute to the Islamic Revolution and the Shah`s downfall.*

**Keywords:** *right to vote, reforms program, clergy, landlords, White Revolution, traditional society.*

On January 27, 1963, as consequence of a referendum, an election process characterized also by increased participation of women, although they were not allowed to vote and, due to this, the votes cast at this time could not be taken into account, the Iranian people approved the beginning of the White Revolution by a high percentage. This process envisaged the emancipation, modernization, and industrialization of Iran.

The Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi held the initiative for beginning the revolution. The king focused his efforts mainly on initiating the agrarian reform, which was made up of dividing the lands that belonged 95% to the great Shiite owners, these being religious leaders. By default, this reform was accompanied by nationalizing the forests and pastures, thus generating the withdrawal of huge parts of religious leaders' income, at the same time limiting their notary-related power by creating the land registry. Apart from the fact that the great religious leaders lost their privileged status, the agrarian reform still generated discontent among the small landowners that found they could not prosper any more. They subsequently believed more useful the maintaining of the large properties

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accompanied by the transformation of agriculture semi-slavery in equitably paid labor. Thus, the big properties could be bound to render their production profitable.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, being a great admirer of general de Gaulle, the Shah wanted that the workers to own part of the income of great companies, thus reserving 20% of the capital for them. This aspect generated conflicts between the capital and the labor, the dissatisfactions of the laic opposition adding to this; they rallied to the opinions expressed by the religious leaders<sup>2</sup>.

Another direction of this White Revolution referred to liberalizing the society, mainly granting voting rights to women and allowing them to take part in the elections. As consequence of implementing a set of measures concerning this, in the years that followed 25% of students were women, a high number of jobs was created especially for them, and the entire legislation in the gender area being re-analyzed in order to eliminate discriminations concerning gender and differentiated salaries, followed by enhancing the maternity leave of absence period. More, changing the perception of the “family” notion was envisaged. The polygamy was eliminated almost in full, the abortions became legal with the prior consent of the husbands, and the women were able to file for divorce in almost similar conditions as men.

Being aware of the fact that women could become a labor force that could help the Iranian economic growth, the Shah appointed Mahnaz Afjani<sup>3</sup> as minister for the Third World (member of the Council of Ministers) for women’s matters. She led several work groups created for learning the laws and for acquiring other abilities that would allow women to defend their legal rights and to become able to gain an adequate retribution.<sup>4</sup> The Women’s Organization of Iran became a network with 57 affiliates, 400 sections, and 120 centers providing child protection services, family planning, legal advice, and professional training courses. During the last years of the monarchy, it comprised 2,000 experts and 7,000 volunteers worked, with the assistance of over one million women per year<sup>5</sup>. More, the participation of women in the political life was not limited only to appointing a well-known person in the government. Other three women were appointed to manage some government sub-offices and in the last elections prior to the Islamic Revolution of 1979, 20 women were elected in *Majles*<sup>6</sup>, some other 300 being elected in the local and municipal councils. In addition, the Shah ordered several unpopular measures among the religious community still anchored in Koran traditions, such as removing the women’s obligation to bear a veil or creating the mixed-gender university education. Such measures led to undermining the ideological hegemony.

In 1964, in order to be able to fulfill his plans of reforming the entire society, the Shah promoted the creation of several *corps*, each of them following the

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<sup>1</sup> Thierry P. Millemann, *La face cachée du monde occidental*, Ed. Osmondes, Paris, 2006, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> Manager of Women’s Organization of Iran.

<sup>4</sup> These matters were regulated by the Law of family protection drafted in 1967 and altered in 1975.

<sup>5</sup> Farah Pahlavi, *Mémoires*, XO Editions, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Lower Chamber of Iranian Parliament.

implementation of reforms in a particular domain of the Iranian state. Thus, the Training Corps had the purpose of bringing literacy to the rural areas and it was made up of young individuals holding a baccalaureate diploma<sup>7</sup>, in the context of a country extremely backwards and underdeveloped. On its turn, the Hygiene Corps envisaged informing the population in connection to the elementary norms of preventing the disease spreading, and the Reconstruction and Development Corps had the purpose of supporting the new agriculture owners in order to administer their properties.<sup>8</sup>

As consequence of the generalized discontent generated by some of these reforms, in the last years of the reign of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the members of various opposition groups, mainly supported by middle class citizens and old followers of the national front, as well as by the university members inside and outside Iran, strengthened the connections with the high number of contesters. They made their complaints notorious from an Islamic perspective, which was known in Iran as the so-called “religious opposition”. On its turn, this religious opposition was made up of two main groups. First, there were those that had benefited of a traditional education and had held possible religious positions. Then, there were those that had been exposed to Western education. However, they all joined the modern and traditional ideas under an Islamic imprint.

One of the main grievances of the religious opposition against the Shah’s regime relied on the continuous diminishment of *ulama*’s power connected to reducing the influence of the religious community. These processes were doubled also by increasing the importance of well-educated laypersons in a Western manner. In fact, the Shah created examinations for acquiring an *ulama* position, thus rendering the legal and educational system secular, which led to ceasing the activity of several *ulamas* already in office. The Shah attempted also to coordinate the religious institutions, creating faculties of theology within the state-owned universities<sup>9</sup>, controlling the pilgrimages outside Iran and building a parallel “religious group” adding to the already existing educational groups. Their purpose was to travel from one place to another in order to disseminate the official religious version of Koran.

Among the supporters of religious fundamentalism were also the sellers from bazaars, due to economic reasons, and not just those owning stores, but also those involved in retail trade and that sold traditional products more than modern ones. The vendors in bazaars did not make up a social class per se, but maintained close relations with various production environments. Thus, the artisans or the employees of a small bazaar workshop did not have the same importance as a banker or a usurer, the latter being wealthy merchants that were often involved in commerce inside the bazaars. Nevertheless, there was a connection between all vendors that developed their activity in the bazaars, this being that they were all included in the small bourgeoisie category (even if, in the meaning of those described above, some were wealthy and others were just employees). That connection was their common resistance to the influence of Western world and

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<sup>7</sup> In the 1950s, over 85% of the Iranian population was illiterate.

<sup>8</sup> Thierry P. Millemann, *La face cachée du monde occidental*, Ed. Osmondes, p. 129-130.

<sup>9</sup> Also within the University of Teheran.

expansion of Western customs. Although the bazaars sold several Western products, the dissemination of large stores and great warehouses, of great banks, as well as selling some identical products, such as the mechanically-woven carpets that competed with the Persian ones, all these economic transformations strengthened the Western control on the Iranian economy and diminished the role of bazaars (which was adequate only for retail, mainly that involving traditional items). The fact that the government mainly favored the modern economy and the industry, completing several modernization projects while damaging the bazaars, led to the general dissatisfaction of those attached to the old traditional economy style and that loathed the Western customs. They were bound to the cultural, family, and financial values shared by *ulamas*. This context inevitably led to the creation of an alliance between the bazaar merchants and the fundamentalist religious leaders<sup>10</sup>.

The fact that the religious taxes and gifts meant for *ulamas* for educative, charity, religious, and political purposes came from bazaars, in exchange of important protection granted by highly influent *ulamas*, a collaboration that led to cementing the political connections between the bazaar and the mosque must not be ignored also. In addition, the bazaars often celebrated religious reunions in the homes of wealthy merchants, a matter that favored an ideal framework for discussing some tactics and political problems. Due to this, expanding the bazaars helped creating some adequate areas for the rapid communication and organization<sup>11</sup>.

Besides, certain individual events that occurred in the mid-1970s contributed even more to enhancing the discontent of *ulamas* and their followers. One of these events was the project of renovating the area around the sacred sanctuary of *imam* Reza en Mashhad. This sanctuary, as many others, was surrounded by an agglomerated bazaars area that helped propagating the teaching of *ulamas*. Within the renovation project, it was ordered the demolishing of all buildings surrounding the sanctuary in order to create a green area and a beltway. The project was extremely unpopular, the construction teams and their plant being subject to several bomb attacks, but lastly, it was completed. Thus, the bazaar area, which was adequate for spreading the Islamic teaching, was removed in full. However, a similar plan that involved the disappearance of the Teheran bazaar in order to build vast boulevards generated such an opposition that it could not be implemented. To all these added a drastic diminishment of subsidies granted by the government to the *ulamas* in 1977, a matter that gradually more amplified the dissatisfaction of the religions opposition<sup>12</sup>.

The repeated attempts to create an aura around the monarchy proved unpopular in the end, not just among the *ulamas*, but also among the other elements of the civil opposition. In fact, although the Iranian sovereigns benefited of an ideological basis superior to that presented by the religious class, it was believed that since the implementation of Islam in Iran no other king had gone as far as Mohammad Reza Pahlavi for glorifying the monarchy. The Shah's identification with the pre-Islamic kings culminated in an extremely costly

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<sup>10</sup> Nikki R. Keddie, *El Irán moderno*, Ed. Belacqva, Barcelona, 2007, p.340-341.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>12</sup> Fereydown Hoveyda, *The Fall of the Shah*, New York, 1980, p.84-85

manifestation organized in 1971 in Persepolis (capital city of former Persian Empire). This even intended to convey to the outer world a false impression in connection to the perpetuation of a 2,500-year continuous monarchic tradition<sup>13</sup>. This celebration was fiercely criticized by *ayatollah* Khomeini, who was residing outside Iran, his criticism expanding on the entire monarchy<sup>14</sup>.

At that time, the Iranian king imposed a new calendar that began with one of the pre-Islamic rulers, Cyrus the Great, thus moving prior to the *hajira* of Prophet Muhammad in order to diminish the importance of Islam. Special importance was held also by an accentuation of central power of the government, which translated also in the exploitation of urban and rural *waqfs*.

On the other hand, one must not forget the demographic boom<sup>15</sup>, an aspect that represented an obstacle in the way of reforms because the population surplus made it impossible to ensure a homogenous development. At the brink of the Islamic Revolution, less than half of the population had enjoyed the benefactions of the White Revolution. However, this part of the population was made up mainly of illiterate uneducated poor people that had been attracted by the religious fanatics and were highly receptive to the advice of the *ulamas*.<sup>16</sup>

The religious opposition, mainly its fundamentalist Islamist wing, saw all these reforms as representing proofs of “decadence inspired by the West”, the decadence being disseminated especially by some new music trends, dances, or movies.

The aversion of religious opposition, of great landlords stripped of their properties as consequence of implementing the agrarian reform, of the great and small merchants anchored in the bazaar-related tradition, the reluctance of various clans and casts that did not like the Westernization of Iran, part of the male population being highly hostile to women’s emancipation, the discontents generated among the peasants and workers that could not adequately benefit of the national enrichment, and not lastly the intellectual environment’s desire for the Iranian society to progress without changing its bases, all these resentments were permanently amplified during the entire eighth decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, the favorable context for the commencement of Islamic Revolution appeared. It ended with the abdication of Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi and his departure from Iran in the beginning of year 1979.

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<sup>13</sup> In fact, the leaders of the state had held various titles on some areas that did not correspond to the present day Iran, during the period between the Muslim conquest and year 1501, as well as after that, between 1722 and 1796.

<sup>14</sup> Ruhollah Khomeini, *Nehzat-e Eslami* 3.

<sup>15</sup> The population of Teheran increased in 20 years from 800,000 to 3,000,000 inhabitants.

<sup>16</sup> Thierry P.Millemann, *La face cachée du monde occidental*, Ed. Osmondes, p.131.

# THE STRUCTURE OF THE ROMANIAN NOUN PHRASE

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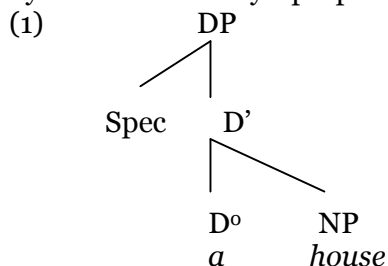
**Abstract:** *As the title suggests, this paper aims at presenting the structure of the noun phrase in Romanian. This presentation is based on the generative grammar, mainly on the lexicon and the subcategorization rules and on the X-bar Syntax.*

**Keywords:** *noun phrase, head, specifier, subject, complement, adjunct.*

As we all know, the lexicon consists of lexical items (words) and it records the phonological, grammatical and semantic properties of words. The properties of words are captured by subcategorization rules and different projections will correspond to these properties. Based on this information, we will present the syntactic structure of the noun phrase.

## 1. The noun phrase (NP) and the determiner phrase (DP)

The noun phrase, as we describe it here, is based on the subcategorization framework of a noun (or its substitute) and on the projection principles regulated by the X-bar syntax. In the Chomskyan generative grammar, the NP was replaced by DP due to Abney's proposal:



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But for the purposes of this analysis, Abney's proposal is not necessary. DP is a model of the morphosyntax of the noun phrase. It includes both lexical items and functional nodes (morphemes, desinences or grammaticalized words) inside the noun phrase, while in the model with which we work here the morphology and the syntax of a part of speech are located in separate compartments of grammar. This defines (as opposed to Government and Binding model) a strict lexical theory.

## 2. The noun phrase in Romanian grammars

The organization of the nominal constituents in phrases is a relatively recent perspective adopted in Romanian linguistics and this is due to the papers on structural and generative description of the Romanian language. The noun phrase as a DP is described by Cornilescu. A description of the NP from a HPSG perspective is proposed by Ana-Maria Barbu. Finally, a model of the noun phrase that combines the generative description with the functional one is found in Pană-Dindelegan (2010):

- (2)[(Determinant)(Cuantificator)Centru(Modificator)(Posesor)(Complement)]  
 [(Determiner) (Quantifier) (Modifier) Head (Possession) (Complement)]  
 [GN[acele]<sub>Det</sub>[trei]<sub>Cuant</sub> bijuterii<sub>Centru</sub> [frumoase]<sub>Modif</sub> [ale reginei]<sub>Pos</sub>]  
 [GN [those] <sub>Det</sub> [three] <sub>Quant</sub> [beautiful] <sub>Modif</sub> jewels <sub>Head</sub> [of the queen] <sub>Poss</sub>]

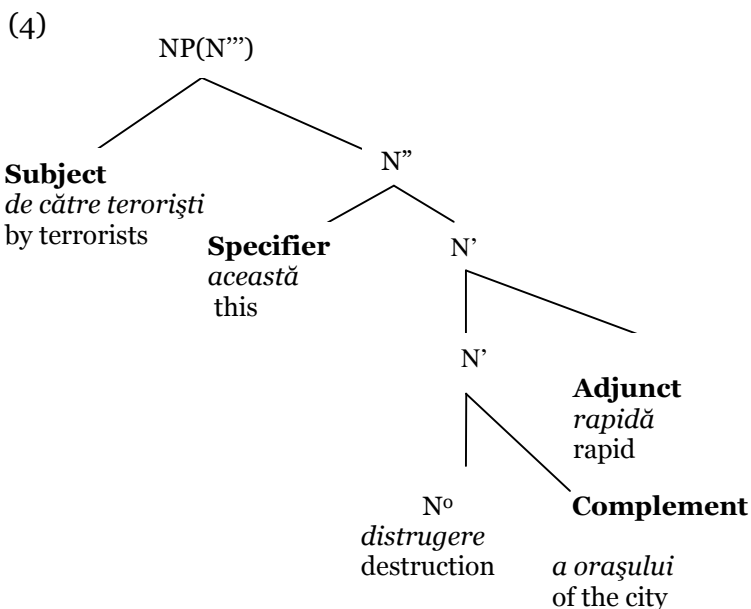
## 3. The structure of the noun phrase proposed in this paper

Taking into account the subcategorization rules and the X-bar constraints and, more generally, the principles of a nontransformational generative grammar, we will adopt the model presented in Barbu (2004). The noun phrase consists of a head (noun, pronoun or numeral) and it may take complement (s), subject, specifier and adjunct, as in the example below (round brackets indicate what is optional):

- (3) *această distrugere rapidă a oraşului de către terorişti*  
 this destruction rapid of the city by terrorists  
 “this rapid destruction of the city by terrorists”  
 N<sup>o</sup>: nominal head: *destruction*  
 N': [head] [complement]] *destruction of the city*  
 N': [[[head] [complement]] [(adjunct)]] *destruction of the city (rapid)*  
 “*rapid destruction of the city*”  
 N'': [[[head, complement] [(adjunct)]] [(specifier)]]: *this rapid destruction of the city*  
 N'' '(= NP) [[[head complement] [(adjunct)]] [(specifier)]] [(subject)]]:  
 this rapid destruction of the city by terrorists

The example in (3) is represented as a tree in (4):





#### 4. Some remarks on the constituents of the noun phrase

The constituents of the noun phrase are the arguments and the adjuncts. Inside the noun phrase, the nature of an argument is often determined by semantic means:

The subject is usually the agent of the process described by the head, or the possessor (5). The status of the possessor is more complicated: in some papers, it is analyzed as adjunct.

- (5) a. *Plecarea Mariei l-a întristat.*  
       Mary's departure made him sad.  
       b. *Aceasta este cartea lui Ion.*

This is John's book.

In (5a), the agent is projected as the external argument of the *departure*. As far as (5b) is concerned, Cornilescu (1995b) states that the Possessors behave like modifiers and occur after copula (6d) unlike other cases of argumental Genitives (6a-c).

- (6) a. *sosirea invitaților* (Agent)  
       „the arrival of the guests”  
       \**sosirea este a invitaților*  
       The arrival is of the guests.  
       b. *trădarea cauzei* (Theme)  
       „the betrayal of the cause”  
       \**trădarea este a cauzei*  
       The betrayal is of the cause

c. surpriza lui Ion la vederea ei (Experiencer)

„John’s surprise at the sight of her”

\**surpriza la vederea ei este a lui Ion*

The surprise at her sight is John’s

d. cartea lui Ion (Possessor)

„John’s book”

*cartea este a lui Ion*

The book is John’s.<sup>1</sup>

The complement corresponds in many cases to the so-called objective genitive from the traditional grammar and it is the theme (7a) or the patient (7b).

(7) a. *trădarea cauzei*

the betrayal of the cause

b. *culesul viilor*

the cropping of vineyards

It should be noted that most nouns do not require a complement. It is the case of the prototypical common nouns such as *book*, *flower*, *car* that lack the argument structure. Therefore, in (8) *de bucate* (cook) is not the argument of the noun *carte* (book) and the prepositional phrase does not receive a thematic role from the head *carte* (book).

(8) a. *o carte*

a book

b. *o carte de bucate*

a cookbook

Things are different in (9) where we observe that nouns are accompanied by complements. Among these, we remark nouns that are derived from verbs, from adjectives and relational nouns (9). The first two types of nouns take the subcategorization framework from the verbs and the adjectives they derive.

(9) a. *culegerea viilor* → *culege via*

the cropping of vineyards to crop vineyards

b. *obsesia cumpărăturilor* → *obsedat de cumpărături*

shopping obsession obsessed with shopping

c. *sora mea*

my sister

The specifier. Inside the noun phrase, the specifier is closely related to a certain part of speech: determiners. Determiners are not recognized as such in traditional grammar. They correspond to pronominal adjectives, articles, cardinal and ordinal numerals. Ana-Maria Barbu (2004) classifies determiners as pronominal and postnominal and the former in strong (10a), weak (10b) and predeterminers (10c).

(10) a. *un /acest/fiecare/care/nici un/câte un student de anul patru dă examen* (Barbu, 2004:119)

a/this/each/that/no/every fourth year student takes an exam

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<sup>1</sup> Cornilescu, A., *Rumanian Genitive Constructions*, in G. Cinque & G. Giusti (eds.), *Advances in Roumanian Linguistics*, 1-51, John Benjamin, Amsterdam, 1995, pag. 8.

- b. *a fost indicat și un al doilea/cel mai romanist/asemenea/anumit mod*<sup>2</sup>  
it was presented a second/such/certain method
- c. *toate aceste patru teste au fost rezolvate înainte*<sup>3</sup>  
all these four tests have been solved before

As we clearly see in (10), strong determiners include articles, deictic demonstratives, interrogative-relative pronouns, negative determiners and distributive numerals. Weak determiners include demonstratives of qualification, cardinal numerals and predeterminers include emphatic determiner, collective numerals and the indefinite determiner „all”.

Finally, the adjunct may be a qualifying adjective (11a), a determiner (11b), a relative clause (11c) or a prepositional phrase (11d). Its role is to characterize from the semantic point of view the noun that accompanies it:

- (11) a. *copacul bătrân*  
the old tree
- b. *un anumit copac*  
a certain tree
- c. *copacul care a fost tăiat era bătrân*  
the tree that was cut was old
- d. *copacul de lângă casă*  
the tree near the house

There are two types of adjunct: level bar-1 or level bar-2 adjuncts. Level bar-1 adjuncts attach to nominal projections without a specifier, that is to nominals that have not formed a phrase yet. Qualifying adjectives and weak determiners enter this category. For example, in (12a) the phrase *certain tree* is not a subject since it is not a maximal projection. In order to become a maximal projection, it needs a specifier (12b).

- (12) a. *\*anumit copac este bătrân*  
certain tree is old
- b. *un anumit copac este bătrân*  
(Barbu, 2004:128)  
a certain tree is old

Level bar-2 adjuncts attach to noun phrases and represent an enrichment of the initial noun phrase (Barbu, 2004:129). In this category we find predeterminers (13a), postnominal determiners (13b) and postposed qualifying adjectives (13c). They should attach to a nominal that contains a specifier:

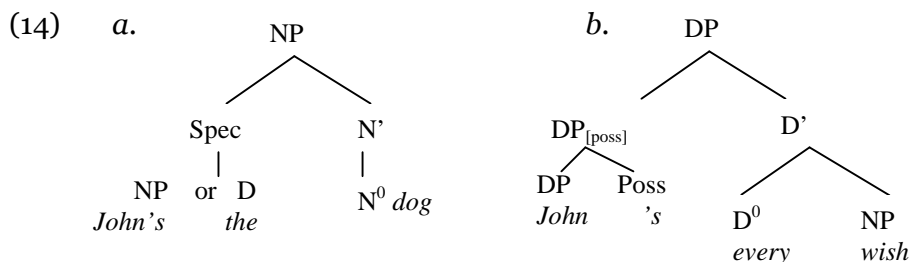
- (13) a. *toți oamenii sunt muritori*  
all people all mortal
- b. *oamenii aceștia sunt muritori*  
these people are mortal
- c. *toți studenții aceștia inteligenți ai mei au reușit să promoveze* (Barbu, 2004:130-131)  
all these intelligent students of mine managed to pass

<sup>2</sup> Barbu, A-M., *Sintaxa determinantilor: Analiză lingvistică și aplicație computațională*, Ed. All Educational, București, 2004, pag. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Barbu, A-M., *Sintaxa determinantilor: Analiză lingvistică și aplicație computațională*, Ed. All Educational, București, 2004, pag. 123.

## 6. The status of the Possessor inside the noun phrase

The analyses that have been made so far assigned different functions to the Possessor. In Jackendoff's book, the Possessor is the specifier of the NP projection (14). In terms of the Government and Binding Theory, the Possessor is the Specifier of the DP<sup>4</sup>, as seen in the example in (14b). In the case of the Romanian language, the possessor is considered to be generated in the specifier position of the noun phrase, where the noun phrase is the complement of a complex functional structure that includes three areas: determination area, morpho-syntactic features area and the agreement area, as in (14c).



Complement

c. 1. [<sub>determination area</sub>  $Q^0$  [<sub>morpho-syntactic features area</sub> ... [<sub>agreement area</sub> [<sub>NP</sub>  $N^0$ ]]]]

2. [<sub>QP</sub> [<sub>Q<sup>0</sup></sub> *toate*] [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D<sup>0</sup></sub> *-le*] [<sub>NP</sub> *fete*]]]  
*toate fetele*  
 all girls-the  
 „all the girls”<sup>5</sup>  
 (Cornilescu, 1995b:3)

3. [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D<sup>0</sup></sub> *a*] [<sub>AgRP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> *oportună*]  $Agro$  [<sub>AgRP</sub>  $AgRP$   $AgRP$  [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub>  $PRO_i$ ] [<sub>N</sub> [<sub>N</sub> [<sub>No</sub> *angajare*] [<sub>DP</sub> *acestui actor<sub>j</sub>*]]] [<sub>PP</sub> *pentru a interpreta*  $PRO_j$  *rolul lui Hamlet*]]]]]]]  
 [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D<sup>0</sup></sub> *a*] [<sub>AgRP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> *oportune*]  $Agro$  [<sub>AgRP</sub>  $AgRP$   $AgRP$  [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub>  $PRO_i$ ] [<sub>N</sub> [<sub>N</sub> [<sub>No</sub> *employment* [<sub>DP</sub> *of this actor<sub>j</sub>*]]] [<sub>PP</sub> *to play*  $PRO_j$  *the role of Hamlet*]]]]]]]]] (Cornilescu, 1995b:9)

HPSG theory adopts a more flexible perspective for the Possessor: its status is considered to be determined by the specific data of the language in which the Possessor manifests. That is, in languages in which there is agreement between the possessor and the possessed object, the Possessor is treated as the subject (as in Hungarian). In contrast, in languages that do not have this agreement, the Possessor is considered to be a specifier<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Barker, C., Possessive Descriptions, CSLI Publications, Stanford, 1995, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Cornilescu, A., (1995b). *Rumanian Genitive Constructions*, in G. Cinque & G. Giusti (eds.), *Advances in Roumanian Linguistics*, 1-51, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 1995, pag. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Pollard, C. and Sag, I. (1994). *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, p. 375.

## Conclusion

As it has been seen, the noun phrase is subject to the constraints of the X-bar theory and it consists of a head, complement(s), a specifier, a subject and an adjunct(s).

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# HISTORICAL SPECIFICITIES OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUBJECTIVITY IN SALMAN RUSHDIE'S FICTION

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**Abstract:** *The article examines the historical context of Salman Rushdie's prose, in particular the history of the Muslim community in India and of Muslim-Hindu relationships. Rushdie develops the concept of hybridity in order to bridge the gap between the Muslim and Hindu cultures, which have often been interpreted as incommensurable. In light of the convoluted history of Muslim-Hindu relationships, Rushdie's position appears less radical than his fatwa would have suggested, as that of a Muslim intellectual concerned with the reform of Islamic fundamentalism.*

**Keywords:** *hybridity, communalism, imperialism, colonialism, post-colonialism.*

Salman Rushdie writes in the aftermath of poststructuralist theory and postmodernism, and his fiction is informed (and sometimes infirmed) by an awareness of the operations of power and ideology as well as the characteristic postmodernist "incredulity towards metanarratives". His geographical /ethnic/religious background also allows for specificities and a certain distance in his perspective on Indian sociopolitical issues. Rushdie is dismissive of all nationalist (and familial) myths of ancestry- his critical position on Hindu nationalist BJP and SSP being well-known. My contention is that the history of Muslim-Hindu conflict has deep relevance for the issues of nationalism and communal friction depicted in Rushdie's fiction. His intellectual position can be summarized as an enhanced awareness of discourses and political ideologies, coupled with a critical attitude towards them. Yousef Yacoubi, drawing on the

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similarities between Said and Rushdie, remarked that they shared a common belief that an intellectual work should be first and foremost adversarial<sup>1</sup> and that both of them “were involved in the fundamental obligation that Said understood later to be assigned to intellectuals: to speak against power, to question structures of coercion, injustice, and silencing.”<sup>2</sup>

Rushdie’s Muslim community had a marginal status in India. The frictions between Hindus and Muslims can be traced back to the beginnings of Indian nationalism and the fight for independence. While during the mediaeval age and until British colonization, the Muslim minority of India co-existed peacefully<sup>3</sup> with the Hindu majority, it was only when the necessity for imagining an Indian nation arose that Hindu-Muslim tensions appeared. Thus Friedmann remarks that “the Muslims and the Hindus are two distinct nations, which are no more similar to each other than the various nations of Europe, and can not possibly be united in one political framework”<sup>4</sup> The irreconcilable differences between the Muslim and Hindu cultures<sup>5</sup> make nation-building an impossible task in India, Friedmann argues. This seems to imply the legitimacy of Iqbal and Jinnah’s dream of a separate Muslim state and account for the Partition of India on the midnight of Independence. Rushdie’s *The Midnight Children* questions this kind of historical vision and problematizes the so-called radical cultural difference between Muslims and Hindus. Rushdie’s fictional project appeals to a rhetoric of hybridity, intermingling, cultural mixture in an attempt to show that because cultural purity cannot exist, radical cultural difference is also impossible. His notion of hybridity rests on the political necessity to re-conceptualize cultural difference as contingent and amenable. The history of Muslim-Hindu conflict is less a result of cultural incommensurability than a contingent historical process, in which the outcome could have been different.

In his study *The Muslims of British India* Hardy describes the complex circumstances that led to the Hindu-Muslim riots and later gave rise to the Muslim dream of a separate state. Starting with the effects of British colonization, Hardy remarks that British supremacy spelt the end for the Mughal military

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<sup>1</sup> The poet Baal in *The Satanic Verses* articulates this adversarial/oppositional task of the writer: “To name the unnamable, to point at frauds, to take sides, start arguments, shape the world and stop it from going to sleep”(97)

<sup>2</sup> Yacoubi, Y. Edward Said, Egbal Ahmad, and Salman Rushdie: Resisting the Ambivalence of Postcolonial Theory”. *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* no. 25, 2005: 193-218, p.193

<sup>3</sup> Hardy explains that in mediaeval India differences were more a matter of class stratification than of religious practice. There was more cultural similarity and cohesion between Hindu and Muslim elites than between ruling and commoner Muslims: “While the Muslim and Hindu elite showed a common fondness for the chase and for ostentatious living, the common people of the town joined together in celebration of the Muslim festivals of Nauruz and Shab-I Barat and the Hindu festivals of Dahsehra, Holi and Diwali.” (19).

<sup>4</sup> Friedmann, Y. “The Attitude of the *Jam’iyyati-i ‘Ulama-i Hind* to the Indian National Movement and the Establishment of Pakistan”. *Inventing Boundaries: Gender, Politics and the Partition of India*, Ed. Hasan Mushirul, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. 157-177, p.157.

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, V.S. Naipaul echoes Friedmann when he states in an interview that “I don’t think Hindus understand what Islam means and I don’t think the people of Islam have understood Hinduism. The two enormous groups have lived together in the subcontinent without understanding one another’s faiths.” (Interview with Dileep Padgaonkar).

aristocracy, as “the British changed the form and style of success in Indian society from the military to the commercial”<sup>6</sup> Yet this aristocracy constituted but a small part of the Muslim population and was the remnant of the Mughal empire, an empire based on “the internal military occupation of the country”<sup>7</sup>. Hardy notes that the vast majority of the Muslims “supported themselves as the vast majority of non- Muslims supported themselves- by ‘husbandry’ and by the provision of economic goods and services for others.”<sup>8</sup>

This occupational distance between the ruling Mughal class and the low-class Muslims involved in agriculture, manufacture, or petty trade meant that the economic changes following British colonization had dramatic repercussions only on a small percentage of Muslims. The major change that the Muslim community underwent after the British colonization was a resurgence and radicalization of religious faith. The emperor Akbar<sup>9</sup> had instituted a policy of public tolerance for all the religions in India- his tolerance went to such an extreme that he even opposed such Muslim practices as cow-slaughtering, which could give offense to the Hindus. Akbar, in spite of the Qu’ranic injunction against the infidels, allowed religious debate between Muslims and non-Muslims in his establishment- The House of Worship. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Hardy remarks, this tolerant stance was being gradually replaced by “attitudes of a more puritan aggressiveness” and by the time the British acquired supremacy in India “voices had been raised demanding, in effect, the rejection of the religious modus vivendi of medieval India in favour of a classical and indeed Arabic Islam.”<sup>10</sup> During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries a series of reform movements attempted to bring back the lost glory of the Mughal Empire. The revivalist religious reform concentrated on the rejection of Sufi mysticism and an insistence on a purist Islam. The reason behind this reformation of Muslim faith was political: as the Muslims were losing the command of their former empire “the religiously inspired logic” claimed that they “were doing so because they were no longer righteous”<sup>11</sup> The effect of this Islamic reformation was “the transformation of the Indian Muslim community from an aggregate of believers into a political association with a will for joint action.”<sup>12</sup> Besides this positive role of forging a political community around Islamic ideals, the reform movement played a negative part in creating a rift between Muslims and Hindus and thus anticipating the communal strife in the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

The Muslim reform movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century helped to transform Muslim attitudes towards Hindus. They were essentially rejections of medieval Islam in India in favour of early Islam in Arabia. They were not movements confined to the library and to the study; their exponents did not merely formulate intellectual positions against monism but went out and preached against the

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<sup>6</sup> Hardy, P., *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, p.31.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Rushdie takes the reign of Akbar the Great as the setting for his novel *The Enchantress of Florence*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p.24.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p.28.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p.58.



customs which so many Muslims shared with Hindus- intercession at the tombs of saints, consultation of Brahmins, even vegetarianism and aversion to the remarriage of widows. Muslims in India were to be made aware of what they did not share with their non-Muslim neighbours.<sup>13</sup>

If we take into account the historical development of Muslim political communities, *The Satanic Verses* appears less as a blasphemy against Prophet Muhammad and more as a commentary on the evolution of Indian Muslim political consciousness. One should keep in mind that Rushdie's professional formation was that of a historian (he read history, not literature at Cambridge). The depiction of Mahound as a Machiavellian political leader resonates with the constitutive moment of Muslim political consciousness in India and its coalescence around religious reformers. The battle for God, as it surfaces from Mahound's inner monologue in *The Satanic Verses*, is a battle for power, which implies deliberation on the thorny issues of negotiation and compromise:

Mahound's anguish is awful. He asks: is it possible that they are angels? Lat, Manat, Uzza...[...] Are these the daughters of God? And he castigates himself, O my vanity, am I an arrogant man, is this weakness, is it just a dream of power? Must I betray myself for a seat on the council?[...] I don't even know if the Grandee is sincere.[...] I am weak and he's strong, the offer gives him many ways of ruining me. But I, too, have much to gain. The souls of the city, of the world, surely they are worth three angels? Is Allah so unbending that he will not embrace three more to save the human race?<sup>14</sup>

Mahound's initial compromise with the idol-worshipping inhabitants of Jahilia and his introduction in the Qu'ran of the verses that celebrate three pagan goddesses reflect the inclusive politics of the first Mughal emperors, while his subsequent change of mind and repudiation of the verses as satanic mirror the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century reformist movements that advocated a return to the Arabic beginnings of the faith. These two impulses, the impulse to compromise and forge an alliance with the Hindu majority and its opposite, the desire for purity and the emphasis on difference characterize the historical development of Muslim politics in India.

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a resurgence of religious authority with the development of the Muslim elite of religious scholars called the ulamas. The ulamas (advocates of a traditional Islam) allied themselves with the modern-educated Muslims in order to "spring together to the defense of Islam, even though they had different ideas about the Islam they were defending"<sup>15</sup>. The rise of pan-islamism (a movement that tried to join together all Muslims) was brought about both as a support for Turkey as well as a means of resisting Western Orientalist discourse (William Muir, Aloys Sprenger, Ernest Renan, Leopold von Ranke, Jakob Burckhardt) that questioned Muhammad's sincerity and held Muslims to be incapable of philosophy and art. In this pan-islamic movement, the

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p.59.

<sup>14</sup> Rushdie, S., *The Moor's Last Sigh*, London: Vintage, 2006, p.111.

<sup>15</sup> Hardy, P., *op.cit.*, p. 175.

modern-educated Muslims took the lead, since, unlike the ulamas (scholars of Arabic and the Qu'ran), they were able to read what the Europeans published and furthermore, they "could talk the same Hegelian and Darwinian language about the 'spirit' and the 'evolution' and the 'progress' of cultures"<sup>16</sup> This is the time when the ideal of a separate (because different) community starts to take shape in Mohammed Iqbal's lecture on the Muslim community:

The essential difference between the Muslim community and the other communities of the world consists in our peculiar conception of nationality. It is not the unity of language and country that constitutes the basic principle of our nationality. It is because we all believe in a certain view of the universe and participate in the same historical tradition that we are members of the society founded by the Prophet of Islam.<sup>17</sup>

At the end of the First World War, in the face of evidence that the Allied wanted to destroy Turkey, the pan-islamic movement transformed into the Khilafat<sup>18</sup> -which provided ample opportunity for Muslim and Hindu cooperation. Gandhi, eager to unite the Muslims and Hindus in the struggle against the British, attended the first conference on the Khilafat question in November 1919. It was a favourable occasion for launching a common campaign- all Indian communities were enraged by the British massacre at Amritsar<sup>19</sup>. The following year Gandhi started his own non-cooperation campaign<sup>20</sup>, which was adopted as common policy both by the Muslims and the Indian National Congress.

The Muslim- Hindu cooperation in the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements also gave rise to "charismatic political leaders with religious pretensions"<sup>21</sup> like Abdul Bari, Muhammad Ali and Muhammad Iqbal, who were to define the profile of all later important political figures. Such charismatic leaders as Iqbal and Jinnah gradually estranged the religious authority of the ulamas and became enormously influential in the politics during and after 2<sup>nd</sup> World War.

The reasons for Muslim-Hindu cooperation or conflict, as Hardy shows, depended on a series of circumstances and on British colonial politics. While Indian National Congress (the major Hindu political party) was determined to enlist the cooperation of minorities in the national struggle for Independence and Gandhi was personally committed to the strengthening of Hindu- Muslim brotherhood, the Reforms Act of 1919 made sure that "Muslims were to continue

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 175.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Hardy, *op.cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>18</sup> A political campaign led by Muslims in British India to influence the British government in favour of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>19</sup> In April 1919, General R.E.H.Dyer had fired on a crowd of unarmed demonstrators at Amritsar, killing almost 400 people and wounding another 1, 200.

<sup>20</sup> A kind of civil disobedience campaign- it aimed to resist British rule by non-violent means. Protestors refused to buy British goods, supported traditional Indian handicrafts and picketed liquor shops.

<sup>21</sup> Gaborieau, M. "The Redefinition of Religious Authority among South Asian Muslims from 1919 to 1956". *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20<sup>th</sup> century Indonesian Islam*. Ed. Azra Azyumardi. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010. 1-16, p.9.

to have their individual political personality, but they were unlikely to be able effectively to protect it in the Muslim minority provinces or to express it in creative action in the Muslim majority provinces.”<sup>22</sup> The Muslims were not allowed political control either in the Punjab or in Bengal, two provinces with a majority Muslim population. The British politics in India had always been based on the “divide and conquer” principle, as Canning, the Governor-General of India during the Mutiny of 1857, acknowledged in one of his letters to the President of the Board of Control:

As we must rule 150 million of people by a handful (more or less small) of Englishmen, let us do it in a manner best calculated to leave them divided (as in religion and national feeling they already are) and to inspire them with the greatest possible awe of our power and with the least possible suspicion of our motives.<sup>23</sup>

Communal antagonism fostered by the Reforms Act of 1919 that re-organized the mechanism of political representation was translated in the street riots at Multan (1922), Panipat (1923), Rewari (1926) and Lahore (1927). In April 1926, a major communal riot in Calcutta ended with a death toll of sixty six people and a number of several hundred injured.

The situation of Muslim politics after the First World War century was precarious. Apart from an insistence on Islamic ideals, the Muslims “had no political philosophy with which to face the future”.<sup>24</sup> Their despair and discontent was deepened by an awareness that the British were ready to surrender their power and that given the current “Western shibboleths of self-determination and democracy” the path led them straight to “majority rule, which they were convinced that, as a permanent minority, they had no hope of ever reversing”<sup>25</sup>. The collapse of the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements (Gandhi failed in enlisting the support of modern-educated Muslims and Hindus, who regarded him and his policy as obsolete) had weakened Muslim trust in the cooperation with the Congress and the communal riots deepened the rift between them and the Hindus. Because they could not come to a final understanding regarding political representation of Hindu minorities in Muslim majority provinces and Muslim minorities in Hindu majority provinces, the task to organize India was left to the British.

Inside the Muslim community, however, Jinnah, on the theoretical foundation for Muslim separatism laid by Iqbal, elaborated his demand of a weak Indian federation with a Muslim majority status in north and north-west India. His dream was shattered by the Government of India Act of 1935, which lowered the franchise qualifications so that the electorate grew to over 30 million. A mass Muslim and Hindu electorate decided for the Congress, which promised agrarian reform in favour of the very poor. Jinnah’s All- India Muslim League lost the

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<sup>22</sup> Hardy, P., *op.cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Hardy, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>24</sup> Hardy, P., *op.cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 211.

elections and he settled in England. He set out to reorganize the Muslim League, and by both lowering the membership fee and building on Muslim fears of the Hindu majority, managed to raise a mass following for his party. The outbreak of the Second World War proved a golden opportunity for Jinnah, who enlisted the help of the British by providing them with an effective contribution to the war in the Muslim provinces of Punjab and Bengal. Disregarding the religious authority of the ulamas, who were for a multi-religious India<sup>26</sup>, the Muslim electorate chose to follow Jinnah, a charismatic leader, so that in the elections of 1945-1946 the majority opted for the Partition of India and for Pakistan. Hardy shows that both the British and the Congress were willing to accept this idea. Even if the Congress at first repudiated the idea of Partition as a cruel vivisection of Mother India, Gandhi stated that “although he could never be a party to the division of India [...] as a man of non-violence he could not forcibly resent the proposed Partition if the Muslims really insisted upon it.”<sup>27</sup>

Rushdie's dramatization of Indian history in *Midnight's Children*, *The Satanic Verses*, and *Shame* tries to do away with heroic and ancestry myths that are used by politicians to construct national ideologies which interpellate individuals into subjects. History is made by ordinary human interests, political, social or economic- there is no transcendent Spirit unfolding its progress through History. History (with a capital H) is a myth, constructed out of our need for “the outrageous, the outside, the out-of-bounds”<sup>28</sup>. Charismatic leaders succeed by appealing to our sense of the dramatic and the heroic, yet their political heritage is at best a contested one. On the other hand, histories are necessary for the construction of selfhood. History as emplotment and narrative makes sense of human lives, and can act as a means of resisting History.

Although widely criticized for his allegedly anti- Muslim book *The Satanic Verses*, Rushdie is not as insensitive to Muslim issues as many of his detractors contend. His concern lies first and foremost with what he calls “a reformation” of Islam and Muslim consciousness. This reformation must start, he argues, with a metanoia, a change of consciousness that implies taking on responsibility for their fate instead of blaming the West:

Twenty years ago, when I was writing a novel about power struggles in a fictionalized Pakistan, it was already de rigueur in the Muslim world to blame all its troubles on the West and, in particular, the United States. Then as now, some of these criticisms were well-founded; no room here to rehearse the geopolitics of the cold war and America's frequently damaging foreign policy “tilts,” to use the Kissinger term, toward (or away from) this or that temporarily useful (or disapproved-of) nation-state, or America's role in the installation and deposition of sundry unsavory leaders and regimes. But I wanted then to ask a question that

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<sup>26</sup> The ulamas opposed the demand for Pakistan with the vision of a common Indian nationhood. They used as precedent the treaty that Prophet Muhammad entered into with the Jewish tribes of Medina, who were considered as part of the same nation with the Muslims. They also criticized The Muslim League for what they perceived to be the un-Islamic ways of its leaders. (Friedmann 160-5).

<sup>27</sup> Hardy, P., *op.cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>28</sup> Rushdie, S., *The Moor's Last Sigh*. London: Vintage, 2006, p. 305.

is no less important now: Suppose we say that the ills of our societies are not primarily America's fault, that we are to blame for our own failings? How would we understand them then? Might we not, by accepting our own responsibility for our problems, begin to learn to solve them for ourselves?<sup>29</sup>

By raising his voice against both the neo-colonialism of Western states like the U.S.A whose policy of regime change in the Middle East in the name of 'democratization' has been a thin disguise for political and economic interests and against the religious fundamentalism of his own Muslim community, Rushdie embodies Said's ideal persona of the intellectual, who needs to engage in total criticism, questioning both internal and external structures of authority: "One of the shabbiest intellectual gambits is to pontificate about abuses in someone else's culture and excuse exactly the same practices in one's own."<sup>30</sup> Yacoubi acknowledges that "Since the publication of *Midnight's Children*, Rushdie's prose has raised serious questions about the limits of nationalism, imperialism, and religious obscurantism- be it Islamic, British or Hindu."<sup>31</sup> Said, in his defense of Rushdie against the fatwa proclaimed by Khomeini, stated that:

Rushdie is everyone who dares to speak out against power, to say that we are entitled to think and express forbidden thoughts, to argue for democracy and freedom of opinion. The time has come for those of us who come from this part of the world to say that we are against this fatwa and all fatwas that silence, beat, imprison, or intimidate people and ban, burn, or anathemize books.<sup>32</sup>

Said and Rushdie were closed allies in condemning religious fundamentalism of all sorts. For Said religion was an important resource, as it helped to shape collective identity; both he and Rushdie insisted on a clear separation between religion and politics and condemned Islamic movements like the Hamas or Al-Qaueda for the closure of their religious discourse and for their "uncanny compromise with the devices and procedures of U.S. interventionism."<sup>33</sup>

In an article published in *The Washington Post*, Rushdie calls for an Islamic reformation and argues that the London bombings of July 7, 2005 reveal the limits of traditional Islam. He contends that the British-Muslim teenagers were transformed into terrorists by the closure of Islamic religious discourse which causes many traditional Muslims to lead "inward-turned lives of near segregation from the wider population." This alienation of young Muslims has its roots in Western imperialism and neo-colonialism, but "the closed communities of some traditional Western Muslims are places in which young men' alienations can

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<sup>29</sup> Rushdie, S., "Yes, This is about Islam". *The New York Times* 2 Nov.2001. [www.nospank.net](http://www.nospank.net). 3 May 2011 <http://www.nospank.net/rushdie.htm>

<sup>30</sup> Said, E. *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*. New York: Vintage, 1994, p. 92.

<sup>31</sup> Yacoubi, Y. *op.cit.* p. 203.

<sup>32</sup> Said, E., "Against the Orthodoxies" *For Rushdie: A Collection of Essays by 100 Arabic and Muslim Writers*. Eds. Anouar, Abdallah et al. New York: George Brazillier, Inc., 1994, p. 261.

<sup>33</sup> Yacoubi, Y. *op.cit.* p. 204.

deepen.”<sup>34</sup> Rushdie reiterates his 2001 critique, and adds that what is needed from today’s Muslim community is “a reform movement to bring the core concepts of Islam into the modern age, a Muslim Reformation to combat not only the jihadist ideologies, but also the dusty, stifling seminaries of the traditionalists”.<sup>35</sup>

Rushdie’s call for a Muslim Reformation reminds his reader of the Moor’s identification with Luther in protest against the divided history of his family (and the subcontinent). Luther’s Reformation, which split the Catholic Church and gave rise to the religious wars that plagued Europe in the 16th and 17<sup>th</sup> century, came after the Great Schism (the separation of the Roman Catholic Church from the Eastern Orthodox) in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, the history of Islam was marked by ruptures as soon as the Prophet was dead in 632 A.D. – when Muslims were divided into Shi’a and Sunni. Indian Muslims belonged mostly<sup>36</sup> to the latter, a community characterized by sufi mysticism and tolerance, which flourished in the time of the Mughal Empire. Rushdie sketches this community in *The Empress of Florence*, detailing the court life of Emperor Akbar and his open-minded tolerance of religious dispute. With the advent of British domination, the Muslim elite, demoralized by their loss of hegemony and seeing their monotheism threatened by the inclusive Hindu pantheon, reacted to their diminishing status by advocating a return to what they saw as the pure, unadulterated Islam of the beginning. Their insistence on preserving purity of faith led to frictions with the Hindu majority and later to the communal blood baths of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Histories of religion, like histories of nations, are histories of intolerance which breeds division. If this serves the interest of the politician, it does not serve the average individual. Intolerance and an insistence on difference (conducive to divisions) have dire consequences for identity-construction.

Thus, far from being an apostate Muslim, Rushdie is part of a large Muslim intelligentsia who fight against Islamic traditionalism and fundamentalism. As Said confesses, “There is a school of writers, poets, essayists, and intellectuals, who fight a battle for the right to be modern, because our history is governed by turath, or heritage.”<sup>37</sup> Yacoubi notices that in the midst of the Rushdie affair nobody bothered to “consider the question of tradition and modernity, which baffled and occupied the thinking of early Arab intellectuals like al- Tahtawi, Taha Hussein, Mohamed Abdu, and others”<sup>38</sup>. In light of Muslim political and religious history and Rushdie’s own pronouncements on questions of tradition, modernity and the need for an Islamic Reformation, we can conclude that part of Rushdie’s fiction engages with the thorny issues of Muslim communities. As Yacoubi puts it,

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<sup>34</sup> Rushdie, S. “The Right Time for an Islamic Reformation”. *The Washington Post* 7 Aug. 2005. [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com). 24 May 2011.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/08/05/AR2005080501483.html>

<sup>35</sup> Rushdie, S. *ibidem*.

<sup>36</sup> Shia Muslims were persecuted by the Mughal emperors. A small minority remained in Kashmir, and another in Uttar Pradesh. Between 1904 and 1908, there were many clashes between sunni and shi’a Muslims in the latter area.

<sup>37</sup> Said, E., *People’s Rights and Literature*. *Power, Politics, and Culture: Interviews with Edward Said*. Ed. Gauri Vishwanathan. New York: Pantheon Books, 2001, p. 259.

<sup>38</sup> Yacoubi, Y. *op.cit.*, p. 205.

Rushdie is “a Muslim dissident, who is constructively (and properly) re-imagining his religious tradition in the similarly revisionist fashion of Rabelais, Voltaire and James Joyce.”<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 205.

# CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SOURCE OF FRANCIS BACON'S THEORY

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**Abstract:** *The beginnings of modern philosophical thinking are to be found in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Besides the French philosopher René Descartes, the English philosopher Francis Bacon brought a decisive contribution to the beginning of this new philosophical era. Francis Bacon's concern was his desire to bring a substantial contribution to the well-being of humankind. As part of the sources he drew from, mention should be made of the Ancient times, whose myths he reinterpreted and to which he gave new values.*

**Keywords:** *Francis Bacon, sources, ancient, modern philosophy, writings, science, nature.*

In our pursuit of the sources of Bacon's philosophy, we resorted to the author's biography; sometimes the writings of an author are rooted in the author's life. Nonetheless, it is absolutely true that, sometimes, it only purifies certain biographical aspects or it acts in a compensatory manner. Through his philosophy, Francis Bacon aims to discover the condition of scientific and philosophical knowledge, but he is not insensitive to the question of gaining knowledge about the human being. Bacon's philosophical ideas took shape very early, and this is why his biography cannot help us to better understand how his philosophical ideas were formed, but only to understand his work.

Francis Bacon was a spirit concerned with the fulfillment of great projects. He was educated at Trinity College, at Cambridge University, in the spirit of liberal arts, mainly applied to Aristotle's texts. Feeling, probably, the need to broaden his area of knowledge and to learn a more elaborate method, Francis Bacon left Trinity College. During his travels through France, he became interested in the reform of science and philosophy, which became an essential aspect of his subsequent concerns<sup>1</sup>.

Francis Bacon was reserved before the innovating theories of his time and he

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<sup>1</sup> A. Posescu (ed.), *Francis Bacon, The Wisdom of the Ancients*, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p. 253.



was not impressed with the various philosophical reevaluations and denials of the subsequent theories. An excellent example is that of the Italian Giordano Bruno, whose Neoplatonism (as an anti-Aristotelian attitude) did not convince the English philosopher. However, it gave him the idea of a new philosophy and, thus, it made him part of the revisionist trend of his times.

From the very beginning, Bacons' ideas were concentrated on the human being seen in his spiritual dimension. In his work, *Of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning*, the philosopher wrote that a distinction should be made between the role of science and the role of theology. The first one is concerned with gaining knowledge about the aspects of the material world, the second one – about divine nature. In the author's opinion, the prejudices created by the intersection of the two domains only slowed down the process of evolution and innovation<sup>2</sup>.

At the same time, in the works he published, Francis Bacon had the courage to challenge the thinkers of the Ancient times. They were guilty of disseminating some mistaken ideas: Plato, Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas (Posescu, 1976, p. 243).

In the author's preface to the work *De interpretatione naturae. Proemium*, 1653, Francis Bacon attempts to redress the errors of the past. The source of his dissatisfaction, which he strongly underlined, lay in the injustice and the error which persisted in the evaluation of the part played by some people in the evolution of history.

Truth is the fundamental criterion used by the English philosopher. Francis Bacon advocated the enlightenment of knowledge and the fair evaluation of the acts and the people who left their mark on history. He was a free and objective spirit, who believed himself to be sufficiently learned in knowledge, so as not to allow himself to be fooled by the imposture of the ancients, nor to be seduced by the enthusiasm of modern people.

The fundamental principle of Francis Bacon's philosophical research is truth. Such truth arises from the conscience of having a duty to the fellow men among whom he lived. The examination of the truth, postulated in Bacon's writings, is an attempt to break free from superstition and from whatever impeded the evolution of the human spirit and society. However, Francis Bacon did not desire to lay the foundations of a philosophical school. The axes of his philosophical thinking are indicated by three main categories: "nature, science and man"<sup>3</sup>.

He was interested in the composition of the world he lived in, as well as in the meaning of what was happening in the Universe. The philosopher thoughtfully considered the primary causes of the surrounding world in the works *Cogitationes de natura rerum* and *De principiis atque originibus*<sup>4</sup>. He believed in the existence of some immutable laws of nature, being the supporter of determinism. Francis Bacon saw philosophy as a science dominated by physics, the most important of

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<sup>2</sup> J. Martin, *Francis Bacon, the state and the reform of antural philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> A. Posescu, *op.cit.*, p. 20

<sup>4</sup> G.W. Kitchin, (ed.), *Francis Bacon, Of the Advancement of Learning*, J.M. Dent & Sons Publishing House, London, 1905, p. 87-88.

all the sciences. In Bacon's opinion, philosophy was a science incorporating laws which belonged to other sciences and which could be used by it.

His concern for science constitutes a significant part of Bacon's thinking. In his works he underlined the reproach made to his time for the precariousness of scientific knowledge. In his novel, *New Atlantis*, Bacon anticipated some of the inventions which would be made only centuries later. The English philosopher contributed to the development of modern scientific thinking by approaching science from a theoretical point of view. He considered objectivity as a prerequisite of truth. The utterance of such a truth in an era still under the domination of religion represented a great act of courage from the philosopher.

Francis Bacon was interested in the human being, in the examination of his essential, defining characteristic features. He formulated theories about the connection between thought and speech, as well as about the independence of morals from religion. Nevertheless, being aware of the authority of religion, he did not deny it.

Among the intellectual concerns of the young Francis Bacon, as he himself confessed in the *Preface* of the work *De interpretatione naturae. Proemium*, was the idea of offering the state distinct, renewing and fair things. Consequently, he devoted himself to the study of public matters. His ambition to interpret nature originated from the uncertain situation in which the Church was at that time.

Bacon's theoretical work can be summarized very well based on the author's own underlining of his thinking in the respective preface. He wrote that his intention was only to help the interpretation with the aim of finding renewing aspects "whose seeds will spring in the honest, valuable geniuses who will be born in the next centuries" (Posescu, 1976, p. 240). Bacon intended only to „lay the foundation" for the „constructions which will be built by others."<sup>5</sup>

Bacon reinterpreted ancient myths. From their reinterpretation, the personal theory of the English philosopher can be identified. Within these myths he interspersed his own philosophical ideas. He broached questions of morals and politics. He did not hesitate to draw the attention on the errors existing in the science of the ancients. The remaining difficulty is to mark the limit between Bacon's original ideas and those truly belonging to the ancients. Bacon intended to bring back to life the events of the most Ancient times (the preface to *The Wisdom of the Ancients* – 1619). He underlined the wisdom of the ancients from a period preceding the time when Greek philosophy flourished.

## Conclusion

Francis Bacon can be considered one of the founders of modern philosophy and science. His work had both negative and positive echoes. The religious conservatives considered him an enemy, whereas others saw him as a spirit who brought substantial renewal to the intellectual inheritance of modernity.

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<sup>5</sup> A. Posescu, (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 240.

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# LES ESPACES HÉTÉROTOPIQUES DANS LES RÉCITS DE VOYAGE DE MAXIME DU CAMP

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**Abstract:** *With the 19<sup>th</sup> century French writer Maxime Du Camp, who was a travel partner and close friend of Gustave Flaubert, his travelogues represent sometimes a valorization of the travellers's reading universe, they stand for a mediated, filtered outlook on life, since the space that he visits passes through the pattern of the author's culture, which interposes between him and the world itself. Thus, he re-reads, re-invests the space, transforming it into heterotopias, which allow him to re-present reality and to cut up time according to his own mental schemes.*

**Keywords:** *space, heterotopias, difference, representations, rites.*

Dans notre approche des représentations de l'espace, nous identifions dans l'espace désacralisé du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et dans toute l'œuvre de Maxime du Camp un espace hanté de fantasmes, défini par M. Foucault comme «l'espace de notre perception première, celui de nos rêveries, celui de nos passions [qui] détiennent en eux-mêmes des qualités qui sont comme intrinsèques; c'est un espace léger, éthéré, transparent, ou bien c'est un espace obscur, rocailleux, encombré»<sup>1</sup>. Ce genre d'espace forme des **hétérotopies** qui permettent le découpage du temps selon un système d'ouverture et de fermeture bien précis. Pour Michel Foucault, les hétérotopies sont:

[...] des lieux réels, des lieux effectifs, des lieux qui ont dessinés dans l'institution même de la société, et qui sont des sortes de contre-emplacements,

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Foucault, «Des espaces autres» dans *Dits et écrits*, Paris, Gallimard, 1994, vol. IV, p. 756.

sortes d'utopies effectivement réalisées dans lesquelles les emplacements réels, tous les autres emplacements réels que l'on peut trouver à l'intérieur de la culture sont à la fois représentés, contestés et inversés, des sortes de lieux qui sont hors de tous les lieux, bien que pourtant ils soient effectivement localisables»<sup>2</sup>

Ce sont des lieux/des emplacements absolument **autres**, tout différents des autres types d'emplacements qu'ils reflètent et dont ils parlent, favorisant «sans doute une sorte d'expérience mixte, mitoyenne, qui serait le miroir» (*loc. cit.*). La fonction des hétérotopies serait de servir de lieu de retour, repliement sur soi, comme un miroir qui reflète une image de soi-même et invite à (re)découverte de soi. Il s'agit précisément des espaces régis par des *rites*:

On ne peut y entrer qu'avec une certaine permission et une fois qu'on a accompli un certain nombre de gestes. Il y a même d'ailleurs des hétérotopies qui sont entièrement consacrées à ces activités de purification, purification mi-religieuse, mi-hygiénique comme dans les hammams des musulmans, ou bien purification en apparence purement hygiénique comme dans les saunas scandinaves.<sup>3</sup>

Il y a des hétérotopies qui sont des espaces de passage et/ou d'hébergement comme *les auberges* et *les couvents*. Ces emplacements de halte provisoire tissent tout un réseau de relations faites de l'emplacement de repos, fermé ou à demi fermé, que constituent la maison, la chambre, le lit, etc. Dans son voyage en Italie, la cantine de Proza, par exemple, est un lieu de passage accueillant et parfait pour les voyageurs qui s'acheminent vers le grand Saint-Bernard, un refuge provisoire bienfaisant après la pénible marche dans la neige. Maxime Du Camp arrive à l'Hospice du grand Saint-Bernard, situé à une hauteur de plus de 2600 mètres, qui reçoit plus de vingt-mille visiteurs par ans, à la frontière avec la Suisse, où le voyageur arrive essoufflé et glacé, est un lieu ouvert à tous ; chrétiens, musulmans, juifs, orthodoxes grecs, etc. L'hospice, habité et géré par des religieux, de «bons Samaritains», est une sorte de mini-colonie réglée à la cloche. Avec ses coutumes pour recevoir l'autre, c'est une énième occasion pour Du Camp de mettre en valeur les vertus de la charité tout en renvoyant aux Évangiles.

En faisant référence aux monastères de Calabre, qu'il a visités durant son voyage en Italie, et qui se trouvent sur les cimes de la montagne, il affirme qu'ils sont «admirablement situés»: hauteur, solitude et divinité sont liés, selon lui.<sup>4</sup> Il ajoute, d'ailleurs, que la vénération de Dieu et le recueillement devrait s'accompagner toujours de la contemplation des magnificences de la nature, sans laquelle on ne pourrait pas atteindre la divinité<sup>5</sup>:

Il est à remarquer que les couvents sont toujours admirablement situés, et

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<sup>2</sup> Michel Foucault, *op.cit.*, p. 764

<sup>3</sup> Michel Foucault, *op.cit.*, p. 775

<sup>4</sup> Pour plus de détails sur la construction de nos émotions dans l'espace et dans le temps, voir Gaston Bachelard, *La poétique de l'espace*, Paris, P.U.F, 1961

<sup>5</sup> La nature était considérée avant tout comme l'espace des dieux, *apud* Colombe Coïelle, «Improbables paysages, jardins et paradis», in S. Meitinger (textes réunis par), *Espaces et paysages – Représentations et inventions du paysage de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

dans les emplacements très-habilement choisis au double point de vue de l'aspect et de la salubrité. On dirait que les moines, sachant par avance que la méditation sur soi-même et l'amour de Dieu sont insuffisants pour retenir l'homme dans le lien des vœux éternels, ont voulu y joindre l'absorbante contemplation de la nature.<sup>6</sup>

Dans leur voyage en Egypte, après avoir parcouru des rues sinistres et effrayantes de la ville de Rosette, Du Camp et Flaubert sont admirablement reçus à la caserne du pacha Husseim, qui met tout à leur disposition et avec qui ils communiquent par l'intermédiaire d'un docteur francophone. Ils y séjournent plusieurs jours, sont gâtés par les régals gastronomiques organisés en leur honneur. Si Du Camp est hébergé dans un couvent quelconque, comme c'est le cas au Liban, dans la ville de Saïda, chez les frères de la Terre Sainte, il note en passant le type d'accueil, du genre «bon dîner et bonnes chambres» pour définir la cordialité. Mais quelques jours plus tard, le couvent-forteresse du pied du Mont Carmel suscite lui un enthousiasme ouvert: il est «magnifique», organisé comme une forteresse, saintement gardé («vingt hommes réguliers le rendraient imprenable»), avec vue sur la mer et sur la baie de St Jean d'Acre, un autel placé sur un lieu sacrificiel. L'accueil cordial du frère Charles «un rusé drôle», «si aimable, si complaisant, si charment, si souriant» (*loc.cit.*) est de trop, et les moines qui font compagnie aux voyageurs boivent comme des trous. Pour renforcer l'impression de bonne hospitalité, Du Camp colle dans son récit les témoignages recueillis du livre des voyageurs, des quatrains bien rimés dans leur plupart. Il visite et commente tout: galeries, gravures des Ecritures, cellules des moines.

Du Camp fait l'éloge ouvert du couvent chrétien de Jérusalem, qui fait de l'aumône, paie le loyer, offre à manger. C'est un espace paradisiaque où règne la paix universelle. Chœur, autel représentant la Cène, grotte de la nativité, toutes les représentations y sont évoquées.

En Turquie, le couvent des derviches tourneurs est un espace resserré où le voyageur a accès justement pour regarder aux prix de quelques minutes. Dans cet espace de recueillement, les derviches prient dans un mouvement de rotation régulier qui induit le calme, «on se sent malgré soi pris d'un désir immodéré de se mêler à cette valse singulière, et d'aller chercher ainsi le rêve heureux qui donne à leurs figures l'enivrante expression de béatitude qui les anime»<sup>7</sup>.

Un deuxième type d'hétérotopie est *l'espace éminemment clos du Sérail*. Nous avons déjà remarqué l'attirance de l'auteur également pour les *espaces mixtes, hétérogènes*, que son regard organise d'une manière précise. L'exemple le plus illustratif est, à notre avis, **l'espace du Sérail**, dont il affirme qu'il est une «ville entière», avec son pavillon impérial, ses vastes appartements, la bibliothèque, les jardins, les «magnifiques» bains avec leur pavillon de repos, les cuisines, les écuries et l'arsenal. C'est un lieu qui est, selon lui, emblématique du

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<sup>6</sup> Maxime Du Camp, *Expédition des Deux-Siciles. Souvenirs personnels*, Paris, Didier, 1861, p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Maxime Du Camp, *Souvenirs et paysages d'Orient. Smyrne - Ephèse — Magnésie — Constantinople*, Scio, Paris, Didier, 1848. p. 147.

vrai Orient, mystérieux, magnifique, lyrique, effrayant: «Enfin voici l'Orient, le véritable Orient, avec ses mystères, son luxe, ses terreurs, son fanatisme et toute sa poésie.»<sup>8</sup>

Passionné pour les contrastes, il exprime son éblouissement devant la richesse, la magnificence des objets qui ont appartenu à chaque sultan au long des siècles, qu'il trouve dans de «modestes armoires vitrées» des appartements: des armes (sabres, yatagans, pistolets, poignards) et des bijoux apportés de tous les coins du monde, qui par leur exotisme et diversité séduisent le visiteur, qui semble décrire ici un vrai «voyage dans le voyage», virtuel, à travers des espaces lointains: «Nous restons éblouis des magnificences qui reluisent à nos yeux. [...] Les turquoises de Perse, les rubis de Pegu, les topazes de Brésil, les perles de Baharem, les saphirs de Ceylan, les opales de Hongrie, les diamants d'Hyderabad.»<sup>9</sup>

Ensuite, il décrit dans le menu détail la salle du trône des sultans, avec son obscurité «mystérieuse», qui est un divan impérial d'un luxe «féerique», représenté par une innombrable quantité de pierres précieuses, «turquoises, grenats, émeraudes, rubis, aigues-marines», un luxe que le voyageur associe à celui de l'art moresque «dans sa fantaisie la plus recherchée» et à celui des palais de Venise. C'est un espace qu'il peuple avec des figures de la vie politique et diplomatique, appartenant à un passe révolu, qui ont fortement marqué l'histoire de cet endroit: «C'est derrière la grille qui protège [cette fenêtre] que jadis se tenaient les pachas, les ministres, les ambassadeurs, et de là ils communiquaient avec le Padischah.»<sup>10</sup>

Nous avons esquissé l'idée que le voyageur encadastre l'espace hétérogène du Sérail, le divisant, l'organisant d'une manière précise dans ses descriptions, selon les diverses utilités de chaque type d'endroit. Il fait référence ainsi à *l'espace du jardin*<sup>11</sup>, lui aussi divisé entre ses allées, au long desquelles se trouvent des «bosquets de jasmins, de chèvrefeuilles, de rosiers, d'ébéniers», et les gazons, abrités par des mélèzes, des pins d'Italie et de vieux platanes.

Son périple continue avec les écuries impériales, le voyageur donnant des détails sur les caractéristiques de la race des chevaux qu'il voit là-bas: «le garrot est court, le paturon saillant, la crinière peu fournie, et la tête épaisse, sans intelligence».

Il fait également référence aux bains du Sérail qui soulèvent son enthousiasme: «divisés» en trois salles en marbre blanc où il admire la «charmante» architecture moresque. Il serait intéressant à noter la manière dont il se représente cet espace: même si l'endroit qu'il décrit a un caractère statique, la description de l'écrivain lui confère un certain dynamisme, un effet de mouvement, illustré par des verbes de mouvement: «courir», «s'épanouir», «s'arrondir»:

Les arabesques, les stalactites de pierre courent autour des plafonds,

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 206.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 201.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 202.

<sup>11</sup> Plus plus de détails sur les significations de l'espace du jardin, voir Gaston Bachelard, *op.cit.*, p 145.

s'épanouissent aux chapiteaux des colonnes, s'arrondissent au-dessus des portes et encadrent capricieusement les verres lenticulaires qui donnent jour à ce palais de dentelle.<sup>12</sup>

Sa description continue par «l'élégant» pavillon de repos, lui aussi «divisé» en deux chambres, dont l'une forme un «adorable» songeoir en marbre blanc de style arabe. Nous remarquons de nouveau le goût de l'auteur pour les images mouvementées, dynamiques: «mille jets d'eau qui se croisent dans l'air jaillissent et retombent en fines gouttelettes argentées»<sup>13</sup>

Le voyageur continue son périple en visitant les cuisines impériales, un espace que son regard divise de nouveau, selon la latéralité: «à droite», «à gauche». Elles sont décrites comme un «énorme laboratoire», ce qui crée un spectacle dynamique et multi sensoriel: «les feux flamboient, les marmites pétillent, une fumée grasse et chaude remplit l'atmosphère, chacun se presse, court, apporte, emporte les plats». Toutefois, l'auteur n'hésite pas à mettre en évidence son statut de voyageur privilégié: «C'est un brouhaha indéchiffrable au milieu duquel cependant nous sommes aperçus par le chef de la cuisine (Boulouk-Bachi) qui nous fait gracieusement offrir d'excellents beignets au sucre.»<sup>14</sup>

Sa promenade au Sérail finit par la visite de l'arsenal, avec ses « fameuses et terribles » marmites des janissaires, des brassards, des cuirasses, sabres de toutes formes, des lances, des fusils, des carabines, qui suscitent eux aussi le vif intérêt de l'auteur.

Une troisième hétérotopie ayant une portée significative dans le récit de voyage est *le cimetière*. Du Camp manifeste une hantise de la mort poignante<sup>15</sup>, qui se déclenche à la vue des ruines, lorsqu'il se trouve dans les plus grandes hauteurs des montagnes et lors des visites des cimetières et qui sillonnent tous ses récits comme un thème récurrent. Le penchant pour le macabre se déploie avec plus de force dans les descriptions des cimetières. Durant son voyage à Suisse, au bourg de Rosière, Du Camp est attiré par le *cimetière* – comme «décor de la réversibilité»<sup>16</sup> –, dont il recherche chaque tombe pour découvrir des inscriptions, et il se plaît à regarder les ossements humains, dont il fait une minutieuse description anatomique: côtes, fémurs péronés, maxillaires, clavicules «presque réduits en poussière», qui se trouvent à proximité des fleurs («des véroniques, des orties, des oseilles sauvages») et des enfants, qui jouent avec des «planches pourries» qui ont appartenu à des cercueils, s'y taillant des pièges pour prendre des oiseaux.

Placé à l'extérieur de la ville, à partir du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le cimetière devient une *autre* ville. C'est certainement un *haut lieu autre* «par rapport aux espaces

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<sup>12</sup> *Souvenirs et paysages d'Orient*, p. 204.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 204.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 202.

<sup>15</sup> Sur le lien entre la valeur rédemptrice de la mort et le retour au circuit cosmique, voir Mircea Eliade, *Mythes, rêves et mystères*, Paris, Gallimard, 1957

<sup>16</sup> Valérie Wernet, «Lieux clos, cœur ouvert: l'orientation spatiale dans *La Chaumière indienne* de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre», in S. Meitinger (s.l.d. de), *Espaces et paysages – Représentations et inventions du paysage de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, op.cit., p. 88.



culturels ordinaires, c'est un espace qui est pourtant en liaison avec l'ensemble de tous les emplacements de la cité ou de la société ou du village, puisque chaque individu, chaque famille se trouve avoir des parents au cimetière»<sup>17</sup>. La simple vue de «la noire demeure» déclenche la prise de conscience de la dépouille mortelle. Le cimetière de Damas, un «champ des morts» est traversé par des rivières, et chaque tombe est «empanachée d'un bouquet d'herbes vertes ou desséchées» comme dans la tradition occidentale<sup>18</sup>.

Dans son voyage en Italie, arrivé dans le grand bourg d'Orsières, après la visite obligée de l'église, Du Camp s'arrête décrire le cimetière qui l'entoure, un espace serré, insuffisant, «où les morts sont pressés, tassés les uns contre les autres»<sup>19</sup>. Le fragment témoigne une fois de plus du fait que Du Camp manifeste une préoccupation constante autant pour le spectacle de la vie que pour celui de la mort:

Aux angles des murailles, des ossements humains sont éparpillés parmi les herbes: les côtes, les fémurs, les péronés, les maxillaires, les clavicules, presque réduits en poussières gisent au milieu des véroniques, des orties, des oseilles sauvages; quelques planches pourries qui ont appartenu à des cercueils sont dispersées çà et là par les enfants qui jouent avec et s'y taillent des pièges pour prendre des oiseaux<sup>20</sup>.

En Egypte, aux pieds de la colonne de Pompée s'étend un cimetière «nu, sans arbres, désolé, rempli de ses tombes uniformes». Le manque de dattiers traditionnels dans un jardin donne au voyageur un sentiment de déception poignante.

De tous les cimetières de Constantinople, le plus beau lui semble le champ des morts de Scutari: c'est un lieu de promenade avant tout, d'une belle variété de costumes, de couleurs et de mouvements: «[...] dans le vent qui brame et leurs à travers leurs branches [des cyprès], les musulmans écoutent avec extase le chant des âmes qui voltigent au-dessus des tombeaux des corps qu'elles ont animés»<sup>21</sup>. Les marchands ambulants vendent leurs sorbets, confitures et glaces à la criée. La beauté de cet espace exquis donne à Du Camp «un avant-goût du sommeil de l'éternité»<sup>22</sup> pour «attendre ainsi l'heure première et solennelle du repos suprême» (*loc. cit.*).

En revisitant après six ans la ville de Constantinople, Du Camp arrive au fameux cimetière de Scutari, qu'il retrouve «toujours une merveilleuse forêt de cyprès parsemée de tombes» où les femmes voilées et les enfants viennent s'y asseoir. Saisi d'un charme inexprimable, il les contemple de nouveau dans le même état. Toujours en Turquie, près des ruines de la Corne d'or, le cimetière est splendide, se composant du même type de tombes et de cyprès, qui est la végétation spécifique.

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<sup>17</sup> M. Foucault, *op.cit.*, p. 754

<sup>18</sup> *Voyage en Orient*, p. 292.

<sup>19</sup> Maxime Du Camp, *Orient et Italie. Souvenirs de voyage et de lectures*, Paris, Didier, 1868, p. 147.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147.

<sup>21</sup> *Souvenir et paysage d'Orient*, p. 140.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 141.

Une quatrième hétérotopie est représentée par *le jardin*. M. Foucault estime que, depuis le fond de l'Antiquité, le jardin est «une sorte d'hétérotopie heureuse et universalisante»<sup>23</sup>. L'auteur rappelle les profondes significations superposées que cette «étonnante création maintenant millénaire», a développées en Orient, une sorte de microcosme qui regroupe et où se répartissent toutes les formes de végétation<sup>24</sup>. Dans cette «plus petite parcelle du monde» (*loc.cit.*) se trouve paradoxalement la totalité du monde.

Les jardins vus en Egypte, sur les bords du Nil, sont un petits paradis terrestre et exotique: «Dattiers, bananiers, colocazias, roseaux, tamarix, riz et canne à sucre forment d'impénétrables rideaux de verdure»<sup>25</sup>. A l'île de Rhodà, il visite des jardins qu'il caractérise de manière sommative comme «grands et magnifiques», «pleins de toutes les végétations imaginables», «c'est splendide et fort mal entretenu: grotte factice toute en coquillages d'un joli petit goût»<sup>26</sup>. En fait, si l'on veut faire un inventaire des isotopies qui scandent la description d'un paysage, nous sommes à même d'affirmer que dans toute l'œuvre de Du Camp, les descriptions les plus récurrentes, répétitives et riches portent sur la végétation rencontrée sur la route, donc il a une véritable obsession de la végétation, un tropisme qui renforce son savoir encyclopédique. D'ailleurs, on peut identifier chez le voyageur, dont l'esprit d'explorateur est indéniable, un vif intérêt pour le vaste domaine des *sciences naturelles*, qui devrait être mis en rapport avec son encyclopédisme, et qui, dans cette perspective, le rapproche plutôt des écrivains-voyageurs du XVIIIe et du XVIIe siècles: son attention se porte non seulement vers l'histoire, l'archéologie, mais aussi vers les sciences physiques, l'héliographie, la géographie, la botanique, les sciences agricoles, la zoologie, etc.

Les anciens jardins de Solomon s'ouvrent aux pieds des montagnes dures et difficiles; placés dans un vallon profond, plantés d'oliviers, de mûriers et de mimosas, ces jardins lancent l'occasion de revisiter des itinéraires bibliques. Le jardin des Oliviers est un parcours obligé dans le pèlerinage d'un chrétien, le 15 août surtout, fête de la Vierge. Presque désert, il en restait huit en 1850. D'autres jardins découverts sur la route de Jérusalem à Damas sont près de la ville de Naplouse: le voyageur qualifie leur verdure de «vigoureuse» vu la multitude d'arbres qui les peuplent (noyers, figuiers, mûriers, grenadiers, aubergines, aristoloches, roseaux à palme, haies vives, etc.), mais arrosés naturellement par les ruisseaux environnants, mais laissés pousser au hasard.

Il convient de souligner un aspect particulièrement important: Du Camp est également attiré par un espace autre comme *le jardin zoologique*. L'exotisme d'un tel lieu séduit le voyageur et le fait peut-être percevoir cette visite comme «un

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<sup>23</sup> M. Foucault, *op.cit.*, p. 753

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*. L'auteur raffine ses explications, par l'exemple des jardins persans: «Le jardin traditionnel des persans était un espace sacré qui devait réunir à l'intérieur de son rectangle quatre parties représentant les quatre parties du monde, avec un espace plus sacré encore que les autres qui était comme l'ombilic, le nombril du monde en son milieu, (c'est là qu'étaient la vasque et le jet d'eau) [...] »

<sup>25</sup> *Egypte et Nubie*, p. 23. A la page suivante, De Camp se lance dans une digression de botanique – la description d'un sycomore – à partir de l'étymologie pour laquelle il s'excuse d'avance auprès du destinataire de son livre, Théophile Gautier.

<sup>26</sup> *Voyage en Orient*, p. 24.

voyage dans le voyage», une *mise en abyme du voyage* à portée symbolique, étant donné que la plupart de ces espèces d'animaux représentent des zones géographiques qu'il n'a jamais parcourues: l'Inde, l'Afrique centrale, l'Australie, l'Amérique du Sud.

Une cinquième hétérotopie identifiable dans les récits de voyage de Du Camp est constituée par *les musées et les bibliothèques*, considérée par le même spécialiste, M. Foucault, comme propre à la culture occidentale du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Tous deux sont «des hétérotopies dans lesquelles le temps ne cesse de s'amonceler et de se jucher au sommet de lui-même, alors qu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, jusqu'à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle encore, les musées et les bibliothèques étaient l'expression d'un choix individuel»<sup>27</sup>.

Pour Maxime Du Camp, les nombreux musées d'art visités dans son voyage en Hollande représentent une belle occasion de mettre en valeur son savoir artistique, composante essentielle de ses connaissances encyclopédiques. Ses commentaires en connaisseur averti sur les courants artistiques et les artistes qui les illustrent se déploient sur des pages entières. Les musées d'art représentent des espaces sacrés, propices aux émois exquis, à l'élévation spirituelle. Les vécus intenses rendent inutiles, voire excluent toute explication du guide (minable, à son avis), propices également aux réflexions philosophiques sur le génie universel de l'artiste. Toujours en Hollande, ce sont aussi les musées d'anatomie qui le fascinent, où il passe des moments longuement et minutieusement décrits, où il assiste à des autopsies et visite des collections de corps ou crânes humains. A Amsterdam, la visite du musée d'histoire naturelle est une occasion de mettre en valeur son savoir naturaliste comme tout autre musée des sciences naturelles.

A l'Hospice du Saint-Bernard, Du Camp trouve une bibliothèque «assez intéressante», mais il ne s'attarde pas sur sa description et sur les livres qui la composent. Une autre bibliothèque, celle du sérail, se trouve «au milieu» de la cour, avec ses «invisibles» manuscrits. Plus que les bibliothèques proprement dites, Du Camp visite souvent sa *bibliothèque mentale* faite de tous les auteurs majeurs ou mineurs qui le nourrissent de leurs relations et de leurs récits du voyage.

Ainsi, le récit de voyage représente souvent une mise en scène des lectures du voyageur, il est le signe d'une perception médiate du monde, étant donné que l'espace qu'il visite passe par l'écran de la formation de l'auteur, par la culture sous-jacente qui se trouve entre lui et le monde. De la sorte, il opère une lecture de l'espace le transformant en *hétérotopies*, qui permettent le découpage du temps selon un système d'ouverture et de fermeture bien précis.

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<sup>27</sup> M. Foucault, *op.cit.*, p. 759

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# MYSTIFICATION AND COMPENSATION IN TUDOR ARGHEZI'S LIFE AND WORK

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**Abstract:** Tudor Arghezi used to say that his childhood was nothing but a „painful age” of his life. We don't know much about his life. His biography is shrouded in mystery, the Romanian poet refusing to admit that he had Hungarian origins. Rozalia Arghezi, his mother, was born in Transilvania and lived in Bucharest, where she worked as a housekeeper. She is mentioned by the poet only in his literature, her portrait being compensatory and idealized. In many of Tudor Arghezi's poems and novels his mother is an iconic character. Tudor Arghezi's biography is more like a literary work because of the poet's continuous effort to create an identity which did not remind him of his true, unpleasant past experience.

**Keywords:** Tudor Arghezi, Ion Theodorescu, biography, poet, studies.

## Introduction

Because we don't know much about the childhood and adolescence of Tudor Arghezi, any biographical effort of the literary historians regarding the Romanian poet starts when Arghezi was 16 years old, in 1896, when he makes his debut in the Romanian literature with a poem full of bitterness and frustration called *To My Father*.

The approach of the Arghegian biography involves some difficulties that have to be overcome: the tumultuous life of the poet, the scarcity of the biographical information and, the most important difficulty, his refusal to reveal his past and to let the literary historians do research on this topic. Hence, the natural consequence of hiding the facts and avoiding the obvious biographical

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information. He tried and even succeeded, in part, to mystify a part of his biography. This attitude led to contradictions and even fierce polemics between Tudor Arghezi's biographers. The poet himself made a rare confession about his life, through its main stages:

„When I was 12 I gave private lessons of algebra to an adult. During the school holidays I worked as an apprentice, making inscriptions on tombstones in the cemetery. At 16 I was secretary of an exhibition of painting and I published my first poems. At 17 I worked as a technician in a chemical laboratory and at 18 I was the one that managed that laboratory. At 19 I was a deacon and referent on Comparative Literature at The School of Officers. When I was abroad I made physical work, I sold toys for 10 cents a piece, I learned how to make rings and lids for watches. When I didn't have something to eat I endured the pain. Returning to my country, I didn't avoid any burden (...) When I was 58 I gave an exam to become a typesetter”<sup>1</sup>

Tudor Arghezi's childhood was a sad „fairy-tale”, as the poet used to say. In his article *Dintr-un foișor* (1941) Tudor Arghezi writes that his childhood reminds him only of „terrible pictures of abomination”. His parents didn't love him and his parents didn't love him as much as he needed their love and support. Thus we can explain his preference for pamphlet and polemic. His attitude as a writer was influenced by the dreadful period of his childhood. This is the reasons which made him hide his past under a dark veil. However, lacking the warmth of a family, he projected his love on other people who have influenced his life. Tudor Arghezi has always spoken fondly only about a few people. The poet has always spoken with great pride about his grandfather (Tudor Cojocaru) who originated in Gorj.

### **Tudor Arghezi's mother and his childhood, defining for his work**

In the Arghezian literature there is a part which is dedicated to his mother, who is referred to by the poet as an icon. The compensation effort of Tudor Arghezi in favour of his mother is obvious, in his attempt to recover her image. His life had many hidden parts, many of them being left unknown in their true light. Some elements of his compensation effort for his mother is obvious in the poems with childhood topics, these literary works hiding the frustration of the poet and being a revenge for his unhappiness.

One cannot track the poet's biography in his work. The deficient biography was projected in his poetry in a fairy-tale childhood, as he has always imagined. In such poems, Arghezi does not see childhood "from a romantic perspective, with retrospective nostalgia, but from the perspective of paternity"<sup>2</sup>, from his own point of view as an adult. His father is rarely mentioned, being judged for what he has done to his son.

His refusal to remember his own childhood and trying to erase his past was caused by the hard life he endured. He went to the Cernica monastery when he was only 19 years old, being desperate and lacking the support of his family. His father, Nicolae Theodorescu left his family when the little child Ion Theodorescu

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<sup>1</sup> T. Arghezi, *Principii de educație*, in *Lume veche, lume nouă*, Tineretului Publishing House, Bucharest, 1958, pag. 223.

<sup>2</sup> M. Călinescu, *Arghezi și universul copilăriei*, in *Steaua*, XI, nr. 5, mai 1960, pag. 19.

(Tudor Arghezi) was only 3 years old, and left his wife, Rozalia Arghezi, with many problems to solve. From this point of view the poem *Tatălui meu* can be considered a departure from the poet's childhood at an age (16 years) when the effort for independence of the adolescent Ion Theodorescu was in full swing.

There were many conflicts between the young Ion Theodorescu (Tudor Arghezi) and his father. The turning point occurs in 1896 when Nicolae Theodorescu sees his son with the Symbolist poet Alexandru Macedonski, smoking around two cups of coffee on a terrace on Calea Victoriei in Bucharest. The remarks of the parent to his child were not accepted by the adolescent, this moment marking the detachment of the boy from the parent's authority. From now on, he will independent from his literary mentor Alexandru Macedonski as well. Poetry is not the only gesture debut away from his father. He also starts to use the pseudonym "Ion Theod" and after that, in 1897-1898, in *Viața nouă* magazine he signs with the pseudonym "Ion Th. Arghezzi".

Without giving her name, Tudor Arghezi sometimes mentioned his mother. She raised him and suffered for her child, even though he was an „unwanted” child, as he often said about himself. Tudor Arghezi wrote beautiful words about his mother considering her a model of christian and parental love. The turning points of his life took place in the presence of his mother. One of them is Tudor Arghezi's departure from home in 1896, when he became a clergyman at Cernica monastery, near Bucharest. His mother's tears didn't have the power to turn him back. In 1899 he lacks the proper environment to follow his destiny as a writer and the monastery seems a good temporary choice. He hopes to find here the necessary love he didn't have in his childhood: „I needed a family that had the same feelings as me and I found them only in the clergy”<sup>3</sup>.

The Arghezian biography also hides the "Oedipus Complex", according to which a little represents in his mind the image of femininity in which his mother is a model to which all other feminine figures are compared to. The same happened with Tudor Arghezi. He married Constanța Zissu in 1912 but they divorced after a little while. They got married because of the situation of their son, Eliazar, born in 1905 in Paris. Tudor Arghezi was very determined at first not to get married to her:

"Maybe she understood that when we make a mistake we should not repeat it. We have a child who needs to be taken care of-maybe she understood that this is our only concern now. If she understood-and she will understand in the end-everything would be all right between us and we will remain friends for Eliazar's benefit. If she did not understand, we would not be friends. But I'm sure I do not have any intention to have a wife now, and if I ever ran amock to get married I wouldn't do it with Miss Zissu, who is Bachelor of Sciences, but a girl who knows how to cook well (...)"<sup>4</sup>.

Leaving for Switzerland, he writes many letters to his mother, confessing that he is tired of "intellectual women". He is disappointed that Constanta Zissu is not

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<sup>3</sup> M. Alexandrescu, *Cu Tudor Arghezi sub vișinii din M rțișor*, în *Confesiuni literare*, vol. I, Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest, 1971, pag. 167.

<sup>4</sup> B.Cioculescu, *Tudor Arghezi: Autoportret prin corespondență*, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, pag. 220.

the women he wishes for: a housewife, with no intellectual pursuits and dedicated to her husband. Eventually, he will meet Paraschiva Burda, the one who will become his wife and who was simply worshiped by Tudor Arghezi. He even used to say that all his literary work wasn't better than a soup made by Paraschiva. She was like Tudor Arghezi's mother, Rozalia Arghezi<sup>5</sup>: a modest woman who did not get over her status of housewife (the poet even writes in a letter addressed to Rozalia that she had no higher purpose in life), raising him and his brother Alexandru Pîrvulescu in very tough conditions. This is how we can explain the idealised image of his mother in the poet's work. But, on the other hand, Tudor Arghezi did not offer much information regarding the true identity of his mother, giving lacunal information when he was asked about the name of this mysterious woman. He even said his mother died in 1895 and her name was Maria Theodorescu. Despite this, he was a loving and devoted son who only wanted to protect his mother from the cruelty of other people.

The portrait of a poor woman is shaped in Tudor Arghezi's work, a woman who suffers for her son. She appears in the poet's dream as an old woman burdened with suffering. In a writing from 1954 this woman appears in his dream:

"I haven't seen you for two years. You used to come to me and took what I gave you from all my heart. You haven't come for a while. I heard that you died, poor old lady, you could have been my mother and maybe you really were my mother. You used to kiss me like your own child. Your mouth and arms started to tremble.

I am looking for you but I can't find you anywhere. I am looking for you even in my dream, in which I didn't hear that you died. My dream knows better the unknown things, but it doesn't know anything about you.

I am wandering in my dream on paths which are not followed by anyone and I ask: Where is my old woman who used to come at the end of the world to take my offerings? I asked everywhere. Isn't she living here, my old woman with the silent tears that run down her cheeks?

They don't know, they haven't seen you"<sup>6</sup>.

Tudor Arghezi's poetry about childhood represents for the poet a release from his past. In an analysis<sup>7</sup> of the spiritual biography of Tudor Arghezi, Luc-André Marcel considers that one of the most important characteristics of Tudor Arghezi's work is the poet's need to be released from his past.

Tudor Arghezi was the teacher, the doctor and the best friend of his two children, Barutu and Mitzura. He always took great care of them, protecting them from the outside world. He even tried to help his son when he was a schoolboy at *Sf. Sava High-School*. The poet tried in 1940 to get the help of Dumitru Caracostea, a Romanian official from the Ministry of Education. Because Barutu, the poet's son, had problems with his History teacher, his father decided that he

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<sup>5</sup> C. Beldie, *Oameni văzuți de aproape*, Roza Vânturilor Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005; Popescu-Cadem, Constantin, *Legendă și adevăr în biografia lui Tudor Arghezi*, in *Manuscriptum*, VI, nr. 2 (19), 1975, pag. 157-162.

<sup>6</sup> *Arghezi inedit*, în *Tribuna României*, nr. 181, 15 mai 1980, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> L. André-Marcel, *Tudor Arghezi (Poetes d'Aujourd'hui)*, Présentation par Luc-André Marcel, Choix de textes, Bibliographie, portraits, fac-similés, Editions Pierre Seghers, 1963, pp. 9-66.



should drop off the courses of *Sf. Sava High-School*. He was afraid that the methods employed by the History teacher would have a negative effect on his son:

“The style of the History teacher is outrageous. I thought these methods of teaching disappeared fifty years ago. During his classes, this man aimed at a student from his classroom with a piece of chalk or a stick and when he hit him he burst out laughing. In order to avoid such problems I decided to withdraw Barutu from this school and give him private lessons at home”<sup>8</sup>.

Tudor Arghezi was an opponent of any system. He was an unadapted student himself learning from his life more than he learned at school. He was a wanderer who tried to find his own way, learning from his own mistakes and hardships. In 1963, the Belgian poet Luc-André Marcel pointed out that one can see Tudor Arghezi in his true light only in the middle of his family. Luc-André Marcel had the opportunity to meet the Arghezi family when he interviewed the poet for the biographical part of his book with translations from the Arghezi poetry. The poet's family was his first and most important critic. His family created the perfect environment for Tudor Arghezi's literature. The poet didn't like another type of literature:

“A literature written in brothels and cafes determined readers not to seek a family and believe that love is only a burlesque adventure at the circus, an evanescent spark. This is a literature of humpbacks, alcoholics, and helpless people (...) Throughout history women inspired Jesus Christ, Goethe, Dante and DaVinci-and gave them birth. Her decorative mind did not create their work, but her merciful womb gave birth to great teachers, artists and pathfinders”<sup>9</sup>.

Tudor Arghezi is a writer who has never liked living in misery. His literature is characterized by a *bourgeois* lifestyle. The poet's belief was that literature should spring out of a plentiful life and not out of misery. He loved staying and admiring his house and garden, accepting his dark past which resulted in an unequalled literary work in Romanian literature.

## Conclusions

Tudor Arghezi's mystification effort regarding his life is obvious. He has always tried to destroy what literary historians discovered in archives of documents. The life of Tudor Arghezi is more literature than biography. It has turning points that configured most of his literary work. The poet's mother played an important role both in his biography and literature, but her son tried to keep her as much as possible out of the public attention. The work of Tudor Arghezi influenced his life and helped him hide the true identity of his parents and even some biographical information about himself. The life of Tudor Arghezi is a combination of controversy and imagination, the imagination of his own life.

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<sup>8</sup> Muzeul Literaturii Române, *Inv. 192, 30/III/3, 11670/fila 2*.

<sup>9</sup> T. Arghezi, *Scrieri 21 (Proze). Pravilă de morală practică*, vol. II, The Literary Publishing House, Bucharest, 1968, pag. 98, 100.

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# THE MAIN METHODS USED IN THE INTERPRETATION OF WORDS

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**Abstract:** *The present paper aims to illustrate the methods used by linguists in order to best describe the meaning of words. As we are going to see, several methods have been proposed, but only one managed to synthesize the information from its predecessors and to offer the best description of words. This is the generative lexicon and it comes with a novelty: the qualia structure. It presents four essential characteristics of the meaning of a word which help to explain why some phrases such as “bottle of wine” are accepted while others such as “bottle of shoes” are not.*

**Keywords:** *structural semantics, transformational semantics, theta roles, generative lexicon.*

Since ancient times, researchers have been trying to discover the connection between words and meanings. Different methods have been used in the semantic investigation of words, among which the most important are: the method of semantic markers, the method of aspectual structure, the method of semantic roles and the method of the generative lexicon. The first method was used in transformational semantics, the second one was used in the theory of lexical aspect, the third one was used in the extended version of the generative theory of Chomsky and the last one was put forward by James Pustejovsky in 1995.

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## 1. Transformational semantics

Transformational semantics describe the lexical meaning as a complex conceptual structure made up of three components: semantic markers, distinctive markers (distinguishers) and selective restrictions.

### 1.1. Semantic markers

Semantic markers represent the basic (primitive) items that are used to describe the meaning of words. They describe the meanings of several words and they are equivalent to semes of structural semantics. For example, for the words *dog* and *wolf*, the corresponding semantic markers are shown in (1):

(1) *dog*: *animate, mammal, carnivore, adult, male.*

*wolf*: *animate, mammal, carnivore, adult, male.*

### 1.2. Distinctive markers (distinguishers)

Distinguishers are used to describe the meaning of a single word and to highlight its semantic uniqueness. For example, the words *dog* and *wolf* have in common the semantic markers presented above (1). The difference between these two words is given by the distinguisher *domesticated* which appears in the description of *dog* and by the distinguisher *wild* which appears in the description of *wolf*:

(2) *dog*: *animate, mammal, carnivore, adult, male, domesticated.*

*wolf*: *animate, mammal, carnivore, adult, male, wild.*

### 1.3. Selective restrictions

Selective restrictions offer information on the possibilities of semantic combination between two words. Therefore, selective restrictions specify semantic subclasses selected by the lexical item. For example, a verb such as *to bark* requires a noun phrase subject [+animate] and a verb such as *to paint* requires a noun phrase subject [+human] and a noun phrase object that belongs to the category [+picture]: landscape, portrait, etc.:

(3) a. *Dogs bark.*

\**Doors bark.*

b. *John is painting a house/a dog.*

**\*The pencil/\*the fish is painting a house.**

Selective restrictions present both semantic and syntactic markers in angle brackets. The selective restrictions of the verbs *to bleat* and *to paint* are shown in (4):

(4) *to bark* <N<sub>[+animate]</sub>, - >

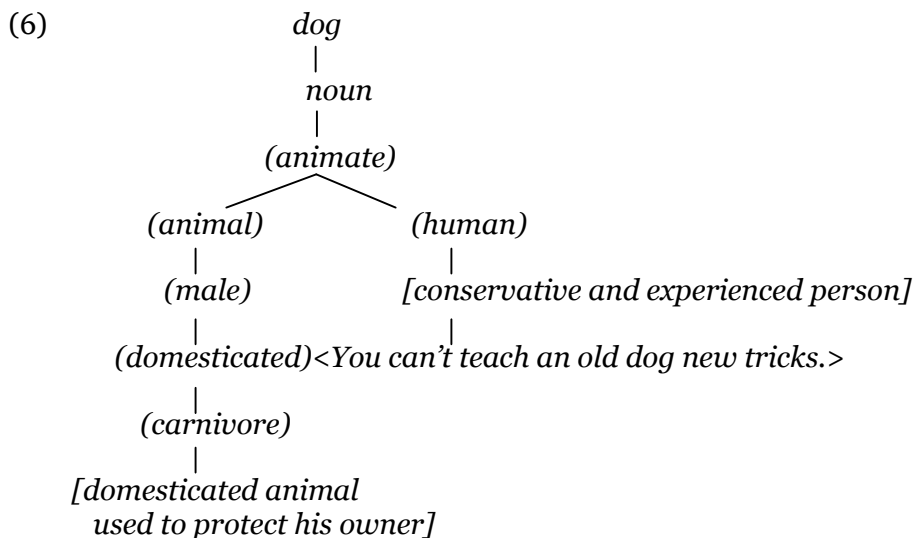
*to paint* <N<sub>[+human]</sub>, N<sub>[+image]</sub> >

Based on these three components, the lexical item will appear as a complex symbol that has many features. For example, the complex symbol for *dog* has the following features:

(5) *dog* [+N, +countable, +animate, +animal, +carnivore, +male, +domesticated].

All these features are included in the representation (in a tree) of the lexical

meaning *dog* (6):



It should be noted that for the semantic representation, semantic markers and selective restrictions are mandatory, while distinctive markers may lack. In the case of words that have several meanings, such as the one in (6), the representation will have a number of branches in proportion to the number of meanings.

In the case of transformational semantics, for the description of a lexical meaning, the meaning components (especially semantic markers) represent varied aspects of the denotation of a word. They present issues related to the:

- structure of the denotatum;
- how it was formed;
- its use;
- its belonging to a similar class of entities.

Thus, for the words *dog* and *house* the information related to the structure of the denotatum are: *head, body, feet, tail* respectively *doors, walls, rooms, roof*. The information on how the two entities have emerged is given by the semantic markers *it is born*, respectively *it is built*. In terms of their use, the specific semantic markers are *used to protect people*, respectively *built to be inhabited*. As for the final part of denotatum, the specific semantic markers are *animate (domesticated animal)* or *non-animate (artifact)*.

## 2. The theory of semantic (thematic) roles

Another method used to characterize the meaning of words refers to semantic roles. Semantic roles describe the relation between the participants in an event and identify the arguments in terms of the semantic relation they have with the verb. A verb such as *to open* involves two participants who receive certain roles (Agent and Theme). Hence the verb *to open* requires two arguments (7):

$$\text{GN}_1 \quad \quad \quad \text{GN}_2$$

Fillmore<sup>1</sup> is the one who offered a simple lexical-semantic representation of a predicate conceived as a set of cases or semantic roles. According to him, cases represent “a set of universal, presumably innate concepts, which identify certain types of judgments that human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgments about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, and who got changed”<sup>2</sup>. The agent plays the most important semantic role (7) and it is the initiator or the one who performs the action. It is characterized by the features /+animate/, /+intention/, /+responsibility/. The theme (8) is associated with verbs of motion or location. In the case of verbs of motion, the theme represents what moves (8a1), and in the case of verbs of location, the theme is the entity whose location is described (8a2). The patient (8b) is the entity that undergoes a change. The experiencer (8c) is the entity that experiences a psychological state or event. The beneficiary (8d) is the entity that benefits from an action. The instrument (8e) is the object that initiated the action. The location (8f) presents the place of action. The purpose (8g) is the entity to which something leaves, the source (8h) is the entity from which something leaves and the path (8i) is the trajectory of an object.

- (8) a. 1. The book fell.  
2. The book is on the desk.  
b. John broke the window.  
c. John is happy.  
d. I cooked for you.  
e. John cut the tree with an axe.  
f. John put the book on the desk.  
g. John went to school.  
h. John comes from England.  
i. John ran through the tunnel.

It follows that this selection is relevant for the classification of verbs. Thus, for a verb like *break*, we will have the following lexical description:

- (9) to break <(Agent), Patient, (Instrument)>  
 Ion broke the balloon with a pin. <Agent, Patient, Instrument>  
 The pin broke the balloon. <Instrument, Patient>  
 The balloon broke. <Patient>

Semantic roles are closely related to the subcategorization rules:

- (10) John broke the balloon with a pin. <Agent, Patient, Instrument>  
[NP PP]

<sup>1</sup> Fillmore, C.J., *The case for case*, Universals in Linguistic Theory. E. Bach and R. Harms. New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Fillmore, C.J., *The case for case*, Universals in Linguistic Theory. E. Bach and R. Harms. New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968, p. 48.

Cornilescu (1995: 89-105) suggests the following subcategorization framework:

- (11)
- |      |               |                                          |
|------|---------------|------------------------------------------|
| a. V | CS/ _ #       | Dogs <u>bark</u> .                       |
| V    | CS/ _ NP      | John <u>drinks beer</u> .                |
| V    | CS/ _ NP ^ PP | He <u>informed John of her arrival</u> . |
| b. P | CS/ _ NP      | He is <u>waiting for her</u> .           |
| c. A | CS/ _ PP      | He is <u>fond of her</u> .               |
| A    | CS/ _ S       | He is <u>ready to go</u> .               |
| d. N | CS/ _ PP      | He has <u>faith in God</u> .             |

We find a synthesis of the subcategorization framework in his book *Gramatici formale*. Here, the arguments and their order is indicated by the abbreviation ARG-ST (argument structure), which is followed by the list of ordered items <...>. Semantic roles are specified by using the symbols # ... #. Morphological and semantic constraints appear in square brackets ([...]) and they are attached to the categorical symbols from the list of arguments.

- (12) CS *learn*

HD: verb

ARG-ST: <NP[CASE:nom], NP[CASE:acc] >

SEM-ROLE: #The one who learns [HUMAN: +], What is learned [ANIM: -]# 3

The example in (10) is interpreted as follows: the subcategorization framework for the verb *to learn* presents two NP arguments: one of the arguments is in the nominative case and the other one is in the accusative case. In addition, the denotata of the two NPs must meet the roles *the one who learns* (human) and *what is learned* (inanimate).

### 3. The theory of lexical aspect

While Fillmore focuses on the description of participants involved in an event, Vendler and Dowty focus on the description of events. They present events in terms of aspect, i.e. the way in which the speaker perceives the event: as complete or incomplete, as started or finished, as repetitive or unique. Given the aspectual value of events, the following classes of verbs result: states (13a), activities (13b), achievements (13c) and accomplishments (13d).

- (13)
- |                                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. to know, to believe, to love                                       |
| b. to run, to walk, to swim                                           |
| c. to find, to recognize, to lose                                     |
| d. to paint a picture, to make a chair, to draw a circle <sup>4</sup> |

As we can see from (14), each class presents unique features: +/- dynamic, +/- durative, +/- telic.

(14) States	Activities	Achievements	Accomplishments
[-dynamic]	[+dynamic]	[+dynamic]	[+dynamic]
[+durative]	[+durative]	[-durative]	[+durative]
[-telic]	[-telic]	[+telic]	[+telic]

<sup>3</sup> Ionescu E., (2007), *Gramatici formale*. Ed. Universității din București, pag. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Dowty, D. R., *Word meaning and Montague Grammar*, Dordrecht: Reidel, 1979, pag. 54.

In addition to these features, the four classes of verbs also present some differences. According to Dowty, states cannot occur in the imperative form, they cannot be used with the adverbs *deliberately* and *carefully* and they cannot be complements of the verbs *to force* and *to persuade*:

(15) \**Know the answer!*

\**John deliberately knew the answer.*

\**John forced Harry to know the answer.*

Moreover, activities cannot appear with time adverbials that start with “in”:

(16) \**John walked in an hour.* vs. *John walked (for) an hour.*

He also states that achievements cannot combine with durative time adverbials or with adverbs such as *deliberately*, *carefully*, *alert*, *obedient* and cannot be the complements of *to finish*:

(17) \**John found the mistake an hour.*

\**Ion deliberately found the mistake.*

\**Ion finished finding the mistake.*

As for accomplishments, they become ambiguous when they appear next to the adverb *almost*. In (18) we have two interpretations: 1) Ion had the intention to paint a picture but he changed his mind and did something else and 2) Ion began to paint and he almost finished.

(18) *John almost painted a picture.*

The category of aspect plays an important role in the description of verbs and of the nouns that derive from them. The importance of aspect consists of highlighting the link between verbs and deverbal nouns. For example, state verbs such as *to love* have their corresponding state noun *love*, activity verbs such as *to dance* have their corresponding activity noun *dance*, achievement verbs *to lose* have their corresponding noun *loss* and accomplishment verbs such as *to build* have their corresponding noun *building*.

The picture sketched above is not accidental: each of the three theories is valued in the project of generative lexicon, but in different forms and with different weights.

#### 4. The Generative Lexicon

Pustejovsky brings a new model of lexical description: the generative lexicon. It offers a more detailed representation of the meaning of a word than any other representation. The generative lexicon presents three levels of representation: argument structure (ARGSTR), event structure (EVENSTR) and qualia structure (QUALIA).

The argument structure is anticipated by Fillmore's thematic roles. But Pustejovsky is not interested in the types of thematic roles that a lexical item selects, but in the number and types of arguments it selects. There are four types of arguments for a lexical item: true arguments (19a), default arguments (19b), shadow arguments (19c) and true adjuncts (19d). The arguments for the lexical item *build* are presented in (20).

(19) a. *John ran.*

b. *John built the house out of bricks.*

c. *John danced a waltz.*



d. John went to the zoo on Sunday.

(20)

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{build} \\ \text{ARGSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} T - \text{ARG}_1 = x : \text{human} \\ T - \text{ARG}_2 = y : \text{artifact} \\ D - \text{ARG}_1 = z : \text{material} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The event structure characterizes both the basic event type of the lexical item and its subeventual structure. According to Vendler, events are divided into four categories: *states*, *activities*, *achievements* and *accomplishments*. Pustejovsky mentions only three categories: *states*, *processes* and *transitions*. He describes the four categories presented by Vendler in relation to states and processes. Therefore, *activities* are defined as *processes* and *achievements* și *accomplishments* are called *transitions* and they are defined by the combination of the two concepts: a process and a state that results. The prominence for an event is given by the HEAD marker.

(21)

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{build} \\ \text{EVENTSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{ll} E_1 & = \text{process} \\ E_2 & = \text{state} \\ \text{RESTR} & = <_r \\ \text{HEAD} & = \text{process} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Qualia structure represents the novelty of the theory presented by Pustejovsky. It describes four essential characteristics of the meaning of a word: the *constitutive role* (the relation between an aobject and its constituent parts: material, components), the *formal role* (that which distinguishes the object within a larger domain, its physical characteristics: orientation, form, dimension), the *telic role* (the purpose and the function of the object) and the *agentiv role* (factors involved in the origin of the object: artefact, creator). As we can see in (22), qualia structure helps in distinguishing between semantically related words:

(22)

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{novel} \\ \text{QUALIA} = \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{CONSTIT} & = \text{narrative} \\ \text{FORMAL} & = \text{book} \\ \text{TELIC} & = \text{to read} \\ \text{AGENT} & = \text{written} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{dictionary} \\ \text{QUALIA} = \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{CONSTIT} & = \text{list of words} \\ \text{FORMAL} & = \text{book} \\ \text{TELIC} & = \text{to consult} \\ \text{AGENT} & = \text{compiled} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

It also enables us to understand why certain phrases such as a *bottle of wine* are correctly formed while others such as a *bottle of shoes* are not. Qualia structure plays a very important role because it helps to predict the phrase that is to be attached to the head. That is, we cannot attach randomly any phrase to a given head because in the meaning of the head there are some items that disallow the combination with other words. As we can see from the example in (21), the head *bottle* presents some characteristics that match with the adjunct *wine*: *the*

*bottle* contains a *liquid* (thus we obtain the constitutive role of the head) and the fact that wine is a liquid makes it possible to attach to the head. Other adjuncts compatible with the head *bottle* could be: *of whisky*, *of champagne*, etc. Moreover, the telic role of *wine* becomes the telic role (purpose) of the whole noun phrase *bottle of wine* and that is *to be drunk*. An adjunct such as *shoe* cannot attach to the head *bottle* since its telic role is to be worn. So, the telic role of the adjunct is not compatible with the telic role of the head.

(23)

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{bottle} \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[ \textit{ARG1} = x : \textit{glass} \right] \\ \textit{EVENSTR} = \left[ \textit{D-E1} = \textit{state} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = x \\ \textit{CONSTIT} = \textit{of wine}(e1, x, y) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{wine} \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = y : \textit{liquid} \\ \textit{D-ARG1} = z : \textit{human} \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{EVENSTR} = \left[ \textit{D-E1} = \textit{process} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = y \\ \textit{TELIC} = \textit{to drink}(e1, z, y) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{bottle of wine} \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = x \\ \textit{D-ARG1} = z : \textit{human} \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{EVENSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{D-E1} = \textit{process} \\ \textit{E2} = \textit{state} \\ \textit{HEAD} = \textit{state} \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = x \\ \textit{CONSTIT} = y \\ \textit{TELIC} = \textit{to drink}(e1, z, x) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{shoes} \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = y \\ \textit{D-ARG1} = z : \textit{human} \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{EVENSTR} = \left[ \textit{D-E1} = \textit{state} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = y \\ \textit{TELIC} = \textit{to wear}(e1, z, y) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

## Conclusions

In this paper it has been shown that the generative lexicon is the best method to describe the meaning of words. It is not important only for the synthesis that it makes but also for the fact that it solves issues that the above mentioned theories could not solve because there was not even the conscience that such issues exist.

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# EUROPE AS REVERSED “PHILOSOPHICAL GEOGRAPHY”

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**Abstract:** *The European social and cultural dynamics speaks for itself when it comes to redistributing chances for tracing an identity, in a complicated space prone to both centrifugal and centripetal pressures. Starting with Leibniz, Saint-Simon or Hugo, Europe had been a way to become fused in “body” and spirit. Recently, we found ourselves relinquishing the “European fraternity” ideal, choosing the path of a hardened political contest instead. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, a “philosophical geography” had been contrived in order to differentiate the civilized West in relation to a barbaric East. Could we simply invert it, in order to better suit the idea of a European identity that transgresses purely conventional space?*

**Keywords:** *Europe, identification, philosophical geography, synecdoche.*

## ARGUMENT

Europe’s map is not a subject prone to controversy among scholars. Geography, as natural science, does not negotiate with its own theoretical or empirical structures. A continental conventional display is scientifically and historically – that is objectively – rooted. Geography itself deals with the “object-man”. Only consciousness engulfs structures that would stick together in a subjective form. How do we perceive our European image, looking through the abyssal mirror of our consciousness? – this is a question for the “subject-man”.

This tension is present here, in both text and subtext. Displayed in four thematic moments, plus a speculative and conclusive section, my construction will gradually shift from the intention of a general project of unification to a much disputed geographical and symbolical “unified” space. The destiny of a European space is twofold: the coherence and relative success of unionist claims, combined with some difficulties that need to be overcome. Religion, language, way of life – are the bricks and plaster of a Great Mental Wall which arose to distinguish cultural structures from each other. To be on one side or the other is in itself a central piece of European history. Therefore, in this case, geography becomes an “adventure of the mind”. A valuable Europe, one mentally and symbolically fit, is what I am searching for. Such a search cannot begin elsewhere, but in the minds of wiser men, and with a little help from their intellectual products.

## 1. OLD AND NEW UNIONIST INTENTIONS

The European Union is not actually a young endeavor, limited inside a more or less changing actuality, but rather a mature and generous one, with numerous

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“antecedents” to support this claim. The 20<sup>th</sup> century is indeed the place of concrete economically and politically-oriented European changes, but the psychological conditions of a coherent European project should be searched for at an earlier stage. Which one of those merits review? Choosing to briefly display a few, I will try to carve a European anticipatory profile in history’s material.

For instance, Leibniz connected Europe to a triumphalist Christian ideal. In his mind, a European Christian alliance would have functioned as a shield against barbarian populations. His political ambition, be that of mere conjuncture<sup>1</sup>, contains the unionist European idea of a sublime Christendom. The *more geometrico*, in which we also inscribe his European idea, took account of a Christian Europe, authentic and alive, as an example of concatenation, bringing together specificity and pan-Europeanism. Any European natural construction would have also functioned as a medicine, curing “national” or zonal diseases, especially German. I find an ontological substrate to be evident here, since the Leibnizian relation between *part* and *whole* would have opened the door, by means of a social interpretation of his ontology, for a special kind of relationship between a united Europe and a “newborn” German identity. A paradoxical view?

Secondly, we can find a European “revolutionary” ground amongst utopian socialists or writers that have tried to dictate a romantic and humanistic rhythm to a European context somewhat consumed by political ambitions. The “aristocratic” Saint-Simon pledged for “uniting European peoples into one political corpus, while conserving national independence”. And the great Victor Hugo foretold that “there will come a day when European nations, without losing their specificity and glorious individuality, will unite in a superior organization, accessing European fraternity”.

The “administrative” 20<sup>th</sup> century seems to shift from monumental endeavors, while choosing to display a zonal arithmetic, one bound by economically and strategically-inclined politics. Nevertheless, quite a few 20<sup>th</sup> century politicians do confirm the “unification” hypothesis engaged by their forefathers. In 1923, the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand referred to the creation of a federation named the “European Union”. Moreover, in 1946, Winston Churchill voiced his proposal for a European organization, namely a “European Council” or perhaps the “Unites States of Europe”, the latter being literally Victor Hugo’s enunciation.

We will retain, from all the above-mentioned views, the superimposing of several assertions: a religiously configured Europe, as *Respublica Christiana*; the relation between a “central” pattern and any “periphery” that would engulf a continental projection; the unity between specific and global, between national and continental communities. In essence, all of them are vigorously depicting the problem of *defining* an elusive nature, bound by cultural difficulties.

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<sup>1</sup> Such as the proposal of attacking Egypt, from *Consilium Aegyptiacum*. For the details regarding the Leibnizian plan and its interpretation in a strategic European key, see my paper *On the Sources and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic (Despre sursele i ambițiile aritmeticii politice)*, in C. Tohăneanu (coord.), *Theories versus Political Ideologies? (Teorii versus ideologii politice?)*, Ia i, Institutul European, 2012.

## 2. EUROPEAN CULTURAL DIFFICULTIES

Europe's geography, as a whole, naturally engages a cultural geography. Huntington states that a civilization is definable both by means of objective and subjective factors. The objective ones imply for instance the criteria by means of which Athenians will prefer the Spartans to the Persians. Blood, language, religion, way of life – all common Greek elements that also helped distinguish themselves from the non-Greeks<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, of all the objective elements that define civilizations the most important frequently is religion<sup>3</sup>. The great religions or confessions are confluxes of civilizational and cultural unification. Ethnical and linguistic features are often outmatched by religious controversy – this would be the case of former Yugoslavia with its quarrel between orthodox Serbs and catholic Croats. If we adhere to Huntington's relation between culture and civilization, than a European unification is a question of civilizational rather than cultural factors. This is because inside the European civilization (or "Western" in Huntington's words) cultures are quite diverse. Which are the main civilizations in Huntington's view? *Western* (Western Europe, North America, plus Australia and New Zealand); *Orthodox*; *Latin-American* (partially included in the Western one, but with non-EU and non-US structures); *Islamic*; *Sinic*; *Japanese*; *African*.

Therefore, what could possibly bring together European structures, in an "objective" Huntingtonian manner? What could constitute a fitting liaison? It is language? We have a multitude of languages, and an old "unionist" endeavor such as Esperanto is artificial if not caducous. Is it blood? Races are inextricably mixed and cannot constitute a viable differentiation criterion anyway. Is it the way of life? Economical differences, as well as historical and mental ones make this third criterion unusable as it is. The only one left is religion, but in Huntington's logic the Western civilization (or should we say European) is not the only one to assume a Christianity specificity. There are three major Christian civilizations: Western, Orthodox, and Latin-American! Furthermore, since the *Clash*, Europe has reached towards Orthodoxy as well; not to mention that Latin America provides the first Pope from outside Europe. So, what kind of Europe is at stake? Perhaps one of a self-defining process? Huntington does speak about the subjective criteria of civilizations pointing towards "self-identification". There are different identity levels, superimposed and intrinsically connected. How can a citizen from Bucharest identify himself? Bucharestian, Romanian, European, Western, Orthodox, Christian, or perhaps a citizen of Earth?<sup>4</sup>

Civilization as membership, says Huntington, is "the widest level of identification". This is because civilizations are the biggest "we" where we may feel culturally home, as well as distinguishable from all of "them", the outsiders. Civilizations can identify a large number of people, and such is the case for the Chinese civilization, or a very small one, like Commonwealth Caribbean.<sup>5</sup> But to

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<sup>2</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (*Ciocrnirea civilizațiilor i refacerea ordinii mondiale*), Ploie ti, Antet, 1998, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Huntington, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> For the "concentric" definition, cf. Nicolae Râmbu, *Intercultural Communication* (*Comunicare interculturală*), Ia i, "Al. I. Cuza" University, 2008, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Huntington, p. 60.

what exact level should we take the identification process? Where do the concentric circles of properly defining one's self stop? As a missionary you define yourself in respect to your religious banner. Institutionally, you may define by means of your profession. As a tourist you depict yourself as an outsider, also mentioning cultural or territorial affiliations. If our planet were to be visited by aliens, we would certainly define ourselves as people, *Homo sapiens*, inhabitants of Earth, earthlings. There is no point in (re)presenting yourself as human in front of your fellow humans. There is no point in wearing a "differential mask" when nobody is different from you. But how can you define yourself as a "European"? And does the "European trademark" make any difference to non-Europeans?

### 3. EUROPE DIVIDED: THE EASTERN EUROPE IDEA

In connection with a European "identification", I cannot omit a key question: is there a fundamental division between two concurrent European spheres? Such a hiatus reveals itself through the image of an Eastern Europe aspiring to the Western status of political, economic and cultural power. But what is Eastern Europe, to begin with? And where does this European *differentia* come from? What, if anything, do the concept and the social historical reality of an Eastern Europe tell us?

In 1946, in Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill voiced the European shadow of a separation frontier: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent". The "iron curtain" metaphor implied a fundamental division between influence spheres. Behind the curtain, there were the Eastern states, united in what Churchill called the "Soviet sphere". One geographical exception was Greece with its immortal glories<sup>6</sup> (which one year later will be reinforced by the American take-over of British financial commitments to Greece, *i.e.* the Truman Plan, meaning that the liberty of Greece was to be preserved by any means necessary). Of course, Churchill himself did bear a hand to it, when he previously reshaped Europe's map, along with Stalin. As victors, the two of them claimed their European spoils of war.

Nevertheless, the East-West distinction is not exclusively a 20<sup>th</sup> century quarrel. Churchill implicitly revisits an old problem that had been there for quite a few centuries. How does the division between two related, yet antithetical European halves occur? The American historian Larry Wolff starts from the idea of a European separation found in the Renaissance. The Quattrocento sets the ground for a North-South division, which had been anticipated even by the Romans.<sup>7</sup> Then, the Enlightenment brings about a change of direction, thus being responsible for the newborn East-West hiatus. It is at this point that the old barbarian territories from the North moved to the East<sup>8</sup>. In short, the Enlightenment had to invent Eastern and Western Europe together, as complementary concepts, defining each other through opposition and contiguity<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See a "miniature" interpretation of Churchill's speech in Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe (Inventarea Europei de Est)*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2000, pp. 15-16.

<sup>7</sup> See Wolff, pp. 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> See Wolff, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> See Wolff, p. 21.

– therefore, an ambivalent relation of combined “proximity” and “distance”. The implicit and explicit comparison between the two halves of Europe was comprised from observations within travel journals<sup>10</sup>, as well as theoretical illuminist engagements.

All in all, what has been the Eastern Europe invention? A philosophical and geographical synthesis process<sup>11</sup>, contrived in the cultural fashion of the Enlightenment. It meant associating Eastern territories by means of several, both real and imaginary, features. But at the same time, it was a self-identification process, meaning that the West searched for an identity mirrored into the supreme Eastern otherness (or perhaps a mild otherness, if we take into account that the Orient constituted the absolute one, the true alterity<sup>12</sup>).

In view of such historical remarks, how do the European Union and the process of Eastern integration look like? There are two separate ideas that ought to be reminded here. First: that the invention of the East created the right cultural context for almost every European domination and subjugation process.<sup>13</sup> And second: that the actual demise of the iron curtain did not really imply a profound reconciliatory process.<sup>14</sup>

In sum, the division is a form of domination (in the logic of civilizational and cultural “classes”). Political, economic and cultural differences are sometimes too meaningful to be overlooked. All taken into account, is the European integration process an authentic one? And is it even historically possible?

#### **4. PHILOSOPHICAL GEOGRAPHY IN REVERSE**

Amongst his numerous examples regarding Eastern Europe, Larry Wolff mentions an American by the name of John Ledyard, who had traveled around the world with Captain Cook, and who was returning, in 1788, from a solitary Siberian expedition.<sup>15</sup> Reentering “civilized” Europe, Ledyard mentally set the European border somewhere between Poland and Prussia, although geography told him otherwise. He invoked an arbitrary geographical feeling of European membership, which he called “Philosophical Geography”<sup>16</sup>. In other words, a classical geography inscribed with illuminist values and distinctions that surpassed any ordinary cartographical process. Thus, the map became subject to a philosophical and cultural analysis.

*Mutatis mutandis*, we can ask ourselves whether such a philosophical and symbolical geography could constitute the mechanism for a future non-European expansion process in the EU? If a philosophical-geographical endeavor of this sort has been used in order to trace differences and distinctions, why shouldn't it also enact as a rapprochement mechanism? Therefore, I have in mind the possibility, if not the necessity for a post-geographical European Union, bundling values that

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<sup>10</sup> See Wolff's extensive examples.

<sup>11</sup> See Wolff, p. 464.

<sup>12</sup> See Wolff, pp. 466-467.

<sup>13</sup> See Wolff, pp. 471-472.

<sup>14</sup> See Wolff, p. 484.

<sup>15</sup> See Wolff, pp. 21-22.

<sup>16</sup> Wolff, p. 22.



ought to surpass the conventional European map. If “Europe were to be where it cannot be seen with the naked eye”, that is “in the world of values”<sup>17</sup>, than an authentic cultural and philosophical geography must reorient itself towards “humanity” as a whole.

The universal European roots, the Athens-Rome-Jerusalem axis, the contact with the Semitic worlds or, historically speaking, the partial melt-down of Judaism into Christianity, and also the African influence across Asia and Athens<sup>18</sup> – all of those are historical, social and cultural arguments pertaining to a natural process of communication with non-European structures. Therefore, could Europe gradually become an obsolete “concept” that merits some revision? And should we strive to surpass the barriers of a “mental European space” that has always been part of a “differential” psychology within intercultural relations?

## **5. FINAL REMARKS: *PARS PRO TOTO* OR EUROPE AS SYNECDOCHE**

The “World” as cultural product started with Europe. Historically, the world did gradually Europeanize itself, swallowing Europe through social and cultural dissemination. European “empires” have been the standard-bearers of “Europeanization”. The Macedonian Empire culturally subjugated Egyptian and Persian empires; the “European” Alexandria contaminated North Africa, and then Babylon fell, a city that became almost Eurasian. The Romans, slowly building a trans-Mediterranean empire subdued both Carthage and Jerusalem, culturally reaching inside North Africa and the Levant. The conquistadors trashed and rebuilt Aztec and Inca cities. Africa was partially given a Christian contour. Even China, perhaps more different and more culturally independent than any other far-off land, was often a destination for missionaries. For instance, 17<sup>th</sup> century Jesuits reached Chinese soil – a welcomed opportunity for Leibniz to make contact, through his correspondence, with the basics of Chinese culture, and then use the information in constructing his universal, ideal alphabet project. The British gave rise to a “European” Boston and also “Europeanized” Calcutta. And the examples can go on. What do they tell us?

That the “European idea” cannot be geographically bound. This may be illustrated by turning to Turkey and Russia, as spaces breathing “Europeanism”. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Rome was relinquished in favor of Constantinople. Nowadays Turkey may voice as many European claims as the great city of Constantine could, almost two millennia ago. And, in fairness, the overwhelming Muslim population from Turkey cannot simply amount to one losing ticket of European “disenfranchisement”. As far as Russia goes, in 1987 Gorbachev stated: “We are Europeans. Russian history is an organic part of the great European history”<sup>19</sup>; and Russian culture, with all its colorful ethnical and cultural background, is also part of Europe’s civilizational construct. Russia is as “European” as most of the

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<sup>17</sup> O. Pecican, S. Gherghina (eds.), *Romania: Three Years in the EU (România în UE: trei ani de la aderare)*, Cluj-Napoca, Limes, 2010, p. 224.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding the impurity hypothesis, see M. Bernal, *Black Athena*, Rutgers University Press, 1987.

<sup>19</sup> See Wolff, p. 485.

Eastern states. An Europeanization “plan” had been traced three hundred years ago, when Peter the Great decided to build Saint-Petersburg right on top of Neva’s unwelcoming swamps. The outcome was tremendous, but the reasoning behind the project is equally important. On the one hand, he needed to reassert Russian Baltic supremacy in front of Sweden. But on the other hand, he also wanted to open a naval “window” with a rewarding European view, a window of Western cultural import to Russia.<sup>20</sup>

In brief, I propose the idea of Europe seen as synecdoche of the *pars pro toto* type. Europe does *denote* geographically, but it must also *connote* beyond mere geography. A true philosophical geography amounts to such a connotation form. It is no less true that an endeavor of this sort has been used too often for negatively distinguishing cultural zones from each other. Today we have the opportunity to place it in “reverse”. And to make it work in favor of shrinking distances between traditionally European and non-European structures.

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<sup>20</sup> See A. Toynbee, *Cities on the Move (Ora ele în mi care)*, Bucharest, Ed. Politică, 1979, pp. 193-194.

# THE PLACE AND ROLE OF EUROPOL IN EU ARCHITECTURE

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**Abstract:** *European Union gives a European Police Office role by Internal Security Strategy, while giving them the opportunity to fulfill their mandate better conditions in terms of operational support in the fight against organized crime and terrorism.*

*Europol places at its center the idea of a security model agreed at European level, which requires police intervention based on information.*

*This model will help define common EU priorities and better understanding of the threats to the internal security of the Union. Police interventions based on information constitutes an essential and fundamental principle in all activities of Europol strategic assessment.*

**Keywords:** *crime prevention, control, organized crime, terrorism.*

## INTRODUCTION

The idea of a European Police Office was first launched by the European Council in Luxembourg on 28 to 29 June 1991, but the issue was debated in Europol establishment of the European Parliament plenary session in January 1993. Plan take into consideration when setting up a new body to provide the framework for development cooperation of the police in European Union Member States to prevent and combat international organized crime, including terrorism and drug trafficking. This structure was to have a non-operating nature and act as a team analysis and exchange of information between two or more states, information about organized crime, money laundering, drug trafficking, staff must act according to national laws and instructions given by ministers.

European Police Office (Europol) is the successor to the Europol Drugs Unit (EDU) which had its headquarters in The Hague, a unit which was composed of police officers of the Member States that work together to resolve cases related to drugs. Since 1995 the remit of Europol Drugs Unit was enlarged and including illegal immigrants, illegal trafficking in nuclear and radioactive substances and theft of vehicles.

For the first time we talk about the art Europol. K1 of the Maastricht Treaty which show areas of common interest among the states in the cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs (JHA) and police cooperation in preventing and combating terrorism, unlawful drug trafficking and other serious forms of crime international and EU level organization of a system for exchanging information within a European Police Office (Europol). Also, on 26 July 1995 was signed the

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Convention on Europol and an Additional Protocol to the Court of Justice gave the right to interpret the convention.

The Convention has been ratified by all Member States of the European Union, so the whole exercise its missions Europol from 1 July 1999. Europol headquarters in The Hague. Establishing Europol, is considered by analysts in the field, as representing a symbol of the unification of Europe. In the European Union have been adopted and other legal instruments on which they operate European Police Office: Staff, rights and obligations of liaison officers, rules on the transmission of personal data by Europol to third States and third instances, rules relating to the receipt of information by Europol from third states and courts, Regulation on the protection of secrecy.

About Europol is talking in art. II-276 of the Constitution, which provides that Europol's mission is to support and strengthen action by the police and other law enforcement services of the Member States and their cooperation for preventing and combating serious crime affecting two or more Member States, terrorism and forms of crime which affect a common interest covered by a Union policy. However, any operational action by Europol must be carried out in cooperation with the State or States whose territory is concerned and with their consent.

### **EUROPOL'S ROLE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION**

European law determining the structure, operation, field of action and tasks of Europol, responsibilities may include:

a. gathering, storing, processing and analyzing information and exchange of information forwarded by the authorities of the Member States or third countries or bodies;

b. coordination, organization and implementation of investigative actions and operational nature, undertaken with Member States' competent authorities or in the context of joint investigation and, if appropriate, in liaison with Eurojust.

Europol also help promote the causes that generate international crime analysis and harmonization of methods of investigation in the Member States. Europol was created as an intergovernmental criminal police office created by the 15 Member States of the European Union at that time to enhance security in the bosom of the European space by facilitating the exchange of information between national police in areas where security is increasingly threatened Europeans: trafficking in drugs or radioactive materials, money laundering, illegal immigration channels, terrorism, pedophilia, trafficking in vehicles, etc.

If by January 2002 Europol could deal only with certain types of criminal activity by the Council Decision of 6 December 2001, Europol is responsible for all forms of crime listed in Annex of the Convention.

The objective of Europol is to improve cooperation and collaboration between the competent authorities of the Member States in preventing and combating terrorism, unlawful drug trafficking and other major forms of international crime where there is evidence that it is safe materials involved criminal structure type organized as two or more countries are affected. To achieve the objectives, Europol has a computerized information system that will

have direct access to the Europol National Unit of Europol and liaison officers. This system consists of computerized worksheets created a variable length, the offenses of competence, individuals likely to witness or have been victims of crime, people who serve as a link or accompanying person likely to give information on crimes within the jurisdiction Europol.

**Europol organs are:**

1. Board of Managers, consisting of one representative of each Member State, take a decision on the most important issues Europol, with a majority of 2/3 out of the situation otherwise specified,

2. The Joint Surveillance data protection, is composed of two representatives of each Member State, appointed for a term of 5 years, each delegation having one vote and the obligation to check the activities of Europol individual rights were not violated. Every individual has the right to ask the Council to ensure how the personal data was collected, stored, processed and used by Europol and everything was according to law,

3. Control (controller) financial,

4. Financial Committee - is composed of one representative of each Member State budget and is responsible for establishing and discussing the budget and financial issues.

Europol coordinates and centralizes investigations against criminal organizations of European and even international.

In the fight against crime, Europol bring competition or:

- operational structure connecting European police officers (task force) to allow an exchange of experiences and practices against cross-border crime,
- to facilitate the exchange of information, joint investigation teams
- via the Europol National Unit
- European Police College CEPOL whose mission is to train senior members of the police services of the EU Member States and accession countries.

He specifically aim to deepen knowledge systems and structures of the Member States of Europol and cross-border cooperation in the EU. Each member of Europol shall establish and appoint a national unity that will bring out the tasks of the European body for police cooperation, national unity is the only body of the link between Europol and the competent national police authorities and cooperation will be in compliance with national legislation and contribution of Member States.

Investigations, information, analyzes operational and strategic type reports are communicated to Europol by the national law, as instructed liaison officers by their competent ministers. Data transfer is limited to third countries competent authorities to prevent and fight crime. Furthermore, Europol should refuse any submission that would be required without specifying the purposes for which the data will be used. Europol Convention provides for the installation of a computerized system allowing the input, access and analyze data accessible to system control authority of two data protection experts to oversee the content and use of all personal data held by Europol. An information system contains data on

persons who have committed or participated in the commission suspected of having committed acts in the competence of Europol.

Other files containing data on persons who were witnesses or victims of these offenses, data used for analysis. Europol is investigating criminal networks in the Member States, creating joint investigation teams (police, gendarmerie, customs) requires national police to investigate some effects business in several countries. In this regard, on 30 November 2000, the Council adopted a recommendation to Member States, focused on the support of Europol in joint investigation teams set up by Member States.

Europol is today a supranational institution created on the basis of intergovernmental agreements with legal personality. Europol will give account of work done Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs Council and these ministries will of course respond to their national parliaments. A Director will be responsible for the daily activities of Europol, but he will be supervised by a Board of Directors composed of representatives of the Member States.

Parliament will be informed about the main aspects of Europol and the views expressed by Parliament will be taken into account (art. K6 the treaty on European Union). You also mentioned the 29th European Regional Conference of Interpol conference on the occasion which suggested the role of Interpol European Committee in achieving close cooperation Europol - Interpol. A highlight of the collaboration between the two organizations is the Director of Europol at the ICPO visit, the visit which took place in June 2006 after which it was agreed that since the fall Interpol to send a number of liaison officers at Europol headquarters The Hague to complement the work of Europol liaison officer found the post at the General Secretariat in Lyon, while highlighting the positive results so far of the "Roadmap" regarding the Interpol-Europol strengthen cooperation in areas of crime International such as terrorism, human trafficking and counterfeiting of the euro.

Moreover, the creation of Europol and to date there has been and continues to be a close and beneficial cooperation between the two organizations large police cooperation, Europol and Interpol managing common shares often successful in fighting international crime. Romania became a member of Europol after signing the "Agreement on cooperation between Romania and the European Police Office" in Bucharest on 25 November 2003 approving Government on 1 April 2004 "The bill on ratification of the Agreement on cooperation between Romania and the European Police signed in Bucharest on 25 November 2003. \ Twinning Convention on the mentioned project was approved on 7 June 2004 by the Delegation of the European Commission. On 3 September 2004 launched the establishment of Europol National Unit and align Romanian legislation with the acquis communautaire.

In the twinning project between the European Commission Delegation, National Focal Point, Dutch Centre for International Police Cooperation and the Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior on 22 June 2005 was established and began operating Europol National Unit.

Establishment of Europol National Unit in Romania aimed at aligning institutional and operational capacity of the Romanian Police to EU standards

and implement best practices in police cooperation and the fight against international crime. Research bodies of the judiciary police of Romania will participate in joint actions in the context of joint Europol investigation and investigation, information exchange, and collaboration on training.

Moreover, Europol national units have the following tasks:

- to provide Europol with information and data necessary to comply with duties

- keep up to date data and information of police

- to meet the demands required by Europol of data and information police nature

- to issue requests to Europol, on the information, data, studies, etc.

- to provide Europol with information required to be stored in the computer system - ensure regular exchange of information with Europol in accordance with national legislation, without harming national security or safety.

Exchange of information by Europol National Unit targeting financial crimes, drug trafficking, theft, terrorism, human trafficking, crimes against the environment, etc.. Requests for assistance by Europol National Units can only be made if there is reliable information about the association of groups from Romania with a group from the country where you require checks. However, until now Europol remains the best organized structure of police cooperation in Europe.

Genuine intelligence continental body, the vigorous fight against cross-border crime affecting time and resources rigorous examination of this dangerous phenomenon, provides technical assistance and contribute effectively to exchange information of interest transactions and coordinate investigations in European Union countries.

In 2010 it was adopted by the EU Internal Security Strategy, a document essential to develop long-term EU policy in the field of law enforcement. Internal Security Strategy shows different aspects of European policy in the field of internal security and provide strategic guidance for future actions. The strategy was complemented by the European Commission Communication designed to support the implementation of the strategy.

It identifies five objectives in security. Three of them, namely the destruction of criminal networks, prevent terrorism and cyberspace security are covered largely by Europol's mandate. Concrete actions proposed by the Commission in order to fulfill the objectives reflect well-established fields of competence of Europol. The two documents give an important role to Europol implementing agency offering an important opportunity to develop further in the coming years.

Documents shows intelligence-police interventions as one of the main concepts.

In addition, the strategy correctly identify the role of Europol, setting as its main objectives are gathering and implementation of information exchange and improve cooperation between law enforcement authorities in combating organized crime and terrorism. Europol was created as an intergovernmental organization aimed at encouraging judicial cooperation between EU countries,

harmonization of criminal procedural law and the rules for administrative assistance in the field.

In 2010, Europol has become the agency of the European Union since being financed from the EU budget. Board of Europol, the European Commission, the EU Council and the European Parliament play each role in establishing Europol budget. Initially, Europol budget for 2010 was EUR 80.1 million. To facilitate the transition to agency status, appropriations carried over from 2009 to 2010 have been included in the 2010 budget. In addition, grants were added to the budget of the Commission and some extra income. Approaching additional EUR 12.7 million, leading to the altered, to a total budget of EUR 92.8 million. Permanent operational center (24/7) Europol is the only point for exchange of data between Europol, the Member States and third parties.

### **Operational center performs five main missions:**

- Centralized service to compare data: data is fast compared with all existing data. Operational information is processed in the system Europol analysis work files using (AWF), which targets a specific area of crime. If there are indications obtained from a number of working age have and analyze such information are consolidated in an analytical report, offering trails that provided a quick response with Highlighting the connections between data so that it can be identified trends and developments in EU criminal landscape.

- Europol's new legal regime makes possible the processing of personal data, to determine whether these data are relevant to the assignments can be included in Europol and the Europol information system or analysis work files.
- Analytical Support in folders "theme" files and data passing through several projects existing analysis can now be analyzed immediately by Europol.
- Communication with third parties: center operational processes information exchange with third parties, ensuring that communication to project suitable for further processing by the original supplier and receive a fast and accurate answer

- Support for police activities related to important events: the center coordinates operational assistance that Europol can provide for police activities undertaken in the event of major sporting events such as economic, political and cultural international scale, which is a target or a used for the production of crime or terrorism.

### **CONCLUSIONS**

Europol's mission, as the law enforcement agency of the European Union is to support Member States in preventing and combating all forms of serious international crime and terrorism.

Its role is to help achieve a safer Europe for the benefit of all EU citizens by supporting EU law enforcement authorities through the exchange and analysis of information on crime. Criminal networks and terrorist scale represents an important threat to internal security of the EU and for the safety and welfare of its citizens.

The biggest security threats are terrorism, international trafficking in drugs, human beings, euro counterfeiting and payment card fraud, corruption and



money laundering, and other activities related to organized crime groups in the economy. It also builds new threats in the form of cyber crime, fraud in VAT and other crimes abusing sophisticated modern technologies and freedoms of the internal market of the EU.

All these priority areas have been declared by the Council of Ministers of the European Union.

Europol's vision is to contribute to a more secure, providing the best possible assistance to law enforcement authorities of the Member States.

Europe's position in the European security architecture allows the center to provide a unique range of services. Europol is a support pole for law enforcement operations, a node for information on crime and a center for law enforcement expertise.

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# EUROPEAN POLITICAL LIFE OR IS EUROPE READY TO HAVE A POLITICAL ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION?

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**Abstract:** *The confidence in the European institutions is decreasing constantly. The erosion is due mostly to the lack of information regarding the working mechanisms of the European Union but also to the lack of explicit control of the European administration by the European citizens. Basically, Europeans vote every five years for the European elections but very few actually understand the effects of their vote and are capable to evaluate the results of the former political administration. The current situation pushed the European political families to demand more powers for the European Parliament and an increasing politicization of the European debate in order to implicate more the European Citizens. My article is going to elaborate on the need of a stronger European Political Life by also evaluating the degree in which Romanians, as European citizens, are prepared to have a political elected president of the Commission. The results of my study are based on a survey realized on 500 Romanian students.*

**Keywords:** *European politics, public debate, public policies, European elections.*

## Introduction

The European institutions seem more and more distant from the needs of the European people if we look at the constant decrease of the confidence of the Europeans in the European institutions. The erosion was triggered by the increasing gap between the European administration and the needs of the people. For many the debates in Brussels or Strasbourg seem very far away from the daily worries of the European people.

Moreover the European political debates don't seem to implicate so much the European people. The topics, even know they have a huge impact on the lives of many Europeans, aren't capable to involve enough people or be attractive enough. This gap is generated by the fact that Europeans don't seem to have a control over the European institutions. Invited to vote every five years for the European elections, the campaigns of the political parties refer more to the national issues than to the European solutions or problems.

This situation is due mostly to the fact that there is an important lack of information regarding the structure and working mechanisms of the European Union but also to the fact that in reality there is a lack of control of the European administration and leadership by the European citizens but also by the European

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MP's. First of all this means that for the political parties is easier to campaign on national issues because this can generate the involvement and support from the national population. Secondly, the European structure prevents the European MP's and European Parliament to have a direct control on the European Commission and, even know it's role has increased in the past few years, on the European decisions. Thirdly, the nomination of the president of the European Commission by the European Council decreases the personification of the political debate and reduces the stakes in terms of European wide political debate.

Today, more and more people, European political families and parties ask for a stronger European political debate and this translates for most of them threw the election of the president of the European Commission.<sup>1</sup> More exactly, each European political family is going to propose an European wide head of list that is going to be the nominee of each political group to become the next president. This person will be afterward approved by the states in the European Council, therefore changing the European mechanism.

My article wishes to tackle this issue by analyzing three main hypothesis. First of all whether there is truly a political agenda of reform of the European political debate. Secondly, if the information regarding the EU is not sufficient. Thirdly if people are prepared for a stronger European political debate and more exactly the election of the president of the Commission in the conditions mentioned previously. In order to answer these questions I have elaborated a study, that I have applied on a sample of 500 Romanian students, designed to illustrate the three different hypothesis.

Therefore my article will start by presenting the current debate on the need of reform of the European political life in order to increase the power of the European citizens and the European Parliament. Afterward I will present the results of my study regarding the level of information of the population regarding the European structure and mechanisms. Finally I will present the support given by the population in my sample for a political reform of the EU and the election of the president of the Commission.

### **Reform of the European political life**

The decreasing credibility of the European institutions pushed the European decision-makers to ask for a reform capable in providing a stronger support from the citizens for the European construction. A solution was therefore introduced by the amendment brought by the Lisbon Treaty to article 17 of the Treaty on European Union.<sup>2</sup> The article refers to the procedures by which the European Parliament elects the European Commission president, head of the EU Executive, and states that the European Council votes by qualified majority for a nominee for the post of President, taking account of the latest European elections. The European Parliament has afterward to approve by an absolute majority the

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<sup>1</sup> Mahony, Honor (28 February 2008). "Barroso admits legitimacy problem for commission president post", EU Observer, <http://euobserver.com/political/25740>, accessed on the 2.05.2013

<sup>2</sup> Article 17 of the Treaty on European Union (Lisbon amended), Eur-Lex, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0013:0045:EN:PDF>, accessed on the 3.05.2013

nominee or vote against. After the election of the president, the European Parliament has to approve as a whole the new Commission that is again appointed by a qualified majority by the European Council.

This mechanism was created in order to ensure a mutual control between the two institutions on the persons nominated in the Commission. The 2014 elections are nevertheless the first to explicitly take into account the latest European elections even though it was established as an informal practice. Three European parties have manifested their desire to nominate a candidate: the European People's Party, the Party of European Socialists and the European Green Party.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the debates are still open on the persons that are going to be nominated but also on the methods on assigning them. We have therefore several options: a closed-door centralized party decision by the decision-making body, a public centralized party decision in which the candidates are engaging in a debate before being nominated by the same leadership structure, a closed primary that allows all individual party members to designate the party nominee themselves, an open primary that will enable European citizens to elect their presidential nominee and finally a decentralized primary based on the American primaries of state-by-state votes. Discussions have been done also on the possibility of nominating party candidates for other posts like the one of vice-president or of High representative of the Union for foreign affairs.<sup>4</sup>

Regarding the number of seats in the European Parliament the article 14 of the Treaty of Lisbon states that there are in total 751 to which we add fifteen more after the accession of Croatia in the EU that is due to take place on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2013. But the discussion regarding the apportionment of seats is still open and in order for a decision to be made the European Parliament has to have an initiative that will be adopted by unanimity by the European Council. Nevertheless there are two limits: 6 MEP's for the smaller member states and 96 MEP's for the bigger member states.

The discussions about the reform are still actively taking place in the European Parliament. The nominated rapporteur for the reform of the EU electoral law is the British MEP Andrew Duff, from the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party, that since 2008 tries to push for a reform of the system. His proposal consists in electing 25 MEP by a single constituency formed of the whole territory of the European Union. The election within the single constituency would respect the following criteria:

- election on the basis of pan-European lists composed of candidates drawn from at least one third of the States,
- adequate gender representation.
- each elector would be enabled to cast one vote for the EU-wide list in addition to their vote for the national or regional list.
- to bring forward the timing of the European elections from June to May.

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<sup>3</sup> Mahony, Honor (27 June 2007). "European politics to get more political". EU Observer. <http://euobserver.com/political/24370>, accessed on the 3.05.2013

<sup>4</sup> Les Brefs de Notre Europe, *Des réformes institutionnelles à la politisation - Ou comment l'Union européenne du Traité de Lisbonne peut intéresser ses citoyens*, October 2010, <http://www.notre-europe.eu/media/Bref18-GRN.pdf>, accessed on the 2.05.2013

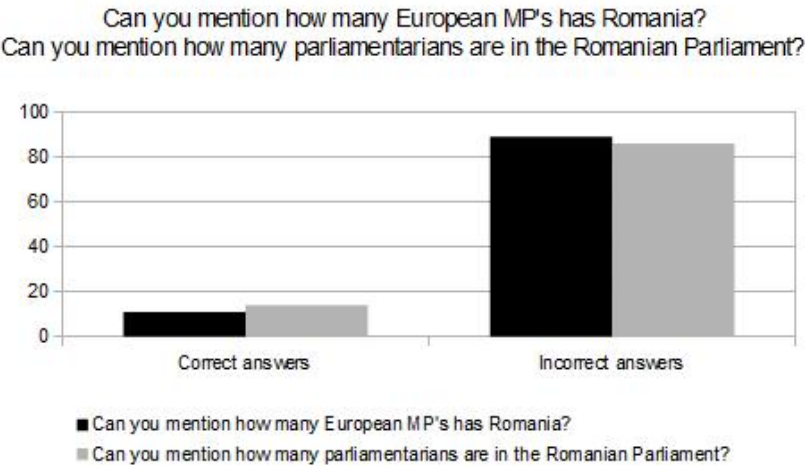
- amendments to the 1965 Protocol on Privileges and Immunities with a view to establishing a uniform supranational regime for Members of the European Parliament.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless the proposal is far from getting the support it needs to get approved before the 2014 European elections.

### Knowledge of the European mechanisms

In order to understand the impact of these debates on the reform of the European political system I have decided to make a survey on 500 Romanian students from different Bucharest universities composed of two parties: one focusing on the degree of knowledge about the European institutions and the other one on the support for different political reforms. I have chosen this sample group for several reasons: right to vote, compact group, educated, perspectives and future in the European Union.

The first step into evaluating the impact of any European political reform passes threw the analysis of the degree of information of the sampled group regarding the European mechanisms and structure. In order to understand the dimension of the level of information I compared it with the degree of knowledge of the Romanian mechanisms and structures.



Can you mention how many European MP's has Romania?		Can you mention how many parliamentarians are in the Romanian Parliament?	
Correct answers	11	Correct answers	14
Incorrect answers	89	Incorrect answers	86

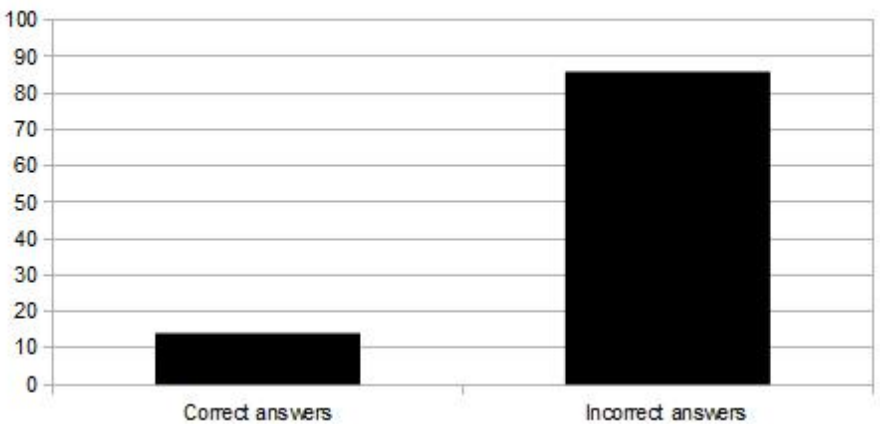
<sup>5</sup>Legislative observatory of the European Parliament, Procedure files on the Proposal for a modification of the Act concerning the election of the Members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage of 20 September 1976,

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?reference=2009/2134\(INI\)&l=en](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?reference=2009/2134(INI)&l=en), accessed on the 2.05.2013

The first simple question addressed to the participants at the survey was if they know the number of Romanian MEP's and I compared the answer to the same question referring to the Romanian MP's. The results indicated that in fact the sampled group doesn't possess the correct information regarding the number of MEP's or MP's.

Secondly, I have decided to ask again a simple question about another institution, the European Commission, and I have discovered that the level of information is not so much different from the information regarding the European Parliament. Only 14% of the participants at the interview know the exact number of commissioners in the European Commission.

Can you mention how many commissioners are in the European Commission?



Can you mention how many commissioners are in the European Commission?	
Correct answers	14
Incorrect answers	86

Thirdly, I considered appropriated to analyse the level of knowledge regarding the attributions of the European and Romanian institutions. I discovered that in fact the sample group had a good knowledge of the attributions of the Romanian institutions but they weren't very sure about the attributions of the European institutions. This can be explained by the fact the European institutions are farther away, making therefore harder for the citizens to foresee the activity of the European administration.

Mention one of the attribution of the European Commission		Mention one of the attribution of the Romanian Government	
Correct answers	43	Correct answers	73
Incorrect answers	57	Incorrect answers	27

Mention one of the attribution of the European Parliament		Mention one of the attribution of the Romanian Parliament	
Correct answers	62	Correct answers	89
Incorrect answers	38	Incorrect answers	11
Mention one of the attribution of the president of the European Commission		Mention one of the attribution of the prime-minister	
Correct answers	42	Correct answers	71
Incorrect answers	58	Incorrect answers	29

The first stage of my study indicates that there is a severe lack of information and knowledge regarding the institutions in general that is clearer when it comes to the European administration. Moreover we can notice differences between the level of information regarding the European institutions: a good level of understanding of the attributions of the European Parliament and a low level of knowledge regarding the attribution of the European Commission and the president of the European Commission.

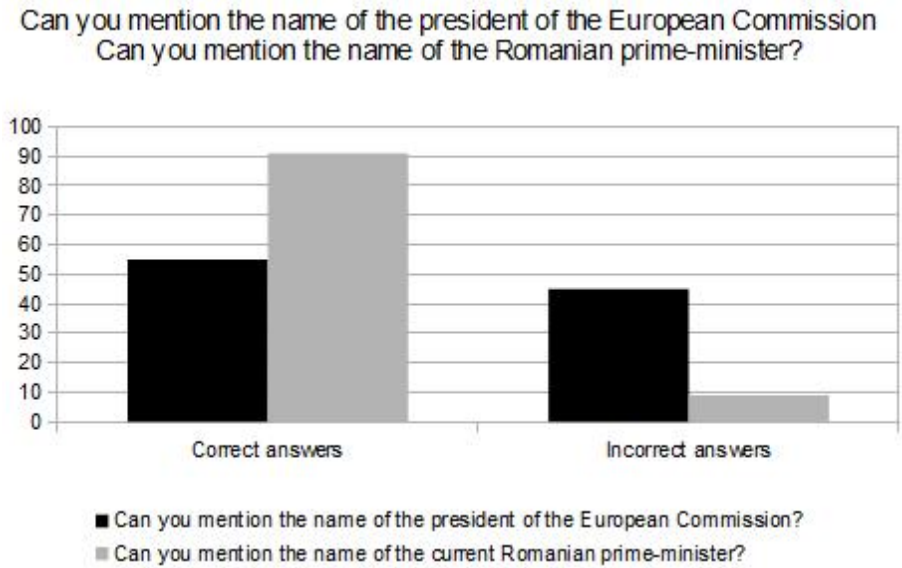
### Support for a political elected president of the Commission

After evaluating the institutional knowledge of the participants at the poll I checked the level of political information. In order to determine this level I started by asking two questions regarding European politics and families that I've compared to the information that people have on Romanian politics.

The results illustrate that the sampled group has a low level of information regarding European politics. More exactly even know 47% of the participants at the poll know at least one European political family, only 21% actually know the strongest political group in the European Parliament. If we compare this result to the information regarding the strongest party in the Romanian Parliament we acknowledge that there is a big gap between national political information and European political information.

Can you mention an European political family			
Correct answers	47		
Incorrect answers	53		
Can you mention which is the strongest European political family in the European Parliament?		Can you mention which is the strongest party in the Romanian Parliament?	
Correct answers	21	Correct answers	81
Incorrect answers	79	Incorrect answers	19

In order to determine the level of this information gap, I've questioned the participants about the name of the president of the European Commission and compared it to the name of the Romanian prime-minister. Even though more than 50% actually know the name of the president of the European Commission, this is very far from the 91% that know the name of the Romanian prime-minister. These differences can be explained by the fact the Romanian prime-minister is more present in the national political debate and in the national media, but also possibly by the fact he is the president of one of the strongest Romanian political parties and was the explicit candidate of the current majority for this position.

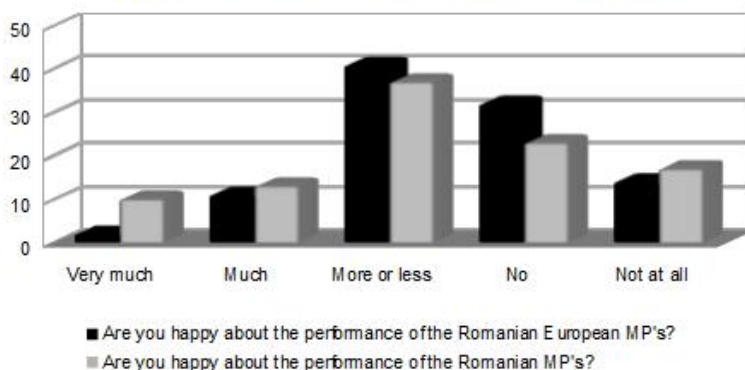


Can you mention the name of the president of the European Commission?		Can you mention the name of the current Romanian prime-minister?	
Correct answers	55	Correct answers	91
Incorrect answers	45	Incorrect answers	9

As a follow-up to the last question I've considered relevant to see if actually Romanians know who represents them in the European Commission. The results were then dramatic, with only 27% of the respondents actually knowing the name of the Romanian commissioner. This can be explained also by the fact his public participation at the Romanian debates was largely administrative and bureaucratic.



Are you happy about the performance of the Romanian European MP's?  
Are you happy about the performance of the Romanian MP's?



### Can you mention the name of the Romanian commissioner?

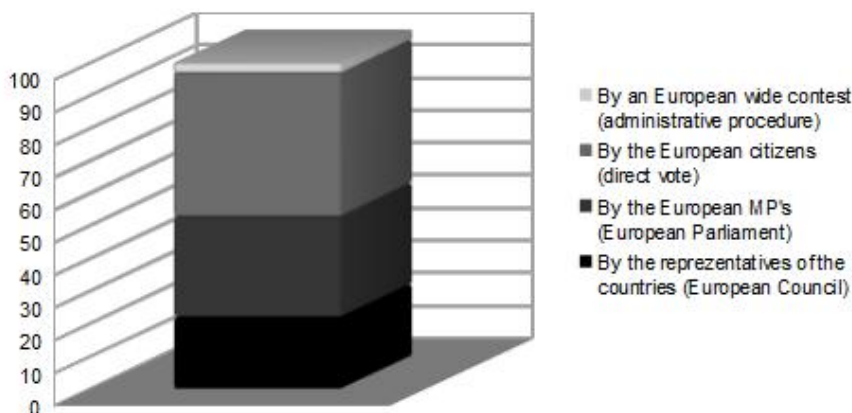
Correct answers	27
Incorrect answers	73

Finally our analysis concentrates on the political option of the participants at the survey regarding European politics. First of all I've asked them to evaluate the level of support for the activity of the Romanian European MP's and I've compared it to the support given to the Romanian MP's. Contrary to all expectations, we've discovered that the participants at the poll are more critical of the European MP's. This result is generated by the lack of information regarding the activity of the European parliamentarians, by the media information regarding the revenues of the European MP's compared to the salary level of Romanians and by the low participation of the Romanian MEP's to the most important European debates.

Are you happy about the performance of the Romanian European MP's?		Are you happy about the performance of the Romanian MP's?	
Very much	2	Very much	10
Much	11	Much	13
More or less	41	More or less	37
No	32	No	23
Not at all	14	Not at all	17

I've also asked the participants at the poll to express their opinion regarding the best way to vote for the president of the European Commission in order to compare the results with the discussion regarding the political reform of the European elections.

How would you like the President of the European Commission to be elected?



### How would you like the President of the European Commission to be elected?

By the representatives of the countries (European Council)	22
By the European MP's (European Parliament)	31
By the European citizens (direct vote)	44
By an European wide contest (administrative procedure)	3

Even know at this stage the best option available and discussed by the European politicians is the one regarding the election of the president on the basis of the European elections, people support more the direct vote of the next president of the European Commission. The current mechanism of the European elections is supported by 31% of the participants while 44% support the direct vote by the European citizens.

### Conclusion

The objective of our article was to give several answers to the current European political debate regarding the reform of the European elections mechanisms and especially to the discussions regarding the election of the next president of the European Commission. The 2014 elections will introduce a new election procedure that maintains the role of the European Council but increases the weight of the European elections in the nomination of the next president. This new reality is expected to strengthen the European public and political debate and attract more the attention and the support for European issues and the European institutions.

In order to evaluate the impact of this reform I've presented the current European political debate and I've realized a poll on 500 Romanian students in

the Bucharest universities. My survey was designed to illustrate the level of information regarding European institutions and politics and to indicate the support given to European politics and the new electoral reform.

The conclusion of our study is that the debate the reform of the European elections is still an on-going discussion that is far from having completed. This can be seen in the current European political debates but also in the results of our poll that show that in reality European citizens are asking for a more direct participation at European politics than the one proposed by the current reform of the European elections. In this respect, the lack of information regarding the European institutions and politics is both a cause and an effect of the current European system that seems to generate an increasing disillusion regarding the future of the European construction. In the issue, European decision-makers have to continue the reform of the European elections, politics and administration in order to improve the participation of the European citizens.

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# A DYSTOPIAN SWIRLING MODE: THE CATALYTIC EUROPEAN FOUNDATION

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**Abstract:** *This study – with a stake in the appeal to dialogical swirling of Morinian import, aims at offering a meaning to the statements selected from the European press with relevance either to philosophical-political perspective launched by Aleksandr Kožev following Giorgio Agamben (a "Latin Empire" against German superpower) or to the (Byzantine) historical interventions situated at the limit delivered as an economic alternative for the European "blind alleys". Hence the connection to the meaning of dystopia matured as a way of demolition (by radiography and story) of the good manner of reaction – in terms of declared intentions deriving a sort of utopian landscape within apparent scenarios that entertain an alternative hypothesis: the European space as empire and / or foundation, actually pleading for an intermediate-catalytic formula preserving the active centers.*

**Keywords:** Imperium, Foundation, Dystopia, Swirling Dialogue, Catalytic Effect, European Political and Philosophical Projects.

## Introduction-warning: the European swirling logic

This study declares an intention to count on the approach of *dialogical swirling*<sup>1</sup> proposed by Edgar Morin, in order to offer a meaning to the statements selected from the European press with relevance either to philosophical-political perspective launched by Aleksandr Kožev following Giorgio Agamben (a "Latin Empire" against German superpower) or to the (Byzantine) historical interventions situated at the limit delivered as an economic alternative for the European "blind alleys". In this perspective, the need to offer, in a Kunderian vein, a *minimal space to the maximal diversity of Europe*, provokes a series of conceptual interventions in the attempt to confer to the European space a *catalytic mode for the accomplishment of an "architectural" project*.

On a historical and philosophical orientation, for Jean-Marie Le Breton<sup>2</sup>, the European construction presents an element of novelty, different as well from the *European concert*, as from the *utopias* and projects before the Second World War. On this foundation, interpreting the French and German place in Europe, one can notice a muster of European s within Europe, a manner of constructing several "Europes" with undetermined geographical limits, with uncertain historical

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<sup>1</sup> E. Morin, *Gândind Europa*, Trei Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Marie Le Breton, *Măreția și destinul Bătrânei Europe 1492-2004*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006.

profiles, and with apparent cultural-religious intersections deprived of the support of common languages. This hesitating theoretical perspectives are sensed from the '50, when the Gaullist school warned on the ephemeris of the agreement or will describing the vocation of Europe – following the perspective of R. Schuman – unless it is based on suitably constraining institutions. Hence a possible hesitating view of the European construct, almost imperatively, either as equilibrium, or as a *concert mean of being together*. In a clarifying key, the *European equilibrium* betrays the historic rhythm through which the modern states dislocated medieval society dominated by the vassal suzerain system of relations, an assembly related to the double power of Papacy and Empire, passing, through overcoming, past the experience of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries when the notion of equilibrium was sustained by the power relations, as the dynastic links supported the European tranquility.

*The swirling mode* for the overcoming and conversion of the historical states is sensed also in the agreement on the *European concert* as a mean of settling the conflicts, through the consensual authority, as the equilibrium is introduced in the equation when a state cannot impose its supremacy or hegemony over the European assembly<sup>3</sup>.

Attaching the European architectural mode to the postmodern constructs, Robert Cooper<sup>4</sup> calls the European Union a postmodern, cooperative empire, "the most evolved example of postmodern political system, rather with transnational than with super national nature" (foreseeing the unlikely transformation of the EU in a hegemonic supra-state, but, on the other hand, considering that the evolution of the EU is far from being accomplished). This sort of attempt of fixing the EU in the postmodern world and within a triple-mundane architecture opposes, basically, the EU to the empire (the latter seen as an obsolete form, incapable of change, based on authoritarian political styles, opposed innovation).

Rather sensitive to this sort of reactivation, Romanian space resonates as well to the analysis of the double hypostasis EU *vs.* empires, while the evaluations of EU "democratic and unprecedented structure", recommends it as a construct which is not absolutely novel, but original. This construct could be situated in the category of empires as integrative organization, despite the originality conferred by the rhythm of the *saeculum* that by its global risk calls to different types of political reactions than those typical for the imperial structures.

The affirmation is justified only on the basis of the acceptance of empires as flexible entities, capable to adapt to the structural changes of the international environment, not in the least passive to the temporal disaggregation, considering the fact that empires protect their own existence, fighting for it as individuals do<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p.374.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Cooper, *The Postmodern State*, in Mark Leonard (ed.), *Re-ordering the World: The Long Term Implications of September 11*, Foreign Policy Centre, London, 2002, [www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi\\_europeanraj\\_debate\\_id\\_2.pdf](http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_europeanraj_debate_id_2.pdf) (accesed 17 April 2013).

<sup>5</sup> See, in this respect, Mădălina Virginia Antonescu, *Uniunea Europeană, Imperiile antice și imperiile medievale. Studiu comparativ*, Lumen Publishing House, Jassy, 2008 or *Uniunea Europeană, un imperiu al sec. XXI? Spre o civilizație unional-europeană*, Cartea Universitară Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004.

Within this swirling logic, this study accepts the hypothesis according to which the empire and also the state, in any of their forms and formulas, represent a political and historical *instrument*, relating exclusively to a geographical and geopolitical minor authority and a minor-secular, restrained evolution<sup>6</sup>. The argument envisions either the consolidate mode of existence of the empire, with “recoil” in the social architecture of the entity (or the architecture of the ethic identity, of a specific civilization, of a religion and culture), or the reforming perspective, concerning the structure and the expression of an authority, with effect in the institution of the power instances of equilibrium.

As for the dichotomy operating (in the field of political philosophy) between the continental countries and the Anglo-Saxon countries (or between “the old Europe” and the countries candidate to accession from Central Europe), one can notice the opposition between the countries vindicating a true deepening of the EU and those constantly preoccupied with the preservation of the administrative intergovernmental formula. Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida<sup>7</sup> proposed a manner of harmonizing the European interest, as counter-weight for the European disaggregation – an effect easily identified also in the apparent functioning of the mechanism of “consolidate cooperation” decided at Nice – with all the apparent disjunctions of the uneven “gears” or “scores” on different European voices, when examining the European concert in terms of *strong nucleus* vs. “*little Europe*”.

The openings of the *entangled European* identities vise the overcoming of the perspective that *Europe is composed of nation-states that do not cease to attempt to stand out polemically in relation to one another*, emphasizing that „*the West*“ is an intellectual configuration over passing Europe. Hence, each of the great European nations knew effervescent phases of imperialism, and they each survived to the ending of their colonial empires, undertaking a reflexive distance to their imperial history, with direct consequence in supporting Euro-centrism and the hope for the domestic politics in agreement with a global one, of Kantian import.

*A few notes on the European Foundation as a dystopian food for thought.*

We capitalize on the maturing meaning of dystopia as a modality of deconstructive investigation (through radiography and reportage) of the good manner of European construction.<sup>8</sup> In this respect we deduce an *utopist landscape and the European republic*<sup>9</sup>, within a host of apparent scenarios which entertain precisely a “construction of a specific political community where the socio-political institutions, the norms and the relations among people are organized in conformity with a radical principle”, in fact, an alternative hypothesis<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Robert Aldrich, *Epoca imperiilor*, All Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Jürgen Habermas, Jacques Derrida, *Europa: pledoarie pentru o politică externă comună*, Idea Artă+Societate, no. 17, 2004.

<sup>8</sup> H. Marcuse, *Five lectures, Psychoanalysis Politics and Utopia*, London, Allan Lane, 1970.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ciorănescu, *Viitorul trecutului. Utopie și literatură*, Cartea Românească Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996.

<sup>10</sup> D.Suvin, *Thesis on Dystopia 2001, Dark Horizons, Science Fiction and the Dystopian Imagination*, NY&London, Routledge, 2003.

Closer to an accepted *utopian method* – a mental exercise influencing the lateral possibilities of construction/deconstruction of the possible worlds – this dystopian mode sustains here hypothesis according to which the formula of Europe as empire is related to a dystopian register in philosophical, political and economic terms. The assault sensed from the European architecture as foundation confirms what R. Nozick<sup>11</sup> named the avoidance of utopian influences and the diversion of its finality in shattering its integration ability. With the mention that certain worlds could become stabilizing factors, effect called by Nozick the atomization of the stable worlds (or associations) in communities at micro-social level. Utopia becomes in fact a sum of the *utopias* of different and divergent communities, and a kind of *meta-utopia* – the laboratory-like environment of the utopian experiments.

Deconstructing in his analysis the idea of Europe as Empire, E. Morin<sup>12</sup> launches the new perspective of a community of destiny, a meta-national union, not only confederate, but also federate, with identity, unity, will of life, in spite of ethnic and national diversity.

The project became a current state of affairs during 1960-1980, which has prepared the *random phase*, with a circular causality of consolidation, generating the assuming of a provincial position in relation to the empires, and vindicating two types of conversions: 1. the metamorphosis of Europe in *Province and meta-nation*, and 2. a change close to the dystopian model of the European vocation of becoming a *Foundation*, in the perspective of Isaac Asimov,<sup>13</sup> preserving cultural and civilization heritage of the past and preparing for future transformations.

In Asimovian perspective, the Galactic Empire (led by the last of the imperial figures) – entered in collapse but also with resources, assaults the Foundation, due to the division of the galaxy between the barbarian kingdoms, which induces an accelerate phase of civil warfare in the residual Empire, the dominant power returning to the Foundation which controls the regions (the agricultural planets) via the commercial network. Under the sign of the Secessionist War of the planets found under the jurisdiction of Foundation and threatened by the annihilation of the Mule<sup>14</sup> – an external threat, provided the ability expressed by the later to feel and manipulate emotions, occasioning either terror or absolute devotion and operating a totalitarian control of the independent planetary systems at the margin of Foundation, *the Second Foundation* contains in itself the effect of regeneration especially through a special attention paid to the psychological dimension, to the detriment of a functioning according to the law of the physical sciences of the First Foundation.

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<sup>11</sup> R. Nozick, *Anarhie, stat și utopie*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997.

<sup>12</sup> E. Morin, *Gândind Europa*, Trei Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002.

<sup>13</sup> Isaac Asimov, *A doua fundație*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 1994.

<sup>14</sup> This galactic parable can be easily transposed within what Bruno Drweski and Claude Karnoouh called a *Trojan Mule*, a Swiftian association with impact in the transatlantic relations caused by the war against Irakului and by media's denunciation – almost as in a single voice – of the Eastern countries candidate to accession of disguising themselves in "Trojan horses" ("Suveranitatea popoarelor și «măgarii troieni»", *Idea Artă+Societate*, no. 17, 2004).

Retracing from the dystopian perspective this galactic alternative, and transposing it into the European mundane space, E. Morin<sup>15</sup> identified a *second Renaissance*, which includes the European dialogue and the cultural- exterior contributions, starting from the experience of nihilism, through the civilization of the Barbarian ideas and the elaboration of the hidden principles which are governing the thought unnoticed – in order to protect, regenerate, revitalize, develop and embody democracy, in fact, a Europe capable to elaborate meta-European points of view and integrate extra-European perspectives, too.

On the field of concrete and dystopian applications, the European space resonates to the option of (re)construction (*re-founding, re-birth*) via the economic provisions of the *Report of the World Economic Forum*<sup>16</sup>, and the project “Global Risks in 2012. The Seeds of Dystopia” stating in relation to economic and financial uncertainty and insecurity, as well as to the budgetary cuts that, at the European level, only deepen recession, and that *dystopia is the term which describes best contemporary world*. This treatment claims the adaptability of the imperative to less austerity, to bigger investments in the economic growth, as implanting the *seeds of dystopia* in the economic field, with effect in the chronic fiscal imbalance, in the accentuation of the income differences – risks that are politically doubled by the forces developed by the engines of nationalism, populism and protectionism.

The fears of the global community seem entertained by the alarming signals received from the massive population of youth with bleak perspectives, by the increasing number of pensioners depending on states with significant debts (accentuating fiscal imbalance), by the gap between the rich and the poor – effects that feed and entertain global resentments.

Deferring contemporary world the meaning of overcoming the duplicity created by the existing legal, but immoral institutions, political philosopher Thomas Pogge established through the *ratio 10/90* used in pharmacology a metaphoric identification of the ratio for the combination of monopoly with the chances of survival, relevant for the image of the status of the socially *disadvantaged* as „persons who own less than half of the medium income and wealth”. This definition of Rawlsian import is reinvested by Pogge with the meaning of all ultimate unfairness indicated as «radical inequalities», dysfunctions impossible to be adjusted as long as global poverty is maintained, an effect sustained in recent history in the spite of the need for morals. False moralities functioned so far, mimicking the real ones,<sup>17</sup> within the fictive histories – those sustaining decisions that allowed for the unequal economic distribution, indifferent to morality and to the institutional and global regulations, in fact, an order shaped by «the good guys» and imposed to «the bad ones»<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> E. Morin, *Gândind Europa*, Trei Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> The initiative of the project belongs to the World Economic Forum's Risk Response Network offering the leaders from the private sector an independent platform for a better identification, monitorization, and management, thus attenuating the global risks. See in this respect <http://ro.marsh.dppl.com/news/stiri/RiscuriGlobale2012-RaportalWorldEconomicForum.htm>.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas W. Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2002, p. 203.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas W. Pogge, *Symposium. World Poverty and Human Rights*, in *Ethics & International*



### *Dystopian sketches for a counter-weight to the empire*

Recovering the interventions gathered in the European press with philosophical and political consequence either in launching the renewed idea of a union between the countries from the South of Europe, or in the economic exit ways from recession through the negotiation of political and fiscal unions in a multilingual and multi-ethnic society, Europe seems to self-deliver as a fragile formula, in the search of re-activations that are to strengthen and salvage its architecture.

Following the essay of Aleksandr Kožev, *The Latin Empire. Sketch of a doctrine of French politics* (1945)<sup>19</sup>, Giorgio Agamben<sup>20</sup> translates on the field of political philosophy the forecasting Kojèveian manner, according to whom Germany was to become the main economic power in Europe, reducing France to the inferior rank of secondary power in Western Europe. One has to mention though, the fact that according to Kožev, the nation-states were urged to give way to transnational political formations – the modern "*empires*" incapable to vindicate an abstract unity, indifferent to the real connections of culture, language, life style and religion, justified as "*transnational political units, but composed of similar nations*".

Hence the (imperative) alternative delivered to France, to place itself in front of a "*Latin empire*" – an economic and political union of France, Spain and Italy – following the tradition of the Catholic Church, and, at the same time, opening itself toward the Mediterranean Sea. The project was constituted as a counter-weight to protestant Germany, as the richest and most powerful nation of Europe, inexorably attracted by the extra-European vocation, and thus returned, to the forms and formulas of the Anglo-Saxon Empire. This hypothesis brings France and the Latin nations back to the status of a foreign body<sup>21</sup>, with satellite peripheral role.

In a comparison note EU-Byzantine Empire, Peter Frankopan<sup>22</sup> established the coincidence of multilingual and multiethnic community of state, – different climates and local economies (in the case of the Byzantine Empire), from the city animated by fairs, to the small harbors and rural settlements, a community with one currency, whose value remained constant.

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Affairs 19, no. 1, 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Florence De Lussy (ed.), *Hommage à Aleksandr Kojève, Acte de la «Journée A. Kojève», du 28 janvier 2003*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *Un "Imperiu latin" împotriva supraputerii germane*, *Libération*, Paris, 26 March 2013,

<http://www.presseurop.eu/ro/content/article/3593581-un-imperiu-latin-impotriva-supraputerii-germane>.

<sup>21</sup> Concerning the question launched on Ask Philosophers, about the translation of the dead corpse within the ethical problems regarding necrophilia, Pogge considered that ethics remains preoccupied with the good life, in Habermasian key, as an engagement in a wide area of communicational interactions. Hence the accept of the limits proposed by the secular ethics, based on the liberal theories on the contract and the supposition of the absence of any impediment toward the others, within a broader discussion left open by Pogge in respect of the impossibility of the secular ethics to offer an answer for the acceptance of necrophilia through a contract anterior death and by its confining to a privat space.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Frankopan, *Lecțiile bizantine pentru Europa*, *The Guardian*, London, 18 March 2013, <http://www.presseurop.eu/ro/content/article/3544991-lectiile-bizantine-pentru-europa>

As a counter-part to the attribute “*Byzantine*” sent from the reactions of the Chamber of the Communes concerning the excessive and the far too complex laws, the Byzantine Empire confirms the status of sophisticated but functional model, deprived of the inefficiency or disparity of taxation, with convenient governance (understood as simple and efficient), harmonizing the same fiscal rules to the different regions with direct effect in the unique currency, budgetary, economic and political union.

The two overwrought selections of ideas through their excessive discussion in the international press seem to count, in a perspective that recalls Ricoeur, only the aspects of explanation and comprehension, as interpretative formula, allowing for the insertion of the subjective-evaluative factor that can, in historical context, assume the effect of *report*.

When this evaluative coincidence can be used as an offering laboratory alternative, the plots elude especially what P. Ricoeur<sup>23</sup> meant when he established that we cannot conceive an all-inclusive history, since any history betrays (in a cartographic manner) the scales according to which they articulate the facts, so that, when the scale is different, the arguments might differ, too, or they may not be accurate at all, due to several unnoticed connections which pass into the macro-historic level. The historic referential excludes precisely a process of copying, counting on reconstruction – an architecture situated at distance both from the immediate living and from the indicia.

#### *In conclusion: a catalytic European Foundation*

Within these dystopian mutations, one should acknowledge the *catalytic meaning* that Linda Weiss<sup>24</sup> (following M. Lind<sup>25</sup>) envisioned for the state which harmonizes the *indispensable* manner (in the sense of the success and direction of certain strategic coalitions) maintaining *independence* against the other elements of the coalition. This effect is a consequence of the definitive anchoring into this catalytic meaning of state –opposed to the meaning of the *integral* state, inscribed into the European logic as a tendency of the *states to adapt to the new challenges* (of internationalization), renouncing at the solitary manner of positioning by the recreation and strengthening of the partnerships at regional or international level, or at the internal level, between the states and the corporative actors. However, for Linda Weiss the catalytic states have different capacities to preserve their position of active center despite the oscillations generated by the actions of delegation or concentration of power.

Bio-synthetically, the most successful states would be the (heterogenic) ones capable to cumulate and employ the conventional resources of power and the resources of collaboration, by the good balance and even homogenization (through the situation of the catalytic agent in the same phase as the reactive elements) of the partnership government-firms, a kind of laboratory model considered by L. Weiss as the essence of stately capacity.

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<sup>23</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Memoria, istoria, uitarea*, Amarcord Publishing House, Timișoara, 2001.

<sup>24</sup> Linda Weiss, *Mitul statului fără putere. Guvernarea economiei în era globalizării*, Trei Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002.

<sup>25</sup> M. Lind, “The Catalytic State”, *National Interest*, Spring, 27, 3-12.

Overcoming the strong meaning of the dystopian scenarios with multiple consequences in the European space – seen as empire and/or foundation, this study considers the European Foundation as an intermediary formula, “chemically” recovered in irreversible terms, metaphorically seen as a swirling reaction, similar to the reaction between the enzyme and substrate, resulting in the completion of the reaction, with the effect of the regeneration of the catalyst factor. Hence the reaction of the European press toward the imperial sketches, following the chemical metaphor of the saturation of the enzyme on the catalytic substrate, paradoxically, weakening the speed of reaction; the dystopian model of the Foundation offers the freeing of the inhibiting mode, forming, accumulating and using its consequences in (more or less abrupt) ulterior relations.

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# THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LAW AND MORAL CRISIS IN THE RULE OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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**Abstract:** *An authentic democracy is essential for people's evolution, and its value consists of in the power of its symbols, symbols that a democracy represents and promotes: human dignity, respect for human rights, general welfare of the people. Nevertheless, by the continuous recognition of several "new" rights to several categories of people the modern concept of democracy not only that it is no longer defined by its formal mechanisms, as in 19th century, but it is also defined by the exacerbation in protection and respect towards individual rights and human dignity. What once was considered "immoral" can become "moral" and enforced through law. The legalization of immorality becomes a challenge to the great and beautiful democracies in the world, a challenge that puts to o test an entire system of Christian values and traditions of their own people.*

**Keywords:** *morality–immorality; legal-illegal, human rights, democracy.*

World Democracies face a number of various challenges, both inside and outside problems which they have to cope with, starting on the level of political representation, the problem of technocracy, the matter of oligarchy within powerful parties, to the institutional problems. A new challenge for western democracies is the pressure coming from the increasing demands for recognition of various types of human rights and the the increasing requirement of legalization of relationships that once belonged to the sphere of "immorality".

This is the general challenge that emerges out of the two areas presented, and this is the relationship between general civil law, the state rule, and the moral law.

1. The civil society and the rule of law in the middle of the connection between law and morality.

The state is one that creates most legal rules, certainly taking into account a lot of factors. The non statal-rules draw their legal force also from the state, their validity - their binding - depending on its recognition. Therefore, The State "endows all the rules with its coercive force. So, as shown above, in a society the State power is unique, holding a monopoly of legitimate coercion. Therefore, the particularity of law rules, in their relation to other existing rules in a given society, consists in the origin (being created by the state) or state recognition.

On the other hand, the law is required by state in its action of leadership and management of the society. Through legal rules the state establishes its

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institutions and their competencies, the relationship with citizens, their rights and freedoms. The law is what gives state its power and legitimacy, the law is the tool that gives state the ability to lead the social system to ensure *social peace*, as the first purpose of its creation. This phrase reflects the interdependence between the two social phenomena, each having opposite trends: *The state (power) of domination* and submission and *the law* that order and brakes the abuses of power. A renowned French jurist, L. Duguit, said that "*right without force is powerless but force without law is barbarism*." State law requires both harmonizing and balancing the relations of the two components within the meaning of the rule of law and its absolute supremacy in order to preserve the individual rights and freedoms.

The state based on the rule of law emerged against feudal arbitrariness in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the in Western revolutions countries. In our time the concept was revived as a consequence of the totalitarian experiences of several European countries. By its characteristics, we see that, in fact, the state based on the rule of law is identified with liberal-democratic state. Anyway, this form of state is the most advanced stage of socio-political organization, validated by historical experience, which does not mean that it is a perfect one. It could be improved.

The state based on the rule of law is characterized by its own principles, among which are the following:

- First, the prevailing of law in all spheres of public life. In this sense, the rule of law is an organized social structure with stable relations of economic, cultural, legal and political areas, which, through law and state power is limited to training and ensuring the free and civil society.

In this sense, the rule of law is an organized social structure with stable relations of economic, cultural, legal and political, which, through law and state power is held to training and ensuring free development of civil society. In a state based on the rule of law the citizens' rights and freedoms are examined in close connection with the rights and freedoms of all members of society, as a foundation for building relationships between people and authorities. Here, the main aim of the authorities is to ensure the people's rights and freedoms and to create the conditions for their full realization.

State, as part of civil democratic society, resolves conflicts arising in the exercise of rights and freedoms. He is the one who needs to reach harmonization of relations both between citizens, on the one hand, between them and the authorities, on the other hand, and between public institutions and the State itself.

- Secondly, the overriding interest of civil society in functioning the rule of law.

Creating an open civil society, free, democratic, based on the law, accountability, information and entrepreneurship of individuals is what makes the man and the citizen be the central elements of the rule of law. Civil society and the rule of law - these are the two parts of a whole. Where the rule of law missing, civil society is missing, too. And vice versa - if there is no civil society, there is no

rule of law<sup>1</sup>.

Only such an approach can create the conditions for self-expression, self-realization of personality, and the freedom of creation and thinking in different areas, which would permit the disclosure of values originally inherent in human society. The rule of law is undoubtedly a condition of *civilization*, but not the only one. It is interesting to note that one of the most celebrated philosophers of law, Joseph Raz, points out that "the rule of law is essentially a negative value, since it can only minimize the damage that the law brings to freedom and dignity in the pursuit of its goals, however they may be praiseworthy"<sup>2</sup>. In this regard, he noted that absolute obedience to the rule of law can lead in some cases to achieving goals that the law does not take into consideration. On the other hand, the absolute subordination is not the ultimate goal of law. In other words, Raz emphasizes both the force of law and the limits within which we can rely on the law. For the rule of law it is intended to make the law able to promote social goals, and "killing too many social goals on the altar of the rule of law can make the law barren and empty"<sup>3</sup>. Every man has his ideal to attain perfection, happiness. As Hegel says: "What displeases people morally [...] is what does not meet the goals that they consider to be just and good."

Sometimes, in explaining the lack of moral reference and of moral conscience, is alleged the failure in exercising of particularly educational role of the school, family, church or the media. Very few times is assigned any fault of politicians, managers, owners or scientists. However, they are morally obliged, each in its field, to initiate educational strategies and policies and, as much as possible, to balance economic performance with social responsibility in order to show permanent and moral responsibility, social, professional, as they held the positions.

There have always existed moral problems, of any kind. Human society is continuously changing and the problems we face are different, forcing us to reflect and understand new situations so that our actions can be just and fair.

Cioran has undertaken the mission of the judge for the past and the one of the prophet for the future in his "*Transfiguration of Romania*". Even if there is "not so pleasant also to add extra local knowledge to the immensity of local lucidity, "yet we must have the strength to take on our limits and "faults" in order to know what we need to overcome and become. True nationalism must emphasize the issue of "what to become?" and not "Why must we stay?"<sup>4</sup>

## **2. The Interpretation *in extenso* of human rights and the artificial creation of new rights**

The age of explosion (both informational and communicational) is dusting any democratic political benchmarks<sup>5</sup>. There are many explanations. One of them

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<sup>1</sup> R.Savatier, *L'inflation législative et l'indigestion du corps social*, Recueil Dalloz, 1977, p.12

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Raz, in Cecilia Tohăneanu "moral ambivalence" rule of law "- the voltage potential between politics and morality" Coverage Policy Review, **no. 6/2009**;

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem;

<sup>4</sup> Emil Cioran, *Transfiguration of Romania*, publisher Weather, 2009, p.106;

<sup>5</sup> Dan Paul, "Communication without people participation and democracy without people" in scope Policy, **no.135**

binds on the oxymoronic character of the nature of liberal democracies: the fundamental values of democracy and liberalism are contradictory. Equality and freedom are in conflict, especially when one of them or both are exaggerated. Freedom is, also, in contradiction with the order. Hence the two fundamental dilemmas of modernity: those between the freedom and equality, the one between freedom and order or, in another speech, between the freedom and security<sup>6</sup>.

- Legalization of same-sex marriages is an example of the broad interpretation (in full) of the right to privacy and person's right to a family. Also, interpreting even more, we are reaching the right for these people to adopt children;

- Legalizing abortion law comes from the naturalness of women to have the freedom their bodies (their own person) and it comes at the result of the extensive feminist movement by the end of the XXth century;

- This hard-won abortion rights by interpreting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its feminine sphere application is contrary to the moral or religious ideas of those who, all under the same remarkable document, invoke right to life of the human embryo;

- The right to life of the human embryo;

- The Legalization of contraceptive pill, which was done for the first time in the U.S., has generated protests from the Catholic Church;

- By legalizing euthanasia, the human right to life and its interpretation "in extenso" received the version of the human right "to choose life or death", promoting the legalization of euthanasia.

Democratic or less democratic character of a *modern state* which is intended in this respect, it is categorized by the variety of such rights recognized, or the legalization of various aspects of the society considered, until recently, dangerous to the Public Order. Can Netherlands be considered more democratic than Britain or France through the fact that it legalized narcotic consumption or the prostitution? U.S. may be considered less democratic in that claim by having introduced a period of alcohol prohibition?

### **3. A paradox - The proliferation of rules of law and the impossibility of knowing the law**

The "Nemo censetur ignore legem" principle (no one can defend himself by claiming the ignorance of the law), has always been a legal fiction necessary to provide a theoretical equality under the law. But if this principle could produce effects far without hurting too much common sense to the extent that it expresses faith in the knowledge of a right available "to all human kind", it tends increasingly more today to describe a situation of << science - fiction >>. "Today, as we have seen, the regulatory activity in an effort to cover all administrative actions necessary is rampant; rules are produced in an infernal rhythm. The multiplication rule of law is the result of an increasingly complicated social life, with the need to coordinate in order to protect the natural and social environment

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<sup>6</sup> Ibidem;



of millions of individual decisions<sup>7</sup>. But the result of this multiplication of the state rules is the growing autonomy of the social structure. The society is improving so often not in the benefit but at the expense of an individual.

The human being limited understanding is exceeded by that inflation of the regulatory or normative acts<sup>8</sup>; limited absorption capacity of the human brain and the limited amount of time that a man can spend for knowing the legal rules makes us witness a "social body indigestion."<sup>9</sup> This is marked by the fact that the implementation of legal norms is a combinative activity; almost always the rules must be combined in order to be applied, or by increasing the number of rules growth the exponential opportunities of combining them<sup>10</sup>. Even the experts can not really follow all these legal changes, revisions, repeals texts that are frequently increasing. Traditional relationship between the law and reality is changing: law is no longer compelling the reality, but reality, by her excessive mobility, is forcing the law. This leads to a lower quality of the texts of law, forced to change too quickly, not during a real elaboration<sup>11</sup>. The amazing dynamics of the regulatory system is almost impossible to be followed by knowledge. Nobody today can be presumed to know all the laws<sup>12</sup>. Not even the specialists, for they become increasingly specialized itself, no longer having an overall vision of the legal system<sup>13</sup>. "For common citizens, law is as absurd, incomprehensible, indistinguishable concept as it was in the barbarian ages the secret knowledge of the pontiffs or of Wise Men"<sup>14</sup>.

#### 4. Conclusion

A genuine democracy, therefore, is essential and its value "resists or falls together with the values which it represents and promotes": its unbreakable basic are, of course, the dignity of every human person, his intangible and inalienable rights and the common good that is taken as aim and criteria that regulates political life. [...] It is therefore imperative for the future of society and the development of a healthy democracy, the discovery of the essential native human values and moral, values that are arising from the truth of the human being, that are expressing himself and are defending human dignity; these are the values which, moreover, no individual, no majority and no State can ever create them, modify or destroy, but will have to recognize, respect and promote."<sup>15</sup>

In the legal world, indeed it already perceived for some time the need to

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<sup>7</sup> J. Carbonier, *L'hypothèse de non-droit*, Archives de philosophie du droit, no.8, Sirey, 1963, p.18;

<sup>8</sup> Terré, Le rôle actuel du maximum << null >> n'est la loi ignorer census, *Etude de droit contemporain*, XXX, 1966 Dan Claudiu Danis, <http://academos.ro/document/sfarsitul-statului-de-drept>;

<sup>9</sup> Idem;

<sup>10</sup> Idem;

<sup>11</sup> G. Debord, *La société du spectacle*, Buchet Chastel, 1972, p.9;

<sup>12</sup> Idem;

<sup>13</sup> R.G. Schwarzenberg, *L'Etat spectacle*, Flammarion Publishing House, 1977, p.32;

<sup>14</sup> G. Debord, *La société du spectacle*, Buchet Chastel, 1972, p.10;

<sup>15</sup> Cotta S., *Il diritto nell'esistenza*, Milan, 1991, p.194. Così says, "the most direct way to demonstrate the requirement of a rule is to show compliance with a concrete value".

bring to light the ethical-axiological argument of the right, looking not so much at its origins, and especially the fundamentals, by recovering of those values, objective and universal, which is normatively based on and the ontological structure of man who is an identity, a person<sup>16</sup>. So it is required to the Constitutions to defend the fundamental values essential to guarantee civil coexistence orderly social life and even its survival<sup>17</sup>.

The legislator is not required to create, but to interpret human demands in society, looking not so much over consensus, but rather looking over the objective moral law, which "is included in every human heart, is a landmark of the civil legal law"<sup>18</sup>.

Only on the basis of these premises, can law find its intrinsic function, sheltered from the dangers of ethical relativism, which too often in history has allowed justification of abusive options of political power and made it coincide with authoritarianism justice, or arbitration, with freedom, especially on the weakest. Therefore, the Magisterium of the Catholic Church in *Evangelium Vitae* encyclical, explicitly appeals to legislators to respect "true justice", inviting them firmly to say "no" to all violence and abuse against human life.

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<sup>16</sup> Idem;

<sup>17</sup> F.Terré, *Le rôle actuel de la maxime <<nul n'est censé ignorer la loi>>*, *Etude de droit contemporain*, XXX, 1966, p.98;

<sup>18</sup> *Evangelium Vitae*, no 70. On this point, it is interesting contribution J. Finnis., *Natural Legge's natural diritti*, Torino, 1996, p 304, ss. And J. Hoffner, *La dottrina Social Cristiana*, Rome, 1979, p. 57: "The content of most positive law is set by natural law, but just listen a universal requirement of natural law, that is to minister to that good common. These are the most civil law, procedural law, criminal law ..."

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**THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF GIVING  
EVIDENCE IN CIVIL MATTERS  
- INTERPRETATION OF THE E.C. REGULATION NO.  
1206/2001—**

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**Abstract:** *Regulation (EC) no. 1206/2001 has emerged as a factual necessity, given that the European Union has set itself the objective of maintaining and developing the European Union as an area of freedom, security and justice in which the free movement of persons is ensured in the sense that measures relating to judicial cooperation in civil matters were considered necessary for the proper functioning of its internal market.*

*For proper functioning of the internal market, cooperation between courts in gathering evidence appreciated that needs to be improved and in particular simplified and accelerated.*

*The need for a new procedural legislation in cross-border cases, in particular in what concerns the taking of evidence was recalled to the Tampere European Council of 15-16 October 1999, the area covered by Article 65 TEU.*

**Keywords:** *probation, witnesses, cooperation, evidence, community legislation.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

The preamble to Regulation no. 1206/2001 provides for the proper functioning of the internal market requires improvement, particularly simplifying and accelerating cooperation between courts in the taking of evidence. Given that, in civil and commercial matters, to give judgment in a case pending before a court of a Member State, it is often necessary to proceed to take evidence in another Member State [...]. It is therefore necessary to further improve the cooperation between courts in the taking of evidence.

For judicial proceedings in civil or commercial matters to be useful, this requires that the transmission and execution of requests for the taking of evidence to be made directly by the fastest means possible between courts. In order to facilitate the taking of evidence is necessary for a court of a Member State may, in accordance with the legislation of the Member State to which it belongs, to proceed directly to take evidence in another Member State where it is accepted by the latter and the conditions set by the central body or the competent authority of the requested State.

Regulation no. 1206/2001 aims to fight against the separation of powers within the Union by facilitating the movement of persons to take part in carrying

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out research papers and, by this means, the transmission of samples from one Member State to another based on mutual trust. In particular, it follows that an expert in another Member State outside this framework and could hit that certain national legislations limit the active participation of a member or a representative of the requesting court. Considering the two main objectives of this Regulation, namely, first, simplify the cooperation between Member States and, secondly, accelerate the production of evidence, consider that when the concrete is not necessary to use judiciary in another Member State to obtain evidence, it is not mandatory that a court orders the taking of evidence to implement one of the two simplified mechanisms for mutual legal assistance provided by the regulation.

1970 Hague Convention on the Taking of Evidence was not all EU Member States. Therefore, if the taking of evidence abroad, there is a common legal basis for cooperation with Member States. It was required uniform regulation that is applicable to all Member States. Rules on the Taking of Evidence not only fills the gap, but replaced by chaos while the many bilateral and multilateral agreements, by uniform rule and passes the background cooperation under the general rules of international law.

### **INTERPRETATION OF THE E.C. REGULATION NO. 1206/2001**

Since Regulation no. 1206/2001 brings, the provisions on simplifying and accelerating cooperation between courts, a substantial remedy two problems notorious international judicial assistance, or sinuous paths of transmission and translation issues, it is not surprising that despite criticism, there were positive reactions to that Regulation. The purpose of regulation is to facilitate cooperation between courts must apply the procedural rules of national law very different, while establishing and technical regulations. Through the options, alternatives and reference to the *lex fori*, to take account of national procedural law. Although the Regulation on the taking of evidence is based on the character of its rules, a rule of law directly applicable in the absence of national laws, it would be incomplete and partially inapplicable.

Rules governing the taking of evidence in civil and commercial cooperation between the courts of different Member States concerning the taking of evidence and joins the traditional legal assistance through the foreign court (judicial assistance passive) foreign direct taking of evidence by the requesting court (Active legal assistance).

As a flexible new variant is considered passive, legal assistance and participation of the requesting court to obtain evidence by the requested court abroad (direct taking of evidence). A participation of stakeholders and / or requesting court may take place without the need for a shift, with modern means of communication (eg. through videoconference). Any court will act according to its own *lex fori*, but will take into account, where appropriate, the rules of procedural law of other courts involved.

Rules applicable in all Member States (Austria, Belgium, Britain, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Hungary, except Denmark) in accordance with the Treaty

establishing the European Community. Regulation allows a court novels, asking a court in another Member State to carry out a research note that State to proceed directly to a research note in another Member State. In the first scenario the application is filed by the court before which the proceedings are called requesting court (in this case the Romanian) - competent court of another Member State (the requested court), for the performance of applied research. For this purpose each Member State draws up a list of courts to proceed to the taking of evidence in accordance with the Regulation. The list indicates the territorial and, if necessary and special such instances.

Each Member State shall designate a central body responsible for:-providing information to the courts;-seeking solutions to any difficulties that may arise in connection with an application;-submitting an application to the competent court, in exceptional cases, at the request of the requesting court. The regulation provides that the information must contain request by the requesting court and the need of its transmission and accompanying documents translated into the official language of the requested State. Transmission of applications and notifications provided for regulation by any means quickly requested State has indicated as being supported. The competent court shall be obliged to submit the court requesting a receipt within 7 days of receipt. It will proceed to execute the request without delay and no later than 90 days after receiving the application, the execution is done in accordance with the law of the Member State of which the requesting court.

The requesting court may ask the requested court to use communications technology to the performance of the research, in particular by using videoconference and teleconference If State law provides that the requesting court, the parties and their representatives have the right to be present when the court meets the taking of evidence requested. Also requesting state judges have the right to be present at the performance of research by the requesting court - if that right is consistent with the legislation of the Member State of the requesting court. The requesting court may designate an expert to participate in the taking of evidence. Law no. 44/2007 amending and supplementing Law no. 189/2003 on international judicial assistance in civil and commercial sets the rules for applying Council Regulation (EC) no. 1206/2001 of 28 May 2001. Evidence applications by international rogatory commission shall be as follows:

a) Romanian courts send applications directly applied by the courts in the Member States of the European Union and a copy of the application for the samples are submitted to a Ministry of Justice, Featured,

b) by the court in whose district the sample to be obtained requested the Member States of the European Union. The refund provisions, the court sent a copy to the Ministry of Justice for registration.

To obtain information on both the language used to complete the forms and language of translating documents attached thereto, the Commission accepted and notified by the Member States of the European Union, the Romanian competent authorities specialized internet access page and consult the European Commission points European Judicial Network contact in civil and commercial matters.

Regulation (EC) no. 1206/2001 has emerged as a factual necessity, given that the European Union has set itself the objective of maintaining and developing the European Union as an area of freedom, security and justice in which the free movement of persons is ensured in the sense that measures relating Civil judicial were considered necessary for the proper functioning of the internal market.

In order to proper functioning of the internal market, cooperation between courts in gathering evidence appreciated that needs to be improved and in particular simplified and accelerated. The need for a new procedural legislation in cross-border cases, in particular in what concerns the taking of evidence was recalled to the Tampere European Council of 15-16 October 1999, the area covered by Article 65 of the Treaty. At the time of the adoption of Regulation no. 1206/2001 there is no binding instrument between Member States concerning the taking of evidence. Hague Convention of 18 March 1970 on the communication of evidence abroad in civil and commercial matters applies only between 11 European Union countries. Thus, given that often to resolve a civil or commercial neighborhood Perola a court of a Member State was essential to produce evidence in another Member State, it is necessary to improve judicial cooperation between the courts of the Member States in matters of evidence.

As noted in the preamble to that regulation, the efficiency of judicial procedures in civil or commercial matters requires that the transmission and execution of requests for production of evidence to be performed directly by the fastest means possible between courts, using all appropriate means, with provided that certain conditions relating to the readability and reliability of the document received. In order to facilitate the taking of evidence, it must be possible for a court of a Member State, under the laws of its own Member State can manage direct evidence in another Member State, if the latter agrees with the conditions imposed by the central body or the competent authority of the requested State. Still striving to facilitate evidence was held that compliance with the request, in accordance with Article 10, shall not give rise to the right to request reimbursement of fees and expenses.

However, as an exception, the requested court may request a refund of fees paid to experts and interpreters and the costs of applying Article 10 (3) and (4) and when prompted use of communication technologies in the management of certain evidence, particularly using videoconferencing and teleconferencing, and when required the application to be performed in accordance with a special procedure. In this case, the requesting court shall take the necessary measures without delay reimbursement of expenses. Modern means of communication are of considerable importance for the application of Regulation smoothly, for it to achieve its objective of ensuring a rapid and efficient sample management in the European Union. Regulation stipulates that the requested court may ask the requested court to use communications technology to administer tests, especially using video conferencing and teleconferencing (Article 10 (4)). If, however, the requested court wants to assume responsibility for the taking of evidence, the rules of Article 17 of the samples and the direct administration of State authorization is required.

Regulation stipulates that the central authority or competent authority shall encourage the use of communications technology (Article 17 (4)). For example, in the hearing of a witness, communications technology can be used by the court who is responsible for taking of evidence (for example, the court requested in accordance with Article 10 (4) or by the requesting court, in accordance with Article 17). In that case, another court that has responsibility for the administration of evidence (eg, the requested court in accordance with Article 12 (3), or court designated by the central authority or competent authority in accordance with Article 17 (4) may attend the hearing by the technology. As was stated before (§ 14), it may also assume that the court has a responsibility not to put questions to the witness taking of evidence, if the court to which management responsibility evidence agrees with it. Member States will provide information that can be used in court videoconferences and teleconferences. Such information will be made available in Atlas.

The requested court shall comply with the request to use communications technology, unless it is inconsistent with its own law or by reason of major practical difficulties. The second reason for the refusal is practically relevant because most courts of the Member States have not yet obtained facilities to take evidence using modern means of communication, especially video conference or teleconference. Regulation stipulates that if there is no access to the technical means in the requesting court or court required such means may be provided by the courts by mutual agreement.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Compared to the contributions of the new code of civil procedure in fleshing old code can be made more details on the will of the legislator, but the main new aspects are found on documents in electronic, microfilm copies made, contracts prepared using standard forms or standardized, the stamps, tickets, as well as blank or printed documents that are used to make contracts regime will have private documents and other changes or additions to the provisions covered in the current Code of Civil Procedure is needed on its specific a repeated invocation of its provisions when they need evidence and to settle a case requires.

Inertia breaking system is required, the application of such normative provisions refractor whose application can not be questioned.

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