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ARTICLES

THE ROMANIANS OF THE TIMOK VALLEY IN THE DEBATES OF THE COMMISSION FOR THE FRONTIERS OF ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919

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ABSTRACT

Among many other problems remained unsolved after the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 there is the issue of the Romanians living in north-eastern Serbia, specifically between the valleys of the rivers Morava and Timok. A large population numbered in hundreds of thousands received very little attention during the conference that aimed at solving the ethnical problems of Europe. The ambiguous result of the Paris Peace Conference regarding the Romanians of the Timok Valley had dire consequences on long term for this population, hence the origins of this situation deserve a closer evaluation.

Keywords: Romanians of the Timok Valley, Paris Peace Conference 1919, national minorities rights.

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to show how the issue of the Romanians in the Timok Valley was dealt with at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. At the end of the First World War in the four counties of the north-eastern Serbia (Craina, Pojarevaţ, Timok and Morava) there were about 300,000 ethnic Romanians according to estimates from Bucharest (120,000 according to Serbian statistics)². The fate and national rights of this population were discussed at the Paris Peace Conference without reaching a conclusion that would provide guarantees for the preservation of national identity. I will try in the following lines to present how this situation was reached at the Paris Peace Conference and what were the causes of this development.

The decisions on Romania's borders were taken at the Paris Peace Conference in the Commission for the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia, which included

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² Atanasie Popovici, "Memoriul românilor din Serbia" [Memorandum of Romanians of Serbia], in C. Constante and A. Golopenţia, „Românii din Timoc” [Romanians of Timoc], Bucharest, 1943.

representatives of the Great Powers (the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy). The minutes of this commission³ are the main source of information for this article, together with the memoranda submitted by the Romanians of the Timok Valley, the Romanian representatives and the memoirs of some of the participants in the negotiations.

THE ROMANIANS OF THE TIMOK VALLEY IN THE ATTENTION OF SCIENTISTS BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Before the First World War, the issue of the Romanians in the Timok Valley received little attention in political and scientific circles in Bucharest. Ethnographic, historical and sociological research in this community started relatively late compared to other Romanian communities in other states, and the problems faced by the Romanians of the Timok Valley did not find a place in the Romanian public agenda in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century.

The scientific research on Romanians of Timok started at the beginning of the 19th century, when the Serbian folklorist Vuk Karadic collected Romanian folk songs from the area in 1811–1813 when he was a customs officer in Cladovo, the manuscript reaching Gheorghe Asachi in 1823, unfortunately lost in the fire of the National Library in Iași. Beginning with 1859 the ethnographer F. Kanitz carried out several field surveys in the Timok Valley, followed by Gustav Weigand who carried out linguistic studies at the end of the 19th century, but was also interested in cultural and political issues. The Serbian ethnographer Tihomir Georgevič published an extensive work in 1905 on the Romanians of Timok under the title “Among our Romanians”. Romanian research on the Romanians of the Timok Valley began relatively late, after 1900, with the geographer George Vâlsan and the linguist George Giulea who published a collection of traditional texts from the region in 1913⁴.

The Romanians of Timok really came to the attention of the public in Bucharest in 1906, when on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the reign of King Carol I, at the exhibition organized in his honor, there was a section containing ethnographic material brought from the Romanians of the Timok Valley by C. Constante. The exhibition in Bucharest was also attended by Romanians from the Timok Valley, one of the consequences of which was that the inhabitants of the region asked in a memorandum to receive the same support from the Romanian authorities as the Romanians of Albania and Macedonia. The author of this

³ National Archives of the United States, General Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace 1918–1931, Roll 170, Committees and Commissions Rumanian and Yugoslav Affairs, M820 Roll 170 (hereafter National Archives of the United States, M820 Roll 170).

⁴ Annemarie Sorescu Marinkovic, „Cultura populară a românilor din Timoc – încercare de periodizare a cercetărilor etnologice” [Popular culture of the Romanians of Timok – an attempt to periodize ethnological research], in *Philologica Jassyenia*, 2006, pp. 73–92.

memorandum was the agronomist Miloslav Bogdanovič from Petrovats, who returned with a new memo to the Bucharest authorities in 1911, without receiving a reply⁵. The problems of the Romanians in Timok were brought to the attention of the public opinion in Bucharest in 1912 by Atanasie Popovici, a native of this area, who since 1909 had joined the entourage of professors Onisifor Ghibu, Vasile Pârvan and Nicolae Iorga. On 18 December 1912, the latter presented a memorandum drafted by Atanasie Popovici in the Romanian Parliament, requesting cultural support from the Romanian state for the Romanians of the Timok Valley. The memorandum was accompanied by several articles published in Bucharest newspapers describing the difficult situation of the Romanians of Timok.

ION I.C. BRĂTIANU'S MEMORANDUM

The issue of the Romanians in the Timok Valley was raised at the Paris Peace Conference by Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu in a memorandum presented after the debate on the Banat issue on 31 January 1919 to US President Wilson, British Prime Minister Lloyd, French President Clemenceau and Italian Prime Minister Orlando. In the memorandum in which Brătianu detailed Romania's position and arguments regarding the full attribution of Banat, there is a brief reference to the Romanians of the Timok Valley:

“The Roumanian Government has always been so persuaded of the Danube's importance as a peace-maintaining frontier, that it has never cast its eyes beyond this river, nor considered the possibility of uniting to that part of Roumania watered by the Northern Danube the many Roumanians settled in Serbia between the Timok and the Morava valleys.

It is persuaded that once the Danube is crossed, once a bridgehead is established on the further bank, yet wider territorial extensions in this direction will become of ever-increasing political and economic urgency. There would then be no end to the unappeasable disputes connected with more or less conventional frontiers. And these disputes, which Roumania has steadfastly refused to tolerate on the right bank of the Danube, could not fail to arise on its left bank with regard to a frontier line drawn across the plain of the Banat, for no nice adjustment could make it anything but ill-defined and inequitable.

Thus, the only results of allowing Serbia to cross the Danube in order to ensure that State a supposed ethnographical boundary, in the hope of finding in such concessions a guarantee for the organisation of international peace, would be economic disorganisation, arrested development of a whole region, and the certainty of future disputes.

It is hardly necessary to add that Roumania will ensure to all Serbs who may remain within her territory all the rights and guarantees ensured to Roumanian subjects by the

⁵ Teodor Arhire, „Românii timoceni la începutul secolului XX” [Romanians of Timok at the beginning of the 20th century], *Steaua Dobrogei*, no. 12/2010, pp. 13–16.

Serbian State, in conformity with the principles which may be laid down by the League of Nations in the case of minorities”⁶.

From the very beginning, the issue of the Romanians of Timok was used by Romania as an argument in favour of granting the whole province of Banat: the Serbs who remained in Banat under Romanian rule were considered as an exchange for the Romanians of the Timok Valley who remained under Serbian rule. Brătianu stressed that Romania did not want to receive territories south of the Danube to which it would be entitled on the basis of the ethnic principle by the presence of a large Romanian population in the Timok Valley. This stance of Romania towards the Romanians of Timok was to influence all the rest of the negotiations held in relation to them at the Paris Peace Conference.

ROMANIANS IN THE TIMOK VALLEY AND THE COMMISSION FOR THE FRONTIERS OF ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

The first reference to the Romanians of the Timok Valley in the discussions of the Commission for the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia was made on 22 February 1919 during the discussion with the Romanian Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu⁷. The Commission wanted to find out the arguments on the basis of which Romania was claiming the whole province of Banat, over which Serbia was also making claims. Brătianu’s arguments focused on the economic unity of Banat and the need to preserve this economic coherence, but he referred to the ethnic problems in the area in the following form according to the meeting’s minutes:

“He next refutes the various ethnographic, political and religious arguments advanced by the Serbian representatives in support of their claims. Serbia demands her countrymen of the Banat, but will she not thus provoke an irredentist movement among the Romanian subjects of the Timok? The Romanian Government which has always discouraged the Timok people has just received a memorandum from them”.

The issue of the Romanians in the Timok Valley returned to the attention of the Commission for the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia on 11 March 1919⁸, when the British representative Sir Eyre Crowe proposed the inclusion of a paragraph on this region in the Commission’s final report:

“The Romanian Delegation has drawn the attention of the Commission to the situation of the Romanian population that live in large numbers in the north-eastern part of Serbia, and who, according to different estimates, total 300.000 people (Romanian estimate) or 130.000 (Serbian statistics). Though doing full justice to the interest of

⁶ ***, “Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Peace Conference, 1919”, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943, volume III, doc. 56, p. 833.

⁷ National Archives of the United States, M820 Roll 170, Minutes of 22 February 1919.

⁸ National Archives of the United States, M820 Roll 170, Minutes of 11 March 1919.

the Romanians in the fate of their brothers by race, now under the Serb administration, the Commission cannot believe that its jurisdiction extends so far as to intervene in the internal affairs of an Allied country, whose territorial rights are not questioned. However, it wishes to express its confidence and hope that the Serb Government will assure the Romanian population the same rights as those enjoyed by Serbs under the Romanian administration”.

The representative of France Mr. Laroche questioned the timing of the British representative’s introduction of this paragraph, pointing out that the Romanian Prime Minister referred to the Romanians in the Timok Valley only as a counter-argument to Serbia’s claims on Banat. According to the French representative, the Romanians in the Timok Valley enjoyed the same rights as any other Serbian citizen – Sir Eyre Crowe’s reply was that his proposal merely expressed the hope that the situation of the Romanians in the Timok Valley would be improved. The British position was supported by the US representative Dr. Clive Day, the second British representative Alan Leeper also stressed that Romanians in the Timok Valley do not enjoy the best treatment from the Serbian authorities. French representative Mr. Laroche conceded, saying that since the British delegation had information on the situation in the area it could only support a measure aimed at protecting the rights of national minorities. This view was also shared by the Italian representative, so that the insertion of the paragraph on Romanians of the Timok Valley in the Commission’s final report was approved.

The Commission discussed the Romanians in the Timok Valley once again on 18 March 1919 - this time on the right bank of the Timok River, when the question of the border between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria was raised⁹. Regarding the Vidin region the Drafting Committee pointed out that:

- a) The Committee recognizes that the attribution to an Allied State of the Bulgarian territory comprised in the angle formed by the Timok and the Danube would facilitate the establishment of direct relations between Romania and Serbia by permitting the construction of a railway from Zajecar to Vidin which would be connected at the latter place with the Craiova-Bucharest railway.
- b) It notes, nevertheless, that this district connection can be realized further north by the construction of a Romanian railway connected with the Serbian railway which follows the valley of the Timok.
- c) It considers that as the district of Vidin contains important elements of Romanian population, its attribution either to Serbia or Romania is not desirable, as being likely to raise the question of the Romanians of Timok.
- d) It decides in consequence that it is not advisable to modify the existing frontier in this district.

This approach was promoted by the French General Le Rond who wanted to create a direct rail link between Craiova and Thessaloniki, with the idea of connecting transport between the allied states supported by France (Yugoslavia, Romania and Greece). The question of the Romanians on the right bank of the river

⁹ National Archives of the United States, M820 Roll 170, Minutes of 18 March 1919.

Timok (Bulgaria) was discussed again at the Commission meeting of 20 May 1919, when the British representative Sir Eyre Crowe repeated the argument that the Romanians in Bulgarian Timok could not be ceded to Romania without creating problems with the Romanians in Serbian Timok¹⁰. Also, Bulgarian Timok could not be ceded to Yugoslavia even in part without stirring up new protests from Romania.

The issue of the Romanians in the Timok Valley was given the following form in the Final Report of the Commission for the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia¹¹:

“VI. Question of the Romanians of the Timok Valley

The attention of the Commission has been directed by the Romanian Delegation to the position of the large Romanian population inhabiting the North-Eastern corner of Serbia and variously stated as numbering 300,000 (Romanian estimate) and 120,000 (Serbian statistics). While appreciating the interests taken by the Romanians in the fortunes of their co-racials under the Yugoslav administration, the Commission cannot admit that its competence extends to interference in the internal affairs of an allied country whose territorial rights are not contested; but it expresses the confident hope that the Government of Yugoslavia will assure to the Romanian population the same rights as those which will be enjoyed by the Yugoslavs under Romanian rule”.

LAST HOPE: LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The above paragraph contains the essence of the debates in the Commission on the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia: the Paris Peace Conference could not decide on the frontiers of an Allied State recognised as such before the outbreak of war. The fate of the Romanians in the Timok Valley was initially left to the good relations between Romania and Yugoslavia by the last sentence expressing the hope that the Romanians in the Timok Valley would enjoy the same rights as the Serbs in Romania.

In the long run, the hope for the respect of the rights of the Romanian minority in Yugoslavia was to use the provisions of the Treaty on Minorities, which was drawn up by the Commission on New States established on 1 May 1919. Despite the opposition of the Eastern European states, which considered that accepting a treaty that would check domestic policy measures was a violation of national sovereignty, treaties were eventually signed that placed the protection of national minorities under the guarantee of the League of Nations (Poland 28 June 1919, Czechoslovakia 10 September 1919, Yugoslavia 10 September 1919, Romania 9 December 1919, Greece 10 August 1920). The rights of national minorities guaranteed by these treaties were the following: free exercise of religion, equality before the law, free use of mother tongue, right to establish their own organisations, state education in

¹⁰ National Archives of the United States, M820 Roll 170, Minutes of 20 May 1919.

¹¹ National Archives of the United States, M820 Roll 170.

mother tongue in areas inhabited by a majority minority¹². The protection of Romanians in the Timok Valley under the auspices of the League of Nations was a failure in the interwar period, ethnic assimilation started before the First World War continued through the school and the church, the Romanian-Serbian bilateral treaties referring to the situation of national minorities were endlessly negotiated and without practical effect¹³.

THE ROUTE OF AN ABANDONMENT

The decision-making mechanism of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference was one in which the views of the affected states – whether allies or enemies - were unlikely to be taken into account. The principles set out by US President Woodrow Wilson proved far too generous to be easily put into practice. The decisions of the Council of Four (US President Wilson, British Prime Minister Lloyd, French President Clemenceau, and Italian Prime Minister Orlando) were considered by special committees proposing practical solutions. In turn, the members of these committees based their work on a series of historical, geographical, demographic, and economic studies carried out before the end of the war, at least in the case of US and British diplomats¹⁴. The work of the commissions was secret, representatives of the affected states could be invited to express their views, but they did not have access to the documentation and work of the commissions. Another level of discussion was informal: the British and American representatives coordinated their actions in the committees discreetly and supported each other¹⁵.

The issue of Romanians in the Timok Valley does not appear in the preliminary studies to the Paris Peace Conference by American and British experts – for Washington and London diplomats the appearance of this Romanian population in Serbia during the negotiations was a surprise. While the problems of the Romanians of Transylvania and Bessarabia were known internationally and there was a large bibliography dedicated to them, including in languages of international circulation, regardless of the orientation of the studies, in the case of the Romanians of the Timok

¹² Helmer Rosting, “Protection of Minorities by the League of Nations”, *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 17, no. 4 (Oct. 1923), pp. 641–660.

¹³ Teodor Dan Arhire, *Românii timoceni în prima jumătate a secolului XX [Romanians of Timok in the first half of the 20th century]*, Centre for Studies on Romanian Resources, Bucharest, 2008.

¹⁴ See

1. Constantin Ardeleanu, “Bessarabia at the End of World War I – The Handbook of the Historical Department, Foreign Office (1919)”, *The Annals of the Lower Danube University of Galati, History*, no 9/2010, pp. 91–117;

2. Constantin Ardeleanu, “Transylvania and The Banat At The End Of World War I – The Handbook Of The Historical Department, The Foreign Office (1919)”, *The Annals of the Lower Danube University of Galati, History*, no 10/2011, pp. 55–99;

3. Lawrence E. Gelfand, *The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace, 1917–1919*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963.

¹⁵ Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, London, 1933.

Valley studies were just beginning to appear, and this in Bucharest itself, where there should have been a much greater interest in their compatriots south of the Danube.

This lack of information was compensated by a memorandum published in Paris by Atanasie Popovici in French in which a historical, geographical and demographic portrait of the Romanians of the Timok Valley was sketched. In response, Belgrade launched a counter-memorandum by Tihomir Georgevič “The Truth about Romanians in Serbia” which supported the thesis of Romanian immigration south of the Danube and the fact that studies on the Romanians in the Timok Valley had been started by Austrian researchers whose aim was to break the Serbian-Romanian friendship¹⁶. The memoranda mentioned here did not achieve their objectives, they were not taken into account in the discussions of the Commission for the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia, where the representatives of the Great Powers preferred to rely on the studies carried out by the experts of their own diplomatic corps.

Another issue that marked the fate of Romanians from the Timok Valley at the Paris Peace Conference was the attitude of the Romanian representatives. Ion I.C. Brătianu’s interventions were limited to proposing that the Romanians of the Timok Valley be considered an exchange with the Serbs of the entire province of Banat. Brătianu’s main objective was to obtain the whole of Banat, but at the same time he tried to avoid antagonising Belgrade too much – in the end he did not succeed in obtaining the whole of Banat, and the fate of the Romanians in the Timok Valley remained with no international guarantees.

The Commission for the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia has thus limited itself to inserting a paragraph in the final report on the frontiers of Yugoslavia which does no more than recommend a regime of reciprocity between Romania and Yugoslavia with regard to the rights granted to national minorities. This paragraph was not included in the final text of the treaties drawn up on the basis of the recommendations made by the Commission for the Frontiers of Romania and Yugoslavia. The main reluctance of the Great Powers to suggest a solution for the Romanians in the Timok Valley (beyond the fact that Romania's representatives did not make any clear demands) was based on the idea that the borders of an allied state, which had been established before the outbreak of the First World War, could not be discussed.

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¹⁶ V. C. Constante and Anton Golopenția, *op. cit.*

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THE ROMANIAN COMMUNITY IN SPAIN. SHORT PRESENTATION

Alin Bulumac¹⁷

ABSTRACT

The Romanian community in Spain represents the largest community in Spain (18,61%), surpassing the community of Moroccans, a demographic reality that resulted from the large migration movements registered after 1990. This article purpose is to describe in a synthetic manner, the issues of those Romanians who chose to emigrate to Spain, as part of Romania's economic diaspora. Starting from the law of sociological parallelism, the importance of the chosen theme is given by the fact that the phenomenon of migration indirectly represents an indicator of an internal imbalance of the Romanian nation, and directly, the magnitude and constancy of the phenomenon show that the mirage of the transition to democracy preserved the degraded status of the elites as well as the degrading status of the Romanian people. We will try to describe the current status of the Romanian nation succinctly using two key concepts: vitality (Nicolae Iorga) and nation (Dimitrie Gusti), both applied on the background of the law of sociological parallelism (Dimitrie Gusti).

Keywords: nation, diaspora, Spain, migration, sociological parallelism.

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

It is well known that every nation tends to have its own independent life which gives it a distinctive advantage over other nations¹⁸. Currently, national sovereignty is no longer a strict political issue, but a matter that manifests itself in all fields of action¹⁹. An economically subjugated country, subjugated to foreign enterprises, indebted to other countries, is no longer fully in control of its destiny, even if politically it enjoys a government, a constitution, and a political organization²⁰. Among all the manifestations of a nation, economic activity is the one that most ties a nation to its land, because all the resources that the environment provides, rightfully belong to the nation and are to be used according to the needs and level of development of the nation. An economic life ceded to foreigners has two unfortunate

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¹⁸ Dimitrie Gusti, "Știința Națiunii" ["Nation's Science"], in *Romanian Sociology*, year 2, nr. 2–3, February-March 1937, p. 49, Available at: <https://sas.unibuc.ro/storage/downloads/Na%C8%9Biunea-5/DG37a.STIINTA.pdf>, Accessed on December 13, 2022.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

consequences: firstly, it is the unlimited exploitation of wealth, thus drying up the livelihood possibilities of future generations, and secondly, “some activities alien to the nature and stage of organic development of that nation”²¹, which leads to “internal disequilibrium and the disaggregation of the national community”²². Economic manifestations are therefore not random elements in the life of a nation, but constitutive parts through which a nation can preserve itself and develop but can also find its political degradation or even destruction²³.

How do we know if a nation is developing or consuming? The historian Nicolae Iorga gives us the answer to this question, through the concept of vitality:

“True vitality is not when a man of great abilities, a Genghis of that time or a similar leader of today, challenges it, but when it succeeds on its own, from the mass of the people. (...) It must come from below, to reach the one who organizes and leads. Then there is vitality in a people, when even without a leader and organization, it is able to achieve something”²⁴.

So, depending on the opportunities that a people have or acquires over time to manifest its internal vitality, the state can have a double role: a positive one, when it protects and encourages the unfettered manifestation of vitality in order to adapt and /or the change of certain states of fact, and a negative role, when the (over imposed)²⁵ elites of the state they do not facilitate the materialization of the organic manifestations of society. In the second case, the concrete consequence is as undesirable as possible, for without vitality, the state ceases to exist:

“Between the state and society there must be an osmosis, natural if the state is the emanation of society. Osmosis is impossible if the state is not the emanation of this

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Hotare și spații naționale. Afirmarea vitalității românești [Borders and national spaces. Affirmation of Romanian vitality]*, Porto Franco Publishing House, Galați, 1996, p. 223.

²⁵ “On the one hand, we have the Romanian race, with its past, identical in all the countries it inhabits, an honest, kind-hearted people, capable of truth and patriotism. We then have a superimposed blanket over this people, a kind of sediment of scumbags and cockroaches, born from the mixture of Eastern and Western streams, incapable of truth and patriotism (...) having neither traditions, nor homeland, nor determined nationality, we see them placing themselves at the discretion of foreigners (...) Inflamed with an instinctive hatred against all the historical and autochthonous elements of this country, I have seen them introduce into all branches foreign laws adapted neither to its interests nor to its nature. (...) But what is the sign by which these unassimilated people, of Transdanubian origin, are distinguished from the racial population? We ask that this be established in all points. We say by physical and intellectual sterility. (...) We then find in them permanent symptoms of intellectual weakness. With them, the mind is replaced by cunning. Cunning is a sign of weakness, for the true human mind is directly related to the ability to disinterestedly grasp a truth. Falsity should be mentioned as a weakness of character. Friendly, sticking up and flattering anyone they need, they really hate any superior power, either intellectual or character.”, in Mihai Eminescu in „Time”, July 29, 1881, in *Opere*, Vol. XII, Academy Publishing House, 1985, pp. 266–268.

society and does not make the effort to adapt to it. (...) Without the vitality of society, the state disappears”²⁶.

Therefore, the phenomenon of emigration, if it does not experience a decrease in the pace we are witnessing until now, can constitute a real national security problem because through the emigration of the most effervescent social categories (both biologically and professionally) the very core of national vitality is moved outside the political borders of the Romanian state and we end up witnessing a historical fact that no one predicted 100 years ago. More precisely, if in 1918 the Romanians from all the Romanian provinces as well as those from the regions inhabited by Romanians gathered or sent representatives to Alba Iulia in order to achieve the Great Union (thus constituting a nucleus of vitality), the centenary of the Great Union is witnessing a dissolution of this core of vitality, a dissolution that is not limited only to the level of ideas and national feelings, but also to the most basic, biological level: the massive emigration of Romanians in order to ensure a better life. Starting from this state of affairs and focusing on the Romanian community in Spain, we want to answer to five basic questions: (1) who they are, (2) when did they choose to emigrate, (3) how did they succeed, (4) what was the motivation behind choosing to leave Romania and (5) in which areas did they settle in.

WHAT IS THE NATION?

The nation is the only social unit that achieves itself, in the sense that it does not require a more comprehensive social unit for its full realization, being able to create its own world of values, to establish a goal in itself and to it finds the means of accomplishment, that is, the force of organization and progress in its own composition²⁷. The special significance of the nation is given by the fact that it sums up all the creative efforts of individuals²⁸.

“The nation is a voluntary synthetic creation, a social unit, which represents a voluntary system with a cosmic, biological and psycho-historical motivation, with social will as the *causa movens* of the nationalization process and with creative manifestations, in the spiritual, economic, legal realm and political of the national life, which forms the national culture”²⁹.

Therefore, we could say that each individual who decided to emigrate, in relation to the Romanian nation, represents nothing more than a cell of Romanian vitality, which together with other Romanians in the diaspora, form true communities of Romanian vitality.

²⁶ Nicolae Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

WHO ARE THEY?

As a result of Romania's accession to the European Union and the opening of borders, the tendency to emigrate has increased significantly among the working population. Thus, at the level of 2007, approximately 82% of the emigrant workforce from Romania was concentrated in Italy and Spain³⁰. In 2010, Romanians represented almost half of Spain's immigrants (840,682)³¹, and the next step was to represent 1% of the total workforce in Spain in 2013³². Over time, by building networks based on family or neighborhood criteria, the number of Romanians choosing Spain as their destination grew exponentially, and that became a real phenomenon. Thus, on June 30, 2018, the year of the centenary, the community exceeded 1 million people^{33,34}. Moreover, compared to the other communities of foreign emigrants on the territory of Spain, at the level of 2020, Romanians came to represent the largest community³⁵, surpassing that of the Moroccans: 1.079.468 (18,61% from the total number of foreigners) or 1.074.868 according to other sources³⁶, to which are also added those who "have no documents, work without a contract or spend short periods of the year with relatives in Spain"³⁷ – 400.000 (according to the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the level of 2018).

At the time of 31.12.2020 the demographic situation in Spain³⁸ registered a total of resident emigrants of 5,800,468 people, of which 3,535,964 came from the EU area, and 2,264,504 from outside the EU. As for the Romanians, out of the total resident emigrants, they do not only represent the largest community, but also represent approximately one third of the total foreign residents in the EU (30.52%) and almost half of the total foreign residents outside the EU (47.66%).

³⁰ Editors of CEPS Projects Sociais, "National Report Romanian immigrants in Spain", December 2011, Available at: <https://www.participation-citoyenne.eu/sites/default/files/report-spain.pdf>, Accessed on November 15, 2022.

³¹ "Even though the 2.012.553 of EU Nationals that lived in Spain in 2010 represented the 40,85% of migrants, that figures Romanian immigrants on the first place with 840.682 inhabitants (17,06%), far from the second European country, United Kingdom, with 228.829 inhabitants", in *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³² "Migrants for work in Spain and Italy represent, according to Eurostat, approx. 1% of the labor force in Spain and 2% of the labor force in Italy, competing with the Moroccans, occupying the first 2 places among the total number of immigrants from these countries", in *Ibid.*, 16.

³³ Editors of Periodico el Rumano, "Câți români sunt în Spania și câți dintre ei sunt activi pe piața muncii, statistici 2018" ["How many Romanians are in Spain and how many of them are active on the labor market, 2018 statistics"], in *Rumano en Espana*, December 14, 2018, Available at: <https://www.periodicoelrumano.es/cati-romani-sunt-in-Spania-si-cati-dintre-ei-sunt-activi-pe-piata-muncii-statistici-2018/>, Accessed on November 15, 2022.

³⁴ Romanian Embassy in Kingdom of Spain, Available at: <https://madrid.mae.ro/node/769>, Accessed on November 16, 2022.

³⁵ Ministerio de Inclusión, Seguridad Social y Migraciones, "Estadística de extranjeros residentes en España" [Statistics on foreign residents in Spain], p. 4, Available at: https://extranjeros.inclusion.gob.es/ficheros/estadisticas/operaciones/concertificado/202012/Principales_resultados_residentes.pdf, Accessed on November 15, 2022.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Table 1. Age groups (2019)³⁹

Total		0 to 15 years		16 to 64 years		65 years and above	
Total	Average age	Total	Average age	Total	Average age	Total	Average age
1.070.090	37,3	122.404	8,8	919.708	40,0	27.978	70,1

The data of the Spanish structures fail, however, to determine the dominant type of residence in the case of Romanians, most likely due to the unregistered employment that our compatriots turn to at the beginning of their emigration.

“According to data published by the Permanent Immigration Observatory (March 28, 2018), 1.030.054 Romanian citizens have registered legal residence in Spain, according to a press release issued by Bucharest City Hall”⁴⁰.

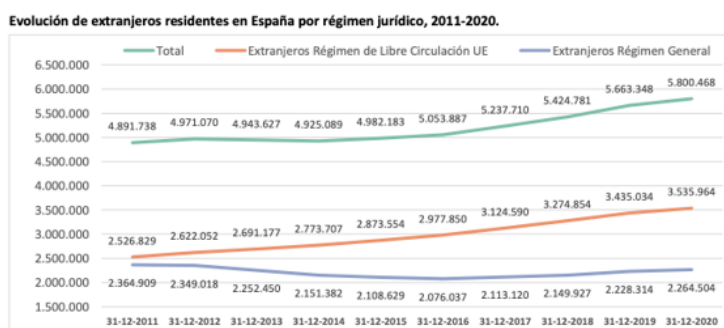


Figure 1. Evolution of residents in Spain 2011–2020⁴¹

Table 2. (Residence regime)⁴²

EU citizens + AELC (European Free Trade Association)							
Total	Work for the employer	Self-employed work	Non-profit residence	Studies	Familial	Undetermined reason	Permanent residence
1.070.090	100.625	8.183	34.424	5.517	65.865	601.839	253.637

In terms of professional skills⁴³ of Romanians who have chosen the path of emigration, the following aspects can be noted:

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Andrei Mihai, “Câți români locuiesc oficial în Spania. Numărul este foarte mare” [“How many Romanians officially live in Spain. The number is very high”], in *Cluj News*, November 7, 2018, Available at: <https://www.stiridecluj.ro/social/cati-romani-locuiesc-oficial-inSpanianumarul-este-foarte-mare-1>, Accessed on December 12, 2022.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ “In the harsh economic context (in the period between 1990 and 2002 the employed population declined by 44% and more than 3.5 million jobs vanished, most dramatic decreases being registered in industry) of these first years of Romania’s democratic transition, highly qualified, young emigrants obtained long-term, legal residence in various European countries, but, more and more unskilled or poorly qualified persons from rural areas began to seek (mostly temporary) migratory arrangements”, in *Ibid.*

1. Between 1990 and 2002, approximately 44% of the employed population in Romania with higher qualifications in fields related to industry chose to emigrate.
2. If in the first period (1990–2002) the people who emigrated were highly qualified, after 2002 those who emigrated were increasingly from rural areas [unskilled].

In other words, after 2002 the appellative/label of “strawberries pickers”, which was applied to Romanians who went to Spain, appears frequently in the collective mind.

From a geographical point of view, at the level of 2015, the data showed that Romanians oriented towards Spain as a country of destination came from the following regions: Moldova (18%), Banat (17%), Dobrogea (16%), while those fewer who left were from the Bucharest-Ilfov region. The percentages have undergone substantial changes over the years, so that in 2020, those who chose Spain as their country of emigration came from the area of Muntenia and Transylvania, while Moldovans chose Italy as their preference.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMMUNITY

Of the total number of Romanians present on the territory of Spain (1,079,468 – at the time of 31.12.2020), the Romanian population able to work represents 85.94%.

We present in the following the distribution for the years 2011–2020 of the Romanian population in Spain which, without exception, increased from year to year, as well as the distribution by age groups in 2020, where we observe high numbers not only among the active population, but also among minors. Thus, of the total Romanian population, the active, able-bodied segment represents 85.94%, children 11.43% and seniors 2.61%.

Table 3. Situation per year (population/year)⁴⁴

1.079.726	1.070.090	1.054.458	1.030.054	1.005.564	979.245	953.183	928.217	915.673	910.657
2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011

To highlight the pace at which these figures were reached, the demographic evolution of the Romanian community in Spain looks as follows:

Table 4. Demographic evolution of the Romanian community in Spain⁴⁵

YEAR	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011
Population	1.079.726	1.070.090	1.054.458	1.030.054	1.005.564	979.245	953.183	928.217	915.673	910.657
Absolute Variation	9.636	15.632	24.404	24.490	26.319	26.062	24.966	12.544	5.016	71.318
% Variation	0,90%	1,48%	2,37%	2,44%	2,69%	2,73%	2,69%	1,37%	0,55%	8,50%

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

HOW DID THEY MANAGE TO GET TO SPAIN?

Spain was the first EU country to lift all employment restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens⁴⁶, and this context was conducive to the emergence and development of the migration phenomenon regarding the Romanian community in Spain.

“It is important to remember that, in 1999, 50% of the Spanish population was in favor of Romania joining the EU, while, on the other hand, only 26% of the French population”⁴⁷.

In the context of this openness on the part of the Spanish state, but also of the almost total absence of the Romanian state in this regard, the Romanians in the kingdom became more and more numerous. And their presence in Spain was due to efforts supported and coordinated by entire networks of family and acquaintances located throughout the continent. The migration phenomenon created in itself, beyond the numerous communities of Romanians, new methods, and tools to manage the new reality. Against the background of the absence of help from the official institutions, the informal “institutions” took this role and developed and adapted it to the reality outside of Romania in order to provide answers to the basic questions for all those who want to start on this path. The most important institution turned out to be the family⁴⁸, and their informal ways of communication between families generated real networks of information and support across European continent.

Not only that, but the institution of the family also took on the mission of emotionally managing the new and harsh reality (the break from familiar people, familiar places, customs, etc.). Since this institution has expanded its activity in many branches, there are also natural gaps in what it should protect, namely the national identity among children. This is mainly due to the fact that not all communities have the possibility to study the Romanian language and, where it is possible, it takes place in a limited number of hours⁴⁹.

In order to integrate into the labor market in Spain, most Romanian emigrants showed caution and made sure before their arrival that they benefited from:

- 1) relations in the area
- 2) a promise of work
- 3) an amount of money to support themselves until they find something to work

⁴⁶ “Spain is the first EU countries to lift all restrictions on employment for citizens of Romania and Bulgaria.”, in Rafael Viruela Martínez *The Romanian migrants in Spain, an exceptionally migratory flow*, Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276528028_The_Romanian_Migrants_in_Spain_An_Exceptional_Migratory_Flow, Accessed on December 15, 2022.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Editors of *Adevărul*, “A doua generație de români în Spania” [“The second generation of Romanians in Spain”], October 24, 2020 in *Adevărul*, Available at: https://adevarul.ro/international/inlume/videodouageneratieromaniSpania1_50ba026f7c42d5a663af9747/index.html, Accessed on December 15, 2022.

“(…) more than 60% of emigrants from the Madrid area and 53% of those from the Rome area had or had secured their departure before: certain relationships (32% in the case of Spain and 25% in the case of Italy), had the promise of a job (21 % in Spain and 19% in Italy) or/they had the money ready (9% in both cases) to manage to live and look for a job”⁵⁰.

Beyond the external manifestations of the family (support, support, communication) triggered with the creation of the phenomenon of emigration, the plane of immaterial reality becomes a new concrete reality in the lives of individuals. So that the value, importance, and role of the family is rediscovered, de facto, through the institutional absence of the Romanian state.

“The case of Romanian migration does not show any difference in the development of networks, but it is different if we look at the nodes that form these networks: in general, at the center of these networks we do not find the ‘individual’, but the ‘family’, which plays a decisive role in understanding comprehensive of the migration process. According to Suarez and Crespo, the family is used to acquire information and provide material and emotional support, creating a ‘family pattern’ of migration that can be observed in data on family structures”⁵¹.

In other words, the institutional absence of the state forced the “inner” forces of the family to manifest themselves outside it, to preserve and develop the family’s ability to adapt and create new realities. But, despite the rediscovery of the family essence, a weakening of the Orthodox Christian background can be identified, which leads to the emergence of a phenomenon of spiritual dilution of these families and their life principles. In other words, the emigration of Romanians to Spain can be read in a distinct note, that of a double assimilation: identity and spiritual.

The Adventist community had a special role in developing and strengthening support networks for Romanian immigrants in Coslada or in Castellón, but, as Sandu points out, the network of support is, in this case, social and familial rather than religious⁵². In this regard, future research focusing on who are and how the main family “agents who intermediate and recommend” others for future employment are and operate may prove interesting because, from an institutional perspective, the “human resource office” became the heart of the family.

“Empirical research carried out in different regions shows that at the beginning of their stay in Spain, family members and friends are the main source of information

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ „Cazul migrației românești nu arată nicio diferență în dezvoltarea rețelelor, dar este diferit dacă ne uităm la nodurile care formează aceste rețele: în general, în centrul acestor rețele nu găsim „individul”, ci „familia”, care joacă un rol decisiv în înțelegerea cuprinzătoare a procesului de migrație. Potrivit lui Suarez și Crespo, familia este utilizată pentru achiziționarea de informații și oferă, de asemenea, suport material și emoțional, creând un „model familial” de migrație care poate fi observat în datele referitoare la structurile familiale”, in *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

for job vacancies; they act as intermediaries and pass referrals and sometimes act as a guarantee for candidates to the potential employer”⁵³.

WHY DID THEY LEAVE?

The main reason why Romanians chose to emigrate was the decrease in the ability to preserve and sustain the family, complemented by two other problems⁵⁴:

- a. lack of infrastructure (hospitals, roads, administration, public order) and
- b. that of meaning in life.

Several studies on Romanian migration also pointed out that:

“Romanian migrants preferred locations where the native population was perceived to be more understanding, allowing foreign workers to live in normal conditions”⁵⁵.

One of the main (but not the most important) reasons for leaving Romania turns out to be the difficult financial situation that generated the emigration of a family member, which in turn generated the emigration of other family members to reunite the family⁵⁶. But it was not the economic factor that generated the feeling of blockage, but the impasse and the dangers to which the “idea” of the family was exposed: the lack of tools by which it can be taken care of.

“Thus, approx. 69% of the respondents from the Madrid area and 68% from the Rome area declare that the main reason for leaving was money, more precisely the lack of it. The second reason is family reunification (14% in the case of migrants from Rome and 15% in the case of those from the Madrid area)”⁵⁷.

With the difficult and long transition to democracy, Romania lost a good part of its skilled workforce, along with the demolition/sale of the national industry. All these skilled people had no choice but to go abroad, which later led to the emigration

⁵³ „Cercetările empirice efectuate în diferite regiuni arată că la începutul șederii lor în Spania, membrii familiei și prietenii sunt principala sursă de informații pentru locurile de muncă vacante; aceștia acționează ca intermediari și transmit recomandări și uneori acționează ca garanție pentru candidați potențialului angajator”, in *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ Editors of *Rumano en Espana*, “Ce spun Românii despre emigrarea în Spania? Cu sufletul între două lumi: Mesaje emoționante și dureroase” What do Romanians say about emigrating to Spain? [“What do Romanians say about emigrating to Spain? With the soul between two worlds: Emotional and painful messages”], in *Rumano en Espana*, October 11, 2021, Available at: <https://www.periodicoelrumano.es/ce-spun-romanii-despre-emigrarea-in-Spania-cu-sufletul-intre-doua-lumi-mesaje-emoționante-si-dureroase/>, Accessed on December 15, 2022.

⁵⁵ „migranții români au preferat locațiile în care populația nativă a fost percepută ca fiind mai înțelegătoare, permițând lucrătorilor străini să „trăiască în condiții normale”, in *Ibid*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*.

⁵⁷ „Astfel, cca. 69% dintre respondenții din zona Madrid și 68% din zona Roma declară că motivul principal al plecării au fost banii, mai precis lipsa lor. Al doilea motiv este reîntregirea familiei (14%) în cazul migranților din Roma și 15% în cazul celor din zona Madrid”, in *Ibid*.

of the rest of the family members, who did not necessarily have the same high level of qualification, but rather turned to seasonal jobs, especially in agriculture.

“In the harsh economic context (between 1990 and 2002, the employed population fell by 44% and more than 3.5 million jobs disappeared, the most dramatic declines occurring in industry) of these first years of democratic transition of Romania’s highly skilled young emigrants have obtained long-term legal residence in various European countries, but more and more unskilled or low-skilled people from rural areas have started to look for (mostly temporary) migratory arrangements”⁵⁸.

Regarding seasonal jobs, in 2008, Romanians occupied the first position among contract employees in the field of agriculture.

“According to the Aliens Law (Organic Law 4/2000 of January 11, 2000, Article 42.4), temporary jobs should preferably be directed to countries with which Spain has signed agreements to manage migratory flows. The employment of seasonal workers from the country of origin became more important at the beginning of the 21st century. Initially, Morocco and Poland sent most of the workers; from 2003 to 2008 Romania occupies the first position, despite the recent reduction in the number of contracts”⁵⁹.

In addition, since 2003, Spanish entrepreneurs began to prefer Romanian workers because, with the integration of Poland into the EU, Polish workers became less sought after for financial reasons, while Moroccans were considered a community more prone to conflicts and restrictions. Similarly, the decision to hire work force from Romania rather than any Latin American country with which Spain had signed agreements proved much more profitable, as the Spanish government required the contractors to bear part of the cost of travel to employee, to the country of origin⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ „În contextul economic dur (în perioada 1990–2002, populația ocupată a scăzut cu 44% și au dispărut peste 3,5 milioane de locuri de muncă, cele mai scăzute dramatice înregistrându-se în industrie) din acești primi ani de tranziție democratică a României, înalt calificați, tinerii emigranți au obținut ședere legală pe termen lung în diferite țări europene, dar tot mai mulți oameni necalificați sau slab calificați din zonele rurale au început să caute (în cea mai mare parte temporare) aranjamente migratorii”, in *Ibid*.

⁵⁹ „Conform Legii de Extranjerie (Legea Organică 4/2000 din 11 ianuarie 2000, articolul 42.4), locurile de muncă temporare ar trebui să fie direcționate de preferință către țările cu care Spania a semnat acorduri pentru gestionarea fluxurilor migratori. Angajarea lucrătorilor sezonieri din țara de origine a devenit mai importantă la începutul secolului al XXI-lea. Inițial, Marocul și Polonia au trimis majoritatea lucrătorilor; din 2003 până în 2008 România ocupă prima poziție, în ciuda reducerii recente a numărului de contracte”, in *Ibid*.

⁶⁰ “Entrepreneurs prefer Romanian workers, since Poland’s integration to the EU made the Polish workers less ‘interesting’ for them²² and because the employers’ perceptions of the Moroccans which depicted them as a group more prone to conflict and repining. Similarly, it is cheaper to hire workforce from Romania rather than from any Latin American country with which Spain has signed agreements, because the Spanish government requires that the entrepreneur supports a part of the travelling cost for the worker to the country of origin.”, in *Ibid*.

WHERE DID THEY SETTLE?

One of the important criteria for Romanians in choosing their final destination was the size of the community in which they were to integrate. Thus, it can be observed that the Romanians chose to settle in localities with an average of less than 10,000 inhabitants, predominantly rural⁶¹. This can show the fact that there is a need for integration among the Romanian communities and not one of dissipation, characteristic of mechanical solidarity.

Also, also from a geographical point of view, Romanians have created over time approximately 2 relatively compact areas in Spain: 25% of them are in the Madrid region, and 20% in the Aragon and Lerida provinces⁶².

At the national level, the geographical distribution of Romanian communities is as follows (2018):

- 1) Madrid: 217.354
- 2) Andaluzia: 161.289 | >170.000⁶³
- 3) Valencia: 153.178
- 4) Catalonia: 135.989
- 5) Castilla-La Mancha: 104.149
- 6) Castilla y León: 43.203
- 7) Aragón: 82.450
- 8) Murcia: 17.047
- 9) Basque country: 24.823
- 10) Navarra: 10.804
- 11) Extremadura: 17.194
- 12) Asturia: 11.043
- 13) Rioja: 15.746
- 14) Cantabria: 8.719⁶⁴
- 15) Alicante: 3.000 [approximately]⁶⁵.

Out of 51 Spanish provinces, in 39 of them Romanians are in the top three most numerous communities, most of them settling in economically prosperous areas. Moreover, they sought out rural areas, which were not as attractive to other foreign immigrants.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

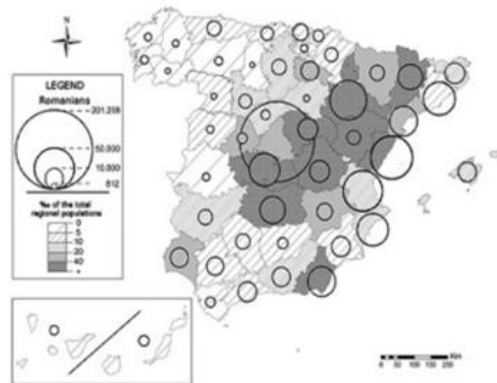
⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Department of Romanians from everywhere, “A doua zi a vizitei secretarului de stat Oana Ursache în Regatul Spaniei” [“The second day of the visit of the Secretary of State Oana Ursache to the Kingdom of Spain”], April 14, 2021, Available at: <http://dprp.gov.ro/web/a-doua-zi-vizita-Spania/>, Accessed on November 10, 2022.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ A. Rădulescu, “Luminița Mihai, profesoară de limba română la Alincante: vreau ca acești copii să știe despre trecutul țării noastre și despre geografia ei” [“Luminița Mihai, Romanian language teacher in Alicante: I want these children to know the past of our country and its geography”], October 27, 2022, Available at: <https://ziarulromanesc.es/luminita-mihai-profesoara-de-limba-romana-la-alicante-vreau-ca-acesti-copii-sa-stie-si-trecutul-tarii-noastre-si-despre-geografia-ei/>, Accessed on October 9, 2022.

“The Romanian community has become one of the most important communities in Spain, not only in absolute numbers, but also in spatial distribution, being one of the three largest in 39 of Spain’s 51 provinces and the largest community in 24 of them”⁶⁶. “Romanian citizens have the particularity of being a vast and diffuse presence in rural areas and small towns that, until now, were less attractive for immigrants”⁶⁷.



Source: INE, *Padrón de Habitantes* [www.ine.es]. The North African cities of Ceuta and Melilla (16 respectively, seven Romanian residents) are not represented. Graphic design: C. Andrés Langa.

Figura 2. – The geographic distribution of the Romanian population in Spain (January 1st 2009).⁶⁸

Among all the provinces of Spain, we have the largest concentrations of Romanians in the provinces⁶⁹:

1. Madrid: 217.354;
2. Valencia: 66.085;
3. Zaragoza. 62.480;

Among the Romanians in Spain, 25% are found in Madrid and 20% in the provinces of Aragon and Lerida. This could mean (hypothesis) that the 25% of Romanians probably come from the big cities of the country and are used to/looking for certain elements specific to a functional city: predictability, cleanliness, quiet, order, good feeling, style (architecture), market strong economy, etc. There is also a chance that these 25% do not know each other very well, except on a limited level, which may indicate a type of organic solidarity.

⁶⁶ „Comunitatea românească a devenit una dintre cele mai importante comunități din Spania, nu numai în număr absolut, ci și în distribuția spațială, fiind una dintre cele trei cele mai mari din 39 din 51 de provincii din Spania și cea mai mare comunitate din 24 dintre ele”, in *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ „Cetățenii români au particularitatea de a fi o prezență vastă și difuză în spațiile rurale și orașele mici care, până în prezent, erau mai puțin atractive pentru imigranți”, in *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Rafael Viruela Martínez, “The geographic distribution of the Romanian population in Spain”, Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-geographic-distribution-of-the-Romanian-population-in-Spain-January-1-st-2009_fig3_276528028, Accessed on October 9, 2022.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

“Of the entire Romanian community in Spain, about a quarter (25%) live in Madrid, and in the province of Aragón with its capital in Zaragoza and the autonomous province of Lerida, about 20% live”⁷⁰.

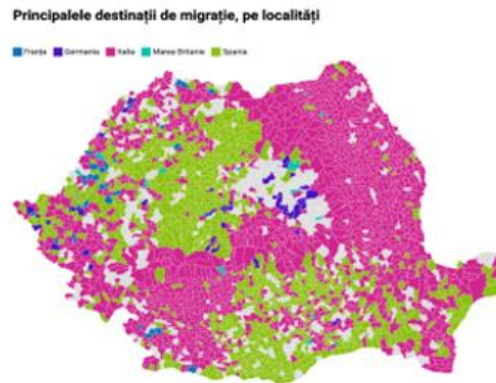


Figure 3. Synthetic map of migration from Romania (2015).⁷¹

On the other hand, another quarter of the Romanian population in Spain chooses to “retire” to less populated residential cities, which do not have strong economic flows and where coexistence is closer to the principle of mechanical solidarity.

“As for the Romanians, a quarter of them live in localities with less than 10,000 inhabitants. A similar proportion of Romanians lives in residential towns. Thus, the presence of Romanian citizens is notable, especially in small municipalities; in rural communities (population less than 2,000 inhabitants), this constitutes at least a quarter of the foreign population, that is, double compared to Moroccans”⁷².

Also, beyond the Romanians from Romania, there are also those from the Republic of Moldova, who chose Spain as a destination for having a better living. Out of the approximately 4 million inhabitants of the Republic of Moldova, 1,5 million Bessarabians are abroad, that is, approximately 38%.

“(…) 1.5 million Bessarabians from Italy, Spain, Romania, Canada”⁷³.

⁷⁰ „Din întreaga comunitate românească din Spania, aproximativ un sfert (25%) locuiesc în Madrid, iar în provincia Aragón și cu capitala la Zaragoza și provincia autonomă Lerida, locuiesc aproximativ 20%”, in *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Alina Mărculescu Matîș, “O altă hartă a României: peticele de Europă aduse acasă de diaspora” [“Another map of Romania: the patches of Europe brought home by the diaspora”], in *Panorama*, July 15, 2021, Available at: <https://panorama.ro/obsesie/alta-harta-romania-diaspora-europa/>, Accessed on November 11, 2022.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Editors of Romanian Global News, “Mircea Popescu despre alegerile din Basarabia: Speranța sunt cei aproximativ 1,5 milioane de basarabeni din Italia, Spania, România, Canada” [“Mircea Popescu on the elections in Bessarabia: The hope is the approximately 1.5 million Bessarabians from Italy, Spain, Romania, Canada”], in *Romanian Global News*, June 6, 2021, Available at: <https://rgnpress.ro/2021/06/02/mircea-popescu-despre-alegerile-din-basarabia-speranta-sunt-cei-circa-15-milioane-de-basarabeni-din-italia-spania-romania-canada/>, Accessed on November 11, 2022.

CONCLUSIONS

The main reasons why Romanians chose to emigrate represent the needs that the Romanian state failed to satisfy among all citizens, being at the same time basic elements of the manifestation of vitality: infrastructure (from hospitals, roads, public order to administrative infrastructure) and securing a purpose in life.

The lack of these elements supporting the national vitality made it possible that in the year of the centenary (2018) the historical regression showed that in Spain alone there were over 1 million Romanians, who at that time represented 1% of the active population in Spain and relative to the population of Romania, approximately 5%⁷⁴.

As for the Romanians, out of the total resident emigrants, they do not only represent the largest community, but also represent approximately one third of the total foreign residents in the EU (30.52%) and almost half of the total foreign residents outside the EU (47.66%).

One of the most important aspects is the fact that in relation to the total number of Romanians in Spain, the working population represents 85.94%, which shows the fact that beyond the level of significant remittances, in Spain there is one of the most active nuclei of vitality.

Not least, (1) *relations* in the area, (2) *a promise of work* and (3) *an amount of money* to support themselves until they find something to work represent the three elements of transfer of vitality from Romania to Spain. From this perspective, these three elements could represent the key to reversing the trend of emigration towards a step of immigration, back to Romania.

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⁷⁴ National Statistics Institute, “Populația după rezidență” [“Population by residence”], Available at: https://insse.ro/cms/sites/default/files/com_presa/com_pdf/popdom1ian2018r.pdf, Accessed on November 14, 2022.

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THE PERILS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH. TRANSNISTRIAN ROMANIANS REFLECTED IN THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY CONDUCTED BY ANTON GOLOPENȚIA AND IN THE FILES OF SOVIET REPRESSION

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ABSTRACT

During the Second World War, the Central Institute of Statistics in Bucharest carried out a series of surveys in the territories of the Soviet Union under military administration between 1941 and 1944. The survey was coordinated by sociologist Anton Golopenția, director of the Research Office of the Central Institute of Statistics, with the aim of identifying the ethnic Romanians in the Soviet Union. The team led by Anton Golopenția produced a sociological monograph of the village of Valea Hoțului in the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (RASSM), which remained in manuscript until 2006. These studies lack references to Soviet repressions against the local population before the outbreak of the war, so we will try to establish what Romanian researchers actually have learned about these repressions in comparison with the data from Soviet archives that have been made public so far.

Keywords: Anton Golopenția, Romanians in Soviet Union, Transnistria, Soviet repression.

INTRODUCTION

The research carried out by the team led by Anton Golopenția east of the Dniester and Bug rivers between 1941 and 1944 constitutes an extremely detailed image of the situation of ethnic Romanians in the Soviet Union. The research carried out during the census of the Romanian population in this area sought to establish the main coordinates of the communities according to the principles of the monographic school founded by Dimitrie Gusti.

The reader of the research reports by Anton Golopenția's team is impressed by their penetrating depth, coherent methodology and attention to detail – but at the same time they lack accounts of important events: the famine of 1932–1933, the Stalinist purges of 1937–1938, mass emigration – in general the repressions of the Soviet state against the population across the Dniester. These events were close to the time when the researchers led by Anton Golopenția arrived in the Romanian villages east of the Dniester, events that were of a mass nature and affected the entire population of the region – but they do not find their place in the research reports that were preserved.

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The idea of a census of Romanians east of the Dniester was discussed on several occasions by General Ion Antonescu during the meetings of the government in Bucharest and was implemented at the end of 1941, the objective being to carry out a population exchange according to the plan drawn up by Sabin Manuilă, director of the Central Institute of Statistics⁷⁶. The field research project was entrusted to Anton Golopenția, director of the Research Office of the Central Statistical Institute.

THE TEAM AND RESEARCH IN THE VILLAGE OF VALEA HOȚULUI

Between 1941 and 1944 the composition of the research team led by Anton Golopenția east of the Dniester River changed several times. Here we present the researchers who participated in the field data collection in the village of Valea Hoțului. On 19 December 1941, the following people left Bucharest for Tiraspol, in addition to Anton Golopenția: Ion Apostol, Nicolae Betea, Gheorghe Bucurescu, Dumitru Corbea-Cobzaru, Nicolae Economu, Nicolae Marin-Dunăre, Corneliu Mănescu, Petre Mihăilescu, Ion Oancea, Gheorghe Retegan, Tudor Alexandru Stoianovici, Bucur Șchiopu - all members of the Research Office of the Central Institute of Statistics. They were joined by the student George Popescu (who was fluent in Russian) and the doctor Traian Georgescu⁷⁷. Anton Golopenția selected his collaborators for this project from his former students who had participated during previous years in sociological research in Romanian villages. The composition of the team was relatively balanced in terms of political orientation, as Golopenția recalled during his investigation after the end of the war, with Stoianovici, Mănescu, Betea, Corbea, Șchiopu and Oancea being considered left-wing; Economu, Bucurescu, Marin-Dunăre, Apostol were considered right-wingers, while Retegan and Golopenția were considered apolitical⁷⁸. In reality the “left-wing leanings” of some of the team members were much more than mere affinities, many of them were members of the illegal Romanian Communist Party and had certain pro-Soviet sympathies.

In these circumstances, the question of scientific methodology was raised from the very beginning of the trip: how was Soviet society to be approached? The methodology was recorded in contemporary documents, and survivors still remember it many years after the events⁷⁹. Following a discussion involving all team members it was decided that the elements of comparison would be between the Soviet and Tsarist regimes, so the comparison was kept within the same space. The

⁷⁶ Marcel-Dumitru Ciucă, *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri guvernarea Ion Antonescu [Minutes of the Council of Ministers Sessions Antonescu s Government]*, Vol. V, National Archives of Romania, Bucharest, 1996, p. 130.

⁷⁷ Anton Golopenția, *Românii de la est de Bug [Romanians East of the Bug]*, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, Vol. I, p. XLV.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁷⁹ Anton Golopenția, *Românii de la est de Bug [Romanians East of the Bug]*, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, Vol. II, pp. 454–458.

preferred working method was the interview, with each team member setting the questionnaire under the supervision of Anton Golopenția, and in the evening the results of the day's research were presented. Anton Golopenția ensured the objectivity of the research, with all issues being checked repeatedly through cross-examination and by contacting as many informants as possible.

Anton Golopenția intended to start researching the Romanian villages east of Bug in the winter of 1942, but the German military authorities did not allow him to do so. Until the situation was clarified, the research team began a sociological survey of the village of Valea Hoțului on the left bank of the Dniester. The research from Valea Hoțului was prepared for publication in two editorial drafts that have been preserved as manuscripts⁸⁰.

The first such editorial project was entitled “Notes on the Soviet rural administration and on the problems raised for the Romanian administration of the territory between the Dniester and the Bug, drawn up following the survey of the Valea Hoțului (Ananiev), January–March 1942”. The articles written by the members of the team led by Anton Golopenția deal with each of the issues addressed according to the methodology described above: under tsarism, under Soviet rule and during the Romanian wartime administration. The problems investigated concern the organisation and functioning of the judiciary, health care, the commercial and credit system, the organisation of schools, the administration of the kolkhozes and demographic policy.

The second editorial project was called “Valea-Hoțului, a village in the Moldavian Republic. Research undertaken under the direction of Anton Golopenția, in collaboration with the Institute of Social Sciences of Romania, on the occasion of the census of Transnistria (January–March 1942)”. Some of the articles in manuscript for this editorial project are expanded versions of those in the above-mentioned project. The topics covered are generally similar: crafts and industry, Soviet administration, church and faith, education, demography, justice. What is striking about these materials is the lack of any reference to Soviet repression. The mechanisms of administration, justice, economy, and education are presented neutrally, with no mention of the violent way in which they were imposed. In the case of the kolkhozes, they are presented only from an institutional point of view, leaving aside their recent history of confiscation of property and punishment of peasants who refused to become members of the kolkhozes, etc.

SOVIET REPRESSIONS AS SEEN BY GOLOPENȚIA'S TEAM

In a report from the beginning of 1942⁸¹ Anton Golopenția analyses in several pages in great detail the question of the number of Romanians who were east of the

⁸⁰ Anton Golopenția, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 291–584.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–39.

Dniester River. The main purpose of this report seems to have been to try to systematize as much as possible the census of the Romanians in the Soviet Union, who had undergone an intense process of ethnic assimilation over several generations, and Anton Golopenția found that there were a large number of people who were in the process of renouncing their Romanian ethnic identity. The causes of this process are identified in the deportations practiced by Imperial Russia, in the famine organized by the Soviets, in the collectivization and the repression of those who opposed it, while Golopenția emphasizes especially the role of the school in the ethnic assimilation of Romanians in the Soviet Union.

In 1942 Gheorghe Bucurescu wrote a report in which he describes the population losses in the Transnistrian villages of Tarnauca, Sukleia, Caragaci and Butur as a result of deportations, killings by the Soviet army and famine orchestrated by the Moscow authorities⁸². This report is based on information provided by residents of the villages in question, who are well informed about such details (including a mayor and a doctor), some of whom were themselves victims of Soviet repression. Gheorghe Bucurescu's report shows, based on the figures provided by his informants, that 1480 people (out of a total of 13651, more than 10%) were deported by the Soviets from these 4 villages. 521 people died in the first famine in 1921–1922, 239 others during the second famine in 1933. This report by Gheorghe Bucurescu is extremely important because it is the only one of its kind in the entire preserved archive of research carried out by Anton Golopenția's team east of the Dniester. The fact that the report was compiled following systematic research carried out in several localities, is based on several informants, is structured in well-defined categories – all this indicates a “premeditation” of this direction of research, an extensive planning and deployment over time of the collection of information of this kind, we are not dealing with some information obtained accidentally. Several such reports may have been compiled, but only one has been preserved to this day. This report is all the more important as it stands in stark contrast to the lack of this kind of information (Soviet repression of the Romanian population on the left bank of the Dniester River) in most of the other data collected by Anton Golopenția's team. In another instance, a report on the census carried out specifically in Transnistria (that it is between the rivers Dniester and Bug) mentions for December 1941 that 9,8% of the population was missing due to the deportations, executions, and recruitment by Soviet authorities⁸³.

Soviet repressions and ethnic assimilation mechanisms set in motion against Romanians in the Soviet Union are also reflected in several documents compiled during the research period – but apart from Bucurescu's report, these issues have not been systematically followed up. Instead, these details have remained in the memory of the surviving members of Golopenția's team almost half a century after the research was carried out. Thus, Gheorghe Retegan described in detail in an interview

⁸² Anton Golopenția, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 636–640.

⁸³ Anton Golopenția, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 33.

conducted in 1985 by Zoltan Rostas the repression of the Romanians east of the Dniester following the purges of 1938 caused by the use of the Latin alphabet for the “Moldovan language”⁸⁴.

Ion Apostol and Nicolae Economu describe in an article published in 1992⁸⁵ the decline of Romanian villages east of the Dniester as they perceived it in 1942, the explanation received from the locals at the time being that this was the effect of the collectivization of Soviet agriculture and the famine of 1932–1933; in this context a case of cannibalism during the famine is also mentioned, which was investigated by the researchers of the Golopenția team, but which did not appear in the official research reports. In another article⁸⁶, Ion Apostol recalls the fate of the churches in the town of Nicolaev, where in 1942 only one had kept its religious purpose, while three others were transformed into a shooting club, a dormitory for pupils and a mechanical repair shop – in all of them the altar was used as a toilet; other cases of destroyed churches in villages east of the Dniester are also mentioned. In the same article Ion Apostol summarises what he learned about the Soviet project to create a Moldovan language: the phonetic transcription with Cyrillic letters of the regional dialect of the Romanian language used on the left bank of the Dniester, followed by a short period of using the Latin alphabet, the purging of those who supported the use of the Latin alphabet and the return to the “Moldovan language” with the Cyrillic alphabet. In the same article, Ion Apostol returns to the famine organised by the Soviets and recalls the information gathered from a doctor in Odessa who claimed in 1942 that more than 7 million people died as a result of the famine in Soviet Union during 1932–1933.

Another member of Anton Golopenția’s team, Anton Rațiu, had the chance to recover some of the notes compiled during the research east of the Dniester, which he published in 1991⁸⁷. In one of these files, the case of the school taught in Moldovan in Novoiganitievca near Mariupol is reported. A Moldovan-language class was taught here until 1938, but during the Stalinist purges it was disbanded and the course coordinator (originally from Dubăsari) was arrested on charges of being a Romanian spy. Anton Rațiu mentions in his articles about the research east of the Dniester and the fact that the churches in the villages had been closed or demolished by the Soviet authorities⁸⁸.

⁸⁴ Zoltan Rostas, *Parcurs întrerupt. Discipoli din anii 30 ai școlii gustiene [Interrupted course. Disciples of the 30's of the Gustian school]*, s.l., Paideia, 2006, pp. 235–407.

⁸⁵ Ion Apostol, “Contribuții la cercetările etnosociologice privind așezările românești de la est de Bug (I)” [“Contributions to the ethno-sociological research on the romanian settlements East of Bug”], in *Sociologie Românească*, New Series, Year III, no. 6/1992, pp. 639–647.

⁸⁶ *Idem*, “Contribuții la cercetările etnosociologice privind așezările românești de la est de Bug (III)” [“Contributions to the ethno-sociological research on the romanian settlements East of Bug”], in *Sociologie Românească*, New Series, Year V, no. 6/1994, pp. 623–631.

⁸⁷ Anton Rațiu, “Cercetări etno-sociologice în comunitățile românești de dincolo de Bug (II)” [“Ethno-sociological research in Romanian communities across Bug”], in *Sociologie Românească*, New Series, Year II, no. 5–6/1991, pp. 375–382.

⁸⁸ *Idem*, “Cercetări etno-sociologice în comunitățile românești de dincolo de Bug (III)” [“Ethno-sociological research in Romanian communities across Bug”], in *Sociologie Românească*, New Series, Year III, no. 1/1992, pp. 63–67.

SOVIET REPRESSIONS EAST OF THE DNIESTER

The registers made public by the National Archives of the Republic of Moldova on the Stalinist purges of 1937–1938 record a number of 12 people from the village of Valea Hoțului who were subjected to political repression⁸⁹ and a number of 18 people from the village of Valea Hoțului who were sentenced by military courts during this period⁹⁰. The team led by Anton Golopenția found a population of about 10,000 people in Valea Hoțului at the beginning of 1942⁹¹, the number of 30 people subjected to Stalinist repression does not seem to be very high. However, if we consider that most of those subjected to Soviet repression were prominent people in society (teachers, doctors, heads of institutions, civil servants, etc.) it is worth noting that the Stalinist repressions in Valea Hoțului were not recorded in the observations of the team of sociologists in Romania. It should be noted here that most likely the Soviet documents relating to the repressions were not preserved or made available in full – so the number of people in Valea Hoțului who were victims of Soviet repression may have been much higher.

The famine on the left bank of the Dniester in 1932–1933 was a phenomenon that affected the entire population and represented a collective trauma that has not been recorded in the final reports compiled by Romanian sociologists. In March 1932, in the context of the famine organized by the Soviet authorities, 80 women from the village of Valea Hoțului attacked and opened the grain warehouse in Jerebeiovca railway station – one of the frequent forms of resistance against the abuses of the Soviet administration⁹². This event, which took place only 10 years before the research carried by Golopenția's team, was large in terms of the number of participants and with a high level of violence, should normally have kept a significant place in the memory of the community – yet it is not among the information collected by Romanian sociologists, at least not in the preserved manuscripts.

The Stalinist purge of 1937–1938 hit hard the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (RASSM), which included the village of Valea Hoțului. The main mechanism of this repression was the so-called “troika”, an extra-judicial tribunal made up of the local NKVD chief, the general secretary of the communist party and a prosecutor. The “troika” examined files compiled by the NKVD and handed down death sentences or prison sentences based on percentages set by the NKVD

⁸⁹ National Archives of the Republic of Moldova, *Colecția documentelor persoanelor supuse represiunilor politice în perioada regimului sovietic totalitar [Collection of documents of persons subjected to political repression during the totalitarian Soviet regime]*, Chișinău, 2022.

⁹⁰ National Archives of the Republic of Moldova, *Colecția documentelor persoanelor condamnate de către tribunalele militare [Collection of documents of persons sentenced by military tribunals]*, Chișinău, 2022.

⁹¹ Anton Golopenția, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 493.

⁹² Igor Cașu, *Dușmanul de clasă. Represiuni politice, violență și rezistență în R(A)SS Moldovenească, 1924–1956 [Class enemy. Political repressions, violence, and resistance in the Moldovan SSR, 1924–1956]*, Cartier, Chișinău, 2014, p. 71.

leadership in Moscow. In the RASSM, two parallel lines of repression were carried out: the so called “kulak operation” (against rich peasants and those opposing the kolkhozes) and the “Romanian operation” (against those suspected of having links with Romania, this was directed in particular against Romanian speakers in the region). The figures for these repressions are as follows according to incompletely preserved files: in the “kulak operation” 4,762 people were tried by the RASSM troika, of whom 3,497 were sentenced to death and executed, 1,252 persons were sentenced to prison and for 13 persons it was decided to re-examine the charges; in the “Romanian operation” 2,185 persons were arrested, of whom 1,389 were sentenced to death and executed, 752 persons were sentenced to prison and for 44 persons it was requested a re-examination of the charges⁹³. The total of 4,886 people executed and 2,004 sentenced to prison in a one-year period for political reasons following closed-door trials could not have gone unnoticed in the RASSM.

CONCLUSIONS

Members of Anton Golopenția’s team who researched the situation of Romanians east of the Dniester between 1941 and 1944 learned about the repressions carried by the Soviet administration before the war. This is visible in several reports in which information was collected about the famine of 1932–1933 and the purges during the great Stalinist terror of 1937–1938. However, at the same time, no reference to these issues is made in the materials intended for publication, most likely as a conscious decision to exclude issues related to persecution by the Soviet administration from field research.

This decision seems to have been a fortunate one, given that the vast majority of Anton Golopenția’s team members were arrested, investigated, and sentenced to prison after the end of World War II. Their research east of the Dniester did not constitute an indictment in its own right, but the investigators of the new Soviet-style regime in Romania were extremely interested in the details of this research and repeatedly inquired about the sociologists’ research in Soviet territory. Anton Golopenția died in prison in 1951 without having been tried and sentenced⁹⁴, while the rest of the team managed to survive prison and even to publish some of their memoirs after the fall of the communist regime in Romania. No doubt the fate of the Romanian researchers would have been much harsher if the pro-Soviet investigators had found information, they had collected reflecting Moscow’s repression of Romanians east of the Dniester.

⁹³ Gheorghe Negru and Mihai Tașcă, “Represiunile politice din RASSM în anii 1937–1938” [“Political repressions in the RASSM in 1937–1938”], in Sergiu Musteață, Igor Cașu, *Fără termen de prescripție. Aspecte ale investigării crimelor comunismului în Europa [Without a statute of limitations. Aspects of the investigation of the crimes of communism in Europe]*, Cartier, Chișinău, 2011, pp. 429–456.

⁹⁴ Anton Golopenția, *Ultima carte [The Last Book]*, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001.

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SADU – SIBIU COUNTY. A BRIEF DIVE INTO THE THEORETICAL APPROACH OF THE RESEARCH

Radu Baltasiu⁹⁵

ABSTRACT

During July-August 2022, the Vulcănescu Summer School of Sociology conducted field research in Sadu, county of Sibiu. It resulted a complex Research Report of which we will extract a few pages. The “Purpose and Methodology” are of particular importance since they envisage a unified theoretical perspective: the Gustian modernized procedure. The second chapter illustrates some findings from all methods used – quantitative and qualitative. The community of Sadu is an urbanized settlement with old historical roots with active cleavage between modernity as prezenteism and tradition as a sort of idealism.

Keywords: Sadu, research, interpretative methodology.

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

The research had in mind the determination of the vitality of the community, the community’s potential for growth, in Sadu commune, Sibiu County. Through community potential or vitality, we sought to determine the ability to adapt to challenges, both from the present and possible ones, the ability to coagulate for collective action and the premises. The term “vitality” denotes, therefore, the ability to adapt, but also the ability to function by preserving identity. These elements were operationalized in a database, according to Dimitrie Gusti’s law of parallelism, by determining the frameworks (potential-*cadrele*) and manifestations (transformation of frameworks into actuality, manifestation of social will - *manifestările*).

The “intersection” between frameworks and manifestations, the extent to which the geographical and human context is transformed into reality, expresses community potential, community vitality. We sought to understand this potential through the associative capacity, an aspect considered by the beneficiary of the research, Sadu City Hall. An expression of community potential is the associative capacity. The potential of association for the valorization of local resources, as a means and expression of community coherence, is the practical purpose of this research.

The sociological term by which we understand the associative coagulation of communal energies (human and non-human) is called dynamic density (Durkheim), expressed by the increased rate of interactions and the quality of encounters.

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The quality of these interactions constitutes the “moral density”⁹⁶ of a community, as opposed to its volume – the number of members. We will attempt to understand this potential through the variables that make the association possible and that denote the quality of community coherence.

The dynamic density is expressed through the associative potential, and this, in turn, through the peasant production marketed locally but also regionally/nationally, in products of a certain symbolic value (“tasty” food products but not only). What is the connection between the associative drive and the peasantry? “Peasant” means a way of being, based not only on a settled personal household, but on the exponent of a quality – that of a man of the country, of a strong community. So, the peasantry, the village, contain in them both a strong, free individuality, and a community founded in this way, of free people, strong. Therefore, the community of Sadu, if it decides to “go to market” with something specific, it must be with a “peasant” product, which, in turn, presupposes the community. And the community put to work means association - the economic core of a commune, otherwise almost devoid of its own economy, with increasingly weakened households, from which more and more people are thinking of leaving to find a job, as the research shows.

With the completed Association, the commune will enter a virtuous circle of strengthening its own vitality, its own coherence, being an almost mandatory condition for the survival of its peasant character, and even its existence, threatened with the loss of identity by the industrialized conurbation around Sibiu.

Dynamic density refers to the quality and frequency of interactions among members of a society/community. Dynamic density increases whenever the division of labour imposes specializations involving quality production, responsibility, and mutual trust. Here, the environment where trust is relevant is the agricultural production association – from the local gastronomic point to stores, which have associated networks of production, distribution, marketing, etc. We sought to identify the elements of this dynamic density with the help of the “Romanian Dimension of Existence” (Vulcănescu, „Dimensiunea românească a existenței”) and through the ontological model of being (Noica), through approximately 149 sociologically adapted indicators (quantitative and qualitative).

The teams of the Summer School of Applied Sociology “Mircea Vulcănescu” researched the Sadu commune in July 2022, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The following instruments were used: the “objective sheet of the locality”, the questionnaire, respectively, the focus group, mental maps, elements of the psychosociology of colours, photography, and observation, including participatory observation.

The locality file refers to statistical data on several basic vitality indicators, such as the labour force situation, infrastructure, demographic evolution, land

⁹⁶ Emile Durkheim, *Regulile metodei sociologice [The Rules of Sociological Method]*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1974, Chapter V.

situation, diseases, housing, budgets, cadastral division. Some of these have been correlated with the rest of the data, or are to be analyzed in further, deep research.

The questionnaire was applied to a quasi-random sample, through a sampling step, consisting of 120 people, from Sadu and Tocile. The absolute novelty of the research consisted of the simultaneous application of the questionnaire by all teams, directly in an active online database, in a participatory Excel document. The operationalization was carried out, as I have shown, according to the law of parallelism, some variables were operationalized, however, not so much in relation to Gusti as to connected theories, such as those developed by Mircea Vulcănescu, regarding the “Romanian dimension of existence”, through which I called “neointerpretive sociology”⁹⁷.

The focus group targeted a particular situation (of the locally produced bread), intended to complete the quantitative analysis through an explicit survey of the attitude toward one’s own locality. Moreover, the attitude toward one’s own locality was also determined by the technique of mental maps – a tool by which the interviewed people graphically represent their perceived order in the locality (internal maps), or of the locality in relation to other countries, towns, and villages (external maps). Thus, the qualitative research was completed by the technique of mental maps, a tool through which the research can discover the accents regarding the state of the community order and the predispositions of the inhabitants regarding its coherence.

At the border between quantitative and qualitative research was the *instant* association between colours and certain words or linguistic structures that have relevance in relation to the order and the perception of the future. Colours are decisive for the type of psychological availability and energetic vectoring of people in a community context.

SOME FINDINGS

- Sadu is a commune undergoing urbanization, marked by cultural cleavages between tradition and modernity manifested as presenteeism and the reduction of reality to financial interest, for about half of the population.

⁹⁷ Neointerpretive sociology is based on Dimitrie Gusti’s theory of frameworks and manifestations and the law of parallelism, as well as the Weberian theory of social action – as an act performed by an actor with the awareness of the fact that it impacts the other (comprehension and ideal-type). The objective of the study is also the subject. The world is seen, with equal justification, locally (the plane of local truth), and from Bucharest (which has the role of cultural main locus). The purpose of the research considers, in addition to various particular objectives, the vitality, the problematic of the community, in general, what Toynbee calls “the ability to respond to the challenges of history” – as the final indicator of the ability to preserve. Against these theoretical premises, neointerpretive sociology operates very quickly in the field, through new data collection techniques compared to the Gustian monograph, in Radu Baltasiu, Ovidiana Bulumac, Simona Motoroiu and Gabriel Săpunaru, “Metodologia neointerpretativă. Planurile analizei în teren. Raport de cercetare pe comunitatea lipovenilor din Dobrogea” [“The neointerpretive methodology. Field analysis plans. Research report on the community of Lipovans in Dobrogea”], in *Romanian Journal of Sociology*, 1–2/2009.

- The commune is considered rich, even if, individually, very few consider themselves so.
- The Sadu commune has two residential ecosystems: Tocile and Sadu. In Tocile lives a relatively rich middle class, detached from tradition, but interested in traditions.
- The economic ecosystem in which the Sadu commune is located, no matter how dynamic, is external to it: it takes the workforce, uses it, does not value it.
- Sadu has untapped potential. This will only be possible through the emergence of an economic product on a cultural vector that incorporates the identity of the area. Identity, in turn, implies the fruition of the potential for peasant cooperation. Intra-community cooperation calls for: 1) the identification (reactivation) of the idea that gathers around it like a flag, with mobilization capacity; 2) a leader, 3) the culture and ethos of the association, in turn based on pride in belonging to Sadu, not individual pride.

The associative potential is weakened. Measured on several dimensions, we note that:

- More than half of the sample does not consider it necessary to create a product collection network/association since one already exists.
- If the absolute majority is satisfied with the management of the commune, why would they like to improve it?
- A large majority do not help their neighbours, basic social relations being quite fragile.

However,

- An absolute majority is also proud to belong to the commune (“the pride of being from Sadu”),
- And a slight majority is interested in working especially for money, living in the present. Apparently, these two traits – pride and working for money, are at odds, but both are powerful driving forces of economic behavior if the message will highlight the pecuniary interest clearly enough and arouses *pecuniary emulation*.

A major obstacle to association, from the qualitative research data, is *fear*, the fear given by the confusing and oppressive-perceived *legislation*, but also by *the other*. Thus, the quantitative research showed that the legislation confuses more than half of the interviewed, while the qualitative study revealed extensive lines of intra-community fracture, generated by generalized mistrust and fear of the other.

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ASPECTS OF THE BULGARIAN INFLUENCE IN THE EUROPEAN REGIONS BELONGING TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 19TH AND THE FIRST PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Emanuil Ineoan⁹⁸

ABSTRACT

The general characteristic of the Christian populations in the Macedonian area, regardless of whether we are talking about Slavs, Albanians, or Aromanians, in the middle of the 19th century, was the Greek influence exerted in various stages on the groups mentioned above. In fact, Bulgarian propaganda came to stop the Hellenizing fervour, offering Balkan Slavs tools for identity survival in the face of Greek assimilationist actions. For the Bulgarians, sustaining their influence in the European territories that belonged to the Ottoman Empire until the outbreak of the Balkan Wars was motivated by the historical legacy of the 10th century Bulgarian tsarate. One of the most powerful Bulgarian institutions was the Church, which once through the recognition of the Exarchate within the Ottoman Empire acquired a decisive role in the heart of the Bulgarian communities in the Balkans.

Keywords: Bulgarian Exarchate, Balkans, Ottoman Empire, Hierarch Yosif Yovchev, Macedonia.

“I have written for those who love the Bulgarian people and homeland, for those who want to know the people and the language (...) But there are also those who are not interested in learning about the Bulgarian people and listen to what they hear through foreigners; they do not care for their Bulgarian language, but learn to read and speak Greek, and are ashamed to call themselves Bulgarians. Oh, mindless fools! Why are you ashamed to call yourselves Bulgarians and not learn to read and speak your language? Didn't the Bulgarians have either a kingdom or a country? (...) Of the entire the Slavic race, the Bulgarians had the greatest glory, they were the first to call themselves tsars, they became the first Christians and they also ruled over the greatest lands (...) But why, you fools, are you ashamed of your people and yearn for another language?” Monk Paisie, considered the father of Bulgarian nationalism⁹⁹.

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⁹⁹ „Am scris pentru cei ce vă iubiți poporul și patria bulgară, pentru cei care vor vrea să cunoască oamenii și limba (...) Mai sunt însă și cei pe care nu-i preocupă să afle despre poporul bulgar și pleacă urechea la ce se aude prin străini; lor nu le pasă de limba lor bulgară, dar învață să citească și să vorbească grecește și le e rușine să-și spună bulgari. O, nesăbuiți fără minte! De ce vă e rușine să vă spuneți bulgari și nu învățați să citiți și să vorbiți pe limba voastră? Oare nu au avut bulgarii nici regat și nici țară?...Din toată rasa slavă, bulgarii au avut parte de gloria cea mai mare, ei au fost primii care și-au zis țari, ei au devenit primii creștini și tot ei au stăpânit peste ținuturile cele mai mari (...) Dar de ce, proștilor, vă e rușine de poporul vostru și tânjiți după altă limbă?”, in Maria Todorova, “Cursul discursurilor naționalismului bulgar” [“The course of Bulgarian nationalist discourse”] in Peter F. Sugar, *Naționalismul est-european în secolul al XX-lea [Eastern European nationalism in the 20th century]*, Bucharest, Curtea Veche Publishing House, 2002, p. 65.

INTRODUCTION

The Slavic invasion of the 5th–6th centuries meant the breaking of Eastern Romanity into two blocs, namely the Carpathian and the Balkan. The gradual Slavization led to the disappearance of the Vlachs from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, the Dalmatian Coast, a large part of the Vlachs from Serbia, etc.¹⁰⁰. In the 19th century, we still find Romance fragments in the area of Slavic influence only in the Istrian Peninsula, the area of Timoc (the most compact and numerous group, perhaps also due to its proximity to the Carpathian block), Meglenia (an area almost completely depopulated today), as well as the Aromanian communities in the Rhodope, Rila, Pirin mountains and area of today North Macedonia (we refer especially to the regions with Slavic majorities in the Balkan area). The general characteristic of the Christian populations in the Macedonian area, regardless of whether we are talking about Slavs, Albanians, or Aromanians, in the middle of the 19th century, was the Greek influence exerted in various stages on the groups mentioned above. In fact, Bulgarian propaganda came to stop the Hellenizing fervour, offering Balkan Slavs tools for identity survival in the face of Greek assimilationist actions.

For the Bulgarians, sustaining their influence in the European territories that belonged to the Ottoman Empire until the outbreak of the Balkan Wars was motivated by the historical legacy of the 10th century Bulgarian tsarate.

BULGARIAN NATIONAL CHURCH

As in the case of the Greek propaganda, the Bulgarian one benefited from the strong support of the Church, especially manifested after the establishment, in 1870, of the Bulgarian Exarchate, a confessional valve of the Bulgarian national consciousness. The reaction of the Bulgarian Orthodox, that of rejecting the Greek hierarchy seen as a foreign, assimilating one, determined the biggest schism within the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The 1872 synodal condemnation¹⁰¹ of the “Bulgarian

¹⁰⁰ Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din Nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu, [The Wallachians of the Northern Balkan Peninsula in the Middle Ages]*, Publishing House of the Academy of the Romanian People’s Republic, 1959, passim.

¹⁰¹ The first text of the synod of September 1872 condemned to excommunication both clerics and those who “communicate or agree with the excommunicated ones”. At this point, however, Archbishop Sophronie of Cyprus introduced a nuance, easily interpretable, namely that: “only those who consciously follow the Bulgarian Church will be condemned to excommunication (...)”. The synodal condemnation of 1872 was not unanimous, however, because the second most important member in the diptych, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, at the time Cyril, refused to sign the condemnation of the Bulgarian Church as philetist, despite the pressure he was subjected to. Finally, although he was supported in his position by Russia, Patriarch Cyril would also be declared schismatic and removed from the diptychs by the Ecumenical Patriarch Anthim Koutalianos, the artisan of the synod of 1872, in Giorgios Michalopoulos, “Greek Historiography and the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate”, in Othon Anastasakis, Dimitar Bechev, and Nicholas Vrousalis (eds.), *Greece in the Balkans: Memory*,

schismatics” as Philetists canonically substantiated the fear of loss under the Greek patriarchal homophorus and other Orthodox subjects in the Balkans.

Canadian historian Andrew Rossos considered that Bulgarian propaganda represented the best articulated national strategy in the Balkans, carefully organized and strongly supported by the authorities in Sofia. Here, the central authorities worked in a Byzantine “symphony” together with the ecclesiastical ones:

“The new state and the exarchate worked as one in Macedonia. The government determined the aims and strategies of national propaganda and provided the resources, and the exarchate, with headquarters in Constantinople, dutifully carried them out in Macedonia. Financial support increased from 100,000 levas in 1881 to 574,874 in 1885 and, according to one Serbian report, to 5.5 million French francs in 1890”¹⁰².

In addition to the legalistic activity, in the spirit of the Ottoman legislation, the Bulgarian national movement also meant the militarization of a significant part of its followers, who indulged in guerrilla actions in response to the Greek aggressions. During the uprising in Krusevo in 1903, along with the irridenta sponsored by Sofia, a determined role also fell to the Vlach leaders who made common cause with the Bulgarian fighters against the Ottomans¹⁰³. The prospect of an Aromanian-Bulgarian cooperation was a serious cause for concern for Greek propaganda, which tried to inoculate the Aromanians that they were playing the Bulgarians’ game when fighting Athens, with nothing to gain from this war.

At the beginning of the 20th century, an English ethnologist described the realities encountered in Djumaya (Barakli, Serres) as follows:

“The Christian community is composed of Wallachians and Bulgarians. Both ethnicities belong to the Ecumenical Patriarchate calling themselves Greeks and support the Greek school in the city attended by 500 students”¹⁰⁴.

With such premises, Bulgarian propaganda would find a difficult opponent on the ground, however, the excellent organization of the Exarchate also provided Bulgarian propaganda with an enviable spiritual component, which would greatly

Conflict and Exchange, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2009, pp. 38–39. The philetist accusation against the Bulgarians was considered by the Metropolitan of Transylvania, Andrei Șaguna, as having no canonical foundation “I don’t see any blessed and canonical cause in this scandal of the patriarchate, because we have regulatory canons in this regard, which the patriarch does not follow and the Bulgarian people are dissatisfied with the approval of the patriarchy; the thing is natural and easy to correct, if the patriarchate will respect and guard the canons and their interpretations from Pidalion, otherwise he stands ashamed before the Orthodox Church” – Andrei Șaguna to Calinic: The Metropolitan of Moldova and Suceava (27th December 1870, Sibiu) in *Andrei Șaguna. Correspondence*, First Edition, Introductory Study and Notes by: Nicolae Boșan, Ioan Vasile Leb, Gabriel Gârdan, Pavel Vesa, Bogdan Ivanov, Cluj-Napoca, Clujeană University Press, 2005, p. 254.

¹⁰² Andrew Rossos, *Macedonia and the Macedonians. A History*, Stanford University, Hoover Institution Press, 2008, p. 77. However, it should not be understood that Macedonia will acquire a Bulgarian physiognomy only after 1870, there was a vast school network long before that, in D. Mitcheff, *La verité sur la Macedoine [The truth about Macedonia]*, Berne, 1918, p. 27.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁰⁴ George Frederick Abbot, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*, London, 1903, p. 63.

optimize its chances of success. The spiritual leadership of the Exarchate was taken over by Hierarch Yosif¹⁰⁵ beginning in May 1877, when he was enthroned as head of the Bulgarian Church, recognized by the Ottoman system as both the spiritual and political leader of the Bulgarian nation¹⁰⁶. The exarchate was the first Bulgarian national institution with a jurisdiction that would extend over almost all the territories inhabited by Bulgarians. The exarchate controlled churches, schools, but also the organization of local communities. As early as 1877, the Bulgarian Church managed to establish three bishoprics in Veles, Ohrid and Skopje. As after 1878 national success in Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia was assured, Yosif proposed that the church mission should be concentrated in Macedonia in the territories remaining under Ottoman tutelage. In the vision of the exarch:

“the national revival had to be also a religious revival that allowed the Bulgarians to listen to the word of God in their own mother tongue”¹⁰⁷.

The same High Hierarch confessed that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church had to act very wisely, attentive to its various enemies: the Ecumenical Patriarchate, associated with Greek nationalism which saw in the existence of the Exarchate a major obstacle to the Hellenization of the Bulgarian population, Serbia which had the same objectives and collaborated with the Sublime Porte, the Catholic Church that wanted to profit from the internal conflict between the Orthodox and bet on proselytizing among the Bulgarians with some local success, Austria-Hungary, the “patron” of the Catholic Church that also had certain territorial claims in Macedonia, the Western Powers that saw the Bulgarian national movement as an instrument of Russian expansion, etc. Hierarch Yosif’s strategy was based on three pillars: the willingness of the Ottoman government to accept continuous concessions to the moderates, the conservatism of the Bulgarian national movement, Russian support, the “liberator of the Bulgarians”, with whom the nation was linked by Orthodoxy and Slavic sentiment, etc. The war of 1878 caused the Ottomans’ trust in the Bulgarians to fade, and until 1883 the Macedonian dioceses were left intentionally vacant, all for the benefit of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Greek politics. Russia, for reasons of strategy, was not advantaged by the schism between the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, proposing a compromise solution, that of withdrawing the exarchate to Plovdiv or Sofia, leaving the Macedonian territories under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Yosif, however, responded negatively to the proposal, considering the departure an

¹⁰⁵ Born in 1840 with the common name Lazar Yovchev, he studied literature and law at the Sorbonne for three years. He returned to the Ottoman Empire, being the editor of the national cultural periodical *Chitaliste*. In 1872 he entered the service of the Bulgarian Exarchate as a monk, and four years later he was elected metropolitan of Lovech.

¹⁰⁶ F.A.K. Yasamee, “Religion, Irreligion and Nationalism in the Diaries of the Bulgarian Exarch Yosif”, in Celia Hawkesworth, Muriel Heppell, Harry Norris (eds.), *Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans*, London, Palgrave, pp. 203–204.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 205–206.

abandonment of the Bulgarian believers thus left prey to “Hellenization”¹⁰⁸. After 1878, the authority of the Church among the Bulgarians suffered because of the involvement of the Sofia government in the Macedonian question. The exarchate was beginning to become dependent on government subsidies once Bulgaria north of Stara Planina and Eastern Rumelia came under Sofia’s direct tutelage. State subsidies to schools and clergy in Macedonia and Southern Thrace weakened the Exarchate’s representational ties to the Sublime Porte.

In Bulgaria, power ended up in the hands of radicals or liberals who did not accept Yosif’s moderate policy, the former being considered by him to be irreligious and anti-clerical, their tolerance for partisan incursions or anti-Ottoman agitations making the Exarch unable to regain the Sultan’s trust. The tensions between these Bulgarian leaders and Russia, which unofficially abandoned them as “reds” and “atheists”, further complicated the Macedonian issue¹⁰⁹. In July 1890, Exarchist metropolitans were reinstated in Skopje and Ohrid, in 1894, two more were reinstated in Nevrokop and Veles. Yosif was pleased to have regained the ground lost in 1875. After 1886, the Ottomans also encouraged the Serbian movement as a measure to weaken the Bulgarians and divide the Slavic population. The death of Stambulov led shortly to the normalization of relations with Russia, and from 1896 to the international recognition of Prince Ferdinand as the legitimate monarch. The outbreak of war with Greece led the Porte to reward Bulgarian neutrality by appointing three new bishops at Bitolia, Debar and Strumica. The concession was balanced by the concession of generous schooling privileges to the Serbs for Macedonia. The exarch believed it was better to work for the strengthening of Bulgarian national consciousness through the Church and its schools and to postpone any change of political status in Macedonia. It was not necessary to irritate the Turks unnecessarily, he considered. On the one hand, the Bulgarian government encouraged the Exarchate to request new dioceses in the Ottoman Empire, but it also tolerated the various autonomist agitations, as well as the passage of some paramilitary troops into the Ottoman territories. The exarchate tried to develop its own policy sometimes at odds with the strategy desired by the government in Sofia. This attitude came as a result of the huge accumulated spiritual capital, which allowed him an autonomy of action for the benefit of his own parishioners. The introduction of a religious service in Slavonic by local priests carefully guided by the Bulgarian hierarchs (full bishops or vicars where the official berat were left waiting, see the attached map)¹¹⁰ provided the guarantee of a complete and solid church institution capable of gaining the adherence of ordinary Christians for centuries with a confessional tutelage, alien, after all, to the local ethos, in the present

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 205–206.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹¹⁰ Karl Strupp, *La situation juridique des Macedoniens en Yougoslavie [The legal situation of Macedonians in Yugoslavia]*, Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1921, p. 121.

case the Bulgarian one. The Greek professor Papadopoulos considered that in Strumitsa, a city in today's eastern Macedonia, on the border with Bulgaria, out of 15,000 inhabitants, 4,000 were Slavonic Orthodox Christians, but with a Hellenic national consciousness¹¹¹, proof of functional Hellenization.

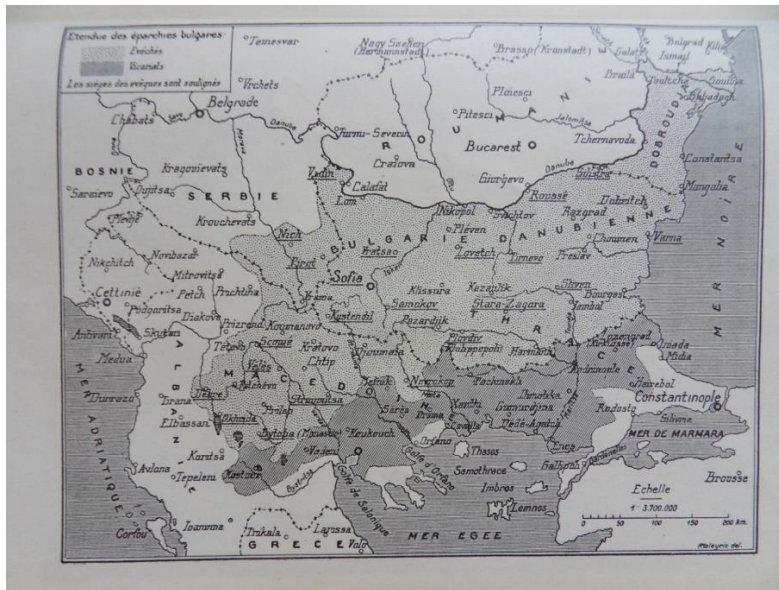


Figure 1. The Bulgarian Exarchate – the cities of residence of the episcopal seats.¹¹²

Professor Ivanoff admitted in 1906 that the Vlachs in the Meglenia area were under a strong Bulgarian influence, some villages being completely Bulgarianized, one Vlach settlement even adopting Islam, but keeping its dialect¹¹³.

If the Greeks were accused of frequently changing their students' names when registering them in the school registers, some published sources confirm that this was a practice also used by the Bulgarians in the case of Aromanian students. In a report of the Italian minister from Athens to Rome, it was stated that in 1903 the Romanian element had the Bulgarian endings -off, -eff applied to their names, and "the Koutsovlachs are considered as Greeks in Athens and as Bulgarians in Sofia"¹¹⁴.

¹¹¹ St. Papadopoulos, "Écoles et Associations Grecques dans la Macédoine du Nord durant le dernier siècle de la domination Turque" ["Greek Schools and Associations in North Macedonia during the last century of Turkish rule"], in *Macedonia Past and Present*, Institut for Balkan Studies, Salonic, 1992, p. 103.

¹¹² Karl Strupp, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹¹³ Jordan Ivanoff, *La Questionne Macedonienne [The Macedonian Question]*, Paris, p. 160, and the following.

¹¹⁴ Gheorghe Carageani, *Studii Aromâne [Aromanian Studies]*, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1999, p. 151.

BULGARIAN SCHOOLS

Under the Ottoman government in Macedonia, the Bulgarians had in 1910–1911 in the vilayets of Macedonia a number of 1359 schools with 2203 teachers and 78,519 students¹¹⁵. Another source mentioned, for approximately the same period: 13 high schools with 148 teachers and 2191 students, 87 gymnasiums with 238 teachers and 4309 students, 1273 primary schools with 1880 teachers and 72,354 students, a total of 1373 schools, 2266 teachers and 78 854 schoolchildren, as well as 1331 churches, 294 chapels, 273 monasteries with 7 bishops. The figures above appeared in a memorandum sent to the League of Nations on February 10th, 1925, by L.L. Kisselintcheeff, president of the Central Committee of the Macedonian Political Organization¹¹⁶. According to other figures advanced by A.T. Spiliotopoulos in 1902, the Bulgarians reportedly had only 592 schools with over 30,000 students. Although according to a school report issued by the school inspectorate belonging to the Bulgarian Exarchate, for the year 1896 there were an amount of 843 Bulgarian schools with 64,432 students, many of these schools were later closed until 1902¹¹⁷. According to Hilmy Pasha¹¹⁸ – general inspector of reforms (Vilayetes of Kosova, Monastir, Thessaloniki) there were 647,000 patriarchists and 557,734 exarchists in Macedonia at the beginning of the 20th century¹¹⁹. According to another Bulgarian author, in 1897 the Exarchate had 1331 churches, 1325 priests, 294 chapels and 63 monasteries in Macedonia¹²⁰. The above figures, even if different according to the sources, indicate an extraordinary progress of the Bulgarian propaganda which catches up and tends to surpass the Greek school figures.

FINAL REMARKS

In conclusion, we can observe that the entire Bulgarian influence, exercised through the Church and the School, protected the Slavic population from the specter of Hellenization, succeeding through a well-planned strategy in just a few decades, we are referring especially to the period up to 1912, to be a formidable competitor of the assimilationist policies of Greek propaganda, that targeted the populations of Slavic origin in the Balkans but also the populations of Aromanians or Albanians.

¹¹⁵ St. N. Chichkof, *L'Hellenisme dans la peninsule balkanique [L'Hellenism in the Balkan Peninsula]*, Plovdiv, 1919, p. 52.

¹¹⁶ The National Library of Romania, Fund Al. Saint-Georges, File 103, p. 82.

¹¹⁷ Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897-1913*, Salonic, Institute for Balkan Studies, 1966, pp. 19-20.

¹¹⁸ His maternal Greek origin should be noted. The confessional figures can be considered biased in accordance with the Ottoman anti-Bulgarian policy. See Nicolae Batzaria, *Din lumea Islamului [From the world of Islam]*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 99.

¹¹⁹ Douglas Dakin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹²⁰ Solaroff, *La Bulgarie et la question Macedonienne [Bulgaria and the Macedonian question]*, 1919, p. 81.

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NAE IONESCU. INTRODUCTORY DEBRIEF

*Radu Baltasiu*¹²¹

ABSTRACT

There are three levels of discussion regarding Nae Ionescu:

- 1. His contributions to the Romanian Culture.*
- 2. His contributions to the Romanian society at large.*
- 3. His relation to the king and the secret service of the time (Siguranța) and the manipulation of the public perception by the different political and agencies, Romanian and foreign.*

Keywords: Nae Ionescu, Charles the 2nd, nationalism, and philosophy.

TWO WORDS ON NAE IONESCU (1890–1940)

There are three levels of discussion regarding Nae Ionescu:

1. His contributions to the Romanian Culture.
2. His contributions to the Romanian society at large.
3. His relation to the king and the secret service of the time (*Siguranța*) and the manipulation of the public perception by the different political and agencies, Romanian and foreign.

Nae Ionescu was a student of Nicolae Iorga – another generational formator – the one of the Great War. Professor of logic until the king Charles II evicted him from the chair, in 1938, of psychology, a deep learner in theology – the founder of Romanian Neopatristics, director of “Cuvântul” (1926–1934; 1938) until the newspaper was forcibly shut by the king in 1934 and again in 1938 for good, Nae Ionescu was an essentialist realist like Pavel Florenski¹²².

In turn, he had several eminent students, among whom we list some of those with whom the professor Nae Ionescu dialogued without detours: Mircea Vulcănescu, Mihail Sebastian, Alexandru Dragomir, Paul Sterian (...).

Nae Ionescu was the most important mystical logician in Romanian culture, an educator of the golden generation of the interwar period. He was thinking almost freely of Europe in its classical languages and, on top of that, he had two advantages, so far unmatched only by Mihai Eminescu: the clarity of his mind came from the

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¹²² Dora Mezdrea in Nae Ionescu, *Teologia. Integrala publicisticii religioase [Theology. The full text of religious publicity]*, edition, introduction and notes by Dora Mezdrea, Sibiu, Deisis Publishing House, 2003, p. 6.

depth of the orthodox faith that he lived mystically and from the courage to autochthonize the perspective on the world. Yes, the world could and should have the right to be seen from Bucharest as well - logically, mystically-orthodox and from a Romanian perspective. Arrested twice by king Charles II for his political sympathies and unforgivable by Patriarch Miron Cristea for the scathing criticism of the Church's weaknesses, Nae Ionescu was the main supporter of the idea that the Romanian Orthodox Church has the power and duty to be a factor in geopolitical stability in this part of the world.

“Orthodoxy and Latinity are the two identity predicates of the Romanian being and, simultaneously, the fundamentals on which a major culture can be built, which can be equivalent, and even compete, with those of the West. Latinity, never questioned with serious arguments, as an identity predicate, could be capitalized, over time, in terms of creation and spirituality. Orthodoxy, however, our main identity predicate, has been challenged and forced, especially in the age of imitation positivism, the nineteenth century, to retreat only to places of worship. What none of Romania's modern thinkers dared to do was daring Nae Ionescu: the restoration of Orthodoxy in its cultural and cultural rights. Orthodoxy, he specifies, is not only the true faith, the only one that can bring us salvation; it is also a *Weltanschauung* proper to the Romanian being: ‘Orthodoxy is an integral part of our very soul structure; not as a conscious, active element, but as an organic and mechanized component. We are Orthodox in the same way we are Romanians, in the same degree *we are*. It is our tradition, it is our way of behaving, of understanding and capitalizing on existence’, he wrote in 1926. Therefore, being so deeply impregnated in our being, it can also offer a model of construction of the social structure and because there are correspondences between the religious structure of a nation and the forms of political organization that it and can give to itself, as he explicitly states in a conference of October 28, 1929, entitled *Religious Renaissance*. The spiritual and cultural fulfillment of the national being is, according to Nae Ionescu, the main objective that the new Romanian state can establish. The reason for its existence, not the reason for the state”¹²³.

¹²³ „Ortodoxia și latinitatea sunt cele două predicat identitare ale ființei românești și, totodată, fundamentale pe care se poate construi o cultură majoră, care să poată echivala, și chiar concura, cu cele din Apus. Latinitatea, niciodată pusă în discuție cu argumente serioase, ca predicat identitar, a putut fi valorificată, în decursul timpului, pe planul creației și al spiritualității. Ortodoxia însă, principalul nostru predicat identitar, a fost contestată și silită, mai ales în veacul pozitivismului de imitație, al XIX-lea, să se retragă doar în lăcașurile de cult. Ceea ce nu a îndrăznit să facă nici unul dintre gânditorii moderni ai României a cutezat Nae Ionescu: restaurarea ortodoxiei în drepturile ei culturale și în cele culturale. Ortodoxia, arată el, nu este numai *adevărata credință*, singura care ne poate aduce mântuirea; ea este și un *Weltanschauung* propriu ființei românești: «Ortodoxia face parte integrantă din însăși structura noastră sufletească; nu însă ca un element conștient, activ, ci ca o componentă organică și mecanizată. Suntem ortodocși în același fel înc are suntem români, în același grad în care *suntem*. E tradiția noastră, e felul nostru de a ne comporta, de a înțelege și a valorifica existența», scria el în 1926. Prin urmare, fiind atât de adânc impregnată în ființa noastră, ea poate oferi și un model de construcție a structurii sociale și politice, deoarece există corespondențe între structura religioasă a unui neam și formele de organizare politică pe care acesta și [l]e poate da, după cum afirmă explicit într-o conferință din 28 octombrie 1929, intitulată *Renașterea religioasă*. Împlinirea spirituală și culturală a ființei naționale este, după Nae Ionescu, principalul obiectiv pe care și-l poate stabili noul stat românesc. Rațiunea existenței sale, nu rațiunea de stat.” in Dora Mezdrea (ed.), *Nae Ionescu și discipolii săi în Arhiva Securității [Nae Ionescu and his disciples in the Security Archive, Vol. I: Nae Ionescu]*, Bucharest, Mica Valahie Publishing House, 2008, pp. 20–21.

Regarding the relationship between the state and Nae Ionescu, there are few considerations to be made:

1. Nae Ionescu firmly believed that the state is strong only as long as it is based on the cultural fulfillment of the national being (see above).
2. Since Nae Ionescu did not agree with the Charles' personal rule and later, with the royal dictatorship, this thesis did not agree with the Royal Camarilla and Nae Ionescu was put under surveillance¹²⁴. Meanwhile, Romania was becoming a police-state.
3. Almost all the surveillance reports were out of reality as their pledges were void of any data but full of allegations and rumors. In fact, the *Siguranța*, and *Securitate* later on, were constructing their own field of research made of their own allegations.

Nae Ionescu became the owner of "Cuvântul", a first-rank newspaper in 1928 and an ardent militant for the return to power of king Charles II.

In the beginning he was an adviser of king Charles II in his first years (1930–1933). A good businessman, he successfully represents in Germany the interests of Nicolae Malaxa – one of the strongest industrialists in Romania¹²⁵. The main "result" of this collaboration is his splendid villa in Băneasa, confiscated by Antonescu in 1941¹²⁶. As well, Nae Ionescu was a representative of I.G. Farben in Romania¹²⁷.

Nae Ionescu was arrested in 1934 and liberated after the intervention of Nicolae Iorga¹²⁸, and forcibly interred by the regime of Charles II twice, in 1938 – when he became a political detainee¹²⁹ and 1939. His newspaper was suspended twice by the king in 1934 and 1938. He was continuously monitored by the intelligence services from 1927 until long after his death (!) – from 1942 are the last reports. The surveillance is resumed by the communist regime in 1953¹³⁰, when the old dossier is reactivated and filed as a threat to the new order, file number 1178¹³¹. Both stages of surveillance are related to the "criminal potential of the thinker"¹³². For both regimes, the Carlist and the communist were criminalizing thinking. Notably, the Prime Minister, Armand Călinescu, recognized that "We arrest Nae Ionescu again (the thing with Brâncoveanu) [he had told some friends that the king

¹²⁴ His most fierce enemies were Elena Lupescu, the king's mistress and Nicolae Titulescu, the foreign minister, see Dan Ciachir, *Gânduri despre Nae Ionescu, [Thoughts on Nae Ionescu]*, 4th edition, afterword by Răzvan Codrescu, Bucharest, World of Faith Publishing House, 2018, pp. 96–97.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹²⁶ Dora Mezdrea, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 233.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, Document 195, p. 227.

¹²⁸ Dan Ciachir, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹²⁹ Alexandru Surdu in Nae Ionescu, *Opere, I, Cursuri de Metafizică [Works, I, Courses in Metaphysics]*, 2nd edition, revised and added. Introductory study by Acad. Alexandru Surdu, edited by Dora Mezdrea and Marin Diaconu, Bucharest, Romanian Literature Museum Publishing House, 2019, p. 16.

¹³⁰ Dora Mezdrea, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 7.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² „Potențialitate[a] penală a gânditorului” – as Dora Mezdrea put it, after scrutinizing all surveillance documents available of both Siguranța (1927–1942) and Securitate (after 1953).

will have the fate of the ruler]”¹³³. In fact, data offered by the CNSAS regarding the informative surveillance of Nae Ionescu showed that “Nae Ionescu’s mere discipleship is enough to incriminate someone....”¹³⁴.

Besides the surveillance was affected by serious ineptitude of different sorts. Overall, the informative reports are a series of repetitions of the oldest by the most recent. Most of the reports were full of phantasmagoric stories, the personal opinion of the analyst taking precedence over data. For instance, Nae Ionescu’s ties with his former colleagues during his studies in Germany were interpreted as relations with first-rate Nazi politicians; his revenues and properties were astonishingly overrated or straightforwardly invented – as it was the case with the so-called property – a blockhouse in Balcic, or the 4 million worth Mercedes etc.¹³⁵; the *femme fatale* Elena Baston – his would-be mistress, important sponsor and “German spy” was an allegation, which disappears in the last reports on Nae Ionescu etc.¹³⁶. Two clear types of information emerge, though, from these reports: firstly, **Nae Ionescu was not a member of the legionary movement, a far-right politician:**

“To the disappointment of those looking for evidence of Nae Ionescu’s ‘legionarism’, we will see that they do not exist in the files kept by CNSAS¹³⁷ today: no doctrinal texts, written or published during his lifetime, no statements of affiliation, no other incriminating documents. His sympathy for the legionary movement, which is not the same as his affiliation, and much less to be confused with the philosopher’s solidarity with the nefarious actions of some of its representatives, seems to be to some extent responsible for the ambiguity of his position, of which, at least in part, the authorities of the time were aware”¹³⁸.

¹³³ „Armand Călinescu confirmă, în *Însemnările sale politice* în dreptul datei de 12 ianuarie 1939, că adevăratul motiv al reținerii lui Nae Ionescu este ceea ce se numește un *delict de opinie*: «Arestăm din nou pe Nae Ionescu (chestia cu Brâncoveanu)», in Dora Mezdrea, *Nae Ionescu. Biografia, [Nae Ionescu. Biography]*, Vol. II, second edition, revised and added, Bucharest, Museum of Romanian Literature, 2015, p. 535.

¹³⁴ „Simpla calitate de discipol al lui Nae Ionescu e suficientă pentru ca cineva să fie incriminat; dar lucrurile care li se vor pune în seamă sunt nespuse mai grave decât acesta.” in Dora Mezdrea, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 9.

¹³⁵ See:

¹ “Document 35”, CNSAS File 73552, vol. I, f.50, July 8th 1937 and the editor’s note, in *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67, and

² “Document 36”, CNSAS File 73552, vol. I, f.52, September 3rd 1937, and the editor’s notes, in *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹³⁶ See Dora Mezdrea’s conclusions of the surveillance reports.

¹³⁷ CNSAS – *Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității* – National Council for Studying the Securitate Archives.

¹³⁸ „Spre decepția celor care caută dovezi ale «legionarismului» lui Nae Ionescu, vom observa că nici în dosarele păstrate azi de CNSAS ele nu există: nici texte doctrinare, scrise ori apărute pe durata vieții lui, nici declarații de apartenență, nici alte documente incriminatoare. Simpatia lui față de mișcarea legionară, care nu este tot una cu apartenența, și cu atât mai puțin se poate confunda cu solidarizarea filosofului cu acțiunile nefaste ale unora dintre reprezentanții ei, pare a fi, până la un punct, responsabilă față de ambiguitatea poziției sale, de care, cel puțin în parte, erau conștiente și autoritățile vremii.” in Dora Mezdrea, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 12.

Secondly, **Nae Ionescu refused any political or high-level dignities.**

Interesting enough regarding his relations with the political regime of the king Charles II were the political propositions offered to him: the chief of the secret service *Siguranța* – soon after Carol reenters Romania in 1930¹³⁹, and the Presidency of the Government – the Ministers Council, in January 1938, few months before his internment in the Miercurea Ciuc camp¹⁴⁰.

What “use” has Nae Ionescu today? – briefly:

- Learning how the reality has a *meta*-a pervasive “from above” reality, called *metaphysics* and how to use it by the mystical logic.
- Learning how to serve with astute logic and cultural arguments your country. That is, nationalism is not to be a political attitude, but a deep-rooted cultural one.
- What nationalism does it mean?

NATIONALISM. FORGIVENESS AND MYSTICISM

Two of the significant Ionescu’s themes are the pardon/forgiveness and mysticism. These are integrated into the Orthodox theology, in which Ionescu is highly interested. At the same time, Orthodoxy is intimately related to nationhood. Here is the starting point of this discussion.

Nationalism is the normal attitude of every individual, his awareness of time, space, and relationship with other kin-people alive or not:

“Nationalism is the attitude that draws all the allowed consequences from the finding of the natural and necessary fact that every human being belongs – without the possibility of evasion – to a nation. If, therefore, belonging to a nation is a natural fact, nationalism must also be a natural attitude, and absolutely not a heavy fall into sin. (That the nation, as a historical reality, is a consequence of original sin, from which history began, through which we fell into history, that is another matter!)

However, the nation is not only the logical category, but also the real community that defines each of us, the place, the framework and principle of our entire action and existence in eternity; and nationalism is not only a political doctrine (...), but a polyvalent attitude (...). Nationalism is not to be confused with chauvinism, ‘the worst sin of a race’”¹⁴¹.

When organically developed and not oppressed, nationhood forms the community of destiny (*comunitatea de destin*) It is organically related to religion, since nationalism is more than a doctrine, but an attitude¹⁴².

¹³⁹ Dan Ciachir, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁴⁰ Dora Mezdrea, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 71.

¹⁴¹ „Nu-mi voi permite niciodată să dau lecții unui neam, mai ales când e străin. Le scriu însă pentru frații mei, Români. Ca să înțeleagă ei ridiculul sinistru la care poate duce șovinismul; și ca să se ferească de acest cel mai greu păcat al unei rase”, in Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor [The Rosary of the Winds]*, Bucharest, The Rosary of the Winds Publishing House, 1990, reproduction after *The Rosary of the Winds*. 1926–1933, collection edited by Mircea Eliade [and George Racoveanu], Bucharest, National Culture Publishing House, [1937], p. 86.

¹⁴² Nae Ionescu, *op. cit.*, 2003, pp. 404–406.

Forgiveness is at the heart of the new Anthropos brought to bear by Christianity and mysticism is a spiritual technique to transcend the world of the senses and quality of the foresight (the inner sight).

We all have pride. It's hard for us to forgive, even though we know we should. But the power of the Christian religion, power in the sense that it improves man, not because he "looks" down on non-Christians, is precisely the fact that I stop judging my neighbor. Because the neighbour can be Himself, He is Him, always and permanently. Furthermore, ceasing to judge one's neighbour means forgiveness. It is more, much more than being indifferent/tolerant. And here is the huge revolution that Jesus committed on a human scale, says Nae Ionescu. This is the path from which all the hostile ideologies and messages slip. Is the Christian weak? Not at all! How so? The Saviour forgives (or not!). Here is the text:

"Christianity is the religion of love, mercy, and forgiveness. So, the religion of the weak? Of slaves? Oh, no! Rather of heroes. Of humble and anonymous heroes; of those who have defeated them, of those who are no longer theirs, but God's.

Whoever does not ask for anything for himself – is a Christian.

Whoever no longer exists through him – is a Christian.

Whoever has killed himself in his body, in his ambitions and lusts, but lives in his spirit and in his law, which is God's, – is a Christian.

But does this mean that a Christian does not exist, does not ask for anything, does not want anything, does not fight for anything? Not at all. He is, he fights and demands the fulfilment of God's law.

If your neighbour errs not seven times, but seventy times seven, forgive him. Of course. If it does, it will be wrong for YOU! If he is wrong, you have no right to condemn him; for who hath made thee a judge over thine own judgments? And whence then hast thou power to condemn and to execute judgment?

How can you gather so much strength in your soul that you take upon yourself the great sin of enthroning yourself as a master over people? So, forgive him. But we know something else:

We know that Christ, mocked, spit on, slapped, and hanged on the cross, Christ moaned, 'Forgive them, Lord, for they do not know what they are doing'. But Christ, the merciful of all, is the one who took the whip and drove away the money lenders and merchants who defiled the house of the Lord (...)

For this is exactly what is sublime in our religion: the uprooting of subjectivism and sentimentalism accustomed to center all events on ourselves, – and our absolute putting in the service of a new transcendent reality. Forgiveness in the relative field of personnel is in its place: because we do not exist as 'we', the insult that is done to us has no object, it simply does not exist. The forgiveness of the mistakes of our wrongdoers is tantamount to indifference to the harm done to us because we do not feel this evil, we do not have to feel it. Thus, forgiveness is not a moral principle, but a therapeutic method for our personal processing.

But then there is no forgiveness of sins against the law for us; it is not in our hands, but in God's hands; only God can forgive. We do not! It would be too daring, and this pride would lose us.

Stop, therefore, the lambs of God, with the waste of generosity; NO DE RE TUA AGITUR! [IT'S NOT YOUR JOB!]"¹⁴³.

Forgiveness is not achievable both mentally and factually if it is unplaced in the above-world – what we call *meta*. To be able to go to the *meta reality*, you should be a *true* believer, that is, with mystic capabilities. Peasants and children can see beyond what is seen – the worlds of innocence. The eye of the soul is the specialized organ of the mystical sight, and less the “science of books”. The inner eye, for that is what it is about, transpires in the great literature through the great foreshadowing and pre-announcements (such as Dostoevsky’s novel, for example).

Obviously, this capacity suffers a lot today, being the victim of Pharisaic, which took the form of “pragmatism” and “accounting efficiency” – the relation to reality being reduced to financial calculation, the postmodern man forgetting that the return on capital must include a contribution to the “growth of civilization”, a “sharing” of welfare, more difficult to quantify. The act of sharing, along with praying, is one of the visible manifestations of the mystical perspective.

Mystical ability belongs to the totalitarian man, or the integral man, who knows that the world here always has a correspondent in heaven, and that everything has a purpose and a calling, a natural one, each with its own face – to put it in its terms Mircea Vulcănescu, of Petre Țuțea and Ernest Bernea.

¹⁴³ „Creștinismul este religia iubirii, a milei și a iertării. Religia celor slabi deci? A sclavilor? A, nu! Ci mai degrabă a eroilor. A eroilor umili și anonimi; a celor care s-au înfrânt pe ei, a celor care nu mai sunt ai lor, ci ai lui Dumnezeu.

Cine nu mai cere nimic pentru el, – e creștin.

Cine nu mai există prin el, – e creștin.

Cine s-a omorât în trupul lui, în ambițiile și poftele lui, dar trăește în spiritul și în legea lui, care e a lui Dumnezeu, – e creștin ...

Înseamnă însă aceasta că un creștin nu există, nu cere nimic, nu vrea nimic, nu luptă pentru nimic? Deloc. El este, luptă și cere împlinirea legii lui Dumnezeu.

De-ți va greși aproapele tău de nu de șapte ori, dar de șaptezeci de ori câte șapte, iartă-l pre el. Desigur. De-ți va greși ȚIE! De-ți va greși ție, nu ai niciun drept să-l osândești; căci cine te-a pus pe tine judecător în propria ta cauză: și de unde vei lua puterea să osândești, și hotărârea să execuți?

Cum de poți aduna atâta tărie în sufletul tău, încât să iei asupra ta păcatul grozav de a te înscăuna ca stăpân peste oameni? Deci iartă-l. Dar noi mai știm ceva:

Știm că batjocorit, scuipat, palmuit și spânzurat pe cruce, Christos a gemut îndurător: Iartă-lor, Doamne, că nu știu ce fac. Dar tot Christos îndurătorul a toate e cel care a luat biciul și a gonit pe zarafii și negustorii cari spurcau casa Domnului. ...

Căci tocmai asta e sublim în religia noastră: desrădăcinarea subiectivismului și a sentimentalismului obicinuit să centreze toate întâmplările asupra noastră înșine, - și punerea noastră absolută în slujba unei realități transcendente nouă. Iertarea în domeniul relativ al personalului e la locul ei: pentru că noi neexistând ca «noi», insulta ce ni se face nu are obiect, nu există pur și simplu. Iertarea greșalelor greșiților noștri echivalează cu indiferența față de răul care ni se face pentru că acest rău noi nu-l simțim, nu trebuie să-l simțim. Așa fiind iertarea nu e un principiu de morală, ci o metodă terapeutică pentru prelucrarea noastră personală.

Dar atunci iertare pentru păcate împotriva legii nu există pentru noi; ea nu stă în mâna noastră, ci în mâna lui Dumnezeu; singur Dumnezeu poate să ierte. Noi nu! Ar fi prea mare îndrăsneală, și orgoliul acesta ne-ar pierde.

Încetați deci, mielușei ai lui Dumnezeu, cu risipa de generozitate; NON DE RE TUA AGITUR! [NU E TREABA TA!]", „Duminica”, in „Cuvântul”, November 29, 1926, in Nae Ionescu, *op. cit.*, 1990, pp. 41–42.

The mystical relation to reality is primarily an extraordinary ability to see the wholeness beyond the immediate reality, through a strong experience (not emotion, which is psychism). It is living knowledge through love.

In “Theology” – the fundamental collection of texts on the subject established by Dora Mezdrea¹⁴⁴, Nae Ionescu mentions a whole series of features of mystical perspective/capacity. We present them, punctually, in the ones below. Being mystical means:

– Credo, *quia absurdum* (I believe because it’s absurd), “that’s what Tertullian said”. *Credo ut intelligam* (I believe in order to understand).

– [The Lived Sacrifice]

“Our journeys go through Gethsemane, through the garden of the accepted sacrifice; *credo, quia absurdum* is only the painful sacrifice of the intellect, which every Christian must do: serene and with conviction; for it is the sacrifice of the flesh”¹⁴⁵.

– “Cosmic perspective in understanding and capitalizing on man . . .”¹⁴⁶.

– “Strength to meditate and to defeat ourselves...”¹⁴⁷.

– “Religious meditation” – through which we overcome the “limiting” contours of speech¹⁴⁸.

– What is beyond existence.

“[1] There are people, cultures and civilizations who believe that this sensitive reality, in which we live and, which, constitutes our immediate experience, does not exhaust our immediate existence, does not exhaust our existence;

[2] That, moreover, there are some two worlds, of which one is tangible, visible – from here – and another is intangible, invisible – from beyond –, a somewhat principle and reason for being for the tangible world.

[3] The ability of the man *here* to penetrate beyond, in this very life, is the mystical experience of each of us. The penetration of the afterlife into the life here, its presence in every moment of history, is the mystical understanding of existence.

[4] Mysticism can therefore be challenged, but with one condition: namely, those who make it realize that it challenges the very existence of religion; or, if you will, of any religion.

¹⁴⁴ Nae Ionescu, *op. cit.*, 2003.

¹⁴⁵ „Drumurile noastre merg pe la Ghetsemani, prin grădina jertfei acceptate; credo, quia absurdum este doar durerosul sacrificiu al intelectului; pe care orice creștin trebuie să-l facă: senin și cu convingere; căci e sacrificiul trupului.” in *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁶ „punctul de vedere cosmic în înțelegerea și valorificarea omului ...” *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁷ „tăria să ne reculegem și să ne înfrângem...” *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

- [5] I want to add, for the enlightened people, who imagine that they are Romanians, that our peasant, who, leaving on the road, makes the sign of the cross, bears the most categorical testimony for... mysticism¹⁴⁹.
- The ability to penetrate the invisible world:
“The ability of the man here to penetrate beyond, in this very life, is the mystical experience of each of us. It is the essence of any religion”¹⁵⁰.
 - Identifying with what is around you, the pre-eminence of knowledge and experience over the action. We know what is already in us: “To see what is, you must first become what is”¹⁵¹ – the essence of love (you become what is to be known)¹⁵².
 - The ability to be in the “*community of destiny*”¹⁵³ – the community of love of the Church is covered structurally and spatially with the community of destiny of the nation. This is Orthodoxy¹⁵⁴.
 - Changing man through love. “This transcendence of the individual, this exit from myself and this transformation [through love] into the objects given to me for knowledge is fulfilled by the gnoseological function [of love, which has another function, that of creation], the act of knowledge, that is, identification with the outside object”. – “*transformatio amoris*”¹⁵⁵.

CONCLUSIONS

If there is to be a rebuilding of our society on clever and clear-cut concepts, Nae Ionescu is to be brought to light. Culture, not any culture, the mystical attitude to properly understand reality, as a foundation for national attitude – not as a vulgar and extremist approach, but as neighbourly love. There is a chance to properly rebuild the statehood in an organic manner from these concepts: culture, mystical attitude, and nationalism, as opposed to an ideological and confused “political correctness”.

¹⁴⁹ „[1] Sunt oameni, culturi și civilizații cari cred că realitatea aceasta sensibilă, în care trăim noi și care, constituie experiența noastră imediată, nu epuizează existența noastră imediată, nu epuizează existența; [a.n.]

[2] că, mai mult, există oarecum două lumi, dintre care una tangibilă, vizibilă – de aci – și alta intangibilă, invizibilă – de dincolo -, principiu oarecum și rațiune de a fi a celei de aci.

[3] Putința omului de aci de a pătrunde dincolo, în chiar această viață, constituie experiența mistică a fiecăruia din noi. Pătrunderea vieții de dincolo în viața de aci, prezența ei în fiecare moment al istoriei, constituie înțelegerea mistică a existenței.

[4] Misticismul poate fi, deci, contestat, dar cu o condiție: ca anume, cei care o fac să-și dea seama că contestă însăși existența religiei; sau, dacă vreți, a oricărei religii.

[5] Vreau să adaug, pentru oamenii luminați, cari își închipuie că sunt rumâni, că țăranul nostru, care, plecând la drum, face semnul crucii, depune cea mai categorică mărturie pentru ... misticism.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁵⁰ „Putința omului de aci de a pătrunde dincolo, în chiar această viață, constituie experiența mistică a fiecăruia dintre noi.”, in *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ „Pentru ca să vezi ceea ce este, trebuie să devii tu, întâi, ceea ce este.”, in *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁵³ Comunitatea de destin, in *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

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THE LIFE STORY OF ELIE CARAFOLI, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AROMANIAN ELITE. A SUBJECTIVE TESTIMONY

*Emanuil Ineoan*¹⁵⁶

ABSTRACT

The document presented below in extenso belongs to the academician Elie Carafoli and was presented by him at the solemn meeting of the Romanian Academy dedicated to his 70th birthday. The text is, as we will see, an impressive testimony dedicated to his Aromanian ancestry, recording in a subjective linear course, many of the challenges that the Romanians from the South of the Danube had to go through, especially from the middle of the 19th century.

Keywords: Elie Carafoli, Romanian Academy, Aromanian, Balkans, Bitolia.

INTRODUCTION

The document presented below in extenso belongs to the academician Elie Carafoli¹⁵⁷ and was presented by him at the solemn meeting of the Romanian Academy dedicated to his 70th birthday. The text is, as we will see, an impressive testimony dedicated to his Aromanian ancestry, recording in a subjective linear course, many of the challenges that the Romanians from the South of the Danube had to go through, especially from the middle of the 19th century. The involvement of the Romanian state in the Balkans, in order to preserve the identity of the Aromanians, has been severely affected by the nationalisms of the emerging states in the area. By far, the actor with whom Bucharest had the greatest difficulty in finding some formulas for preserving the Aromanian ethnic specificity was Greece. Virulent assimilation campaigns orchestrated by the school and the Church, but also numerous para-military actions organized at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and aimed at everything that was considered non-Hellenic otherness (Aromanians, Albanians, Bulgarians) created a setting in which the cultural, but also the physical survival of the Aromanians was highly vulnerable. The intervention of the Romanian state in the area, in support of the “brothers from the south of the Danube”, as they were called at the time, went through several corridors of intervention: educational, by setting up schools for Aromanian children, diplomatic, by organizing a consular

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¹⁵⁷ Elie Carafoli in his laboratory. Picture from http://www.aviatori.ro/dict_pers.php?sel=C.

network in areas in which this element had a significant demographic weight, ecclesiastical, through the establishment of parishes and the unsuccessful attempt to establish an episcopate, cultural, through the supported foundations and societies.

BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE

Returning to the author of the document accompanying this presentation, it is appropriate to highlight some aspects that capture his biographical profile.

Elie Carafoli was born on September 15th, 1901, in Veria, an important Aromanian cultural centre, from which many Aromanian personalities originated. In the same city, Elie Carafoli attended primary and secondary school. He attended high school at the Romanian Business School in Thessaloniki and, for a few months, at the high school in Bitolia.

About the educational experience in a school financed by the Romanian state in the Balkans, Elie Carafoli notes:

“In both primary and secondary school, the education I received was purely Romanian. We had integrated into the aspirations of the Romanian people everywhere: the history and geography of the Romanians, free and oppressed, were also ours. There was a clear vision of the transformations that would come later, bringing them all together in a proud and beautiful country that would play a special role in the world”¹⁵⁸.

Despite all the romantic-nationalist nostalgia that transpires from these lines, the role of these schooling institutions in coupling the Aromanian identity with the Romanian one, in recovering the Romanianness of the Aromanian group subjected, as we mentioned, to a formidable assimilation campaign, should not be minimized.

After only a few months at Bitolia High School, this would close following the Serbian occupation of the area:

“Here I was without school and separated from my family. Suddenly the image of Wallachia appeared to me insistently, but how to get there, passing through dangerous areas in the middle of a war? I convinced two more students of the same age as me and set out from Bitolia for Bucharest, on those dangerous roads, due to the deployment of troops and the transport of war material, with all the deprivations that arose precisely from this state of war, without means of transportation, with very few supplies, but with high hopes and a lot of courage. Sometimes on foot, sometimes on trucks loaded with heavy cannons, which had to be transported from one front to another, having to endure dangerous shocks on those miserable and clogged roads, in

¹⁵⁸ „Atât în școala primară, cât și în cea secundară, educația pe care o primeam era pur românească. Ne integrasem în aspirațiile poporului român de pretutindeni: istoria și geografia românilor, liberi și asupriți, erau și ale noastre. Aveam viziunea clară a transformărilor care aveau să vie mai târziu, înmănunchindu-i pe toți laolaltă, într-o țară mândră și frumoasă, care avea să joace un rol deosebit în lume.”, in ***, *Sărbătorirea Academicianului Elie Carafoli la 70 de ani (23 decembrie 1971) [Celebration of Academician Elie Carafoli's 70th birthday (December 23, 1971)]*, Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1972, p. 31.

such conditions we were heading steadily towards our target. We went through many hardships, were stopped by the military, who were intrigued by our trip, and were often detained in barracks until instructed to continue on our way to the country. I am still impressed by the perseverance and courage with which I rushed to the goal I dreamed of; in those moments nothing would have stopped me from achieving this goal: Romania”¹⁵⁹.

It can be noticed in the text reproduced below, but also in this relevant quote, this awareness of belonging to the Romanian identity space. In fact, there is a healthy pride in Elie Carafoli’s own roots: the references in the text to the presence of the Aromanians in the Byzantine chronicles of the 10th century and other historical mentions are proof of this. Then, Elie Carafoli feels very emotionally attached to the campaign of “national awakening of Romanians in the south of the Danube”¹⁶⁰ started under the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, its protagonists forming, says the future academician:

“a bloc of resistance against parental speech in the house the Macedonian-Romanian dialect; some, especially women, spoke only this dialect”¹⁶¹.

The idea suggested by the academician is found even in the linguistic usage, the Aromanian being called by the Aromanians themselves “the language of the mother” the mother tongue, the role of women, as a conservative element, that has priority in preserving the dialect, being fully certified.

The issue of linguistic resistance¹⁶² in what concerns the Aromanians was also complicated by the religious factor, given that being an Orthodox Christian was often synonymous with one’s Greekness:

“Under Ottoman despotism, the patriotism and claims of the people of that region were confused with the religious idea, which also had implications for the use of the Greek language, the only one used in this struggle for the conquest of socio-political rights in the Ottoman Empire. This explains why the Aromanians spoke their language

¹⁵⁹ „Iată-mă fără școală și despărțit de familie. Deodată imaginea Țării Românești mi-a apărut cu insistență, dar cum să ajung acolo, trecând prin zone periculoase aflate în plin război? Am convins încă doi elevi de aceeași vîrstă cu mine și am pornit din Bitolia spre București, pe drumurile acelea pline de primejdie, din cauza dislocărilor de trupe și a transporturilor de material de război, cu toate privațiunile care decurgeau tocmai din această stare de război, fără mijloace de transport, cu foarte puține provizii, dar cu mari speranțe și cu mult curaj. Cînd pe jos, cînd pe camioane încărcate cu tunuri grele, care trebuiau transportate de pe un front pe altul, avînd de suportat zdruncinături primejdioase pe șoselele acelea mizerabile și desfundate, în astfel de condiții ne îndreptam neabătut spre ținta noastră. Am trecut prin multe greutăți, am fost opriți de organele militare, care erau intrigate de «drumeția noastră» și am fost adesea reținuți în cazărmi pînă se primeau instrucțiuni, pentru a fi lăsați mai departe să ne continuăm drumul spre țară. Sînt și acum impresionat de dîrzenia și curajul cu care m-am avîntat spre țelul pe care-l visam, în acele momente nimic nu m-ar fi oprit să-mi ating acest țel: România.”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

¹⁶⁰ „redeșteptare națională a românilor din sudul Dunării”, in *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁶¹ „un bloc de rezistență în contra alterării graiului părintese, vorbind permanent în casă dialectul macedoromân; unii, mai ales femeile, nu vorbeau decît acest dialect.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁶² Lascu Stoica, “Cărți tipărite în dialectul aromân”[“Printed books in the Aromanian dialect”], in *Polychronion. Profesorului Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca la 70 de ani [Polychronion. Professor Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca at 70 years old]*, coord. Lia Brad Chisacof, Cătălina Vătășescu, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2012, pp. 299–326.

at home and learned Greek at school; in fact, there were only Greek schools in these lands”¹⁶³.

The initiative of founding schools with Aromanian teaching was a difficult one in the field¹⁶⁴, but their purpose was fully justified, the school being a factor that shaped the identity of Aromanian children:

“All these schools began to be attended by a growing number of ‘Wallachian children’, who were thus enthusiastically following the path of national and social consciousness. But this event was considered by the high Orthodox forums in Constantinople as a challenge and a defiance at the same time because these forums did not conceive under any circumstances the use of the Romanian language in any action, in school or in the Church; a period of savage and bloody persecution of the Romanian element in the Balkan Peninsula followed”¹⁶⁵.

In this atmosphere, the direct confrontation with the otherness strengthens the awareness of the author’s Aromanianness:

“This exacerbated the persecution against the Aromanians, who would go through a lot of suffering from now on, even assassinations and armed attacks against their property, for the simple reason that they wanted to learn Romanian, at the Romanian school. This is the atmosphere I found when I began to sense the events of those difficult days of hardship. When I realized what was going on around me, now thinking back to the memories that are still clear and not faded by time, I found myself in an oppressive atmosphere of terror, but at the same time courage and ardent patriotism. In that struggle and fight for survival, our family suffered a lot from those who challenged our right to speak and think in Romanian and to support the socio-political demands of Romanians in that region. Our situation was further aggravated

¹⁶³ „Sub despotismul otoman, patriotismul și revendicările populației din acea regiune se confundau cu ideea religioasă, care a avut și implicații în ceea ce privește uzul limbii grecești, singura utilizată în această luptă pentru cucerirea de drepturi social-politice în Imperiul otoman. Așa se explică că aromânii acasă vorbeau limba lor, iar la școală învățau grecește; de altfel în aceste ținuturi nu existau decât școli grecești.”, in ***, *Sărbătorirea Academicianului Elie Carafoli la 70 de ani (23 decembrie 1971) [Celebration of Academician Elie Carafoli's 70th birthday (December 23, 1971)]*, Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1972, p. 30.

¹⁶⁴ See:

1. Gheorghe Zbucnea and Stelian Brezianu (coord.), *Românii de la Sud de Dunăre. Documente [Romanians from South of the Danube Documents]*, National Archives of Romania, Bucharest, 1997, passim.

2. Adina Berciu Drăghicescu, *Școli și biserici românești din Peninsula Balcanică [Romanian Schools and Churches in the Balkan Peninsula]*, University of Bucharest Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, passim.

¹⁶⁵ „Toate școlile acestea au început să fie frecventate de un număr din ce în ce mai mare de „copii de valahi”, care pășeau astfel cu tot entuziasmul pe drumul conștiinței naționale și sociale. Dar acest eveniment a fost considerat de către înaltele foruri ortodoxe din Constantinopol ca o provocare și ca o sfidare în același timp, deoarece aceste foruri nu concepeau sub nici un motiv utilizarea limbii române în nici o acțiune, în școală sau în Biserică; a urmat o perioadă de prigoană sălbatică și singeroasă a elementului românesc din Peninsula Balcanică.”, in ***, *Sărbătorirea Academicianului Elie Carafoli la 70 de ani (23 decembrie 1971) [Celebration of Academician Elie Carafoli's 70th birthday (December 23, 1971)]*, Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1972, p. 30.

by the fact that my older brother, Tulliu Carafoli, was a Romanian language teacher and writer in the Macedonian-Romanian dialect [...]”¹⁶⁶.

In fact, all the three boys of the Carafoli family attended Romanian schools in the Balkans, thus representing alleged traitors of the Greek nation. The text mentions the arson of the houses of the Aromanian leaders loyal to the Romanian cause and the assassinations of the same.

For the young high school student at the time, the Romanian Kingdom had become the only option to become a professional, a choice he was willing to follow despite the dangers he was subjected to during his Balkan journey. Arriving in Bucharest, Elie Carafoli continues his studies at the “Gheorghe Lazăr” High School and at the “Nicolae Filipescu” Military High School from Dealu Monastery. Between 1919 and 1924, he attended university at the Polytechnic School of Bucharest, where he obtained a degree in electromechanical engineering.

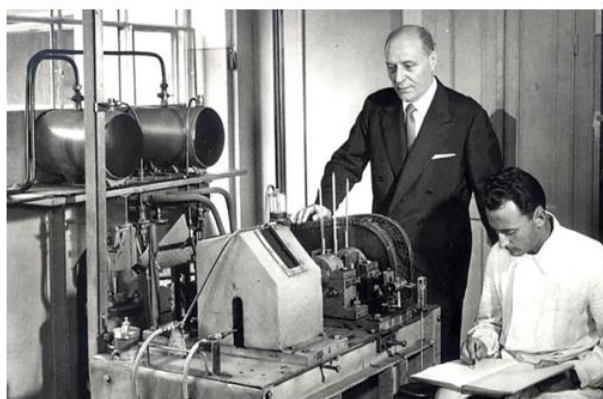


Figure 1. Elie Carafoli in his laboratory.

He went to Paris for training; obtaining, in 1924, the bachelor degree and then, in 1928, the doctorate in physical-mathematical sciences, at the Sorbonne (Paris). During this period of study in France he began a laborious scientific research activity at the Aerotechnical Institute of Saint-Cyr. He worked there as a collaborator of the famous Professor Albert Toussaint, the director of the Institute, and with Professor

¹⁶⁶ „Acest lucru a exacerbat prigoana în contra aromânilor, care aveau să îndure de aici încolo multe suferințe, chiar asasinat și atacuri armate în contra avutului lor, pentru simplul motiv că ei doreau să învețe în limba română, la școală română. Iată dar atmosfera pe care am găsit-o atunci când începusem să intuiesc evenimentele acelor zile grele de restriște. Când mi-am putut da seama de ce se petrece în jurul meu, dînd curs acum amintirilor care îmi sînt încă clare și neestompate de vreme, m-am trezit într-o atmosferă apăsătoare de teroare, dar în același timp și de curaj și patriotism înflăcărât. În acea încleștare și luptă pentru supraviețuire, familia noastră a avut multe de suferit din partea acelor ce ne contestau dreptul de a vorbi și a gândi în limba română și de a susține revendicările social-politice ale românilor din acea regiune. Situația noastră era încă mai agravată și prin faptul că fratele meu cel mai mare, Tulliu Carafoli, era profesor de limba română și scriitor în dialectul macedoromân, [...]” in *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Paul Painlevé, who later appointed him assistant at the Department of Fluid Mechanics at the Sorbonne. At the Aerotechnical Institute, he built an aerodynamic tunnel designed to visualize the movement of fluids, much appreciated at the International Congress of Aerodynamics, being awarded, in 1928, with the *Médaille d'honneur argent*. Recognized for his discoveries, he is invited to speak at the French Academy.

In spite of the prestige, he enjoys internationally, Elie Carafoli chooses to return to Romania, being appointed associate professor and teaching, in 1928, the first course of Aeronautics at the Technical School of Bucharest. It was the first step towards the establishment of the Aircraft Faculty in Bucharest. In the years that followed, he was appointed within the Aviation Department of the Technical Institute of Bucharest: probationary teacher, in 1931, and then tenure teacher, in 1933. He created, designed and built, together with Ion Stroescu, in 1931, the wind tunnel of the Technical School of Bucharest (the first one in south-eastern Europe).

During the same period of time (1928–1933), he also worked as a chief engineer of the Study and Construction Service and as manager of the Romanian Aeronautic Industry of Braşov. He designed, in 1930, together with the French engineer Lucien Virmaux, the first Romanian airplane manufactured by the IAR-Braşov factories, namely the IAR-CV11.

In 1949, he established and organized the Romanian Academy's Applied Mechanics Institute, from which, the Fluid Mechanics Institute derived, and which later on became the Fluid Mechanics and Aerospace Construction Institute. He conducted numerous researches, and wrote numerous studies about the airfoils¹⁶⁷ –

¹⁶⁷ See:

1. Elie Carafoli, *Aérodynamique des ailes d'avion [Aerodynamics of aircraft wings]*, Paris, 1928.
2. Elie Carafoli, *Influence des ailerons sur les propriétés aérodynamiques des surfaces sustentatrices [Influence of ailerons on the aerodynamic properties of lifting surfaces]*, The International Aeronautical Documentation Centre of the Aéro-Club de France, Paris, 1929.
3. Elie Carafoli, *Calcul des performances d'un avion [Calculating the performance of an aircraft]*, Bucharest, 1930.
4. Elie Carafoli and Nicolae Tipei, *Probleme de aerodinamica și mecanica avionului [Aerodynamics and aircraft mechanics issues]*, Bucharest, 1942.
5. Elie Carafoli, *Aerodinamica [Aerodynamics]*, Technical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1951.
6. Elie Carafoli, *Aurel Vlaicu. Inventator, constructor și zburător român [Aurel Vlaicu. Romanian inventor, builder and flyer]*, Bucharest, 1954.
7. Elie Carafoli and Teodor Oroveanu, *Mecanica Fluidelor [Fluid Mechanics]*, Vol. II, Bucharest, 1955.
8. Elie Carafoli, *High-speed Aerodynamics (Compressible Flow)* Bucharest, 1956.
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11. Elie Carafoli, *Hans Barth – Hermann Oberth. Titanul navigației spațiale. (monografie) [Hans Barth - Hermann Oberth. The Titan of Space Navigation (monograph)]*, Bucharest, 1974.
12. Elie Carafoli and V. N. Constantinescu, *Dinamica fluidelor incompresibile [Incompressible fluid dynamics]*, Bucharest, 1981.

some of these airfoils being actually named after him, namely “the Carafoli airfoils”. He developed the airplane wing theory; he has major contributions to the supersonic aerodynamics and to the Delta wing theory. Since 1937 he was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Romania. In 1948, he became a member of the RPR Academy (the Academy of the Romanian Popular Republic, *n.tr.*) and, in the following year, a member of the New York Academy of Sciences. He was an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Canada. He received a great number of international diplomas and awards. Furthermore, Elie Carafoli was a member of the International Academy of Astronautics, a member of the Academy of Sciences in Toulouse, as well as the president of the International Astronautical Federation, the president of the Fédération Aéronautique Internationale (1968–1970), the president of the Romanian Academy’s Aeronautics Commission. For his extensive research activity within the aerodynamics field, Carafoli was awarded multiple national awards, but mainly international: the “Louis Breguet” Prize (Paris, 1927) and the “Silver Medal” (1928) awarded in Sorbonne by the National Society for Progress Encouragement, by E. Herriot, the former prime-minister of France; the Paul Tissandier Diploma, awarded by the Fédération Aéronautique Internationale at the Los Angeles Congress (1956); the “Carl Friedrich Gauss” Great Medal, a prize awarded by Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gessellschaft, for his outstanding work in aerodynamics (1970); the “Apollo 11” Medal (1970) awarded by NASA; the “Tiolkovski” Diploma and Medal, on March 27, 1981.

Elie Carafoli died on October 24, 1983, in Bucharest.

FINAL REMARKS

It is worth mentioning that the confession of scientist Carafoli about his origins, which he integrates in an actual micro historical excursus on the Aromanians, was made public within the highest national academic forum. Given that after 1946–1947, along with the full establishment of the communist regime in Romania, the support for the schools and churches of the Aromanians in the Balkan states was completely suspended and the Aromanians were left much more exposed to the assimilation processes in the absence of these identity protection vectors that were supported, until then, by Romania, the 1971 confession of academician Carafoli bears the value of a brave public confession, which was not impregnated with the imperative ideological ballast of that specific context.

His professional emerging, briefly presented here, is somehow iconic for the Aromanians’ spirit, these self-made men, for whom, any vulnerability related to their destiny is perceived as a great opportunity. The name of Elie Carafoli, the young Aromanian trained within an education system financed by the Romanian state in

13. Elie Carafoli and V. N. Constantinescu, *Dinamica fluidelor compresibile [Compressible fluid dynamics]*, Bucharest, 1984.

the Balkans, falls within the prestige, elite segment of the Aromanians for whom the access to education in Romanian language and in their dialect was never a loser bet of Bucharest, but rather their opportunity to break down certain status barriers.

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FESTIVE REUNION AT THE ACADEMY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA FROM 23.XII.1971

Honourable Presidium,

Dear comrades,

I am deeply moved by the warm and very praiseworthy words spoken by my comrades Vice President Remus Răduleț, Rector George Bărănescu, Major General Eng. Ștefan Ispas, Director Dan Pantazopol, Aviator General Gheorghe Negrescu, as a tribute to my work. President Constantin Dinculescu. I thank them from the bottom of my heart. I thank the Academy and my colleagues who organized this celebration. Thank you all, present in the hall of the Academy for honouring me, for participating in this show of sympathy. I am deeply troubled: on the one hand, the sadness that surrounds me now that so many years have passed and the summary of my activity is not what I would have liked it to be, on the other hand, the praises that have been brought to me magnanimously, as if they had come to make up for this regret. I am overwhelmed by a deep emotion in trying to unravel the film of my memories imbued with a constant turmoil and enthusiasm, acting for knowledge, promotion, and progress, as well as in the desire to contribute, as far as possible, to cultural and economic development. of the country.

I would like to tell you first, taking a slightly longer path, how I came to be behind this lectern today. For this, I must return to decades ago, to the city where I was born, to Veria, near Thessaloniki, where until now there has been an important Romanian cultural centre. Here my parents were in the first line in the action of defending the Romanian language and the socio-political demands of the Romanians from the Balkan Peninsula. They supervised my early childhood education and guided me on the right path. I hold a pious gratitude to them. However, in order to paint an accurate picture of the atmosphere in which I spent the first years of my childhood, I will make a small foray into the history of Romanians in the south of the Danube, in order to establish historical landmarks related to their evolution. In doing so, I have the feeling that I am fulfilling a sacred duty, evoking, as a sign of deep homage, the socio-cultural contribution brought by this fragment of the Romanian people. I will begin by pointing out a historical moment, when the Byzantine and Western chroniclers (those who narrated the last crusade, the Fourth), mention in their chronicles, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the Great Wallachia (Megali Vlahia, comprising the lands between the mountains of Gramos

and Pind, Thessalia, Epirus, etc.) and Small Valahie (Micra Vlahia, comprising Aetolia, Acarnania, etc.).

Some chronicles also mention Upper Wallachia (Ano Vlahia, in the southern and eastern part of Epirus). All these lands, as their name suggests, were inhabited by a Wallachian population, speaking a Romanian idiom, the Macedonian-Romanian dialect, derived from the Latin language. This population played a special role in the Balkan Peninsula and had its implications for the founding of the Romanian-Bulgarian Empire by the brothers Peter and Asan (1186–1285). Miron Costin (1633–1691) would later write about these Romanians, quoting: "... they are also a Roman colony, of the same language as us and much closer to Italian than our language...". They called each other "Aromanians"¹⁶⁸; they had the feeling that they were a separate nation, compared to the other cohabiting nationalities, but not all of them had learned that they were very closely related and had the same origin as the Romanians in the north of the Danube, that they were therefore brothers with them. In those parts and in special historical circumstances, a Romanian economic and cultural centre was later formed, Moscopole, which became one of the most important and flourishing cities in the Balkan Peninsula, especially in the first half of the 18th century.

Here the high cultural establishment called "The New Academy" was built. Here lived the scholar Teodor Cavaliotti, a great man of culture. Under the tyranny of the famous Ali-Pasha of Tepelin (1744–1822), the satrap from the city of Ianina in Epirus, who declared his independence on a large province around this city, a bloody persecution against the Aromanians was unleashed, who constituted in those regions a larger, more cultured, and more progressive population of that era, and which was strongly opposed to the bloody despotism of this tyrant. This was followed by the burning and destruction of Moscopolis twice in 1769 and 1788, after which the prosperity of the Aromanians and their influence on the economy, art, and culture began to wane. Now the exodus of the Aromanians to other lands takes place: Italy, Serbia, Greece, Austria-Hungary, but especially to the Romanian Countries. In Italy, these refugees strengthened their old companies or trade representations or formed other new companies, which continued the trade ties between the Balkan Peninsula and Italy through Venice.

Serbian professor Popovici, from the University of Belgrade, points out in his book the very special role that Aromanian descendants played in the economy and cultural life of Serbs. He writes, I quote: "The Aromanians stand the basis of the Serbian commercial and cultural revival of the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century". There was a bigger spill in Greece. Reputable statesmen, generous euergetes – who endowed Athens with socio-cultural settlements – but especially a plethora of revolutionaries and poets, who made a considerable contribution to the Greek revolution of 1821, against the despotic rule

¹⁶⁸ It is placed before the words that begin with "r" in Romanian: rău = arău, rid=arid, roșu =aroșu etc.

of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the development of modern Greek culture. However, a completely extraordinary contribution for the Romanian cause was made by those who went to Austria-Hungary and the Romanian Countries.

Significant, influential personalities have risen in Vienna, among whom we will mention Dumba (a family originally from the Aromanian city of Blatza), who gave the name of a street in Vienna, “Dumba Strasse”; then Sina (originally from Moscopole), who played an important role at the Congress of Vienna (1815), after the defeat of Napoleon. Through Miskolt and Budapest, through Banat and other regions of Transylvania, overwhelming personalities entered the socio-cultural development of the Romanians in Austria-Hungary. Great figures, such as A. Şaguna, who, with a high patriotism, organized the school and the Church of Transylvania and played a considerable role in the cultural development of Transylvania, Em. Gojdu, who left all his immense wealth for cultural and social settlements and for sending young Transylvanians to school, the Mocioni family, who gave ardent patriots, the Moga family, who gave prominent cultural personalities, then G. Roja, Boiagi, with the first Aromanian grammar published in 1813 in Vienna, and many others.

Poets St. O. Iosif and P. Vulcan have Aromanian ancestry; even Octavian Goga confesses that his ancestors descended from the Aromanians, and Lucian Blaga himself says in the Chronicle and the Song of Ages that his mother, born Moga, had an Aromanian ancestry, from which he inherited certain creative qualities. Poets St. O. Iosif, P. Vulcan, D. Anghel also have Aromanian ancestry. Some writers have rightly said that the destruction of Moscopolis could be seen as a sacrifice for the flourishing of Transylvania. Many people came to the Romanian Countries; their descendants identified with the aspirations of those here, giving many scholars and progressive politicians, among whom we will mention: Metropolitan Dosoftei, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, George Asachi, Odobescu after his mother (born Caracas), Theodor Aman, M. Ghermani, Eugen Carada, Al. Djuvara, later on Caragiani, Dalles, Esarcu, Ferechide, Valaori, Coculescu, G. Murnu, Pella, Capidan, Batzaria, Papacostea, Marcu Beza, Papană, Kimon Loghin, D. Caracostea, Papahagi and others, to mention only those who have passed away.

Some of the descendants of the refugees of that time became doctors at the universities of Vienna, Gottingen, Halle, etc.; the beginnings of Romanian medicine in the Romanian Principalities¹⁶⁹ are due to them; among them we will mention doctors Pamperi, Darvari, Caracaş, Paciurea, Dudumi, Goussy, C. Filitti; later, doctors Leonte, Gerota, Danielopolu, Ghiulamila and others. In the above, I limited myself to a few names, not being able to mention so many others that illustrated Romanian art and culture. Naturally, those who came to the Romanian Lands fully integrated into their aspirations, many of them also embraced the cause of the Romanians in the Balkans; they managed to pique the interest of all the responsible factors from the time of Prince Alex. Ioan Cuza, who himself paid special attention

¹⁶⁹ I. Negru, *Munca sanitară [Sanitary work]*, Bucharest, 1969, nr. 8, pp. 486-406.

to the Aromanians. Under his direct influence, several enthusiastic and progressive Romanians warmly embraced the idea of the national revival of Romanians in the south of the Danube.

They formed a bloc of resistance against the alteration of the mother tongue, speaking the Macedonian-Romanian dialect at home; some, especially women, spoke only this dialect. Under Ottoman despotism, the patriotism and claims of the people of that region were confused with the religious idea, which also had implications for the use of the Greek language, the only one used in this struggle for the conquest of socio-political rights in the Ottoman Empire. This explains why the Aromanians spoke their language at home and learned Greek at school; in fact, there were only Greek schools in these lands. In the contact they had with their compatriots from Transylvania or from the Romanian Principalities, especially during the reign of Cuza Vodă, the Aromanians from the Balkan Peninsula realized that all their aspirations could be expressed in Romanian. Two pioneers of national and social demands, Father Averky and Apostol Margarit, were allowed to carry out this bold plan.

Helped by the great mass of progressive Romanians in the country, especially by D. Bolintineanu, who was also the minister of schools, they realized the plan of national-cultural revival, by establishing Romanian schools in the communes inhabited by Romanians. The first school was founded in 1864 in Tîrnova; later, in 1877, the one in Perivole, where the famous artist G. Vraca comes from; later, the one in my hometown Veria, also the place of origin of acad. G. Murnu; then, one by one, many communes were endowed with Romanian schools, covering most of the Balkan Peninsula. Then came the secondary schools: the Romanian High School in Bitolia, in 1880 (where the great artist Ion Manolescu also studied), the Romanian Business School in Thessaloniki, the Romanian Gymnasium in Ianina (Epirus), then the Romanian Gymnasium in Grebena, etc. All these schools began to be attended by a growing number of “Wallachian children”, who were thus enthusiastically following the path of national and social consciousness. But this event was considered by the high Orthodox forums in Constantinople as a challenge and a defiance at the same time because these forums did not conceive under any circumstances the use of the Romanian language in any action, in school or in the Church; a period of savage and bloody persecution of the Romanian element in the Balkan Peninsula followed. In the meantime, the famous “Imperial Irade” of 10/23 May 1905 was obtained, through which the Romanian communes are put on an equal footing with the old communities of other languages.

This exacerbated the persecution against the Aromanians, who would go through a lot of suffering from now on, even assassinations and armed attacks against their property, for the simple reason that they wanted to learn Romanian, at the Romanian school. This is the atmosphere I found when I began to sense the events of those difficult days of hardship. When I realized what was going on around me, now thinking back to the memories that are still clear and not faded by time, I found myself in an oppressive atmosphere of terror, but at the same time courage and ardent patriotism. In that struggle and fight for survival, our family suffered a lot from those

who challenged our right to speak and think in Romanian and to support the socio-political demands of Romanians in that region. Our situation was further aggravated by the fact that my older brother, Tulliu Carafoli, was a Romanian language teacher and writer in the Macedonian-Romanian dialect, being the author of two plays *Pur* (*Haiducii* / *The Outlaws*) and *Pirușana* (a name equivalent to “beautiful girl with blonde hair”), plays that were played in all communes and villages inhabited by Romanians.

Another brother was at the Romanian Business School in Thessaloniki, and I had just started primary school in the city of Veria. Such Romanian affirmation was a great audacity, so the consequences were not delayed: a member of the Carafoli family was brutally murdered near Veria (at Lutro); and then, in 1907, our house was set on fire, along with the Romanian School and two other houses of some Romanian leaders from the same commune. These facts, and many others like them, are recounted in a book published in 1913¹⁷⁰, *Les Roumains de Macedoine*, which recently fell into my hands, and which stirred up those sad memories of my early childhood. I attended primary school in the city of Veria, then entered the Romanian Business School in Thessaloniki, finishing third grade in the school year 1914–1915, after which there was a change in the direction of my learning. In both primary and secondary school, the education I received was purely Romanian.

We had integrated into the aspirations of the Romanian people everywhere: the history and geography of the Romanians, free and oppressed, were also ours. There was a clear vision of the transformations that would come later, bringing them all together in a proud and beautiful country that would play a special role in the world. When I finished third grade, I took an exam of my skills and concluded that I needed to change schools and go to high school, because I realized that high school was better suited to my aspirations. Despite all the opposition I encountered in carrying out this plan, I nevertheless rushed resolutely and with all my enthusiasm. In the autumn of 1915, I went to Bitolia; (Monastir), in Serbia at that time, and I started the 4th grade of high school in this city. But I did not even start school properly, that it was closed due to the occupation of Serbia by the armies of the Central Powers, despite the fierce resistance of the Serbian army. Here I was without school and separated from my family.

Suddenly the image of Wallachia appeared to me insistently, but how to get there, passing through dangerous areas in the middle of a war? I convinced two more students of the same age as me and set out from Bitolia for Bucharest, on those dangerous roads, due to the deployment of troops and the transport of war material, with all the deprivations that arose precisely from this state of war, without means of transportation, with very few supplies, but with high hopes and a lot of courage. Sometimes on foot, sometimes on trucks loaded with heavy cannons, which had to be transported from one front to another, having to endure dangerous shocks on those

¹⁷⁰ Alexandre Rubin, *Les Roumains de Macedoine* [*The Romanians of Macedonia*], p. 193 (al. 20) and p. 221 (al. 28). Imprimărie professionnelle Dem. C. Ionesco, rue Câmpineano 9, Bucharest, 1913.

miserable and clogged roads, in such conditions we were heading steadily towards our target. We went through many hardships, were stopped by the military, who were intrigued by ‘our trip’, and were often detained in barracks until instructed to continue on our way to the country. I am still impressed by the perseverance and courage with which I rushed to the goal I dreamed of; in those moments nothing would have stopped me from achieving this goal: Romania.

Arriving at Giurgiu, the most difficult and dangerous stage had been defeated. I went on to Bucharest. The image unfolding before my eyes seemed enchanting to me, like a fairy tale. Everywhere I heard the Romanian language, like a song full of magic. Thus, the love of my country pushed me to make a crucial decision on the path of my vocation, it gave me the golden key to my later achievements. I continued my schooling at the ‘Gh. Lazăr’ High School and at the ‘Dealu Monastery’ Military High School, and in 1919 I entered the Polytechnic School. After graduating as an electromechanical engineer, I continued to Paris, at the Sorbonne, where I studied for a bachelor’s degree and then for a doctorate in physical and mathematical sciences. During my stay in France, I carried out a scientific activity at the Institut aérotechnique from Saint-Cyr, then part of the Sorbonne.

The director of this Institute was Prof. Albert Toussaint, with whom I collaborated very actively and to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude, for the special appreciation and friendly attention he gave me. During all this time I elaborated several works and more extensive monographs, which were appreciated by the specialists of that time, fundamental works of aerodynamics, especially the theory of aerodynamic profiles – some of which have been referred to in various treatises as ‘Carafoli profiles’. For the theoretical and experimental results obtained, especially for their applications in aircraft construction, I was honoured with several French distinctions: ‘Prix Louis Brâguet’, ‘Prix d’Etudes Guynemer’ (after the name of the World War I hero, ‘the ace of aces’), ‘Medaille d’Honneur Argent’, etc., which gave me so many emotional moments. Later I was attached to the Department of Fluid Mechanics, under the leadership of scholar Professor Paul Painlevé¹⁷¹.

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GEOPOLITICS, GLOBALIZATION, AND TOTALITARIANISM

Mihail Ungheanu¹⁷²

ABSTRACT

*One of the key texts to understand modern international relations and geopolitics can be found in Zbigniew Brzezinski's book *Between Two Ages. The Role of America in the Technotronic Age*. He outlines a kind of sketch of what the global world will look like, affirming the necessity of its birth due to technological development and historical progress. Globalization leads to the instauration of a global city, the result of the necessary progress of mankind. This process will make it possible to fulfill the promises Marxism failed to make true. Globalization and its tool, which is geopolitics, is a utopian rebuilding of the world according to the view of a technocratic elite, a transnational elite, which brings about planetary consciousness. Geopolitics is in the contemporary world an effort to establish a worldwide, freedom-stifling tyranny.*

Keywords: geopolitics, globalization, Brzezinski, Marxism, totalitarianism.

INTRODUCTION

If one is to understand present-day global politics and also what is called geopolitics, one has to understand the past and the assumption upon which geopolitics and international relationships are built, even if those assumptions are not acknowledged by the actors. Those assumptions pertain to the way modernity sees itself and understand itself. The modern worldviews and the modern understanding of man are the pillars that once determined and brought to the light will make the intelligible what drives the contemporary geopolitics. Conceptually modernity can be understood by examining concepts such as sovereignty, emancipation, and progress. These concepts express the worldview that gives meaning to the specific modern understanding of the world.

The concept of sovereignty plays an important in this process. It is a concept that originates in the theological realm, describing a power and an attribute of God. Later it was transferred to the realm of politics. A state, a community, or the individual could pretend to be sovereign. The concept expresses the idea of a self-subsisting entity that is supreme, and which acts according to its own plans, and intentions, and that formulate laws (for other to follow). No one and nothing are above that entity. Such a concept when applied to the world becomes relative.

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Nobody possesses such a feature but God, the only self-sustaining self-existing being, the being whose source of existence is in itself. The sovereign is the one who gives laws and has nobody above him. This description does not fit the social and political reality. Human beings are despite everything dependent beings. Theoretically, the prince as Jean Bodin put it, is sovereign but has to acknowledge God and act according to the laws that God established, though in the state of exception he can act disregarding the laws of the land. Sovereignty, just as emancipation can be seen as a reality or as something that can be achieved through human effort. This is the place to start understanding modernity and contemporary geopolitics. Sovereignty expresses a set or more sets of assumptions about the world, about society, about man. Therefore, when a new social and political system build according to these concepts is established, it will produce changes in society and in man, even in man's inner life. Sovereignty had to do with self-determination, to the ability to act, think, et, as one pleases without external interference and inner barriers. The idea of sovereignty used as a central value of the organization of the human community will enshrine into the minds of me, even when not consciously done so, the idea of a self-sustaining, self-sustaining being, an absolute being, an independent, an ontological agent that is its own cause. This is God, the absolute ontological center of existence. Who is the sovereign?

“The sovereign exerts not only a derivative godly right to dominion, but he is an appearance of the godly”¹⁷³.

The concept of sovereignty is religious, and it can be seen as a holdover, if one believes the false notion that religion is a thing of the past (Halterm 2007). According to Ulrich Halterm, sovereignty is bound to the realm of the sacred.

“The religious concept of sovereignty transfers to the realm of politics; in both areas, the concept of sovereignty means participation in the sacred”¹⁷⁴.

The concept and what it nowadays expresses belongs to the kernel of the democratic activity of modern states. It is a concept that can't be replaced since there is no other one that can describe the reality to which it pertains. The idea of sovereignty defines and structures the way even now the state, politics, society is conceived¹⁷⁵. The history of the concept sovereignty and its appearance in the realm of political thought and activity could be described as a kind of “migration of the holy”¹⁷⁶. The State, or then political community, the individual, or minorities become sacred. Sovereignty, just like emancipation, can be situated on different levels, and

¹⁷³ “Der Souverän übt nicht nur ein derivatives göttliches Recht zur Herrschaft aus, sondern er ist eine Erscheinung des Göttlichen”, in Ulrich Halterm, *Was bedeutet Souveränität? [What does Sovereignty mean?]*, Tübingen, Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Mohr und Siebeck, 2007, p. 36.

¹⁷⁴ “Das religiöse Konzept der Souveränität wandert zum politischen; in beiden Sphären bezeichnet Souveränität die Teilhabe am Heilige”, in *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁷⁶ William T. Cavanaugh, *Migrations of The Holy*, Grand Rapids, United States of America, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2011.

sometimes, just like in the case of the process of supposed emancipation, the sovereignty of a people might come in conflict with that of individuals within it, etc. Sovereignty has a double meaning. It is both postulated as given and is understood as something that must be accomplished. In this sense the project of modernity is to be understood as accomplishing the sovereignty of man over nature, and over human nature, too. For Gerard Mairret, the concept of sovereignty is modern. It is modern I argue, in so far as it is applied to the realm of politics and in as much as it expresses that the only sovereign being is man. Its use is modern because it replaces God as the source of sovereignty and source of the law by which human existence is organized. Neither God nor nature are the source of the norms but man himself. The modern use of the concept entails that politics is not a matter of virtue but power. The sovereign is someone that has and exercises power¹⁷⁷. Sovereignty, in this sense, is the elimination of every extra-human (and of virtue in classical and Christian sense) grounding of the human community:

“In fact, the principle of sovereignty and the theory of the republic which proceeds from it eliminate any Christian foundation of authority. Sovereignty, in its origins, is this very elimination”¹⁷⁸.

Sovereignty is the principle of the state, and its purpose is the maintaining of the state/of the human community¹⁷⁹. Sovereignty, according to him, is bound to the modern conception of man, conceptions that define man as a self-man being, as the main or only agent of history, as the exclusive source of the rules and laws upon which the community is based¹⁸⁰. The relationship that the modern political notion of sovereignty entails is expressed in Cartesian terms. Nature is something that has to be conquered and subdued, nature is an enemy¹⁸¹. It is a relationship of domination. Without this relationship of domination, there is no *res publica*, no state in the modern sense of the term. This includes the nature of man and society. Modernity is the supposed age wherein man becomes the master of his destiny, of his history. Mankind breaks its ties with nature, with its embodiment in the universe, and elevates itself to the rank of the ground/principle of its existence. What this ground is, what man is not set from advance. It is the subject matter of a continuous debate. What the ground is, what humanity is, and what man is can't be established without power, without its use. Humanity has no essence but what power makes out of humanity. Humanity is what the sovereign says humanity is. Sovereignty as a task that has to be accomplished is another way to say that self-deification is the task at hand, which means that man has to take control of the whole of nature – man's nature

¹⁷⁷ Mairret Gérard, *Le principe de souveraineté. Histoire et fondements du pouvoir moderne [The Principle of Sovereignty, The History and Basis of Modern Power]*, Paris, Gallimard, 1997, p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ “En fait, le principe de souveraineté et la théorie de la république qui en procède éliminent tout fondation chrétienne de l'autorité. La souveraineté, en ses origines, est cette élimination même”, in *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

included – and become the ontological center of existence; and endeavors as transhumanism express the tendency. This implies a transformation of society, of man, of nature. The human community is considered to be completely artificial. This view is projected onto the past itself and therefore all human societies are considered as such. The conception that man has no nature that can be molded however the social engineers see fit is the theoretical expression of this modern view, of the modern doctrine of sovereignty. Ant the whole world. This is the framework in which contemporary geopolitics should be understood. One example of this can be found in Zbigniew Brzezinski's work *Between Two Ages. The Role of America in the Technotronic Age*.

THE TECHNOCRATIC AGE

Zbigniew Brzezinski is a well-known name in the world of politics, international relations, geopolitics, etc. The former security adviser of Jimmy Carter is one of the people that made a serious contribution to the development of the new world order known under the name of globalization (he also contributed to the war against the USSR in Afghanistan and thus to the rise of Islamism). He was also a scholar and a member of the think-tank known as the Commission for External Relations and the Trilateral Commission, which he grounded together with David Rockefeller Wood 2015-6. His theoretical contribution to the establishment of the present-day world order can be found in his afore mentioned *Between Two Ages. The Role of America in the Technotronic Age*, published in the earlier seventies.

Between Two Ages can be considered a kind of blueprint of what globalization came to be. It predicts some things, including genetic modification, and describes the – then a possibility – way in which the mode of government of the world will change. The focus of the book is what can be called technocracy, although the word he used was technotronic. The new era of humanity is the era of technocracy. This age brings many changes on a global scale, forging new connections between far places, while producing fragmentation on the local level. These transformations are brought about by the development of the means of communications and if computers. The United States represents the model of the nascent global society, and the place from whence it would spread out.

The concept of geopolitics pertains to the distribution of power in a given territory, to the relationship between politics and the geography of the country and the natural resources, but also includes the relationship to the human resources as well. According to Ezzatollah Ezzati, geopolitics researches the relationship with the natural and geographical surroundings, trying to obtain and maintain power so it can play a significant role at the highest levels of global politics. Also, it does this in order to protect and promote the national interest of that country¹⁸². But the account of the order

¹⁸² Ezzatollah Ezzati, *Geopolitica în secolul XXI [Geopolitics in the XX century]*, translation by Cristina Ciovarnache and Luminița Spânu, Bucharest, Top Form Publishing House, 2009, p. 14.

of the world that Brzezinski presents us, geopolitics is more than that. It is a tool to use power to remodel the whole world according to its march towards progress and globalization. Even when not stated explicitly, geopolitics is a spiritual endeavor, too. The way Brzezinski understands it is typical of the Western Faustian spirituality lest we call it demonic. Reality can't be accepted as such, but it must be made anew.

According to the Polish American author, the history of mankind can be ordered into four ages or stages of development. The present-day world, characterized by globalization and the spread of technocracy, is the fourth one. The third one is the era of industrialization and of the rise of Marxism, an ideology or a doctrine that is the best instrument to analyze and understand society and its problems. From Brzezinski's book can man deduce that the fourth era and its new mode of doing things – government by unelected experts – will solve what Marxism could not. Marxism and its global reach are therefore held in high regard by him – a so-called defender of the (former) free world, the West. He considers it to be a humanistic enterprise and also a universalist one, though in practice it failed. Marxism is humanism, that is its main concern¹⁸³. Brzezinski does not think that the states from the Eastern Block, and especially the Soviet Union, did apply a true Marxist policy. Instead, they practiced a nationalist and tribal policy in the guise of communism. He recognizes that they achieved something, albeit they robbed the revolutionary potential of that promising ideology. He observes that the best qualities of Marxism come to light when it is not in a place of power. When applied Marxism generates Nationalism and fails to change reality meaning that it does not fulfill its function as an ideology, namely, to transform and mold reality to fit the wishes and needs of man. In the best case, the countries governed by Marxist forces do modernize, but that is all. The murderous ways of applied Marxist ideology are not consequences of the ideology but of the way it was applied in the Eastern Block. A Western approach would have fared better.

“Thus, even if one is not a Marxist, it is not necessarily a cause for rejoicing to note that communism – which helped to enlarge the collective consciousness of mankind and to mobilize the masses for social progress – has failed in its original objective of linking humanism with internationalism”¹⁸⁴.

Clearly, he sees in a good light a highly centralized authoritarian ideology that separates humanity into opposing categories, which are the oppressors and the oppressed. This is an ideology that demonizes whole categories of people, denying their humanity. The Gulags are a direct expression of this attitude. The disregard for reality is astonishing. Social justice and equality are the main passions of this new era we are believing in, an era that expresses the main aim of modernity:

“Man is the subject-author of his own destiny”¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸³ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Between Two Ages*, New York, United States of America, The Viking Press, 1970, p. 142.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 192–193.

¹⁸⁵ “L'homme est sujet-auteur – de son propre destin”, in Mairret Gérard, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

This development, which is progress will change the way society and man are to be understood. The government will change. A new paradigm is therefore required. The national state must be overcome. Brzezinski states:

“Tension is unavoidable as man strives to assimilate the new into the framework of the old. For a time, the established framework resiliently integrates the new by adapting it in a more familiar shape. But at some point, the old framework becomes overloaded. The new input can no longer be redefined into traditional forms, and eventually, it asserts itself with compelling force. Today, though the old framework of international politics – with their spheres of influence, military alliances between nation-states, doctrinal conflicts arising from nineteenth-century crises – is clearly no longer with reality”¹⁸⁶.

This fourth age, which he describes as technotronic is something entirely new. It is a spatio-temporal revolution¹⁸⁷. The beginnings of the new type of society that this spatio-temporal revolution is the United States. Its peculiar structure offers a model for the whole globe. History is dynamic and based on evolution. From the industrial society man arrives in the post-industrial one, which will go away and will be replaced by the technotronic one, or in other words, by the technological society (Jacques Ellul):

“The post-industrial society is becoming a ‘technotronic’ society: a society that is shaped culturally, psychologically, socially, and economically by the impact of technology and electronics – particularly in the area of computers and communications”¹⁸⁸.

This revolution and the technological system will spread over in all areas of life. Nothing will escape it. Besides the technological advancement, these dynamics fed themselves from the passion for equality, which during this process becomes a self-conscious force. The passion for equality becomes omnipresent, being spread by the development of the means of communication. The development of the means of communication leads to a greater interconnection between different areas of the world, thus making it possible to go beyond the local or national level and combat inequality at a planetary level. This development leads to the increase of the potential magnitude of human control upon society, environment, etc., increasing the pressure of changing and imposing certain lines on the development of society¹⁸⁹. A new society emerges from these changes and this new society will differ in many ways in its social, economic, or political dimensions from the previous one. The economic power will become inseparable from the political one (or indistinguishable), becoming more invisible. There will be a partnership between the public/governmental sectors and the private ones. On a more personal level, the social binds tend to fragment, the communities too and so do the ties between generations. On

¹⁸⁶ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

another level, the individuals will be integrated in a global structure. This is the result of developing electronic communications and computer networks – global intimacy. The individual will be absorbed by this new global reality¹⁹⁰. But the final product is not the global village. It is a global city, a fragmented reality, a web of tense and nervous interdependent relationships that do not possess the stability, personal intimacy, or implicitly shared values that characterize life in a real village¹⁹¹.

Progress and globalization will lead to the demise of the role of the nation-state and of the nationally elected government. The way politics will be understood will no longer be within the framework of the nation-state but in a global, transnational framework. As he says, the new framework, whatever it might be or might have been from the point of view of the twentieth century, will not be the form of government embraced by the national states. It will not be the expression of the national will (a view that in reality is utopian) but something different¹⁹². It might be, as has been suggested in the early twentieth century, a kind of soviet of engineers (Wood 2015-6). According to the globalist view Brzezinski espouses, national government will or are not able to solve the big problems that confront humanity as a whole, for example, the ecological problems or social inequity all over the world. The most important challenge would be to integrate technological and scientific advances into a reference frame that gives them humane ends (as defined by whom?). This is not avoidable since this goes in the same direction as history. He dubs this supposed future state of the world large-scale cooperation:

“Under the pressure of economics, science, and technology, mankind is moving steadily towards large-scale cooperation. Despite periodic reverses, all human history clearly indicates progress in that direction. The question is whether a spontaneous movement will suffice to counterbalance the dangers already noted. And since the answer is probably no, it follows that a realistic response calls for deliberate efforts to accelerate the process of international cooperation among the advanced nations”¹⁹³.

He does say that this process should not be accomplished by the building of a global state, which is, in his view, the same thing as a nation-state but extended on a global scale. The development of mass communications and of computers – later cybernetics changes the way the political community is understood and run. Due to this extended communication and due to a certain transnational elite, which entertains another view on the world as elected representants or ordinary citizens, a new type of community emerges. This is connected to the rise of a planetary consciousness. Even national-minded elites are aware of the fact that accomplishing national gospels require nowadays more international cooperation. Whatever balance the national state struck between different factors such as security, economics, spiritual, etc. had been affected by the modern-day developments,

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

especially between the transnational cooperation that integrate much smaller units into larger ones by the use of computers, cybernetics, etc. The ideal of this framework would be the functional integration of entire regions or even continents¹⁹⁴. This would be the response to the desire of getting a more defined sense of personality in a world that becomes more and more impersonal and to the changed function of the existing state structures. The new political activity that inevitably arises in compliance to these new developments will bring about changes in the way the things are run and by whom. The things are going to be run by the new emerging transnational, globalist elites, both in spirit and outlook. These elite are not bound so much to their countries but are tied to other elites across the borders, with perspectives that transcend the national ones, their interests being “more functional than national”. They are comprised into a process that will make them more and more globalist¹⁹⁵. Those elite were made up out of “international businessmen, scholars, professional men, and public man.” They will tend progressively to the world and the problems therein according to their global perspective. This was facilitated by the creation of the global information grid – what might be called now internet (which was basically a counterinsurgency tool) that will facilitate and make possible a permanent scientific change and pooling of knowledge. It is fair to recognize that he admits that these developments will or might produce a disconnectedness between these elites and the masses that are native oriented. These process of globalization of the elites and political organization is related to the way problems are identified and defines. These would be the need to overcome the lack of technological backwardness, the eliminate poverty, and now days universalizing sex perversion, promoting gender dementia, destroying national cultures and identities because they do not square with the globalist ideology, as it is now visible. The condition of thereof is the technotronic revolution, which is supposed to be a humane answer to humane needs, “to human suffering in general”¹⁹⁶. Globalism, or geopolitics in the view here presented is another form of the political messianism – false religion that Marxism represented. Only now it is advocated by a supposed defender of the former free world. The procedure to tackle human suffering in general is clearly technocratic in its outlook. Problems are not the result of evil or of active and intentional evil, but of ignorance and complexity. It is a kind of naturalistic approach:

“Social problems are seen less as the consequences of deliberate evil and more as the unintended by-products of both complexity and ignorance; solutions are not sought in emotional simplifications but in the use of man’s accumulated social and scientific knowledge”¹⁹⁷.

Being a technotronic way of governing the world, these new planetary community will imply planification. This is illustrated by the problems that ecology

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

present humanity, but also overpopulation, famine, radiation, exploring space and the oceans. The development of technology will make that more effective. The national state has lost his main role as the principal creative force in the world if Brzezinski is to be believed. Who or what is going to replace it? Multinational corporations and banks are because they are more technocratic savvy than the national governments, more advanced in their endeavors pertaining to planning and acting in more advanced ways than the state¹⁹⁸. The establishment of this new framework of governance is not a free one, is planned, directed. It is a totalitarian one, run by the aforementioned transnational elites.

“More directly linked to the impact of technology, it involves the gradual appearance of a more controlled and directed society. Such a society would be dominated by an elite whose claim to political power would rest on allegedly superior scientific know-how. Unhindered by the restraints of traditional liberal values, this elite would not hesitate to achieve its political ends by using the latest modern techniques for influencing public behavior and keeping society under surveillance and control. Under such circumstances, the scientific and technological momentum of the country would not be reversed but would actually feed on the situation its exploits”¹⁹⁹.

CONCLUSIONS

This remaking of human reality has an ideological ancestor, that is Marxism. Marxism was the best analytical tool to understand social and political reality in the view of the former U.S. national security adviser. So, at least in his view, the new remodeling and establishing of the global more humane society can't ignore this tremendous intellectual tool. The age of Marxism precedes the age of globalization being also the expression of what might be called in Hegelian and Marxist terms the historic necessity that governs the world. It a further development which goes beyond religious development, although the great religions formed the notion of equality of man, because it gives priority to the exterior man over the inner man. Another big step toward an universal vision of man. Giving priority to the inner man as Christianity supposedly does, is not in advantage of mankind. Man has to take over, control and modify his external living condition – so as Mairer says nature is the enemy of man and must be conquered and molded to fit mankind needs and wishes. Marxism provides the view that man has and absolute understanding of reality, and this makes possible the molding the reality according to man's will²⁰⁰.

Marxism offers

“a unique intellectual too for understanding and harnessing the fundamental forces of our time. As both a product and a response to a particularly traumatic phase of man's history, it supplied the best available insight into contemporary reality”²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Marxism in his concrete form has nevertheless failed, just as nationalism fails because it raised only in part man's self-awareness, it mobilized man actively, but somehow it failed to represent a challenge for their critical faculties. Nationalism does not represent, according to him, a conceptual framework, but more a vehicle of human passion and fantasizing. The role of a conceptual framework – the one nationalism and religion didn't prove is to dissect and make possible the active, intentional reassembling or remolding of reality²⁰². This is, of course, an expressing of the all-power fantasy, or of the infantile all-power fantasy in Freudian parlance. This view is just another expression of the modern paradigm of sovereignty as G. Mairé described, and as we see it runs against democratic principle, leading into tyranny.

Though usually, basic concepts are defined at the beginning of a paper, the concept of technocracy has to be explained or defined. There is the etymological understanding, which equates technocracy with the power of technology, and there is also a larger definition, that relates technocracy to the governing of society by a body of unelected experts – would be infallible wise-men – or as the sociologist Thorstein Veblen (Wood 2015-6: 15) puts it by “a soviet of engineers”.

“Technocracy is the science of social engineering, the scientific operation of the entire social mechanism to produce and distribute goods and services to the entire population of this continent. For the first time in human history, it will be done as a scientific, technical, engineering problem”²⁰³.

This conception of a new way of governing society and rebuilding the economy was formulated in the early twentieth century the fundamental idea being that the problems that society meets are caused solely by mankind and that the economic system must be completely changed. It needed a comprehensive surveillance apparatus that wasn't possible to build them. Society is considered a holistic system and surveillance will be applied to all domains of life. Since the basic idea is that society and nature are more important than the individuals that made them up, those have to relinquish their freedom and rights. Technicians are supposed to run and rule this system and no politicians since those are a problem (incompetent and corrupt while the technocrats are pure and dedicated to the good of the world). This new economic system would be based on energy-value not on money whereby precluding the accumulation of wealth and property. Thus, freedom and autonomy become impossible. Profit would no longer be a motivator. And there will be no money but energy certificates, based upon on how much an individual has consumed and well-behaved he or she was, and they will have only a limited time validity. Total control and tyranny are the result of the technocratic mindset as the present reality is starting to show. Geopolitics is therefore the discipline of establishing a totalitarian technocratic despotic system upon the whole world.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁰³ ***, “What is Technocracy”, in *The Technocrat*, Los Angeles, Vol. III, no. 4/1937, p. 3.

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LITERATURE AND ART AS TRANSHUMANIST ENDEAVORS: LEON TROTSKY

Mihail Ungheanu²⁰⁴

ABSTRACT

One of the most essential ideas of modernity is the idea of sovereignty. Usually, this idea is seen either in the context of international relations. Nevertheless, this concept has a moral and a theological meaning whereby the last one is the original. Sovereignty is something that pertains to God. It expresses a certain state of being. This state implies mastery over everything and over oneself. The concept emigrated from its original theological realm to the realm of political philosophy and politics. Sovereignty determines the way humans and society see themselves. It also serves as an ideal for humanity. To become sovereign over nature and over oneself. This endeavor entails also getting dominion over one own nature. Man should become superman/overman. The image of the superman or self-deifying man guide modernity and now that has found a powerful expression in transhumanism. The idea of the superman/ Übermensch can be found even in the writings of socialist/communist thinkers. Such is the case of Leon Trotsky.

Keywords: Übermensch, transumanism, sovereignty, socialism, Trotsky, utopia.

INTRODUCTION

Due to historical circumstances, the idea of superman or the overman is most of the time associated with Nietzsche and the Nazis. This subject matter is not new. The overman/Übermensch tradition of thought is related to the idea of the new man, the man who regains his lost position in creation, becoming equal to the gods or God. The underlying narrative presents humanity as the self-conscious subject and maker of history, a process that led humanity to truly become sovereign over nature, over creation itself. This process is described in terms of progress, even if sometimes it is accepted that there are setbacks. This process is supposed to have started with the dawn of man. Only in modernity man becomes aware of it and aware of possibility of consciously leading it. To achieve this end, man must invent and build from scratch the necessary instruments that are needed. That does not mean that mankind was always aware of this existential project. With the advent of modernity, this project becomes conscious. Even if not all individuals act according to it, this project and its guidelines inform many actions that people perform. The image of the overman as an ideal of mankind, or of the man as God is present in the works of different thinkers that tried to lay the grounds for a new type of society, a just society.

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This conviction forms in the way modern man understands itself. The latest incarnation or incarnations thereof can be found in the conceptions that are dubbed to be transhumanist or post-humanist. Names like Ray Kurzweil come to mind.

LITERATURE, ART, AND PROPAGANDA

An articulate vision about the future of mankind can be found in the work of Leon Trotsky, former Bolshevik agitator and former soviet war and international relationship secretary, who was assassinated in 1940 in Mexico. He was also a supporter of the permanent revolution. He took part in the reorganization of the Red Army, making use of former tsarist officers. He became the number two of the party under Lenin. The theory and ideology of the overman can be found in Trotsky's work that is called *Literature and Revolution*, published in 1924 by the Soviet Government. Though it is not identical with Nietzsche's view on this matter, this work expresses the religion of technology and self-idolatry thereupon the modernity is based. It is a text that describes what revolutionary art and literature should be. Like all so-called social justice ideologies, the ideology that Trotsky espouses is one of hate. In this case, it is a hate directed toward the class enemy, towards the people and the society that opposes revolution and emancipation. Revolutionary art and thus revolutionary literature are (were at that time) not yet socialist. They were meant to prepare for the coming of the golden socialist age. It belongs to a stage that comes before the establishment of socialism. Hate plays a central role in the whole thing. In the class struggle, in art, in literature. It is the main creative element, the impellent of revolution.

Art as a spiritual activity fulfils multiple functions. Art is ideological, propagandistic, educational. Its purpose is to imprint a certain image in the minds of young men and women and to make them act according to certain lines of action. By means of revolutionary art the revolution can go ahead at full speed. The society that is envisaged should look like encompassing both solidarity and competition, though this one would take more subtle for as in capitalist. Art is therefore social and spiritual engineering. This dreamed-up society would be emancipated and will use technology to perfect man and control nature. Art, inclusive literature – and by extension all so-called social sciences and humanities – would become a technology through which a life dedicated to progress would be built in each and every domain (Trotsky 1925: 106). Society becomes and technological system that governs everything, and a new kind of man is forged through this psycho-social technology.

“All forms of life, such as the cultivation of land, the planning of human habitations, the building of theaters, the methods of socially educating children, the solution of scientific problems, the creation of new styles, will vitally engross all and everybody. People will divide into ‘parties’ over the question of a new gigantic canal, or the distribution of oases in the Sahara (such a question will exist too), over the regulation of the weather and the climate, over a new theater, over chemical hypotheses, over

two competing tendencies in music, and over a best system of sports. Such parties will not be poisoned by the greed of class or caste. All will be equally interested in the success of the whole”²⁰⁵.

Although competition is allowed, it takes place only in the ideological domain. Competition is thus framed in other terms. There will be no economic competition for profit, no bribery, no envy, etc. The people inhabiting this society will work exclusively in the interest of the whole. Specialization, and thus alienation will disappear. The emancipated citizens of this liberated and new society will take part in the actions and decisions that in the capitalist society were the realm of specialized people. Though a collectivist social organization, neither art nor individuality won’t suffer in this new social and political setting. All the contradictions that had afflicted human existence in the unjust societies that preceded it would be abolished. The condition of alienation that befalls the human condition will cease to be. There will be no more conflict between the personal aspects of life and the supra-personal structure that is society. Resolving this conflict is essential because this conflict between the individual and the collective or between two collectivities in the same individual was the according to Trotsky the defining tragedy of the modern era. Nevertheless, this period its grandeur that consists in building the society anew (and of man, too):

“Our age is an age of great aims. This is what stamps it. But the grandeur of these aims lies in man’s effort to free himself from mystic and from every other intellectual vagueness and in his effort to reconstruct society and himself in accord with his own plan”²⁰⁶.

AN OLD DREAM

The socialist society seems something new, but the ideology of building a new man is not. Modernity transforms the man in a being that takes the features of *causa sui*, which is the belief that man makes itself, that he creates itself, that man creates his own nature. Man, both on the collective level and the individual level, is supposed to be a self-made being. Socialism is another variant of modernity, of the idea that man is the maker of his history and of his self and being. Also undergirding this line of thought is the idea of absolute divine simplicity, of the absorption of difference in sameness, which is typical for the Far Eastern religions but can be found elsewhere, too. Distinctions, differences, multiplicity are bad and must be overcome; individuation is evil, and everything must fuse in the impersonal One. The experience of the applied communist and socialist doctrine has led to the creation of an environment that stifles individuality, creativity, and to organized mass murder in gulags. And the expected bright future, the abolishing of alienation does not become

²⁰⁵ Leon Trotsky, *Literature and revolution*, electronic version, 1925 [1924], p. 106.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

reality. Instead, thanks to the establishment of utopian policies new modes of alienation will come to be. Even the idea that in the new society each individual can choose freely what to do and participate in whatever actions and decisions of the community he wants to, is fraught with this idea or the original indistinctness of the absolute divine simplicity. There are no true distinctions between beings, they are made up of illusions, therefore there are no true differences in the talents and capacities humans have. Differences must be erased, and the outcomes of human actions must be the same for every individual. Otherwise, inequalities will ensue.

Such utopian views are related to the imagery of the perfect city, of the New Jerusalem, a New Jerusalem that is built by man. If the Kingdom of Heaven refuses to come to fill humanity's desires, then man creates or produces it through his own efforts. Closely associated with this view, even a centerpiece thereof is the concept of progress or what can be called the religion of progress. Progress has become the main means to evaluate things, being seen as a real movement in the structure of the world²⁰⁷. It has replaced Providence in the hearts of men and women, nevertheless it presupposes it, even if only implicitly. There is design in history, history goes with necessity in a certain direction, even if it has some setbacks. This view affirms that there are stages of this process, ages. Modernity including the so-called post-modernity – is the age in which progress had become something that everyone is supposedly aware of and can be consciously directed (by self-appointed experts, think-tanks, billionaires). It is the positivist age in Auguste Comte's terms. The New Jerusalem can be achieved by man's effort using technology – material or otherwise. Though the idea of unremitting progress can be seen as the transmutation of the theological order of Christianity into an evolutionary one, the evolutionary view was present even in the earlier Middle Ages and also in the Hermetic philosophy wherein the universe and its whole development is seen as necessary in a process of self-development of the Godhead. The Godhead needs self-actualization and produces the universe from itself. The world is not created out of nothing. The universe is the Godhead that needs a kind of mirror to accomplish self-knowledge and to perfect itself. The Spirit sets itself as the Other, but it remains the same. This is a process that entails evolution and progress. The final stage of the process -the end of history – is the return of the Godhead to itself, the annihilation of otherness. The universe returns to the Godhead but this final stage (which is still the first departure point) is not identical to the point of departure. The evolution and self-completion of the Godhead are thus fulfilled. The whole process of history is directed towards and by this *telos*. It is unavoidable progress and evolution. This process is in similar with the eternal generation of the world by the Neoplatonic One and its return to it. There is a major and essential difference between these views. The point of returning is identical to the point of departure in Neoplatonism. There is no evolution or historicity in the One. According to the afore-mentioned Hermetic theology history and thus progress is an intra-divine process. The Godhead is history and progress.

²⁰⁷ Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Millenium and Utopia*, Harper and Row, New York, 1964, p. 1.

The focal point of history is humanity because man is the agent through which the self-actualization of the Godhead takes place (Hegel's view of history and Spirit is based upon this understanding of reality and, therefore, Marx's too). The particular beings that fill the world are in this theology inherently divine. Real alterity does not exist, since the world is made out of the Godhead, is another manifestation thereof, a mask. Needless to say, this is not compatible with a Christian and theistic worldview. The religion of progress has therefore many sources, only two being given here. Despite being the products of different and contradictory theologies, they led to a certain interpretation of history as a progressive development. Both these views contain the idea of the advancement of humanity as a whole and self-deification (though in the Hermetic view this process implies the acknowledgment of man's divine nature since the whole world and the beings therein are just manifestation of the Godhead).

The whole project has proven wrong and rotten to the core, albeit its promises continue to live one and continue to inform policies that, despite their promises, prove themselves to be dystopian and damaging to mankind. Building paradise on earth creates hell, a lesson that people forget. Building back better without God. But the art, the new art is meant to build mankind anew. No new society without a new man. Technology – the art will change man as she is supposed to change nature. Trotsky contends that the present-day configuration of external nature, that is mountains, seas, rivers, etc. is not a definitive immutable pre-given reality. They can be changed, transformed, moulded to fit man's wishes. Reality is something that man can and must change. The activity of man proves that nature can be changed, so a reengineering of nature is possible. It is more than possible. Reengineering man and nature is an imperative, a moral duty. Technology, in contrast to the Christian faith that promises to move mountains, will cut, and move mountains for real.

“Up to now this was done for industrial purposes (mines) or for railways (tunnels); in the future this will be done on an immeasurably larger scale, according to a general industrial and artistic plan. Man will occupy himself with re-registering mountains and rivers and will earnestly and repeatedly make improvements in nature. In the end, he will have rebuilt the earth, if not in his own image, at least according to his own taste. We have not the slightest fear that this taste will be bad”²⁰⁸.

The basic conviction that underlines this worldview is that nature is not perfect, that she is defective and must be improved upon. The agent of this improvement is humanity and in the case of Trotsky the future socialist/communist society. As already mentioned, this idea of improvement of man can be found even in the Middle Ages. This theme of improvement brought about by man upon nature is not new and can be found even in the Middle Ages. Although the view that gave birth to what can be called the religion of progress/technology is not quite compatible with the biblical text, some of its roots can be found there. This was made possible by the re-evaluation of the practical arts and of the technological progress that did happen

²⁰⁸ Leon Trotsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–116.

in the Middle Ages. Those and the conviction that the improvement of technology and life condition was accompanied by the conviction that the coming of the Kingdom-of-God was at hand. The technological improvements were seen as signs that announce the imminence of the Millennium. Moreover, another way to understand the presence of man in the world and of the meaning and function of the liberal and practical arts. They were the means by which man could regain his lost original nature. These strands of thought have begun to bear fruits. These fruits are, despite some apparent good, qualities poisonous and it is the present world. have he who description of what future socialist society will accomplish is a good example of human narcissism and inflated self-image. This discourse is not proper to Trotsky but expresses a mindset that had begun to be more outspoken in the last four centuries. Its history goes back much longer than previously thought. As he put it, there is no dualism between earth and machine, between the natural order of things and technology.

“Through the machine, man in Socialist society will command nature in its entirety, with its grouse and its sturgeons”²⁰⁹.

Technology has also spiritual value – even if spirituality has a diminished meaning here – and become a source of inspiration for art. Of course, in the future, the contradiction or distinction between art and technology/art and nature will be resolved in a higher synthesis – just as the opposition between planned and spontaneous action. Conquering nature, eliminating hunger, etc. and mastering nature will be the main preoccupation of society, according to the former Soviet ideologue. In this regard, he is right. The transhumanist movement, the technological development of the last decades, and other endeavors that are supposed to assure the future of mankind go in this direction. They build up the foundation of a society based on the rule of self-named unelected experts who tell everyone what to eat, think, etc. The focal point of action of modernity and technological development is man. Mankind is both the object and subject the of physical and social engineering:

“More than that. Man at last will begin to harmonize himself in earnest. He will make it his business to achieve beauty by giving the movement of his own limbs the utmost precision, purposefulness and economy in his work, his walk, and his play. He will try to master first the semiconscious and then the subconscious processes in his own organism, such as breathing, the circulation of the blood, digestion, reproduction, and, within necessary limits, he will try to subordinate them to the control of reason and will. Even purely physiologic life will become subject to collective experiments. The human species, the coagulated *Homo sapiens*, will once more enter into a state of radical transformation, and, in his own hands, will become an object of the most complicated methods of artificial selection and psycho-physical training. This is entirely in accord with evolution. Man, first drove the dark elements out of industry and ideology, by displacing barbarian routine by scientific technique, and religion by science. Afterwards he drove the unconscious out of politics, by overthrowing monarchy and class with democracy and rationalist parliamentarianism and then with

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

the clear and open Soviet dictatorship. The blind elements have settled most heavily in economic relations, but man is driving them out from there also, by means of the Socialist organization of economic life. This makes it possible to reconstruct fundamentally the traditional family life. Finally, the nature of man himself is hidden in the deepest and darkest corner of the unconscious, of the elemental, of the sub-soil. Is it not self-evident that the greatest efforts of investigative thought and of creative initiative will be in that direction?"²¹⁰.

And this goes further:

"Man will make it his purpose to master his own feelings, to raise his instincts to the heights of consciousness, to make them transparent, to extend the wires of his will into hidden recesses, and thereby to raise himself to a new plane, to create a higher social biologic type, or, if you please, a superman"²¹¹.

CONCLUSION

Mankind does not just simply exist. Man, and society change by producing new ideas, new ways of life through which man act upon nature and himself. Mankind produces culture and history. Essential to the existence of mankind is meaning, culture, symbols, representation, etc. Without a worldview that assigns to mankind its place in the universe, which defines what is dangerous and what is not, what is good or bad, human existence would not be possible. A worldview is thus necessary for human development and existence. Humanity develops many such worldviews and also ideals about society or man. Those can be used to change society and man itself. Through social, medical, physical, and mental action man will be re-created. It will become more powerful, harmonious, immensely stronger, wiser, subtler, etc. Everyone could become a Goethe or a Karl Marx. The socialist society Leon Trotsky helped created and established proved to be a failure, and he got assassinated by Stalin. His grim end doesn't make him any less guilty for the crimes of communism, mass deportations, mass deaths, etc. His work is worth reading because it opens an access point to the technocratic ideology that lies at the heart of modernity. It is a project of self-deification, of recreating man and nature. The much-dreamed socialist/communist society was from its inception a technological society, and despite its failure, seem to represent the ideal toward the present-day society – so-called democratic – is forging ahead. Trotsky dreams about a superman shows that the ideals present in Nietzsche, the Nazis, and Communism are related and represent a general feature of modernity which is the drive towards self-deification. And those ideals – even in the form expressed by Trotsky were not possible without the presence of a theological (bad theologies have bad consequences) and philosophical background that enabled the birth of these all-power demonic fantasies. Modernity and its present iteration as post-modernity are revealed to be technocratic in their inner core.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117.

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SNOWFLAKE GENERATION: THEORETICAL FOUNDATION AND BRIEF CHARACTERIZATION

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ABSTRACT

The material answers two questions. First concerns who is the snowflake generation. To answer this question, I will clarify conceptually what I mean by the following: generation (based on the definition of the German sociologist Karl Mannheim), then give a brief history of the concept of snowflake, and then discuss the central concept of the paper, snowflake generation. The second question I set out to answer is “how are these young people like?”. To answer this question, I will start from the work of researchers Claire Fox (2016, 2018) and Jean Marie Twenge (2014) but not only and analyse the data that will help me shape the profile in question. My intention is to first identify the three main characteristics of this profile, and then to observe sociologically what their implications are. I am interested in the “snowflake generation” because, as Professor Ilie Bădescu states, generations are “identity vehicles”²¹³ and their study contributes to the understanding of social structures.

Key words: generation, snowflake generation, ego, loneliness, depression.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE FOLLOWING

1. The concept of generation

The study of generations has over the years enjoyed increasing interest from the social sciences. A discussion involving the term generation requires first conceptual clarification. The German sociologist Karl Mannheim, in his *Essays on the sociology of knowledge* (1952, first published in 1923) points out that the study of generations is important because it contributes to understanding the concept of social change, the two being in an interdependent relationship. From his perspective, generations cannot be considered a concrete group (whereby concrete group we mean that its members are aware of each other’s existence, and when the criterion of physical proximity disappears, so does the mental and spiritual unity of the group). Generations are also different from associations, such as organisations, because their foundation is based on a deliberate act of establishment, written regulations, etc.,

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²¹³ Ilie Bădescu during the conference “Sincronism european și cultură critică românească: o lectură fundamentală”, [“European Synchronism and Romanian Critical Culture: a fundamental reading”], organized by the European Centre for Ethnic Studies of the Romanian Academy in collaboration with the Institute of Sociology of the Romanian Academy, the Institute of Legal Research “Acad. Andrei Rădulescu” of the Romanian Academy, the Association of Geopolitics, Geoeconomics and Geoculture and the Association “Lumea Nouă”, on February 24, 2022, at Bonachi House.

aspects that serve to hold the group together even if spatial proximity and community of life disappear²¹⁴. Moreover, he also distinguishes between the concept of class and that of generation, in that the former is more related to the socio-economic sphere, while the idea of generation belongs mainly to the socio-historical area. The social class:

“Brings together individuals with similar interests, with a relatively homogeneous level of wealth, in accordance with the properties (assets) held. The social class acts mainly according to economic interests”²¹⁵.

Another significant difference is that, unlike generation, the concept of class is socially mobile in the sense that it is possible to move from one class to another.

So, we have seen that generation is neither a concrete group, nor an organization, nor a social class, but the question remains how can we understand generation sociologically? To understand this concept as a social phenomenon Karl Mannheim considers that generation must be understood as “a particular time of social location”²¹⁶. In other words, according to him, generation refers to a certain type of locational identity. The location of generations is not determined by biological factors (birth, death, etc.), but by the possibility of experiencing certain events, at which point we refer to the idea of stratification of individuals’ experience. In other words, the principle of contemporaneity becomes relevant only insofar as it also implies participation in the same historical and social circumstances. This means that the generation includes persons who participate in the common destiny of a socio-historical unit²¹⁷. In this case, we can speak of a generational unit. This situation occurs when we talk about a community of people who share a common destiny, the outcome of which is directly influenced by the level of active involvement that members show.

It is important to point out that a generation can contain several differentiated generational units, together forming the “current generation”. For example: young people around 1810 in Germany formed a present generation, regardless of whether they were supporters of liberal or conservative ideas²¹⁸. I will conclude by pointing out that as far as the German sociologist is concerned, what is proper to the concept of generation is the idea of events, moments, actions, facts, which mark the destiny of a category. However, the level of involvement of the generation determines the

²¹⁴ Karl Mannheim, „The problem of generation”, pp. 276–320, in Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the sociology of knowledge*, London, RKP Publishing House, 1952, pp. 288–289.

²¹⁵ „reunește indivizi cu interese similare, cu un nivel relativ omogen de bunăstare, în concordanță cu proprietățile (bunurile) deținute. Clasa socială acționează în special după interese de natură economică”, in Radu Baltasiu, *Introducere în sociologie. Spiritualitate, națiune și capitalism. Considerații de sociologie românească și weberiană [Introduction to Sociology. Spirituality, nation, and capitalism. Considerations of Romanian and Weberian sociology]*, Craiova, Beladi Publishing House, 2007, p. 68.

²¹⁶ Karl Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

degree of fulfilment of a generation's destiny. In this sense, he uses the term *generation entelechy* to describe the maximum of a generation's fulfilled potential. According to Constantin Schifirneț (1985):

“The entelechy of a generation expresses its unity and intimate purpose, its innate feelings of life”²¹⁹.

In connection with the idea of generational entelechy, Simion Mehedinți wrote at the beginning of the 20th century, in his work entitled *Toward the New Generation*, about “living times”, proper to generations that tend towards the fulfilment of destiny, towards what Mannheim called the maximum of potentialities. In this sense Mehedinți states that:

“Blessed are all those who, in their brief passage through life, happen to witness such living times. In contrast, worthy of pity are the generations, which through the superior rhythm of the life of a nation, or through the absurd chance, which in a moment mow down its most chosen geniuses and talents, spend their lives in languor, like the luntress who looks far into the distance, wondering whence the wind will rise (...)”²²⁰.

Beyond the living generations, Mehedinți identifies two other categories: those characteristic of the “dead time” and those who transition between the two extremes, which he calls “interim generations”, which in terms of generational ethos are closer to the “dead times” because of their attitudinal latency. Simion Mehedinți highlights in his work that while the “dead time” and interim generations are characterized by a mental immobility (because they are more concerned with “obtaining certificates”), the living generations are valuable individualities, characterized by mental independence (because their main concern is growth)²²¹.

Like Mannheim, Simion Mehedinți answers the question “why is the study of generations important?”. The answer can be summarized as follows:

“The true rebirth of a people begins with its youth; true decadence also begins there”²²².

In relation to generational entelechy, Mehedinți identifies three actors that he contributes directly to what Mannheim called the maximum of fulfilled potentiality, namely, the church, the school (through teachers) and the army. Why the church? Because:

²¹⁹ „entelechia unei generații exprimă unitatea și scopul ei intim, sentimentele de viață înăscute”, in Constantin Schifirneț, *Generație și cultură, [Generation and culture]*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1985, p. 18.

²²⁰ „Fericiți toți cei care, în scurta lor trecere prin viață, s-au întâmplat să fie martori ai unor astfel de timpuri vii. Dimpotrivă, vrednice de compătimire sunt generațiile care, prin ritmul superior al vieții unui neam, sau prin întâmplarea absurdă care seceră într-un moment geniile și talentele sale cele alese, își petrec viața în lăncezire, asemenea luntrașului care privește departe în zare, întrebându-se de unde se va ridica vântului (...)”, in Simion Mehedinți, *Către noua generație, [To the new generation]*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1912, pp. 12–13.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²²² „Adevărata renaștere a unui popor începe cu tinerimea sa; adevărata decadență tot de acolo începe”, in *Ibid.*, p. 1.

“The most comprehensive school is the church: it takes us by the hand from childhood and accompanies us to the grave. Every day at home, and at least once a week at church, she points our eyes to the ideal – points them to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear”²²³.

Why school and why through teachers? Because from Mehedinți’s perspective, the outcome of school is not how you learn but what and from whom you learn. In other words, school contributes to the achievement of maximum potential because it involves:

“The conscious or unconscious disciplining of life through daily contact with the one you took as a model of thought and feeling in your youth, as a model of ‘social attitude’. ‘Learning’ and ‘teaching’ therefore comes from the personality of the teacher”²²⁴.

And finally, why the army? Because, like school, it disciplines (we talk about discipline because it helps to control the overblown ego, which we will see that the young snowflake generation does not excel at).

Also from the series of factors contributing to what Mannheim called generational entelechy, Nichifor Crainic (pseudonym of Ion Dobre) points out in one of his articles published in 1934, entitled “Youth and Christianity”, that the three main factors contributing to the attainment of the maximum potential of a generation in relation to the socio-historical context are: the school (here he refers mainly to the university environment, because students are socio-culturally effervescent), the state and the church. The spiritual power that faith gave to the young people of that time did not let them remain indifferent to the challenges of the time²²⁵. From this perspective, I point out that Nichifor Crainic indirectly takes up the thesis of the German sociologist Mannheim on the study of generations from the perspective of social change. In other words, Nichifor Crainic warns that the generational entelechy is, as Mannheim also states, dependent on the ability of a generation to actively participate in certain events, facts, etc.

Another definition of the concept of generation that I have in mind is that of the Romanian sociologist Sorin Rădulescu (which includes the view of the German sociologist mentioned above). According to him, generation is made up of people who belong to the same demographic cohort (people who were born in the same period), which is why they have experienced together various moments of great significance (wars are a good example) that have had a significant impact on their

²²³ „școala cea mai cuprinzătoare este biserica: ea ne ia de mână din copilărie și ne însoțește până la mormânt. În fiecare zi acasă, și măcar o dată pe săptămână la biserică, ea ne îndreaptă ochii spre ideal – îi îndreaptă celor ce au ochi de văzut și urechi de auzit”, in *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²²⁴ „disciplinarea conștientă sau inconștientă a vieții prin contactul zilnic cu acela pe care ți l-ai luat în anii tinereții ca model de cugetare și simțire, ca pildă de «atitudine socială». «Învățățul» și «învățătura» izvorăște așadar din personalitatea profesorului”, in *Ibid.*, p. 63.

²²⁵ Crainic Nichifor, „Tineretul și creștinismul” [“Young people and Christianity”], in *Gândirea*, no. 3/1934, Available at: <http://www.miscarea.net/crainic-tineretul-si-crestinismul.htm>, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

destiny. The concept of generation has a polysemantic character. I will briefly review some of these definitions, based on Sorin Rădulescu's ideas. From a biological point of view, generation includes individuals who share the same filiation. Demographically speaking, generation includes all individuals living at the same time. Historically, generation is the collective expression of an era, and from a sociological perspective, generation refers to individuals who were born around the same time and who have had similar experiences that have shaped their collective existence²²⁶.

Rodica Stăiculescu and Daniela Jitcov (2005) identify four major directions of use of the term generation in the social sciences: the first is statistical or demographic and refers to specific, measurable aspects of the concept in question. From this perspective, the term generation is synonymous with cohort and refers to the total number of people born on the same date or within the same time frame. The second perspective from which the term generation can be understood is ethnological or genealogical, where the definition of this concept is restricted to the idea of filiation but has the merit of helping to classify the different generations. In sociology, this concept is less precise in the researcher's view and refers to a community, which has certain spiritual characteristics, but which is distinct from the notion of age, since the latter is more a matter of ethnology. The two authors argue that currently, from a sociological perspective, the working definition of the concept of generation comes from Mannheim, who considers that generation is a group of people of the same age, which is distinguished from others by common historical experiences that have marked their existence in some way. From a historical perspective the generation is: "a period corresponding to the length of time people are renewed in public life and is measured by the time interval separating the age of the father from that of the son, generally evaluated at 30 years"²²⁷.

To clarify the universe of research, my study will focus on the generation that British writer Claire Fox calls the "snowflake generation". The young people included in this category were born between 1980–2000 (more precisely 1981–1996), and their main characteristics are: hypersensitivity and exacerbated ego, hence the name²²⁸.

2. The snowflake concepts

To talk about the snowflake generation, the concept of "snowflake" must first be clarified. So, I will take a brief historical foray into the use of this term. From the perspective of the use of this concept, three stages can be distinguished. The first

²²⁶ Sorin Rădulescu, *Sociologia vârstelor (societatea și ciclul uman de viață) [Sociology of ages (society and the human life cycle)]*, Bucharest, Hyperion Publishing House, 1994, p. 39.

²²⁷ „generația reprezintă o perioadă care corespunde duratei de reînnoire a oamenilor în viața publică și este măsurată prin intervalul de timp ce separă vârsta tatălui de cea a fiului, evaluată, în general, la 30 de ani” in *Ibid.*, p. 145.

²²⁸ Claire Fox, *I Find That Offensive*, United Kingdom, Biteback Publishing Ltd, 2016.

stage is identified in the 1960s and 1970s, when the term had racial connotations and was used derogatory against whites, but also against people of colour who were part of the “white” category. Also, during the same period, the term was used as a slang term for cocaine’. The use of the term in this sense, however, also appears in the 1860s in Missouri to refer to people who opposed the abolition of slavery for black people. The use of the concept in this direction, however, apparently did not go beyond the borders of the American state at that time²²⁹.

The second stage refers to the use of the term “snowflake”, also in a pejorative sense, only this time the references are not racial, but have generational connotations. The third stage of the use of this term can be identified in the run-up to the 2016 elections in America, when the term has negative connotations, only this time they are moved to the political sphere (the phrase being used in a negative sense by those on the right of the political spectrum against those on the left)²³⁰. The use in a (politically) pejorative sense of the term, however, continued after 2016 to refer to the opposition of young people in this category to the performance of former US President Donald Trump but also to the UK’s exit from the EU. According to a survey by the Pew Research Centre, in Donald Trump’s first year in office, only 27% of young people in the snowflake generation considered his performance worthy of praise²³¹, while in the Brexit referendum, around 75% of young people were in favour of remaining in the EU²³².

In this paper, I will start from the generational references of this concept. Before 2016, this concept was predominantly used to talk, also in a negative note about millennials. Famous in this regard is the use of the term snowflake in Chuck Palahniuk’s 1996 book *Fight Club*²³³, where one of Tyler Durden’s club members tells the others:

“You are not a beautiful, unique snowflake. You are the same decaying organic matter as everyone else, and we are all part of the same compost heap”²³⁴.

This is considered by some to be the most representative moment in the history of the use of the term in this sense, because it marks the beginning of the criticism

²²⁹ Merriam Webster Dictionary, “No, ‘Snowflake’ as a Slang Term Did Not Begin with ‘Fight Club’”. The lost history of ‘snowflake’”, s.a., Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/the-less-lovely-side-of-snowflake>, Accessed on January 12, 2022.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ Pew Research Center, “The Generation Gap in American Politics”, March 1, 2018, Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2018/03/01/the-generation-gap-in-american-politics/>, Accessed on February 28, 2022.

²³² Elena Cresci, “Meet the 75%: the young people who voted to remain in the EU”, in *The Guardian*, June 26, 2016, Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/meet-the-75-young-people-who-voted-to-remain-in-eu>, Accessed on January 22, 2022.

²³³ The Week, “Where did the term snowflake come from?”, January 22, 2022, Available at: <https://www.theweek.co.uk/news/955539/where-did-the-term-snowflake-come-from>, Accessed on February 26, 2022.

²³⁴ „Nu sunteți un fulg de zăpadă frumos și unic. Sunteți aceeași materie organică în descompunere ca toată lumea, iar noi toți facem parte din aceeași grămadă de compost.”, in Chuck Palahniuk, *Fight Club*, 1996, Available at: <https://media.oaipdf.com/pdf/4e2ee94e564c40ceb06dcd7692bbd276.pdf>, Accessed on February 22, 2022, p. 91.

of young people who had begun to think of themselves as belonging to a generation more special than others, which is why they deserve different treatment.

3. The snowflake generation concept

British author Claire Fox, director of the think tank Institute for Ideas, is the one who established the concept of the “snowflake generation” in her works “I find that offensive” (2016) and “I still find that offensive” (2018) in which she outlines, based on her experience as a professor in American universities, a profile of the snowflake generation, which she says are proud and therefore very sensitive beings, hence the name. Claire Fox classifies this generation among the millennials, who are also known in the field of age sociology as “generation y”²³⁵. The hypersensitivity of this category of young people has multiple sources. One of these is the very name “snowflake generation”. Findings from a survey of a sample of 2,000 Britons aged 16 to 24 showed that three quarters of participants complained that the designation was abusive, affecting their mental health²³⁶.

The term snowflake generation is used in a derogatory sense to characterize the generation of young people born between 1981–1996 (some authors refer to the period 1980–1999), a category that is characterized by hypersensitivity and low resilience to criticism²³⁷. Collins English Dictionary included the term snowflake generation in early November 2016 which it defined as that category of young people who became adults in 2010 (whereby adults we mean those who turned 18 that year), and who are more prone to offending and less resilient than previous generations²³⁸. Liv Little, 22, who is the editor-in-chief of Gal-dem magazine, and who was recently selected by the BBC as one of the 100 most influential and inspirational women of 2016, argues that the idea that the hypersensitivity of this generation is problematic is unfounded. About this generation's hypersensitivity, Claire Fox notes in her work that what she calls “safe spaces” have emerged in American universities, places where young people are shielded from criticism, which makes them feel safer. But she argues that this only contributes to their heightened sensitivity. Liv Little, on the other hand, sees the initiative as beneficial because it contributes to the social

²³⁵ Arthur A. Berger, *Cultural Perspectives on Millennials*, San Francisco, Palgrave, Macmillan Publishing, 2018. p. 5.

²³⁶ Alexandra Constanda, Lizeta Oprea, Adelina Mărăcine, “Cum a apărut ‘generația fulgi de nea’, tinerii hipersensibili, veșnic nemulțumiți și ofensați de cele mai banale lucruri” [“How the ‘snowflake generation’ came to be, hypersensitive young people, eternally dissatisfied and offended by the most trivial things”], in *Adevărul*, February 7, 2018, Available at: https://adevarul.ro/life-style/parinti/cum-aparut-generatia-fulgi-nea-tinerii-hipersensibilivesnicnemultumitiofensaticelemai-banalelucruri1_5a79f5d2df52022f75426a9a/index.html, Accessed on January 12, 2022.

²³⁷ Hollie Gard, “Is it fair to label millennials the ‘snowflake’ generation?”, May 12 2021, Available at: <https://www.epsomcollege.org.uk/academic/academic-blogs/is-it-fair-to-label-millennials-the-snowflake-generation/>, Accessed February 28, 2022.

²³⁸ Collins English Dictionary, “Definition of ‘snowflake generation’”, Harper Collins Publishers, 2016, Available at: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/snowflake-generation>, Accessed on January 12, 2022.

inclusion of people who are “excluded”. In other words, what Fox identifies as spaces of censorship, Little classifies as spaces of inclusion and social change²³⁹.

On “safe spaces”, Hollie Gard (2021) believes that although they have the merit of providing environments conducive to the development of all categories of young people, the censorship of discourse must be considered, in the sense that the idea of dialog, of debate, is increasingly diluted, for fear of offending anyone. Moreover, it points out that it is inevitable that at some point divergent opinions will emerge, which is why silencing is not the most effective way to confront divergent opinions. In other words, young people must learn to listen first and then try to argue against opinions that do not converge with their own beliefs, rather than rejecting and then feeling offended by them. It is clear from this perspective that the progress of a society is also due to dialog and debate, which are currently struggling with the tendency to be eliminated.

Listening to opposing views is the foundation of freedom of expression. Therefore, critics such as Theresa May classify attempts by these young people to limit the adversarial discussion, under the guise of avoiding what they see as “hate speech” directed against them, as a direct attack on freedom of expression itself²⁴⁰. In other words, debate is the hallmark of democracy, and attempting to limit it in any way can become a first step towards anarchy. Pointing to a paradoxical issue here, although they advocate acceptance of all ideas, these young people find it difficult when they must do the same, showing little tolerance for opinions that differ from their own²⁴¹. Of course, beyond everyone’s right to an opinion, those opinions must not discriminate in any way against the other, but that is not the subject that concerns me.

In the literature, this category of young people has several names. One of the most common names is millennials, when this concept refers to young people who were born between 1980–1990/2000²⁴². From the perspective of the characteristics

²³⁹ Nicholson Rebecca, “Poor little snowflake’ – the defining insult of 2016”, in *The Guardian*, November 28, 2016, Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/nov/28/snowflake-insult-disdain-young-people>, Accessed on February 28, 2022.

²⁴⁰ Jon Stone, “British Prime Minister Theresa May hits out at safe spaces”, in *The Independent*, September 14, 2016, Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/safe-spaces-no-platform-theresa-maypmqs-british-prime-minister-uk-a7300336.html>, Accessed on February 2, 2022.

²⁴¹ Hollie Gard, “Is it fair to label millennials the ‘snowflake’ generation?”, May 12, 2021, Available at: <https://www.epsomcollege.org.uk/academic/academic-blogs/is-it-fair-to-label-millennials-the-snowflake-generation/>, Accessed February 28, 2022.

²⁴² See:

1. Joel Stein, “Millennials: The me me me generation”, in *Time*, May 9, 2013, Available at: <http://time.com/247/millennials-the-me-me-me-generation/>, Accessed on February 2, 2022.

2. Mariana Harjevschi, “Provocările generației millennials pentru biblioteca municipal «B.P. Hașdeu»” [“The challenges of the millennial generation for the ‘B.P. Hașdeu’ municipal library”], in *Biblio Polaris Journal*, nr. 3/2015, pp.115–119, Available at: <http://ojs.hasdeu.md/index.php/bibliopolis/article/view/323/318>, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

3. Amanda Ruggeri, “Maybe many of the assumptions we make about Gen Y aren’t unique to this generation. Maybe they’re specific to young people in general”, in *BBC*, October 3, 2017, Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20171003-millennials-are-the-generation-thats-fun-to-hate>, Accessed on January 26, 2022.

of this category (*i.e.*, hypersensitivity and individualism taken to extremes), I also consider relevant the term “me generation” (“gen me”) that researcher Jean M. Twenge, professor at San Diego State University, has attributed to young people born in the period 1980–1990/2000²⁴³. In the second edition of *Generation Me: Why Today’s Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled-And More Miserable Than Ever Before*, the author establishes the following categories: baby boomers (1943–1960), generation x (1961–1981), and millennials, whom she also calls “generation me” (1982–1999/2000).

An interchangeable term that Jean M. Twenge uses when talking about this category is “igen”, a generation over-exposed to technology. The “I” in the name comes, according to specialists, both from “individualism” and from the internet (given the long time they spend online)²⁴⁴. These young people are therefore (despite being constantly connected on social networks) very lonely. Another classification, not much different, is offered by The National Chamber Foundation, which divides generations temporally into baby boomers (born between 1946 and 1964), generation x (1965–1979), the millennial generation, or generation y (1980–1999), and generation z (those born after 2000)²⁴⁵. There are several classifications in the literature, but based on the above, I will say that the generation I am interested in is the generation born between 1980–2000, whose main characteristics are exacerbated pride and increased individualism most often reflected in increasing tendencies of selfishness; throughout the paper it will be referred to as the snowflake generation or millennials.

PORTRAIT OF THE SNOWFLAKE GENERATION

1. On self-esteem, egocentrism, and hypersensitivity

Researcher Jean M. Twenge says (based on studies she and her collaborators have conducted with more than 40,000 students and about 12,000 children aged 9 to 17) that the millennial generation is more self-centred than previous generations. This situation is because the young people in question (1980–1999/2000) were born and raised in what Twenge generically called the “self-esteem movement”. In other words, young people were taught to believe that they should always put themselves first²⁴⁶. The self-esteem movement began in the United States in the 1970s with the

4. Berger A. Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁴³ Jean M. Twenge, *Generation Me: Why Today’s Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled-And More Miserable Than Ever Before (revised and updated)*, New York, Aria Paperback, 2014a, p. 5).

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Arthur Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²⁴⁶ Jean M. Twenge, *Generation Me: Why Today’s Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled-And More Miserable Than Ever Before (revised and updated)*, New York, Aria Paperback, 2014b (e-book).

publication of *Psychology of Self-Esteem* by psychologist Nathaniel Brandon in 1969. The book produced a major change because it associated self-esteem with the idea of success or failure. In other words, it started from the premise that a person with high self-esteem will have a better chance of success in life. This premise has led to a significant change in education in the sense that legislation in the field of education has been renewed so that self-esteem can be implemented through schools among pupils, students. Various working groups were set up to identify ways in which self-esteem could be improved among young people. The first such task force was created in California in 1986, when the authorities announced that the state would become a “state of esteem”, acting as a “social vaccine”²⁴⁷.

Regarding self-esteem in this paper, I refer to feelings of self-worth²⁴⁸. However, it is important to note here that self-appreciation must be based on reality, specifically personal effort, dedication, and perseverance²⁴⁹. The policy of developing self-esteem has extended from the educational environment into the family. Po Bronson and Ashley Merryman, however, did a meta-analysis of the most recent parenting studies in the book *Nurture Shock* and concluded that the premise that increase self-confidence is directly proportional to increasing success is wrong. Several studies have shown that it is not self-esteem that influence performance, but individual effort, which the self-esteem movement has almost completely ignored. Moreover, researchers such as Kamins and Dweck (1999) have warned that when a child is valued for his intelligence and not for his effort, the level of anxiety he experiences when he fails is higher because he attributes failure to internal causes and not to the effort, he puts in. Following the results of the study, Carol Dweck, stated that there are two types of thinking one that holds that intelligence is fixed and one that focuses on the idea of accumulation (intelligence is “mobile” in the sense that it can be expanded by acquiring new skills)²⁵⁰.

Starting from the two types of thinking identified by Carol Dweck, Tim Urban argues that most of the young people we have agreed to call the “millennial generation”, “generation y”, or the “snowflake” generation, tend to have an inflexible thinking pattern due to the fact that they have been educated (by parents, school, media, etc.) to believe that they have exceptional natural abilities (back to the uniqueness of the snowflake) that will propel them to the heights of success simply because that is what naturally happens to gifted people (again, we see the

²⁴⁷ Alina Kartman, “The self-esteem movement and the unhappiness of a generation”, June 10, 2021, Available at: <https://st.network/analysis/top/the-self-esteem-movement-and-the-unhappiness-of-a-generation.html>, Accessed on February 28, 2022.

²⁴⁸ K. A. Ashwini, “Effect of Loneliness on Self Esteem of High School Boys and Girls”, in *International Journal of Indian Psychology*, Volume 5, Issue 1, 2017, Available at: <https://ijip.in/wpcontent/uploads/2019/02/18.01.121.20170501.pdf>, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

²⁴⁹ Alina Kartman, “The self-esteem movement and the unhappiness of a generation”, June 10, 2021, Available at: <https://st.network/analysis/top/the-self-esteem-movement-and-the-unhappiness-of-a-generation.html>, Accessed on February 28, 2022.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

absence of effort as a key element in achieving success). This is how we end up in a situation where, according to Paul Harvey, a professor at the University of New Hampshire, members of “generation y” have “unrealistic expectations and a strong opposition to negative feedback”²⁵¹.

Given their high levels of self-esteem, young people in this category have an “inflated sense” of self-worth, which is problematic because “a big source of frustration for people with a strong sense of entitlement is unmet expectations”, says Paul Harvey. In other words, the fact that young people have been taught to believe about themselves that they are the prettiest, the smartest, or the most talented has not only caused them to remain below their developmental potential²⁵², but also made them unhappy (because of their unmet expectations)²⁵³. The rigid model of thinking brings into question the idea of soul immobility described by Simion Mehedinți. We are interested in this correlation because the clarity of thought is directly related to the soul. Finally, the idea of underdevelopment of potential brings into question Karl Mannheim's concept of generational entelechy according to which generation can only be understood from the perspective of the fulfilment of the maximum potential in relation to the socio-historical context²⁵⁴.

I note a new paradox about the snowflake generation, this time about self-esteem. Studies on the subject show that loneliness is associated with low self-esteem²⁵⁵, but research in the field, show us the snowflake generation as a generation with high self-esteem²⁵⁶. In other words, we have a generation that while not struggling with self-confidence, is struggling with loneliness. The idea of loneliness is important because the moment relational beings become lonely, significant steps are taken toward depression and anxiety²⁵⁷. The over-developed ego of these young people is the main factor that generates a rejection of anything that does not agree with their opinions, which makes them isolate themselves (these considerations bring back to discussion the concept of “safe spaces” that we said have a strong limiting character, in the sense of censoring freedom of expression). In other words,

²⁵¹ Tim Urban, “Why Generation Y Yuppies Are Unhappy”, in *Huffington Post*, November 8, 2017, Available at: <https://www.huffpost.com/entry/generation-y-unhappyb3930620>, Accessed on March 3, 2022.

²⁵² Simon Oxenham, “How being called smart can actually make you stupid”, in *Big Think*, August 13, 2013, <https://bigthink.com/articles/how-being-called-smart-can-actually-make-you-stupid/>, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

²⁵³ Alina Kartman, “The self-esteem movement and the unhappiness of a generation”, June 10, 2021, Available at: <https://st.network/analysis/top/the-self-esteem-movement-and-the-unhappiness-of-a-generation.html>, Accessed on February 28, 2022.

²⁵⁴ Karl Mannheim, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁵ Jan E. Stets and Peter J. Burke, “A Sociological Approach to Self and Identity”, pp. 128–152, in Leary R. Mark, Tangney J. Price, *Handbook of Self and Identity*, s.l., Guilford Press, 2003, Available at: <http://rsp-lab11.ucr.edu/Papers/02a.pdf>, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

²⁵⁶ Jean M. Twenge, *op. cit.*, 2014b.

²⁵⁷ Caitlin Cantor, “Too Much Self-Esteem May Be Keeping Millennials Single”, in *Psychology Today*, November 29, 2016, Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/modern-sex/201611/too-much-self-esteem-may-be-keeping-millennials-single>, Accessed February 22, 2022.

the belief that their views are more important than others lead millennials to isolate themselves from those who do not adhere to those beliefs. Studies conducted on this topic in America show a significant increase in students who say that they are important, and because of this, their opinions take precedence over others. Thus, whereas in the early 1950s, only 12% of adolescents aged 14–16 agreed with the statement “I am an important person”, by the late 1980s, the percentage had risen to 80%, almost seven times higher²⁵⁸.

The negative side of self-esteem is identified by Jean M. Twenge in the concept of narcissism, which he defines as “the dark side of self-esteem”²⁵⁹. Unlike self-esteem, narcissism, egocentrism, is based on the belief that they are more special and important than everyone else, without any tangible basis for this. The typical behavior of such people is characterized by self-centredness, dilution of generosity in relation to others, exaggerated expectations that are not in line with reality, diminished capacity for empathy, tendency to focus mainly on material matters²⁶⁰. According to the U.S. National Institutes of Health, in 2013, the incidence of narcissistic personality disorder was three times higher among people in their 20s at the time (born in approximately 1993) compared to 65-year-olds (born in approximately 1948)²⁶¹. I will conclude by saying that exacerbated individualism and over-emphasized self-esteem turned to ego have led to the emergence of a hypersensitive generation that encounters real difficulties when they encounter ideas that contradict their own beliefs. Difficulties arise because the snowflake generation perceives criticism or differing opinions as hate speech directed against them due to an overdeveloped ego.

2. About loneliness, anxiety, depression

As self-centred, highly individualised beings, young people born between 1980-1999/2000, whom we have agreed to understand conceptually as the snowflake generation, millennials, or the me generation, face loneliness. This idea is borne out by several studies, including one conducted by the company YouGov, which surveyed more than 1,200 Americans and found that millennials are most likely to report having no close friends (27%), no friends in general (22%), and no significant others (25%)²⁶². Another study, conducted in 2019 by one of the largest market research companies (Ipsos, commissioned by Cigna – one of the largest health insurance companies in the world), on a sample of 10,400 subjects in America

²⁵⁸ Jean M. Twenge, *op. cit.*, 2014b, pp. 80–82.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.

²⁶¹ Joel Stein, “Millennials: The me me me generation”, in *Time*, May 9, 2013, Available at: <http://time.com/247/millennials-the-me-me-me-generation/>, Accessed on February 2, 2022.

²⁶² Minda Zetlin, “Millennials Are the Loneliest Generation, a Survey Shows 22 percent say they have no friends at all”, in *Inc*, September 20, 2019, Available at: <https://www.inc.com/minda-zetlin/millennials-loneliness-no-friends-friendships-baby-boomers-yougov.html>, Accessed on March 3, 2022.

concluded that at that time three of five Americans (*i.e.*, 61%) indicated that they lived alone. Moreover, while 50% of baby boomers reported feeling lonely, millennials were as high as 71%²⁶³. This is problematic because loneliness is associated with various physical or mental illnesses, including depression²⁶⁴. Statistics in the field, show that in the early 1915s, a generation of which only 1–2% of young people experienced a major depressive episode, while by the 2000s, the rate of major depression among young people in America during their lifetime reached 15–20%, *i.e.*, 10 times higher²⁶⁵.

At Kansas State University's counseling centre, the number of young people who took treatment for depression doubled between 1988 and 2001, while the number who were suicidal tripled in the same time frame²⁶⁶. According to a 2010 survey of American college counselling centres, more students are suffering from serious mental health problems, which is why the number of students taking psychiatric medication in 2010 has doubled since 1997. In a 2011 national survey of American teens, 29% said they felt sad or helpless almost every day for the past few weeks, a common definition of depression²⁶⁷. To measure anxiety levels Jean M. Twenge and his collaborators collected data from over 40,000 students and about 12,000 children aged 9 to 17. The range studied was 1950–1990. Their study showed that the average number of anxious students in 1970 was 71%, and in 1990 percentage reached 85%. Among students who were nine years old, anxiety showed even more obvious upward trend because children in 1980 were more anxious than psychiatric patients in 1950²⁶⁸. Compared to 1982, in 2012, three times as many students reported having problems sleeping most nights and twice as many claimed to have been seen by a mental health professional²⁶⁹. We note that loneliness is problematic because according to studies, it is directly correlated with depression, which in turn is linked (also according to studies) to suicide.

In 2011, 16% of high school students admitted that they had seriously thought about committing suicide in the past year, and most of them also confessed that they had made a detailed plan on how they would kill themselves. Most of these suicidal

²⁶³ Cigna Report, "Loneliness and the workplace", 2020, Available at: <https://www.cigna.com/static/www-cigna-com/docs/about-us/newsroom/studies-and-reports/combating-loneliness/cigna-2020-loneliness-report.pdf>, Accessed on March 1, 2022, p. 3.

²⁶⁴ See:

1. John T. Cacioppo, Louise C. Hawkley, Ronald A. Thisted, "Perceived social isolation makes me sad: 5-year cross-lagged analyses of loneliness and depressive symptomatology in the Chicago Health, Aging, and Social Relations Study", in *Psychology and Aging Journal*, Vol. 25, no.2/2010, pp. 453–463.

2. Janne Vanhalst, Koen Luyckx, Eveline Teppers, Luc Goossens, "Disentangling the longitudinal relation between loneliness and depressive symptoms: prospective effects and the intervening role of coping", in *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 31, no.8/2012, pp. 810–832.

²⁶⁵ Jean M. Twenge, *op. cit.*, 2014b, pp.117–118.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119–120.

thoughts are associated with depression, and depression with loneliness²⁷⁰. In his book, *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam demonstrates the decline of social relationships of all kinds. In other words, young people's relationships with others are on a downward trend (whether we are talking about relationships with friends, with neighbours, in clubs, etc.). An interesting aspect related to young people's interactions that Putnam notes is that social interaction is directly related to young people's happiness and contentment with life. Specifically, Putnam found that participation in social activities contributes as much to increased happiness as does earning a college degree or doubling one's income²⁷¹.

According to a 1985 study, the average American had three people they considered close and with whom they felt they could discuss important issues. In 2004, however, the number of people close to them had dropped to zero. Comparing the snowflake generation with previous generations, Jean M. Twenge concluded that "It's almost as if GenMe is starving for affection"²⁷². In 1950, in the population surveyed, only 9% of Americans lived alone, whereas in 2010 their percentage nearly tripled (to 28%). In 2014, nearly half of all households in Washington, DC and Manhattan were one-person households. Because of their studies, Jean M. Twenge and her colleagues concluded that isolation and loneliness alike are closely linked by anxiety and depression, the latter leading in many cases to suicide²⁷³.

Loretta Breuning, in her article "Why I Don't Believe Reports of a Mental Health Crisis", argues that the emotional problems that young people face are largely caused by what has begun to become dependency on services for mental health problems. One negative effect that the existence of such services produces is the disempowerment of young people to cope with natural emotional reactions on their own. In this connection, I note another paradoxical aspect of this category of young people: on the one hand, they show courage because they can talk openly about their problems and ask for specialist help²⁷⁴. But, a 2015 study by Marissa Lorusso and Sophia Barnes of a sample of over 900 young people shows that although 75% of young people claimed to be open to talking about their health problems²⁷⁵, fear of being labeled a "snowflake" prevented 58% of millennial employees in the UK from seeking support from their superiors, or to take a sick day so that they could deal with managing health issues on the register, this at a time when half of the UK

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 120–122.

²⁷¹ Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York, 2000, p. 84.

²⁷² Jean M. Twenge, *op. cit.*, 2014b, pp. 122–123.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 127–129.

²⁷⁴ Loretta G. Breuning, "Why I Don't Believe Reports of a Mental Health Crisis. Crisis-mongering in the mental health world does no good", in *Psychology Today*, February 24, 2014, Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/your-neurochemical-self/201402/why-i-dont-believe-reports-mental-health-crisis>, Accessed February 22, 2022.

²⁷⁵ Victoria Hoff, "Our State of Mind: 13 Important Statistics About Millennials and Mental Health", in *The Thirty*, February 14, 2020, Available at: <https://thethirty.whowhatwear.com/millennial-mental-healthstatistics>, Accessed on February 28, 2022.

employees experienced mental health problems²⁷⁶. From this perspective Holly Bourne warns that labelling this category of young people as “snowflakes” largely negates efforts to reduce the stigmatisation of those concerned, moreover it contributes to heightened feelings of anxiety²⁷⁷.

Returning to the idea of loneliness that the snowflake generation is experiencing, what’s interesting is that while millennials interact constantly, their interaction has moved almost entirely online. Because it’s conducted via a screen, according to studies, this type of interaction increases the sense of loneliness they experience. As evidence in 2019, more than seven in 10 (73%) of heavy social media users said they felt lonely, while only 52% of heavy users said they experienced loneliness²⁷⁸. This is a paradoxical issue because although young people are connected to each other through technology, the loneliness they experience is becoming increasingly present in their lives. According to a study by international public opinion company YouGov, data shows that the millennial generation is compared to previous generations the loneliest (while millennials reported feeling lonely always or often by 30%, only 20% of generation x and only 15% of baby boomers said this)²⁷⁹.

Josh McDowell argues that time spent on the internet is directly proportional to the level of loneliness millennials experience²⁸⁰. Approximately 70% of young Americans in this category check their phones every hour²⁸¹. The results of the “Consumer Report” study, conducted in 2019 by Starcom Romania, showed that half of the young Romanians spend an average of six hours on the internet²⁸². Statistics showing that internet use has become an increasingly common practice recently have made it possible to introduce a new concept into the scientific lexicon, that of nomophobia (it is an abbreviation for “no-mobile-phone phobia”), a term that according to the Cambridge dictionary can be explained by the fear of being without a mobile phone, a fear that generates stress and anxiety and untreated leads to

²⁷⁶ Rachel Moss, “Young Workers Are Scared Of Snowflake Label For Taking Mental Sick Days”, in *Huffington Post*, October 18, 2019, Available at: https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/young-workers-are-not-taking-mental-health-sick-days-through-fear-of-being-called-asnowflake_uk_5da865dde4b034f1d69e4eab, Accessed on February 28, 2022.

²⁷⁷ Holly Bourne, “Jokes about snowflakes ignore the crisis in young mental health”, in *The Guardian*, September 20, 2018, Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/sep/20/jokes-about-snowflakes-ignore-the-crisis-in-young-mental-health>, Accessed February 22, 2022.

²⁷⁸ Cigna Report, “Loneliness and the workplace”, 2020, Available at: <https://www.cigna.com/static/www-cigna-com/docs/about-us/newsroom/studies-and-reports/combating-loneliness/cigna-2020-loneliness-report.pdf>, Accessed on March 1, 2022.

²⁷⁹ Jamie Ballard, “Millennials are the loneliest generation”, July 30, 2019, Available at: <https://today.yougov.com/topics/lifestyle/articles-reports/2019/07/30/loneliness-friendship-new-friends-poll-survey>, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

²⁸⁰ Josh McDowell, *Generația înstrăinată. Un pod peste prăpastia dintre generații [The alienated generation. A bridge across the generation gap]*, Oradea, Scriptum Publishing House, 2005.

²⁸¹ Joel Stein, “Millennials: The me me me generation”, in *Time*, May 9, 2013, Available at: <http://time.com/247/millennials-the-me-me-me-generation/>, Accessed on February 2, 2022.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

depression. The phenomenon was first studied in the UK (when the UK Post Office commissioned YouGov to research the anxiety experienced by mobile phone users) in 2010, at which point 53% of respondents (sample of over 2,000 people) suffered from nomophobia²⁸³. Two years later, the percentage had already reached 66%, according to a survey by SecurEnvoy (a mobile security service)²⁸⁴.

Nomophobia or digital addiction also has negative implications for physical health²⁸⁵. A good example of this is eyestrain. According to a 2015 study, 70% of millennials in America reported symptoms of digital eye fatigue at that time (more than Baby Boomers: 57% and Gen Xers: 63%). Named word of the year in 2018 by the Cambridge Dictionary, nomophobia affects more than 80% of teenagers in France, according to a survey by Ifop²⁸⁶. If we talk about Romania, our country is in second place in Europe in terms of hours spent online, with an average of 18.6 hours spent online per week, according to the most recent Mediascope study²⁸⁷, which leads me to believe that Romanian millennials also face a high level of digital eye strain.

The coronavirus pandemic has exacerbated the loneliness of millennials (and beyond) by moving all interactions almost exclusively online. A UNICEF study in 2020 showed that globally 1.5 billion children and young people were affected by school closures worldwide. “The pandemic of coronavirus has caused an unprecedented increase in screen time”, said the Executive Director of the Global Partnership to Stop Violence Against Children, Dr Howard Taylor²⁸⁸. In the UK, according to figures released by Openreach (the leading internet provider), the number of people who surfed the internet during the pandemic doubled compared to the previous period (Openreach customers consumed 50,000 petabytes of data in 2020, compared to 22,000 in 2019)²⁸⁹. The proof that online interaction does not reduce, but in contrast contributes to the increased loneliness of millennials and beyond (I am referring to them, as this category is the subject of this study), are the

²⁸³ Tim Elmore, “Curing Students of Nomophobia”, in *Huffington Post*, October 26, 2014, Available at: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/curing-students-of-nomoph_b_5710427, Accessed on January 22, 2022.

²⁸⁴ Mitroff Sarah, “66 percent of Brits are scared of being without their phone”, February 16, 2012, Available at: <https://venturebeat.com/2012/02/16/no-dont-take-my-phone/>, Accessed on March 2, 2022.

²⁸⁵ V. Notara, E. Vagka, C. Gnardellis, A. Lagiou, “The Emerging Phenomenon of Nomophobia in Young Adults: A Systematic Review Study”, in *Addict Health Journal*, 2021; 13(2), p. 120.

²⁸⁶ Marina Constantinoiu, “Tabără de dezintoxicare digitală pentru adulții dependenți de Internet și mobil” [“Digital detox camp for Internet and mobile addicted adults”], in *Jurnalul*, July 10, 2013, Available at: <https://jurnalul.ro/stiri/externe/dezintoxicare-dependenta-internet-mobil-647486.html>, Accessed on January 22, 2022.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ UNICEF, “Copiii sunt expuși unui risc crescut în mediul online în timpul pandemiei de COVID19” [“Children are at increased risk online during the COVID pandemic19”], April 15, 2020, Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/romania/ro/comunicate-de-presă/unicef-copiii-sunt-expuși-unui-risc-crescut-în-mediul-online-în-timpul>, Accessed on February 26, 2022.

²⁸⁹ BBC, “UK internet use doubles in 2020 due to pandemic”, December 30, 2020, Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-55486157>, Accessed on January 12, 2022.

numerous statistics showing that during the coronavirus pandemic, when interaction was almost completely moved online, anxiety and depression increased. According to a cross-sectional online survey conducted from 2 June to November 16, 2020, which had over 20,000 respondents from 101 different countries, severe loneliness among participants almost tripled during the pandemic compared to before (reaching 21% from 6%)²⁹⁰.

According to another study (Household Pulse Survey – HPS), conducted in the US by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in partnership with the US Census Bureau, between August 19, 2020 and February 1, 2021, the percentage of adults who had symptoms of an anxiety disorder or depressive symptoms in the past 7 days increased from 36.4% to 41.5%, as did the percentage who reported needing mental health counseling or therapy but had not received it in the past 4 weeks (from 9.2% to 11.7%). What should be noted here is that the largest increases were among adults aged 18–29²⁹¹. I conclude by saying that loneliness has increased during the coronavirus pandemic because you understand who you are or what you can become and because of the interaction with the other, an aspect that has been strongly affected in the last period. In other words, the idea of connectedness suffered because of the policies adopted during the pandemic and implicitly contributed to a heightened sense of loneliness, anxiety and even depression, which we have already seen were among the traits of the snowflake generation. In concluding this sub-chapter, I want to point out that the second characteristic of this generation is loneliness, the implications of which we have seen are important because they affect health at a mental, emotional, and physical level.

3. Relationship skills and couple life

Relationship expert Caitlin Cantor argues that the weakening of relationship skills, because of individualization and therefore the selfishness of individuals, affects couple relationships because in their absence closeness, intimacy, connection, and vulnerability are real challenges²⁹². In other words, millennials have been so

²⁹⁰ Roger O’Sullivan, Annette Burns, Gerard Leavey, Iracema Leroi, Vanessa Burholt, James Lubben, Julianne Holt-Lunstad, Christina Victor, Brian Lawlor, Mireya Vilar-Compte, Carla M. Perissinotto, Mark A. Tully, Mary P. Sullivan, Michael Rosato, Joanna M. Power, Elisa Tiilikainen, and Thomas R. Prohaska, “Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Loneliness and Social Isolation: A Multi-Country Study”, in *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, no. 18 (19)/2021, Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8508181/>, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

²⁹¹ Anjel Vahratian, Stephen J. Blumberg, Emily P. Terlizzi, Jeannine S. Schiller, “Symptoms of Anxiety or Depressive Disorder and Use of Mental Health Care Among Adults During the COVID-19 Pandemic – United States, August 2020–February 2021, in *MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep* 2021, pp. 490–494, Available at: https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/70/wr/mm7013e2.htm?s_cid=mm7013e2_w#suggestedcitation, Accessed on February 22, 2022.

²⁹² Caitlin Cantor, “Too Much Self-Esteem May Be Keeping Millennials Single”, in *Psychology Today*, 29 November 2016, Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/modern-sex/201611/too-much-self-esteem-may-be-keeping-millennials-single>, Accessed February 22, 2022.

persistently inoculated with the imperative of cultivating self-esteem that it has become more of an unintentional and often misunderstood selfishness, even for the “beneficiaries”. Eva Illouz (2015) explains the influence of individualism through what she calls “cold ambivalence”, which she in turn explains through the concept of abulia²⁹³. The latter concept is defined by the author as:

“a more advanced stage of the culture of abundance, in which the capacity to will and to want disappears”²⁹⁴.

In other words, since this generation is strongly egocentric, in its relationship with the other it shows indecision²⁹⁵. This tendency, the author argues, is more present among men who develop what she calls “commitment phobia”, but it is not lacking among women either²⁹⁶.

When she talks about abulia, Eva Illouz refers to the fact that the ability to will or to want disappears, which generates a reluctant attitude toward commitment. This reluctance stems from the fact that commitment is a limitation of the self, which for an egocentric generation is a real challenge. The author warns that love and sympathy automatically lead to commitment²⁹⁷. In this logic, love and implicitly commitment are

“a component or dimension of the will; a cognitive, moral structure that gives people the opportunity to bind themselves to a future and give up the possibility of maximizing their choices (...)”²⁹⁸.

Eva Illouz states that the modern generation is no longer characterized by will but by abulia, i.e., indecision, lack of will or at least a considerable reduction in it. But to understand the importance of this transition, it is necessary specify a few aspects of the idea of the will.

The will is the element that confers individuality to man, but it does not “isolate” him from the other, but in contrast, it becomes “the binder and expression of their social action”²⁹⁹. The egocentric man is the opposite of the man with social will, because the latter manifests himself as an energetic personality. By energetic personality we mean “the result of the cultivation and manifestation of the self through vocation”³⁰⁰. According to C-tin Rădulescu Motru, vocation implies “the will of man to be himself”³⁰¹. In other words, while the egocentric becomes self-

²⁹³ Eva Illouz, *De ce iubirea doare: o explicație sociologică*, [Why love hurts: a sociological explanation], translation by Virgil Stanciu, Bucharest, Art Publishing House, 2015, p. 139.

²⁹⁴ „un stadiu mai avansat al culturii abundenței, în care capacitatea de a voi și de a dori se risipește”, in *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁹⁷ Frankfurt, 2004, p. 46 apud Eva Illouz, 2015, p. 129.

²⁹⁸ „o componentă ori o dimensiune a voinței; o structură cognitivă, morală care dă oamenilor prilejul să se lege de un viitor și să renunța la posibilitatea de a-și maximiza alegerile (...)”, in Illouz, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

²⁹⁹ Radu Baltasiu, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

consuming, the energetic personality becomes. In the absence of a social will, nationhood is not possible³⁰². Here, we can discuss anarchic society. The anarchic man is the one who cannot differentiate between ends and means, and this difference is possible only when you manifest your social will. While the energetic personality acts in relation to the highest values, the egocentric acts in relation to his own interests.

The will is a good “relative” of determination. Vulcănescu tells us in this regard that:

“Man’s will is made up of three particular acts, which come together in three moments of the act of will: – the first moment is deliberation, advice, the weighing of reasons in judgment, which determines you to choose; – the last moment – the third – is the command, the decree, the order to be executed, the decision already taken; – between the two stands, like a scale in the balance of being the determination. The determination is the second act of the will, placed between the other two. It follows the deliberation and precedes the execution. It binds them together and makes them a unity”³⁰³.

Determination generates responsibility because it has the power to separate destinies, to separate a long string of possible events³⁰⁴. In other words, the will has the power to change destinies because it makes becoming possible (the sum of all possibilities that may be but are not yet). It generates responsibility because through it you can be free, or a permanent prisoner of petty, personal interests. The “snowflake” generation thus achieves a minimum of social will because subjugated to its own ego, it cannot act in relation to the highest values (in this case love), because these are established only in relation to the other.

Returning to the relationship in the lives of millennials, Eva Illouz points out that the romantic will has changed in that its characteristic feature is “the dissociation between emotional-sexual experience and commitment”³⁰⁵. In other words, in modern romance, the notion of commitment is one towards which both sexes develop a phobia because they see commitment as a limitation of the self. The idea of commitment is seen from this point of view as “a burden on the self”³⁰⁶. Self-realisation is therefore considered in contradiction with commitment. The transformation of the structure of the will and commitment has led to the emergence

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁰³ „Voința omului se constituie din trei acte deosebite, care se înlănțuiesc în trei momente ale actului de a voi: - primul moment este deliberarea, sfatul, cumpănirea motivelor în judecată, care te determină să alegi; - ultimul moment - al treilea - este porunca, decretul, ordinul de executat, hotărârea deja luată; - între amândouă stă, ca o limbă de cântar în cumpăna ființei: hotărârea. Hotărârea este actul al doilea al voinței, așezat între celelalte două. El urmează deliberarea și precede execuția. Le leagă și face din ele o unitate. Este momentul unic, în care motivele de a voi se adună în unitatea cugetătoare a ființei, pentru a face această alegere a viitorului de înfăptuit, din care va rezulta porunca”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *Ultimul cuvânt [The last word]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1992, p. 52.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ Eva Illouz, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

of a new type of relationship such as “hooking up” or PTP (friend-type person) or “friends with benefits”³⁰⁷, relationships that institutionalise ambivalence and demonstrate the achievement of a historical minimum of will from the perspective of commitment. Self-realisation is understood here as

“Not committing to any fixed identity and especially not committing to a single project of the self. In other words, the ideal of self-actualization affects the ability and desire to project the self along a continuous straight line”³⁰⁸.

This type of relationship is possible because of serial sexuality, which requires emotional detachment from the partners. This detachment was possible when self-realisation became the individual's primary goal. However, note that serial sexuality has led to emotional inequality because men are “less willing than women to engage in a single relationship because they have more choices”³⁰⁹. Paraphrasing Bourdieu's idea of “symbolic domination”, Eva Illouz states that when a partner has a greater capacity to control the symbolic interaction, we can speak of “emotional domination”³¹⁰. In other words, through the liberalization of the sexual market, more options have been created for men, giving them such emotional dominance. Through this liberalization, the transition from romantic love for cumulative sexuality (body counting) is made, which becomes erotic capital.

According to Eva Illouz, there is an interdependent relationship between the self and sexuality because “in the circumstances of late modernity, the erotic question best articulates the problem of self-assurance”³¹¹. In other words, cumulative sexuality becomes from this perspective a way of securing or more precisely, submissively feeding the individual ego. From this perspective, serial sexuality becomes a method for reconfirming the self. The accumulation of erotic capital becomes a new form of recognition that is closely linked to the idea of self-performance, hence its value. In this sense, the fear of rejection threatens the idea of the value of the self. In other words, the ego is fuelled by the need for social validation. Therefore, the lack of reciprocity is an annihilation of the self. In this sense, Eva Illouz states:

“What is truly modern about romantic suffering is that the object of love is closely tied to the sense of self-worth and that suffering has become the mark of an imperfect self (...)”³¹².

From the perspective of the snowflake generation, we can notice a certain detachment from the idea of marriage: according to a study by the Pew Research

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³⁰⁸ „a nu te angaja la nicio identitate fixă și în special a nu te angaja la un unic proiect al sinelui. Altfel spus, idealul autorealizării afectează însăși capacitatea și dorința de a proiecta sinele de-a lungul unei linii drepte continue”, in *Ibid.*, p.143.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³¹² „Ceea ce este cu adevărat modern în privința suferinței romantice este faptul că obiectul iubirii este strâns împletit cu sentimentul de valoare a sinelui și că suferința a devenit marca unui sine imperfect (...)”, in *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Centre, only 44% of millennials were married in 2019, compared to 53% of Gen Xers, 61% of Boomers³¹³. Moreover, when they do decide to get married, the age at which they do so is on an upward trend: for example, in 1965 the average age of marriage for women was 21 and for men, 23. Today, the average age for marriage is 29.2 for women and 30.9 for men³¹⁴. In fact, studies show that a significant number of millennials will remain unmarried past the age of 40³¹⁵. More recent data show that the lowest marriage rate recently is among millennials: 26%, compared to 36% for Generation X and 48% for Baby Boomers³¹⁶. However, there is, an overall decline in sexual activity. While the data for marriage is not very surprising, the decline in serial sexuality is a new, unexpected trend. Given that we are talking about egocentric generation, and that serial sexuality, following Eva Illouz's ideas, is a way of reconfirming the value of the self, the detachment from this tendency is a surprise element that millennials explain by the fear of being hurt. In this regard, a survey conducted on the online dating site eHarmony shows that 38% of single Brits avoid commitment for fear of being hurt again³¹⁷.

The decline in serial sexuality among millennials has been documented in the *Journal of Sex Research*, which found that only 31.9% of college students from 1988–1996 reported having had more than one sexual partner in the past year, a percentage that remains almost unchanged for 2002–2010 (even dropping slightly to 31.6%). According to another study, millennials have fewer sexual partners than any generation since our grandparents, who at the same age had an average of only two partners each³¹⁸. In other words, the fear of commitment, which is mainly generated by the fear of being hurt (we saw in Eva Illouz that disappointment in love means devaluing the self, the self which for an egocentric generation is essential) generates what Illouz called cold ambivalence (lack of commitment). What's interesting from this point of view is that while avoiding commitment, millennials seek romantic love:

³¹³ Amanda Barroso, Kim Parker and Jesse Bennett, "As Millennials Near 40, They're Approaching Family Life Differently Than Previous Generations", May 27, 2020, Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2020/05/27/as-millennials-near-40-theyre-approaching-family-life-differently-than-previous-generations/>, Accessed on March 1, 2022.

³¹⁴ Marissa Hermanson, "How Millennials Are Redefining Marriage", s.a., Available at: <https://www.gottman.com/blog/millennials-redefining-marriage/>, Accessed on March 2, 2022.

³¹⁵ Urban Institute Report: Martin P. Steven, Astone N. Marie, Peters H. Elizabeth, "Fewer Marriages, More Divergence: Marriage Projections for Millennials to Age 40", 2014, Available at: <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/22586/413110-Fewer-Marriages-More-Divergence-Marriage-Projections-for-Millennials-to-Age-.PDF>, Accessed on March 1, 2022.

³¹⁶ Jones Goldberg, "Breaking down divorce rates by generation", December 2, 2020, Available at: <https://www.goldbergjones-or.com/divorce/divorce-by-generation/>, Accessed on March 2, 2022.

³¹⁷ Almara Abgarian, "Commitmentphobia: Why millennials don't want to settle for one person", August 3, 2018, Available at: <https://metro.co.uk/2018/08/03/commitmentphobia-why-millennials-dont-want-to-settle-for-one-person-7687257/>, Accessed on March 1, 2022.

³¹⁸ Caroline Beaton, "Why Millennials Are Failing to Shack Up", in *Psychology Today*, October 31, 2015, Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/the-gen-y-guide/201510/why-millennials-are-failing-shack>, Accessed on January 12, 2022.

according to a survey by the Pew Research Centre (2014)³¹⁹ 69% of unmarried millennials said they would like to get married someday, a percentage that has remained unchanged since 1970³²⁰. Fear of commitment but also fear of suffering from love have led experts in the field to talk about philophobia (fear of falling in love, loving/being loved)³²¹.

The Polish-born British sociologist Zygmunt Bauman argues from the perspective of inter-human dynamics (such as the shift from romantic love to that based on the accumulation of erotic capital – specifically serial sexuality), but not only, that we are witnessing the transition from “solid societies” (characterized by consistency, repetition, stability, etc.) to “liquid” ones (where we are dealing with individual and inter-human mobility, professional, religious, etc.)³²². Based on this premise, Bauman argues that the competitive world, almost exclusively oriented toward consumption, has led to the extension of the “disposable” mentality applied to things in the affective sphere, in interpersonal relationships. In other words, in the “liquid modern world”, which considers most of what is durable and stable as obsolete, romantic love is transformed into “liquid love”³²³. Conceptually, liquid modernity refers to an ever-changing world in which inter-human relationships are also fluid. In this vein, Bauman argues that the one constant of today’s generations is liquidity, in the sense that individuals place the self in a continuous work of self-actualization. The cult of competitiveness and short-term projects have contributed to the weakening of inter-human solidarity, which has led to the creation of frightened individuals, because of the feelings of insecurity they experience in many spheres of life, including the emotional one³²⁴.

Therefore, in this sub-chapter I wanted to show that beyond the two great characteristics of the snowflake generation, *i.e.*, hypersensitivity (as a result of overdeveloped ego) and loneliness (as a result of exacerbated individuality), young people in this category have a number of fears that other generations have not faced, including nomophobia (fear of being without a mobile phone), commitment phobia or philophobia (fear of falling in love, or of loving/being loved). So, in addition to

³¹⁹ Pew Research Centre Report, “Millennials in Adulthood. Detached from Institutions, Networked with Friends”, March 7, 2014, Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2014/03/07/millennials-in-adulthood/>, Accessed on March 1, 2022.

³²⁰ Caroline Beaton, “Why Millennials Are Failing to Shack Up”, in *Psychology Today*, October 31, 2015, Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/the-gen-y-guide/201510/why-millennials-are-failing-shack>, Accessed on January 12, 2022.

³²¹ Brennan Dan, “What Is Philophobia?”, October 25, 2021, Available at: <https://www.webmd.com/anxiety-panic/what-is-philophobia>, Accessed on March 1, 2022.

³²² Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernitatea lichidă. Poate mintea umana stăpâni ceea ce a creat mintea umană?* [*Liquid modernity. Can the human mind master what the human mind has created?*], Bucharest, Antet XX Press Publishing House, 2000, p. 41.

³²³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Love. On the Frailty of Human Bonds*, Cambridge, Polity Press Publishing House, 2003, p. 48.

³²⁴ Andreea Catrinela Lazăr, “Modernitate lichidă, viață lichidă” [“Liquid modernity, liquid life”], in *Petrol-Gas University of Ploiesti Bulletin*, no.3/2010, pp. 109–116.

the two terms which, according to specialists, characterise the snowflake generation, because of the above arguments, I add the term fear.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of generations is relevant because it helps us understand the dynamics of social structure. The definition we have used in this paper comes from German sociology, from Karl Mannheim, who considers that generation is the group of individuals who are born in the same time interval and who participate in different socio-historical events that mark their existence. Participation, but not of any kind, but active participation, is in fact the key term in understanding the concept in question, because it leads to the emergence of responses to the challenges of the time, responses that Mannheim calls generational entelechy, which represents the realization of the maximum potential available to the members of the generation. Beyond conceptually clarifying the idea of generation, we have looked at the use of the term “snowflake” and identified three stages: the first has racial connotations, the second stage is generational, and the third stage is political. In this paper we have considered the generational connotations of the term.

The snowflake generation refers to young people born between 1980 and 2000, who consider themselves part of a special, unique generation, and because of this they feel entitled to special treatment. When they do not receive it, they label opinions contrary to their beliefs as hate speech, directed particularly against them, which is why they isolate themselves in what Claire Fox called “safe spaces”, where there is strong censorship of free speech (for fear of offending anyone), which only aggravates the sensitivity of those targeted. This category of people has several names in the literature (generation y, millennials), which is why throughout the paper the terms are interchangeable. Also relevant is the name of the author Jean M. Twenge, who, due to the characteristics she identified as specific to this generation, namely hypersensitivity and exacerbated ego, called it the “me generation”.

Regarding the question “how can this generation be characterized” we have determined from the studies reviewed that the three main characteristics are: hypersensitivity, insensitivity, and fear. Hypersensitivity because of being taught to have an overdeveloped self-esteem, often detached from reality, they do not deal with criticism, and fail to notice its constructive nature, developing a rejection reaction to it and therefore a low capacity to resist challenges. Millennials are isolating themselves in “safe spaces”, which is a first step toward isolation. This is proving to be a real challenge as studies link it directly to anxiety, depression and even suicide. Technology has been a contributing factor in accelerating loneliness because it has moved face-to-face interaction online. The third trait, namely, fear, is important because the generation in question, because of the overdeveloped ego, acquires all sorts of new fears which at the level of social action block the capacity

to act/adapt. A good example of this is the commitment phobia that arises from the fear of a rejection, rejection that means the cancelation of the self, which for the snowflake generation is the focal point of existence. Therefore, I consider the concept of “snowflake generation” in Romanian to be the “ego generation”.

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ESSAYS

SNOWFLAKE GENERATION – BTWEEN CLARITY AND SPIRITUAL PARALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This material discusses the problem of the young generation, which in the international literature is called the “snowflake generation”. Its main characteristic is its high degree of isolation. This is important because it is linked by experts to several health problems. In other words, emotional instability is also reflected in mental inflexibility. Therefore, another trait of this generation is intellectual paralysis. So, the clarity of mind becomes one of the biggest challenges for them. These are the issues that this material briefly addresses.

Keywords: generation, clarity, mind, paralysis.

CONCEPTUAL DELIMITATIONS

1. Snowflake generation

The concept of “snowflake generation” was introduced by Claire Fox in two of her works *I find that offensive* (2016)³²⁸ and *I still find that offensive* (2018)³²⁹. She uses this term to describe the teenagers born between 1980 and 2000. The main characteristics of these young people are exaggerated sensitivity and loneliness³³⁰ and in this material the accent is put on the generational loneliness. We focus on this phenomenon because studies that link this issue to physical and mental problems³³¹. Robert Putnam was one of the first authors to warn that the loneliness of young people has led to an unprecedented decline in social capital³³². According to a 1985

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³²⁸ Claire Fox, *I Find That Offensive*, United Kingdom, Biteback Publishing Ltd, 2016.

³²⁹ Claire Fox, *I Still Find That Offensive*, United Kingdom, Biteback Publishing Ltd, 2018.

³³⁰ Claire Fox, *op. cit.*, 2016.

³³¹ Janne Vanhalst, Koen Luyckx, Eveline Teppers, Luc Goossens, “Disentangling the longitudinal relation between loneliness and depressive symptoms: prospective effects and the intervening role of coping”, in *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 31, nr. 8/2012, pp. 810–832.

³³² Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York, 2000.

study, the average American had approximately three trusted acquaintances that they considered close and with whom they felt they could discuss important issues. In 2004, however, the number of trusted persons reached almost zero. Comparing the generation of snowflake with previous generations, psychologist Jean M. Twenge concluded that: “It’s almost as if GenMe is starving for affection”³³³.

We see that the Snowflake generation shows a marked decline in social capital: they have fewer friends, less trusted friends in general, fewer amusing relationships (fewer partners – whether they are married or in concubine, even less sexual relations). Why and how can these changes be explained? Psychologist Jean M. Twenge, argues in his book *Generation Me* that the above-mentioned are the result of the fact that the speed of growth of these young people (which she conceptually calls “iGen” or “the internet generation”) has slowed significantly. It should be noted here that the speed with which a young person is aged is a process of adapting to the cultural context. Young people today are following the strategy of slow life³³⁴.

2. Intellectual paralysis

Simion Mehedinți associates these young people with “dead periods”³³⁵ because of their attitudinal lethargy in all aspects of life. Another idea that S. Mehedinți drew attention to is that these generations are characterized by “spiritual immobility”³³⁶. Through “spiritual immobility” Mehedinți understands the excessive preoccupation of young people for “obtaining certifications” and a lack of interest in self-becoming³³⁷. In other words, these young people are concerned with obtaining as many diplomas as possible. This is a problem insofar as diplomas have become the ultimate goal and not the way to self-actualize one’s personality. Therefore, Mehedinți emphasizes that what young people must first care about is their becoming to be “valuable individualities”³³⁸ in the future.

Emotional immobility is also reflected in mental inflexibility.

3. Clarity of mind

There is an interdependent relationship between faith and intellect³³⁹. Therefore, in the absence of a clear soul, the clarity in itself disappears, and man moves away from the truth:

³³³ Jean M. Twenge, *Generation Me: Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled--And More Miserable Than Ever Before (revised and updated)*, New York, Aria Paperback, 2014, (e-book version, pp. 122–123).

³³⁴ Jean M. Twenge, *Generația internetului [Igen]*, translation by Loredana Bucuroaia, Bucharest, Baroque books & Arts, 2020, p. 36.

³³⁵ „timpuri moarte”, in Simion Mehedinți, *Către noua generație, [Towards the new generation]*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1912, p. 120.

³³⁶ „imobilitate sufletească”, in *Ibid.*

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ „individualități de valoare” in *Ibid.*

³³⁹ Radu Baltasiu, *Introducere în sociologie. Spiritualitate, națiune și capitalism. Considerații de sociologie românească și weberiană, [Introduction to Sociology. Spirituality, Nation and capitalism. Considerations of Romanian and Weberian sociology]*, Craiova, Beladi Publishing House, 2007.

“... without faith, we would not find ourselves as beings, we would be mere existence deluded by our own imagery of uncontrollable needs”³⁴⁰.

Carol Dweck said there are two types of thinking one that claims that intelligence is fixed and one that focuses on the idea of accumulation (intelligence is “mobile” in the sense that it can be extended by acquiring new skills)³⁴¹. Based on the two types of thinking identified by Carol Dweck, Tim Urban states that most of the young people we have agreed to call the “snowflake” generation tend to have an inflexible thinking pattern because they have been educated (by parents, school, media, etc.) to believe that they have exceptional natural abilities, that will propel them to the heights of success simply because it comes naturally to gifted people³⁴². This leads to a situation where, according to Paul Harvey, a professor at the University of New Hampshire, members of “generation y” have “unrealistic expectations and strong opposition to negative feedback”³⁴³.

Young people without a lucid mind therefore fall into the category of those with a rigid intellect.

THE PROBLEM FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ANTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION PARADIGM

The snowflake generation matures more slowly than the previous generation because it adapts more slowly to the cultural context than previous generation. What causes this delayed maturation process? Considering that adaptation is a form of socialization, we can ask why the anticipatory socialization process of young people has been slower than in previous generations? To answer this question, we bring into discussion the paradigm of anticipatory socialization:

“Social conformity to the values of a reference group, different from the group to which one belongs, leads to anticipatory socialization of individuals”³⁴⁴.

Why, then, has the process of conforming to the values of the reference group not taken place in these young people as in previous generations? Firstly, because of the lack of social pressure from mature groups. Parents no longer have authority when it comes to their children’s decisions. Moreover, the power of the traditional order has weakened. Secondly, from the lack of contact between young people and

³⁴⁰ „fără credință, nu ne-am regăsi ca ființe, am fi simple existențe amăgite de propriile imaginerii asupra unor nevoi fără de control” in *Ibid.*, p. 267.

³⁴¹ Alina Kartman, “The self-esteem movement and the unhappiness of a generation”, June 10, 2021, Available at: <https://st.network/analysis/top/the-self-esteem-movement-and-the-unhappiness-of-a-generation.html>, Accessed on March 10, 2022.

³⁴² Tim Urban, “Why Generation Y Yuppies Are Unhappy”, in *Huffington Post*, November 8, 2017, Available at: <https://www.huffpost.com/entry/generation-y-unhappyb3930620>, Accessed on March 10, 2022.

³⁴³ Simon Oxenham, “How being called smart can actually make you stupid”, in *Big Think*, August 13, 2013, Available at: <https://bigthink.com/articles/how-being-called-smart-can-actually-make-you-stupid/>, Accessed on March 10, 2022.

³⁴⁴ “Conformismul social față de valorile unui grup de referință, diferit de grupul de apartenență, determină socializarea anticipativă a indivizilor” in Ion Ungureanu, *Paradigme ale cunoașterii societății [The paradigms of society knowledge]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1990, p. 60.

role models. They have not been cultivated to read fairy tales or great literature. They are important because they provide mature role models. In the absence of this pressure and encouragement, they have adapted to immature groups.

ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE PROBLEM

A trigger for this slowdown in young people's psycho-emotional development is generated by the "intensity" of socialization/interaction in and through the online environment: from games to funny videos, songs, and all the diverse range of "attractions" offered to "snowflake" generation through technology and the Internet. Professor Virgiliu Gheorghe states that the more often and the more the child comes into contact with the "screen", the more the brain, at the neuronal level, develops more slowly³⁴⁵. Thus, the loneliness and sensitivity during adolescence is the result of a lack of interaction at an early age.

In this regard, Virgiliu Gheorghe considers that the time spent in front of the TV causes mental states that fall into the family of altered states of consciousness:

"The effect of audio-video media is top magic given the fact that after only two minutes of sitting in front of the TV, the emission of alpha waves, passivity, semi-hypnotic state, reverie, and tele-dependence, etc., increases fantastically. The beta-type activities of the cortex diminish toward the threshold of zero, the selective faculty ceases to manifest itself, the axiological functions are suddenly suspended, the individual is deprived of any psycho-moral initiative, he behaves as if he were being directed by 'someone else' as in sleepwalking states. This is why (...) exposure to television induces mental states that we can classify as altered states of consciousness (...). a person who spends about 3–6 h in front of the television (...) is bewitched, mentally and emotionally seized by television fantasies, so that he almost no longer belongs to himself"³⁴⁶.

Adding to this is the lack of lecturing. Thus, a person's second vital element, imagination, is annihilated or poorly developed. For example, in *One Thousand and One Nights*, the way the narrative is described is incredibly "real". For example, in a story, a rich man becomes poor and gets the idea to steal a bag full of gold coins from a rich man's pocket. He is caught and is punished by having his hand cut off. The most interesting thing is that the character's feeling description is so realistic

³⁴⁵ Virgiliu Gheorghe, *Revrājirea lumii sau de ce nu mai vrem să ne desprindem de televizor [The world's enchantment or why we don't want to let go of TV anymore]*, Vol. II, Bucharest, Prodomos Publishing House, 2006.

³⁴⁶ „Efectul mediei audio-video este unul de top magic dat fiind faptul că după numai două minute de la instalarea în fața televizorului crește fantastic emisia undelor alfa, ale pasivității, stării semi-hipnotice, reveriei și teledependenței, etc. activitățile de tip beta ale cortexului se diminuează spre pragul de zero, facultatea selectivă încetează să se mai manifeste, funcțiile axiologice sunt brusc suspendate, insul este deposedat de orice inițiativă psiho-morală, se comportă ca și cum ar fi dirijat de «altcineva» ca în stările de somnambulism. De aceea (...) expunerea la televizor induce stări psihice pe care le putem încadra în familia stărilor alterate de conștiință (...). un ins care petrece circa 3-6 ore în fața televizorului (...) este vrăjit, confiscat mental și simțual de fantezmele televizuale, astfel că aproape nu-ți mai aparține”, in *Ibid.*, p. 1.

that it manages to put the reader in the character's shoes. We infer from this that a great book grows you both cognitively and emotionally.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSIONS. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Given that the clarity of thought is given by the clarity of the soul, a legitimate question arises, how can these young people be brought out of the state of soul immobility? One answer to this question would have been through the rituals but given that these are less and less present in social life, we shall return to Church, Reading and physical exercise.

Why the Church? Because it is the link between God and people. Thus, this institution helps the man not lose himself. Going to Church helps him discover himself and understand the world. The Church teaches him what love is, and with love, he may rise up his social capital. So, the Church teaches us how to be together.

Contact with classic literature offers the snowflake generation and people in general access to models. Role models are important because they help you develop clarity of the soul and intellect. Through role models, young people will acquire the "tools" to connect with the world around them through empathy. From this viewpoint of the readings, through the models they provide, help the snowflake generation to discover themselves and understand the world.

Finally, why sport? Because a healthy mind is possible only in a healthy body. Soul, mind, and body are one. If one of these has problems, the whole system is affected. Healing the snowflake generation requires simultaneous action on all three levels.

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SNOWFLAKE GENERATION AND PROBLEMS CAUSED BY PANDEMIC RESTRICTIONS. AN ANALYSIS STARTING FROM CONSTANTIN NOICA AND MAX WEBER

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to address, in the form of brief considerations, one aspect of the snowflake generation and some of the student issues arising from the pandemic restrictions imposed between 2020 and 2022. These aspects of social reality are approached from a philosophical (the way in which a concept is defined, Constantin Noica) and from a sociological (the comprehensive method of cognition. These authors prove that we can know concepts, or social facts, if we compare them with "something else": with an opposite (Noica), or with an ideal-typical construction (Weber). Thus, we see that the snowflake generation "should" (ideal-typical) be characterized predominantly by an effervescent attitude to the problems of life, but they are not. Restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic have further decreased the vitality of young people in the snowflake generation, young people with the highest rates of depression and anxiety between 2020 and 2022. In this context, online learning, being a form of interaction between young people and their peers and teachers, did not reduce depression and anxiety in these young people during the COVID-19 pandemic, although it 'should' (ideally-typically) have reduced them.

Keywords: Snowflake generation, Covid pandemic, Constantin Noica, Max Weber, E-learning.

COMPARATIVE METHOD. CONSTANTIN NOICA AND MAX WEBER

“Letters on Hermes’s Logic” is one of the significant works of the Romanian philosopher Constantin Noica, in which he deals with issues related to the possibilities of human beings to logically know the reality. The Romanian philosopher tackled the problem of being by managing to define the concept in a novel way. In relation to the present article, it is less the definition of being that is of interest than the way in which Constantin Noica defined the concept. Thus, the

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Romanian philosopher discovers the features of being by mirroring them with the opposites of the concept. In order to find out what being is, Noica lists what it is not, as follows:

“(…) Among the terms of philosophy, being has probably the most opposites. The main opposites are:

1. being and non-being
2. being and consciousness
3. being and appearance
4. being and possibility
5. being and manifestation
6. being and nature
7. being and temporality
8. being and becoming.

Each opposition could give a particular aspect of being³⁵⁰.

The Romanian philosopher’s manner of defining a concept can be found in Max Weber’s sociological thinking. Like Constantin Noica, Max Weber discovers the traits of social reality by contrasting it not with its opposite, but with the highest form of rational abstraction of it – the ideal-type. Reality opens up to the sociologist to the extent that he succeeds in abstracting it ideotypically and empathising with the people who make it up.

“For the purposes of a typological scientific analysis it is convenient to treat all irrational, affectually determined elements of behaviour as factors of deviation from a conceptually pure type of rational action ... The construction of a purely rational course of action in such cases serves the sociologist as a type (ideal type) which has the merit of clear understandability and lack of ambiguity. [real social actions]. By comparison [social real actions] with this it is possible to understand the ways in which actual action is influenced by irrational factors of all sorts, such as affect and errors, in that they account for the deviation from the line of conduct which would be expected on the hypothesis that the action were purely rational”³⁵¹.

In order to successfully carry out this quest for knowledge, the researcher must be aware that social reality is more than his own rational interpretation. The ideal-

³⁵⁰ „(…) Dintre termenii filozofiei, cel de ființă, are, probabil, cei mai mulți opuși. Principalele opoziții sunt:

1. ființă și neființă
2. ființă și conștiință
3. ființă și aparență
4. ființă și posibilitate
5. ființă și manifestare
6. ființă și fire
7. ființă și temporalitate
8. ființă și devenire.

Fiecare opoziție ar putea da câte o trăsătură a ființei.” in Constantin Noica, *Scrisori despre Logica lui Hermes [Letters on Hermes’s Logic]*, Bucharest, Romanian Book Publishing House, 1986, p. 179.

³⁵¹ Max Weber, *Economy and society*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1978, p. 6.

type is only a starting point in the sociological quest for knowledge. Ion Ungureanu clarified the difference between social reality and concept, stating that social systems should not be superimposed entirely on sociological systems:

“As a specific system of thinking, sociology acquires the meaning of an essentialist sociological system, built to serve as a basis for interpretations and explanations of the society to be constructed. Systems of society, concrete societies, therefore, should not be confused with sociological systems. The sociological system is the set of sociological laws that can be used to derive – through research, interpretation and explanation – the social laws of concrete-historical systems (concrete, actual societies)”³⁵².

Finally, the comprehensive method will find its application in the case of the “snowflake” generation and in the case of the problems generated by pandemic restrictions among young people, but especially students.

THE SNOWFLAKE GENERATION. DIFFERENCES FROM THE YOUTH IDEAL. THE ROLE OF FAITH

Two of the ideal-typical traits of youth, the period between childhood and adulthood, are enthusiasm and effervescence. We therefore begin from the premise that a generation during youth should (ideally-typically) have an effervescent and enthusiastic attitude to the problems of life. Thus, the same attitude should also be present among young people of the snowflake generation, born between 1980–2000. However, if we look at recent statistics³⁵³, instead of the traits listed above, we find placidity, sometimes to the point of “paralysis”, in this generation. Why are these young people not characterised by effervescence? One of the possible answers to this question derives from the low degree of religiosity.

Without faith in an ideal, the snowflake generation cannot face the challenges of life, challenges that unresolved lead to depression and anxiety. Why? In the great religions of humanity are stored attitudes, which adopted by the followers of these religions, provide solutions to face the problems of life. For example, Christianity encourages the management of sadness. When it is not grief for one’s fellow man,

³⁵² „Ca sistem de gândire specifică, sociologia dobândește înțelesul unui sistem sociologic esențialist, construit adică pentru a sluji ca bază pentru interpretările și explicațiile societății ce urmează a fi construite. Sistemele societății, societățile concrete, deci, nu trebuie confundate cu sistemele sociologice. Sistemul sociologic este ansamblul legilor sociologice care pot fi utilizate pentru derivarea – prin cercetare, interpretare și explicare – legităților sociale ale sistemelor sociale concret-istorice (societățile concrete, actuale).”, in Ilie Bădescu, “Sociologia esențialistă. Un inovator al sociologiei: Ion Ungureanu” [“Essentialist sociology. An innovator of sociology: Ion Ungureanu”], in *Sociologie Românească*, Year III, no. 2/1992, p. 136.

³⁵³ Aliona Paladi, “Interconexiuni dintre locul de control și optimism” [“Interconnections between locus of control and optimism”] in *Univers Pedagogic*, No. 47/2015, p. 53.

but, in contrast, a perverse form of self-centeredness, it is strongly opposed by the holy fathers:

“[sadness] makes a man shun all good meetings and does not let a man receive a word of advice even from true friends, nor does it allow him to give them a good and peaceful answer. But, enveloping the whole soul, fills it with bitterness and carelessness”³⁵⁴.

Young people of the snowflake generation have deviated from the ideal of youth, an ideal of enthusiasm and effervescence, because they do not have the necessary attitude to face the problems of life, which is found in the great religions of the world, such as the Christian religion. In Christian thinking, sadness is to be avoided because it prevents the Christian from receiving help from his fellow human beings on his way to salvation.

E-LEARNING HAD NO SOLUTIONS FOR STUDENTS’ PROBLEMS DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The effects of the lackadaisical attitude among young people were most evident during the COVID-19 pandemic, when young people, but especially students, experienced the highest rates of depression and anxiety compared to other “young adults”. The “young adults” category includes those aged between 18 and 29 during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Research in Germany, the UK, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Portugal and Italy found that depression and anxiety have increased among adults in Europe compared to the pre-pandemic period³⁵⁵. Researchers have shown that 27% of respondents reported being depressed, while 26% described themselves as anxious. In all three waves and in all countries studied, people aged 18 to 29 (referred to as “young adults”) had the highest rates of depression and anxiety compared to other age groups³⁵⁶. In China, they reported almost double rates of anxiety (45%) and depression (43%)³⁵⁷.

Has online education – a form of social contact mediated by technology – managed to reduce these psychological effects of the lack of interaction in the pandemic? Ideally-typically, students’ daily interaction with other teachers and peers should have improved their psychological state. In reality, however, this did not

³⁵⁴ „[tristețea] îl face să ocolească toată întâlnirea cea bună și nu-l lasă să primească cuvânt de sfat nici de la prietenii cei adevărați, precum nu-i îngăduie să le dea răspuns bun și pașnic. Ci învăluind tot sufletul, îl umple de amărăciune și de nepăsare” in Dumitru Stăniloae, *Filocalia [Philokalia]*, Vol. I, Sibiu, Institute of Graphic Arts “Dacia Traiană” S.A., 1947, p. 115.

³⁵⁵ Hajek André et al, “Prevalence and determinants of probable depression and anxiety during the COVID-19 pandemic in seven countries: Longitudinal evidence from the European Covid Survey (ECOS)” in *Journal of affective disorders*, No. 299/2022, p. 520.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ Cindy Liu et al., “Factors associated with depression, anxiety, and PTSD symptomatology during the COVID-19 pandemic: Clinical implications for U.S. young adult mental health” in *Psychiatry Research*, No. 209/2020, p. 1.

happen according to the above studies. In addition, US studies³⁵⁸ and studies from the United Kingdom³⁵⁹, which used qualitative research methods, revealed that students' interaction with other teachers and peers via the online environment did not counterbalance the decrease of social contact, on the contrary, the dialogue between students and teachers or between students and their peers had deteriorated.

The teaching and learning process does not work without a constant and fertile dialogue between teacher and students, in which the former offers knowledge and the latter receives it, but at the same time shows a desire to learn as much as possible from the teacher. From this perspective, the exercise of the capacity for dialogue (which was lacking during the online courses and seminars) is probably directly proportional to the idea of sociability, to the degree of integration of the students into the groups in the university environment.

The problems associated with anxiety and depression, amplified by the lack of social contacts during the COVID-19 pandemic, were not solved by the transition of universities to the online regime as student participation in the educational act through online platforms was rather passive and superficial.

A BRIEF SUMMARY

In this essay the philosophical method of defining a concept used by C. Noica and the comprehensive method, discovered by Max Weber, specific to sociology, have been applied to a case of interest to young people today. The method of comparing social reality with its ideal-type provided answers to two concrete research problems. Using the two methods, the present research revealed that the snowflake generation has a less effervescent attitude than the attitude of previous generations due to the lack of contact with the great religions of the world. Also, online learning, seen as a solution for further education during the COVID-19 pandemic, did not compensate for the lack of social contact, social contact that should have reduced high rates of depression and anxiety.

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³⁵⁸ Changwon Son et al., "Effects of COVID-19 on college students mental health in the United States: Interview survey study", in *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, No. 22/2020.

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BOOK REVIEW

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL AUTONOMY BASED ON ETHNIC CRITERIA OF THE SO-CALLED “SZEKLERLAND” BY IOAN LĂCĂTUȘU. BOOK REVIEW

Samira Cîrlig³⁶⁰

ABSTRACT

This material is a review of the book entitled Arguments against the territorial autonomy based on ethnic criteria of the so-called “Szeklerland” written in 2008 by sociologist Ioan Lăcătușu. The importance of the book is crucial for at least two reasons: because of the time when it was written, i.e., when the discussion about the autonomy of the so-called “Szeklerland” was growing. The discussion arose in the context of the unilateral declaration of independence of the province of Kosovo from Serbia. The second reason why this book is important is the concise and complex manner in which the arguments against territorial autonomy on ethnic grounds are presented. The structure of the paper will firstly deal with the context of the publication of the book, the objectives of the paper, the geostrategic importance of the subject, the general arguments and then the specific ones, the medium- and long-term effects of such an initiative and the actions of the Romanian state on this subject.

Keywords: autonomy, Transylvania, Romanians, Hungarians, cohabitation, assimilation.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT IN WHICH THE BOOK APPEARED

The unilateral declaration of independence of the province of Kosovo, in Serbia, has brought back into the Romanian public space, the debate on obtaining territorial autonomy of the so-called “Szeklerland”, a debate provoked by the leaders of the Hungarian community in Romania³⁶¹. In this context, sociologist Ioan Lăcătușu offered a series of counterarguments, both historical and political, cultural, linguistic, economic, etc. to combat this baseless initiative, which is illegal as it violates the Romanian Constitution.

In less than 200 pages, the author presents a detailed but extremely precise situation of the problems faced by the Romanian community in this area. The work

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³⁶¹ Ioan Lăcătușu, *Argumente împotriva autonomiei teritoriale pe criterii etnice ale așa-zisului “Ținut Secuiesc”* [Arguments against the territorial autonomy based on ethnic criteria of the so-called “Szeklerland”], St. Gheorghe, Eurocarpatica Publishing House, 2008, p. 5.

is also a veritable collection of documentary sources, as it includes no less than 19 appendices, which develop the problems presented. It must be said here again that the publication of this book is a private initiative that has not been supported by any state institution. For this reason, it should surprise no one that this monumental work (like a last call for help from the Romanians) has been completely ignored by Romanian decision-makers.

In the current state of the subject, more than 14 years after the publication of the book, the problems of the Romanians in this area have not been solved even partially. In contrast, the process of accelerated assimilation of the Romanians by the Hungarians is even more aggressive, discrimination is more and more frequent, and the Romanian state is more and more absent every day. The issue of autonomy is a recurring theme in the discourse of Hungarian leaders, although legally, the initiative cannot become possible because it violates the fundamental act of a state: its constitution.

OBJECTIVES OF THE WORK

First, the paper under discussion presents, in a synthetic form, some arguments against the territorial autonomy on ethnic criteria of the so-called “Szeklerland”, in the hope that they will constitute subjects of reflection and action of the Romanian state, but also of the Hungarian state.

Second, the study shows that

“The supporters of separatism and enclavization on ethnic criteria, approaching an ethnocentric attitude, ignore the Romanian-Hungarian ethno-cultural interferences established over time in this part of the country”³⁶².

Therefore, the book discussed is a genuine proof of resistance to the accelerated assimilation of the Romanians from Harghita and Covasna.

THE GEOSTRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT

The discussion about the autonomy of the so-called “Szeklerland” concerns not only Harghita and Covasna counties, but the whole of Transylvania. For Romania, Transylvania is a matter of national interest as it is its “state centre”, its “Mittelpunkt”. The concept belongs to the German geopolitician Friedrich Ratzel, who considered the *Mittelpunkt* the political and cultural “ethno-spiritual core of a nation”³⁶³.

Given that

³⁶² „adeptii separatismului și ai enclavizării pe criterii etnice, abordând o atitudine etnocentristă, fac abstracție de interferențele etno-culturale româno-maghiare, stabilite de-a lungul timpului, în această parte de țară”, in *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁶³ Ilie Bădescu (coord.), Dan Dungaciu, Sandra Cristea, Claudiu Degeratu and Radu Baltasiu, *Sociologia și geopolitica frontierei, [Sociology and Geopolitics of the Border]*, Vol. I, Bucharest, Blue Flower Publishing House, 1995, p. 48.

“The state is maintained around a centre, and this centre is precisely the Mittelpunkt out of which the state is built”³⁶⁴.

The following statement is justified:

“The problem of normalizing the climate of interethnic coexistence in Covasna, Harghita and partly Mures counties is not only the problem of those who live in this blessed part of the country, but it is the problem of all Romanian citizens. If there will be peace and quiet in these counties, there will be peace and quiet in the whole country”³⁶⁵.

GENERAL COUNTER-ARGUMENTS

1. The situation in Kosovo is not like the case of Harghita-Covasna because European law and practice promote the idea of coexistence. Moreover, Romania has managed the minority issue after 1989 in an exemplary manner³⁶⁶, which cannot be said of the Hungarian state regarding the Romanian minority in Hungary, or about Romanian minority in Romania: I refer here to the counties in Romania where Hungarians are statistically the majority.
2. The model of autonomy proposed by Hungarian leaders for the localities of the so-called “Szeklerland” is not viable, because, firstly, it has never existed in history in this form and, secondly, it completely ignores the ethno-cultural interferences in this area³⁶⁷.

Why is knowing of ethno-cultural interference so important?

The importance of knowing ethno-cultural interferences is crucial because:

“The Szekler population is misled about the Romanian people. They have been misled about their past and their qualities”³⁶⁸.

Awareness of these ethno-cultural interferences is also important because they represent

“The basis for future actions to remove the ethnic Hungarians and the Szekler population from the manipulation to which they are currently subjected by most of the

³⁶⁴ „statul se menține în jurul unui centru, iar acest centru este tocmai Mittelpunkt-ul din care statul se plămădește”, in *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁶⁵ „problema normalizării climatului de conviețuire interetnică din județele Covasna, Harghita și parțial Mureș, nu este numai problema celor care locuiesc în această binecuvântată parte de țară, ci este problema tuturor cetățenilor români. Dacă va fi liniște și pace în aceste județe va fi liniște și pace în întreg spațiul românesc”, in Ioan Lăcătușu, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁶⁸ „populația secuiască este „indusă în eroare cu privire la poporul român. I s-a format în mod meșteșugit o părere falsă asupra trecutului și calităților lui”, in *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Hungarian media and for the natural formation of the perception and self-perception of their place and role within the Romanian state³⁶⁹.

PUNCTUAL COUNTER-ARGUMENTS

1. Linguistic

In the history of interethnic coexistence in the counties under discussion, several historians, including the distinguished scientific researcher Vasile Lechințan from Cluj, have highlighted the influence of the Romanian language on the language and life of the Hungarians and the Szekler population³⁷⁰. It should also be said here that these scientists have demonstrated, with the help of documents that prove the historical truth, that Hungarians and Szeklers are two distinct nations³⁷¹.

These linguistic borrowings reveal two important aspects:

- a) Both the Szeklers and Hungarians have borrowed words from Romanian in their everyday speech³⁷².
- b) The documents show that they took Romanian as a second language without administrative coercion (until the Great Union of 1918)³⁷³.

This confirms the words of the scientist Stefan Ludwig Roth, who stated that “The official language of historical Transylvania has been, for centuries, the Romanian language”³⁷⁴.

In addition to the Romanian words and expressions used by the Hungarian population in the area, Vasile Lechințan, gives the names of more than 100 Hungarian people from “the Sejm”³⁷⁵ who knew Romanian language.

2. Ethno-cultural

Ever since their settlement in the intra-Carpathian area after the 13th century, the Szeklers established and maintained good neighbourly relations with the Romanians of Moldavia and Muntenia. Some evidence of this:

- a) Raising the localities of Târgu Secuiesc, Brețcu, Frumoasa and Gheorgheni among the fairs³⁷⁶;

³⁶⁹ „baza acțiunilor viitoare de scoatere a secuilor și maghiarilor de sub influența ampleror acțiuni de manipulare la care sunt supuși în prezent de cea mai mare parte a mass-mediei maghiare și pentru formarea percepției și autopercepției firești despre locul și rolul lor”, in *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁴ „adevărata limbă oficială a Transilvaniei istorice a fost, de-a lungul secolelor, limba română”, in *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁷⁵ Secuime, in *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

- b) “In the chancelleries of the towns of the former Szekler seats there was a Romanian logofat who was in charge of writing letters in Romanian to the Moldavian and Muntenian nobles”³⁷⁷;
- c) The links of the Szeklers with the Romanian principalities were economic, cultural, and political. Old documents speak of some military services and benefits given to the Romanian voivodships³⁷⁸:

“The Szekler community of Ciuc was present in the anti-Ottoman battles led by Stephen the Great. More than 5000 Szekler soldiers participated in the battle of Vaslui in 1475. The same fairness was shown by the Szeklers towards Petru Rareș and Michael the Brave, and their efforts did not go unrewarded. After the participation of the Szeklers in the battle of Șelimbăr, on the side of Michael the Brave, on November 28, 1599, the Romanian leader gave them back their old Szekler freedoms”³⁷⁹.

It should also be pointed out here that the Szeklers never fought willingly against the Romanian Principalities. The battles they fought in these parts were fought by royal or princely orders, not by will³⁸⁰.

3. Ethnic, confessional, and territorial

- 3.1. Ethnic structure: according to the 2002 census in Covasna, Harghita and Mures counties 40% of the total population is Romanian and Roma, i.e., not Hungarian. This means that Hungarians represent only 59.18% of the total population of the three counties³⁸¹. This also means that the Hungarian elite cannot demand autonomy as long as almost half of the population is not Hungarian.
- 3.2. Confessional structure: people belonging to the Orthodox (402,499 people) and Greek-Catholic (13,985 persons) religions represent 37% of the total population of Covasna, Harghita and Mures counties³⁸². We see therefore that even from a confessional point of view, the community in this area is not compact, and the Romanians continue to have a significant percentage of the population of the three counties.
- 3.3. Territorial issues: the Romanians in the so-called “Szeklerland” are viewed with suspicion and are accused of seeking the “Romanianization of Szeklerland”. However, since their settlement in the 13th century in the Carpathian Mountains, the Szeklers and Hungarians have lived and continue to live surrounded by Romanians³⁸³.

³⁷⁷ „La cancelariile orașelor din fostele scaune secuiești exista câte un «logofăt român» care se ocupa cu redactarea scrisorilor în limba română, adresate boierilor moldoveni și munteni”, in *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ „Oastea comunității secuiești din Ciuc a fost prezentă în luptele antiotomane conduse de Ștefan cel Mare. La lupta de la Vaslui, din 1475, au participat peste 5000 de oșteni secui. Aceiași corectitudine au manifestat secuii și față de Petru Rareș și Mihai Viteazul, iar osteneala lor nu a rămas fără răsplată. După participarea secuilor la lupta de la Șelimbăr, de partea lui Mihai Viteazul, la data de 28 noiembrie 1599, domnitorul român le redă vechile libertăți secuiești”, in *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

4. Assimilation of the Romanians in “Szeklerland”

The Romanians of “Szeklerland” have been subjected to an extensive process of Hungarianization since the second half of the 19th century. This denationalisation process has three main stages:

- a) In the first phase, bilingualism is used³⁸⁴;
- b) Then the mother language is lost³⁸⁵;
- c) Finally, the confession is also lost³⁸⁶;

The most “vulnerable” to the Hungarianization process were the small Romanian communities, with less than 200 members because they could not ensure the existence and functioning of the main identity institutions - church and school³⁸⁷ (more than 60 localities were in this situation³⁸⁸).

5. Religious: Churches

The need to preserve the multi-ethnic and multi-denominational character of the area is also evident from the existence of churches that attest the permanence of Romanians in this area. Over time, precisely for this reason, the Churches have always been under attack. As proof, many of the old Romanian churches were demolished, most of them in the period 1940–1944, after the Vienna Dictate. However, due to their multitude, some have been preserved and still exist today. A few examples:

- a) Among the churches built in the 18th and 19th centuries, 27 churches have survived in Covasna County plus 3 that were built at the beginning of the 20th century³⁸⁹. In Harghita county, on the other hand, 23 Churches have been preserved³⁹⁰.
- b) If we talk about disappeared Churches, 19 have been identified in Covasna³⁹¹ and 18 in Harghita³⁹².
- c) During the Hungarian occupation (between 1940 and 1944), 11 churches and chapels were destroyed in Covasna³⁹³ and 13 in Harghita³⁹⁴.

Churches are extremely important because they protect the national and confessional identity of the Romanians, and at the same time attest their permanence over the years in this area.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41–43.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 43–45.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–47.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 47–50.

6. Attitudinal. Which arise from the position of the Hungarian political and civic parties towards the Romanians in this area.

Even without the institutionalization of territorial autonomy on the ethnic criteria of the so-called “Szeklerland”, Romanians in this area were and are discriminated. Here are some examples:

1. In the cultural field:

- 1.1. Transforming Romanian museums into Szekler museums³⁹⁵.
- 1.2. Transforming Romanian professional folklore groups into “Szekler groups”³⁹⁶.
- 1.3. Lack of will and interest in ensuring the functioning of the professional folklore group “Ciobănașul” which, in the end, led to the dissolution of it³⁹⁷.
- 1.4. The transformation of the “Andrei Mureșan” Theatre in St. Gheorghe into a “host theatre”, which practically meant the ruination of the institution³⁹⁸.
- 1.5. The desire of some leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania – UDMR (such as Marko Bela, Kelemen Hunor, etc.) to abolish the National Museum of the Eastern Carpathians³⁹⁹.
- 1.6. Overfunding of Hungarian cultural events and underfunding of Romanian ones⁴⁰⁰.
- 1.7. Exclusion of Romanian-language performances from events financed by the Romanian state, such as the “Days of the Localities” – Miercurea-Ciuc, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Târgu Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe (with great difficulty it happened here), or the “Days of Harghita County”⁴⁰¹.
- 1.8. Absence of Romanian specialists and Romanian cultural events in most of the cultural houses in the two counties⁴⁰².
- 1.9. Tolerating the mockery of Romanian monuments and symbols and so on⁴⁰³.

2. In the area of religious services:

- 2.1. Boycott of the establishment of the Romanian Orthodox Diocese of Covasna and Harghita⁴⁰⁴.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

2.2. The reluctance of the local public administration to take action for the restitution of property belonging to Orthodox parishes, which were expropriated by the communist regime⁴⁰⁵.

2.3. Total lack of support for Orthodox parishes from the local public administration subordinated to UDMR interests⁴⁰⁶.

2.4. The Hungarian press presents the Orthodox Church in the two counties in an insulting manner (the domes are drawn in the shape of onions). The Romanian Church is also wrongly accused by the Hungarian media of “conquering the Szekler land”⁴⁰⁷.

3. In education:

3.1. Breach of the legislation on filling deputy headteacher posts in mixed schools. Specifically, Romanian teachers who want to apply for this job are rejected if they do not speak Hungarian⁴⁰⁸.

3.2. Abolition or refusal to establish Romanian classes. Only a few classes were hardly established, and only after several interventions with the Ministry of Education⁴⁰⁹.

3.3. Preferential allocation of funds to Hungarian schools and neglect of Romanian – schools (particularly the “Constantin Brâncuși” Group)⁴¹⁰.

3.4. Discrimination of Romanian pupils in some mixed schools (the case of the Economic -Administrative School Group in St. Gheorghe)⁴¹¹.

3.5. The initiative to name two schools in St. Gheorghe after great Romanians (Nicolae Colan and Constantin Brâncuși) was rejected. This was possible only after many attempts and after the intervention of the Ministry of Education⁴¹².

3.6. Harassment of the orphanage “St. Losif” in Odorheiu Secuiesc, owned by the Greek-Catholic monk order “Pure Hearts”⁴¹³.

4. In Local Public Administration:

4.1. Rejection of all Romanians from the leadership of Covasna and Harghita County Councils, or from other municipalities, towns, and communes with ethnically mixed inhabitants⁴¹⁴.

4.2. Positions in public institutions may be filled by Romanians only if they know Hungarian. As a result, there are no Romanian officials in

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

institutions such as the Covasna County Council. Nor in the town hall of St. Gheorghe, nor in Tg. Secuiesc, nor in Baraolt town hall, nor in most of the communes with mixed populations⁴¹⁵.

4.3. To get a job in the decentralised institutions, ethnic criteria must be respected rather than professional criteria⁴¹⁶.

4.4. The magazine of Sf. Gheorghe City Hall is published only in Hungarian⁴¹⁷.

4.5. Use of public money only for the benefit of the Hungarian population – the case of the meeting of Hungarians from all over the world in Moacșa (this meeting was used to promote irredentist, separatist and anti-Romanian ideas)⁴¹⁸.

4.6. Lack of symbolic representation of Romanians living in these two counties⁴¹⁹.

4.7. Ignoring Romanian symbols (most UDMR mayors do not wear the tricolour scarf, breaking the law – see the case of the mayor of Sf. Gheorghe, on National Day 2007). Also, Romanian symbols are missing from public spaces (see the meeting room of Sf. Gheorghe municipality) and so on⁴²⁰;

4.8. Changing the names of streets and public institutions is accepted only if they are not named after Romanian personalities⁴²¹.

4.9. Sf. Gheorghe local council refuses to award the “Pro Urbe” distinction to Romanian citizens from Sf. Gheorghe⁴²².

4.10. Breaking the law on the use of the Romanian language in public institutions – the case of the St. Gheorghe Local Council's Regulation of functioning and other similar regulations⁴²³;

5. *In politics:*

5.1. Lack of interest and even blocking the removal of discrimination against Romanians⁴²⁴;

5.2. Some parties positively discriminate against Romanians in the two counties⁴²⁵;

5.3. Explicit or tacit acceptance and encouragement of intolerant and anti-Romanian discourses was promoted by the Hungarian media in the two counties⁴²⁶;

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

5.4. Romanian politicians and dignitaries are not welcome in these counties because the Hungarians consider them “the property of local Hungarian barons” and their friends from all over the world⁴²⁷;

Given these few examples, the situation being far from complete, sociologist Ioan Lăcătușu rightly wonders what the situation of the Romanian community will be if the Hungarians gain autonomy?⁴²⁸. The answer is not difficult to deduce from the examples discussed above.

RELEVANT ACTIONS OF THE ROMANIAN STATE

The Romanian institutions in charge of monitoring and sanctioning anti-Romanian discourse in the public space, instead of fighting Hungarian propaganda, punish all Romanians who defend their identity. In other words, they “fight” Romanian “nationalism”, but ignore the toxic impact of irredentist material promoted by the Hungarian media⁴²⁹.

Moreover, the Romanian state tacitly and implicitly supports the implementation of territorial autonomy based on ethnic criteria with money from its budget. In other words, the Hungarian elite wants the “Szekler” region to obtain autonomy, but this autonomy should be financially supported by the Romanian state. This is what the Romanian state is doing through the National Local Development Plan for example (see the conclusions of the report on Carei⁴³⁰).

MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM EFFECTS

1. Autonomy implies the **isolation** of the community, which will lead to the underdevelopment of the Hungarians in all aspects. Moreover, **discrimination** against Romanians will increase:

“An ethnic enclave is formed, in which the Romanian cultural patrimony, the Romanian history and language, the Romanian symbols, are not respected, and the Romanians’ fundamental rights are violated”⁴³¹.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴³⁰ Radu Baltasiu (coord.), *Situația actuală a frontierei de nord-vest a României la 100 de ani de la Tratatul de la Versailles – raport de cercetare*, [The current situation of Romania’s north-western border 100 years after the Treaty of Versailles – research report], Bucharest, Ethnological Publishing House, 2022.

⁴³¹ „Se formează o enclavă etnică, în care patrimoniul cultural românesc, istoria și limba română, simbolurile românești, nu sunt respectate, iar românilor le sunt încălcate drepturile fundamentale”, in Ioan Lăcătușu, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

2. “Self-government” far beyond local autonomy, which **attacks inalienable attributes of the Romanian state**, also leads to the transformation of the ethnic group into a “state within a state”⁴³².
3. Important sectors of Romanian **public life will be affected**, including:
 - 3.1. The presence and activity of the several hundreds or even thousands of Hungarian civil servants and senior civil servants established in Bucharest, because of participation of the UDMR in the government of the country⁴³³;
 - 3.2. Creating uncomfortable situations for the many ethnic Hungarian students studying in the faculties of the country’s main university centres⁴³⁴;
 - 3.3. The normal functioning of the university extensions in Bucharest, Cluj Napoca, Sibiu, Brasov etc., which currently exist in St. Gheorghe, Miercurea-Ciuc, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Tg. Secuiesc, Covasna and Gheorgheni will also be affected⁴³⁵;
4. **Members of mixed families are also directly affected** by the consequences of ethnic separatism. The number of ethnically mixed families living in the three counties exceeds 10,000, which means that between 25,000–30,000 people will suffer the consequences due to baseless historical frustrations⁴³⁶.
5. Another significant category of citizens who objectively cannot accept ethnic separatism are people with a mixed identity. In the 2002 census, more than 14,000 citizens in Covasna, Harghita and Mures counties were people of dual identity, either of Romanian nationality and belonging to the “historical Hungarian churches” (Roman-Catholic, Reformed, Evangelical and Unitarian) or of Hungarian ethnicity and belonging to the traditional Romanian churches (Orthodox and Greek-Catholic)⁴³⁷.
6. Finally, for the Romanians in the area, the institutionalization of autonomy based on ethnic criteria would mean the **legalization of marginalization and discrimination** and the lack of any real chance of preserving and affirming their cultural, linguistic, and confessional identity in the future⁴³⁸.

CONCLUSIONS

From a geopolitical perspective

“The establishment of an enclave in the Covasna-Harghita-Mures area will not be beneficial for the Hungarians and will never be accepted by the Romanians.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

The historical and present realities of this area show us that the Hungarians here cannot develop against the Romanians, but only together with them”⁴³⁹.

In other words, the ethnic Hungarians, using these actions, exclude themselves from the Romanian society and become an annex of Hungary, economically, politically, culturally, and so on dependent on Budapest. The Romanian state, on the other hand, allows an organic development by the Hungarians and not an artificial and conditional one, as is the case in Budapest.

From a historical perspective

“As the historian Vasile Lechințan recently pointed out, the Szeklers have never had Szekler prefects, Szekler parliament, or other state political structures. They had, as they do today, local autonomy within the seats (Mureș, Odorhei, Ciuc, Three Seats), but they never had autonomy from the Hungarian or Habsburg state”⁴⁴⁰.

From the perspective of the Hungarian leaders, the institutionalization of the territorial autonomy of the so-called “Szeklerland” is not motivated by obtaining new rights and freedoms because all of them exist at European standards. The achievement of this goal is rather symbolic and has arisen because of frustrations in the Hungarian mind.

From the perspective of the Romanian society in the area, even without the institutionalization of ethnic autonomy, there are vital problems for the Romanian identity that are waiting for equitable solutions in line with European practice.

I conclude by saying that the Romanian state is no longer an important player in the area. This implies the loss of sovereignty of the whole state because the duty of the state is to protect all its citizens, including from an identity perspective (ensuring societal security⁴⁴¹). In the absence of the Romanian state, the Hungarian state becomes more and more present and takes over the prerogatives of the Romanian state. Unless something concrete is done about this as soon as possible, the Romanians in this area will be completely assimilated.

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⁴³⁹ „constituirea unei enclave în zona Covasna-Harghita-Mureș, nu va fi benefică pentru maghiari și niciodată acceptată de români. Realitățile istorice și cele prezente, din acest areal, ne arată că maghiarii de aici nu se pot afirma împotriva românilor, ci numai împreună cu ei”, in *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴⁴⁰ „așa cum sublinia recent și istoricul Vasile Lechințan secuii n-au avut niciodată comiți (prefecți) secui, parlament secuiesc, alte structuri politice statale. Au avut, ca și azi, autonomie locală în cadrul „scaunelor” (Mureș, Odorhei, Ciuc, Trei Scaune), dar niciodată autonomie față de statul ungar și, respectiv, habsburgic”, in *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁴¹ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde, *Securitatea. Un nou cadru de analiză* [Security. A new framework for analysis], CA Publishing, 2011.

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IOAN LĂCĂTUȘU, “ROMANIANS IN THE HUNGARIAN MASS-MEDIA FROM HARGHITA AND COVASNA COUNTIES (2006–2009)”. BOOK PRESENTATION

Narcis Rupe⁴⁴²

ABSTRACT

In the Covasna and Harghita counties, which are in the centre of Romania, ethnic Romanians and Hungarians have been interacting for hundreds of years. The social logic according to which these two ethnic groups interact is based on the fact that the latter is a dominant minority and the former a dominated majority. Professor Ioan Lăcătușu’s work details the presence of this social logic in the Hungarian language press. How does the Hungarian-language mass media portray the history of the Romanians, the activity of the Orthodox Diocese of Covasna and Harghita – the main institution supporting the Romanian identity of the two counties – and the situation of the Roman Catholic Romanians in Moldova? In this book presentation, the answer to the first question will be dealt with, since most elements of the Hungarian discourse can be discovered by observing how the history of the Romanians is mirrored in the Hungarian language press of the two counties. Mr. Ioan Lăcătușu brings to the attention of the general public unfamiliar with the ethnic tension in the area, whether they are ordinary citizens, political decision-makers or state dignitaries, the problems faced by the Romanian minority in the two counties shortly after Romania joined the European Union (2007) and intensified its cooperation relations with Hungary. Also, the publication of a book on the activity of the Hungarian-language press in Romania took place when in the two counties there were intensified efforts to obtain territorial autonomy for the so-called “Szeklerland”.

Keywords: minority Romanians in Romania, Hungarian minority in Romania, media, interethnic relations.

Professor Ioan Lăcătușu is one of the leading figures of the numerical minority Romanians in Covasna and Harghita counties. Archivist and sociologist, Mr. Ioan Lăcătușu is one of the founders of organizations that campaign for the preservation of Romanian identity in the Intracarpian Arc⁴⁴³. The 30 years of his work have

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⁴⁴³ Oana Mălina Negrea, “Români cu povești/Cercetătorul Ioan Lăcătușu lasă o valoroasă moștenire culturii românești și generațiilor viitoare” [“Romanians with stories/Researcher Ioan Lăcătușu is leaving a precious legacy for Romanian culture and future generations”], December 1, 2022, in *Agerpress*, Available at: <https://www.agerpres.ro/cultura-media/2022/12/01/romani-cupovesticercetatorul>

been crowned by the publication of numerous scientific works concerning both the past and the present of the Romanian community in this area⁴⁴⁴, of which it is worth mentioning that he is the author of the first monograph of the Romanians in St. Gheorghe⁴⁴⁵.

The book was published by Eurocarpatica Publishing House, a publishing house working under the guidance of the Covasna-Harghita European Studies Centre. This research centre has been working since 1999 for developing civil society in Covasna and Harghita counties and for the promotion of humanist ideas in the two counties through research in the fields of sociology, geopolitics, history, theology, economics and political science, but not only⁴⁴⁶.

Professor Ioan Lăcătușu was an expert who monitored the public discourse and behaviour of Hungarian leaders in Covasna and Harghita counties on issues related to interethnic coexistence between 2001 and 2004⁴⁴⁷, with the support of the Ministry of Public Information. Publishing the first and second volumes of the book, the Romanian sociologist and archivist carried on the project without the support of the Romanian Government.

Compared to previous efforts to monitor the Hungarian press, the book has the merit of bringing to the readers' attention the changes in the discourse of the Hungarian press regarding the minority Romanians in the area after Romania and Hungary became members of the European Union (2007). Professor Ioan Lăcătușu's book is also a part of the Romanian reaction to counter autonomist tendencies, a reaction that also found expression in another work by the same author in 2008 – "Arguments against the ethnic-based autonomy of the so-called 'Szeklerland'"⁴⁴⁸.

In over 200 pages, Professor Ioan Lăcătușu's work begins with an analysis of the Hungarian press and ends with an annexed presentation of the efforts of the

ioanlacatusulasa ovaloroasa mostenire-culturii-romanestisigeneratiilorviitoare1023023, Accessed on September 11, 2022.

⁴⁴⁴ Among the works Mr. Lăcătușu has written are:

1. Ioan Lăcătușu, *Spiritualitate românească și conviețuire interetică în Covasna și Harghita [Romanian spirituality and interethnic coexistence in Covasna and Harghita]*, St. Gheorghe, Eurocarpatica Publishing House, 2002.

2. Ioan Lăcătușu, *Argumente împotriva autonomiei pe criterii etnice a așa-zisului "Ținut secuiesc"* [Arguments against ethnic autonomy of the so-called "Szeklerland"], St. Gheorghe, Eurocarpatica Publishing House, 2008.

⁴⁴⁵ Oana Mălina Negrea, "Români cu povești/Cercetătorul Ioan Lăcătușu lasă o valoroasă moștenire culturii românești și generațiilor viitoare" ["Romanians with stories/Researcher Ioan Lăcătușu is leaving a precious legacy for Romanian culture and future generations"], December 1, 2022, in *Agerpress*, Available at: <https://www.agerpres.ro/cultura/media/2022/12/01/romani-cupovesticercetatorulioanlacatusulasa ovaloroasa mostenire-culturii-romanestisigeneratiilorviitoare1023023>, Accessed on September 11, 2022.

⁴⁴⁶ Ioan Lăcătușu, *Românii în mass-media maghiară din Harghita și Covasna [Romanians in the hungarian mass-media from Harghita and Covasna counties]*, Vol. II, St. Gheorghe, Eurocarpatica Publishing House, 2009, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁴⁸ See Ioan Lăcătușu, *op. cit.*, 2008.

Romanian community in Covasna and Harghita to preserve their identity. The reader unfamiliar with Romanian problems in the area has the opportunity to know them in a short time by reading a single book. The annexes provide the context (some of the concrete problems faced by Romanians in the two counties) in which the Hungarian press writes about numerically minority Romanians.

Ioan Lăcătușu presented his book to the interested public on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Covasna-Harghita European Studies Centre, thus representing a new proof of the efforts made by the group of researchers within the centre to support the Romanian minorities in the two counties⁴⁴⁹.

This review focuses on how the history of Romanians is reflected in the pages of the Hungarian press.

THEMES OF ROMANIAN HISTORY IN THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE PRESS IN COVASNA AND HARGHITA COUNTIES

It is no coincidence that the first chapter of the book begins with the way the Hungarian-language press in the two counties exposed the Romanian history. The events of the past are a rich source of arguments, which form the basis of present and future actions taken by an ethnic group. The Bucharest School of Sociology, founded by Dimitrie Gusti, clarified the problem of the organic connection between past and future by formulating the law of sociological parallelism⁴⁵⁰.

Social units (families, villages, ethnic groups, nations) manifest themselves continuously, i.e. through their action, they update social (psychological and historical) and asocial (cosmic and biological) frameworks. For the various social units, the frameworks represent justifications, incentives, even simple reasons for future actions.

Mr. Ioan Lăcătușu demonstrated that between 2006 and 2009 the number of articles in the Hungarian press was aiming to justify the autonomy of the so-called “Szeklerland” increased. In other words, journalists justified the future actions of the Hungarian community in the two counties using arguments specific to the historical frame to a greater extent than those of cosmological, biological or psychological nature.

“In the Hungarian-language press, the glorious history of the Szeklers is extolled as an argument for nostalgic approaches, and those with a message of self-victimization

⁴⁴⁹ Covasna Media, “Dublă prezentare de carte și 10 ani de la înființarea Centrului European de Studii Covasna – Harghita” [“A double book presentation and 10 years since the foundation of the Covasna – Harghita European Study Centre”], December 17, 2009, Available at: <https://covanamedia.ro/actualitate/dubla-prezentare-de-carte-si-10-anidelainfiintarea-centrului-european-de-studii-covasna-%E2%80%93-harghita>, Accessed on September 11, 2022.

⁴⁵⁰ Ion Ungureanu, *Paradigme ale cunoașterii societății* [The paradigms of society knowledge], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2002, p. 111, apud Dimitrie Gusti, *Pagini alese* [Selected pages], Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1965, pp. 117–118.

and revisionism; it is advocated the reactualization of the traditional administrative organization, by Szekler seats, without taking into account that these structures corresponded to a certain historical period, today they are obsolete, a fact proven by their dismantling, for reasons related to the modernization of the administration, in 1785, 1849, and definitively in 1876; during the Austro-Hungarian dualism”⁴⁵¹.

How did the Hungarian-language press expose the history of the Romanians to readers?

It should be mentioned at the outset that the discourse constructed by the Hungarian press contributes to deepening interethnic disputes, perpetuating tensions in the area. Why? For the simple reason that the moments of mutual support between the Romanians, Hungarians and Szeklers are omitted. Also, the history of the Romanians is rarely told through the prism of Romanian authors and the version taught in Romanian schools.

The lack of the Romanian version leaves room for a narrative of Romanian history in accordance with the social logic of the dominant minority and the dominated minority. The importance of personalities such as Mihai Viteazu and Avram Iancu is minimised, and significant moments in Romanian history such as the “Great Union” (1918) and the liberation of Northern Transylvania from Horthyist occupation between 1940 and 1944 are regretted.

Professor Ioan Lăcătușu’s work stands as proof that the Romanian state guarantees the right to free expression for the Hungarian minority in Romania, as it allows the publication of articles denigrating the history of Romanians. However, the Hungarian intelligentsia and the press of Hungarian interests are keen to reinforce the “linguistic ghetto” in which they find themselves. Despite the guarantee of the right to free expression, the dominant minority’s press agencies negatively label significant moments in Romanian history. The author discovered the existence of expressions such as “invented [Romanian] historical past”⁴⁵², “Romanian soldiers, invaders”⁴⁵³, “1 December is a day of grief for Hungarians”⁴⁵⁴ și “Transylvania as a gift to a foreign country in 1920”⁴⁵⁵.

The negative labelling of the history of Romanians can be seen in relation to the Treaty of Trianon, signed by Romania and Hungary in 1920, which recognised

⁴⁵¹ Ioan Lăcătușu, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 101.

⁴⁵² Kádár Gyula, “Mesajul istoriei Transilvaniei” [“The message of Transylvanian history”], in *Szekely Hirmondo*, 29/2009, pp. 24-30, apud *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁵³ Kolumbán Sándor, “Ce să sărbătorească?” [“What to celebrate?”], in *Europai-Ido*, no. 24/2007, apud *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴⁵⁴ Kádár Gyula, “1 decembrie și autodeterminarea” [“1 December and self-determination”], in *Hâromszek*, no. 5545/2008, apud *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴⁵⁵ Kádár Gyula, “Unde este patria secuinului?” [“Where is the homeland of the Szekler!”], in *Szekely Hirmondo*, no. 41/2007, apud *Ibid.*, p. 33.

the borders “Greater Romania”, called in the Hungarian press with names like “Trianon drama”:

“The greatest physical hit and the one inflicted on the Hungarians was on 4 June 1920. Eighty-six years ago, on this day in France, at the Trianon, the signing of the peace treaty with Hungary occurred, which ‘validated’ the annexation of Transylvania, Slovakia, Croatia and a strip of Western Hungary (...) The biggest ‘hug’ in the country’s body received Romania (...)”⁴⁵⁶.

“The Trianon problem” was presented, even after 2009, in a negative connotation by the Hungarian press. Even in the year of the 100th anniversary of the “Great Union” (2018), the Hungarian media continues to negatively label the event according to a recent study⁴⁵⁷.

In the Hungarian press, the Romanian community is not represented as if it were a numerical minority in the two counties, but as part of the majority nation. This perception makes it difficult to live with each other because the minority Romanians are labelled as responsible for the actions of the Romanian nation, which is perceived in the press as a source of discrimination against Hungarians. Paradoxically, the Hungarian press labels the minority Romanians in the two counties as responsible for the assimilation of the Hungarian community.

The massacres committed by the soldiers of Miklós Horthy’s regime after the occupation of Northern Transylvania in 1940, one of the tragic moments suffered also by the Romanians of the two counties, are also omitted by the Hungarian-language press of the two counties⁴⁵⁸.

Many articles try justifying the idea that ethnic Hungarians were assimilated, especially during the dictatorial regime established by Nicolae Ceaușescu (1964–1989). There have been many articles in which the gendarmerie barracks, the Orthodox monasteries and the numerous police forces deployed in the area⁴⁵⁹ have been labelled as the actors responsible for assimilating. On the issue of assimilation, it should be noted that, contrary to the historical evidence of Hungarianisation state policies during the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism⁴⁶⁰, the Hungarian-language press tried to create the impression that there was, in fact, a “model of democracy”⁴⁶¹ on the territory of Transylvania.

⁴⁵⁶ „Cea mai mare lovitură fizică și spirituală aplicată maghiarilor a fost cea din 4 iunie 1920. În urmă cu 86 de ani, în această zi, în Franța, la Trianon a avut loc semnarea tratatului de pace cu Ungaria, care a «validat» anexarea Transilvaniei, Slovaciei, Croației și a unei fâșii din Ungaria de Vest (...) «Îmbucătura» cea mai mare din corpul țării a primit-o România (...)”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

⁴⁵⁷ See Radu Baltasiu, Ovidiana Bulumac and Alin Bulumac, “Elemente de conținut ale propagandei în anul Centenar” [“Elements of propaganda content in the Centenary year”], in *Etnosfera*, no. 2/2018, pp. 177–193.

⁴⁵⁸ Ioan Lăcătușu, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 101.

⁴⁵⁹ See “Adunare generală de alegeri a asociației ceangăilor” [“General Election Meeting of the Association of Ceangas”], June 16, 2009, in *Háromszek*, apud *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴⁶⁰ See G. Badea-Lătuțeanu, *Problema Secuiască [The Szekler Issue]*, Bucharest, Eikon Publishing House, 2018.

⁴⁶¹ Ioan Lăcătușu, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 101.

RELEVANCE OF THE WORK UNDERTAKEN BY PROFESSOR IOAN LĂCĂTUȘU

“Romanians in the Hungarian media in Harghita and Covasna” is a book that “initiates” the general public in Romania on the issue of Romanian minorities in the two counties. For those who wish to deepen the subject, they can consult other works such as “The weakening of the Romanian community in Harghita-Covasna”, written by Romanian sociologists Radu Baltasiu, Ovidiana Bulumac, Gabriel Săpunaru⁴⁶² and “Forgotten in the heart of Romania: current aspects of Romanian-Hungarian coexistence in Covasna and Harghita counties”, a report by Dan Tanasă, journalist and member of the Romanian Parliament since 2020⁴⁶³.

Ioan Lăcătușu has the merit of removing the language barrier that makes it impossible for the public, Romanian state dignitaries and specialists to know the Hungarian discourse in Romania, concentrated mainly in the press of the two counties in the centre of the country. Indeed, this work can provide the basis for action to achieve a peaceful environment in the centre of Romania, which is so necessary between the two communities.

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⁴⁶² See Radu Baltasiu, Gabriel Săpunaru and Ovidiana Bulumac, *Slăbirea comunității românești din Harghita-Covasna: raport de cercetare [The weakening of the Romanian community in Harghita-Covasna: research report]*, Bucharest, Ethnological Publishing House, 2013.

⁴⁶³ See Dan Tanasă, *Uitați în inima României: aspecte actuale ale conviețuirii româno-maghiare în județele Covasna și Harghita [Forgotten in the heart of Romania: current aspects of Romanian-Hungarian coexistence in Covasna and Harghita counties]*, St. Gheorghe, Eurocarpatica Publishing House, 2016.

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DIMITRIE GUSTI'S "KNOWLEDGE AND ACTION IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION". BOOK REVIEW

Narcis Rupe⁴⁶⁴

ABSTRACT

In the autumn of 1938, King Carol II ratified the Social Service Law proposed by Dimitrie Gusti. The law was the culmination of Dimitrie Gusti's entire activity, as it generalized on a national scale his ideals of raising the Romanian nation through scientific research, raising the self-awareness of Romanians, and training creative elite personalities. Thus, in the autumn of 1939, students from Romanian universities carried out a research and uplifting internship in the villages (where about 80% of the country's population lived). To understand the work, they were to do, D. Gusti published the book "Knowledge and Action in the Service of the Nation"⁴⁶⁵. The book contains the sociological, ethical, and political system that formed the basis of the Law of Social Service together with the main results of the work undertaken by the "Prince Carol" Royal Foundation up to 1939. As then, the book is relevant for young people in Romania who are interested in the development of the country. Also, together with "The Bucharest School of Sociology" (Mircea Vulcănescu) the book represents one of the most comprehensive syntheses of the Romanian sociologist's thinking.

Keywords: Bucharest School of Sociology, Dimitrie Gusti, Social Service Law, social development.

INTRODUCTION

The Social Service Law brought together students from different areas of study, who were not familiar with sociology, not even the whole social science system of D. Gusti. The Gustian social science system, which has in its center the social will concept, was the framework for the three months of work done by these students in 1939 to graduate from university. From this perspective, the book had the function to present in a synthetic way the Gustian's system, offering a justification for Social Service Law and attraction for future activities in Romanian villages. Today, it can have the same function for the public who is interested in understanding of Gustian sociological, political and ethical thinking and mostly for today's students who are looking for ways to develop Romania.

The book takes the form of a collection of articles and speeches of D. Gusti. It has two volumes which are arranged chronologically in three parts, each containing several chapters, entitled: "Principles", "Sociological Knowledge" and "Social

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Action”. At the end is the final form of the Social Services Act, published in the government official gazette. The present review aims to present the book of the Romanian sociologist, but also calls on other authors (Mircea Vulcănescu, Radu Baltasiu) to complete his ideas.

PART ONE. PRINCIPLES

The first chapter aims to set out the basic ideas and principles of Gustian way of nation improvement. Dimitrie Gusti was one of the intellectuals who tried in Romanian interwar historic period to theorize and implement plans for advancing Great Romania along Mihail Manoilescu, Virgil Madgearu, or Constantin Stere⁴⁶⁶. The central idea of the Romanian sociologist was – there is no improvement of the nation without a scientific understanding of its current state through monographic research. He believed that the results of a monograph of the nation offered the elites the possibilities of improving the nation. These possibilities are judged according with the Gustian ideal – the transformation of an individual into a personality who can maximize these possibilities. The nation’s ideals become reality by applying reforms to the nation’s current social reality. Monographic sociology, nation, ethic, and politics are the first concepts with which the book ushers in.

The Nation in Gustian sociology

Since the Gustian intention was to uplift the nation, the book begins with a theoretical framework of the nation concept. From the very first pages, the Romanian sociologist responds indirectly to contemporary critics⁴⁶⁷ who claimed that the science of the nation cannot be a science, in the fullest sense of the word, because it is based on a subjective approach. D. Gusti demonstrates that science is able to serve the nation without losing its objectivity if the researcher is able to distinguish between the judgments of ascertainment, which attempt to find an answer to the question “What is social reality like?” and value judgments (specific to the field of study of ethics) which answer the question “What should social reality be like?”.

“Indeed, the human mind can have two attitudes of knowledge towards social reality:

1. either establishes its current state, seeking to investigate it as it is, in which case it makes findings of fact;

⁴⁶⁶ Radu Baltasiu and Ovidiana Bulumac „Proiecte de modernizare ale României” [“Romania’s modernization projects”] in Radu Baltasiu and Ovidiana Bulumac, *Istoria Socială. Actualitate și Problematică [Social history. Actuality and Problematic]*, Bucharest, University of Bucharest Publishing House, 2017.

⁴⁶⁷ See „«Naționalismul» sociologiei românești și «empirismul» ei” [“The ‘nationalism’ of Romanian sociology and its ‘empiricism’”] in Anton Golopenția, *Opere Complete [Complete Works]*, Vol. I, *Sociologie [Sociology]*, edition compiled and annotated by prof. dr. Sanda Golopenția, Introductory study by prof. dr. Stefan Costea, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2002, pp. 85–88.

2. either they try to appreciate reality in comparison with the moral ideal, showing how it should be, in which case they work with value judgements”⁴⁶⁸.

Dimitrie Gusti has drawn the lines of a sociology of the nation in accordance with the changing international context after the First World War. After the war, nations from Eastern Europe won the fight with the imperial states. Nations from Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empires achieved their independence. In this way, nations became the most complete social unit. A social unit that does not need another unit to manifest itself. The second justification for a science of nations, then, was the emergence of a new form of social unity in Eastern Europe.

“The nation is the only social unit, which is self-sufficient, in the sense that it does not require for its full realization a more comprehensive social unit, being able to create its own world of values, to establish an end in itself and to find the means to achieve it, i.e., the power of organization and progress in its own composition”⁴⁶⁹.

Once Dimitrie Gusti has argued the reasons behind the need for a sociology of the nation, he gives a definition of the nation as follows:

“Nation is a voluntary synthetic creation, a social unit, representing a voluntary system with cosmic, biological and psycho-historical motivation, with social will as the *causa movens* of the nationhood process and with creative manifestations, in the spiritual, economic, juridical and political realms of national life, which form the national culture”⁴⁷⁰.

According to the definition, social will appears as a central concept because the emergence of the nation is closely linked to the degree of social will of its members. Only an ethnic group with social will becomes a nation, a social unit in which common identity becomes a value and an ideal for the action of the members of the unit.

What is the mechanism behind the transformation of individuals will in a social will? The answer lies in the first part of nation definition – “a voluntary synthetic creation”⁴⁷¹. Dimitrie Gusti didn’t mention explicit the mechanism behind, but

⁴⁶⁸ „Într-adevăr mintea omenească poate avea două atitudini de cunoaștere față de realitatea socială:

1. fie că stabilește starea ei la un moment dat, căutând să o cerceteze așa cum este ea, în care caz emite judecăți de constatare;

2. fie că încearcă să aprecieze realitatea în raport cu idealul moral, arătând cum ar trebui ea să fie, în care caz lucrează cu judecăți de valoare”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *Cunoaștere și acțiune în serviciul națiunii [Knowledge and action in the service of the nation]*, The Book of Teams, Bucharest, Royal Cultural Foundation “Prince Charles”, Vol. I, 1939, p. 12.

⁴⁶⁹ „Națiunea este singura unitate socială care își ajunge sieși, în înțelesul că nu cere pentru deplina ei realizare o unitate socială mai cuprinzătoare, fiind în stare să-și creeze o lume proprie de valori, să-și stabilească un scop în sine și să-și afle mijloacele de îndeplinire, adică forța de organizare și propășire în propria ei alcătuire”, in *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁰ „Națiunea este o creație sintetică voluntară, o unitate socială, care reprezintă un sistem voluntar cu motivare cosmică, biologică și psiho-istorică, cu voința socială drept *causa movens* a procesului de naționalizare și cu manifestări creatoare, pe tărâmul sufletesc, economic, juridic și politic al vieții naționale, care formează cultura națională.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Mircea Vulcănescu did. Social will does not result from an arithmetical sum of individuals' will. Only the subordination of individual will to a common ideal transform them into social will (M. Vulcănescu called this process the “socialization of the will”). Ultimately, the process will produce an elite that is empowered by the masses to represent the will of a nation. In a democratic country, the socialization of the will is theoretically done through elections.

“Everything happens as if society were the support of an autonomous will, having, in other words, a personality of its own; the subtle process by which society acquires personality is clarified by the operation of socializing individual wills. This socialization is achieved by subordinating individuals to a common purpose”⁴⁷².

The ideals pursued by the members of a nation are rooted in the collective identity given by the four “frames” (“cadre”). Humans act in a social context, which, according to Dimitrie Gusti, is composed by four elements: biological, geographical, psychological, and historical. The main difference between the perspectives of Dimitrie Gusti and others sociologist (like G. Tarde) upon the social context is the freedom of human beings. The four frames do not causally determine social actions, but condition their existence, because ultimately, social units will act according to their specific social will, which finds in frames motives and potentialities. Frames seem to have two functions in the Gustian system: they are the source of motivation for future actions, and at the same time they are the elements which the “social will” will process to achieve the ideals it sets itself. In the case of a nation, Dimitrie Gusti discovered four frames: cosmological (the shared territory), biological (“unity of race in the nation consciousness”⁴⁷³), psychological (the conscious scale of national identity) and historical (a shared destiny consciousness given by a shared past manifestations).

A nation has a space of manifestation, which can be the territory itself or the territory where the members of a nation are at that moment. For example, in the Balkan Peninsula there are several groups of Romanians called Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians and Istro-Romanians. Their existence can expand the action of Romanian nation in geographical space. Even though the current studies do not make a clear distinction between races, Gusti's biological framework still has a scientific value. More than an actual common race, nations can have a kin consciousness. And D. Gusti claimed that it is more relevant to the collective identity of a nation than the actual common biological traits of its members. The psychological framework is related to the “state of mind” provided by national identity – the perception of dignity. A nation can have low dignity when it perceives its culture as inferior to others. A historical frame means a nation has its own line of advancement in history,

⁴⁷² „Totul se petrece ca și cum societatea ar fi suportul unei voințe autonome, având, cu alte cuvinte, o personalitate proprie, procesul subtil prin care societatea capătă personalitate e lămurit prin operația socializării voințelor individuale. Această socializare se înfăptuiește prin subordonarea indivizilor unei finalități comune.”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *Școala Sociologică de la București [Bucharest School of Sociology, Bucharest, Eminescu Publishing House]*, 1998, p. 52.

⁴⁷³ „În aceeași măsură, trebuie să se dea atenția răsunetului pe care îl are unitatea rasei în conștiința unei națiuni.”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, 1939, Vol. I, p. 11.

or the members of a nation have a common fate. In this sense, all past manifestations of a nation provide the framing for the new ones.

A nation with will manifests itself in four directions: economic, spiritual (art, science, philosophy, and religion), political and juridical. The achievements of its members in these areas compose the national culture. Thus, Gusti corrected the general perception that a nation's culture consists solely of spiritual elements. Romanian sociologist also gives meaning for the concept of nationhood – how a nation converts frames for its own advantage. Of all manifestations, the most important is the spiritual, because it provides the justification for the existence of a nation and involves the creation of ideas (religious, artistic, scientific, and philosophical) that can be of universal value.

“The geographical landscape, the race, the historical past and the collective soul are gradually nationalized, they become instruments for the advancement and affirmation of the nation (...)”⁴⁷⁴.

The Gustian system of social science tackled the nation problem theoretical and methodological. Perceived as a whole, the nation cannot be properly comprehended by what Dimitrie Gusti called the inductive (statistics, folklore, ethnography, and previous monograph conducted – F.L. Pay), and deductive methods (such nation's psychology studies). After a critical analysis of them, the Romanian thinker underline the necessity of a new method for understanding the nation – monography. The main problems noted by D. Gusti in the inductive and deductive methods are the researcher risks many errors of reasoning if he works with second-hand data (as in statistical studies), or if he uses direct but unsystematic or fragmentary data (ethnography or monograph conducted according to F.L. Pay). The Gustian monograph overcomes these difficulties because it succeeds in maintaining the direct observation of the facts with an understanding of the whole that it aims to understand. In simple terms, the Gustian monograph is a sociological method of direct, systematic, and integral observation of society.

“(...) the monograph is the systematic study of social units in precisely defined areas, such as frames and manifestations, using the method of direct (participatory) observation”⁴⁷⁵.

Thus understood, the monograph innovates sociological research by showing the need for studying the social by a multidisciplinary team of researchers for each frame and manifestation coordinated by a sociologist. To produce valid data, each be aware of the conditions required for a monographic observation. This must be: 1)

⁴⁷⁴ „Peisajul geografic, rasa, trecutul istoric și sufletul colectiv se naționalizează treptat, devin instrumente de propășire și afirmare ale națiunii ...”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1939, p. 14.

⁴⁷⁵ „(...) monografia reprezintă studiul sistematic al unităților sociale pe domenii precis delimitate, de tipul cadrelor și manifestărilor, prin metoda observației directe (participative).”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *Sociologia militans. Introducere în sociologia politică [Sociologia militans. Introduction to political sociology]*, Vol. I., Bucharest, 1934, p. 72, apud Radu Baltasiu, *Introducere în Sociologie [Introduction to Sociology]*, Craiova, Beladi Publishing house, 2007, p. 455.

honest and objective; 2) insightful; 3) complete; 4) controlled and verified; 5) collective – through the collaboration of specialists; 6) informed and prepared – based on theory and 7) intuitive⁴⁷⁶.

The benefits of monographic research go beyond the scientific aspect. In the case of the students who were to be part of the royal teams in the summer of 1939, Dimitrie Gusti shows that monography also have an educational, cultural, and administrative function. The students had the chance to verify and see on the field the theoretical aspects learned in university. For the state, the monography is the source of cultural pragmatism – the synthetic expression of Govern through science.

“In other words, cultural pragmatism is the synthetic expression of governance through science, i.e., the administration of a community through systematic, verifiable knowledge of society’s needs”⁴⁷⁷.

The sociological studies of villages were viewed by D. Gusti as fundamental for a Cultural State, which is the state that encourages the development of Romanian creation through cultural personalities and with a system of social mobility based on the competence criteria.

“At the individual level, the cultural state is focused on cultural personality, i.e., vocation ... At the level of the social system, the cultural state is therefore centred on the hierarchy of powers, which in turn ensures the just-correct character of governance”⁴⁷⁸.

The sociological monography of the villages was part of a larger plan. Thus, Gusti endeavoured to carry out in four years “the Science of the Nation” – a monographic investigation of all villages (about 15.000), towns and historical regions of Romania, whereas the “Law of Social Service” represented the legal framework for his ambition. As well as students, all Romanian intellectuals would have taken part in research in their country. Gusti also successfully created a system of research centres in each of the historical regions of Greater Romania. These were connected to the main universities in the country (*e.g.*, in Chişinău, Chernivtsi, Timișoara, Iași, Bucharest, etc.). Unfortunately, World War II and the ensuing forced communization stopped short the Romanian sociologist’s progress.

PART TWO. ON SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Dimitrie Gusti discovered a unified system for understanding the society in which all concepts and ideas are linked. We will see how the definition of nation and

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 89–96.

⁴⁷⁷ „Cu alte cuvinte, pragmatismul cultural este expresia sintetică a guvernării prin intermediul științei, adică a administrației unei comunități prin cunoașterea sistematică, verificabilă a nevoilor societății.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁴⁷⁸ „La nivelul insului, statul cultural este concentrat pe *personalitatea culturală*, adică pe *vocație*. (...) La nivelul sistemului social, statul cultural este centrat, deci, pe ierarhia competențelor, care, la rândul ei, asigură caracterul *drept-corect* al guvernării.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 214.

the monographic analysis of society are derived from the Gustian system of social science.

Social will and the Gustian system of social sciences

In the centre of the system is the notion of social will and its dual existence: as something done, finished, and something in process:

“The whole conception is centered on the idea of will and on the double way of its existence as a phenomenon and as a process, as a ready-made act and as a power of act”⁴⁷⁹.

Dimitrie Gusti described this dual existence by “the theory of social circuit”.

“Social reality is made up of a circuit in which half is actual social reality and the other is created through collective knowledge and action based on an ideal”⁴⁸⁰.

If the social will follows an ideal, and this ideal is derived by a value judgement Gusti reaches the conclusion that sociology can’t give alone a whole understanding of society. For this reason, sociology is part of a trio along with politics and ethics, and these three form the Gustian Social sciences system. Ethics makes value judgements about the future action of society, politics discovers the ways through which the ideal comes alive. Sociology offers judgements of ascertainment about the way the society exists in the present and why it is in this way.

Ethics, politics, and sociology aren’t the only parts of the social sciences system. In the late nineteenth century and beginning of twentieth century, the world of science had contradictory arguments about the existence of sociology. The main perspectives were: sociology is a synthesis of existent social sciences (economy, anthropology, ethnography etc.) or sociology can’t be a science because its work can be done by the particular social sciences mentioned before. Dimitrie Gusti supported the first argument and demonstrated that sociology has two objects of study: society as a whole and pure sociological fact.

Sociology tries to understand how different social actions (economical, spiritual, political and juridical) have a meaning in the whole system. Dimitrie Gusti showed that sciences alone can’t understand the action of humans without understanding the whole in which people act. Sociology still needs cooperation with sciences. Striving to understand the whole, sociology loses the depth and needs the other sciences to compensate this loss.

“Sociology studies society as a whole in its large articulations, in its nature, functions and overall determinations, but it cannot exhaust this reality down to its smallest

⁴⁷⁹ „Întreaga concepție e centrată pe ideea de voință și pe îndoita modalitate de existență a acesteia ca fenomen și ca proces, ca faptă gata făcută și ca putere făptuitoare.”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁴⁸⁰ „Realitatea socială este formată dintr-un circuit în care o jumătate «este realitatea socială actuală», iar cealaltă este creată prin cunoaștere și acțiune colectivă în virtutea unui ideal.”, in Radu Baltasiu, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

details, which is why it does not abolish, but rather calls for and makes possible other sciences dedicated to one or another aspect of society”⁴⁸¹.

Dimitrie Gusti shows that sociological, ethical and political study complement each other. Sociology, as detailed in the last sub-chapter, needs ethical and political analysis because people pursue ideals (ethics) and use means (politics) to achieve them. They react to the determinations of the frameworks by a common will directed towards an ideal. Therefore, to explain their actions the sociologist must understand the reasons behind their various choices. Ethical ideals are given a solid ground by sociological analysis and are guarded against becoming utopias. The same with politics which have access to the facts it seeks to change to be effective. From ethical judgements politics understands the ideal it must achieve.

“Ethics cannot establish the social ideal without considering social reality, i.e., sociology, and the means to achieve it, i.e., politics. In the same way, politics cannot establish the means of social achievement without knowledge of the ideal to be achieved and the reality to be reformed, in other words it needs both sociology and ethics. And finally, sociology cannot fully understand the nature of social life unless it considers its voluntary character, the fact that it pursues ends and wields means, which is what ethics and politics in particular study”⁴⁸².

On the phenomenology of society

The object of sociology is “social reality” which is:

“a system of complex parallel manifestations of social units, conditioned by natural and social frames and motivated by social will”⁴⁸³.

Social reality differs from other realities mainly because of social will. Only social will explains why two families, for example, have the same framework, but differ in manifestations. People aren’t robots, who act like the phenomenon of nature by the cause-effect relationship. They have autonomy because social will brings life to humans’ ideas and ideals.

Social will is an abstract concept, in concrete society the sociologist analyses the forms of social units, manifestations, frames, social processes, social tendencies. These will be presented one by one.

⁴⁸¹ „Sociologia studiază societatea ca totalitate în articulațiile ei mari, în natura, funcțiunile și determinările ei de ansamblu, nu poate însă epuiza această realitate până în cele mai mici amănunte, de aceea ea nu desființează, ci dimpotrivă reclamă și face cu puțință celelalte științe dedicate unuia sau altuia din aspectele societății.”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *Cunoaștere și acțiune în serviciul națiunii [Knowledge and action in service of the nation]*, The Book of Teams, Bucharest, Royal Cultural Foundation “Prince Charles”, Vol. II, 1939, p. 30.

⁴⁸² „Etica nu poate stabili idealul social fără să țină seama de realitatea socială, adică de sociologie și de mijloacele care îl pot realiza, adică de politică. Tot așa politica nu poate stabili mijloacele de realizare socială fără cunoașterea idealului de îndeplinit și a realității menită să fie reformată, cu alte cuvinte ea are nevoie atât de sociologie cât și de etică. Și în sfârșit sociologia nu poate înțelege complet natura vieții sociale, dacă nu ține seama de caracterul ei voluntar, de faptul că urmărește scopuri și mănuieste mijloace, întâmplări pe care le studiază în chip special etica și politica.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁸³ „Realitatea socială (...) este un sistem complex de manifestări paralele ale unor unități sociale, condiționate de cadre naturale și sociale și motivate de voința socială.”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., 1938, pp. 33–34.

Social units are active forms of organization of people who share a common identity (soul interdependence, as Dimitrie Gusti called it)⁴⁸⁴. Social units are active forms of organizations of people who share a common identity (soul interdependence, as Dimitrie Gusti called it). According to their autonomy they are divided into self-sufficient social units, such as the nation, and social sub-units, forms of human organizations that need other units to exist⁴⁸⁵. These are distinguished by the type of social will that moves them. There are communities (the individual will is completely subordinate to the social will, *e.g.*, the family)⁴⁸⁶, institutions and groups of people (created by the free will of individuals)⁴⁸⁷. The interaction between the members of these units generates a common will which is manifested economically (for the satisfaction of needs that can be endless needs) and spiritually (religious, artistic, philosophical, and scientific). These manifestations are “constitutive” because they contain the essence of social relations.

“If we look at the matter or content of social relations between people, which in turn constitute the units, *i.e.*, forms of human coexistence, we find that they are always either economic or spiritual in nature”⁴⁸⁸.

However, the constitutive manifestations (economic and cultural) cannot organize by themselves. Therefore, society regulates itself through political and legal manifestations (the “regulative manifestations”). Legal manifestations are made of formal judicial system and informal rules. These are designed to regulate present social activity. Future social activity is regulated by political manifestations, which are composed of all the means used by the social will to achieve its objectives.

Human activity occurs under certain conditions, called “frames” by Dimitrie Gusti. They are of two types: social (historical and psychological) and natural (cosmic and biological). Social frames are “the influence of social facts on society”⁴⁸⁹. The influence of past events on present social reality is the historical framework, and the pressure exerted on members of society by current events is the psychological frame⁴⁹⁰. Any unit exists in a natural context (geographical position, territory, etc.) and has certain biological characteristics (*e.g.*, a certain sex ratio, a different age pyramid).

The continuous updating of frameworks, *i.e.*, the manifestation of social will in the four ways (economic, spiritual, political, and legal) is called a “social process” and can be either short-term or long-term. A long-term social process can develop into a social trend.

⁴⁸⁴ Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., 1939, p. 18.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁸ „Dacă urmărim materia sau conținutul relațiilor sociale dintre oameni, care la rândul lor constituiesc unitățile, adică formele de conviețuire omenească, vom găsi că ele sunt întotdeauna sau de natură economică sau de natură spirituală.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁸⁹ „Altele reprezintă influența faptelor sociale asupra societății.”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

The link between frames and manifestations is not causal. Dimitrie Gusti attaches great importance to social will as it explains the difference between physical and social causation. We have seen above that social will gives a certain autonomy to social units from their social and natural context.

Social determinism and “The Law of sociological parallelism”

Since at the basis of society lies an autonomous force⁴⁹¹ – the social will – the cause-effect relationship in sociology is distinct from that in the natural sciences. Therefore, to understand why people, act, Gusti proposes not to apply the determinism of the natural sciences to sociology. He introduces “the social determinism”, which is twofold: internal (from will) and external (from frames):

“The difference is that in the realm of nature a cause always has the same effect because determinism starts from it alone, whereas in the realm of society a factor favours, therefore makes possible, as a pure condition, a manifestation which has its proper origin in the power of the will. In this way, social causality appears to us to be twofold: internal, originating from the will, and external, originating from its conditions of realization”⁴⁹².

This finding leads to the idea there is no element of society (frames or manifestations) which directly determines another, but any element of reality is a condition for the other, this being called the law of sociological parallelism.

“I even though it necessary to formulate this truth as a principle or a law, which I called *the law of sociological parallelism*. It's a parallelism which consists of three parts. A parallelism between manifestations: they cannot be reduced to one another, as Marxists do, for example, by reducing spiritual, juridical, and political manifestations to economic ones, for in fact they all exist at once and determine one another, being parts of the social whole, of society as a whole. Secondly, a parallelism between frameworks: as we have noted, frameworks do not condition social life separately but all at the same time (...) Finally, thirdly, a parallelism between frameworks and manifestations, which follows from the first two”⁴⁹³.

⁴⁹¹ Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1939, pp. 51–52.

⁴⁹² „Deosebirea e că în domeniul naturii o cauză are întotdeauna același efect, pentru că determinismul pornește numai din ea, câtă vreme în domeniul societății un factor favorizează, face cu putință deci, ca o pură condiție, o manifestare care își are originea propriu zisă în puterea voinței. În chipul acesta cauzalitatea socială ne apare dublă: lăuntrică, pornită din voință și exterioară, pornită de la condițiile de realizare.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴⁹³ „Am crezut chiar că e nevoie să formulăm acest adevăr ca un principiu sau ca o lege, pe care am numit-o legea paralelismului sociologic. E vorba de un întreit paralelism. Un paralelism între manifestări: acestea nu pot fi reduse una la alta, cum fac de pildă marxiștii prin reducerea manifestărilor spirituale, juridice și politice la cele economice, căci de fapt toate există deodată și se determină reciproc, fiind părțile componente ale întregului social, ale societății ca totalitate. În al doilea rând un paralelism între cadre: după cum am remarcat cadrele nu condiționează separat viața socială ci toate în același timp ... În sfârșit în al treilea rând, un paralelism între cadre și manifestări, care decurge din primele două.”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

The genesis of society

Sociality – human’s quality of being a social being⁴⁹⁴ – takes on a new perspective in Gustian sociology. Man is social even before he is socialized by his psychological structure. This fact is called “sociological apriorism” and is the basis of the genesis of society. Compared to the surrounding world and the animal world, man has one more feature – he has access to self-consciousness. Self-consciousness is accompanied by affections: self-love, sympathy, and religiosity. The second affect generates the bonds between people and thus the “consciousness of us” or “collective consciousness” emerges. In other words, man’s quality of being a social being arises because of self-consciousness and sympathy. This is the substratum of society.

The bonds between people due to sympathy generate common ideas and the possibility of common actions. But common ideals become reality through the social will, because, Dimitrie Gusti believes, will is “largely self-determining”⁴⁹⁵ force in the universe that does not need a cause to generate it. Without social will, society would have been merely an unfulfilled potential.

“Self-consciousness through one of its fundamental affections, sympathy, creates the power of social life, a power realized through will, which then leads, through its teleological mechanism, to the completion of the elementary unity of life: social unity”⁴⁹⁶.

PART THREE. SOCIAL ACTION

In the third chapter, Dimitrie Gusti focuses on the practical aspects of developing the Romanian villages. The advice for the proper conduct of fieldwork came from the experience of the Bucharest Sociological School, which since 1925 had been organizing sociological monographs in Romanian villages. Since all the work carried out by Dimitrie Gusti was an expression of his own philosophy, it is impossible to understand the plan to develop (“raise”) the villages without describing the links between sociology, ethics, and politics. Thus, we will see that the Social Service Law was more than an act of village upliftment. By bringing students into the service of the peasants, by raising the consciousness of the peasants about their own destiny and by attempting a national monography, the Social Service Law aimed at the upliftment of Romania. Therefore, before writing about the advice and examples by which students were taught to work in the villages, we will describe the theoretical, ethical, and political aspects of Gustian’s thinking.

⁴⁹⁴ Ion Ungureanu, *Paradigme ale cunoașterii societății [Paradigms of Knowledge of Society]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1990, p. 23.

⁴⁹⁵ Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1939, pp. 51–52.

⁴⁹⁶ „Conștiința de sine printr-unul din afectele ei fundamentale, simpatia, creează puțința vieții sociale, puțință realizată prin voință, care duce apoi, prin mecanismul ei teleologic, la încheierea unității elementare de viață: unitatea socială.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 52.

As we have seen above, sociology, ethical and political studies are closely intertwined in Gusti's paradigm. Monographic campaigns were the first stage in the work of uplifting the villages, but they would have been worthless without a clear vision of the ethical purpose of the social reform that emerged through the studies. The ethical ideal in Dimitrie Gusti's thinking represents:

“(…) the highest possible ascent, the infinite ascent, an impressive indication of the path to follow”⁴⁹⁷.

Even though he thinks sociologically, Dimitrie Gusti does not give up the individual when he wants to explain society. The ideal of social unity becomes reality through a certain type of individual – the social personality, which develops himself to develop others.

“This development [of individual qualities] must and can take place not so much as a force inimical to society, but as a creative synthesis of a true human personality, which develops its qualities in such a way as to be useful to the collective”⁴⁹⁸.

The ideal for social units is to maximize the potential offered by their frameworks. Hence the organic link between monographic sociology and Ethics. The monograph discovers possibilities that have been actualized through social will, also called “social manifestations”, but also those that have not been actualized but can become reality. To become reality, the common will has to be reoriented towards the discovered possibilities, and those who succeed in this are cultural personalities. For social units aspire to an ideal realized on a smaller scale in the way of being of cultural personalities:

“The maximum personality, which creates culture is, according to D. Gusti, the supreme ideal of individuals as well as of collectivises, to which all their activities must be subordinated”⁴⁹⁹.

Cultural personalities are those members of a social units who choose their actions based on social conscience and the highest ideal. Social conscience makes them sympathetic to the problems of others, and morality broadens their will. In this way, they become aware at the same time of the social frameworks and the “highest form” of future manifestations. These autonomous personalities act vocationally⁵⁰⁰. Mircea Vulcănescu defines this personality as follows:

“The term of this synthesis is personality: the unity of conscious and freely chosen ends and means, combining both affective and intellectual reason in its decisions. Raised, by the gradual lengthening of the will, from the primitive state, in which ends

⁴⁹⁷ „Idealul înseamnă înălțare cât mai sus, ascensiune infinită, o impresionantă indicare a drumului de parcurs.”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 52 (note 4).

⁴⁹⁸ „Această dezvoltare trebuie și poate să aibă loc nu atât ca forță dușmană societății, ci ca o sinteză creatoare a unei adevărate personalități umane, care își dezvoltă calitățile, în așa fel ca să le fie utile colectivității.”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1939, p. 227.

⁴⁹⁹ „Personalitatea maximală, creatoare de cultură este, după Dimitrie Gusti, idealul suprem al indivizilor ca și al colectivităților, căruia trebuie să i se subordoneze toate activitățile acestora.”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁵⁰⁰ Radu Baltasiu, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

and means are imposed upon it, to the higher state, in which it chooses its ends and creates its means autonomously, developed through self-knowledge and self-love, enlarged by sympathy for others, to the solidarity of man with the whole world, in the act of religiosity, the autonomous personality, as D. Gusti calls it, is an eternal effort of self-realization”⁵⁰¹.

The work of The Royal Teams in villages

Dimitrie Gusti viewed the uplifting of the village from a cultural perspective. Inspired by the peasant schools set up in the second half of the 19th century by the Danish bishop N.F.S. Grundtvig, the Romanian sociologist tried to create a fertile contact between peasants and culture to develop the villages across all their manifestations. The goal of this contact was to transform the mentality of the village, which meant bringing it closer to the ideal of maximum making use of their context. The passive village was to become an active one, aware of its present and future and eager to “develop to its full capacity”. This transformation was possible thanks to the contact between the villagers and the Royal Teams, which tried, during a period of three months, to raise the social awareness of the villagers, to show them that development is possible.

The uplifting of the village depended on the extent to which the members of the Royal Teams “were elevated in return”. This is why the “Prince Carol” Cultural Foundation organized “schools of equipage” where, in addition to the theoretical aspects of the Gustian system, students were socialized in the spirit of the school, whose model was Dimitrie Gusti, i.e., in the spirit of cultural personalities. In a lecture given at such a school, the Romanian sociologist demonstrated how a member of the royal team should be and behave: to be autonomous⁵⁰², to be aware of his role in the team, to have faith in himself and in the Romanians⁵⁰³ and to remain always active, using his will continuously⁵⁰⁴.

The Royal Teams consisted of students and their tutors who were to draw up a minimal monograph of the village based on census sheets in the first month. The research was carried out in teams (according to settings and events) and observations were verified in common meetings. Over the next two months, the teams acted based on a village needs plan drawn up following the monograph and tried, under specific conditions, to implement it. The monograph and this plan were always revised when new information emerged.

⁵⁰¹ „Termenul acestei sinteze este personalitatea: unitatea de scopuri și mijloace conștiente și liber alese, îmbinând, deopotrivă, motive afective și intelectuale, în hotărârile ei. Ridicată, prin lungirea treptată a voinței, de la starea primitivă, în care scopurile și mijloacele i se impun, la starea superioară, în care-și alege scopurile și-și creează mijloacele în chip autonom, dezvoltată prin cunoașterea și iubirea de sine, lărgită prin simpatia pentru alții, până la solidaritatea omului cu lumea întreagă, în actul religiozității, personalitatea autonomă, așa cum o numește D.Gusti, e un veșnic efort de autorealizare.”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁵⁰² Dimitrie Gusti, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1939, pp. 122–123.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

Following a statute of the “Prince Carol” Royal Foundation, the students identified the villagers who could become the future cultural personalities of the village and attracted them to the work they were carrying out after the monograph had been drawn up. These villagers were invited to be part of the Cultural Centres. Set up during the monographic campaigns, the Cultural Centres had the function of continuing the work started by the Royal Teams. They were made up of village elites (teachers, priests, civil servants, and peasant representatives) co-opted during the three months and were supported by the Prince Charles Royal Foundation.

The organization of Cultural Centres presents several innovations for the study of social reform. Dimitrie Gusti had implemented a model of “total reform”⁵⁰⁵. Any developing activity in the village was to be carried out simultaneously along four lines associated with the health, economic, soul-spiritual and mind cultures.

“Its [the Cultural Centre’s] programme is to provide every social group with the means of culture. For public health it provides physical education, sports grounds, bathing facilities, medical dispensaries, etc. For the organization of work, it provides agricultural, viticultural, and veterinary education, sets up production and sales cooperatives, provides modern equipment, and builds workshops. For the culture of the soul and intellect, founding school libraries, museums, lecture halls, theatres, etc.”⁵⁰⁶.

Innovation is still relevant today because social reforms address parts of society separately, thus negating the whole. In other words, social reforms do not consider the law of sociological parallelism in their approach to social problems.

The Act of Social Service

The last part of the book presents the reasons behind the Social Service Law, followed by the objects of these laws. In the justifications given for the approval of the Social Service Act there are both aspects and practical activities preceding of the Gustian philosophy. From the chapter is clear that the “Social Service Law” is an extension of the thinking of Gustav, or even the culmination of this thinking, since it has succeeded to generalize on a national scale its own way of development, not only of the village, but of the whole Romanian nation. This law pursued simultaneously:

- 1) to create a national elite formed by cultural personalities and connected to the problems of Romania (whose population was 80% in the villages);

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁵⁰⁶ „Programul său [al Căminului Cultural] consistă în a pune la dispoziția fiecărui grup social mijloacele de cultură. Pentru sănătatea publică vine cu educație fizică, terenuri de sport, instalații de băi, dispensarii, etc. Pentru organizarea muncii, o educație agricolă, viticolă, veterinară, înființări de cooperative de producție și de vânzare, procură instrumente moderne de lucru, construcții de ateliere. Pentru cultura sufletului și a intelectului, fondații de biblioteci școlare, muzee, săli de conferințe, de teatru, etc.”, in *Ibid.*, p. 231.

2) to raise the self-consciousness of the Romanians through the monographic study of the whole nation and through the contact between the Royal Teams with peasants from Romanian villages.

To fulfil these aspirations, the Social Service Law established: (1) a Social Research Institute of Romania, (2) a new form of organization of the village elite – the cultural dormitory, (3) peasant schools to create this elite and (4) a three-month work internship for students in the villages of Romania as a condition for graduation.

The law succeeded in unifying Dimitrie Gusti's major achievements until then: the creation of the Romanian Social Institute, the Seminar of Sociology, the implementation of monographic campaigns (Mircea Vulcănescu)⁵⁰⁷. Students' work in the villages contributed to the creation of cultural personalities (the aim of Gusti's higher education). The activity of the Romanian Social Institute was present in the Social Service Law in the monographic study of the problems faced by the peasants and the organization of the work to solve them at the local level through cultural centres.

MAIN REFLECTIONS

“Knowledge and Action in the Service of the Nation” is a synthesis of Gustian thought applied in various forms up to 1939. The Law of Social Service continues the series of creations that emerged from the sociological, political, and ethical system that came to a halt with the installation of the communist regime in Romania after World War II. The book presents the main ideas of D. Gusti.

- 1) Sociology is to be militant without neglecting its objectivity if the researcher distinguishes between judgments of value and judgments of ascertainment. The scientific products are the source of ethical judgement and social reform (political action);
- 2) The nation is a voluntary creation of people who share a common identity provided by the frames;
- 3) Sociology needs monographic study to fully explain the social action. Without the monographic spirit, it risks becoming one-sided and subject to errors of judgement;
- 4) The individual is social before his socialization, by his psychological structure (“sociological apriorism”). But the driving force of society remains the social will because it is a self-determining force. Put together, the will and self-consciousness confer originality and autonomy to social units.
- 5) Social will exists phenomenologically in the form of social manifestations. Social units actualize part of the frames (potentialities).
- 6) The ideal of individuals and societies is to become a maximum personality, creator of culture.

⁵⁰⁷ Mircea Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*

- 7) The Gustian sociological system took shape in the work of village uplifting and guided the actions of the Royal teams during all the years of monographic research.
- 8) The work of uplifting the villages was primarily a cultural activity, having, among others, the scope of developing cultural personalities.
- 9) The Cultural Centre continued the work of the teams and brought together the village's elites to develop the village. The Gustian ethical ideal of maximizing the potentialities is only possible through the social reform produced at the same time in the four cultural directions (health, spirit, soul, and mind).
- 10) The Law of Social Service was the first legal attempt to get to the knowledge of the whole nation at the same time with its righteous development.

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