

THE ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY AND CONSERVATIVE DOCTRINE. A RESPONSE TO THE NEW CRISIS. AUTOCHTHONISM AND HUMANITY

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ABSTRACT

Conservatism and sovereignty are the foundations of the national political movement. In Romanian culture, these concepts have special characteristics. The first refers to the preservation of identity along four lines: autochthonism, humanity, hierarchy of powers, and avoidance of tyranny, while the second refers to the free movement of a nation in the world through the independence of its own state. The political movement stands under the sign of two great precariousness (a weak ability to think ideally-typically, therefore doctrinally and lukewarm Christianity). If it does not resolve them, it will not be able to achieve the social ethical ideal of the organic state, which is necessary in the context of the new crisis into which humanity has entered. In short, these are the guidelines for this study.

Keywords: sovereignty, conservative doctrine, crisis, state, nation.

THE TERMS

1. Souverainism

This is:

- A concept
- A doctrine
- A movement
- A feeling and an attitude, a spontaneous reflex of thought.
- From an administrative point of view, it is a defining issue for nation states. Colonies are administrative structures on the scale of nations without sovereignty.
- Politically, sovereignty assumes that the state moves freely in relation to other states, exercises its right to administer itself on a given territory.
- Internally, souverainism implies the legitimacy of the elites in relation to the people, so the political freedom of movement, in the sense that sovereign can only be a recognized power, otherwise power, no matter how strong, can only move by force. The consequence: tyranny cannot be

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sovereign because it is not related to the people, so power itself is not free, it is anarchic. “The genuine tyrant is the genuine slave”⁷⁰.

- Souverainism is associated with patriotism and nationalism, forms of manifestation of attachment to place, and of understanding the universal as a function of the local reference point.
- Doctrinally, souverainism is “right-wing”, because it has at its center the state as an expression of the nation it legitimizes, with all the gear that makes this possible, having the Church and the family as pillars. Any other discussion, that does not center on the Church and the nation, no matter how much it is called “right-wing”, would be a form without substance, a label.
- The opposite of souverainism is usually the left, especially in its globalist-neomaxist dimension. To the extent that the old “right-wing” doctrines, focused on individual interest and consumption, have become globalist, like liberalism in its various formulas, they have de facto moved to the left and are therefore opposed to souverainism, because they subordinate the national state to transnational interests and ignore or directly advocate for the weakening of the Church and the family. Most of the time, the left is not allowed to think of the transcendent, nor to think of God, and rarely of nationhood.
- Technically, subordinated to a doctrine, sovereignty means sectorial policies in all areas of state and social life: education, health, energy, manufacturing industry, trade, agriculture, village and rural life, food, transport, defense and national security, the administrative configuration of the state, justice – all these centered on the free development of local potential and on the dignified interaction with the other forces in the world.
- Sovereigns are the people, the state, and the monarch. Also, punctually, the professional bodies are sovereign in the acts that concern the organization of their own guild – for example, the exam subjects and their correction, the medical, legal act, etc.

2. Conservatism

- It is part of a fundamental feeling/instinct: the “new instinct”/ “nostratic feeling”, the “preservation instinct”, spontaneous approach to reality.
- It is a concept with which a society can be (re)built.
- It is a doctrine that includes the discussion of souverainism, in the sense that the people and the human personality are sovereign. Conservatism looks at the idea of man in general, including the people in the general idea of man, seen both as a social being, with stature and mystical abilities, part of Creation.

⁷⁰ Platon, *Opere V. Republica [Opera V. Republic]*, edited by Constantin Noica and Petru Creția, notes by Andrei Cornea, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing, 1986, 579 d, e.

- It is more than a doctrine regarding politics and state administration, it is a cultural paradigm that subordinates itself to a political doctrine, it is a philosophy.
- At the center of the discussion about conservatism is the identity, the essence of man in what he is characteristic of: a creature in the image of God, who goes to the Judgment of the Gentiles and whose language is a gift of the Spirit, so both individuality and its communal form – the people, are attributes of Creation.
- Conservatism is a doctrine that considers man in his entirety, therefore a “totalitarian” doctrine – a term unfortunately wrongly attributed to the most anarchic doctrines of the past and today. In science, conservatism is inherently transdisciplinary, being focused on an acute awareness of issues affecting the integrity and free expression of society, nation, and state.
- Conservatism may be Christian, may be Orthodox Christian. In its Christian Orthodox form, conservative thinking moves in the terms of Petre Țuțea, “between God and my nation”, having identity as a benchmark, in turn expressed through the Church, family, freedom, and property. The conservative although firmly attached to great values, is a man of nuances, protector of childhood, the village, and motherhood. It places the institutional order on the hierarchy of competence and the eminence law of compensation. When he is a Christian, he valorizes humanity (Racoveanu).
- To be more precise, we could say that souverainism mainly concerns the independent state’s attribute of being sovereign, and conservatism refers to the human, general dimension of the imperative to preserve identity.

Souverainism and conservatism are manifested at the level of:

- Essayistic – it is fashionable today to be a souverainist, even among exponents of globalism and political correctness, of neo-Marxism.
- University – timid, because today the University is the epicenter of neo-Marxism, and those who do not obey it are institutionally oppressed and, ultimately, excluded.
- Cultural – where it assumes a *formula mentis* given by a bunch of more or less assumed paradigms, centered on autochthonism integrated in the universal, which for Romanians refer to: Romanian prophetism (Eliade), corporatism (Manoilescu), protochronism (Papu, Ungheanu), baseless forms (Junimea), mystical theology (Crainic, Nae Ionescu), sămănătorism (Iorga), autochthonism (Băncilă, Iorga, Nae Ionescu, Pârvan), eminenceism, etc.
- Political – there are parties with souverainist messages from time to time and declared, respectively assumed, souverainist parties. From this point of view, few political formations have a doctrine, but even fewer have a conservative – souverainist one.
- Common, at the level of the man on the street, who has a sense of identity and belonging, which he perceives as being attacked.

3. The People and the Nation

One of the missions of conservatism is to maintain the capacity of its own peoples to manifest themselves as nations, as peoples with a purpose, to protect societies from massification, from collapsing into the statistical insignificance of generalized slavery.

Placing the love of the people under the umbrella of faith is not a sin, on the contrary, Nichifor Crainic:

“Nations (...) are varied units of created nature and they enter as such into the hierarchical body of the Church (...) If we admit that the spiritual universality of orthodoxy claims uniformity in the natural realm of creatures, we should believe that God who created the world in variety and endowed each thing with special capacity would now turn against his building’ (Orthodoxy)”⁷¹.

4. The new crisis

The current crisis is relatively new because, unlike the others, it does not refer to the relationship between the individual or to society but to the very idea of man. The main feature of the crisis is the transformation of collective amnesia into an instrument of power: societies are subjected to a hypnotic slavery in which critical thinking is not only discouraged, as it has been until now through consumerism, but from 2020, prohibited, considered “false”. Until now, most problems arose because of the emphasis placed on one or the other of the two cores of any doctrine, either on the individual or on society, and we could speak of a crisis generated by individualism or collectivism. For example, the consumer society, a crisis of man, is one of individualist-hedonist type, while the collapse of communism was due to the error of considering man as a collectivized good, without any personal property and at the mercy of the state his needs. Today, the crisis arises because of the fact that the elites who control the networks of power have had enough of man: they consider us “too many”, “too consumerist”, “too anti-nature”, etc. It is a war against man, not for his upliftment.

Today’s era is opposed not only to Christianity, but also to the Renaissance, to the man who rediscovered the classical values of the great culture.

The key term of the medical dictatorship and surveillance society (2019–2021 – the Covid dictatorship) – at the starting point of the current crisis was an absolute novelty, the “social distancing”, at odds to any humane solution to the crisis. Man,

⁷¹ „«Națiunile (...) sunt unități variate ale naturii create și ele intră ca atare în organismul ierarhic al Bisericii (...) Dacă admitem că universalitatea spirituală a ortodoxiei pretinde uniformizarea în domeniul natural al făpturilor, ar trebui să credem că Dumnezeu care a creat lumea în varietate și a dotat cu capacitate deosebită fiecare lucru, s-ar întoarce acum împotriva zidirii sale.» (Ortodoxie)”, in Nichifor Crainic quoted by Dumitru Stăniloae in “Introductory Study” in Nichifor Crainic, *Nostalgia paradisului [The Nostalgia of the Paradise]*, Iași, Moldova Publishing, 1994 (1942), p. XII.

as a social being, has at the center of his power to live, sociality: the ability and the need to live together. To this we add the obligation in all circumstances to cover the face – which is the reflection of the divine in everyone⁷²: the person bound to cover his/her face almost all the time is a faceless human.

A corollary of the new crisis is almost complete discrediting of the idea of the political party, even of the idea of the state and national security. In any case, the party has been subordinated to the network rule, an invisible, xenocentric power entity. One of the priorities of souverainist political organizations will be the revitalization of national political office itself and the relegitimization of the public utility of the political party. Without the political floor, people cannot defend themselves in history. From here, the idea of the state as an organic state, can be reconstructed for the people by inverting today's relationship, in which the people are useful to the state.

The political form of the new crisis is what Plato, in the "Republic", calls tyranny – in which the common man is turned into a slave and the government is founded on fear, on the primacy of force, by the passing of the "guards" of the city to the side of the tyrant and by the distortion of the function of services and force structures.

5. The organic state

Very briefly, there are some axes of the organic state: **compliance with the law of compensation** – the elites, through their activity, make the work of those they lead easier, and its institutional configuration should be structured according to the **hierarchy of competences** – you go up in the hierarchy and you are rewarded directly proportional to the efficiency of the effort. Basically, social justice can be summed up in these two principles. Both were formulated by Mihai Eminescu and were developed by the entire significant Romanian interwar literature. The third axis of the organic state is the settlement of society according to the scale of value – **the concordance between income and working done, more precisely its social utility, a corollary of the law of compensation.**

THE TWO GREAT DIFFICULTIES

Souverainism and conservatism can be subject to precariousness, like any human enterprise. Conservative thinking is marked by two major insecurities: a weak

⁷² Daily News, "Turkey and masks for Thanksgiving: Fauci [head of NHI, the 'supreme' medical authority in the US] urges face coverings at home even in small holiday gatherings", November 14, 2020. Available at: <https://www.nydailynews.com/coronavirus/ny-coronavirus-fauci-thanksgiving-20201113-b6kt3prkwvdqjmes5znxbegl7q-story.html>, Accessed on August 10, 2023. The absurdity of the situation: people who are not sick are considered "disease carriers": "According to Fauci, 'community spread' means people without any symptoms, and may not know they are infected, are still spreading the virus".

ability to think ideal-typically, therefore doctrinally, to operate with categories, and lukewarm Christianity, affected by personal idiosyncrasies, humors, Christian behavior of complacency, outside the Teaching (*Predania*), without readings, not accompanied by deeds – fasting, liturgy, prayer, almsgiving, etc. The first weakness can be somewhat overcome by common sense and by keeping the ordinances, but the second is more difficult to overcome: without Teaching, conservatism remains an exercise in philosophical essayism, placed in a precarious political practice, in which the weakness of the soul cannot sustain the deed.

All this because we reach the people, the goal of the conservative doctrine⁷³:

- Through Tradition – and at least we, Romanians, through Teaching (rediscovering the great tradition of Christian teachings).
- By Mystical attitude – by experiencing the collective person from within our individuality.
- Politically, through the rational assumption of the idea of nation, including the assumption of the conservative Romanian tradition of “Junimea”, Eminescu, and the universal thinking (Plato, Scruton, Schmitt, etc.). By connecting to contemporary conservatism. Rational assumption – the development of concrete action directions in relation to the idea of nation. Through the connection with the science of the nation. Through the connection with the ethical ideal – of social justice (care and justice), which puts the politician in a relationship of communication/soul community with the voters – the basis of good governance. The relationship between science and politics is that of knowledge and action. Politics implements the ethical ideal – the good, based on the knowledge of reality, and reality is of the people, because the place is the people’s, the people being, in turn, the places.
- Scientific, through the tradition of sociological knowledge, for example – the School of Sociology from Bucharest, and, before that, at Eminescu. The development of the science/sociology of the nation, the science that seeks to know the problems of social units, not abstractions, and to propose solutions to the politician. As may be the tradition of legal thought, etc.

The impasse of the two difficulties: of the categorical understanding and the practice of Teaching, leads to the incapacitation of the political function of the doctrine, weakening its ability to be embedded in reality, to organize it. Concretely, the person who declares himself a “souverainist”, even if he may have readings that entitle him to a souverainist-conservative position, will not integrate politically, even if he wants to, because his self-esteem will not find enough space for manifestation: he/she will want to be served, not serve, or she/he will make more value judgments than judgments of facts. For its part, the

⁷³ Radu Baltasiu, „Calea noastră și calea popoarelor în Europa” [“Our Way and the Way of Peoples in Europe”], in *Acea Europă în care credem [The Europe We Believe In]*, editor Claudiu Târziu, Bucharest, Rost Publishing, 2023, pp. 122–123.

organization that fails to overcome these two difficulties will not be able to fulfil its basic mission, that of realizing the ethical ideal, by strengthening the personality and bringing it to the level of fulfilling its creative function, as Dimitrie Gusti would say⁷⁴. He will not be able to give his determinations (Noica), and therefore, he will not individualize properly.

To be able to fulfill the social mission, the party must manifest itself as a “free association of citizens, permanently united by common interests and ideas, of a general character, [being an] association that aims, in full public light, to reach to the power to govern for the realization of a social ethical ideal”⁷⁵.

CONSERVATISM AS A MISSION. THE IMPERATIVES

Conservatism today is more than a doctrine; it is a mission. Its mission is multiple.

We are called to resettle the people as the basis of the state and the personality as the basis of social life, and the state thus socialized at the basis of the European Union. We are called to restore the people to their role as the starting point of the act of political thought and action, without which the state will collapse into the anti-human nothingness of transhumanism.

This call to action has several imperatives – what gives it “mission status”:

1. The imperative of autochthonism – we think of Crainic (*The Nostalgia of the Paradise*) and Băncilă, as a form of cultural settlement in the world, of Nae Ionescu
1. The non-tyranny imperative – we can think of any other form of government, but not tyranny. (Plato)
2. The imperative of humanity (*al omeniei*) – as the dominant energy of social organization, “the first beauty”, as Racoveanu extraordinarily calls it. This subordinates the scrutonian imperatives of the integrity of the person, beauty, masculinity, and femininity, as well as that of preserving and uplifting the village (Manoilescu).
3. The imperative of the hierarchy of competences – as a form of institutional organization, alongside the imperatives of the law of compensation and of the settlement of society according to the scale of value (Eminescu, Gusti, Manoilescu).

We will address some of these imperatives in the following section.

⁷⁴ Dimitrie Gusti, *Sociologia Militans [Militant sociology]*, Vol. I, 1934, p. VIII.

⁷⁵ „asociație liberă de cetățeni, uniți în mod permanent de interese și de idei comune, de caracter general, [fiind o] asociație ce urmărește, în plină lumină publică, a ajunge la puterea de a guverna pentru realizarea unui ideal etic social”, in Dimitrie Gusti, „Partidul politic. Sociologia unui sistem al partidului politic” [“Political party. Sociology of a political party system”], in *Ibidem*, p. 124.

THE AUTOCHTHONISM IMPERATIVE

1. Vasile Băncilă

Băncilă – the autochthonization of culture and its expression at the social level is the condition of the freedom of the society, and a natural reaction to the centuries-old imperial aggressions, it is the condition of overcoming the deadlock of forms without substance (Maiorescu):

“Since Maiorescu, we have been talking about the discord between form and substance, which occurred in Romanian society with the dawn of Western civilization”⁷⁶.

“The original Romanian background, a time frustrated and disorganized by the onslaught of Western form, begins, at least in some places, to recover, to take precise knowledge of it, to master form and to create in its deep spirit. This is the meaning of the current of autochthonization of our culture because there is by definition, only autochthonous culture. **There is no culture that does not spring forth spontaneously**”⁷⁷.

“Any society that imitates cannot have a culture. But above all, it cannot have a philosophy. Philosophy springs from the application and fecundation of the Socratic dictum: ‘Know thyself!’”⁷⁸.

The autochthonization of the culture does not mean the isolation of the spirit, on the contrary, it refers to the modernization of the collective soul:

“Once we have entered the path of culture in the modern style, we must wait and make this culture produce a new psychology, according to the sources of our autochthony. This can only be done, in the last analysis, only by philosophy, conceived not in a pedantic and useless sense of a kind of social epiphenomenon, but as a cultural function of society, as happened in the West”⁷⁹.

But for this the village must be rediscovered:

⁷⁶ „De la Maiorescu încoace se tot vorbește la noi (...) de discordanța între formă și fond, care s-a produs în societatea românească odată cu introducerea zorită a civilizației Apusului”, in Vasile Băncilă, *Duhul Sărbătorii [The Spirit of Celebration]*, edited edition [and preface] by Ileana Băncilă, Bucharest, Anastasia Publishing, 1996, p. 186.

⁷⁷ „Fondul românesc inițial, un timp contrariat și dezorganizare de năvala formei apusene, începe, cel puțin pe alocuri, să-și revină, să ia cunoștință precisă de el, să stăpânească formă și să creeze în spiritul adânc al lui. Acesta e sensul curentului de autohtonizare a culturii noastre, fiindcă nu există, prin definiție, decât cultură autohtonă. Nu există cultură care nu izvorăște spontan.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 187, our underlines.

⁷⁸ „Orice societate care imită nu poate avea o cultură. Dar mai ales nu poate avea o filosofie. Filosofia izvorăște din aplicarea și fecundarea dictonului socratic: «Cunoaște-te pe tine însuși!», in *Ibidem*, p. 190.

⁷⁹ „Odată intrat pe calea culturii în stil modern, trebuie să așteptăm și să facem ca această cultură să producă o psihologie nouă, potrivit cu izvoarele autohtoniei noastre. Aceasta n-o poate face, în ultimă analiză, decât filosofia, concepută nu în sens pedant și inutilă a un fel de epifenomen social, ci ca o funcție culturală a societății, așa cum s-a întâmplat în Occident.”, in *Ibidem*, pp. 195–196.

“(...) the richest and most authentic source of the autochthonization of philosophy is the rustic spirituality of the Romanian people”⁸⁰.

2. Mircea Vulcănescu

Mircea Vulcănescu, discussing the mission of young people, of the young generation:

Thinking in Romanian is proof of the connection between people and place. It is a required link. Without assuming the place, one cannot even think. **To think Romanian is precisely thinking** and this has an internal geopolitical mission, to regroup the powers of the people:

“If you are Romanian, you do not have to force yourself to think Romanian. Think only truly. And your thought will be Romanian thought. Know this and do not be afraid”⁸¹.

“If the youth of this country does not manage, in this generation, to reduce the centrifugal human ideals of Romanians from different corners of the country, in a single face of the Romanian man, in which Romanians everywhere can recognize themselves as their good; if the type of Russian, Dostoevsky and Tolstoyan man of the Bessarabians and the Latino-Kantian man of the Transylvanians fails to give a living synthesis with the Byzantine-French man of the Old Kingdom – a synthesis in which the centrifugal tendencies are no longer found except as temptations to universalization of the same man of Eminescu and Creangă – the political unity of this nation, which has been wanted for a millennium (...) seems to me threatened”⁸².

Our autochthony: the Thracian temptation (*Ispita tracică*). Temptation, Vulcănescu highlights, is a possibility of being. Over time, several temptations, possibilities of being have gathered over a nation. For Romanians, the temptation that urges autochthonization, introspection and rediscovering the origins, is the Thracian one, which manifests itself through skepticism, stubbornness, measure, patience, all gathered in the form of living in the village and peasantry, with mystical valences. The liveliest intellectuals of this direction were Vasile Pârvan, Lucian Blaga, Iorga, Nichifor Crainic, etc.:

⁸⁰ „(...) izvorul cel mai bogat și mai autentic al autohtonizării filosofiei e spiritualitatea rustică a poporului român”, in *Ibidem*, p. 200.

⁸¹ „Dacă ești român, nu trebuie să te silești a gândi românește. Gândește numai cu adevărat. Și gândul tău va fi gând românesc. Asta să știi și să n-ai teamă.”, in Mircea Vulcănescu, *Către ființa spiritualității românești. Dimensiunea românească a existenței [Towards the Being of Romanian Spirituality. The Romanian dimension of existence]*, edited by Marin Diaconu, Eminescu Publishing, 1996, p. 113.

⁸² „Dacă tineretul acestei țări nu reușește ca, în această generație, să reducă idealurile omenești centrifugale ale românilor din diferite colțuri ale țării, într-un singur chip al omului românesc, în care să se recunoască românii de pretutindeni ca într-un bun al lor; dacă tipul omului rusesc, dostoevskian și tolstoian al basarabenilor și omul latino-kantian al ardelenilor nu reușește să dea o sinteză vie cu omul bizantino-francez al celor din Vechiul Regat – sinteză în care tendințele centrifugale să nu se mai regăsească decât ca ispite de universalizare ale unui aceluiași om al lui Eminescu și al lui Creangă –, unitatea politică a acestui neam, care s-a dorit un mileniu și care, în clipa în care își dă mâinile nu se mai recunoaște – mi se pare amenințată.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 25.

“[We] would belong to the Thracian world when we would no longer force ourselves to be in any other way than what we are”⁸³.

Autochthony from the Thracian perspective defines some essential data: “the call of the earth”, man – God’s tool bent over the furrow, the moral measure as a border limit, and the functions of God – as the protector of the primordial, Adamic work, the center of the horizon – so of time, which, in fact, is measured in “tomorrow’s toil”⁸⁴.

The demography where this vein of Romanian purity is best preserved is that of the shepherds, the man of the mountain, here we have, Vulcănescu points out, the spirit of the daring, the military virtue – which, for Romanians, is not a warrior in itself, but a defender of that type of horizon, of the worked time and space⁸⁵.

3. Nae Ionescu

Iorga and Nae Ionescu are the ones who tried to
“make the Romanian reality as a measure of the universal man, in the criterion of humanity”⁸⁶.

Nae Ionescu believes that cultural life, and therefore access to the real potential for development and humanity, can only have those societies that express their

“own, original reality, [from] the core itself, the essential and characteristic generating element”⁸⁷.

Moreover, Nae Ionescu shows that Iorga’s great contribution to Romanian culture does not necessarily consist only in understanding the field of history, but in the subsequent result of this titanic work. Starting from here, he offers us one of the most elegant definitions of autochthonism:

“Thus [from Iorga] I learned that the Romanian state and the Romanian civilization can only stand on autochthonism, that is, on **the valorization of the Romanian specificity**, and they only have one source of power – the peasant class”⁸⁸.

This for us, as humans, represents nothing but the “primacy of the spiritual”⁸⁹.

⁸³ „[N]oi am aparține lumii trace atunci când nu ne-am mai sili să fim în nici un alt fel decât cum suntem.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 135.

⁸⁴ „osteneala zilei de mâine”, in *Ibidem*, p. 137.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 139.

⁸⁶ „[să] prefacă realitatea românească în măsură a omului universal, în criteriu de omenie”, in *Ibidem*, p. 116.

⁸⁷ „realitatea proprie, originară, [din] sâmburele însuși, elementul esențial și caracteristic generator”, in Nae Ionescu, *Teologia. Integrala publicisticii religioase [Theology. The full text of religious publishing]*, edition, introduction and notes by Dora Mezdrea, Sibiu, Deisis, 2003, p. 401.

⁸⁸ „Și astfel am aflat că statul românesc și civilizația românească nu se pot ridica decât pe autohtonism, adică pe punerea în valoare a specificul românesc, și nu au decât un izvor de alimentare – clasa țărănească.”, in Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor [The Wind Rose]*, Bucharest, Wind Rose Publishing, 1990, reproduction after *Roza Vânturilor 1926–1933 [The Wind Rose 1926–1933]*, edited by Mircea Eliade [and George Racoveanu], National Culture Publishing, [1937], p. 191, our underlines.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 193.

Returning to the definition of autochthonism, Nae Ionescu deepens its naturalness, linking it to “the order of nature”. Outside of this, society will move from scandal to scandal, the state and society will weaken, first at the level of the view on important things, then, it will collapse demographically, which is happening today. The collapsed state is above all spiritually collapsed, where is no natural order of things:

“And for six years we have been asking for this scandal against nature to stop. Let’s unmask ourselves. Let us realize that nothing can be created except in the natural order of things. Let us bend attentively, humbly, and understandingly to our realities. Let us know how God made us and where God has placed us”⁹⁰.

“We stand in solidarity with our race; more supportive than many of us. We therefore feel within ourselves, through organic but also conscious contact with this race, the rhythm and direction of its destinies. We feel and we say. Not because we want to, but because we cannot do otherwise. We sing as the bird sings – without any merit, but true. It is our natural function, our duty”⁹¹.

For Nae Ionescu, reality, real, means autochthonous, or relating to it, the rest is waste:

“Our creative operation, if you want, should be reduced to this; to the orientation, systematization, and development of real powers (...)”⁹².

Only then can we discuss our modernization, after we clarify who we are, what “our” means, after we discover our ethos. But for this, the elites must be aware of the imperative of their “own culture”, which is nourished precisely by this ethos⁹³.

Opposed to autochthonism, to the sovereigntist movement **started from culture toward the economic liberation** of the country, was liberalism with its cultural dimension, of cosmopolitanism, Nae Ionescu pointed out.

4. Nichifor Crainic

In “Nostalgia paradisului” (“The Nostalgia of the Paradise”) (1942), Crainic, the founder of Romanian mystical theology⁹⁴, shows that cultural mimicry can only be a first stage in the evolution of a culture, being quickly followed by sterility if not developed autonomously and organically. And being self-sufficient means developing into higher forms starting from the hearth of the peasant soul and orthodoxy:

⁹⁰ „Și tot de șase ani cerem ca acest scandal împotriva firii să înceteze. Să ne desmeticim. Să ne dăm seama că nimic nu se poate crea decât în ordinea firească a lucrurilor. Să ne aplecăm atenți, umili și înțelegători asupra realităților noastre. Să cunoaștem cum ne-a făcut Dumnezeu și unde ne-a așezat Dumnezeu.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 314.

⁹¹ „Suntem solidari cu rasa noastră; mai solidari decât mulți alții dintre noi. Simțim deci în noi înșine, prin contactul organic dar și conștient cu această rasă, ritmul și direcția destinelor ei. Simțim și spunem. Nu pentru că o voim, ci pentru că nu putem altfel. Cântăm cum cântă pasărea – fără nici un merit, dar adevărat. E funcțiunea noastră firească, datoria noastră.”, in *Ibidem*, pp. 310–311.

⁹² „Operația noastră de creație, dacă vreți, la aceasta să se reducă; la orientarea, sistematizarea și dezvoltarea puterilor reale (...)”, in Nae Ionescu, *op. cit.*, 2003, pp. 90–91.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 212.

⁹⁴ Dumitru Stăniloae in “Introductory Study” in Nechifor Crainic, *op. cit.*, p. VII.

“Condemned by its nature to sterility, mimicry is a solution of continuity in the normal development of national culture. However, no national culture can grow parasitically on the body of another culture. It is independent and worthy of consideration only in so far as it symbolizes in higher forms the properties of the being of the race. A culture deeply rooted in ethnic autochthonism and absorbing in its creations the spiritual light of orthodoxy alone has the guarantee of its own style. Through mimicry we will never reach it because our own style is the distinctive brilliance of all cultural creations, resulting from a great conception of life in which creative originality meet and are recognized”⁹⁵.

HUMANITY’S IMPERATIVE

George Racoveanu

Humanity (*omenia*) is, according to the icon, the second form of primordial beauty to which man has access, after Jesus Christ. For the phenomenological sociology approach to conservatism, humanity is an excellent starting point. If the icon is the Face shown, metalinguistic display and its dogmatic-theological definition⁹⁶, humanity is the archetype of initial beauty as:

“encounter [of] the human soul with the evangelical teaching as it teaches it The Church”⁹⁷.

Mankind is situated between disfigurement through the loss of faith and holiness. In other words, humanity is the putting into action of showing the Image in the icon, a step toward holiness. Humanity is also called by Racoveanu “humility of love”⁹⁸. This has 12 dimensions, which can be relatively easily operationalized: love of guests – “of people”⁹⁹; keeping the given word – the word is edifying, not talk to the wind, not dissipation¹⁰⁰; doing good as a hidden calculation – “Do good and give it away”¹⁰¹; magnanimity – “The heart of the human being is betrothed to forgiveness”¹⁰²; justice, not legalism, the man of humanity is not a Pharisee, the goal

⁹⁵ „Osândit prin natura lui la sterilitate, mimetismul e o soluție de continuitate în dezvoltarea normală a culturii naționale. Nici o cultură națională însă nu poate crește parazitar pe trupul altei culturi. Ea e de sine stătătoare și vrednică să fie luată în seamă numai în măsura în care simbolizează în forme superioare proprietățile ființei neamului. O cultură înfiptă adânc în autohtonismul etnic și absorbind în plâsmuirile ei lumina spirituală a ortodoxiei are singură de partea ei garanția unui stil propriu. Prin mimetism nu vom ajunge în veacul veacului la el, fiindcă stilul propriu e strălucirea distinctivă a tuturor creațiilor culturale, rezultată dintr-o mare concepție de viață, în care se întâlnesc și se recunosc originalitățile creatoare.”, in Nechifor Crainic, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁹⁶ Sorin Dumitrescu, *Noi și icoana [We and the Icon]*, Anastasia Publishing, 2018, p. 28.

⁹⁷ „întâmpinare [a] sufletului omenesc cu învățătura evanghelică așa cum o predă Biserica”, in George Racoveanu, *Omenia și frumusețea cea dintâi [Humanity and beauty first]*, Predania Publishing, s.a., [2020], p. 24.

⁹⁸ “smerenia dragostei”, in *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹⁰¹ „Fă binele și dă-l pe apă”, in *Ibidem*, p. 9.

¹⁰² „Inima omului de omenie e logodită cu iertarea”, in *Ibidem*, p. 10.

of the law being justice and not the law itself¹⁰³; sacrifice – not only of time, work and money, but even life¹⁰⁴; restraint – “fornication being the mortal enemy of mankind”¹⁰⁵; modesty – “you to honor the coat” – the function, not the other way around¹⁰⁶; honor – “the foundation of trust between people”. Man of humanity fears only shame, the last guardian of honor¹⁰⁷; humility – another path to self-restraint. “It is not the nobleman who is worthy of honor, but the one who proves to be worthy of being noble”¹⁰⁸; faith in God – “the crown of all human virtues”¹⁰⁹; the love of the Motherland – is “honest passion”, although the human being is aware that “we humans are all a kinship”¹¹⁰.

Here is a brief description of a behavioral direction, as concrete as possible, both at the individual level and above all at the institutional level. What would an institution built to serve look like? What would her concrete courses of action look like? What would the pre-university, or university curricula for humanity look like? What would the mass media, let’s not talk about political behavior, look like, if humanity – the road to holiness, were their paradigm, their working tension?

The word, although common, is revolutionary from a doctrinal point of view because it lays down a whole plethora of policies in various fields and recalibrates public tension under a comprehensive and positive sign. We remember that before the intolerant age of Covid fear and terror, there was the age of everyone doing what they want, of “tolerance”. Both are negative social tensions, of loneliness: the latter through individual pleasure, the former through irrational fear of the neighbor, of the government, not just of the virus. Humanity reinstates the working regime of neighborly love, brings man not only out of the deadly fear, but also offers him an uplifting, liberating alternative to the alienating consumption-as-pleasure, and really places him on the path of holiness, of the lost paradise. The man will have found his peace finally, without having to leave the world!

TYRANNY

Where the city no longer has integrity, when it no longer has the energy to preserve it, tyranny arises. In other words, tyranny is the expression of the unnatural weakening of the conservative spirit. Tyranny is the consequence of the de-sovereignation of society. We will reproduce some directions of oligarchic and tyrannical regimes in Plato’s “Republic”.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 12

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁸ „Nu cel de neam mare este vrednic de cinstire, ci cel se dovedește a fi vrednic de a fi de neam mare”, in *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

Tyranny is the result of the weakening of the balance in the world, the expression of the collapse of the republic of the soul. The tyrant is the genuine slave, who, though surrounded by a plethora of flatterers, is the poorest in soul and even deprived of a large part of “most satisfactions”¹¹¹.

The social tension is that of injustice, envy, and the leveling of all to the mediocre soul height of the tyrant¹¹². The state thus spiritually collapsed is ruled by force, and education no longer relies on conviction, on the contrary, it cultivates the desire for profit to the detriment of reason and ardor for the ideal¹¹³; the economy, excessively focused on money, has miserliness as its behavioral energy, while the true Muses, related to art, philosophy, and gymnastics, will be less and less present, says Plato¹¹⁴.

When politics does not dissipate itself in acts of force, it is petty¹¹⁵.

Finally, such a city is segregated:

“one of the poor, the other of the rich (...) They are always plotting against each other”¹¹⁶.

Consequence? The regime will not be able to defend the country¹¹⁷.

Who is the man of the city who has fallen prey to oligarchy and tyranny?

“(...) a sordid man, making him have of everything (...) He does not believe (...) that good is preferable to evil, nor is he tamed by reason (...)”¹¹⁸.

These are realities that conservatism wants to avoid. Not since, even before Christianity’s advent, the “Republic” being the first truly “modern” conservative doctrine. All this seems like it happened yesterday, and it is still happening to us.

CONCLUSION

Conservatism and sovereignty must be part of the doctrine of a political movement concerned with the organic development of Romania. Both are concepts, strong directions of action and attitudes towards the national reality, which acquire peculiarities in Romanian culture that are not found in other cultures. While souverainism is concerned with increasing the independence of a state, conservatism is concerned with preserving human identity. The concrete form in which the two are combined is the organic state, which has as its axes: the law of compensation

¹¹¹ Plato, *op. cit.*, 579 d, e.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, 580 a.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, 553 c, d.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 548 b.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 555 a.

¹¹⁶ „unul al săracilor, celălalt al bogaților (...) Întotdeauna completează unul împotriva celuilalt”, in *Ibidem*, 551 d, e.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 551 e.

¹¹⁸ „(...) un om sordid, făcând avere din orice (...) El nu crede (...) că binele este preferabil răului, nici nu se imblânzește prin rațiune (...)”, in *Ibidem*, 554 d.

(Eminescu), the hierarchy of competences and the correlation of income with work. The social actor capable of creating the organic state is the political party, that free association of citizens with common interests whose aim is to take power in order to achieve a social ethical ideal (Gusti). The conservative and souverainist political movement is vital for Romania as it is the only one capable of defending both identity and progress by preserving the uniqueness of the individual and the community. Without souverainists and a conservative party, the new tyranny threatens us.

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