

CONTENTS

STUDIES AND ARTICLES

Anișoara Băbălău, <i>THE FISCAL ORGANISATION OF WALLACHIA IN BRANCOVAN ERA</i>	5
Elena Steluța Dinu, <i>HEALTH LAWS IN THE PERIOD 1874-1910</i>	15
Adi Schwarz, <i>THE STRUGGLE OF THE JEWS FOR THEIR POLITICAL RIGHTS IN THE VIEW OF WESTERN JOURNALISTS (1876-1914)</i>	23
Cosmin-Ștefan Dogaru, <i>LE PORTRAIT DE CHARLES DE HOHENZOLLERN-SIGMARINGEN. UN REPERE DANS L'HISTOIRE DE L'ETAT ROUMAIN</i>	31
Stoica Lascu, <i>THE SITUATION OF THE BALKAN ROMANIANS REFLECTED IN "REVISTA MACEDONIEI" MAGAZINE (BUCHAREST; 1905-1906)</i>	43
Gheorghe Onișoru, <i>MAY 15, 1943: DISSOLUTION OF THE KOMINTERN AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ROMANIA</i>	75
Cezar Stanciu, <i>CHALLENGES TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM: THE COMMUNIST PARTIES' CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, 1969</i>	85
Lucian Dindirică, <i>ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF ROMANIA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU</i>	101
Virginie Wanyaka Bonguen Oyongmen, <i>ARMÉE CAMEROUNAISE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL DE LA NATION: LE CAS DU GÉNIE MILITAIRE (1962-2012)</i>	109
Nicolae Melinescu, <i>THE MARITIME PIRACY IN ITS SECOND YOUTH</i>	129
Rodica-Doina Georgescu, <i>DES REPERES HISTORIQUES ET CULTURELS DANS LES MANUELS ROUMAINS DE FLE</i>	143
Filip-Lucian Iorga, <i>THE MEMORY OF THE ROMANIAN ELITES</i>	157

BOOK REVIEW

<i>Сто години од Балканските војни. Прилози од Научниот Сојир одржан на 3-4 декември 2012 година (Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите) [Hundred Years of the Balkan Wars. Proceedings of the Scientific Meeting. Held on 3-4 December 2012. Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts], Скопје/Skopje, no publisher, 2013, 532 p. (Stoica Lascu)</i>	173
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STUDIES AND ARTICLES

THE FISCAL ORGANISATION OF WALLACHIA IN BRANCOVAN ERA

*Anișoara Băbălău**

Abstract

The fiscal organisation of Wallachia in Brancovan era was characterized by economic recovery categories of taxpayers through *fair taxation to cover the payment of taxes* fiscal effort exceptional; obtained from direct taxes of the main income of the state, the existence of *joint and several liability* to pay the taxes, in the same social categories and category become fiscal debts distribution is proportional to wealth, the economic obligations Porte permanently influenced the amount of internal debts. Partially influenced Ottoman rule tax system, meaning that the old taxes in kind were converted into monetary obligations and tax immunities (from early century XVI) were gradually eliminated.

Key words: *Tax System, Era Brancovan, Ottoman Porte, the Treasury, the Pantry*

A. General aspects of economic life in the era Brancovan

Age Brancovan by its economic and social issues, political and cultural, recorded in the documents prepared by or Brâncoveanu lord¹ was a solidity relevant historical moment, progress and considerable influence throughout the Romanian territory².

Secretary writings, *Anton Maria del Chiaro* and those reported by foreign travelers in the eighteenth century Wallachia showed that “*the earth was all that could be more fertile and delightful, with an extensive and delicious plain between the Danube and Targoviste, with more and beautiful forests,*

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¹ Dinu C. Giurescu, *Anatefterul. Book of the commandments of Constantine Brancovan*, in “Studies and history material medium”, V, 1962, p. 353-503.

² Adina Berciu Drăghicescu, Dinică Ciobotea, *Economic life of Wallachia during the reign of Constantine Brancovan*, Slatina, Universitaria Publishing House, 2004, p. 11.

*mountains and evergreen trees covered with large deposits of salt mines of gold and silver and other metals*¹.

Romanian population on the verge of the eighteenth century, after a rough calculation, was between 750 000 and 1 200 000 inhabitants². Therefore, the country was well populated with over 3 000 villages, which prompted *Caesar Daponte* write that *in the days of Constantin Brancoveanu Wallachia was crowded with people as a pomegranate*³.

Population of the country meet several additional occupations related to specific geographic area in which he lived and the needs of everyday life. Major internal and external factors have influenced the **development of the country's agricultural** romanian production. Thus, population growth, security, settlements in the plain, substantial quantities of grain exported to supply neighboring states are almost constant state of war after 1683, led to increased production and *increasing surface mapping cultivate*. The spring since 1707, inspired by Constantin Cantacuzino map (printed in Padua in 1700) score for the first time, large areas of the country cultivated Romanet.

Export **grain** in Transylvania, Habsburg Empire or the Ottoman Empire (as monopoly) had an important role *in the transformation of feudal domains in companies producing goods* in the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century⁴. Terms documentary evidence that Romanian Country produced large quantities of wheat brâncovan..Thus that era, in 1696 Mr. Zaher of preparing a 100 000 Kilos in Bucharest and Targoviste, and in 1719 Michael Schendos, who lived some time in Bucharest, wrote that "Oltenia can be called, rightly garner Dacia"⁵.

Leader of the country was concerned to ensure domestic consumption and trade monopoly. Free trade in wheat was only approved by it and aim in particular *Moldova* and *Transylvania* (Brasov, Sibiu, Caransebes), and the Ottoman Empire. Balanced policy and restrictions on the marketing of wheat by mercantilist measures in Transylvania (1703) have raised prices and increased the role of feudal domains in the supply market.

Socially, villages landlords were forced to sell the lands but without landlords be subservient. Thus multiplied *free peasants landless* specific social

¹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Romanian forest history from ancient times until today*, ed. II, Bucharest, 1976, p. 167-168.

² Șerban Papacostea, *Romanian population on the eve of Constantine's reforms Mavrocordat. A new document*, in "Studies. Magazine of History", XIX (1966), no. 5, p. 929-939.

³ C. Erbiceanu, *Greek chroniclers who wrote about the Phanariot Romanian*, Bucharest, 1888, p. 172.

⁴ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Controversial Issues in Romanian historiography*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 48-50.

⁵ Dragoș Ungureanu, *Aspects of agriculture in the country in light Româneascp Condiții treasury income and expenditure (1694-1703)*, in "Argessis", tom XIV, 2005, p. 369-397.

category of the eighteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. On these masters of estates increased work obligations.

After wheat plants grown in the age of Brancovan *had* an important role: **millet, barley, rye, flax and hemp, tobacco and maize**¹. Lord Brâncoveanu incomes squeezed in pantry reign as “tobacco customs”.

Also, the Romanian Country has been recognized internationally for growing **grape vines**, and the **quantity of wine exported**. The maps produced in the first decades of the eighteenth century were the most important vineyards in *Pitesti, Targoviste, Scăieni, Cernatesti* (Călugărească Valley), *Slatina and Caracal* etc. Constantin Brancoveanu possessed *vineyards in Lișcioara* (Pitesti), *Brown* (now common Aninoasa Dâmbovița) *Scăieni, Slatina, Hill Cândesti* and those of the *Valley of Voivod* (Razvad common today near the city of Targoviste). Recovery royal wine vineyards in Targoviste, Bucharest (Văcărești) and Hodivoaia account was made *royal pantry*.

Along with farming, an occupation quite profitable **growth was represented by cows**. Thus, the Ottoman Empire was interested in **buying sheep**. As in the case of wheat, the Turks requirements were quite high. Only in 1696, had to honor the ruler of the Ottoman acquisition of 20 000 sheep, number “iaste not least thing” and who commandeered and 1000 sheep from Transylvanian shepherds are sheep in Wallachian plains². However there was a surplus and free trade.

The sale of sheep, plus the **large cattle** to *Transylvania*, but also to the *Ottoman Empire* and *Central Europe*. The big merchants were the *great feudal*, headed by *Preda Brancoveanu* Brâncoveanu's grandfather, who was known beyond the borders of the great herds of horses, herds of sheep, cattle and pigs, beehives etc. The landlords from Oltenia region were dealt with priority growing of cattle and pig herds, but there were large herds of horses owners.

The economic and commercial life of the country have added other great riches, **bees, fish and game**, highlight this era with great attention Bees culture occupation was characterized by Anton Maria del Chiaro as “very common”. Honey and wax were very much products sold by merchants. In Valcea (1731), for example, were confined to documents of the time *56 Beekeeping* (family heads who were only bees), distributed proportionally to all areas of the administrative units (13 in place Mount, 17 in place Olt 9 and 17 in place Oltețului place CERN). Also, each gentleman on his estate had a pond where

¹ The corn was sowed in spring and picked in August. The man who forecasted the future of this crop was Constantin Brâncoveanu. So, in a note from the *Greek-Romanian Gospel*, Bucharest, 1693, pages 118-119, which belonged at Saint New George church from Craiova, was written that: “In the days of Constantin Voievod the crop of the corn was so big in Walahia than it had never been before”.

² Nicolae Iorga, *The history of romanian trade, Old era*, ed. II, București, 1925, p. 299.

fish farming is practiced a rudimentary; river Jiu, Olt county; Prahova, Arges and Buzau gave *common sizes of the fish, especially sterlet and beluga, which remove eggs*; monasteries had fish ponds adjacent to the Danube. Constantin Brancoveanu owned the *Greek pond* where fish rule established customs. Documents stated and ponds Prince of *Tigana Fountain* and *Mogoșoaia*. Other functional ponds during this period were the *Buciumeni*, *Herăstrău* (1701), the *Tei, Buftea, Bucharest* (pond Serban Voda by Radu Serban) *at the Royal Inn at Nucet* (existed until 1686), the *Frăsinet* on Mostiștea (1677)¹. So, *fishing* was an important source of income for the ruler, landowners, monasteries and merchants (who sell fish in cities or the mountains in Transylvania).

Another wealth harnessed a fully constituted *wild animals and birds*: wild boar, deer, deer, wolves, bears, lynx, foxes, hawks, etc. that there were “abundant”.

In the era Brancovan, ***handicraft production development*** was a crucial moment in a century of slow economic and social changes. In the eighteenth century, the number of crafts documented increased twice, reaching over 80 professional craftsmen social differentiation, multiplication, handicraft products, scale commercial activities led to the development of handicrafts in the villages, especially in cities.

Thus, among handicraft products made in house stood clothing worn by men and those *dressed* interiors of the houses. In this category, most manufacturers were women.

The most numerous and valued craftsmen of the Brancoveanu time were *builders*, masons, Brikers, Varariei-vărnicerii builders, craftsmen, shingle makers and others; whereas during the reign of Constantine Brancovan rose and consolidated many secular buildings and crafts (especially royal courts in Targoviste and Bucharest). The most renowned craftsmen and builders were in Albești Igoiu (with numerous craftsmen stonemasons) Scăueni, Rădăcinești (vărniceri), Luciani (“masters princely houses”), Gureni-Gorj (Sindrilari) and others.

In cities, they had the largest share *food crafts*, such as bakeries, butchers (the most numerous were in Bucharest, organized in 40 seats of meat), Targoviste, Pitesti, Campulung, breweries (in Râmnicu Sarat) Pie makers, alms makers craftsmen of sweetness (bakeries) cooks.

Other craft we can mention: skinner (furriers), shoemakers, tanners, belts makers, doll makers, drapers, kneading makers, abags, pâslarii, tailors, gypsies, zlatars, button makers, painters, sculptors, watchmakers, barbers, the physicians, soap makers, fountain makers, rope makers, glass and blanket makers and others.

¹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Contributions to the history of science and technology in the Romanian XV-early nineteenth century*, Bucharest, 1973, p. 181-182.

An important moment in the evolution of urban craft guilds was *the establishment of Craiova*, during the reign of Constantine Brancovan. Moreover, during the reign of Serban Cantacuzino and Constantin Brancoveanu few craftsmen approached the stage of manufacture. In the reign of the latter were, under the direction thereof, a candle in Bucharest¹, a glass factory near Targoviste² Metropolitan typography and workshops for building and repair of vessels on the Danube from Giurgiu.

The main roads in the country were built in the Romanian commercial exchange and European Transylvania, the cities of Sibiu, Brasov, the fords Danube and the Black Sea.

Communication paths are included, along ancient roads, plenty of links land and water: *roads, paths, mountain trails*. Their development has been driven by the emergence of new markets, moving others, the emergence of new bridges and customs points.

Movement of goods and people required building *resting areas* near the bridge of the important fords or open fairs. These brought revenue both through *fees* charged for sheltering the passengers, vehicles and cargo at night or in bad weather and the possibilities of recovery of food and beverages. Also, cities and fairs were *houses and inns* where travelers pulling, merchants and carts goods. Therefore, between 1690-1700, around the great deal of Craiova, John Abbot of the monastery Hurezu at the behest of Prince Constantin Brancoveanu oversaw the construction of a roomy house “for the benefit of merchants and the poor”³.

Moreover, in seventeenth century, Craiova (Fortress of money Oltenia) commercial influence throughout the region where the big money their administrative duties, political, military and judiciary. In 1640, a Catholic missionary Baksa noted that in Craiova running “all sorts of people from villages and neighboring lands and merchants of every nation, to buy cattle and bring them to Constantinople”.

B. Main categories tributes and their payers era Brancovan

Brancovan era tax system is characterized by⁴:

- the relaxation and economic recovery of the categories of taxpayers through *fair taxation fiscal effort* to cover exceptional tributes. This ability of the ruler Contantin Brancovan was recorded and recognized as his secretary, Chiaro: *dell 'tributes imposed new countries, but bearable, which made people*

¹ That was rented by craftsmen like Hagi Vasile, Mihul and Sterie.

² The glass from here, blue colored, was, qualitative, higher than the glass brought from Poland.

³ I.B. Georgescu, *Inn monastery Hurezi from Craiova*, in “Mitropolia Olteniei”, X, 1958, nr. 3-4, p. 239-247.

⁴ Liviu Marcu, *The history of romanian law*, București, Editura Academiei, 1980, p. 328.

say that **Prince Constantin Brancoveanu takes free hard to make her scream**¹ and the *Sultan Mustafa II*, along with the Grand Vizier *Mehmet Rami*, who proposed the rule of Moldova with the Romanian Land, as a tribute to the way in which businesses manage the country and manage the country's fiscal problems;

- getting the direct taxes of the main income of the state;
- main table taxation constitutes peasantry;
- the existence of joint and several liability to taxes, both in tax units and in a broader context;
- in the same social categories and category become fiscal debts distribution is proportional to wealth;
- economic obligations Porte influenced by the amount of the taxes permanent internal;
- partially influenced Ottoman rule and taxation system in the sense that the old taxes in kind were converted into monetary obligations and tax immunities (from the early century XVI) are gradually eliminated².

The treasure was, as in other states medieval reserves of precious metals and objects of great value, available to the ruler, the state needs or personal interests.

Fiscal and financial organization Romanian feudal state covers two important institutions: *the treasury* and *pantry*.

Treasury was the central institution of the tax organization, which focused on finding all your taxpayers and taxable matter. Also from the treasury the taxes went distribution provisions are gathered revenue and keep track of expenses³.

Governor was appointed at the head of treasury at the beginning of century XV and then throughout the Soviet elite feudal great treasurer.

Treasury revenues were used to cover public needs: national defense, maintenance of the army and Strongholds, the Court, the payment obligations of the suzerain power, etc.

The pantry was a private institution, subordinated to lord⁴.

At first, pantry reign included on the royal revenues (from mines, customs and fines); then added and revenue from taxes of the crank.

Leading the royal pantry is **great quartermaster**. Revenues for lord and pantry were his family.

¹ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

² It returned to them, but much later and in other forms.

³ In rudimentary form, the treasury is documented both in Moldova and Walahia in the early XV century.

⁴ Documentary the pantry was attested along with the treasury, and in Moldova later.

As in all states feudal era, and Moldova and the Romanian Country, taxes, the principle of their location, are divided into:

a) ***quarterly distribution***, whose mode of settlement to take account of the taxpayer's fiscal potential. Distribution taxes were paid directly to the tax authorities prince.

b) ***the crankshaft taxes*** were levied in kind, and in the sixteenth century and the money.

The main taxes of the crank that lasted throughout the feudal period were:

- ***the sheep***, named Country Romanian customs and sheep, and in Moldova, "Gostin" sheep sheep was giving paid in proportion to their number:

- "***Gostin***" or giving pigs called pigs and customs;

- "***Dijmăritul***" was giving hives, also called the Land of Romanian *beekeeping* and bee "deseatură" (Moldova);

- "***Vinăriciul***" was giving wine or bucket preservation

Lord have great care for all living masters of the treasury to pay the actual giving VINARIA (a bucket of ten harvested and kowtow money, *pitcher of Pitesti*, introduced by Prince Constantin Brancoveanu in the units, *had ten jugs*.

To this was added new ones, such as:

- "***Pogonăritul***" was putting on the field corn;

- ***The tobacco***, giving levied on land planted with tobacco;

Lord Brâncoveanu incomes squeezed in pantry reign after *tobacco customs*. According to royal commands, *custom tobacco sold chiefest* among which was mentioned in the majority of customs, especially in the edge. *Customs* were all old edge, ie *Tg-Jiu, Căineni, Rucăr-Dragoslavele*, the main passers in the Southern Carpathians; *Calafat* ("Customs Diulului") *Bistret, sift, Turnu, Giurgiu* ("Giurgiov") *Oltenia, Ciocănești, Lichirești* the fords of the Danube¹.

The situation involved the expansion of tobacco growing, rebellious Ottoman monopoly and selling them not only inside the country but also outside, even before 1691. So, in the years 1710/1711, 1711/1712, 1712/1713, the treasury reign came by the tobacco concession, *bought the big landowners*, 8 500 thalers, 14 700 thalers, respectively 12 500 thalers².

- ***Cows grazing*** the most important of taxes, was a tribute of money on horses, oxen, cows and buffaloes, which had to pay all those who owned cattle, regardless of social class, including privileged classes, nobles and high clergy, and monasteries.

¹ *Anatefierul...*, p. 3-5, 7-9, 35.

² *Catastihul*, f. 4, 6, 8, 11.

Particularly burdensome in this period were taxes in kind and in money to the *Ottoman Empire*.

Mendations were looting or tribute money to the state sovereign “peșcheșurs” or different gifts for the sultan¹ and his court, plus *mukarrerul* (money paid to purchases and confirmations of God). It is appropriate to remember that any regulatory tax should have endorsed the sultan, even informally, to cover a potential charge of “*impoverishment of paying tribute*”².

Benefits in kind were *fixed* (consisting of the delivery of a number of sheep, horses, bulls, hawks) and *occasional* occasioned mostly worn by Turkish wars of conquest.

Regarding the taxpayers, they are the same classes and social:

- Free and enslaved peasantry, subject to all the taxes;
- Middle social classes (courtiers, servants, târgoveții) who received some relief from taxes;

- Great nobility, high clergy and monasteries, subject to certain taxes.

Since the eighteenth century, there were two categories of taxpayers:

- tax guilds, which included over 36 socio-economic groups and enjoyed tax privileges (in the words of Constantine Brancovan *Condicii treasury*);

- “Birnicii”, a category which included free and enslaved peasantry.

The Romanian medieval taxation is found *fiscal apparatus* developed and well organized. Leading tax *hierarchy* are great treasurer, with the primary task chivernisire good state revenue³.

In the beginning, there were those who were *birarii* all taxes related to distribution operations, and organs were created for each release and even for each fiscal operation.

Tasks related to state revenues to *treasurers*, and with particular lord, “*cămărășei*” and “*stolnicii*”.

Tax rulers who were the other taxes, especially those of angles, as well as work and jobs, usually bearing the name of duty: tălerași, sulgeri, shepherds, dijmari, goștinari etc. If taxpayers civilians treasury calculate and allocate the amount of taxes on the three tax units – *Lude*, *crosses* or *name*. *Anatefterul* gives us some information about the organization of the tax group. *Lude* term (within Slavic origin, meaning *man*) defines a *person*, while the *cross* was made of several people, mainly IMTA degree relatives but could be formed and unrelated persons (neighbors, for example). *Cross*, the tax group was organized to facilitate the fulfillment of tax obligations, tax is distributed over several contributors, making it easier to pay, thereby preventing escape of the estate

¹ Viorel Panaite, *Peace, war and the trade in islam. Walahia and the ottoman law of peoples (centuries XV-XVII)*, București, 1997, p. 350-351.

² del Chiaro, *Revolutions...*, p. 43.

³ It's documented in the first half of the XVII century.

and / or setting the poor, excited by these status. The *calculation* “*Condicii*” *treasury*, name and “*ludea*” are synonymous, representing the same tax unit.

Since the second half of the century. XVI, creates *Institution of tribute counties*¹. Villages that lived “*birarii*” to collect the taxes were called *tribute chairs*, several in each county. In each county worked 1-2 “*birari*” *county* and many *birari*.

Finally we can say that despite the growing demands of the Ottoman Empire faced a major crisis in many fields (military, economic, financial and political – sultans were always removed from the throne) *tax system* during Brâncoveanu succeeded because and economic well-thought strategy of the ruler and his counsel, to face all the difficulties, even if the gift had not taken measures to eliminate the cause (Sultan appealed to the increase of taxes being Romanian countries) but to ameliorate the effects.

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¹ Lord entrusts the task of chief ministers for collecting the taxes imposed by division one county in exchange for 10% of revenue.

HEALTH LAWS IN THE PERIOD 1874-1910

*Elena Steluța Dinu**

Abstract

This article outlines the main health laws during 1874-1910. A first proper health law was adopted in 1874. It regulated jurisdiction of different authorities from the Old Kingdom in the field of health, hospital administration organized control and prescribed the organization of their staff. Act of 1877 introduced a very important provision, namely, that medical service districts passed under the control of state government districts. The law of 1881 established the first rural hospitals in Romania.

Health Act of 1885 established that the Superior Health Council members were required to regularly inspect various health services. A health law much different from those previously adopted was that of 1910 as doctors were given full authority in all matters of public health order.

Key words: *Health Laws, Old Kingdom, Doctors, Hospitals, Health Circumscriptions*

Health Law in 1874, along with its subsequent amending legislation, from the years 1877, 1881, 1885, 1893 and 1898¹, established competence of various public authorities regarding health issues. They organized control of hospitals administration and prescribed method of appointment of personnel. The multiple changes in the law resulted in a radical change of text, so the 1898 version is not too much like the original².

Health Law of 1874 took the principles fixed by Organic Regulation, developing them and adapting them to new social realities in accordance with scientific discoveries in the medical field. Local health services remained under the direct dependence of the Ministry of Interior. The law granted certain rights to municipal council's funds regarding financial means needed to ensure efficient management of local health and medical appointments. The Ministry of Interior established a *Higher Medical Council* with advisory tasks. In addition, the Ministry established a *Board of hygiene and sanitation* for each county prefect of the eight largest cities in the country, including Craiova.

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¹ Alina Ioana Șuta, Oana Mihaela Tămaș, Alin Ciupală, Constantin Bărbulescu, Vlad Popovici, *Legislația sanitară în România modernă (1874-1910)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009, p. 32.

² *Ibidem*, p. 11.

In performing their duties under the law of 1874, the county's head consultant worked in agreement with the prefect; the city's main doctor was subordinated to the mayor and the doctors were at the disposal of the county head consultants. The Ministry of Interior was the highest authority of the country's entire health organization and health performance of duties incumbent local interest reset not only upon the official medical personnel, but also to administrative representatives: prefects and mayors. So, in order to remedy some of the excesses of centralization, the law of 1874 established rather broad principles of decentralization in the country's health organization. The benefits of this decentralization were established on the grounds that the freedom of action and initiative of local administrative authorities allowed a thorough and careful research of local health problems. In addition, decentralization made possible fixing and implementing a program of activity for a longer duration. But decentralization, as was intended by the law of 1874 introduced a shortcoming: dependence of entire local health authority budgets of local administrative authorities, which were conceived and voted often by persons lacking any jurisdiction in health.

The law also contained provisions on the supervision of practicing medicine and pharmacy functioning, on public hygiene, sanitary food police, beverages, housing, unhealthy industrial workshops, schools etc... However, this law imposed free compulsory smallpox vaccination for children¹.

Act of 1877 introduced a very important provision, namely that the medical service districts went from State, under the administration of counties; district head consultants, who according the law of 1874 were appointed by the state ruler, from 1877 they were appointed by the General Council District. This provision was introduced in order to implement administrative decentralization imposed by the Constitution.

In 1881 the law changed again and introduced the stipulation for the establishment of five cattle quarantine at the borders of the country that were exposed to bovine typhus and their organization was arranged with proper personnel and within central service, new positions were established, such as: generally director assistant, a subdirectory-doctor of medicine.

In the same year, June 20, 1881 a special law decided the establishment of the first rural hospitals, which until they possessed their own buildings; they had to function in ancient monasteries, unoccupied by the religious communities. These hospitals were founded especially to treat pellagra and other chronic diseases which rural population was suffering from and their operation costs were borne by the state². The law stipulated that nurses and

¹ *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I, *Statul*, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. 494.

² I. Bordea, *Serviciul sanitar al României și igiena publică între anii 1905-1922*, București, Tipografia "Cultura", 1924, p. 44.

nursing positions to be occupied by monks and nuns, but this legislative provision was not applied. This law provided, as an interim measure to mobilize rural ambulances and was supplemented by the law of 28 May 1892¹.

The law of 1885 established the *Board of epizootic*; was renamed from “Medical Council” to that of “Superior Health Council”; the number of members of this Council increased and reached 11 by the addition of a pharmacist and a veterinarian. Free practice exam was set for physicians who obtained diplomas awarded by the faculties from abroad, and the right to practice was granted by the Superior Health Council, without the necessary approval of the Minister of Interior. The number of members of committee of chemists and pharmacists, as well as those of the members of the Veterinary Commission increased to five. The counties' head consultants, state hospital doctors, county physicians, country doctors, general practitioners and physicians who activated in an administrative subdivision within a county, which according to the law in 1877 were appointed by the county or municipal councils, after the 1885 law were appointed or dismissed by royal decree by the Minister of Interior. Admonition, suspension and revocation were introduced as punishment for the doctors from cities. Admonition was applied by the *Directorate General of Health Services*. These penalties were applied to physicians who activated in an administrative subdivision within a county by the primary physician of the county. Suspension and revocation were applied only with the Superior Health Council approval. Doctors from cities remained subordinate to the municipalities².

Through the sanitary Law changed in 1885, Superior Health Council members were forced to regularly inspect various health services. However, because the members of the Council served only honorary, these inspections were conducted only during the summer holidays. Since according to this law counties and urban municipalities were not required to maintain hospitals, the administration of the state's rural hospitals was not stated. Health law from 1885 had shortcomings in terms of prevention of pellagra and alcoholism. It was obvious why it required some additions³.

In 1892, new rural hospitals were established that were subsidized by the state annually. This law, together with the law of 1881 expanded healthcare in rural areas.

The law amending the health law, promulgated on June 14, 1893, introduced the service of sanitary control through four stations of health inspectors and established a higher epizootic Council. The organization

¹ I. Felix, *Istoria igienei în România*, partea I, București, Institutul de arte grafice “Carol Göbl”, 1901, p. 56.

² I. Bordea, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

³ I. Felix, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

competitions for filling medical functions was changed – established in 1885 – and doctors from the city and hospital, as the veterinarians, were not under the tutelage of primary health districts, but were subordinates of Mayors. Urban municipalities were required to have either a community hospital or to subsidize a hospital in the city. Each county would have more county hospitals, which were to be built, preferably in the sub-prefecture residence to be used as county hospitals for rural population. Free advice service for patients treated in ambulatory rural hospitals was significantly developed. The administration of all hospitals was concluded and was established government control over their management. Annual scientific meetings were established for doctors within hospitals trusteeship and general trustees of the House of Sfântul Spiridon and publication of the work of these meetings was provided. In each county administrative subdivision began operating at least one doctor, and in the cities of Bucharest, Iasi, Craiova, Ploiesti, Braila, Galati, Botosani, Focsani and a Council of Hygiene was established in each of these cities, apart from the County Council of Hygiene¹. Unhealthy industries were classified in a more practical way. It required removal of altered corn and cornmeal in household consumption. Also, it was not allowed to drink large amounts of alcohol content. Some measures began to be taken for remediation of stagnant waters, for sanitary housing policy and budgets were established for some institutions, such as: the Institute of Chemistry of the Ministry of Interior, the State Vaccine Institute, the veterinary observation points, the Institute of Pathology and Bacteriology, which passed under the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education².

The chapter of penalties, which included reprimands, suspension, revocation, was amplified and it was set who could apply each of these penalties. Suspension and revocation of doctors were hampered by guarantees and could not be given only on the basis of a survey report prepared by a health inspector. According to this law the county physician did not have the power to control health services in the county capital cities. Rural hospitals established by law in 1881 and in 1892 passed from the state under the administration of counties³.

In 1898, the Health law was again amended regarding competition for occupying health positions, organized by the *General Directorate of Health Services*. Until then the contest was held in Bucharest and alternatively in Iasi, but starting in 1898 it was organized in Bucharest only in the presence of a jury with the participation of delegates from Iasi. The circle of which were elected members of the jury for the contests of hospitals ephors and Sfântul Spiridon

¹ I. Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

² I. Felix, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

³ I. Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

general trustees was extended. Positions for chemists were created for controlling health food, beverages and all products that could harm health. The list of infectious diseases was expanded for which declaration, isolation and disinfection were mandatory and, also local governments had an obligation to do more to prevent these diseases. There were established sanitariums for tuberculosis, as well as special health services for leprosy, syphilis, conjunctivitis granuloze and pellagra¹.

According to *The Law on insane in 1894*, “places of monks and nuns” were no longer authorized to receive insane².

During 1874-1910, other laws of great importance concerning health intervened, which improved the level of public health. One of these laws, which should bear the name of its author – Professor Obregia, former Director General of Health Services, provided for the creation of a special fund called “epidemic fund” that was long awaited by the whole health personnel of the country. This fund was established by *law in 1901*. Its purpose was to help prevent and combat epidemics and endemic. It was drafted in the third part of epizootic fund created by law in 1874 and a third of the annual revenue of the same fund.

Another *law*, complementary to the health law, was that for *the formation of a fund healthcare to villagers*, promulgated in 1906. The main objective of setting up this fund was maintaining rural hospitals, also building new hospitals, combating diseases in villages and measures to combat malaria in villages. This fund was supplied from the income of permanent state lotteries, from the telegraph postage stamps of this lottery, also from the *Directorate General of Health Service* grants and donations.

The law regarding transition of rural hospitals from the counties management under the direct administration of the Minister of Interior was developed in 1906 and promulgated on April 1, 1908. This law decided the concentration of all health funds for counties and municipalities budget in the General Directorate of Health Service budget to a more appropriate uses and a more equitable distribution of these funds, according the real needs of the various counties and cities. It was also established the share that each county and township should pay to the public treasury. After the promulgation of this law, hospitals came under the direct leadership of the State³.

Health Act of 1910 was developed by G. Sion with Ioan Cantacuzino, General Director of Health Services. This law was very different from other the health laws adopted by time and divided the territory of the Old Kingdom in nineteen health regions, which, in turn comprised several sanitary districts.

¹ I. Felix, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

² “Buletinul Direcției Generale a Serviciului Sanitar”, nr. 24, din 15 decembrie 1894, anul VI, p. 370-377; vezi și “Monitorul Oficial”, nr. 203, din 15 decembrie 1894, p. 6921-6923.

³ I. Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Rural health districts could not include “a population of more than fifteen thousand inhabitants”¹. Law principles relating to rural health service were applied experimentally before 1910 in eight counties², including Dolj. At the opening of the medical congress of 1910, Professor Cantacuzino characterized his preliminary draft by the following words, which summarized the basic principles of the law: “the health bill, as presented today, it represents something unprecedented for our country; it is a project of public opinion concerning health issues and I understand through it the opinion of the medical personnel”³.

Indeed, *Cantacuzino-Sion law* sought to remove all previous shortcomings sanitary laws and gave full authority only to doctors, in all public health matters. *General Manager of Health Services* was appointed as higher authority of supervision, coordination and direction of all health activities in the country. Under the authority of this department and for the administration and direction of regional health services, *regional health inspectorates* were created, led by a regional medical inspector who had the right of initiative and authority over all and physicians and sanitary subdivisions belonging to his region⁴. In the region the inspector activated, he had the right to take all measures provided by laws and regulations against those who contravened provisions relating to the practice of medicine, pharmacy and midwifery.

Another essential principle of Cantacuzino law was the division of health service in its two major branches: healthcare – consisting of preventive medicine and public hygiene, and hospital care.

The technical and medical part of the law was made in accordance with the latest scientific findings in the field. The chapter on preventing and combating epidemics was filled with provisions that made it possible to implement the necessary measures, with severe penalties for offenders, with the creation of appropriate and practical means: isolation hospitals, infirmaries pavilions and rural isolation, bacteriology laboratories in different regions of the country, the mandatory declaration of epidemic diseases, including festering outbreaks of internal and external tuberculosis.

The legislature took care of sanitation of rural communities by establishing the so-called *House of the rural public health*, which had to provide water supply and sanitation and to fight against malaria and pellagra.

¹ C. Hamangiu, *Codul General al României*, vol. VI, Suplimentul III (1909-1910), București, Editura Librăriei Leon Alcaly, 1911, p. 925.

² Constantin Bărbulescu, Vlad Popovici, *Modernizarea lumii rurale din România în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și la începutul secolului al XX-lea. Contribuții*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Accent, 2005, p. 54; vezi și I. Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³ G. Banu, *Sănătatea poporului român*, București, Editura Fundația pentru literatură și artă “Regele Carol II”, 1935, p. 52.

⁴ *Enciclopedia României*, vol. I. Statul, p. 495.

Funds of this house were to be made from the fines imposed on offenders, in accordance with sanitary law and various donations.

Stability of posts of the medical staff was guaranteed¹. New conditions were established for recruitment. No one could be called in any medical job unless he had a *Ph.D. in medicine*. Only if it was lack of doctors, and only in positions of rural districts doctors were received medical graduates. All appointments were made provisionally.

If a sanitary or hospital doctor had wanted to become permanent he should have undergone an examination of capacity. Capacity examinations were organized for both physicians and mixed hospitals. For specialty hospitals or hospital specialist sections a competition was organized.

Exams capacity for health practitioners or those of mixed hospitals were organized annually in Bucharest, on November 1.

Physicians who passed the capacity examination were appointed physicians with the *title of interns* and occupied positions in order of classification and after a period of three years were confirmed as permanent².

If they pass the exam, but there were no available positions were to be appointed, they were enrolled in a queue and were assigned positions whenever a position remained completely vacant. If within three years, a doctor registered on the waiting list did not occupy a position, then he had to pass a new exam.

Severe penalties, such as suspension transfer and revocation could be applied only by the disciplinary committee, chaired by a judge of the Court of Appeal. In addition, for medical appointments to be made safe from any political influence, law *Cantacuzino-Sion* created the *Permanent Council*, composed of several delegates of sanitary Council and of the general manager of the health service.

Although this law had undergone some changes in 1911 and 1913, its basic principles dominated the entire evolution of the Romanian health service until after the war, and even, partially in the postwar era³.

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¹ G. Banu, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53.

² I. Bordea, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86.

³ G. Banu, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

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**THE STRUGGLE OF THE JEWS FOR THEIR POLITICAL RIGHTS
IN THE VIEW OF WESTERN JOURNALISTS (1876-1914)**

*Adi Schwarz**

Abstract

During 1876-1914, the headlines of the international press were associated with issues regarding Jews of Romania. Articles were published by leading personalities of Jewish communities in Europe and aimed harsh criticism towards measures taken by the Romanian authorities. The reply of the latter was always that the Romanian society at the level of social strata did not have a solid civil society at that time. Authorities claimed that placing within the Romanian society a large number of foreigners born in Romania, but who did not belong through language, religion, customs and culture to the Romanian people, could bring identity crisis whose effects would have been impossible to change.

The article makes an overview of the main ideas expressed in the international press during 1876-1912. Harsh and critical attitudes were expressed from both sides while the situation of Jews in Romania remained broadly unchanged until the Great Union.

Key words: *Political Rights, International Media, Critics, Jewish Question, Authorities*

The issue of political rights granted to Jews in Romania represented a topic of foreground of Romanian and international political life in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century¹. Romania being in full process of institutional reform and also in areas of social structures, had to find a solution of granting political rights to a significant segment of foreigners who lived here for generations, namely the Jews, who did not have a state of their own to represent their rights internationally. Individual naturalization for Jews was the solution found by Romania in response to the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. This created echoes, most often unfavorable to Romania, which was accused of persecution and discrimination. The reply of the Romanian authorities was that even Romanians could not vote by reason of electoral law, which was not different than in other states and also because of censitary suffrage. So, the problem was

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¹ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tom I, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, p. 142.

solved only after the Great Union, when the universal suffrage was introduced and, thereby, political rights of Jews in the united provinces of Romania were recognized.

An important documentary source is represented by the publications of that time in general and of Hebrew magazines in particular. Hebrew press in Romania was best represented by F. Braunstein¹, S. Podoleanu² or Wolf Tambur³ whose work were considered highly significant. They synthesize well and systematize the information about major Hebrew publications.

In this article covers three issues related by the international press: the denial of altogether naturalization of the Romanian Jewry, the issue of immigration of Jews from Romania and the legislation on professions.

After full recognition of the independence of Romania, subject to amendment of Article 7 of the Romanian Constitution of 1866⁴, Romania built an economic strategy based on the need to raise its prestige due to the existence of new political realities. This should be linked to the unilateral interpretation of the provision of the Berlin Congress⁵ (article 44), a provision aimed at amending Article 7 of the Constitution of Romania. Romanian Government decided that naturalization should be given individually by an application after completion of some stages and conditions.

This decision aroused criticism in the years to follow, mainly in British newspapers. At a banquet held by the Lord Mayor of London, in protest against the failure by Romania of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, Romania's Minister in London was not invited, as mentioned newspaper "The Standard" of November 22, 1884⁶.

From London on February 3, 1885, Romania's diplomatic representative sent a telegram describing the manner which the newspaper "Times" related the approach of Romanian government towards the Jewish Question. The government was criticized for refusing to grant political rights to all Jews such as Christian residents had. This newspaper condemned the fact

¹ F. Braunstein, *La presse juive en Roumanie*, Paris, Editura E. Leroux, 1913.

² S. Podoleanu, *Istoria presei evreiești din România (1857-1900)*, București, Editura Bibliografia, 1938.

³ Wolf Tambur, *Yidich presse in Romania*, București, Editura Criterion, 1977.

⁴ See: Sorin Liviu Damean, *Carol I al României (1866-1881)*, București, Editura Paideia, 2000, *passim*; Carol Iancu, *Evreii din România (1866-1919), de la excludere la emancipare*, București, Editura Hasefer, 1996; Victor Neumann, *Istoria evreilor din România*, Timișoara, Editura Amarcord, 1996; Gabriel Asandului, *Istoria evreilor din România (1866-1938)*, Iași, Institutul European, 2003.

⁵ Sorin Liviu Damean, *România și Congresul de Pace de la Berlin*, București, Editura Mica Valahie, 2005, p. 87-98.

⁶ Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe al României, București (The Archives of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, Bucharest), fond Problema 21, vol. 67, f. 137.

that at Darabani in Dorohoi County, Jews were forced by the Prefect Moruzi and police chief Filipescu to participate in building a wall around the town, in order to prevent cattle plague, which had started as epidemic¹.

In the context of the assertions expressed in the newspaper "Times", 37 representatives of Tulcea Israelite community expressed that they did not feel persecuted, which prompted them to send a statement to the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in order to be submitted in London².

On 15 October 1885, The Times published a protest of Jews in the fair Săveni, Dorohoi, expressing their disagreement to the forgery of the Romanian authorities, which imposed Jews to sign notes mentioning that they hadn't reproached against the behavior of administrative factors in the area. They condemned this disinformation.

The newspaper "Times" published on November 18, 1890 an article criticizing the attitude of Ion C. Bratianu, leader of the liberal government. He was accused of having contributed to the degradation of the situation of the Jews for the last 12 years even worse than before 1877. Thus, the Romanian government had given the law *against vagrancy*, which imposed measures affecting the life of Jewish communities and circulation of Jews in Romania. So, Jews from the villages were forced to move to cities, where they suffered from overcrowding³.

The principle of governmental rotation was introduced in 1895. The law provided that after governance of a certain political party it was compulsory that another party to come to power. The main political forces were the Liberals and the Conservatives⁴. In 1895 a long conservative government came to an end being followed by the liberal government of D.A. Sturdza, which promoted social, political and economic reforms.

In May 1899 in Iasi a new agitation produced against Jews was minimized in importance by the authorities.

Between 1890 and 1899, 394 public works were carried out by Jewish entrepreneurs and 540 by Romanian and other foreigners than Jews, the value of works performed by Jews equaled to 23,466,000 francs, of which most money was earned in 1898. Thus, the statements of chevalier Ritter who claimed the Jews were expelled from public works programs invoking a secret circular of Romanian ministry of the Interior, were belied⁵.

Another issue that was widely discussed by the international press was that of immigration of Jews from Romania, because of the obstacles posed by

¹ *Ibidem*, f. 42-44.

² *Ibidem*, f. 49.

³ *Ibidem*, f. 52.

⁴ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, tom II, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, p. 290.

⁵ A.M.A.E., Problema 33, vol. II, f. 113-115.

the Romanian authorities. Provisional passports were issued to Jews which helped them to leave Romania, but the passports would lose their validity after they crossed the border. Many Jews, while obtaining emigration passports, gave false information about their financial situation claiming that they had enough money for travel to the West. Once there, they found themselves without means of subsistence, which obliged them to return, but they had no valid papers. Dr. Lowenthal in Bucharest published in “Judische Presse” an article which stated that approximately 2,400 Jews emigrated annually, the total amounting to about 50,000 Jews¹.

The Romanian representative in Berlin, Beldiman reported to the diplomatic center at June 21, 1900 that Jews who had left Romania and had reached Frankfurt am Main had no means of subsistence and they were to be expelled in Romania.

In the “Frankfurter Zeitung” of 27 June 1900 an article revealed that the Jews in Romania are mostly born in the country and had not links with other states. They had no political rights, but were called to fulfill citizens' rights. The Romanian government led by D.A. Sturdza had to control the anti-Hungarian agitation in favor of Romanians from Transylvania. So, energies were channeled to anti-Jewish demonstrations, events such as those of December 5, 1898, when the Jewish neighborhood was devastated in Bucharest. The newspaper stated that neither the Conservatives in case they came into power, would be willing to find a solution to the Jewish issue².

Romanian Government informed Beldiman on 19 July 1900 that he could not engage discussions on the financial support of Jewish immigrants abroad, who had no means of subsistence³.

Beldiman reported to Alexandru Marghiloman on July 22, 1900 that Baron Rothschild spoke to Hansemann, regarding the situation of Jewish emigrants. He said that he discussed with Hansemann whom he declared that the emigration of Jews from Romania was not the subject of any persecution led by the Romanian government. The agitation around the emigration of the Jews actually aimed to produce a public pressure in order to change the constitutional provisions, meaning massive naturalization of Jews. Moreover, poverty was prevalent among Christian inhabitants in villages, but their social status was not likely to cause unrest since their situation did not sparked reactions abroad⁴.

Beldiman reported on 4/17 August 1900 that newspapers “Kreuz Zeitung” of August 15, 1900 and “Hamburger Korrespondent” of 13 August

¹ *Ibidem*, f. 117.

² *Ibidem*, f. 29.

³ *Ibidem*, f. 31.

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 39-41.

1900 published articles revealing the idea that Western newspapers clearly exaggerated when they had exposed the causes of emigration of Jews from Romania placing them on account of ill-treatment of the administration. They even insisted on invoking the opinion of the Rabbi from Bucharest who claimed that the harvest was poor that in many cases cities were overcrowded of Jews saying that emigration to be the chance of survival. Behind the action of exaggeration was the Jewish Alliance that had the interest that more Jews to be directed to the US and Palestine¹.

Romanian diplomatic representative in The Hague announced that the authorities of Rotterdam were not willing to assist, from the public funds of the city, the Jewish immigrant groups from Romania which had no means of subsistence. Romanian government argued that the economic and financial crisis were likely to impose Jewish emigration, especially of those in Moldova². Romanian diplomatic representative in The Hague was informed on 18 July 1900 that the group of Jews from Romania which stationed in Rotterdam could be discreetly supported with material aid so that they could go to America, without returning to Romania³.

Romanian diplomatic representative in The Hague informed on August 8, 1900 that the Dutch government forbade the entry into the Netherlands only to Jews who could not prove their means of subsistence and further means of travel to their desired destination⁴.

Unfortunately, including the serious problems related to insufficient international attention to the national problem of Romanians in Transylvania, migration among conservatives of some liberals made the government to resign. It was followed by the Government of P.P. Carp which also had to resign on February 14, 1901. This government advocated for spending cuts and concessions of property to foreigners.

During its governance (1901-1904), the National Liberal Party initiated a number of measures which aimed to ensure budgetary balance, to develop industry and to improve the situation of the peasants and of craftsmen. In that context, the *Law of Professions*, known as *the Missir Law* (in February 1902), was adopted. The *Professions Law* reflected the stage of development of the industry in Romania. By adopting this law, the Liberal Government sought to win over the craftsmen. "The state – claimed B. M. Missir, Minister of Agriculture and Estates – *wishes that craftsmen to develop their professional*

¹ *Ibidem*, f. 43.

² *Ibidem*, f. 72.

³ *Ibidem*, f. 76.

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 84.

honor, to maintain order and union among themselves, to learn to resolve their differences through conciliation [...]"¹.

Article 4 of the *Missir* Law imposed restrictions to foreigners who were not giving a similar treatment to Romanian residents in their countries. The law affected the Jews of Romania simply because they did not have a state of their own and therefore they were unable to provide facilities to Romanian craftsmen. This, together with the new provision on the right to exercise profession, was considered a new attempt to harm the interests of a major professional group: the Jewish craftsmen. A number of documents found in the Funds of the Ministry Foreign Affairs of Romania presents Romanian political class attitude regarding protests appeared in newspapers in Western Europe.

Not only Article 4 of the *Missir* Law was considered discriminatory by Jewish forums but also articles that barred foreigners who could not provide similar conditions to Romanians. They were regarding to the right to specialize in organized school, the right to be part of the corporation or take part in auctions.

Official documents present statistics on the number of Jews affected by this the law. Also, another concern of the Romanian political class was that Jews could acquire immovable property (one of the essential rights of a citizen condition).

According to the newspaper "Hamburger Correspondent"² of August 8, 1900, 2/3 of goods could pass through legislative tricks in the property of Jews. The main reason was that the Jews received as guarantee real estate for loans granted to Romanians. Having debts the Romanians could lose on behalf of Jews their properties.

Thus, number 13,508 of the newspaper "Neue Freie Presse"³ dated April 3, 1902 showed the plight of Jewish inhabitants of Romania, due to the decision of the Romanian government to implement Article 4 of the *Missir* Law affecting approximately three quarters of craftsmen from Romania who were foreigners, especially Jews. The law provided that foreign craftsmen must prove that in their own country existed for Romanians a reciprocity law. This could not be proved by Jews who did not belong to a particular state; they had to have authorization of chambers of commerce and crafts. Foreigners were obliged to pass an examination before the Committee of craftsmen in order to exercise their profession. They were also forced to submit certificates of identity and morality. These conditions were not applied for Romanian craftsmen. The article reveals the discriminatory conditions imposed to foreign workers; they were used according to the kind of work and region where those

¹ Vladimir Osiac, *Istoria modernă a României*, Craiova, Editura Universitaria, 1999, p. 306.

² A.M.A.E., fond Problema 21, vol. 116, f. 72.

³ *Ibidem*, f. 47-69.

works were to be executed. It also mentioned the difficulty of acquiring a simple booklet of labor for foreigners, because the law stipulated that the number of Romanian pupils in specialized schools should be of three quarters, which reduced the chances of Jews from Romania to be admitted in such schools.

Another article of the newspaper “Deutsches Volksblatt”¹ in Vienna, number 4774 of 19 April 1902 mentioned the law of professions in Romania and demanded its removal and requested application of Treaty of Berlin. The article noted that the diplomatic representatives of the Great Powers showed a special interest in the situation of Jews in Romania and were concerned about the possibility of a new European scandal.

In the number 10,882 of the newspaper “Deutsches Zeitung”² in Vienna, April 19, 1902 there was an article regarding the new professions law and its impact on Jewish craftsmen. The article informed that the President of Jewish community in Romania was received in audience at King Carol I. The President of the Jewish community asked the King if he could change the law, but the King declared that he had no right to change a law that had passed through a constitutional basis.

These actions achieved their purpose, because, on 27 January 1912 after a decade, the new law on the organization of professions, credit and labor insurance gave the right to foreigners who did not belong to a state to be exempt from very large documents that had to be drawn until then. The new “Law on encouraging domestic industry” was promulgated in 1912 by the Conservative government of P.P. Carp – Titu Maiorescu. The compulsory condition was that 75% of the number of clerks and workers and 60% of technical personnel had to be Romanian citizens.

We end our exposure with the information published in the newspaper “Curierul Israelit” of 6 April 1912. Here it was written on April 1, 1912 that a new “*Regulation for issuing passports became active*” which directly targeted the Jewish population. Articles of the *Regulation* were resumed and it was outlined that emigration passports were issued only by the Ministry of Interior and they were exempted from taxes. Dr. Adolf Stern, president of the Union of Native Jews in Romania, was in audience at the interior minister C.C. Arion whom he submitted a memorandum on the Regulation of granting passports, arguing that many shortcomings would arise in practice. For instance, the criteria for the classification of Jews would become an issue. He made reference to native Jews, but they did not belong into the categories set out in the Regulation. Further problems invoked were: the application of

¹ *Ibidem*, f. 71-73.

² *Ibidem*, f. 74-75.

documents which could not be easily obtained; the occurrence of medical emergencies or for business.

International Jewish forums conditioned the loans granted to Romanian state on the suspension of any anti-Jewish actions of the Government. Every time the government invoked the political situation in Romania and the insufficient strengthening of the civil society which, as in any state based on censitary suffrage, was made up of representatives of the ethnic majority.

All these dissensions will come to an end in 1919 by granting citizenship to all foreigners residing in Romania, along with the Great Union and the introduction of universal suffrage.

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**LE PORTRAIT DE CHARLES DE HOHENZOLLERN-SIGMARINGEN.
UN REPERE DANS L'HISTOIRE DE L'ETAT ROUMAIN**

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Résumé

L'avènement au trône de Roumanie de Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen en 1866 permet de continuer le processus de consolidation de l'Etat roumain. Le prince finit par devenir le principal facteur d'équilibre dans une période où le jeune Etat roumain commence à être visible comme entité parmi les Etats européens. Sa fonction d'arbitre représente un repère dans le jeu du pouvoir et implicitement dans le fonctionnement du régime politique roumain entre 1866 et 1914. Le rôle de Charles 1^{er} est décisif non seulement sur le plan de la politique interne, mais aussi dans la politique externe, ce qui mène à la consolidation du régime politique ainsi que de l'Etat roumain en général.

Mots clés: *Charles 1^{er}, élite politique, jeu du pouvoir, régime politique, l'Etat roumain*

L'année 1866 représente l'accomplissement d'un objectif ancien de l'élite politique et de la société roumaine par l'avènement au trône de Roumanie d'un prince étranger en la personne de Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. A ce propos, le présent article se propose d'esquisser modestement le portrait de Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen et de souligner l'importance du prince étranger et ensuite du roi dans la consolidation de l'Etat roumain. Aujourd'hui encore, cent ans après la mort du souverain, la personnalité et le règne de Charles 1^{er} continuent de susciter un réel intérêt.

En 1866, dans un contexte interne tendu, il s'impose de prendre des décisions claires et rapides. Le 30 mars/11 avril, *Locotenența domnească*¹ légitime le prince étranger par la rédaction de la proclamation princière reconnaissant le Prince Charles de Hohenzollern; l'élite politique a ainsi recours à la politique «du fait accompli». La proclamation fait apparaître le désir ardent des Roumains concernant le projet du prince étranger: «*la nation a demandé*

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¹ *Locotenența Domnească de 1866* se crée comme un organe politique à la suite de l'abdication du prince Alexandru I. Cuza. Elle est formée de Lascăr Catargiu, Nicolae Golescu et Nicolae Haralambie.

.../ en 1857 et en 1859 un prince étranger .../ on soumet au suffrage direct de la nation l'élection comme prince régnant des Roumains du prince Charles Louis de Hohenzollern, qui régnera sous le nom de Charles 1^{er} .../ Roumains .../ Notre souhait ferme d'être une nation forte .../ nous donne la conviction que vous donnerez à l'unanimité la couronne au Prince Charles 1^{er} et vous ferez de sorte que dans quelques jours toute l'Europe répète notre unanime acclamation: Vive la Roumanie unie et indivisible!»¹.

Dans l'espace roumain, «l'idée du Prince étranger .../ était devenue un de nos credos politiques»², objectif qui devient de plus en plus réalisable. Charles accepte le trône du pays au bout d'une longue réflexion intérieure ainsi qu'après de nombreuses discussions avec son père, avec Bismarck et avec le roi Wilhelm 1^{er} et il décide de venir dans son nouveau pays bénéficiant en outre d'une légitimité interne à la suite du plébiscite du 2-8 avril 1866. Le prince choisit de voyager en secret en deuxième classe afin de ne pas être reconnu, en choisissant la route Vienne-Bazias³.

Qui est le jeune prince Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen?

Dans l'imaginaire collectif, l'espace français occupe à l'époque une place bien claire. L'opinion publique est en échange assez critique à l'égard de l'espace allemand et le choix d'un prince de cette région risque de ne pas être une option viable, tout au moins avant le moment 1866.

«Né en Allemagne, à Sigmaringen, le Prince Charles .../ avait des liens de parenté avec presque toutes les familles souveraines des pays européens»⁴. Parfaitement vrai, cet aspect ne fait qu'ajouter à l'image et au prestige du prince dans son nouveau pays qu'il ne connaît pourtant pas: «le prince Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, de la branche aînée catholique d'Allemagne du Sud de cette famille. Son père, Charles-Antoine, avait volontairement renoncé à son titre de souverain régnant et avait été pendant trois ans Premier ministre de Prusse, avant Bismarck qui le remplaça en 1861; il était à ce moment Gouverneur militaire du territoire rhénan et résidait à Düsseldorf. Le jeune Charles, bien qu'élevé en officier prussien, était aussi Français qu'Allemand par le sang, car sa grand'mère paternelle était la nièce de Joachim Murat, et sa grand'mère maternelle, Stéphanie de Bade, était née Beauharnais et était fille adoptive du grand Napoléon. Il était ainsi réellement cousin de Napoléon III

¹ Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale, București, Fond Regele Carol (vol. I, 1850-1914), nr. inv. 1 453, II – 15/1866, p. 1.

² Iacob Negruzzi, *Amintiri din Junimea*, București, Editura Humanitas, 2011, p. 68.

³ Sorin Liviu Damean, *Carol I al României*, vol. I (1866-1881), București, Editura Paideia, 2000, p. 56.

⁴ Alexe Anastasiu, *Dinastia regală și poporul român*, București, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Convorbiri literare", 1924, p. 8.

*par la mère du premier, Hortense, fille de Joséphine de Beauharnais. Sa propre soeur, Stéphanie, avait récemment épousé le roi Pedro V de Portugal*¹. Les liens de parenté avec plusieurs familles souveraines des pays européens constituent inéluctablement une consolidation de la position de Charles dans son nouveau pays ainsi qu'à l'étranger.

Dès lors, l'appui de Napoléon III en faveur du prince Charles ne surprend pas les chancelleries européennes car le rapprochement entre les deux hommes d'Etat date depuis un certain temps: *«Napoléon III connaissait le prince, il l'avait invité en 1863 à venir à une «série» de Compiègne /.../ Le prince, investi de nouvelles fonctions, se trouvait de nouveau à Paris en 1869*². Bien qu'il compte sur l'appui de Napoléon III, il est toutefois connu que le prince Charles 1^{er} n'est pas aussi francophile que son prédécesseur qui avait eu des liens forts avec l'empereur français³. Dans le même temps, dans le contexte européen tendu de l'époque (l'unification de l'Italie et de l'Empire allemand), *«toutefois Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen appartenait à la branche aînée de la famille royale prussienne et sa candidature avait été encouragée par Bismarck*⁴.

Comme tout jeune prince, Charles connaît une trajectoire bien structurée quant à son éducation militaire. A ce propos, *«le prince Charles a suivi tout d'abord à Berlin l'Ecole unifiée de l'artillerie et du génie et il a été instruit par des enseignants excellents dans des disciplines comme les mathématiques, les sciences militaires, la doctrine des fortifications, la chimie et la physique, le français, le dessin pour les constructions alors que le capitaine von Hagens l'a initié aux problèmes de tactique*⁵. A ce propos, «en novembre 1861, Charles, qui était alors âgé de vingt-deux ans et avait fait son instruction militaire à Berlin, se rendit dans le sud de la France où il étudia l'organisation de l'armée»⁶.

Charles aura dès lors toute sa vie comme repères l'ordre et la discipline, les deux aspects ayant régi le milieu où il a vécu⁷. Dans le même temps, on peut affirmer que ces qualités l'aideront dans sa nouvelle patrie: *«il avait une*

¹ R.W. Seton-Watson, *Histoire des Roumains. De l'époque romaine à l'achèvement de l'unité*, Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1937, p. 351-352.

² *Napoléon III et les principautés roumaines*, Paris, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2008, p. 21.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ Paul Lindenberg, *Regele Carol I al României*, traducere din germană de Ion Nastasia, București, Editura Humanitas, 2006, p. 16.

⁶ *Napoléon III et les principautés roumaines*, p. 30.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 108; Voir Teodor Frunzetti (coord. lucrării), Ion Giurcă (coord. științific), *Mareșali ai României*, București, Editura Rao, 2013, p. 51-55.

éducation très soignée à laquelle avait veillé une mère fine et douce et disciplinée par un père supérieur»¹.

Le prince Charles est confronté dès sa jeunesse à la perspective dure de la vie et il perçoit son arrivée en Roumanie comme une mission complexe avec des conséquences sur le plan interne et surtout sur le plan externe. A ce propos, Radu Rosetti considère que *«bien qu'il eût reçu une véritable éducation princière, il n'avait pas été préparé spécialement pour le rôle de souverain, surtout de souverain d'un pays oriental et, n'ayons pas peur de prononcer le qualificatif réel, encore semi- barbare»².*

En 1866, le jeune prince qui accepte la mission que le peuple roumain lui confie ne détient pas beaucoup d'informations sur ce dernier, mais il est décidé de le connaître. A ce propos, *«Charles /.../ a eu surtout une conscience claire (connaissance et jugement lucide) de son devoir de citoyen et de dirigeant du destin du Pays et du sort du peuple roumain»³.*

A cet égard, la maturité dont il fait preuve l'aide à connaître, peu à peu, les habitudes de la société et de l'élite roumaine: *«car il est venu chez nous quand il n'avait pas plus de vingt-sept ans; il n'est pas venu comme un très jeune homme, mais comme un homme déjà formé. Nous avons eu de la chance car il est venu quand il avait encore tout l'enthousiasme de la jeunesse mais il commençait à avoir aussi l'équilibre nécessaire à un Souverain»⁴.* Nicolae Iorga décrit d'une manière tout à fait magistrale la relation de Charles 1^{er} avec la société et l'élite politique de l'époque: *«il s'est retrouvé devant une société qu'il voulait servir, avec laquelle il a commencé à coopérer et qu'il a fini par dominer, mais ce ne fut pas de sa faute, car il ne voulait pas la dominer»⁵.* Il est connu que pendant son règne, le prince et ensuite le roi Charles 1^{er} collabore soit avec les leaders libéraux, soit avec les conservateurs pour un bon gouvernement du pays: *«Charles a su choisir soigneusement les collaborateurs»⁶.* Sa prérogative constitutionnelle (art. 93)⁷ lui permet de nommer le premier ministre ce qui renforce sa position sur la scène politique et

¹ Sabina Cantacuzino, *Din viața familiei Brătianu: 1821-1891*, ediția a III-a, revăzută, introducere, note, indice și ediție îngrijită de dr. Elisabeta Simion, București, Editura Humanitas, 2013, p. 161.

² Radu Rosetti, *Amintiri. Ce am auzit de la alții. Din copilărie. Din prima tinerețe*, prefață de Neagu Djuvara, București, Editura Humanitas, 2013, p. 480.

³ Alexe Anastasiu, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Carol I-iu: o caracterizare*, București, Institutul de Istorie "Nicolae Iorga", 1932, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

⁶ Nicolae Cristea, *Imaginea publică a monarhiei în România: 1866-1947*, București, Editura Cavallioti, 2011, p. 51.

⁷ *Constituție și Lege electorală*, București, Tipografia Statului, 1884, p. 29.

mène à une relation constructive au niveau institutionnel avec des leaders comme Lascăr Cartargiu (1871-1876; 1891-1895), Ion C. Brătianu (1876-1888), D.A. Sturdza (1895-1899; 1901-1904) etc.

Nous n'avons mentionné ci-dessus que quelques exemples caractéristiques qui témoignent aujourd'hui encore de l'habileté de Charles 1^{er} de diriger le jeu du pouvoir, assumant la fonction d'arbitre, de médiateur si nécessaire à l'époque. A ce propos, le moment du renversement du gouvernement de Brătianu en 1888 est également suggestif. C'est ainsi que le roi décrit le 14 juin/26 juin 1888 la situation interne du pays dans une lettre adressée à Léopold: *«chez nous aussi le calme est revenu et la lutte entre les partis a lieu seulement dans les pages de journaux auxquelles de toute façon personne ne prête plus attention. Je suis très content de mon gouvernement qui a agi avec sagesse et nous espérons que les élections qui auront lieu en automne le consolideront et lui offriront l'appui dont il a besoin»*¹. La position d'arbitre du monarque se renforce de manière significative après le changement de 1888. Charles 1^{er} est désormais considéré par la majorité des hommes politiques comme un roi constitutionnel, ayant un rôle d'arbitre, de médiateur dans la lutte politique.

Si l'on change de registre, dans la vision de l'homme politique Nicolae Iorga, le prince Charles *«rencontre à son arrivée en 1866 des gens très intelligents, appartenant à l'élite qui n'avait pas de liens profonds avec le peuple; une élite de niveau européen /.../ des gens élevés à l'étranger /.../ Aucun lien à l'étranger. Admiration pour la France, si naturelle; reconnaissance envers Napoléon III; manque total de compréhension du monde germanique; mur de fer à l'égard de la Russie»*². N. Iorga réussit à offrir une radiographie claire de la société roumaine et de l'élite politique au commencement du règne de Charles 1^{er}, mais cette classe politique finit par changer dans ses rapports avec le prince. Le changement est dû également aux événements internationaux (la guerre d'indépendance, les guerres balkaniques, la première guerre mondiale) qui mènent à l'accomplissement de certains objectifs nationaux, l'élite politique ayant à chaque fois recours à des stratégies pragmatiques.

Arrêtons-nous également sur le portrait que Mitte Kremnitz fait de Charles: *«il a dû, en tant que homme rationnel et réservé, trouver tout d'abord et fonder une norme concernant le règne. Lui, un modèle de bonne organisation, ordre et ponctualité»*³. Par ces qualités, Charles 1^{er} désire mettre en œuvre dès le début de son règne une conduite normale, européenne dans la

¹ *Scrisorile Regelui Carol I din arhiva de la Sigmaringen 1878-1905*, studiul introductiv, stabilirea textului, traducerea, adaptarea și notele de Sorin Cristescu, București, Editura Paideia, 2010 p. 164.

² Nicolae Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³ Mitte Kremnitz, *Regele Carol I al României*, Iași, Editura Porțile Orientului, 1995, p. 8.

vie politique roumaine. Dans le même temps, son caractère ferme est incontestable et l'aide à résister dans un pays où les aspects négatifs semblent parfois l'emporter sur les aspects positifs: *«le roi Charles a fondé un royaume dans des circonstances si difficiles qu'un homme plus froid et d'une nature plus impulsive aurait perdu son courage ou aurait fait naufrage. Seulement un bateau solide et durci, comme le Sien, a pu affronter toutes les tempêtes»*¹. Bien qu'il soit confronté à de nombreux obstacles, Charles réussit à consolider l'Etat roumain étant au-dessus de la mêlée politique si nuisible au fonctionnement du régime politique libéral installé en 1866. L'épisode de mars 1871 lorsque le prince menace d'abdiquer représente un tel obstacle. *«Appelé au Palais par le prince qui veut remettre les rênes de l'Etat aux mains de l'ancien organe «Locontența domnească de 1866», Lascăr Catargiu conjure le Souverain de renoncer à son projet et d'assumer la responsabilité de la situation. La nuit du 11 mars, il forme tout de suite un gouvernement conservateur qui gouverne le pays jusqu'en 1876»*².

Paul Lindenberg rappelle lui aussi les traits de caractère selon lesquels Charles 1^{er} s'est guidé de manière inéluctable toute sa vie: *«homme ayant des principes fermes auxquels il ne renonçait jamais, le prince était fidèle à soi-même et fidèle aux autres, ne se laissant jamais saisir par des impulsions passionnelles, mais imposant fermement sa volonté lorsqu'il était convaincu qu'il avait raison»*³. A cet égard, Charles 1^{er} développe une relation constitutionnelle-institutionnelle avec l'élite politique, souhaitant être considéré comme un médiateur dans la lutte pour le pouvoir, éliminant tous les aspects qui auraient pu bouleverser le bon fonctionnement du régime politique. Le cadre constitutionnel est réalisé dès le début par *«l'acceptation du rôle prééminent de la Couronne, comme facteur constitutionnel»*⁴, afin d'assurer l'équilibre de la vie politique roumaine. Charles, adepte de la rigueur et de la discipline, veut et finit par réussir à se manifester comme *«un régulateur du mécanisme d'Etat afin d'atténuer les tensions politiques»*⁵.

Charles 1^{er} est donc un médiateur, un arbitre dans la lutte politique interne alors que, dans la politique externe, il affirme ouvertement sa prééminence. *«La politique externe était dirigée par le roi Charles 1^{er} lui-même presque seul»*⁶, avoue Tzigara-Samurçaș.

¹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

² Dimitrie R. Rosetti, *Dicționarul contemporanilor*, București, Lito Topografie, "Populară", 1897, p. 51; Voir Radu Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 526-527.

³ Paul Lindenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 15-16.

⁴ Ioan Stanomir, *Libertate, lege și drept. O istorie a constituționalismului românesc*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

⁶ Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçaș, *Memorii*, vol. II (1910-1919), București, Editura Grai și Suflet – Cultura Națională (S.C. Lumina Tipo), 1999, p. 63.

Charles 1^{er} finit par s'imposer sur la scène politique et au sein de la société par son comportement ferme, mais équilibré et neutre: «*le roi n'est pas le membre, mais le fondateur d'une dynastie*»¹. Les leaders politiques de l'époque, libéraux et conservateurs confondus, finissent par reconnaître le rôle décisif de Charles 1^{er} dans le fonctionnement de l'Etat roumain et dans le processus de modernisation du pays.

Dans la vie politique roumaine, Charles 1^{er} a une position neutre dans la lutte pour le pouvoir mais il suit avec acribie les intérêts et les actions des leaders politiques. Le monarque respecte les hommes politiques, il travaille avec eux pour le bien national, et même lorsqu'il a des opinions différentes, le discours royal reste élégant et sa conduite s'avère être irréprochable. Charles 1^{er} devient dès lors un facteur d'équilibre et représente un "frein" aux intérêts et passions politiques: «*le pays /.../ a besoin d'être gouverné et le roi ne pourra le gouverner qu'en montrant au pays qu'il est plus fort que les partis et non pas plus faible*»². Dans le cadre du régime politique, «le monarque allait exercer son rôle d'arbitre dans la lutte des partis pour le pouvoir en se situant au-dessus des passions politiques»³.

Abordons maintenant un autre thème tout en suivant Radu Rosetti pour lequel entre les deux princes qui se sont succédé «*Cuza a fait les grandes choses que le pays lui doit par lui-même, étant privé de l'aide que la naissance donnait à Charles 1^{er}*»⁴. Mais la légitimité du nouveau régime politique installé en 1866 est assurée surtout par le prince Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, en tant que membre d'une maison souveraine en Europe. De cette manière, «l'action culturelle de Charles 1^{er} procède, au-delà de sa spécificité, du même travail d'encadrement et de légitimation symbolique du nouveau règne, mais ce qui lui assurera le dynamisme et le succès ce sera son intégration dans un processus plus vaste, dont la dynastie profitera pour asseoir son image publique: l'effort du nouvel Etat roumain pour élaborer une culture nationale»⁵.

Lucian Boia propose à son tour une autre perspective intéressante affirmant que «l'instauration de la dynastie en 1866 et l'impératif de l'éducation de l'esprit dynastique, absent jusqu'alors dans la culture politique roumaine, ne

¹ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice*, vol. I, ediție și introducere de Stelian Neagoe, București, Editura Scripta, 1993, p. 190.

² A.C. Cuza, *Însemnări din viața și documente omenești*, București, Editura Oscar Print, 2011, p. 52.

³ Sorin Liviu Damean, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴ Radu Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

⁵ Florin Țurcanu, *Monarchie et action culturelle en Roumanie en temps de Charles 1^{er} de Hohenzollern*, in *Society, Politics and State Formation in Southeastern Europe during the 19th Century*, edited by Tassos Anastasiadis and Nathalie Clayer, Athens, Alpha Bank, Historical Archives, 2011, p. 314.

pouvaient ne pas influencer le panthéon national»¹. «La personnalité réelle de Charles 1^{er}, qui a été effectivement un grand souverain, arbitre respecté d'un équilibre politique pour un demi-siècle, a favorisé l'émergence du mythe»².

Nous sommes persuadés que Charles 1^{er} a essayé et a fini par réussir à appartenir à l'Etat roumain, en s'adaptant aux habitudes, aux traditions locales et aux aspects culturels liés à l'identité et à l'histoire du peuple roumain tout en désavouant les intrigues politiques qui auraient fini par mener à l'instabilité politique.

Quant à sa légitimité, elle est fondée au début de son règne sur la *proclamation princière* et ultérieurement sur le plébiscite organisé par l'élite politique locale. Mais la légitimité est surtout établie par le texte constitutionnel, par les attributions qu'il confère à Charles, et renforcée progressivement, de manière symbolique, par son comportement et ses actions au sein du régime politique roumain; sur le plan externe, le prestige de l'institution monarchique augmente inéluctablement et progressivement après la proclamation et la reconnaissance de l'Indépendance du pays (1877, 1878) et, ultérieurement, après que la Roumanie devient Royaume (1881).

Une fois que la Roumanie devient Royaume on assiste en effet à une nouvelle étape dans la consolidation de la position de Charles 1^{er}. Le jeu politique commence à s'articuler autour de Charles 1^{er} dont la position d'acteur principal devient de plus en plus visible. La relation avec la classe politique change à cette époque car Charles 1^{er} réussit à saisir les caractéristiques de l'espace politique roumain, les habitudes et les stratégies parfois mesquines de certains leaders politiques. Le roi finit par s'imposer ayant le rôle d'arbitre entre les deux partis historiques participant au mécanisme du gouvernement – et c'est l'aspect le plus important à souligner. Après 1881, Charles 1^{er} devient le facteur décisif dans le jeu politique en Roumanie. Dans le même temps, le monarque «était continuellement préoccupé du prestige de la dynastie qu'il avait fondée»³.

En ce qui concerne la consolidation de l'Etat roumain, Charles 1^{er} renforce l'intérêt permanent pour les aspects politiques avec une préoccupation constante pour tous les autres aspects qui relèvent de la vie sociale. Dès le début de son règne il construit une stratégie de développement urbanistique grâce à laquelle «ont été tracés et aménagés des boulevards et des rues, Dâmbovița /.../ a été régularisée progressivement, on a commencé la construction des halles et on a pris des mesures pour l'amélioration des chemins qui menaient aux localités voisines»⁴. Le prince Charles 1^{er} s'intéresse aussi à la construction des

¹ Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, București, Editura Humanitas, 2011, p. 324.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Teodor Frunzetti (coord. lucrării), Ion Giurcă (coord. științific), *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁴ Paul Lindenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Voir Bogdan Andrei Fezi, *Bucureștiul european*, București, Editura Curtea Veche, 2010, p. 23-84.

édifices publics qui témoignent aujourd'hui encore du caractère européen du jeune Etat. Ainsi, «le règne de Charles 1^{er} représente pour la Roumanie le commencement de la modernisation dans tous les domaines /.../ Les constructions publiques dressées dans les 48 ans de règne fructueux représentent non seulement un admirable effort matériel, moral et spirituel pour l'environnement politique /.../ mais surtout une fierté et une stimulation pour l'avenir». A titre d'exemple, «le Palais de la Banque Nationale de Roumanie, le bâtiment de l'Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, l'Athénée Roumain /.../ le Palais du Cercle Militaire, le Parc Charles /.../ ont été construits sous son règne»¹.

Les préoccupations de Charles 1^{er} sont vastes et son implication dans le destin de l'Etat romain est visible dans plusieurs domaines suivant sa propre conception sur un Etat fort et efficace et tout en étant conforme à ses prérogatives constitutionnelles. Charles 1^{er} comprend que pour la modernisation du pays il est nécessaire un effort collectif.

Pour ce qui est de la politique interne, Charles 1^{er} met en œuvre le système bipartite présent aussi dans d'autres Etats européens. Dès lors, cette pratique politique, connue par l'alternance au gouvernement des libéraux et des conservateurs, bénéficie de l'appui de Charles 1^{er} aussi bien que de l'élite politique roumaine. Ainsi, «dès le début, les rapports de Charles 1^{er} avec l'élite politique prennent forme, d'une part, sur le plan institutionnel et, d'autre part, sur le plan politique. Charles 1^{er} réussit peu à peu à s'adapter à la vie politique, aux habitudes et aux intérêts des leaders politiques et impose une pratique politique fondée sur la rigueur, l'ordre, la ponctualité etc., ce qui mène à l'application et au maintien de l'alternance au gouvernement entre les libéraux et les conservateurs dans la période respective»².

Le prince, et ensuite le roi après 1881, milite pour la formation de deux grands partis qui assurent l'alternance au gouvernement du pays afin de créer un environnement politique stable. La stabilité politique est réalisée grâce au principe de *la rotation des partis [rotativa guvernamentală]* (1895-1914)³, qui représente la dernière étape du règne de Charles 1^{er} et qui témoigne de la présence successive au gouvernement des deux partis historiques, le Parti National-Libéral (1875) et le Parti Conservateur (1880). Cette conduite politique devient habituelle et le mécanisme politique est accepté et maintenu à

¹ Nicolae Șt. Noica, *Lucrări publice din vremea lui Carol I*, București, Editura Cadmos, 2008, p. 8.

² Cosmin-Ștefan Dogaru, *Charles 1^{er} de Hohenzollern, l'élite politique et le transfert de pouvoir (1866-1914)*, in "Studia Universitatis Petru Maior, Historia", Nr. 1/13, Tîrgu Mureș, 2013, p. 25.

³ Mattei Dogan, *Analiza statistică a "democrației parlamentare" din România*, București, Editura Partidului Social-Democrat, 1946, p. 109-110.

l'époque par la majorité des hommes politiques ayant une conception rationnelle et pragmatique sur le fonctionnement de l'Etat roumain.

L'année 1866 ouvre une nouvelle perspective où la réalisation d'un idéal ancien des Roumains se traduit par la consolidation du pays à l'intérieur aussi bien qu'à l'extérieur. L'élite locale trouve un point commun par l'installation comme prince au trône du pays de Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Une monarchie constitutionnelle est formée ayant à sa tête un prince appartenant à une dynastie européenne. En mai 1866, Charles de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen est pour l'élite politique roumaine une "option d'urgence" mais c'est la même élite politique qui finit par comprendre l'utilité de la monarchie constitutionnelle et surtout le rôle que le roi a eu dans la consolidation et la modernisation de l'Etat roumain, plaçant la Roumanie au rang des Etats européens.

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**THE SITUATION OF THE BALKAN ROMANIANS REFLECTED
IN “REVISTA MACEDONIEI” MAGAZINE (BUCHAREST; 1905-1906)**

*Stoica Lascu**

Abstract

“Revista Macedoniei” magazine appeared in Bucharest for one year (September 25, 1905-September 17, 1906). It was the press organ of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture. In its pages are reflected aspects from life of the Balkan Romanians (appointed in the body magazine Aromanians, Macedo-Romanians, Macedonian Romanians), in the context of the post-recognition by the Sultan of Romanian nationality for Vlachs from Balkan area of Ottoman Empire. Also, numerous correspondences are published, which describe various aspects of social and national life of the Aromanians, the frequent attacks against them by Greek Antartes.

Key words: *Aromanians, Macedonian Romanians, Grecomans, Greek Attacks, Dr. A. Leonte*

The weekly review “Revista Macedoniei” appeared in Bucharest for one year (44 issues), from September 25, 1905 to September 12, 1906; she merged with “Românul dela Pind” newspaper (1903-1911; 1912); the subtitle: *Organ Săptămânal al Soc. de Cultură “Macedo-Română”* [Weekly Organ of Soc. for Macedo-Romanian Culture]; as President of the *Comitetului de redacție* [Editorial Board] is Dr. A. Leonte, President of Society (founded in 1879)¹.

The context of appearance is underlined by Dr. Leonte in *Cuvântul d’întâiu*: “Finally, the Society Macedo-Romanian for Culture has an advertising body, the most indispensable tool for spreading of ideas; more effective tool than speeches in public gatherings, because the spoken word disappears quickly, often before being awakened the judgment; more promptly than voluminous books which require long time to be read and prior preparations for to be understood. With the “Revista Macedoniei”, the Society sees made still one of points of his program”².

In more generally, the national-cultural action of Balkan Romanians for the preservation and affirmation of their ethno-linguistic individuality, the need

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¹ Georgeta Răduică, Nicolin Răduică, *Dicționarul presei românești (1731-1918)*, București, Editura Științifică, 1995, p. 352.

² Dr. Leonte, *Cuvântul d’întâiu* [The First Word], in “Revista Macedoniei”, I, No. 1, September 24, 1905, p. 1.

for such magazine was required in the European political context of the Ottoman Empire after May 9/22, 1905, when it is recognized for Vlachs, by the Sultan and the Ottoman Government, the Romanian nationality. And when, as a result, the uncertainty increased in everyday life of the Aromanians, which are considered themselves, that they are part, they belong, rightly, of the Romanian nationality (on the base on common ethnicity and language with their Daco-Romanians “brothers” from Northern Danube); are more and more killings made by the Greek Antartes, bands supported by civil, military and ecclesiastical authorities of Greek Kingdom (many Antartes were, *nota bene*, by Vlach origin) against of the Aromanians (so-called by Greeks “Koutzo-Vlachs”) “nationalists” – *i.e.* of the Romanians from the Ottoman Balkan area.

The magazine is a witness of the sufferings endured by these Aromanians, our ancestors, in the years 1905-1906, a mirror for the dimension of the Balkan Romanianism, in the context of the national issues complexity¹ in the Balkans, of the role and of impact of the Great Powers. Respectively, is a list of the main articles in which are dealt these issues – the epoch’s testimonies who come to fill the modern Romanian historical sources, not many in fact¹,

¹ It’s about the volumes – Stelian Brezeanu, Gheorghe Zbucnea (coord. [eds.]), *Românii de la Sud de Dunăre. Documente* [The Romanians from South Danube. Documents] (Arhivele Naționale ale României), București, no publisher, 1997 (400 p.); Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, Maria Petre, *Școli și biserici românești din Peninsula Balcanică. Documente (1864-1948)* [Romanian Schools and Churches from Balkan Peninsula. Documents]. Adunarea și selecționarea documentelor, introducerea, bibliografia și indicii de... Prezentul volum a fost realizat în urma documentării la Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe și la Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, București, Editura Universității din București, 2004 (668 p.); Стоика Ласку, *Од историјата на ароманскиот печат во Македонија. Списанијата “Братство” и “Светлина”*. *The History of the Aromanian Press in Macedonia. The Brotherhood/Frăția and the Light/Lumina Magazines*. Превод: Димо Н. Димчев (Dina Cuvata) и Горан Костов (Goran Pushuticlu) (Unia di Cultură-a Armânjlor dit Machidunii. Biblioteca Natsională Armânească “Constantin Belemace”. Editsiea *Moscopoli*. 18), Scopia-Cкопје, no publisher, 2007 (200 p.). (“Frăția” and “Lumina” magazines apperead between 1903 and 1908.); *Documentele redeșteptării macedoromâne* [The Documents of the Macedoromanian Revival] (Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene al Academiei Române. “Izvoare privitoare la istoria romanității balcanice”. I). Adunate și selectate de Victor Papacostea și Mihail Regleanu. Ediție întocmită de Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca și Ștefan Vâlcu. Cu colaborarea Iulianei Deac. Pe baza manuscrisului din arhiva fostului Institut de Studii și Cercetări Balcanice din București [Cuvânt înainte Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca Directorul Institutului de Studii Sud-Est Europene al Academiei Române], București, Predania, 2012 (470 p.) – the 203 documents are from 1865-1899 period; Emil Țîrcomnicu, Stoica Lascu, *Românii balcanici în paginile “Gazetei Transilvaniei”* [1878-1913]. Volum îngrijt de..., București, Editura Etnologică, 2012 (304 p.); also, see – Миле Томич, Шефън Годороджа, Жеко Попов (съставители), *Румънският периодичен печат за Македония* [Romanian periodicals about Macedonia] 1902-1904 г. [Предговор: Жеко Попов] (Македонски научн институт), София, no. publisher, 2001 г. (400 p.). And the documentary studies – Stoica Lascu, *Un document referitor la situația național-economică a așezărilor meglenoromânilor de la începutul secolului al XX-lea* (1906).

and quite poor for years 1905-1906¹. For that the reader to have a picture of the epoch and on national issues in the Ottoman Balkans since the beginning of last century, we think are instructive to be presented here the findings and the conclusions, lesser-known, of some Romanian authors, but also foreigners, which outlines as faithfully as possible (including those of the perception of those historiographies) the complexity of the national aspirations of the Balkan ethnicities.

Thus, the late Professor Gheorghe Zbucnea shows, in the subchapter 4. *The Case of the Balkan Romanians*, that “The recognition of the Romanian nation within the Ottoman Empire only took place in 1905, after common actions taken by many local politicians and by the Bucharest authorities persuaded the Sultan to issue an *irade* which was in fact a true constitutional charter. Romanians were granted the right to have their own language schools, and churches, and also to enjoy proportional representation and participation in the local administration. The *irade* was both a result and a recognition of the stance taken by the Romanians, for they were among the few inhabitants of the Ottoman Balkans who were loyal to the Porte and favoured the preservation of the Empire rather than its destruction. In those days, Romanians believed that

Studiu comparativ [A Document on the National Economic Situation of the Settlements from Meglena in the Early Twentieth Century (1906). Comparative Study], in *Omagiu profesorului Nicolae Dură. La 60 de ani*. Editor și coordonator: Prof. univ. dr. Teodosie Petrescu, Decanul Facultății de Teologie, Universitatea Ovidius Constanța, Constanța, Editura Arhiepiscopiei Tomisului, 2006, p. 643-653; Idem, *Documente privind mișcarea națională a românilor din Meglenia* [Documents on the Romanian National Movement from Meglenia] (1904-1916), in „Analele Universității Ovidius Constanța. Seria: Teologie”, No. 1, 2007, p. 174-233; Idem, *Însemnătatea național-culturală a revistei aromâne (“a românilor din Imepriul Otoman”) “Lumina” (1903-1908)*, in Robert Stănciugel, Emil Țîrcomnicu (coord. [eds.]), *În căutarea adevărului pierdut. In memoriam prof. Gheorghe Zbucnea*, București, Editura Etnologică, București, 2009, p. 51-142; Virgil Coman, *Un document inedit din anul 1938 privind meglenoromânii*, in *Ibidem*, p. 151-159; Idem, *Meglenoromânii și Societatea Culturală „Meglenia” în perioada interbelică. Repere arhivistice*, in Stela Cheptea (coord.), *Paradigmele istoriei. Discurs. Metodă. Permanențe. Omagiu Profesorului Gh. Buzatu* (Academia Română-Filiala Iași. Centrul de Istorie și Civilizație Europeană) (Coll. *Românii în istoria universală* – vol. 141), vol. I, Iași, Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2009, p. 311-325; Idem, *Statutul Societății de ajutor mutual „Colonia macedo-română” din Brăila (1932)*, in Lia Brad Chisacof, Cătălina Vătășescu (coord.), *Polychronion. Profesorului Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca la 70 de ani*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2012, p. 159-171. See also – Stoica Lascu, *Some Considerations in the Romanian Press regarding the Situation and the Future of Macedonia (1900-1903)*, in „Macedonian Historical Review” [Skopje], vol. II, 2011, p. 201-234.

¹ Respectively – 11 documents at Stelian Brezeanu, Gheorghe Zbucnea (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 192-206 (for 1907 year isn't included any document!); 12 documents at Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu, Maria Petre, *op. cit.*, p. 192-215 (for 1907 year isn't included any document!); 33 testimonies at Emil Țîrcomnicu, Stoica Lascu, *op. cit.*, p. 180-204; One document at – Stoica Lascu, *Un document ...*; three documents at Idem, *Documente privind mișcarea națională ...*, p. 178-202; three documents at Idem, *Însemnătatea național-culturală ...*, p. 119-126.

the young Balkan states that were pursuing their own national objectives (*i.e.* the political elimination of Ottoman authority South of the Danube) were proving to be intolerant as the results of their nationalism and therefore posed a threat to the very future a Romanianism. For several decades, between 1878 and the outburst of the First World War, many well-armed groups, *komitadgies*, raided Macedonia (with frequent support from the surrounding capitals: Athens, Sofia, and Belgrade) and made victims of Romanians, killing many of them and stealing their goods”¹. Also, the scholar Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, the deep and analytic connoisseur of the era and of the Aromanian problems, point out that “Especially after the *irade* was promulgated, the Greeks tried to intimidate the Aromanians through terrorist attacks, setting houses on fire and killing schoolteachers, priests, and other notables in order to persuade them to give up the implementation of the new law. The Aromanians spontaneously organized themselves into armed groups that took action in response to previous violence, but the Romanian state emphatically turned down all their requests for weapons. King Carol I himself firmly rejected the idea of treating together the claims of Aromanian armed groups and those of peaceful religious groups. On the other hand, at the diplomatic level, the Romanian government took a strong stance against these acts of terrorism”².

Regarding foreign authors, nowadays, is mentioned the general characterization of Balkans post-Congress of Berlin³, due to a prolific British author: “At the time of the Congress of Berlin, the region was an extraordinary pot-pourri of cultures, faiths and traditions. The four largest populations were Slaves, Greeks, Albanians and Turks, although Macedonia’s main port, Salonika (Thessaloniki), was dominated by 50,000 Sephardic Jews and their language, Ladino. There were many other communities too, notably the *Aromano*⁴ *Vlachs* (our emphasis) – also known as the Kutzo-Vlachs, the Macedo-Romanians or the Tsintsar –, *nomadic shepherds and traders who speak a language akin to Romanian* (our emphasis)”⁵. Further, speaking about

¹ Gheorghe Zbucnea, *Varieties of Nationalism and National Ideas in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, in Răzvan Theodorescu and Leland C. Barrows (eds.), *Politics and Culture in Southeastern Europe* (UNESCO-CEPES) (Series Studies on Science and Culture), Bucharest, no publisher, 2001, p. 253 [235-264].

² Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, *Aperçus of the History of Balkan Romanity*, in *Ibidem*, p. 162 [97-174]; this fundamental and valuable synthesis hasn’t footnotes, but instead is accompanied by an extensive bibliography (p. 165-174).

³ See recently – Aleksandar Spirkovski, *The Impact of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 on the Historical Development of the Macedonian Question*, in “Analele Universității din Craiova. Seria Istorie”, XIX, No. 1 (25), 2014, p. 49-66.

⁴ *Sic!*

⁵ Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1808-1999. Nationalism, War and the Great Powers*, London, Granta Books, 1999, p. 156-157.

the question of the origins of the modern Macedonians, the author (he speaks German, Czech and Serbo-Croat and has lived and worked all over the Balkans; he was educated at Bristol University and Charles University in Prague) write to inform his readers: “Scholars and politicians from Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and the Republic of Macedonia itself, not to mention their respective apologists from outside the region, regularly work on assumptions about Macedonia and ‘the Macedonians’ which are irreconcilable. This suggests that nationalism and national identity in the region are built on fragile foundation. Fragile, because such supposedly well-established identities as the Greek, Serb and Bulgarian can feel so threatened by a national community which even now numbers less than two million; and because throughout the region, and especially in contested regions like Macedonia, national identity or identities don not remain stable. They change over a few generations; they mutate during the course of a war; they are reinvented following the break-up of a large empire or state. Balkan nationalism evokes such ferocious passion because, paradoxically, it is so labile”¹.

In a broad and richly illustrated work of synthesis of contemporary Greek historiography, coordinated by Emeritus Professor Michael B. Sakellariou, Member of the Academy of Athens, it is shows: “The struggle often developed into a contest on three fronts for the Greek bands. In some areas, mainly in central Macedonia, nomadic Vlach stock-breeders who had embraced Roumanian nationalism aligned themselves with the Bulgarians. Their hostility took the form of the betrayal of the movements of Greek bands to the Turks and the Bulgarians, acts of sabotage directed against the Greek supply and communications systems, and finally, anti-Greek propaganda in Vlach villages. The damage caused by the pro-Roumanians to the Greek struggle was disproportionately large in relation to their small numbers. The attitude of the Vlachs of the towns, townships and the vast majority of the villages of northern Macedonia was precisely the opposite: they formed the backbone of the Greek defense throughout the entire Macedonian Struggle”². In

¹ *Ibidem*, p. 158.

² xxx *Macedonia. 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Greek Lands in History. General Editor M.B. Sakellariou Member of the Academy of Athens, Athens, Ekdotike Athenon S.A., 1991 [first edition: 1983], p. 475-476 (the author of chapter *The fight for freedom 1830-1912* [p. 444-484]: Evangelos Kofos); authors from Greece: Manolis Andronikas, Manolis Chatzidakis, Aikaterini Christophilopoulou, Joanna Diamantourou, John Karayannopoulos, Constantine Kephelas, Evangelos Kofos, John Koliopoulos, Nicholas Moutsopoulos, Dimitrios Panderimalis, Charalambos Papastathis, Stavros Theophanides, Anna Tsitouridou, and Apostolos Vacalopoulos; and abroad – Australia: Jack R. Ellis, England: Robert Browning, N.G.L. Hammond, F.W. Walbank, and Kenneth A. Wardle, France: Helen Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, Constantine Dimaras, Marcel Sivignon, and Nicholas Svornos, Germany: John Touratsoglou, and Serbia: Fanoula Papazoglu.

a brief summary of history of the Vlachs, the British researcher T.J. Winnifrith reserves just a few paragraphs on their situation at the beginning of the twentieth century, emphasizing: “Our sources for the period between 1832 and the Balkan wars of 1912 are hardly reliable. Heroic freedom fighters become treacherous brigands when the bias of the writer is altered. Post-Gladstonian liberalism and a lack of acquaintance with Turkish sources generally makes the Turk an object of contempt for his cruelty and incompetence, but there were no doubt faults on all sides”¹.

As well, two positions more recently expressed of Macedonian historiography: “From the Congress of Berlin (1878) until the Young Turk Revolution (1908), the European part of the Ottoman Empire was a subject of various reforms. Some of these reforms related exclusively to the territory of Macedonia. The reforms were supposed to improve the Ottoman administration and to contribute to the maintenance of lasting peace in region. They were mostly imposed by the Great European Powers, which during the race for colonies were groups in two opposing blocks. (...) Being aware of the Great Powers contradictory interests, the Ottoman Empire kept delaying the reforms, or, at least, avoided a full implementation of the reforms. Therefore, the reforms which were meant to ensure peace became a tool to delay the apparent conflict. Even more, some provisions of the reforms encouraged and stimulated conflicts. Cause III of the Mürzsteg Reform Programme is a typical example of the above. This clause initiated artificial interethnic and interconfessional conflicts in Macedonia. The Great Powers were aware of the complicate situation. However, due to momentary interests, they tolerated this unpleasant reality which led to inevitable conflict”². And a young and promising historian (of Aromanian origin) who explain, according of historical sources, his perception, easily amendable however, on the Vlachs’ situation in the eve, during and immediately after the end of the Balkan Wars: “The expanded system of ecclesiastical and educational propagandas of the Balkan states resulted in a national, political, cultural and spiritual deprivation of rights of the Vlach people. Thereby, the actions of the Greek and Romanian propagandas in Macedonia provoked heated arguments and divisions among the Vlachs”³. As a

¹ T.J. Winnifrith, *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People*, London, Duckworth, 1987, p. 143 (Chapter Ten. *Vlachs and the Great Powers*, p. 139-149).

² Ванчо Ѓорѓиев, *Реформи за мир или одлагање на конфликтот* [Peace Reforms or Delaying the Conflict], in xxx *Сто години од Валканските војни. Прилози од Научниот Сопир одржан на 3-4 декември 2012 година* (Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите) [Hundred Years of the Balkan Wars. Proceedings of the Scientific Meeting, held on 3-4 December 2012 (Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts)], Скопје/Skopje, no publisher, 2013, p. 127.

³ In fact, it was due to nationalist intolerance of the Greeks actions by chauvinist extraction who wanted an as extended territory from the former Ottoman Balkans to be incorporated in the

result of these struggles, the Vlachs were divided into several opposing groups, which had a fatal epilogue to the fate of the Vlach population in the Balkans. The Balkan Wars were just a finale of the decades long fight between the Greek and Romanian activists for supremacy over the Vlach population in Macedonia. The outcome of these wars determined the fate of the majority of the Balkan Vlachs, who were now divided among four Balkan states”¹.

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1. Dr. Leonte, *Cuvântul d'întâiu* [The First Word]. No. 1, September 25, 1905: 1. The President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, Dr. A. Leonte, presents the program of “her advertising’s body, the most indispensable tool for spreading ideas”. He shows that “Romanians from Macedonia are currently in a situation of concern. For the second time unto a span of two years, they are victims of the magnification dream of Bulgaria and Greece”. In these circumstances, “they need encouragement, they need to know they are not alone, that those in Romania free, and that all Romanians are with them. To raise more than our links to make them stay going. Macedonians established in the Romanian state and elsewhere, Macedonians who are still dazed by the charm of an ideal that cannot be theirs, to wake up and to see how much is appreciated the friendship of the Greeks; into one word, uniting all Romanian forces. Here is the first point of “Revista Macedoniei”’s program”.
 2. G., *Intellectualii noștri* [The Our Intellectuals]. No. 1, September 25, 1905: 2-3. The author argues for increasing the role of the Aromanian origin intellectuals “who managed to secure the consideration and the esteem of their fellow citizens; among them are doctors, lawyers, teachers who give realize for the unjust and unequal struggle that is between their brothers from Macedonia and the Greeks. I know how much perversity and cynicism is from the Greeks, and how much greatness, exaltation of the soul and sacrifice from the Romanians”.
 3. xxx *Bandeles aromâne* [The Aromanian Bands]. No. 2, October 2, 1905: 2. Telegrams from Athens hosted in some newspapers, “which claim that Romanians are served by the terrorism through bands as the Greeks and the Bulgarians” are considered lies. “No, Aromanian bands were not yet formed in Macedonia: we reject with disgust, also, and this slander that comes us from Athens!” These haven’t formed so far, “because we still have confidence that the Turks will not let that the peaceful and loyal subjects of their empire to be assassinated by organized bands by a neighbor state, with purpose manifestly unjust and political at the same time”.

Greek State, although practically there isn’t a population of Greek origin; on the contrary, the action of Romanian State’s “propaganda” was purely national-cultural, which aimed at supporting of the Vlach people to maintain its own language and identity – other than the Greek.

¹ Никола Минов, *Власите и Валканските Војни*, in *Ibidem*, p. 478.

4. I.M.-T., *De imitat...* [To Imitate...]. No. 2, October 2, 1905: 3-4. More “Macedonians settled in the country” (at Constanța) offers significant financial donations for building a bread oven at Târnova and Magarova, near Bitola, “where the the poor Romanians are persecuted with such fury and wildness without example, and refused them also the baking of daily bread in bread ovens existing in village”.
5. xxx *Câți suntem...* [How Many We Are ...]. No. 3, October 9, 1905: 1. Editorial which demonstrate that the number of Romanians in Macedonia is not only 100,000, as shown by the Greek authorities and the media, but about 600,000.
6. xxx *Tru arniu* [In Wintering]. No. 3, October 9, 1905: 1. Preparations for the winter of Aromanian shepherds are endangered in the autumn of this year, because they “must to think and at the Greek Antart that without humanitarian and chivalrous feelings, hidden behind a tree or behind a rocks, interrupt mercilessly the life of Romanians heroes”.
7. [„Un distins teolog”], *Rolul Sf. Sinod al Bisericei Române față de Patriarhie. Părerii libere* [The Role of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Church to the Patriarchate. Free Opinions]. No. 4, October 16, 1905: 2. The author, “a distinguished theologian, occupying a high dignity in the country”, shows that the Patriarchate of Constantinople “was not quite clearly on the Romanians Macedonian’s application; that is way, we are sorry that in this respect have not been consulted and members of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Church, who would have found the solution and could settle disputes”.
8. *Înfierea atrocităților din Macedonia de către un grec din România* [The Condemnation of Atrocities in Macedonia by a Greek /Panaite Filippide/ from Romania]. No. 4 October 16, 1905: 2; No. 4, October 16, 1905: 2. Letter to the President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture “proves that Messrs. Dissescu and Dr. A. Leonte were right when they doubted that not all Greeks in the country will be solidarity with the actions of groups of prisoners. Like other Greeks must be who feel the same as Mr. Filippide is more likely. We wonder why they do not rush to protest”.
9. xxx *Marele meeting de protestare anti-grecesc din Brăila* [The Great Anti-Greek Protest Meeting in Brăila]. No. 4, October 16, 1905: 3-4. At this rally, “which had a splendid success”, spoke, among others, Petre Grădișteanu, politician, Ion Th. Florescu MP, “the illustrious magistrate” Constantin G. Dissescu, and Dr. A. Leonte.
10. *Un alt glas grec vestejind atrocitățile bandelor din Macedonia* [Another Greek Voice /Haralamb I. Capatos, from Brăila/ Wither the Atrocities of Bands in Macedonia]. No. 5, October 23, 1905: 5: “I protest indignantly against these barbaric acts, and disapprove of the instigators of these assassinations, and to alleviate the needs of families left homeless, I donate the sum of one hundred lei”.
11. xxx *Noi prin noi* [We, Through Us]. No. 7, November 6, 1905: 1. Are presented and commented two letters to the President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture. Author is Nicolae I. Nicea Săulescu, “native from the purely Romanian village Magarova, Monastir Vilaet, residing today in the city of Turnu Severin”; the editorial shows the increase of members of Society for Macedo-Romanian

Culture, the increase of its influence: “Twenty-five years ago, the Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture was composed mostly of Romanians from the country today, the vast majority of Society there are the Macedonian Romanians. In recent years, the number of Society’s members remained stationary; since they began operations of Greek bands, the members’ number increased amazing and if things come so, we predict as very close the day when the Romanian state will not have to spend any money for the maintenance of schools in Macedonia”.

12. xxx *Să favorizăm pe grecomani?* [To Favor the Grecomans?] (I-II). No. 7, November 6, 1905: 1-2; No. 8, November 13, 1905: 1-2. Stating that “the Aromanians designate by name Grecomans those of their countrymen who have not yet embraced the Romanian cause”, the author (unsigned) of this long article shows that Grecomans are three categories: primitive Grecomans, “which now tends to disappear. Are Grecomans who remain true to the Greek school when in the Romanian village opens an Romanian school”; fanatics Grecomans, respectively “wealthy men Aromanians, with some Greek culture of most many times, but always with any important task in managing a community fund and a pompous title ever in its leadership. These Grecomans not come to us for fear of losing interests in the importance they have in the middle of their own people”; Grecomans family heads: “They, through their material situation, through the relations in society are convinced that Romanian propaganda is very natural among them; they easily understand that more rational is that in the Aromanians schools and churches to be Romanian language and not Greek language, which do not understand none of them, but cannot do anything in this regard, is related interests. He, heads of a large family, but what will be done if the credit will be cut in the market and if he lose the customers?”
13. Nuși Tulliu *Martirii*. Pagini literare [The Martyrs. Literary Pages] (I-II). No. 7, November 6, 1905: 5-6; No. 8, November 13, 1905: 6-7. The well-known dialectical writer (but, also in literary/Romanian language) reconstructs national and cultural atmosphere of the Vlacho-Livad village, where there was priest Cornetti, “read and honorable man, pillar of the faith, the right hand of the bishop from Elasona. This priest was a Romanian kind-hearted, as was native Romanian by blood, but had to obey orders of the chief and the chief had wrote his to preach the destruction of those who will embrace the [Romanian /our note/] national idea”.
14. xxx *Ședința dela 6 noembrie a Consiliului de 35* [Council of 35 Meeting from November 6]. No. 8, November 13, 1905: 3. Discuss, among other things, also “the situation of members of the Society who are accused that there are Grecomans. Mr. President speaks in general and says that many of these members have sent letters protesting against accusations that you are brought and believes that they should not ask, for the time, to do what is not possible”.
15. Sima, *Jubileul de 25 de ani al Liceului Român din Bitolia* [Jubilee of 25 Years of Romanian High School in Bitola]. No. 8, November 13, 1905: 3-4. Thorough statement of “celebration commemorating of 25 years since the establishment of Romanian High School in Bitola, the single and the highest Romanian cultural institute in Turkey”. Are commented the report of the Principal Ion D. Arginteanu,

- “everyone agrees to find many contradictions, and no fewer inaccuracies”; respectively, an “admirable lecture by veteran Hagi Atanasescu, the founder of the first Romanian school in Turkey”.
16. xxx *Știri din Macedonia*. Bitolia, 7 noembrie 1905 [News from Macedonia]. No. 8, November 13, 1905: 4-5. The subtitles relate to: the sufferings of Romanians. - Turkish authorities and the Antartes. -The loyal attitude of Romanians and the conduct of the authorities. -Boldness of Antartes. -The Romanians homeless. -The complicity of Bishops: “Isn’t day from God that not brings a painful news, one heart-rending sigh from those whose only crime is that they have sought always to be some loyal subjects of the Turkish Empire, and whose unforgivable crime is that they preferred to pray and to lighten to God in the sweet Romanian language. The fact that the Greeks have sworn us death that much I knew and we were not surprised. (...) But what no one knew, not even once we figured it was the complicity of Imperial Government with its own enemies against those who have kept a steadfast fidelity, against those who have entrusted their destiny and future strapped with that of the empire itself is located”.
17. R.M., *De la frați pentru frați* [From Brothers to Brothers]. No. 9, November 20, 1905: 1-2. It’s published a List of Subscription, which “opened three days ago, wascovered with a significant amount (1,850 lei). C.D. Georgiade, “Romanian from Thessaly, over 50 years, set in the motherland, Romania”, in a letter to President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, shows, among other things: “I, Romanian origin, and as one that found hospitality on the land of Romanian generous people, as I did not expect otherwise, I would commit a crime if I did not raise my voice and I would not support with facts the Romanian brothers from Macedonia”.
18. xxx *Grecii și românii* [The Greeks and the Romanians]. No. 9, November 20, 1905: 2: “Now Romania is in conflict with Greece because of the wearing inhumane of Greeks towards Aromanians. All justice is on our side: the Aromanians ask only to be use in Turkey for a right which the sultan granted them, to read in their own language in schools and churches. They do not bring any harm to anyone, not ask and not impose anyone their wishes, and yet the Greeks were high storm against them and swore through fire and the destruction of the Aromanians. (...) Then there are 80,000 Greek subjects who have earned their feed in Romania, while no Romanian lives in Greece”.
19. Nuși Tulliu, [*Scrisoare*]. Părerii libere [Letter. Free Opinions]. No. 9, November 20, 1905: 3-4. In a letter from Leipzig, the author urges its co-ethnic Aromanians at a more vigorous and concerted action, in the context of national struggle and other the Balkan ethnies, to preserve their Romanian nationality: “The Greeks have understood! Bulgarians have felt! These fight for historical right to be, to live! What are we waiting for? Ah, but we, to our shame, we argue, we are slandered, we fight for leadership, to the budget’s planning! Romanian poor country! Poor Romanian! He gives tribute of blood to nation, with a remarkable manhood, and the cowards and predatory crows feed on his body; because if was not that Romanian, there would not be a reunion of those which, by unconfessed origin, leading the [national] problem! But hopefully it’s a heaven and the Romanian will

- know to do themselves right! ... And to conclude: If it's a matter, we are ready to be under the folds of the national flag".
20. *Scrisoarea d-lui Dimonie*. Tribuna liberă. Supliment la revista Macedoniei [Letter of Mr. Dimonie. Free Tribune]. No. 9, November 20, 1905: 1-3. The Professor Mihail Dimonie, former Principal of the Romanian Commercial School in Thessaloniki, "we sent a long letter by exoneration towards the allegations which were made him in the press and in the official reports addressed of the authorities. Although the correspondence and the article that talks Mr. Dimonie were not published to us, we publish its letter, because we want to give it possible to defend themselves and take advantage of the fact to make the call to us again to stop the quarrels between her, quarrels which may not be useful than of the opponent. Today it's time to unite us all forces and us to be ready for assault".
 21. xxx *Țăranul român pentru frații lui din Macedonia* [The Romanian Peasant for His Brothers from Macedonia]. No. 10, November 27, 1905: 1. The peasants from the Roșu village (Ilfov county) "were quick to give gifts for brothers from Macedonia. It's the best example that sure will not be without result".
 22. xxx *Cazul M.G. Papadimitri* [M.G. Papadimitri Case]. No. 11, December 4, 1905: 1. Connotations on the causes of the shooting by Aromanian Toma Ion on M.G. Papadimitri, the Manager of Agricultural Bank of Calafat, also, and he Aromanian origin, but with Grecoman feelings: "he is the efor of the Greek community from Calafat, and furthermore, the Greek school is maintained here with its means. In Macedonia, where he goes there, does not want to hear by nationalist Romanians and always walks with the priest and the most persecuted Grecomans"; the editorial does not endorse assassination, "especially because Papadimitri was Aromanian and we believe that we should not kill us each other, when we know that we are killed by the Turks, and the Bulgarians, and the Greeks".
 23. xxx *Interviu cu d-nul dr. Leonte* [Interview with Mr. Dr. Leonte]. No. 11, December 4, 1905: 4-5. Interview resumed from the "Adevărul" newspaper, on assassination of Calafat; the executor, Toma Ion, "he neither knew his victim, as shown by research carried out so far and therefore do not has any reason for revenge against personal. He saw in Papadimitrie the incarnation of Grecism wild and bloodthirsty, that Grecism that rarely daily the ranks of his brothers. And then, Toma Ion, young man, ardent, he could not master. He made the death of man, believing that in this manner take vengeance on those who fell in the valleys of Macedonia and in the Pindos Mountains. Hit him with convinced that his people escape a dangerous enemy and that it relieves the pain somewhat".
 24. xxx *Un an de activitate. Discursul ținut de d-l dr. Leonte, președintele Soc. de Cultură Macedo-Română, cu ocazia Adunării Generale din 11 decembrie 1905* [A Year of Activity. Speech of Mr. Dr. Leonte, the President of the Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, during the General Assembly of December 11, 1905]. No. 13, December 18, 1905: 1-2-3. The Society's membership increased from 138 (in 1904) to over 500. Increasing incomes, especially through contributions, "allowed us to pay Marmorosch Blank Bank 3,500 lei debt amount and interest, thus it pleased that Society paid his debts and that Palace [Rahovei Str. 29] is now fully ours." To curb abuses concerning the declaration as Aromanians of foreign

- persons by the Romanian ethnicity, “the Legislative Bodies have also decided that anyone who demands the recognition as an ethnic Romanian în Macedonia to have a certificate confirming his nationality from our Society. At these beautiful results we got wise and honest behavior, free from political struggles”.
25. xxx *Societatea de Cultură Macedo-Română* [The Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture] [of “La Roumanie” newspaper]. No. 13, December 18, 1905: 3. The newspaper has words of praise to the President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture: “Mr. Dr. Leonte has committed a lapse that we ought to defend. In his modesty, Mr. President did not want to see that most of the progress is due to his personal work, his devotion to the holy cause of Aromanians, to general sympathy that it enjoys”.
 26. xxx *Correspondență din Macedonia*. Bitolia, 12 decemrbtrie 1905 [Correspondence from Macedonia. Bitola, December 12, 1905]. No. 13, December 18, 1905: 5-6-7. The Grecomans want to avenge the death of “renegade” Papadimitrie; news attacks occur against the Aromanians “nationalists”; at Perlepe passed away “the old Aromanian fighter Spiru Magiari”, which was “all his life an example of a warm patriotism”.
 27. I., *Macedonia e a noastră* [Macedonia is Ours]. No. 14, December 25, 1905: 1. Noting that “a fixed idea follows the Greeks: restoring ancient Byzantine empire”, and the first step towards its realization “is the mastery of Macedonia”, the author concludes: “Despite the all contrary effort, the Romanian idea following way; nothing can to stem: no threats of organize Greek brigands in the state ruled by King George, no ruins and made them victims; conquered land grows visibly, yet the Greeks, and leave their past friends, continue to argue that ‘Macedonia is theirs’. It’s a sad state of soul that passes from the realm of fantasy into the realm of pathology”.
 28. Gezu, *Correspondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence from Macedonia]. No. 14, December 25, 1905: 4-5-6. The correspondent believes that “the reconciliation with the Greeks is impossible”, because “The only way of reconciliation, the only condition to sincerely approaching by us, isn’t for them other than dissolution Romanian schools, the suspension of the Macedo-Romanian budget and the rich Aromanian bound to be give to the impuissant Grecism”.
 29. xxx *Întrunirea Consiliului de 35* [Council Meeting of 35]. No. 14, December 25, 1905: 6. Elected the members of the Council of 35 of the Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, and “To ease the task of the committee what may not know all the Aromanians, was chosen a committee of five people, originating in Macedonia, Epirus, and Albania, to rule on applications for certificates [for naturalization].”
 30. xxx *Cronica politică a anului 1905 la aromâni* [Political Chronicle of 1905 at Aromanians]. No. 15, January 1, 1906: 1-2. The main event: “on May 9, His Majesty the Sultan solemnly consecrate the existence of Romanian nationality in Turkey and them conferred by Imperial *Irade* [Decree] civil rights equal to those of who enjoy the other Christian nationalities of Empire”; also, “Besides, the *Irade* on May 9 ordered the free use of the Romanian language in schools and churches”; respectively, “on May 10, the Ottoman Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs

- communicate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate by a *Tezkere* the rights granted of Aromanians by Imperial *Irade*".
31. Vasu, *Corespondență din Macedonia*. Bitolia, 21 decembrie 1905 [Correspondence from Macedonia. Bitola, December 21, 1905]. No. 15, January 1, 1906: 2-3-4. It's about: the Antartes and Romanian school of Furca; attempt on the life of the old Romanian teacher, Gușu Marcu from Nijopole; the presence at Bitola of Italian journalist Rudolfo Foa; the "creepy carnage" at Spurlita, near Veria, when "were killed in the most frightening possible three, namely: the *celnicul* [leader] Chita of Gachi, his son, and Ionescu's father, the Romanian schoolmaster from Papadia"; completing the census at Gopeshi, where "the Romanians have achieved 1,700 *nufuz* [acts of birth] and Grecomans only 300. These figures are pretty convincing on the flourishing state of the Romanianism at Gopeshi. The richest family of Grecomans, *i.e.* Chirața, took the Romanians and received *nufuz* which is written *olah*".
 32. xxx *Corespondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence from Macedonia]. No. 16, January 15, 1906: 2-3-4. These are: the annual celebration of the Christmas Tree at Romanian Normal and Vocational School for Girls in Bitola; trial's postponement filed by the Grecomans against the priest Teodor; Aromanians sentenced to death by the Antartes from Magarova; Romanian commercial companies "soiled and houses damaged by Grecomans", especially "the ardent Aromanian C. Caracota"; four Romanian acquitted by Turkish court of Crushova, "accused of death threats against local Serb priest"; donation in books of students from "Traian" High School Turnu Severin, for members of the "Dimitrie Bolintineanu" Society of Pupils of Romanian High School for Boys in Bitola; new attack against the priest Teodor; new local school for Romanians in Târnova; the persecution of Romanian language in Bitola, the priest Ioachim malediction in a sermon, those who would have gone to a circus where "most of the staff speaks Romanian"; appointment of new members to Magarova Ephorie; the election on 1906 of members of the Editorial Board of the "Lumina" [Light] magazine (Bitola).
 33. Ciuca roșie [*Corespondență din*] *Ianina*, 22 decembrie [/Correspondence from/ Ioannina, December 22]. No. 16, January 15, 1906: 2. Conviction several Romanian in Ioannina, "because he sang Romanian in the town's church".
 34. *Știri* [Newsletter]. No. 16, January 15, 1906: 6. Letter of thanks of Dr. Leonte to Gr. Mano, President of Civil and Military Pensioners Club, its members sending 200 lei "to aid the victims' bands of Greek assassins from Macedonia".
 35. xxx *Vrăjmașul în cetate* [The Enemy in the City]. No. 17, January 22, 1906: 1. Bucharest members of "Elenismos" Society from Athens "work with money raised here against Romanianism interests, are accomplices of thieves who assassinated our brothers in Macedonia, are our enemies declare that steal our wealth, because him to make weapons to strike us".
 36. *Informații*. *Corespondență din Salonic* [Informations. Correspondence from Thessaloniki]. No. 17, January 22, 1906: 6-7. About: "bands led by Greek army officers came from Greece to pursue the job of killers"; theater performance "extraordinary, in the service to victims of Macedonia"; spread to Bucharest "a violent manifesto against the Greeks"; National Theatre of Craiova representation

- “in the benefit of Romanian victims of the Antartes in Macedonia. All Macedonians¹ from the city, as well as many delegations from country sent to take part in this national celebration”; donation for Romanian church from Crushova (Macedonia).
37. xxx *Întrunirea de la Societatea de Cultură Macedo-Română* [Meeting at the Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture]. No. 18, January 29, 1906: 1-2. “Dr. Leonte says that the purpose of today’s meeting is serious things going on in Macedonia and the country. In Macedonia our brothers divided into nationalists and Grecomans are hit in their property and do not feel safe life from day to day, due of Antartes’ bands, organized and maintained on Greece earth and supported by Greek State”; other speakers are Dr. Pucerea, Christ Otto, Iulius Valaori.
38. Dr. Leonte, *Năzuințele Greciei* [The Greece’s Ambitions]. No. 18, January 29, 1906: 2-3. The President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture show in detail that “becomes obvious that the Greek State and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which is the Greece’s agent, have the greatest interest to put everything work to hinder the Romanians to assert individuality”; he believes that “It is time for Turkey to open its eyes on the subversive agents Hellenism and end the untold suffering endured by the Romanian population due their. It is not wise, it is not political for the Porte to leave this population in Greek bandits’ anger terminator, who boast that they are now in control of her goods and life”.
39. *Complotul grecesc. Declarațiile d-lui dr. Leonte [și ale lui C.C. Arion]* [The Greek Plot. Statements of Dr. Leonte [and of C.C. Arion]. No. 18, January 29, 1906: 4-5. In an interview published in journal from Bucharest “Adevărul”, the President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, after extensive consideration, summarizes: “The Macedonian Romanians have reason to see with great satisfaction that their allegations concerning the action as Greeks in Romania are fully prove true, and that both the Government and the public opinion were fully convinced for so treacherous role played by the Greeks here, in the country, and Macedonia”. In turn, Constantin C. Arion, former Minister of Public Instruction, said that “our ideal in future cannot be to remain merely only like nationality, what we are today, but to see united as many Romanian elements which are today under various foreigners dominations. Therefore, our state make sacrifices money, and sometimes moral, and well done, because it takes all the offspring of our nation to have the same national aspirations”.
40. xxx *Inițiativă lăudabilă* [Laudable Initiative]. No. 18, January 29, 1906: 6-7. List of Subscription for the construction of school buildings and Romanian church at Corița (Albania): “the result of priest Balamace’s subscription list among the Romanians and Albanians in the country, in order to build schools and Romanian Church in the city Coritza”.
41. C.N., *Suferințele românilor din Megleni* [The suffering of Romanians from Meglena] (I-III). No. 20, February 12, 1906: 2-3; No. 21, February 19, 1906: 2-3; No. 22, February 26, 1906: 2-3. Material written by the Megleno-Romanian schoolmaster and publicist Constantin Noe: “In Meglena, this important Romanian

¹ Recte: the Aromanians.

- center, the Antartes have raped the Romanians freely innocent lives and introduced mourning in 30 Romanian families. And the Romanian population's flower of the 8 villages was succeeded whole – over 500 men – in Turkish prisons. Until today still struggle in those purgatories over 70 Romanians, whose fate is to rot in dung, dirt, and moisture most unimaginable”.
42. xxx *Corespondență din Macedonia*. Bitolia 5 februarie [Correspondence from Macedonia. Bitola February 5]. No. 20, February 12, 1906: 3-4. About: the Aromanians *muhtars* (mayors) choice in Bitola; festival of Pupils Society “Dimitrie Bolintineanu”; bloody battle between “punks Grecomans and our pupils”; the Aromanians in Caterina, “Romanians withdrew all of us, school is by longtime closed of the absolute lack of pupils, and their life is always in danger. The Antartes operating in the neighborhood, and in town how many people they meet, as many mortal enemies see before their eyes!”; the payment of the “Romanian fiery” Mihali Tegu Iani of Perivole, “allegedly killed a compatriot of his, Antartes’ assumed spy, for which the accused was convicted by the court of Grebena”; Romanian school in Clisura; attempt in Romanian church of Crușova on Romanian priest Papa Sotir; Toma Dinischiotu donation; destruction of a Greek band at Lehova.
43. xxx *Voci aromânești din străinătate* [Aromanian Voices Abroad]. No. 20, February 12, 1906: 5. Macedo-Romanian Colony in Belgrade sent a letter of solidarity and encouragement to President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture: “Forward, in the right way that so courageously step and your name will be written in golden letters in the book of ‘the Romanianism from Pind’ ”.
44. Societatea Studenților Români din Paris „Liga” [*Manifest de solidaritate cu frații noștri din Macedonia*] [Society of Romanian Students in Paris “League”. Manifest of Solidarity with Our Brothers in Macedonia]. No. 20, February 12, 1906: 5.
45. [*Frați români*. Manifest]. Informații [Romanian Brothers. Manifest. Informations]. No. 20, February 12, 1906: 6: “Today will hold national meetings in the cities Iași, Constanța, Bacău, and București”; in Romania’s capital has launched a manifest to *Romanian Brothers*: “It’s time to prove forever that their pain [of Macedonian Romanians] are also yours, their grief is your grief and deep despair I felt. It’s time to do your duty like Romanian patriots, to manifest with dignity your whole sympathy and love for those which are persecuted by Greeks even in the mother country. Let’s show the world as Macedonian Romanians are alongside your hearts, who do not allow that on Romanian land to Jubilee the protectors of assassins’ bands”.
46. [List of Subscription to help the victims of Greek Antartes (IV)]. No. 20, February 12, 1906: 7; No. 21, February 19, 1906: 6-7; No. 22, February 26, 1906: 6-7; No. 33, May 21, 1906: 7; No. 37, June 25, 1906 7.
47. [List of Subscription for church of Crushova (I-IV)]. No. 20, February 12, 1906: 5; No. 21, February 19, 1906: 7; No. 22, February 26, 1906: 6-7; No. 23, March 5, 1906: 7.
48. Gecazu, *Aromânii grecomani din România victime ale consulilor greci* [The Aromanians Grecomans from Romania Victims of the Greek Consuls]. No. 21, February 19, 1906: 1: “The indifference shown by the Romanian to his brother in

Turkey was natural: because he did not know that he is him brother and seeing him for ages embraced with blasphemed Greek, he considered it alien and despised, as he despised all the Greeks who came in his country to exploit and squeeze them and bone marrow. Greeks remain true culprits in the country, and more than that, *the Greek Consuls*. The Aromanians were victims of Greek Consuls. Therefore, should in future not to allow the Greek state to establish and have consulates in Romanian towns and cities”.

49. xxx *Groaza grecilor* [The Greeks’ Affright]. No. 21, February 19, 1906: 4. Article reproduced from the newspaper “Bulletin d’Orient” (Athens), which states that “the Romanian propaganda, desperate that he cannot convince Koutzo-Vlachs, began to establish immigrants colonies in Macedonia and Epirus. The peasants of Romania are picked in Constanța and then transported by rail within Macedonia. Moreover, these immigrants, although they are subject to Romanian, the local authorities pass them as an Ottoman subject, stating ‘olah’. After the information believable [*Sic!*], the number of Romanians entered Macedonia thus amounts to 4,717 souls”; are statements clearly at odds with reality, hence the title of the article.
50. xxx *Procesul de marți* [The Trial of Tuesday]. No. 21, February 19, 1906: 5. Pucerea Tașcu’s statements and the other seven defendants in “the Aromanians’ trial who read Romanian in the Greek Church in the Capital”; witness statements, “also have not charged differently than the statement of facts; only the priest who served that day said that he heard from the Apostle’s words and phrases like: ‘the innocent blood of the Aromanians shed in the Macedonia’s mountains and plains, as the blood of our Savior to Calvary to kill the Greeks are in this church’. Judgment of the two judges was “that each of the accused to pay 100 lei fine”, because “they prevented the freedom of course”.
51. “Revista Macedoniei”, *Christu Otto*. No. 22, February 26, 1906: 1. The young Aromanian intellectual and publicist, “enlightened patriot, teacher-apostle, hardworking and devoted Secretary of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, has paid tribute to the ultimate and supreme nature”.
52. G.G. Longinescu, *Lui Cristu Otto. Cuvinte închinat de un prieten îndurerat* [To Cristu Otto. Holy Words for an Aggrieved Friend]. No. 22, February 26, 1906: 3-4: “Cristu Otto was born in the village Gopeshi from Macedonia, where tears leaves two elderly parents, a sister and a brother. This summer was going to visit them, after a forced absence of ten years”.
53. xxx *Înmormântarea lui Cristu Otto* [Cristu Otto’s funeral]. No. 22, February 26, 1906: 5; in the speech in Belu Cemetery, Dr. A. Leonte recalled the life of secretary, “unpaid”, who “he was me a valuable contributor”: Faculty of Chemical Physicist Science Bachelor’s, he “is the first graduate of the Romanian High School in Bitola, was appointed professor and then its director”.
54. xxx *În chestia recunoașterilor* [In the Issue of the Recognitions /of Romanian Nationality/]. No. 23, March 5, 1906: 1-2. To improve the efficiency of the Chamber of Deputies, the Committee of Indigenous admissions on Romanian nationality, and avoid fakes, “It might do a step further and decide to no longer allow for the Romanians in Turkey the witness testimony in the country, or even

- do with attestation under oath? In this way, any possibility of deception is excluded. Romanians will be able to take them acts from locality, acts that will be provided with all guarantees, while foreigners will be impossible to do”.
55. G., *Corespondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence from Macedonia]. No. 23, March 5, 1906: 2-4. About: The killing of Romanian Sotir, from Turia; the killing of a Grecoman from Bitola; attacks at Bitola; the acquitted of priest Teodor; Romanian school closure in Belcamen; census results in Mulovishte: that “but he our hopes deceived. Money plentifully shed by Greek propaganda, spirit of discipline which characterizes the Grecomans, made out Greek *nufuz* number to be greater than that the Romanians. Through money, the Grecomans managed to attract some Romanian *muhtar* them Spiru Lio. Romanian *nufuzus* are 166; and Greek 1,216. Much has contributed to this disastrous result and lack of priest Cosmescu from Mulovishte, who just now was found to lead to Gopeshi, not knows why. It is know what bigotry are imbued the women there and when they saw without a priest on the one hand, and Greek priests threatened them that they not would them receive in the church, they will not worry etc., many houses of the Romanians, whose men living in abroad, are urged to be registered as Greek”.
56. P. Osani, [*Corespondență din Macedonia*] [Correspondence from Macedonia]. Gevgelija, February 27, 1906. No. 23, March 5, 1906: 4-5. About the census results, who “officially proves the victory of Romanianism in our county. Most nationalities non-Muslims are the Bulgarians, who had 15,000 inhabitants – of course in our kaza –, after they come Romanians nationalists of 10,000 habitants, and finally, are the Grecomans (Romanian and Bulgarian renegades) with 5,000 souls”.
57. Doctor Leonte, *Conflictul greco-român* [The Greek-Romanian Conflict]. No. 24, March 12, 1906: 1-2. The President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture concludes: “Because to stop the conflict you must first stop the cause. Or, this, everyone knows, consists in fierce opposition, in the war unendurable that Fener Patriarchate and the Greek Government make it on our blood brothers of Macedonia, which denies them the right to use the Romanian language in schools and their churches”.
58. xxx *Procesul lui Toma Ion* [The Trial of Toma Ion]. No. 24, March 12, 1906: 6-7. It presented the Indictment and the witnesses’ obedience”; at “the defense request”, is heard also Tașcu Pucerea; the Judges’ decision is the acquittal, at which time “room erupts in endless cheers”.
59. Gezu, *Raportul consulului italian din Bitolia [asupra vilaetului Monastir]* [The Report of Italian Consul in Bitola /on Monastir Vilaet/]. No. 27, April 2, 1906: 1-2. The reviewer states that the Visarta, Italian Consul, “speaking of the character and occupation of each breed says about Romanian that are more busy with grazing, with dairy, and the silverware; that dwell more on mountainous places, where they are able to resist of the Turkish invasion; that leaves winter in warmer places; that belong to the Latin race and it descends directly from the ancient Roman colony; are people of character and intelligence”. Sometimes, however, the Italian consul “confuse the Greeks with the Romanians; not from ill will, of course”, and “the true number of native Romanians in Monastir Vilaet is far superior to 142.200 [of

the total 880,000], if we count those the alienated Romanian”, but “with all these flaws, the report of Mr. Count G. de Visart remains earnest, faithful and by invaluable importance”.

60. M. Oșani, *Correspondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence from Macedonia]. Meglena March 25. No. 27, April 2, 1906: 2. Informations about the Romanianism's situation in settlements of Meglena, where many Megleno-Romanians are persecuted, and even they are condemned.
61. Un institutor, *Subvențiile institutorilor* [A Schoolmaster, The Schoolmasters' Subsidies]. No. 27, April 2, 1906: 4. Author believes that “it is time for Romanian schoolmaster in Macedonia to be given more range and greater possibility of initiative. In times of adversity that we are full, schoolmasters are meant to prevent many evils, many disaster”; therefore, the “formation of a new budget of schools in Macedonia should take seriously the importance of schoolmasters and to improve seriously their fate”.
62. Dr. Leonte, *Elino-vlahi?* [Elino-Vlachs?]. No. 30, April 23, 1906: 1. The President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture warns the implications in accepting the “name Elino-Vlach”, a term “invented” by the Greek “for Macedonian Romanians, unknown name for her”; dr. Leonte warns that “to adopt the formula proposed by the Greek Government, is to recognize that in Macedonia isn't there Romanian population; that our schools are not there a cultural sense; that all our propaganda in 40s envisages political interest of a future compensation. Into one word, receive for the Aromanians the name of Elino-Vlachs, is to recognize really all the Greeks argued until today on Macedonia and to disapprove all our action for the awakening national consciousness of the Aromanians. More. Adopting this formula implicitly acknowledge the fault conflict [with Greece] falls upon us”.
63. xxx *Correspondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence from Macedonia]. No. 30, April 23, 1906: 4. Informations about: again plunders and arson in Epirus; Greek bands led by Luca and Papu plunder the Romanians; Grebena news.
64. George Z. Zuca, *Studiu economic asupra românilor din Pind (Epir și Tesalia)* [Economic Study on the Romanians of Pindus (Epirus and Thessaly)]. No. 30, April 23, 1906: 4-5-6-7; No. 31, April 30, 1906: 4-5-6-7; No. 32, May 13, 1906: 3-4-5-6-7; No. 33, May 21, 1906: 3-4-5-6. Valuable information published originally in “Foaia de Rapoarte Consulare și Informațiuni Comerciale” (No. 16, 10 / March 23, 1906).
65. xxx *Pentru Biserica din Crușova* [For Crușova Church]. No. 30, April 23, 1906: 5-6. Donation by “following sacred objects below noted, purchased in close aid for this purpose by Mr. Toma A. Chiale, tradesman and member of the Society's Council of 35”.
66. *Interview cu d. Virgil Arion* [Interview with Mr. Virgil Arion]. No. 30, April 23, 1906: 6-7. The Romanian politician shows that “although I wish the reconciliation with Greece, I do not believe in the possibility of the agreement announced”; Romania has a great responsibility to Macedonian Romanians, for “when asked and obtained the *Irade* by which the Romanian nationality was recognized as a separate ethnic individuality in Macedonia and thus exposed Aromanians to the fury of Greeks and of the Patriarchate, took the same time the duty to defend them

- by all means and not give up until the right of the Aromanians to have schools and churches Romanian will not be fully recognized”; is against the acceptance of the term “Elino-Vlachs”: “the names Koutzo-Vlachs, Tsintsares are mocking names, which were given Romanians by foreign nations. As the name of ‘Elino-Vlachs’, it must be rejected with energy, because it is intended to cause confusion deliberate, dangerous, implying that Aromanians not form any separate nationality, an ethnic individuality distinct from the Greeks, but are only Greeks, but speaking a dialect close to Romanian language or how they say, Greek ‘vlahofons’ ”.
67. [Comunicat] [Communiqué]. No. 31, April 30, 1906: 1. Choosing a Committee of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, “to inquire the Government into the real state in which they are alleged negotiations with Greece”; Foreign Minister gave him “the most formal assurances that the Romanian Government does not give up any of his claims made so far”.
68. Const. Noe, *Divergințele printre elementele noastre* [The Differences among Ours]. No. 31, April 30, 1906: 1-2. The author shows that the words of a friend of his, that “Where there are two Aromanians must be at least three parties”, is “much deeper than has the appearance of being at first sight”, and believes that “the discord between ours in Macedonia is a real disease that our movement suffered more blows, even than those given by Greeks. Today still, the disease paralyzes much of our energies, neutralizes many forces, many intelligences that are frustrated and exhausts the power of thinking in useless gossips”.
69. Al.G. Papacostea, *Patru zeci de ani de acțiune culturală și politică în Macedonia* [Four Decades of Cultural and Political Action in Macedonia]. No. 31, April 30, 1906: 2-3; No. 32, May 13, 1906: 3-4-5. Exposure, extensively, of the Romanian State action in Macedonia, that “it is natural to be conceived in two ways: one cultural and the other political. The *first* is designed primarily to bring people to the national consciousness and thus make possible a unified spiritual life, the *secondly* give of the people all education and training necessities to meet the practical difficulties of his life. The second way, those of political action designed to facilitate economic development and cultural conditions of the people and the preparation for the great ideal nationality’s of all Romanians”.
70. Nic.C. Velo, *Primăveara anului 1906* [Poezie] [The Spring of 1906 /Poetry/]. No. 31, April 30, 1906: 3.
71. Cesar G. Papacostea, *Din trecutul armânilor*. Pagini istorice [From the Past of the Aromanians. Historical Pages] (I-IV). No. 31, April 30, 1906: 6-7; No. 32, May 13, 1906: 5-6; No. 33, May 21, 1906: 3; No. 33, May 21, 1906: 3-4. Are commented letters from Pope Innocent III’s correspondence letters with the Emperor of “Romanians-Bulgarians” Ioniță; the author motivates the journalistic approach through lack of a history book “our”, of the “Romanian element from South of the Danube”, pointing: “We have not our history; I mean, we have not yet a history book whom we can say – without us the hide our face from shame – the history of Macedonian Romanians. History in which to examine the important role that so many centuries had Romanian element in Southern Balkans, where to read the detailed activity and chronological development phases and the different attitudes that this element was compared to other nations with which has been in contact and

- are written with all critical thinking and common sense specific of a historian, which obviously would come much as possible in help the numerous sources Byzantine, Latin, Slavonic, etc.”
72. Gezu, *I. Papiniu*. No. 31, April 30, 1906: 7. Generous portrayal of the new Minister Plenipotentiary to Constantinople; learned this news, “The same bitter chests [of Aromanians] cried with enthusiasm on hearing the name of I. Papiniu: Behold the man asked, here are the most worthy successor [of Minister Plenipotentiary Alexandru Emil Lahovary], here the diplomat urged by the circumstances”; the anonymous commentator reveals “his behavior dignified as possible and Romanian when he was the Minister at Athens; deep penetration that made it into national issues from Macedonia, the penetration that always inspires by a systematic profession of the truth *that we must go agreed with Turkish interests, and therefore inevitable, that we must sit well with the Turks*, all make Mr. Papiniu a expensive man for Aromanians, a man who the Aromanians put their highest hopes”.
73. C., *Săptămâna* [The Week]. No. 31, April 30, 1906 7. Acid comment since the first number of Aromanian literary review “Grai bun” [Good Voice], indicating the importance of writing in dialect, but also in literary language: “We are embarrassed that have to remember Mr. N. Bațaria, whose presence at the head of the magazine is a guarantee of talent and good order, that the writings in dialect deserves its places only as they correspond to the intellectual level of the people for which they are intended. That is, we believe that political and philosophical topics should be written in the literary language, because are addressed of some more educated readers”; “the lack of rule in the distribution of budget” for the wages of the Romanians schoolmasters; “It was much case into Elino-Vlachs nickname that the Greeks wanted to see us baptized. Luckily, it passed over us as a mere scarecrow and none remained of her as a mere memory. Otherwise, the name of peoples does not change through international agreements and decrees”.
74. Dr. Leonte, *Ori guvernul turc ori Puterile* [Either the Turkish Government or the /European/ Powers]. No. 31. Supplement No. 31, May 7, 1906: 1. Noting that “the Greek work in Macedonia reached perfection. Ten Aromanians families, who went from Avdela to Grebena were killed by one of a band of 200 Greeks”, the President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture believes that “it’s time for the Romanian Government to intervene more earnestly and ask those at Constantinople or elsewhere the real protection of our blood brothers”; also believed that “the European Powers, who through their representatives know in minutely what is happening in Macedonia, these Powers – which have made Greece a free state and gave autonomy of Crete, just because their inhabitants do not remain under Turkish rule – will not leave, of course, an entire population – Romanian population – from Turkey to fall victim visions of glory of the Greeks”.
75. xxx *Correspondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence of Macedonia]. No. 31. Supplement no. 31, May 7, 1906: 2-4. Information about: the attack against the Principal of the Romanian School in Târnova, schoolmaster Ioan Peahă; difficulties faced by the Ottoman authorities in accepting, according of the Irade’s content of 9 May 1905, of the “Romanian members in administrative councils

- (*idare migeliz*) of Veria, Grebena, and Bitola; the wounding of a Grecoman at Bitola; enrollments in Greek bands; it is shown that “the name of Aromanians with the appellation ‘Elino-Vlachs’ sparked a storm and a serious despair among Romanians”, these feeling “insulted with titled Elino-Vlachs”, the “Revista Macedoniei” protest: “it cannot a more radical sacrifice of our nation than the nation’s recognition under this stupid name, skillfully forged by some men who long quarreled with common sense and with sincerity and honesty”; and concludes: “Our name may not be so for as that which we inherited from ancestors, namely, Aromanians or Romanians, even if it is or is not pleasing to the Greeks”.
76. xxx *Informații* [Informations]. No. 31. Supplement no. 31, May 7, 1906 4. Reports about: requiem for the victims of the Antartes in Macedonia; the attacking against ten Aromanians families; the answer of Professor Per. Papahagi, at Reading Society [*Societatea de Lectură*] of Vienna, Professor Per. Papahagi, to “allegations of the publicist Nicolaidis, who held a conference in the Macedonian issue”.
77. xxx *Frați români!* [Romanian Brothers! No. 31. Supplement no. 31, May 7, 1906 4. Protest’s manifest of Macedo-Romanian students against the assassinations in Macedonia; among other things, strongly believe that: “Until the Macedonia’ Romanians will pay this tribute of blood, until Pindus valley remains valley of weeping and lamentation? Until when? It’s your blood that is spilled are your brethren who in the writhing of their bodies, they think of you, the people here, do not let them in the lurch. It’s the voice of a people that rises up to you, it’s the blood’s voice that calls you to action, *all of you, current and future leaders of the country, citizens from low to high, all of you, enthusiastic students*, to respond thus civilized by civilized means, and Greeks, who do not have anything good and holy, their, who have brought the despair and grief among our, to answer their by desperate means, that and *the patience of the Romanian his on edge*”.
78. Ap.Nc., *Interviu cu domnul Lazăr Duma* [Interviewed with Mister Lazar Duma. No. 32, May 13, 1906: 1-2. Among other things, the Inspector General of the Romanian Schools and Churches in the Ottoman Empire show “until a few years ago, with all the sacrifices that had relatively large, our action school [in Macedonia], apart from a few centers, it was, if I may say so rated. It consists almost entirely of schoolmasters. The people had no initiative in conducting the movement, expect everything from the center. Because of this, he felt morally bound by anything to progress the case. Given this condition, although the persecutions of the Greeks about their religion and political machinations were not as fierce as those of today, however, had a very disastrous effect on our schools. In recent years, however, once with the foundation and recognition of communities, people were called to inquire himself for his cause. The religious sentiment deeply rooted in the people who the Greek clergy exploit it by excommunications and the lack of religious rules of Romanians, long time thwarted our action. In view of this shortcoming and deadly consequences deriving solicitude thanks to its imperial government and of his great officials, we were able to found communities and to open churches. Currently we have 32 churches and chapels where all divine service is officiated in Romanian. This has been so prevailing in people’s lives, so that we say marks a new era in its development”.

79. xxx *Correspondență din Grebena*. Un măcel înfiorător. 60 de români omorâți [Correspondence from Grebena. A Horrible Carnage. 60 Romanians Killed]. No. 32, May 13, 1906: 6-7. Description, in detail, of the killings of April 28, from Urlic-Avdela; the Aromanian families, accompanied by 40 soldiers and two gendarmes, were leaving Grebena mountain when they were attacked “over 300 Antartes hidden in redoubts and forts prepared several days in advance. The Antartes were 60 men, *and the rest was made of up to 300 inhabitants of Greek villages surrounding*”; it states that “The battle lasted three hours and both soldiers and the Romanians fought with admirable bravery, so they did not let the Antartes to approach them. But terminating them the cartridges, ours were forced to withdraw. From Romanians were killed those who have not or have not been able to leave the luggage”.
80. Cola, *10 Mai la Sofia*. Coresp. part. a Rev. Macedoniei [May 10 at Sofia. Private Correspondences of the Revista Macedoniei]. Sofia May 10, 1906. No. 32, May 13, 1906: 7. Over 200 people, Macedo-Romanian Colony members were present in the morning at the Romanian Legation and afternoon “although it was raining hard, rows upon rows of Romanians, men, women and children began to arrive at Romanian School, which was beautifully decorated with Romanian flags”.
81. xxx *Apel* [Appeals /for Bringing of Objects to be Exhibited at the Macedonian Pavilion in the Romanian General Exhibition from Plain of Filaret/]. No. 33, May 21, 1906: 6-7. On behalf of Comission established by Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, C. Ioanid (President) and Dr. Pucerea (Secretary) make “a warm appeal to all our Romanian compatriots from Macedonia, located in the country, to rush to send without undue delay at the Society’s headquarters in Calea Rahovei 29 any objects produced by Aromanian domestic industry, as well as those produced by Aromanians craftsmen, who do not usually almost never missing from any household Aromanian”.
82. I., *Bandiți* [Bandits]. No. 34, June 2, 1906: 1-2. “Legitimate defense face to Romanians? But not also they say that not there is Romanians in Macedonia?”; author shows that the reason why the Greeks attack the Bulgarians in Macedonia, “the answer is easy. Bulgarians are armed – the Romanians, not. Bulgarians are poor – the Romanians, rich. Bulgarians are lost forever for Hellenism – Romanians impossible to defended and unprotected anyone, could be detained by terror”. The author also believes that “the Greek Government and the Patriarchate of Constantinople tries to defend the Hellenism threatened to fall with the defection of Aromanians, and therefore regard it as self-defense the action of bands which they organize”.
83. G., *Ațâțări la vărsări de sânge* [Incitements to Bloodsheds]. No. 34, June 2, 1906: 2. Is presented and commented “an incendiary speech” of Ioachim, the Greek Metropolitan in Bitola, “angry by unsuccessful had in the trying to thwart the Te-Deum officiated for H.M. King Carol in Romanian chapel of Bitola.
84. N., *După o călătorie în Albania* [After a Travel to Albania¹]. No. 34, June 2, 1906: 4-5-6; No. 36, June 18, 1906: 3-4-5-6-7. Replay of the “Adevărul” newspaper of a

¹ Wrong in text: Italy.

- conversation of Constantin Burileanu that concern: economic advantages of “what we can draw from the existence of Romanian element in Turkey”; this is “natural bridge crossing between Italy and Albania”; the travels necessity to know the true state of the Balkan Peninsula; characteristics and qualities of Romanian dialect in Albania: “I learned the dialect of Aromanians from Albania in 10 days. The language of these Romanians is Romanian language, with some old forms of our language, some Italian, and, as is natural, there are Greek and Albanian seepage”; the lack of propaganda and organization; the Hellenism and Albanization; Hellenism go progressing because of our inertia: “This is the real cause and not other; all the blame falls back on us”; How is Romanians’ Albanization in Albania; urgent need for national schools and churches; the skepticism of Romanians from Albania due to the inconsistency of our action; an serious and well-managed action we could ensure victory; the necessity for good propagandists; the love of Romanians from Albania for their language and the superficiality of Hellenism; rush that feels to start our propaganda; continuity in action; the schools we have in Albania are nonexistent; the evil what has arisen from the fact that our countrymen were abandoned in Albania; guidance that should be given to our action; the intelligence, diligence and vitality of the Romanians from Albania; the despair of Romanians because of our carelessness; their mind to finally appeal to Italy.
85. xxx *Atrocitățile grecilor în Macedonia* [The Greek Atrocities in Macedonia]. No. 34, June 2, 1906: 6-7; is “in summary, according to a document made by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the list of crimes committed by Greeks from January 1, 1906 onwards”.
86. C., *O lămurire* [An Explanation]. No. 35, June 11, 1906: 6. Letter from Professor Nicolae Tacit, the Inspector of Romanian Schools in Thessaloniki Vilayet, response to information inserted in the “newspaper “Revista Macedoniei” showing that not made inspections in localities and therefore schoolmasters are completely confused, because it do not have how to counsel together with their leaders”. Protesting “vigorously against that unfounded assertions”, the school inspector demonstrates that he made the inspections.
87. Dr. Leonte, *Răspuns ziarului “Le Matin”* [Answer to the newspaper “Le Matin”]. No. 36, June 18, 1906: 1-2. It is refers to the content of a “long correspondence from Constantinople, that really made honors of extraordinary imagination of the author, but could not read without asking yourself if such jokes were venial at least on April 1”; among others, “that facetious correspondent narrates very seriously to the readers “Le Matin” that Romania has made the colonization of Macedonia; that for this purpose several thousand Romanian peasant families were loaded in Constanța with destination Constantinople, and Eastern railroads company has transported Thessaloniki”. Fighting, broadly, these statements manifestly false, the President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture concludes: “The correspondent of “Le Matin” in Macedonia, instead of fun, by sending them victims’s lists of Romanian bands, bands and victims who are only in his imagination, or the imagination of those who make up these lists, it would be better to join its voice with that of all honest consciences, to wither the misdeeds of Greek propaganda

- and its cruelties, which ended to revolt the European cabinets and the entire civilized world”.
88. xxx *Justificările d-lui Scuzes* [The Justifications of Mr. Scuzes]. No. 37, June 25, 1906: 1-2. In an interview with the “Pester Lloyd” newspaper, “Mr. Scuzes sought to live up to the reputation which the Greeks have got from the ancient times as people of bad faith and liars. The today’s statements of Foreign Minister do not differ in nothing from those made at the beginning of the conflict by Mr. Rallis, Minister yesterday. And these statements are appropriated by all cabinet members, and isn’t no one of the great crowd that is different, because there is not Greek who isn’t a liar”.
89. xxx *Correspondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence from Macedonia]. The killing of Romanian *muhtar* [mayor] from Magarova, Mihail Dida. From Gramaticova. The Romanian *muhtar* Nicolae Papa Sterie from Veria, killed by the Greeks. No. 37, June 25, 1906: 2.
90. Piona de la Sarra, *Luptă între greci și români* [Fight between Greeks and Romanians]. No. 37, June 25, 1906: 4-5. The Italian correspondent relates that “The Greeks leads a fierce battle against the Romanians, *i.e.* Aromanians in Macedonia and Epirus”. Pointing out that “It is true that these Romanians, deprived of any contact with those beyond the Danube, while remaining faithful of the customs, the traditions and of the language, they were considered Greeks for many centuries”, the author talks about that “such Hellenized, [Aromanians] had an important part in the battles for the independence of Greece, both the battlefield and in politics and diplomacy”. Talking about the issue of “Romanian national movement in Macedonia”, the Italian journalist concludes: “Today, more than ever, Romania cannot leave her brothers in Macedonia and Epirus. While all nations protect their small and their distant colonies, isn’t natural, isn’t a duty for the young State, who was able to take a place so important in the Balkan Peninsula, to pursue with the highest interest on Macedonians and on the Epirot Romanians and to seek any means to put in order what unites them with they? Many of those Romanians, Hellenized when could not otherwise be, have in their hands very important trades. They are today a powerful tool in development of Romania, the young Balkan state destined to tread forward on the path of political and economic progress, civilizing, thus affirming once again in the East European, power, brilliance, durability and moral power of the Latin race”.
91. C.N., *Exterminarea aromânilor* [The Extermination of Aromanians]. No. 38, July 2, 1906: 1-3. Article of Constantin Noe, showing “How the Greeks came from a simple plan of terror to this wild idea for whole exterminating, can see in the Meglena county”; respectively, “they put in place a system whose horrible result must be imprisonment, condemnation and exile of all Romanian leaders of Mglena”.
92. Tega, *Groznicul măcel de la Huma* [The Terrible Carnage from Huma]. Correspondence of Thessaloniki, June 29. No. 38, July 2, 1906: 3-4. In its correspondence are referred to: the composition of bands of assassins “besides Greeks were and some Romanian Grecomans from Livezi, several Muslims and one Arnaut”; Turks helps Greek bands; civil authorities and the Russian officer

confirms existence at Gevgelija of Greek bands; Turkish population, in agreement with the authorities, favors the formation of bands; “the young Turk said me that the Turks on this occasion behaved very badly with Romanians Meglenits, because they do not take an overt and hostile position against the Bulgarians. Better would have done if he had said that Romanians do not know how to give money, to Turks”; Romanian population of Meglena prevented the peaceable protest: “nor to the burial of victims could not take part the surrounding villages”; how to excuse the Turks about the anarchic situation of their empire: “The Turks do responsible Europe by anarchic and murderous situation that reigns in Turkey”; the correspondent concludes: “And we, Romanians, we put all hopes in Turkey and we cry: ‘Long live the Sultan!’ The gathering of the sweetish relationships with Turkey is required if we want that bands of assassins to do not walk around in broad daylight in villages”.

93. St.Chr., *Correspondență din Ghevgheli 28 iunie* [Correspondence from Gevgelija, June 28]. No. 38, July 2, 1906: 4. Are reproduced “some passages” of correspondence signed by a known teacher Megleno-Romanian, Stavre Christea; including: “Proof that the military authorities were in touch with Greek bands operations, there is the fact that among the past when he was here, Mr. Inspector Nicolae Tacit wanted to visit all our villages from Meglena, and asking a military escort from the city garrison commander, he refused to give, under the word that it’s not time to travel. Surely, the commander knew that the land is haunted by bands and yet take no action tracking. All this proves that the Turks are partakers, some political reasons, others from natural causes, with the Greek bands”.
94. xxx *Dezvelirea bustului lui Alexandru Lahovari* [The Unveiling of the Bust of Alexandru Lahovari]. No. 38, July 2, 1906: 4-5. The report of unveiling of the bust in Râmnicu Vâlcea. From the Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, the Secretary Constantin M. Nicolau reveals the merits of Alexandru Lahovary, “the first political man, who understanding the best interests of Romania in the Balkans, made Romanian flag fluttering in Macedonia, creating the first Romanian Consulate in Bitola”; it was he who founded the Romanian communities in Macedonia. This was the decisive step which naturally guided Romanian element from Macedonia, Epirus, and Albania to the true path of progress”.
95. S. Cioca, *Drama de la Berăria Cosma* [Drama from Brewery Cosma]. No. 38, July 2, 1906: 5-6. The author believes that “The murder at Cosma Brewery psychological can be justified”, because “the indignation that swept young man’s soul Magiari, when he learned that here in the country lives unpunished the man who made a fortune for to kill with that money his brothers in Macedonia, was too great to be hampered by the cold logic of judgments”. At the same time, the signatory article states that “We, Aromanians, we enjoy by the hospitality of this country, which has done so many sacrifices for us, we can never declare in favor of murder. It is not only the voice of debt of Romanian, but also of gratitude that us call to order for not to jeopardize the reputation of this country”.
96. Z.G., *Apreciere bulgărească* [The Bulgarian Appreciate]. No. 39, July 16, 1906: 6. Comment with historical facts and figures, on the edge of a interview of Bulgarian MP Dascalof: “Speaking of Macedo-Romanians, he says that the Patriarchy doing

- very bad that does not recognize their demands, especially since there's nothing to fear, because there are very few, around 70,000!"; pointing out that, "In a moment of evangelical enthusiasm, the Patriarch said that in Macedonia live over 100,000 Romanians", the author notes: "The our Bulgarian is shown more stingy than Patriarchate itself to us, as we see"; and "further, Mr. Dascalof says that the Bulgarian borders stretch to Olympus and the elements of Romanians, Greeks and Albanians, besides they are very minor, are scattered and mixed so much in an ocean of Bulgarians in as he does not feel their existence". The author concludes: "As for the fact that Bulgaria is safer, more respect for the law as in Romania, I asked Mr. Dascalof: Why then, everyone who lives in Romania wants desperately to become Romanian subject, while Romanians in Bulgaria have not seen certain of their lives than receiving the Romanian submission? What is done in Bulgaria, we see it practiced in Turkey, where *rayas* feel happy to be under the protection of the consulate of any foreign power. Is this a sign, really, that the safety and the rule of law in Turkey is higher than in Romania?"
97. xxx *Corespondență din Bitolia* [Correspondence from Bitola]. No. 39, July 16, 1906: 7. Informations about: Romanian Cemetery from Magarova; the pessimism of Inspector for Reforms in Macedonia, Hilmi Pasha, on the cessation of Romanian bloodshed; new Romanians martyrs; the Romanians of Samarina threatened by Grecomans and the terrorists of Greek Committee; disappearance of two Romanians *celnics* from Crushova; the release of Greek notables arrested after the massacre of the families from Grebena: "their release signifies an encouragement from the Turks to further bloodshed, and that's all"; festival at the completion of the school year in Romanian High School from Bitola: is recited and sung in dialect; "the music was quite weak. It's a pity by the sacrifices being made for the spread Romanian songs, sacrifices do not give any results".
98. Z., *Noi șiroaie de sânge* [New Streams of Blood. No. 40, July 23, 1906: 1: "Until the bands of assassins will be allowed to operate on day afternoon high, until then, for us, the Romanians from Turkey cannot be a time that does not shed streams of blood, and for us, from here, not can be peace of mind".
99. xxx *Telegramă de mulțămire guvernului englez* [Telegram of Thanks to English Government]. No. 40, July 23, 1906: 3. "Compared to the noble and loyal demeanor of English Parliament and especially of the Foreign Minister of England, who exposed and disapproved the massacres what the bands of the Greek Government and of the Patriarchate commit them daily in Macedonia, our Society, in the name of Aromanian element, sent to Foreign Minister of England a telegram of thanks", signed by the President, Dr. Leonte.
100. Rep., *Mihăileanu și Papahagi*. [Parastas în memoria lor] [Mihăileanu and Papahagi. Memorial Service in Their Memory]. No. 40, July 23, 1906: 4. The "two martyrs of the nation fell victim to their love of nation. One wanted to prevent the hand of a people through the dark machinations wanted to throw clutter on the Romanian people; the other wanted to prevent the murderous hand of a traitor to the nation when prepared to kill his brothers' life".
101. *Un interesat interview dat de un diplomat român* [Alexandru Lahovary, ministrul plenipotențiar la Viena] [An Interesting Interview of a Romanian

- Diplomat /Alexandru Lahovary, the Minister Plenipotentiary in Vienna/]. No. 40, July 23, 1906: 5. Romanian diplomat states that "From a certain point of view, are preferred the Bulgarian bands, consisting of Macedonian Bulgarians. All these people work from morning till night in the field, and in the evening they put their hands on weapons. The Greek bands, however, are composed of people who are paid; these bands are recruited in Greece and pass secretly in Macedonia to commit atrocities under the patronage of the Greek clergy"; he also states that "Bulgaria keeps his commitment to Europe to prevent the passage in Macedonia of Bulgarian bands", but "not so do and Greece".
102. xxx *Correspondență din Megleni*. Încă un omor în comuna Oshani [Correspondence from Meglena. Another Murder in Oshani Village]. No. 40, July 23, 1906: 6. The killing of the "most peaceful inhabitant" of village "is due to the following circumstances: This Romanian was a servant at the Monastery of St. Michael in the forest of Oshani village. Last year, the Greeks shot the abbot of this monastery because he was Romanian and he held with Romanians, and have it replaced by another Greek priest, a kind of bandit that was meant to lead the operations under committees of Greek villages in Meglena. Perhaps, the shepherd Ciuciu knew something about the death of that good abbot, and as he could not give away the terrorist assassin, who must be one of the keepers of Grecomans from Oshani, he was silent forever".
103. xxx *Ultimele știri* [The Latest News]. No. 40, July 23, 1906: 6. Interview in the newspaper *Universul* with the Vice-Consul Ottoman in Giurgiu: "One reason is that the spirits are restless that the Aromanians asked to Romania the help whenever they are aggrieved by the Greeks, instead of addressing their grievances to Ottoman government. The effect that occurs is: although several meetings here in the country, all the more are damaged the relations between the Romanians and the Greeks of Macedonia and consequently, the Greek bands increased the atrocities and crimes against their"; Ottoman Consul concludes: "The Aromanians are a population highly regarded in the empire, their loyalty was always recognized, and their existence there is of great importance for Turkey".
104. V. Diamandi, *Despre origina aromânilor* [About the Origin of the Aromanians]. No. 41, August 6, 1906: 1-2; No. 42, August 20, 1906: 4-5. The author has conducted research in libraries in Paris, "the focus of science and light", because "For years I thought, when and how we set us, the Aromanians, in the Balkan Peninsula, which is our origin and in what circumstances we were seated in the mighty Epirus, in the fertile Macedonia and Thessaly, in the brave Albania".
105. N. Tacit, *O inspecțiune în Megleni făcută de sub-inspectorul N. Tacit, cu ocazia masacrelor din Huma* [An Inspection in Meglena Made by Sub-Inspector N. Tacit, with the Occasion of the Massacres from Huma]. No. 41, August 6, 1906: 5 -6; No. 42, August 20, 1906: 2-3. The author show that made a long "inspection among the Romanian villages, located in the region Meglena, to study on the spot the exact state of things, the needs and aspirations of our communities and to sustain the courage and to high the moral of our exasperated Romanians, after the unheard massacres perpetrated upon them by the assassins and the criminals of Phanar and the Greek State"; the teacher-inspector concludes: "From what I saw

and heard the spot I formed the belief that the Turkish authorities will not ever appreciate the loyalty of the Romanian element and will not promote his strengthening for natural grounds that it weakens the influence of Hellenism, employed today so smartly by the Turks to counter the influence of dangerous Bulgarism. In all the county Meglena and Ticfeshi there is no Greek village, either by origin or by sentiment; but there are agents, paid also by Patriarchate and by authorities to spy the Bulgarians”.

106. Correspondent, *Correspondență din Macedonia* [Correspondence from Macedonia]. Meglena. No. 42, August 20, 1906: 5-6. Two bands of Antartes in Meglena.- Searches at the homes of the Romanians.- Is found the decaying body of a Romanian.- The Romanian people is desperate.- The measures taken to change the situation are imposed emergency.- [The letter from the Antartes captain Leondara].
107. Un fost institutor, *Lipsa de organizare în Macedonia* [A Former Schoolmaster, The Lack of Organization in Macedonia]. Foița ziarului “Revista Macedoniei”. No. 42, August 20, 1906: 4-5-6-7. It argues for a more efficient organization of Romanian national-cultural action: “to still delay this organization and to leave the confusion in our issue, under word that did not yet arrived the time, and that we have not yet gained ground, signify to make unforgivable and voluntarily a sin, signify to hasten consciously the fall of nation”.
108. *Români*. [Apel] Romanian. [Appeal]. No. 43, September 3, 1906: 1. Appeal launched by the “Committee initiative to bring our dear brothers”, nearly 100 Aromanians, “to see the Exhibition, representing all the victories gained in 40 years, under the wise and the glorious reign of our beloved King”.
109. Rep., *De la aromânii din America* [From the Aromanians of America]. No. 43, September 3, 1906: 2-3. Conversation with a young “kind-hearted”, graduate from Romanian High School in Bitola, “namely Dumitru Caciona”, arrived in Bucharest from America: “We are 200 Aromanians at Nashua, almost all ardent nationalists. In America, with us a strange phenomenon is happening. As soon as comes there a Grecoman Aromanian, is forced to leave Grecomans feelings aside, because the Romanians nationalists it despise in all paths. We have a true school of patriotism”.
110. xxx *Aromâni* [Aromanians /Appeal in Dialect]. No. 43, September 3, 1906: 3-4: “Aromanians brothers, send away the Greek language from schools and churches, burn the Greek books, send away priests and teachers, monks and prelates, that God will have mercy on you and your sons if you will do so. Today is time to say and we that we are one people, we have a language, that we are worthy to defend the language and Aromanian nation”.
111. xxx *Nunta [lui] Costuri* [The Wedding of Costuri]. No. 43, September 3, 1906: 6-7. Christache Costuri’s wedding reportage, “of Albanian origin, born in the town of Coritza”; Balamaci family’s “is due the coming to the country of the pair Costuri, and also the love of that this family has it for Aromanians. It is known how fought Spiru Balamaci in his native village Pleasa, and how he protested against the annexation of Thessaly to Greeks. The priest [Haralambie] Balamaci, working night and day to achieve the national ideal to have in schools and churches the sweet and expensive Aromanian language; we all know how many

- endured the priest Balamaci from Greek hierarchs, and instead to hurt it all the persecutions of Greek clergy, on the contrary, they steeled him and more”.
112. D. Babuș, *O lămurire* [An Explanation]. No. 43, September 3, 1906: 7. The author states that “the Macedonian youth not gave to nobody mandate, until now, whatever it may be, to work on her behalf” and warns: “Those who indulge in such acts, making use of its name, must be mere private operators that the youth, himself, would denounce if would know”.
113. xxx *Schimbări în corpul consular român din Turcia* [Changes in the Romanian Consular Corps from Turkey]. No. 43, September 3, 1906: 7. Constantin Contzescu, the “valuable consul” in Bitola, was promoted as Consul General in Thessaloniki and promoted as Secretary of Legation; D. Penescu is appointed Consul General in Bitola and promoted as Secretary of Legation.
114. Reporter, *Sosirea și plecarea aromânilor* [The Arrival and the Departure of Aromanians]. No. 44, September 17, 1906: 1-2. At the National Exhibition in Bucharest arrived and a delegation of 70 “Aromanians”; to meet at North Station of “Macedonian brothers”, were spoken several speeches. Among them: the President of Society for Macedo-Romanian Culture, Dr. Leonte: “We admire all your love, pushed to sacrifice, for the Romanian people over the Pindos mountains and valleys. You are, rightly, some worthy descendants of the great and noble Latin gens. Your conduct gentle and wise to cruel blows of enemies drew the attention of your sovereign and of whole Europe. Today you will cheer your heart grieved. Today you will relieve the pain, seeing the progress that made the mother country and and welcomes you to her bosom with unwavering love”; the Secretary of Society, Const.M. Nicolau and it shows, among other, that “For you, Romania is the promised land, the holy place that should it to tread anyone who feels his heart beating at the utterance of Romanian name”.
115. Rep., *Inaugurarea pavilionului macedo-român* [The Inauguration of Macedo-Romanian Pavilion]. No. 44, September 17, 1906: 3. Is presented the long speech of Dr. Leonte; among other: “was destined that all Romanian people is spreaded by foreign countries and among nations heartless and without faith, but especially we, the Macedo-Romanians, we have been more than anyone far away from the common hearth; more than anyone, we felt foreign hate, and that more than anyone we have the right to be happy today, when we are with our brothers”.
116. P. Cîfca, *Românii din Megleni și bandiții greci* [The Romanians from Meglena and the Greeks Bandits]. No. 44, September 17, 1906: 5. New assassines of the Antartes; one of the “slaughtered”, Miciu Cristea from Lugunitza, “was put him on chest a letter saying something like: “Hear ye, *Hellenes* (?) lost. Revert back to your senses and come near your again by the your origin. Make yourselves Greeks once for all. For he that will deviate from our order will happen just like this miserable and worse still”.
117. xxx *Fapte laudabile* [Laudable Facts]. No. 44, September 17, 1906: 5-6. New lists of subscription from counties Prahova, Gorj, Iași, and Argeș for the victims of Aromanian families in Macedonia: “Increasingly more enter in the people Romanian from country the interest for our brothers who are suffering”.

118. xxx *Nuntă românească la Sofia*. [Atitudinea presei române față de padișah]. Informațiuni [Romanian Wedding in Sofia. /The Attitude of Romanian Press to Padishah/. Informations]. No. 44, September 17, 1906: 7. Statement about “the religious marriage of sympathetic young Mr. George D. Ghiulamila with the pretty Miss Marioara Al. Trifon. The wedding took an entirely Romanian character”; in the attitude of publications towards “the August Padișah”, is advocating for pragmatism: “therefore, but, we ask to our brothers to be more cautious when are pushed of who knows what current, place through their newspapers malicious appreciations and all kinds of epithets, who have nothing in common with the Aromanians’ sentiments about their beloved Sovereign, and do not fit at all with feelings of boundless gratitude and love what they feed to Her Imperial Majesty”.

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x

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**MAY 15, 1943: DISSOLUTION OF THE KOMINTERN
AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ROMANIA**

*Gheorghe Onișoru**

Abstract

On May 15th, 1943, the international political opinion was taken by surprise by Stalin's decision to dissolve the Komintern. Our study seeks documents on time, the impact that had the self-dissolution on the Communist Party of Romania. Thus, we considered the official position of Stalin's presentation, but also the leadership of the Communist Party of Romania, and the immediate effects of the event. Among these, we mention the new line adopted and expressed by the directives of party members and the start of serious negotiations with the democratic opposition leader, Maniu. In conclusion, the self-dissolution of the Komintern had beneficial effects on the communist movement in Romania, fully exploited by the domestic wing of the party.

Key words: *Komintern, National-Communism, Second World War, Antonescu Regime, Underground Movement*

The Communist Party of Romania had, since its establishment in May 1921, a major problem of legitimacy, which for over two decades situated him outside the law. Basically, we're talking about the only political party to rule in favor of scrapping Romania, acting on recommendations received from the Third Communist International, based in Moscow. It is the reason why this party was isolated and worked illegally, fact that converted the communist movement in the public eye in a concern and a source of negative comments.

Subordination to Moscow was evident throughout the interwar period and the early years of the Second World War. Romanian communists, be it those in exile Moscow or the inner wing¹, always followed Soviet foreign policy line, which is why they were not accepted as discussion partners when – under Antonescu – began to crystallize a united opposition, grouped around the National Peasant leader Maniu. Therefore, by the middle of 1943, their attempts to create alliances with other democratic groups, except of course the small

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¹ To see the situation of the Communist Party until August 23, 1944, view Victor Frunză, *The History of Communism in Romania*, Bucharest, 1999.

groups founded by the Communists themselves¹, like the Patriotic Union or Patriots Defense, have always failed.

An event at international level, however, have to be exploited by the communists remained in the country. It is about the decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International of self-dissolution on May 15th, 1943². According to the document adopted, virtually disappear unique driving center of the communist movement, which, theoretically at least, gave the communist parties in the Member States the possibility to act according to national realities, while World War.

As can be seen from the completion of the document, the decision to self-dissolution received also Ana Pauker's opinion, the most influential voice of foreign wing of the Romanian Communist Party in Moscow.

Of course, the decision that the Soviet leadership took was related to the necessities of war and Stalin's new strategy³ to appeal to patriotic feelings in the fight against Nazi Germany. The abolition of the Komintern did not mean, and subsequent events have amply demonstrated, that Moscow lost his hegemonic position in the international communist movement. From now on, Stalin put his hopes that the Red Army advancing towards Central Europe will enable countries to impose Soviet system "issued" under the shield of *de facto* military occupation, with indigenous communists.

Stalin managed to get through the gesture of self-dissolution of the Komintern not only greater freedom of action for communists in surrounding states, but has added a better image to the West, as an antifascist fighter that puts in front the United Nations Coalition interests, to the interests of the Soviet

¹ See extensively Gheorghe Onișoru, *Alliances and confrontations among political parties in Romania, 1944-1947*, Bucharest, 1996.

² "... The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International under World War leeway to convene Congress of the Communist International, allows himself to submit for approval the following proposal sections of the Communist International:

To dissolve the Communist International as a leading center of the international labor movement Liberating International sections of obligations under the regulations and decisions of the congresses of the Communist International. Presidium of the Communist International Communist International calls all adherents to concentrate its support by all means and for active participation in the liberation war of peoples and of the anti-Hitler coalition states for the speedy defeat enemy of the workers of German fascism and its allies and vassals.

Members of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International: Dimitrov, Gottwald, Zhdanov, Kolarov, Koplenik, Kuusinen, Manuilsky, Marty, Pieck, Thorez, Florin, Ercoli.

The above members joined representatives of communist parties: Bianco (Italy), Dolores Ibaruri (Spain), Lehtinen (Finland), Ana Pauker (Romania), Rakosi (Hungary).

Moscow, May 15th, 1943", Central Historical National Archives, fund C.C. of the R.C.P., Chancellery, vol. I, file 8/1943, p. 17-19.

³ For an analysis of Stalin's foreign policy see classic work signed by Adam Ulam, *Expansion and coexistence. The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1967*, New York, 1968.

Union. A proof of this is the so-called head of Reuter's interview in Moscow, King, on May 21st, in which a written reply to a question from the journalist releases all in writing.

Thus, at the question:

“Comments about the decision to dissolve the Communist International were very favorable into the British opinion. What is the Soviet point of view on this issue and what impact this event will have on future relations between states?”

Stalin offered in the contents of its response, a real lesson in *realpolitik*, considering the self-dissolution as a fact meant to help people fight against Hitlerism¹. It was proof that the Kremlin leader knew to meet the expectations of Western public opinion. Moreover, the communist leader² was keen to exploit the moment and in terms of propaganda also, stressing that after the decision of May 15th it clear that Moscow does not want to get involved in the internal politics of other countries. Also, Stalin held in this historic interview that each Communist Party was only “free” to define its political line, namely the adoption of Anti-Hitler’s Patriotic Front policy.

The message sent by Stalin was perceived as such by Romanian communists. Is relevant both to adopt an official position on May 15th, 1943 event, but also by a number of elements of the new strategy of practical action,

¹ “The Dissolution of the Communist International is fair because it makes organizing assault diluents common to all peace-loving nations against the common enemy, against Hitlerism.

The Dissolution of the Communist International is fair because this diluents:

- a. Reveals the Nazi lie that Moscow intended to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to Bolshevism. Now this issue has been finally put an end to.
- b. Reveals calumnies of the enemies of communism in the bosom of the labor movement that the Communist parties of different countries do not carry out their work in the interests of their people, but according to orders received from outside. Now this calumny ended.
- c. Relieves the patriots of all freedom-loving countries to unite all progressive forces and their union regardless of party affiliation and religion into a single national-liberating camp against fascism.
- d. Relieves patriots of all countries to unite all people in one camp in fighting the menace of Hitlerism and world domination organization alliance paves the way for all peoples on the basis of equality.

All these show that the dissolution of the Communist International Togetherness serves to further strengthen the united front of all the allies and the United Nations in the fight against fascist tyranny.

I reckon the dissolution of the Communist International could not be timely, just in the moment, when her last beast flex its fascist forces and it is necessary to organize joint assault of all freedom-loving countries to finally subdue the beast and free nations under fascist yoke”, Central Historical National Archives, fund C.C. of the R.C.P., Chancellery, vol. I, file 8/1943, p. 20-21.

² Regarding the controversial personality of one of the most important political leaders of the twentieth century see Michael Voslensky, *Nomenklatura. The Ruling Class*, London, 1984.

including initiation of direct contacts with the democratic opposition under the influence of Maniu.

A month after Stalin's interview, namely on June 21st, 1943, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania has published the decision that takes as a result of self-dissolution of the Komintern. The document is based in general on the major themes developed by Stalin in the interview that we mentioned before, based on the idea that self-dissolution is a heavy blow to those who had doubts about the political line of the Communists¹. But beyond

¹ "The Decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to dissolve the Communist International was a blow to Hitler's treacherous and their servants at the helm..."

At the beginning of Hitler's criminal war and Antonescu, the C.C. stated in the circular to July 8th, 1941: C.C. put the primary task of fighting to achieve the National United Front of the Romanian people against German fascism and his clique of traitors in the country. On the platform of September 6th, 1941 C.C. stated categorically: In the interest of the National United Front for crushing invading fascism... communists slogans waive any action that might separate them from other parties and groups Patriotic National Emancipation of the Romanian people...

The dissolution of the Communist International has disappeared and the last obstacle in the way of uniting all national forces with the Communist Party of Romania, in the struggle against the Hitler's invaders. Our party was released from his obligations arising from the regulations and decisions of the Communist International. Aware of the gravity of the historical moment, the Central Committee of the Communist Party invites all patriotic parties and the formation of a National Committee to fight for the liberation of the country. National Committee has the task to mobilize all national forces to unite the country, irrespective of party and religion on the Romanian People Unique Patriotic Anti-Hitler's Front based on the following battle platform:

I. Salvation of the Army by stopping sending more troops and the return of troops from the eastern front and Winning the officers and soldiers on the side of the People's Patriotic Front. Formation of groups of patriots and partisans.

II. Immediately stop the supply of oil, grain, food and materials for the war against Germany and Hitler's war...

III. Immediate output of Hitler's war and the break with fascist bloc and separate peace with the Soviet Union, England, America and all democratic countries.

IV. Overthrow the government of betraying and pro-Hitler's Antonescu regime and The establishment of a truly national government with representatives from all parties and patriotic organizations.

V. Regaining freedom, honor and independence. Free and independent Romania's accession to the Antifascist United Nations Coalition.

VI. Immediate release of all the victims of Nazi terror from concentration camps and prisons. Arrest and punish for the guilty traitors led by the traitor Antonescu, for the murderers and plunderers of the Jews, Moldavians, Russians, Ukrainians, etc.

VII. Restoring freedom of association, press and rights of citizens and democratic organization...

VIII. Immediate end to oppression of Jews and other nationalities...

IX. Defending Northern Transylvania and Banat. The overthrow of the Vienna Diktat.

X. Ensuring the existence of working people in towns and villages with employment and food..." Central Historical National Archives, fund C.C. of the R.C.P., Chancellery, vol. III, file 69/1943, p. 104.

the ideological issues and propaganda on the new layout retains Communist tactics of proposing an aerial platform Unique Patriotic Anti-Hitler's Front in ten points, which could best be characterized by the term pragmatism.

Communists intend to withdraw immediately from the war, restoring democratic freedoms, stop the anti-Semitic policies and even the abolition of the Vienna Diktat. No doubt, it does not say anything about the status of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, which talks about the limits of its independence and which has been a major obstacle in the negotiations with Iuliu Maniu and Dinu Brătianu.

However, beyond these observations, the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania, adopted on June 21st, 1943, is a strong sign of new a political course adopted by the "internal wing", obvious in the context that we analyze here. For the spirit of the communist party leadership remained in the country, at that time still led by Istvan Foris, we believe it is important to raise the *Course on Party work in wartime*. The document, drafted as a Decalogue¹, take practical ideas contained in the Central Committee decision of June 21st, which we have already referred. Thus, appeals to patriotic feelings, to join forces against the common enemy. Also defined new directions for action to shift the ideological and attract new party members.

Regarding to the relations with the democratic opposition is found switching to direct talks with the President of the National Peasant Party. The first contact between Maniu and the representative of the communists, Mihai Magheru, after the decision became public self-dissolution of the Komintern was in the evening of May 17th, 1943.

Interestingly, there was already a small history of the negotiations that led the communists to Maniu, which was more open to an dialogue – of course, based on prerequisites – that the Social Democrat leader Constantin Titel Petrescu. Thus, through the mediation of Ghiță Pop, National Peasant important leader, Ion Petre and Mihai Magheru, the Communist representatives, were received by Maniu at January 20th, 1943², on which occasion the National

¹ "First base: Hatred of the Hitlerite enemy and his destruction to be the only concern of ours...

Second base: Our rehabilitation...

Third Base: strengthening the party by recruiting new members and raising new frameworks...

Fourth Base: devotion to the death to the party, the working class and the people...

Fifth Base: iron discipline in time of war...

Sixth Base: vigilance and conspiracy...

Seventh Base: independence leadership in work...

Eight Base: fight against opportunism.

Ninth Base: the popularization of heroism, betrayal punishment.

Tenth Base: permanent care for the victims of Nazi terror", Iași County National Archives, Archives of party fund, fund A, file 65, p. 1-4.

² Central Historical National Archives, Patriots Union fund, file 7, p. 1-3.

Peasant leader clearly stated that any deal with the Communists must start from two basic principles: the country's liberation and restoration of the borders. How they were to accomplish was still unclear, especially since Maniu wanted to clarify that not yet lost all confidence that even Marshal Ion Antonescu make peace.

For the discussion that took place on May 17th, between Mihai Magheru and Iuliu Maniu we have luckily the terms of both participants.

Mihai Magheru under codename Costache wrote a report to the Central Committee the next day after he met the president of the National Peasant Party, on May 18th, laconic in matters dealt with Maniu:

“... M. asked me on the first time about the situation of our party dealing to the Communist International, where we currently connected through signals, radio or otherwise. I don't wanted to give him a precise answer...”¹.

Much more detailed is a diary kept by Corneliu Coposu, then Maniu's private secretary, from which we learn the location and time of the beginning of the meeting, respectively Schitu Măgureanu Street, No. 19, in the apartment on the 5th floor where Maniu was hosted in Bucharest during the sitting here. Magheru arrived at 23 am and left at 3 o'clock in the morning². The four hours

¹ Magheru's reporting which employment criteria are worded conspiracy, is dated May 18th, 194., *Ibidem*, f. 1-4.

² Being a document which constitutes an important source for understanding the preliminaries on August 23, 1944, present the most important information reported by Corneliu Coposu:

“Led by Ghiță Pop on the service scale Mihai Magheru, sent by the communists, arrived for talks with Maniu. The second communist delegate (Iordache), who asked audience to Maniu also by Ghiță Pop is absent from the meeting. I lead him in the Bedroom available to the President. Magheru looks nice, open figure, dress showing seriousness. I was asked to keep secrecy of the meeting, given the conditions in which it operates.

Maniu receives him kindly. He asked him about his kinship with the famous general Magheru. Then ask him if he is aware of the decision to dissolve the Komintern. Magheru confirmed. Maniu asks if lately been possible correlation between communists in Romania and internationally, and between them and Moscow and Romanian militants there. Magheru gives a confused response from that but that all communications were broken. Maniu asks to which communist faction belongs and in the name to which was given the mandate to negotiate. Magheru is very restrained in answers and explanations, leaving the issue of disagreements and internal disputes unresolved. Maniu insists trying to explain the position of Foriș, Ștefanoff, Margulies. Ask hierarchical position then for Pătrășcanu, Vasile Bâgu sau Agiu. Magheru certifies that all of them are part of the Romanian Communist Party, but have no leadership positions in the secretariat and the board...

Magheru, invited Maniu begin presenting its proposal through an objective assessment of the role for which it has in the country the National Peasant Party, which is most decidedly Romanian public... Communists... think that would be the time that is passing over tactical and ideological differences to achieve a common action entire democratic public opinion, ensuring minimal under a single program, success followed by all...

Maniu, after listening carefully interlocutor respond. I have no bias in treating and contracting arrangements with other political groups that pursue similar to those envisaged by our party...

Your Party continued Maniu not as far as I own ideology consistent with the specific interests of Romanian workers whose grievance claim that they represent, but simply reflects the subordinate position, tortuous policy and guidelines that dictates, after opportunity for time out Komintern...

So, before considering the merits of your proposal to joint action is necessary to establish clear if you act by virtue of their decision, or if you just courier guardianship decisions. For the latter case, our party develop their tactics sovereign will prefer to enter into debating with those who decide.

Our National Peasant Party acting consistently against dictatorships, against fascism, against revisionism. He has set domestic policy main objective the establishment of social justice and the restoration of democratic institutions in their authentic and unadulterated expression. He advocates an immediate exit from the war and leaving Romania Axis, for peace, for understanding the Allies, our traditional foreign policy, along with Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union...

I hope that your patriotism will cause you to agree to the minimum and essential that we propose for concluding an agreement, especially now, when the Komintern was dissolved not have, at least in theory, the obligation to subordinate you to some Directives who disregard the specific interests of Romania.

To clearly elucidate this positions Magheru are invited to submit theses which he proposes, followed Maniu position to formulate the National Peasant Party, both recorded by Ghiță Pop.

Magheru outlines the following sentences:

1. Antonescu government is a military dictatorship that has no agreement, no public confidence in Romania. The government violates the Constitution and the fundamental rights of citizens Wearing a disastrous and unpopular war which should be stopped without delay.
2. Romanian country is anti-fascist, anti-Hitler and eager for peace.
3. Romania's place is alongside the Allies, so the military alliance with the Axis must be broken.
4. In an effort to bring the contribution to the action taken by the opposition led by Maniu the Communists in Romania, keeping unaltered dogmatic and ideological identity, believes that a joint action.
5. The Romanian Section of the Communist Party, in solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Soviet Union, seeks to serve the permanent interests of the country and to contribute to the Armistice...
6. Some wrong positions adopted by the Communist Party, Department of Romania, in the past, either because of the Third International directives or an incorrect assessment of the situation, have been and are about to be reviewed, and attitude towards other political parties in Romania, democratic orientation was reviewed.
7. Patriots Communists are determined to carry out Hitler concrete action, organizing sabotage actions of war and war economy.

Maniu on behalf of the NPP, makes the following sentence:

NPP constant campaigning for democratic ideals...

Constant campaigning to end the war and Romania out of the Axis military alliance catastrophic Rome-Berlin.

Follow Romania's joining the United Nations...

NPP categorically dissociates himself to dictatorial government war on wearing it for evil without the consent of the Romanian people and effectively against the Soviet Union formally allied against other states. He frequently warned that the state leadership of the mistake made by the Dniester and the continuation of the war in the Soviet Union. Disavow occupation between

the Dniester and Bug province and was against the tendency to keep under Romanian military occupation or annexation of land called Transnistria.

NPP deemed inalienable territory resulted in the end of World War I, after the Peace of Versailles and Trianon and ratified by the peace treaty signed in 1920...

Considers that the principal aware of all Romanians is now time to fight for the integrity and independence of Romania, against dictatorship and the dictatorship government, against the ongoing war in the east, to restore free the life and freedoms and civil rights for all citizens outside the country, regardless of their ethnicity that AS should enjoy full equality and unhindered opportunity to express themselves politically, cultural, ethnically and socially.

NPP deemed the chief aim of the Vienna arbitration cancellation and reinstatement of Northern Transylvania and Dobrogea Quadrilateral, which were broken by the pressure of the national territory and the serious threat of the Axis powers.

PNT deemed Moldova between Prut and Nistru, known as Bessarabia and Moldova to the north, known as the Bukovina, Romanian lands as belonging to Romania and to be integrated in our country.

NPP believes that the primary objective is peace...

Regarding the proposal for joint action taken by the Delegate of the section of the Communist Party of Romania, Maniu make the following clarifications.

Department of the Communist Party of Romania confirmed its total independence from other bodies of international nature and even after the dissolution of the Komintern, happened recently, not seen since tactics and program it intends to adopt...

Referring to concrete proposal made by communist delegate NPP refuse as principle the idea of collaboration or alliance or participation in a common front... but considers his duty to make the following arrangements cooperation in perspective, a sincere joint indispensable that forum Communists should take in advance:

1. A unequivocal statement that the Romanian State is a national, ethnic organized within the borders of which are and remain inalienable, as was Appointed in 1920.
2. That Romania harbors no tendency imperialist character.
3. Temporarily occupied the Romanian provinces, Transylvania (including Banat, Crișana, Maramureș and said parties Hungarian regions), Bukovina and Bessarabia (Moldova to the east and north) were united in the judgment free plebiscite under the law of self-determination and their membership Romania is based on historical criteria, geographic and ethnic.
4. Minority populations in Romania, shall enjoy equal and full rights, but did not fall to decide separation of territories they occupy in Romania.
5. That NPP is a democratic party, antifascist and antidictatorial.

After acknowledging these commandments, minimal platform on which action is to end cooperation shall include, in the opinion of the NPP following objectives:

- Organization of immediate action (joint or parallel) for an immediate end to the war in the East;
- An armistice with the Allies;
- Reoccupied North Transylvania;
- Restoration to 1920 borders;
- Restoration of democratic and constitutional system, to ensure the rights and freedoms of all citizens full equality of ideas and free functioning of political parties, the actual possibility of citizens to manifest unhindered and to designate the governing bodies political and administrative democratic vote, universal, secret and free.

Achieving these goals (through joint or parallel) transition course requires concerted action. Communists were restricted to scatter some show that had poor circulation. United opposition

of talks have been a good opportunity, especially for Maniu to clarify its position with the current political events and, of course, to the communist movement.

As is clear from the Coposu's diaries, at the date of the meeting between the two parties are different approaches to important issues, but on the other hand, it is noted that Maniu not used them to reject *de plano* the idea of a possible future alliance. Moreover, he presented a rather broad basis for negotiation, that leaves the two parties more leeway. On the other hand, should be emphasized the most important obstacles for communist to access at the democratic opposition.

First we talk about the need that Maniu stressed it quite clear, namely that the Communist Party to separate the mistakes of the past, especially on the national problem. On the same direction it is placed the border issue. Maniu was aware that ho could not impose to the communist the public separation with the Soviet Union – in fact even after the war he was aware that relations with Moscow will be in the forefront of Romanian foreign policy – but expect them to restore even a formal support for the borders of 1940.

A few days after the night when discussion between Iuliu Maniu and Mihai Magheru occurred, held under condition of strict conspiracy, namely on June 22nd, a note from the secret service reveals the position expressed by the President of the National Peasant Party to the important event of the self-dissolution of the Communist International. The secret documents produced two of Maniu's political views.

protest memoranda submitted that had at least the merit of not being anonymous and to assume personal responsibilities, whose range was incomparably greater. But this is not enough. The Allies are waiting for even more concrete manifestations. NPP is a supporter of any political events, but opposes sabotage which may cause damages to the national economy, to be preserved, not only in the interest of the Romanian people, but even in the interests of the Allies. Protection and preservation of national heritage is a pledge to defeat fascism and postwar organization of Romania.

NPP recommends that after clearing the communist leadership and hierarchy of inner frame, to make the development of tactics and strategies, independent self-dissolved recent International guidelines and approve the terms presented by the NPP, and by their acceptance to take parallel action against the regime and German occupation, working for ceasefire and armistice.

Magheru confirms that noted and recorded the details of Maniu response that it will inform the communist leadership forum for the examination.

Finally, Magheru asks Maniu with particular title, if any hope of achieving link to obtain recognition of Bessarabia and had it not possible that the Anglo-Americans to be agreed with the USSR on the Romanian-Soviet border in Romania damage. Maniu answer that after the information has thus far Western allies have contracted with the USSR such an arrangement, but that does not preclude that might occur over time, especially if Romania extended war...

Audience ended at 3 in the morning", Archive of the Romanian Intelligence Service, Documentary Fund, file 11 519, vol. 9, p. 228-245.

The first of these concerns the role that the Soviet Union had to play after terminates the war:

“We know there are many people that believe seriously that after the War the Anglo-Saxon powers will find a way to neutralize Soviet influence in the world. I’m not one of them. In any case we must take seriously the assumption that the Soviets to become a political factor in Europe and to influence especially the neighboring countries. Policy is based on reality, not to deceive ourselves of illusions”¹.

The second point that the secret documents surprised refers to the position of the peasant leader towards the Communist Party. Maniu has surprised many by saying he is aware that in any case after the war the communists will return to legality and have an important word in Romanian politics².

The meeting between Iuliu Maniu and Mihai Magheru, seen from the point of view of the Communists, is an important signal that the Communist Party of Romania has agreed to adopt a new line on domestic alliances in war conditions, and is recognized as a partner instead valid for a substantive political dialogue. In fact, we conclude that the self-dissolution of the Komintern on May 15th 1943 had beneficial effects on the image of Romanian communists, even on their status among the democratic opposition. It is their merit that they knew how to exploit the signal given by Stalin skillfully and their integration into the National Democratic Bloc will be the fruit of the new political lines.

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¹ *August 23rd, 1944. Documents*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1984, doc. 389.

² *Ibidem*.

**CHALLENGES TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM:
THE COMMUNIST PARTIES' CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, 1969**

*Cezar Stanciu**

Abstract

This paper examines the significance of the Moscow international conference of Communist parties in 1969 in the shaping of new relations within the world Communist movement. It places special emphasis on the role of the Romanian Communist Party in advocating a new type of relation among Communist parties, one based on autonomy and a national model of Socialist construction, opposite to the hierarchic and centralized organization of world Communism, specific to Stalin's times. In its endeavor to affirm its own autonomy and help reshape world Communism on new principles, PCR worked closely with the West European Communists. The study follows the two preliminary phases of the conference, respectively the meeting of the European Communist parties in Karlovy Vary in 1967 and the preparatory meeting of Communist parties worldwide which took place in Budapest in 1968. This article demonstrates that PCR had an important role in preventing the Soviet Union from isolating China from the other Communist parties as it happened with Yugoslavia in 1948 and therefore contributed to the fragmentation of the world Communist movement by cultivating polycentrism.

Key words: *Communism, Moscow, Beijing, Conference, Internationalism*

Starting with Nikita Khrushchev's de-Stalinization in 1956, Moscow had been confronted with increased fragmentation in world Communism, as more and more parties tried to find alternative forms of developing Socialism, different from the Soviet model. There were, on one hand, parties such as those in Eastern Europe interested in finding a *modus vivendi* with the society by exploring national forms in their policies, and there were also, on the other hand, parties such as those in Western Europe which perceived their close association with Moscow as an obstacle in their effort to accede to government. More complications occurred for the Soviet leadership with the emergence of the Sino-Soviet split in 1960. As the Chinese party was impossible to control and retaliation measures proved rather ineffective, Moscow became increasingly concerned with the possibility of a "contamination", meaning that other Communist parties would be inclined to follow the Chinese example or

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take advantage of Moscow's inability to repress such a manifestation in order to claim their own particular model of Socialist construction.

When confronted with a similar threat in 1948, coming from the Yugoslav leader I.B. Tito, Stalin succeeded in mobilizing all Communist parties of the world in condemning the "Titoist deviation", therefore isolating Tito and preventing a potential ideological "contamination". As N.S. Khrushchev proved unable to follow the same pattern of action, the issue of Moscow's leadership and control over world Communism was left upon his successors to handle. This is why Leonid Brezhnev considered restoring Soviet domination over the world Communist movement as a primary task that required an urgent solution in order to prevent further damage¹. The risk was enhanced by the fact that specific, national forms of Socialist construction, involving opposition to Soviet control, seemed to be quickly spreading in Eastern Europe as well, where Romanians were strongly advocating after 1964 nationalism and independence.

The issue of Soviet control over world Communism became critical soon after the escalation of the Vietnam conflict. The Chinese advocated in favor of a military solution to the conflict, pressuring the North Vietnamese not to accept negotiation but to fight until a military victory would be obtained, but this strategy run contrary to Soviet plans². Moscow preferred a peaceful solution in Vietnam because the entire issue was viewed as nothing more than an obstacle to other grand Soviet-American plans for détente³. This particular matter raised awareness to the risks involved by China's obstructing position in world affairs and increased Soviet determination to deal with the issue on a priority basis.

Further challenges arose from Western Europe, as well. West European Communist parties had been looking to differentiate themselves from the Soviets in various ways starting from 1956 when the Italian Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti enunciated his thesis on poly-centrism⁴. According to this, world Communism should have been organized on regional bases, according to the historical and political specificities of each given geographical area, and the model of Socialist construction should differ accordingly. At the time, the Italians were trying to respond to the increasing political and media pressures generated domestically by Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's crimes.

¹ Matthew J. Ouimet, *The Rise and Fall of the Brezhnev Doctrine in Soviet Foreign Policy*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2003 p. 59.

² Li Danhui, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute over Assistance for Vietnam's Anti-American War, 1965-1972*, in Priscilla Roberts, editor, *Behind the Bamboo Curtain. China, Vietnam and the World Beyond*, Washington DC, Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 290.

³ Mike Bowker, *Brezhnev and Superpower Relations*, in Edwin Bacon, Mark Sandle, editori, *Brezhnev Reconsidered*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2003, p. 90-91.

⁴ Maud Bracke, *Proletarian Internationalism, Autonomy and Poly-centrism*, Firenze, European University Institute Working Paper, 2002, p. 12-13.

Although at the time the Soviets managed to contain this potential “deviation” – especially since the Italian Communists were heavily dependent on Soviet material support – it failed to do so later¹. After 1964 when Togliatti died, his successor, Luigi Longo employed great efforts to affirm his party’s autonomy from Moscow in order to better adapt to domestic conditions and improve his party’s chances for power accession². These efforts eventually led to the emergence of Euro-Communism a decade later but at that point Longo’s aims did not reach so far.

Fragmentation also manifested in Eastern Europe, as was the case with the Romanians and the Yugoslavs. While most of the other parties associated their struggle against Soviet domination with a different model of Socialist construction, the Romanians were not interested in experimenting in this field but only limited their international action to fighting off Soviet domination. Nevertheless, during the process, the Romanian Communist Party (onwards: PCR) did manage to reach a common platform with reformist parties such as the West Europeans and the Yugoslavs, by engaging firmly on the side of reform but only in what concerned inter-party relations. In order to give substance to such a common platform, the Romanians, especially Nicolae Ceaușescu’s regime, did not hesitate to defend other parties’ right to pursue a different model of Socialist construction, as liberal as that might have been. It was the case for example with Czechoslovakia and its reforms.

The common platform with the West European parties was the so-called *nuovo internazionalismo* meaning the reform of inter-party relations on bases of autonomy therefore rejecting Soviet control³. But for the Romanians, the cornerstone of reform was China. The Romanians believed that the best guarantee against Soviet pressures was keeping China active in the world Communist movement. Any Soviet attempt to arrange for a common condemnation of the Chinese for “deviation” was considered a peril to autonomy and Nicolae Ceaușescu invested significant energy in order to prevent that.

The first initiative aimed at convoking an international conference of Communist parties worldwide occurred at the beginning of 1966 as a Polish proposal. The official argumentation claimed that Communist parties needed to increase their support for the North Vietnamese cause in the struggle against American aggression and coordination was required in order to achieve that.

¹ *Ibidem*.

² Alexander Höbel, *II PCI di Luigi Longo (1964-1969)*, Prefazione di Francesco Barbagallo, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2010, p. 57-70.

³ See: Idem, *PCI e movimento comunista internazionale 1956-1964 Dal XX Congresso del PCUS al «Memoriale di Yalta»*, in Carlo Spagnolo, *Sul Memoriale di Yalta. Togliatti e la crisi del movimento comunista internazionale (1956-1964)*, Roma, Carocci, 2007.

Consultation among the Communists of the world would serve the North Vietnamese cause by exploring new forms of assistance, coordinating actions and so on¹. The Romanians firmly declined the Polish proposal. Discussions in the Permanent Presidium of the party revealed that Bucharest feared potential anti-Chinese implications deriving from such a conference². China was expected not to participate due to its feuds with Moscow and that involved a form of isolation for the Chinese in a *Cominform*-like style.

As the initiative failed to reach its purpose, the Romanians displayed their neutrality in the Sino-Soviet dispute in a rather provocative manner. In May 1966, Emil Bodnăraș traveled to North Vietnam to do an evaluation of the situation by Romanian eyes and his most important conclusion was that the North Vietnamese rejected any possible negotiations with the Americans and were in close contact with the Chinese. They considered that a conference of the Communist parties worldwide for coordination was futile in China's absence and disliked the idea altogether³. A month later, Nicolae Ceaușescu discussed the same issue with Zhou Enlai in Bucharest. The famous visit of the Chinese Premier to Bucharest, in June 1966, was at that time the greatest challenge addressed by PCR to the Soviets. The Chinese official made it clear in Bucharest that reconciliation with the Soviets was excluded and the idea of a conference for Vietnam was unfortunate as it only aimed to isolate China⁴.

At that moment PCR did not have to go too far with the opposition as the idea itself simply faded from discussions in the following months. Zhou Enlai's visit to Bucharest though generated terrible emotion in Moscow and served to warn Leonid Brezhnev that PCR was very determined in pursuing its independent course and preventing a common condemnation of China. In the fall of 1966 debates on the topic resumed, probably incited by Moscow only that this time there was no mention of the Vietnamese issue. In light of Willy Brandt's accession to power in a coalition government as vice-chancellor, a conference of the European Communist parties was considered necessary in order to discuss the position that was to be adopted vis-à-vis these changes.

PCR maintained a certain distance, refusing to engage in substantial discussions on the topic until the beginning of 1967. At that time though, other challenges emerged in PCR's relations with the Soviets and the other

¹ *Tovarășului Nicolae Ceaușescu, secretar general al Comitetului Central al Partidului Comunist Român*, in Service of the National Central Historical Archives (onwards: SANIC), fond CC al PCR, secția Cancelarie, folder no. 5/1966, f. 25.

² *Note de la ședința Prezidiului Permanent al CC al PCR din ziua de 19 ianuarie 1966*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cancelarie, folder no. 5/1966 f. 7.

³ *Stenograma ședinței Comitetului Executiv al CC al PCR din ziua de 17 mai 1966*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cancelarie, folder no. 77/1966, f. 23.

⁴ *Convorbiri oficiale 22 iunie 1966*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 82/1966, f. 109-110.

Communist parties. Romania's decision to establish diplomatic relations with West Germany in January 1967 caused great commotion among the other Socialist countries, especially in East Germany¹. The party press in Berlin strongly criticized Romania for not consulting with its Warsaw Pact partners before adopting such a crucial decision and this in turn caused an official protest from the Romanian Government which characterized the entire affair as involvement in Romania's domestic affairs.

It was under these tensed circumstances that the party newspaper "Scînteia" published an editorial in February 1967 clarifying PCR's position in the issue of a conference of European Communist parties². Using the dialectical approach, the text stated that victory in the struggle against imperialism depended on unity in the world Communist movement. Calling upon all parties to act united was an implicit reference to China which was also part of world Communism as much as the Soviets might have resented that. Also, in order to be more precise, the editorial stated clearly that it was only upon autonomy and non-interference in domestic affairs that unity could be achieved among Communist parties – somehow suggesting that it was the absence of these principles that caused the fracture represented by the Sino-Soviet split. The text did not hesitate to invoke the 1943 decision to dissolve the Communist International as proof that hierarchic, subordinated relations grouped around a political center could no longer represent an option for unity in world Communism³.

Nicolae Ceaușescu had the opportunity to tell these things to Leonid Brezhnev face to face in March 1967. The Soviet leader reacted rather abruptly to PCR's decision not to take part in a future conference and blamed the Romanians of betraying the principles of proletarian internationalism, but Nicolae Ceaușescu rejected all accusations. In the end, the meeting served only to convince the Soviets that PCR was actually willing to put up a fight on the topic and was not going to give in easily⁴. Back home, Nicolae Ceaușescu convoked a Plenum of the Central Committee to defend his position and the

¹ For further information on the establishment of Romanian-West German diplomatic relations, see: *România – Republica Federală Germania. Începutul relațiilor diplomatice 1966-1967*, vol. I, Dumitru Preda, Claudiu Florian, Ottmar Trașcă, eds., București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2009; Claudiu Mihail Florian, *Preliminariile stabilirii relațiilor diplomatice între România și RFG*, in Florin Anghel, Mioara Anton, Cosmin Popa, eds., *Hegemoniile trecutului. Evoluții românești și europene*, București, Editura Curtea Veche, 2006.

² "Scînteia", 28 February 1967.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Stenograma discuțiilor avute la Moscova, în zilele de 17-18 martie 1967*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 14/1967, f. 106 et passim.

Plenum voted unanimously for a resolution enforcing Ceaușescu's position during his talks with Brezhnev¹.

As preparations for the conference progressed in the spring of 1967 at the initiative of the Polish and French Communists, the PCR leadership decided to refuse participation officially. Its argument was that there should be guarantees from the organizers – and eventually a commitment of all participants – that no other party would be subjected to criticism or denunciation. What the Romanians had in mind was not only China, but themselves as well. In order to secure his position, the PCR leadership sent a letter to the other parties asking them all to provide guarantees against any attack but was refused, as expected². Eventually, Ceaușescu took further caution by convoking another CC Plenum to express solidarity with his position.

The conference took place in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, in April 1967, in the absence of PCR which was in itself a gesture of defiance to the USSR. The debates did not refer to China and only to issues of European security; given the circumstances, it is safe to presume that PCR's position did play a part in the decision to avoid the matter³. What seemed at first as a situation in which PCR appeared to be isolated turned out to be far from it. In the summer of 1967 the PCR leadership took part in a long series of consultations with the West European Communists, especially the Italians, French, Spanish and Portuguese. At the time, these parties seemed determined to defend new principles in the world Communist movement therefore sharing a common platform with PCR.

During these consultations, a new common denominator appeared in the thesis defended by the Italian Communist leader Luigi Longo: *allargamento*. In Italian it meant "enlargement" and the concept referred to the ideological enlargement of the world Communist movement towards other forces considered to be anti-imperialist in their orientation. Specifically, it referred to the movements of national and colonial liberation from third world countries and also to the Socialists and Social-Democrats in Europe. In Luigi Longo's view, success in the struggle against imperialism required an enlargement and strengthening of the front represented by Communists and this was why Communists did have to make certain ideological concessions in order to facilitate such a larger front⁴. For the Italians, *allargamento* served a domestic

¹ *Stenograma ședinței Plenare a CC al PCR din zilele de 27-28 martie 1967*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cămară, folder no. 43/1967, f. 119.

² *Scrisoarea CC al PCR adresată partidelor comuniste și muncitorești*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cămară, folder no. 55/1967, f. 9-11.

³ Harry Hanak, *Soviet Foreign Policy since the Death of Stalin*, Londra, Routledge, 1972, p. 100-102.

⁴ Maud Bracke, *Proletarian Internationalism...*, p. 26-28.

purpose as well: the Communists had virtually no chance to accede to government on their own but in a wider leftist coalition their chances could have grown significantly, but for that, the Communists needed an ideological back-up, a shift that would justify a coalition and provide it with legitimacy among the “fraternal parties”. This is why Luigi Longo was determined to have *allargamento* recognized by all Communist parties as a legitimate strategy.

During the consultations which took part in August 1967 in Bucharest, Luigi Longo and Nicolae Ceaușescu agreed that *allargamento* was an important strategy for the reform of world Communism and the PCR leadership expressed its support for cooperation with the Socialists, Social-Democrats and the national liberation movements. Such an agreement was extremely important for both sides especially because it helped both parties to avoid isolation; also, political and ideological retaliation against reform (as was the case with the etiquette “deviator”) was much more difficult if the reformists were united and larger in numbers¹. Santiago Carrillo of the Spanish Communist Party also expressed his support for reform and *allargamento* in Bucharest and assured Ceaușescu that PCR was not and could not be isolated because too many other parties, especially those from the West, shared its points of view².

These consultations were an important part of PCR’s preparations for a new Soviet initiative regarding an international conference of all Communist parties. In the fall 1967, Communist newspapers worldwide already started to publish articles about the so-called “necessity” of an international conference, arguing in favor of such consultations on reasons having to do with the “imperialist aggression” in Vietnam, the changing international environment and the new challenges facing the Communist parties of the world. N. Ceaușescu visited Moscow in November 1967 to take part in the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution but the topic of a conference was not discussed at that time³. He returned to Moscow a month later, accompanied by Premier Maurer, to discuss issues of bilateral relations and it was in that context that Leonid Brezhnev raised the problem of a conference, trying to explore PCR’s position in light of its absence from the Karlovy Vary meeting.

The matter caused another harsh exchange of replicas between Ceaușescu and Brezhnev. The PCR leader argued that a conference was inopportune at that moment when the world Communist movement was divided

¹ *Stenograma primirii de către tovarășul Nicolae Ceaușescu, secretar general al CC al PCR, la Eforie Nord, a tovarășului Luigi Longo, secretar general al Partidului Comunist Italian*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 61/1967, f. 31.

² *Stenograma convorbirilor dintre tovarășul Nicolae Ceaușescu, secretar general al CC al PCR, și tovarășul Santiago Carrillo, secretar general al Partidului Comunist din Spania*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 38/1967, f. 108.

³ “Scînteia”, 9 November 1967.

– an obvious reference to the Sino-Soviet split. Moreover, he added, there are numerous parties which disagree with the idea of a conference and many fear that such a conference would try to adopt programmatic documents in an attempt to restore the hierarchic structure of world Communism. This was unacceptable for PCR, mentioned Ceaușescu, and also expressed his fears that such a conference would only further divide world Communists instead of uniting them¹. This last reference was intended to reflect PCR's concern that the Soviets would try to have China "excommunicated" in the way Yugoslavia was decades before.

Leonid Brezhnev was rather aggressive on the topic which probably reflected Moscow's concern that PCR would refuse participation as it did in Karlovy Vary and that would have been an embarrassing situation for the Soviets. He clearly stated that no other party refuses the idea of a conference except from those closely associated with the Chinese. Also, he warned Ceaușescu that PCR's absence would have been very difficult to understand by Moscow and not only. He also rejected the *allargamento* ideas and Ceaușescu's argumentation on the topic but nevertheless offered assurances that no "excommunication" was intended by the Soviets².

N. Ceaușescu understood that another absence would have been too much for the Soviets to handle but remained firm on his position. As strong alliances were the best defense against Soviet pressures, he held another round of consultations in January 1968 with the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Yugoslav Communists, trying to assess their determination to stand together for the common principles as well as their decision to participate or not. At this point, it is safe to presume that these consultations played a major role in the decision-making process in Bucharest. It was probably Carlo Galluzzi's position that convinced Ceaușescu, as the Italians were clearly some of the most vocal opponents of Soviet domination in world Communism. Carlo Galluzzi told Ceaușescu that his party would participate in the conference and advised PCR to do the same, not as a capitulation in front of Moscow's pressures but especially to defend much better, from the inside, the principles of *nuovo internazionalismo*. In the absence of parties such as the Italian or the Romanian, the Soviets would have sufficient freedom of maneuver as to impose their own points of view. It was only to prevent such a situation that the Italians and the

¹ *Stenograma convorbirilor dintre delegațiile Partidului Comunist Român și Partidul Comunist al Uniunii Sovietice, Kremlin 14-15 decembrie 1967*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 101/1967, f. 18-29.

² *Ibidem*, f. 36-48.

Romanians should participate, he added¹. Later, I.B. Tito of Yugoslavia advised Ceaușescu in the same spirit².

Under these circumstances, a new Plenum of the Central Committee was convoked in February 1968 to discuss PCR's participation at the preparatory meeting of the future conference that was going to take place only weeks later in Budapest. The Plenum voted in favor of PCR's participation under the reserve that no Communist party would be criticized or attacked for its positions and policies and no programmatic document would be adopted³. Soon after, the Romanian chief-ideologist Paul Niculescu-Mizil met with Boris Ponomarev, chief of the International Section of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to discuss issues related to PCR's participation at the preparatory meeting. Niculescu-Mizil tried to obtain further assurances that no party would be attacked by the conference and the event would not become an anti-Chinese demonstration. Ponomarev assured Niculescu-Mizil that it was not in Moscow's intention to go in that direction, but kept a reserve when saying that other parties may raise the Chinese issue anyway, independent of Moscow's position⁴. In Bucharest was known, obviously, that nothing happened independent of Moscow when it came to international Communist gatherings but at that point that was everything PCR could gain from the Soviets.

The preparatory meeting was convoked at the end of February 1968 in Budapest as a test before summoning the long-awaited international conference. Its official purpose was to discuss the agenda and the organization of the future conference, to explore the position of various parties in regard to the changes on the international arena. PCR was represented by a delegation led by Paul Niculescu-Mizil. But the Romanian delegation did not stay long in Budapest: during the debates, the delegate of the Syrian Communist Party made some comments regarding PCR's foreign policy which were found offensive by Paul Niculescu-Mizil. Khaled Bagdash criticized Romania for not supporting the

¹ *Stenograma primirii de către tovarășul Nicolae Ceaușescu a tovarășului Carlo Galluzzi, membru al Direcțiunii PC Italian, Timișoara, 5 ianuarie 1968, în SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 2/1968, f. 13-18.*

² *Stenograma convorbirilor ce au avut loc în zilele de 3-4 ianuarie 1968 la Belje –RSFI, între tovarășul Nicolae Ceaușescu, secretar general al CC al PCR, președintele Consiliului de Stat al R.S. România, și tovarășul Iosip Broz Tito, președintele RSFI, președintele UCI, în SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 1/1968, f. 47-49.*

³ *Protocol no. 1 al ședinței plenare a Comitetului Central al PCR din ziua de 14 februarie 1968, în SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cancelarie, folder no. 21/1968, f. 3.*

⁴ *Stenograma discuțiilor dintre tovarășul Paul Niculescu-Mizil, membru al Comitetului Executiv, al Prezidiului Permanent, secretar al CC al Partidului Comunist Român și tovarășul Boris N. Ponomarev, secretar al CC al Partidului Comunist al Uniunii Sovietice, în SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 31/1968, f. 12-26.*

Arab cause in the conflict with Israel and Paul Niculescu-Mizil protested against his statement which he considered to be interference in Romania's domestic affairs. Invoking the principle of not criticizing other parties, Niculescu-Mizil demanded the Syrian delegate to withdraw his statement which he eventually did¹. The real problem occurred when N. Ceaușescu heard about the incident. The secretary general asked the delegation in Bucharest to demand the entire meeting to condemn the Syrian intervention but Niculescu-Mizil failed to obtain such a major gesture; most delegations felt that PCR had been given satisfaction by the Syrian retraction and no further action was necessary. Under such circumstances, N. Ceaușescu asked the Romanian delegation to leave the meeting and return home².

PCR's unexpected withdrawal from the conference on reasons thought by many to be inconsistent was actually a message addressed to L. Brezhnev. It was N. Ceaușescu's belief that the entire incident had been orchestrated by the Soviets in order to test the Romanian willingness and he made sure he would appear determined. At home, Ceaușescu did what he always did in situations such as this: covered his back by convoking a new Plenum of the Central Committee. The Plenum expressed its full support for Ceaușescu's decision to leave the preparatory meeting and reaffirmed the principles of inter-party relations for which PCR was fighting³. The preparatory meeting which continued in Budapest after Paul Niculescu-Mizil's departure decided to convoke the international conference of Communist parties worldwide in the fall of 1968, most likely November.

But the following months changed Leonid Brezhnev's list of priorities radically. The accelerated reforms in Prague called into question the very existence of the Socialist regime in Czechoslovakia and that caused terrible concern not only in Moscow, but also in neighboring countries which had sensible reasons to fear a potential spill-over. It was the case with Poland and East Germany especially⁴. For the West European Communists though, the "Prague Spring" was a very fortunate turn of events as they themselves tried to legitimate a different model of Socialism based on civic liberties, freedom of debate and pluralism, attributes that were specific to Western societies. In order to better adapt to domestic conditions, the Western Communists needed to adapt Communism itself to Western specificities, but nobody had tried anything

¹ *Stenograma ședinței Comitetului Executiv al CC al PCR din ziua de 29 februarie 1968*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cămară, folder no. 30/1968, f. 4-7.

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Stenograma ședinței plenare extraordinare a Comitetului Central al Partidului Comunist Român, din ziua de 1 martie 1968*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cămară, folder no. 31/1968, f. 6-7.

⁴ For details, see: Jaromír Navrátil, ed., *The Prague Spring 68: a national security archive documents reader*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 1998.

like that before. A success in Czechoslovakia had the potential to prove that Socialism could have been built in pluralistic conditions and therefore facilitate a peaceful accession to power for the West European Communist parties. Luigi Longo even traveled to Prague to express his support for the reforms¹.

For N. Ceaușescu, the stake was a bit more limited but important nonetheless. Regardless of the liberal content of the reforms – which the PCR leader practically chose to ignore – what Ceaușescu saw in the Czechoslovak effort was an attempt to shake off the Soviet domination. Practically, by exploring different forms of Socialism, the Czechoslovaks were, in Ceaușescu's view, doing the same as he was: defending the principle that Socialism had to be built without foreign interference. The fact that it was liberal in one country and not liberal in another was irrelevant for Ceaușescu, what was relevant was that it was different from the Soviet model and therefore a challenge to Soviet control. It was for these reasons that Ceaușescu defended the "Prague Spring" and later condemned the intervention of the five Socialist states.

The intervention in itself was a catastrophe for the West European Communists because it demonstrated that Socialism could not be reformed or liberalized. It also proved that the Soviet Union was as willing as it was in 1956 to use tanks in order to repress freedom of expression and this was indeed a major blow in front of the media and the electorate for all West European Communists². It was just as dangerous for Romania too because – as much as we would know now that Moscow did not intend to do the same in Romania – Nicolae Ceaușescu could simply not ignore the possibility of a similar intervention. If the Soviets were indeed willing to reinforce their point of view with tank power, the PCR leader knew that he himself had contradicted the Soviets way to many times.

The circumstances made it so that he was not alone in trying to avoid or postpone the conference initially planned for November 1968. Moscow itself preferred not to be confronted with criticism so the event was postponed after all for summer 1969. As tensions around the Soviet-led intervention in Czechoslovakia slowly defused in the fall of 1968, new challenges appeared for the Romanian cause only months before the scheduled conference. In March 1969 armed incidents occurred at the Sino-Soviet border which seemed to anticipate a fully-fledged military conflict between the two powers. At a Warsaw Pact meeting held only days later, Leonid Brezhnev tried to rally his

¹ *Ibidem*, p. 126.

² Valentine Lomellini, *The Two Europes: Continuity and Breaks 1968 and 1981, Eastern Crisis, Italian Outcomes*, in Michele Affinito, Guia Migani, Christian Wenkel, eds., *The Two Europes*, Bruxelles, Peter Lang, 2009, p. 61; Maud Bracke, *From the Atlantic to the Urals? Italian and French communism and the question of Europe, 1956-1973*, in "Journal of European Integration History", vol. 13, no. 2/2007, p. 47-48.

Eastern European allies against China but failed due to Ceaușescu's opposition¹. But pressured by criticism related to the intervention in Czechoslovakia and fearful of an escalation in the Sino-Soviet conflict, Brezhnev did not seem willing to force Ceaușescu's hand at that time². It is reasonable to presume that he feared estranging all the other allies by pushing things too far and was aware that most of his Warsaw Pact allies disliked the prospect of deeper involvement in Asia.

N. Ceaușescu tried to appease L. Brezhnev in May 1969 when he paid a visit to Moscow and had the chance to endure all the criticism Brezhnev wanted to express and did not have the chance before. Brezhnev blamed Ceaușescu for a presumably intentional agitation of spirits in Prague due to his visit there only days before the Soviet-led intervention and also for taking the Chinese side in the Sino-Soviet dispute³. N. Ceaușescu rejected all those allegations but his purpose there was not to convince Brezhnev of anything but rather to let him express his discontent and offer assurances of loyalty⁴. Apparently the visit was a success given the fact that, at the end, both parties expressed their wish to overcome the misunderstandings of the past. This did not in any way mean that Ceaușescu was willing to give in on his party's principles but only that he was planning to be more discreet in the future and avoid useless provocations, especially since he had already made his point very clear.

During spring 1969, the PCR delegation took active part in drawing up the draft document of the meeting. As the Soviets were interested in exaggerating the threat of imperialism – so it would justify their intervention in Czechoslovakia – PCR for example promoted an opposite vision, stressing the force of the Communist front and insisting that the struggle against imperialism would be much stronger if other non-Communist forces were to be co-opted (such as national liberation movements in the third world)⁵. In Ceaușescu's own

¹ *Protocol no. 9 al ședinței Comitetului Executiv al CC al PCR din ziua de 11 martie 1969*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cămară, folder no. 37/1969, f. 1.

² *Stenograma ședinței Comitetului Executiv al CC al PCR din ziua de 18 martie 1969*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cămară, folder no. 40/1969, f. 7-8.

³ *Stenograma discuțiilor dintre conducătorii de partid și de stat ai RS România și URSS, Moscova 16 mai 1969*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 25/1969, f. 55. The transcript of the meeting was published in: Vasile Buga, «Dezgheș» în relațiile româno-sovietice. *Stenograma convorbirilor de la Moscova din mai 1969, I*, in “Arhivele totalitarismului”, no. 1-2/2013, p. 218-241; idem, «Dezgheș» în relațiile româno-sovietice. *Stenograma convorbirilor de la Moscova din mai 1969, II*, in “Arhivele totalitarismului”, no. 3-4/2013, p. 225-248.

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 45.

⁵ *Notă cu privire la lucrările de pregătire a proiectului de document al Consfățuirii internaționale a partidelor comuniste și muncitorești, cu ordinea de zi: “Sarcinile luptei împotriva imperialismului în etapa actuală și unitatea de acțiune a partidelor comuniste și*

words, “the document was not worth anything anyway” so PCR should sign it¹. Its content was discussed in a meeting of the party leadership in April 1969. Also, PCR’s concern about a possible Soviet attempt to impose already-made decisions upon all participants is visible from the Romanian insistence that the document be considered only a draft and a final version would be adopted only by the plenum of the conference with the approval of all participants.

The international conference of Communist and Workers parties worldwide took place in Moscow between 5-11 June 1969. A number of 75 parties were represented there and only few absented among which the most prominent was the Chinese party². PCR was represented by a delegation led by N. Ceaușescu and his right-hand at the time, Paul Niculescu-Mizil. They were determined to defend the same point of view in reference to China and to prevent a common denunciation, but in a cautious manner. For Brezhnev, the conference was a success from any perspective; even if he failed to have a common denunciation of China, the fact itself that so many parties gathered in Moscow to discuss issues of world Communism was a manifestation of solidarity that the Soviets terribly needed in circumstances of ideological fragmentation.

Still, L. Brezhnev did make an attempt to raise the Chinese issue in spite all assurances. In the evening before the conference opening, at an informal meeting of the Soviet leadership with party delegations from the Socialist countries, L. Brezhnev announced his intention to raise the Chinese issue during talks. He argued that the Chinese leaders launched new attacks against Moscow at their latest congress and that could not go unanswered. Most of those present defended Brezhnev’s point of view except Ceaușescu who reacted vehemently³. He asked the participants to respect both the previous agreements and the spirit of the final document and threatened to leave the conference and go back to Bucharest to ask for a mandate from the Central Committee on the Chinese issue. This terribly bothered the Soviets as a public dispute on such a topic would have ruined their credibility. Premier Alexei Kosygin warned Ceaușescu that if he was to make everything public, Moscow would deny that the discussion even took place. In the end it was Brezhnev who back down and said that he will think about it in the following days⁴.

muncitorești, a tuturor forțelor anti-imperialiste, în SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Cămară, folder no. 54/1969, f. 99-101.

¹ *Stenograma ședinței Comitetului Executiv al CC al PCR din ziua de 9 aprilie 1969*, în SANIC, fond CC al PCR, folder no. 54/1969, f. 27.

² *Lucrările Consfătuirii internaționale a partidelor comuniste și muncitorești*, în “Scînteia”, 6 June 1969.

³ *Notă. Întâlnirea delegațiilor PCUS, PCR, PMUP, PSUG, PMSU, PC din Cehoslovacia, PC Bulgar și PPR Mongol*, în SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 39/1969, f. 51-67.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

The course of events proved that he was only trying to defuse the tension momentarily. During his speech on 7 June 1969, Leonid Brezhnev did raise the Chinese issue and strongly criticized the positions adopted by the Chinese leaders. He blamed them of the military incidents in the spring and also blamed them for fragmenting the world Communist movement. It is representative for Ceaușescu's position of appeasement that, in spite his earlier warnings, he did not leave the conference but only reasserted PCR's position on China during his own speech¹. It was not an abandonment of his previous position but rather a change of strategies. In light of the risks involved by the Soviet-led intervention in Czechoslovakia, he chose not to provoke Moscow any further but rather take satisfaction in what was, after all, a victory.

It was a victory especially because the Chinese issue was not formally discussed as a topic of the conference as the Soviets might have wished and it was also a victory because there was no final document condemning the Chinese "deviation" or "excommunicating" China from the world Communist movement. From this point of view, PCR's goals had been fully achieved and provocation was regarded as futile. A supplementary proof of this is Ceaușescu's talks with the Italian Communist Enrico Berlinguer when he asked the Italians not to raise the issue of Czechoslovakia either because PCR would have to restate its position from August 1968 and that would only irritate the Soviets without any practice gain².

The conference in Moscow was an apparent success for Moscow too, hiding its failures and marking the establishment of a new status quo among Communist parties of the world. It succeeded in not discussing the intervention in Czechoslovakia, no party raised this issue and allowed Moscow to take all the public benefits from such a gathering, respectively the demonstration of unity and solidarity. Behind it though, there was deep division: the Romanians would continue to oppose resistance to Soviet control, the Chinese would continue to remain separated from world Communism and the West European Communist would slowly drift towards an ideological alternative, namely Euro-communism. It was a success in that it managed to hide the rifts and was a failure in that it could not identify solutions to the real rifts that existed behind the façade. In the end, the international conference of the Communist and Workers parties worldwide marked a new stage in the evolution of Moscow's relations with the other Communist parties and a step forward towards a new form of internationalism, one without hierarchy or a leading center.

¹ *Declarația tovarășului Nicolae Ceaușescu în cadrul Consfăturii internaționale a partidelor comuniste și muncitorești*, in "Scînteia", 7 June 1969.

² *Notă privind întâlnirea dintre tov. Nicolae Ceaușescu și delegația PC Italian, condusă de tov. E. Berlinguer, la 5 iunie 1969*, in SANIC, fond CC al PCR, secția Relații Externe, folder no. 39/1969, f. 87-94.

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**ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF ROMANIA
UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU**

*Lucian Dindirică**

Abstract

The establishment of the communist regime in Romania was a complete rupture, an uprooting of the old frames and obvious patterns of everyday life in all its aspects: social, economic, administrative and private.

In the latter report, the text presents administrative policies that have produced legal effects on the national territory, especially during the leadership of Nicolae Ceaușescu. If initially, the first stage of Romanian communism, the administrative-territorial organisation of Romania will be a faithful copy of specific organization of Russian territory, Nicolae Ceaușescu's rise to power coincided with a distancing in relation to the pressure exerted by Moscow, the measures adopted by the Romanian leader eliminate the administrative foreign developments of our historical evolution (abolition of regions and districts), restoring gradually and with partial success, the old administrative-territorial paradigm: the reestablishment of counties and municipalities, units with a long tradition in the Romanian space.

Key words: *Nicolae Ceaușescu, Communist Regime, Administrative-territorial Organization, Romania*

The institution of the communist regime brought along a rupture from the past in almost every aspect of the social life and, more painfully, even private.

The administrative organization couldn't be an exception. The abandonment of the existing general framework in the Romanian space from almost a century and the implementation of a new one, according to the Soviet model, seem to be represented by one of the priorities of the new power, if we think to the fastness with which the changes were made.

As a whole, the transformation through which the administrative organization passed, trustfully reflects the political climate from Romania and even its international attitude, especially the reports with Moscow. If, firstly, the division of the country into regions and districts – with the absolute news represented by the creation of an Autonomous Magyar Region – can be also interpreted as an act of obedience for USSR, during the next decades we can

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notice a gradual spacing, having as guiding moment the year 1960 and culminating with the Soviet model and the apparent return to the Romanian traditional model, in 1968, when the rupture from Kremlin was already public.

A very important aspect to be seized is the discrepancy between theory, legal framework and administrative practice. Strict declaratively, the purpose of the communism was to bring the administration as close as possible to the citizens and to make it more efficient. Juridically, this idea was meant to be reflected in the creation of several administrative entities: localities (of various types), districts, regions, all of these as legal personalities, with own deliberative (chosen) bodies – councils, conceived according to the Soviet model – and own executive bodies. This represented a premiere in the Romanian space. That is why, getting only through the normative documents, without following the administration functioning practice, we could have the impression of a decentralization without precedent. But, in fact, the hierarchy was very narrow, the administrative units had a decision freedom extremely reduced, being submitted to a very strict control from the center.

Despite the statements, the real purpose wasn't to decentralize – so to democratize – but, on the contrary, to establish a more rigorous hierarchy. It seemed that, in epoch, through rationalization one would have understood the rigorous exercise of the control from the center on the entire territory, of all bodies and of all its actions.

Herewith, we shouldn't ignore the fact that the bodies of local administration were always under the authority *de facto* – and sometimes even *jure* – of party bodies. Therefore, the situation was bizarre, each body being submitted to a double control: of the corresponding party body and of the superior administrative body.

Another aspect we shall take into account is the difficulty to institute a satisfying administrative organization, even under the conditions of a totalitarian regime, which could institute it in a discretionary way. Several changes from the '50-'60s prove that the regime, although it could do anything, didn't know what to do. Romanian administration was in a permanent transformation, this being, as a matter of fact, the only similitude with the epoch of constitutional monarchy.

The decisive action of Nicolae Ceaușescu, from 1968, with return to the ancient organization in counties, shall be understood in the wide context of its internal and international policy. The abandonment of the Soviet model represented, first of all, except the spacing from Moscow and an internal liberalization form. But, in time, as the regime became more frozen, within the administrative framework of '70-'80s, the practices from the '50-'60s were noticed.

The communist regime destroyed the fragile Romanian administrative tradition without putting anything in its place. It didn't succeed to impose a functional model. The fact that the administration functioned is explained through the authority practices of the regime, not through the coherence of the organization model. Once fallen the strong hand which held it tight, the Romanian administration entered in a disorder status, being needed more than two decades of searching in order to remedy the situation.

The “premature” disappearance of Stalin and the internal fights for the appointment of his descendant (the winner was Nikita Sergheevici Hrușciiov) produced, in domino system, reactions and troubles in all European South-East States under the Moscow control. Hrușciiov, in war with Stalin's heritage, prefers to unmask the atrocities of the regime so presenting himself in a favorable, providential light, attacking all the figures imposed and supported by Stalin in different functions, not only inside USSR, but also at the level of the communist parties managed by faithful men of the defunct leader. This thing was obvious once with the destalinization start given after the presentation of the Secret Report of Hrușciiov at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party from the Soviet Union. Feeling himself aimed by the roller of changes from Moscow, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej reorientates himself towards the Occident, aiming a consolidation of his internal position. After the unsuccessful revolution from Hungary, in 1958, enjoying the “prestige obtained in the eyes of Hrușciiov”, the Romanian leader succeeded the retirement of Soviet troops stationed from Romania¹.

The Chino-Soviet divergences, the escalation of tensions between USSR and China and the positioning of Romania as mediator, allowed our country to show its independence inside the communist block without repercussions from outside. Known in historiography as “The statement from April”, this claimed that any communist party couldn't impose to another “its model and that the relationships between the communist countries shall be based on the respect of the independence and on the non-interference in the internal affairs”².

The distance from Moscow policy and the ideological changes also forced the change of the constitutional framework and its adaptation to the new political realities.

The Great National Assembly chosen on 7th of March 1965 represented a commission for the review of the constitution from 1952.

The plenary session of the party approved the review project of the fundamental law on 28th of June, the operation followed shortly by voting and assuming the policy changes in the constitutional order. This episode

¹ Gheorghe Sbârnă, coord., *Constituțiile României: studii*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun, 2012, p. 90-93.

² *Ibidem*, p. 93.

significantly bind and rename operation, the rebranding of the Romanian Workers' Party becomes, thus, the Romanian Communist Party, changing the entitle being set within the framework of the IVth Congress of the PMR, which now becomes the IXth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was dead (19th of March) and at the head of the party was chosen Nicolae Ceaușescu, his protected.

The new Constitution is voted on 21st of August 1965 and promulgated in the same day. Again, the denomination of the state is changed in the Socialist Republic of Romania. Regarding the local administration, the Title V reiterated the attributions and the obligations of the local administration, of people's councils, composed forward from president, vice-president and members.

In the administrative field, on 16th of February 1968 takes place the first change made through the Law no. 2/1968¹. This, after the Plenary Session CC of PCR from 5-6th of October 1967 proposed new principles for the administrative-territorial reorganization of the country, the changes being adopted at the National Conference of PCR from 6-8th of December 1967.

Once adopted, the law brings significant changes. The People's Councils are renamed Popular Councils, but the most important change is that which abolish the regions and the districts, returning to traditional counties. In respect to townships and towns, these were managed by mayors and the municipalities were refunded.

Thus, the administrative units of Romania became the county, the town and the township, Bucharest municipality was organized on sectors and the important towns, “with a particular importance in the economic, social-political and cultural-scientific life of the country”, became municipalities.

The people's councils were replaced with popular councils, which had the role to manage and to guide the activity of local specialty bodies of state administration. The Romania's territory was divided in 2706 townships, 189 towns, 47 municipalities, 39 counties and Bucharest municipality with 8 sectors.

The counties, formed by townships and towns, were defined as “fundamental units of administrative-territorial organization of the country – depending on the geographical, economic and social-political, ethnic conditions and on the cultural and traditional relations of the population” (art. 3). According to the art. 9, their counties and residencies² were:

1. Alba with the residence in Alba Iulia municipality
2. Arad with the residence in Arad municipality

¹ “Monitorul Oficial” al Republicii Socialiste România, Partea I, an IV, nr. 17-18, 17 februarie 1968.

² Towns where the governing bodies of the county have the head offices – art. 4 from Law no. 2/1968.

3. Argeș with the residence in Pitești municipality
4. Bacău with the residence in Bacău municipality
5. Bihor with the residence in Oradea municipality
6. Bistrița-Năsăud with the residence in Bistrița town
7. Botoșani with the residence in Botoșani municipality
8. Brașov with the residence in Brașov municipality
9. Brăila with the residence in Brăila municipality
10. Buzău with the residence in Buzău municipality
11. Caraș-Severin with the residence in Reșița municipality
12. Cluj with the residence in Cluj municipality
13. Constanța with the residence in Constanța municipality
14. Covasna with the residence in Sfântu Gheorghe town
15. Dâmbovița with the residence in Târgoviște municipality
16. Dolj with the residence in Craiova municipality
17. Galați with the residence in Galați municipality
18. Gorj with the residence in Târgu Jiu municipality
19. Harghita with the residence in Miercurea-Ciuc town
20. Hunedoara with the residence in Deva municipality
21. Ialomița with the residence in Slobozia town
22. Iași with the residence in Iași municipality
23. Ilfov with the residence in Bucharest municipality
24. Maramureș with the residence in Baia Mare municipality
25. Mehedinți with the residence in Turnu Severin municipality
26. Mureș with the residence in Târgu Mureș municipality
27. Neamț with the residence in Piatra-Neamț municipality
28. Olt with the residence in Slatina town
29. Prahova with the residence in Ploiești municipality
30. Satu Mare with the residence in Satu Mare municipality
31. Sălaj with the residence in Zalău town
32. Sibiu with the residence in Sibiu municipality
33. Suceava with the residence in Suceava municipality
34. Teleorman with the residence in Alexandria town
35. Timiș with the residence in Timișoara municipality
36. Tulcea with the residence in Tulcea municipality
37. Vaslui with the residence in Vaslui town
38. Vâlcea with the residence in Râmnicu Vâlcea town
39. Vrancea with the residence in Focșani municipality.

Towns were population centers “more developed from the economic, social-cultural and urban public-geographical point of view. Towns with a large number of inhabitants, a significant importance in the economic, social-political

and cultural-scientific life of the country or which have development conditions in these directions can be organized as municipalities” (art. 4). According to the art. 10, these were:

1. Alba Iulia
2. Arad
3. Bacău
4. Baia Mare
5. Bârlad
6. Botoșani
7. Brașov
8. Brăila
9. Buzău
10. Călărași
11. Cluj
12. Constanța
13. Craiova
14. Dej
15. Deva
16. Focșani
17. Galați
18. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej
19. Giurgiu
20. Hunedoara
21. Iași
22. Lugoj
23. Mediaș
24. Odorheiul Secuiesc
25. Oradea
26. Petroșani
27. Piatra-Neamț
28. Pitești
29. Ploiești
30. Reșița
31. Roman
32. Satu Mare
33. Sibiu
34. Sighetul Marmăției
35. Sighișoara
36. Suceava
37. Tecuci
38. Timișoara

39. Târgoviște
40. Târgu Jiu
41. Târgu Mureș
42. Tulcea
43. Turda
44. Turnu Măgurele
45. Turnu Severin

The township, the smallest administrative-territorial unit “included the rural population, unified through a community of interests and traditions, being composed of one or several villages” (art. 5)

Herewith, the capital was divided in sectors, numbered (art. 8). Changes of the administrative organization were operated through the Decree of the State Council no. 281 from 27th of July 1979. The number of sectors from the Capital was reduced to six.

On 23rd of January 1981, Ilfov and Ialomița counties were reorganized, meaning that were created the counties Giurgiu and Călărași, through the division of these two and the foundation of the Agricultural Sector Ilfov.

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**ARMÉE CAMEROUNAISE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE
ET SOCIAL DE LA NATION: LE CAS DU GÉNIE MILITAIRE
(1962-2012)**

*Virginie Wanyaka Bonguen Oyongmen**

Résumé

Cette étude que nous abordons vise un objectif, celui de montrer les apports de l'armée camerounaise au processus de développement économique du pays à travers ses différentes actions. Il faut dire en effet que les forces armées camerounaises participent de manière active à la réalisation des objectifs qui leur ont été confiés par le gouvernement que ce soit en temps de paix ou en temps de guerre. Aussi, dans l'élaboration de cette politique participative mise en place, l'armée, outre ses missions traditionnelles, est un acteur du développement, tant sur le plan économique que social. Dans cette étude, nous avons mis en avant une unité spécialisée «le Génie militaire» qui œuvre de différentes manières à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des populations à travers la construction des dessertes d'utilisation publique, des réalisations sociales générant des fonds leur permettant de s'autofinancer. Le but ultime de ce travail est de montrer la participation de l'armée à la construction de l'Etat du Cameroun.

Nous avons utilisé principalement deux types de sources: les sources primaires à travers rapports, arrêtés et les sources secondaires à travers des entretiens qui ont été effectués afin de compléter certaines informations et de comprendre la motivation des militaires du génie militaire à la construction de l'Etat du Cameroun.

Mots clés: *Cameroun, Histoire Militaire, Génie Militaire, Architecture Militaire*

Introduction Générale

A l'origine, les «engénieurs» (ingénieurs) étaient chargés de manier les «engins» lors des sièges. Le génie militaire¹ fait partie des armes dites savantes. Encore appelée *combat engineer* ou *military engineer*, cette arme s'est donné une image intelligente et redoutable car étant au service du gouvernement en exécutant uniquement les chantiers de l'Etat. Le génie est né des techniques

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¹ Le Génie militaire désigne l'art de la construction des ouvrages militaires mais également la technique de maintien de l'infrastructure de communication. Il est étroitement associé à l'ingénierie en bâtiments et travaux publics.

employées pour attaquer et défendre les places fortes. Il est de ce fait, le service constructeur et le gestionnaire domanial du ministère de la Défense.

Le Génie est une arme de l'armée de Terre. Elle a pour mission d'organiser le terrain au profit des troupes amies et comporte un service propre à chaque armée (Terre, Mer, Air), chargé de conduire et éventuellement de réaliser les travaux d'infrastructure prescrits par le commandement.

Dans le domaine du combat, la mission du Génie est double: l'appui direct et l'appui général. L'appui direct comprend l'appui à la mobilité (faciliter la manœuvre amie) et la participation à la contre – mobilité (entraver la manœuvre ennemie). Le Génie est composé de sapeurs qui organisent le terrain (constructions de tranchées, d'obstacles, de casemates, minage de pont, de routes...), assurent le franchissement des coupures du terrain (pont sur les cours d'eau, forages de tunnels, travaux de sape pour détruire des fortifications...) et permettent le passage des unités du corps de bataille (démontage, destruction d'obstacles...)¹.

Dans cette étude, il est question de la participation du Génie militaire camerounais au développement économique de la nation. La manifestation de ses apports aux grands chantiers gouvernementaux, sa spécificité par rapport aux entreprises et ses différentes interventions d'intérêt commun au profit de toutes les couches sociales. Notre approche est de mettre en exergue les potentialités de ce corps de métier qui, en marge de ses missions traditionnelles, œuvre au bien-être des populations à travers sa production. Il ne s'agit pas de faire l'apologie de cette arme mais de montrer ses actions au regard de son capital technique dû à une formation d'appoint avant insertion et des spécialisations et recyclages en interne². Aussi, dans cette perspective, nous avons abordé le développement économique de manière globale comme étant l'ensemble des activités relatives à la production. Et le développement militaire, nous l'avons associé à un déploiement des forces armées dans les domaines tels que le politique, l'économique, le culturel et le social.

Pour une bonne frange de la population, l'armée est un grand gouffre financier de l'Etat.

Une telle perception des forces de défense peut se comprendre à la vue des missions traditionnelles de ce corps. Mais, l'approche des armées en temps de guerre est différente de ses missions en temps de paix et, une fois la

¹ www.defense.gouv.fr «les missions du génie militaire».

² Il existe au sein du Génie militaire deux types de recrutement: d'un côté il y a un recrutement pour spécialistes du Génie civil et de l'autre, un recrutement pour le personnel devant servir dans le Génie combat. Il s'agit dans ce cas de figure d'un recrutement ordinaire. Les personnels recrutés se spécialisent au sein de l'armée. Avant la création du Centre Spécialisé d'Instruction, et d'Application et de Perfectionnement du Génie (CSIAP-GEN) en novembre 2012, ce personnel non spécialiste poursuivait des stages de formation et de recyclage au Centre d'Instruction du 21^{ème} Régiment à Douala.

pacification du Cameroun terminée en 1971, elle s'est vue confier des tâches à vocation économique.

Dans son allocution fêtant le 20^{ème} anniversaire des forces armées, le président Ahmadou Ahidjo disait que les forces armées devaient toujours être prêtes à assumer efficacement leur rôle d'avant-garde¹. Et, cette mission² faisait partie des missions spécifiques de développement qui lui ont été confiées et dont le souci majeur est l'intégration de l'armée dans la vie de la nation.

Outre certains aspects, l'armée est un corps aussi qualifié que les administrations civiles car regorgeant de techniciens supérieurs dans des domaines clés, faisant d'elle, une armée de métier par certains côtés et dans certaines spécialités. L'armée camerounaise à travers le Génie militaire a participé activement à la pacification du Cameroun et, une fois les derniers nids de rébellion éradiqués, ce corps opta pour les aspirations gouvernementales consistant à la participation effective et efficiente au développement économique de la nation³. Avec la reconnaissance de la «camerounité» de la presqu'île de Bakassi, le Génie militaire entreprit de viabiliser toute la péninsule par des travaux de terrassement et de construction d'intérêt national. Avec les différents travaux entrepris jusque-là, le Génie militaire est un sérieux concurrent pour les sociétés civiles du fait de la petitesse des coûts proposés mais aussi de ses élans sécuritaires⁴. A travers les faits présentés, il appert opportun de se poser la question de savoir si l'armée camerounaise à travers certaines structures peut être considérée comme un agent économique susceptible d'apport dans le processus du développement économique du pays. L'objectif est de démontrer le rôle que joue le Génie militaire dans le processus développemental du Cameroun à travers ces différentes réalisations de la période allant de sa création en 1962 à 2012.

I. Le génie militaire camerounais: De la Compagnie à la Direction du Génie militaire

Le Génie militaire contribue au développement de la nation non seulement par le maintien et le rétablissement de l'ordre public car étant une

¹ V. Hameni Bieleu, *Politique de défense et Sécurité nationale du Cameroun*, Paris, l'harmattan, 2012, p. 443.

² *Ibidem*. En référence à leur sens élevé du devoir, leur patriotisme et leur loyalisme qui étaient pour lui les garants de l'engagement et de la disponibilité permanente dans le cadre de leur mission d'avant-garde.

³ V. Wanyaka Bonguen O., *Forces armées et développement économique et social au Cameroun de 1960 à nos jours*, Mémoire de maîtrise en Histoire, Université de Yaoundé I, 1998, p. 55.

⁴ Les différents informateurs que nous avons interrogés nous disent qu'il y a certains travaux d'intérêt général que seule l'armée peut exécuter en raison de sa particularité.

force de 3^{ème} catégorie, mais également par ses actions sur le plan économique et social.

A cet effet, certaines tâches lui ont été assignées pendant et après la pacification; il s'agit des tâches suivantes: les travaux de terrassement et la réalisation des infrastructures.

1. Les grandes phases évolutives du Génie militaire Camerounais

Dès sa création le 1^{er} novembre 1959, en effet, l'armée camerounaise s'est vue confier la réalisation des travaux d'intérêt général pour faciliter la pénétration de ses troupes dans les zones troublées par la rébellion armée¹. La première compagnie du Génie est créée le 1^{er} août 1962². L'idée de la création de cette nouvelle unité de l'armée camerounaise naîtra de l'urgence de certains travaux à effectuer et au vu du manque de cadres, le gouvernement français mettra à la disposition des forces de maintien de l'ordre opérant dans les régions troublées, un détachement du Génie chargé d'œuvrer dans la zone; une tâche qui se poursuivra jusqu'en 1962³. Ce détachement de Génie français permit le rétablissement des voies de communications et d'itinéraires endommagés dans la région Bamileké et dans la Sanaga Maritime. Cette action facilita la manœuvre des forces de maintien de l'ordre dans la traque aux insurgés et le rétablissement d'itinéraires. En Août 1962, la première compagnie du Génie militaire de l'armée camerounaise fut créée. Au départ, les unités de cette compagnie étaient réduites et leur mission au départ était l'accompagnement de l'infanterie.

Organisée sur le type du Génie de combat, la compagnie disposait d'un matériel très réduit avec des lots de destruction, de charpentier et de pionnier. Les missions évoluèrent dès 1963 à cause de certaines nécessités opérationnelles vers des travaux d'intérêt national⁴. Dès lors, la compagnie entreprit des travaux routiers au profit de l'administration tels que la réfection des pistes, la construction des ponts dans la région bamileké... Celles-ci permirent l'avancée des troupes (œuvre du Génie de combat). Cette action eut

¹ La rébellion armée est un mouvement militaire mis sur pied par les nationalistes camerounais dans le but de contrer les actions gouvernementales par des actes répréhensibles par la loi.

² *Livre d'or des Forces Armées camerounaises, 1960-1980*, Ed Média, NP.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ Il faut tout de même dire que le Cameroun est en pleine période de pacification, la construction de ce tronçon, certes d'intérêt national, avait des visées beaucoup plus militaires car cette route permettait de traquer les rebelles jusqu'à leurs «maquis» fort reculés et d'accès difficile. La création des dessertes permettant l'avancée des troupes par le Génie combat fut importante pour l'armée mais également pour les populations des localités environnantes car elle permit le désenclavement de certaines localités.

une incidence certaine sur les plans économiques et sociaux et permit aux populations une «reprise de confiance»¹.

Avec la «camerounisation» de cette arme le 1^{er} novembre 1964², le génie se vit confier la réalisation des travaux neufs comme la mise en valeur de la région Yabassi-Bafang³. En 1965, la compagnie put commencer à assurer la formation de ses spécialistes et les premières formations des conducteurs d'engins lourds débuta en juin 1965. Le 1^{er} novembre 1966, la compagnie fut transformée en bataillon du Génie et chaque section devint une compagnie des travaux, à l'exception de la section de commandement qui devint compagnie de commandement et des services. Elle eut pour mission essentielle de gérer le personnel et les matériels ainsi que l'instruction de ses éléments. En juillet 1973, le bataillon devient le Commandement du Génie militaire, en application du décret n° 73/313 du 21 juin 1973⁴. Le Commandement du Génie militaire devint commandement Spécialisé du Génie militaire relevant directement du ministre des forces armées en juillet 1976⁵. Dès lors, il fut noté une réelle évolution des structures au sein de cette arme spécialisée qui comprit dorénavant: Un Etat-major; Deux services (le Service Administratif et Technique et le Service des Etudes Techniques), et trois groupements: le Groupement des Commandements et des Services; le Groupement des Travaux Lourds et le Groupement d'Instruction et de Combat. Enfin, le 5 novembre 1985, le Commandement Spécialisé du Génie militaire fut scindé en Régiment du Génie et en Direction du Génie par le Décret n° 83/540⁶. Ces deux structures relevèrent directement de l'Etat-major des Armées en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre. La Direction du Génie en fut l'organe de conception et le Régiment, celui d'exécution⁷.

C'est à partir de ce décret que le Génie militaire eut la nomenclature que nous lui connaissons aujourd'hui. Les derniers décrets d'importance de cette

¹ La construction de cette voie de communication permit l'acheminement des denrées vers les centres et le désenclavement de la localité.

² La «camerounisation» est ce processus amorcé au lendemain de l'indépendance du Cameroun qui permit aux nationaux la reprise, voire la gestion de leurs propres affaires au lendemain du départ des Français.

³ *Livre d'Or des Forces Armées Camerounaises*.

⁴ AMD, Documents internes de la Direction du Génie Militaire. Décret n°73/313 du 21 juin 1973 réorganisant l'Armée de Terre.

⁵ AMD, Décret n°76/287 du 6 juillet 1976 portant création et organisation du commandement du Génie militaire.

⁶ AMD, Décret 83/540 du 05 novembre 1983 portant organisation du Ministère des Forces Armées et du Commandement.

⁷ J.Kamgaing, Col, Directeur du génie militaire, Yaoundé, le 23 mai 2014.

arme sont ceux relatifs à la création de nouveaux régiments tels que Garoua et Sangmélima¹.

La direction du Génie militaire est chargée des études techniques d'infrastructures; de la conception, l'étude et le suivi des travaux; de la réalisation des travaux en régies; du contrôle des travaux; de l'entretien des infrastructures; de l'appui Génie aux Armées; de l'élaboration et du suivi de la réglementation dans le domaine des mines, des explosifs et des restes d'explosifs de guerre; de la participation à l'élaboration et à l'exécution du budget du Génie militaire et des travaux qui lui sont confiés par le gouvernement dans le cadre de la participation des Forces de Défense au développement économique et social de la nation².

La Direction du Génie militaire comprend: un secrétariat; le bureau des moyens généraux; le bureau de la comptabilité matière; le service technique; le service administratif et financier; le service emploi et logistique et le service informatique. Dans la participation du Génie militaire à l'œuvre de construction nationale, c'est le service technique qui, à travers ses différents bureaux (Topographie-cartographie-architecture, calculs, évaluations et normalisation, reprographie et archives techniques, laboratoire géotechnique), se charge de la conception, de l'étude, du suivi des travaux; de l'élaboration des programmes d'entretien, de rénovation et d'aménagement et d'extension suivant les directives; de l'expertise des chantiers; de l'élaboration des rapports d'avancement et de réception des travaux, etc.³

Les missions du Régiment du Génie militaire, Regen, en temps de paix diffèrent de celles en temps de guerre. En effet, en temps de paix, le Regen participe à l'instruction, au maintien en condition des personnels, au perfectionnement, à la réalisation des travaux dans le cadre de la participation au développement économique et social, au maintien en condition des matériels et au soutien logistique des détachements. En temps de crise, il participe aux opérations de maintien de l'ordre en tant que force de 3^{ème} catégorie et en temps de guerre, il en a de spécifiques: elles concernent l'appui direct (qui regroupe toutes les missions de participation au combat de contact); l'appui à la mobilité, l'appui à la contre-mobilité, l'aide au déploiement et le renseignement⁴. En permanence, le Génie participe à l'acquisition du renseignement milieu. Ce renseignement concerne le terrain et ses obstacles naturels ou artificiels, l'infrastructure, les ressources locales en matériel, matériaux et main d'œuvre

¹ AMD. Décret n°2012/572 du 29 novembre 2012 portant création et organisation du génie militaire, p. 1.

² AMD. Décret n°2012/571 du 29 novembre 2012 portant réorganisation et fonctionnement de la Direction du Génie Militaire, p.2-3.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ Azang Mengo'o, Col., Yaoundé le 23 octobre 1997.

éventuellement nécessaires aux travaux d'infrastructure à entreprendre, les ressources en eau et électricité, les zones susceptibles d'être contaminées ou polluées. La variété des zones d'engagement possibles et la diversité des missions rendent au renseignement terrain¹ une importance qui est trop souvent oubliée ou mésestimée, même sur des terrains parfaitement connus.

2. La formation et le recyclage du personnel

Les militaires du Génie sont issus de deux types de recrutement. Dans le premier cas, il s'agit d'un recrutement spécial pour spécialistes du Génie civil. Ces derniers sont des diplômés de l'Enseignement supérieur issus de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Travaux publics, de Polytechnique et de l'Ecole Spéciale d'architecture dans des spécialités d'ingénierie. Ces personnels présentent un concours normal d'admission à l'Ecole Militaire Interarmées du Cameroun. Au bout d'une formation de deux ans, ils en ressortent avec le grade de lieutenant et sont affectés au Génie militaire où ils feront carrière. A côté de cette formation de base, il y a des stages de recyclages en interne qui se passent en grande partie dans les pays amis du Cameroun et principalement en France. Au Cameroun, en matière de concours et de recrutement, il existe ce que les politiques appellent l'équilibre régional car ils estiment que les dix régions du pays n'ont pas les mêmes avantages en matière d'éducation². Dans le second cas, il n'existe pas de concours mais un recrutement ordinaire et la formation est de deux ordres: une commune de base et une par spécialité. Cette formation va des soldats aux gradés, sous-officiers et officiers. La formation se déroule dans les Centres d'Instruction Spécialisés des armes à vocation générale avant une orientation vers les centres spécialisés des différentes Armes³. Quant aux stages de qualification, ils sont organisés dans les armes spécialisées soit au Cameroun soit à l'étranger. Ils permettent aux différents stagiaires d'obtenir des Certificats d'Aptitude Technique (CAT) et des Brevets d'aptitude. Après ces stages de qualifications, ils suivent des stages de qualification de spécialité (BS), organisées au Cameroun ou à l'étranger⁴. Ceux-ci leur permettent

¹ Le *renseignement terrain* est issu du *renseignement génie* sans lequel aucune action ne peut être entreprise correctement (aucun renseignement carte, aucun renseignement d'archives en général n'est suffisamment fiable, s'il n'est pas confirmé par une reconnaissance très récente, pour permettre un engagement correct des moyens du génie). La notion de *renseignement terrain* doit être prise dans son sens le plus large et ne concerne donc plus seulement les aptitudes du terrain à la mobilité et à la contre-mobilité. Cf. www.defense.gouv.fr

² Certains facteurs sont la cause de ces problèmes: les enseignants ne parviennent parfois pas à s'intégrer à leur lieu d'affectation du fait de la culture; l'éloignement; le minimum vital par rapport aux grands centres urbains.

³ Il existe, entre autres, l'Ecole d'Armes Blindées Cavalerie (ABC); le Train (Transport); le Matériel, les Transmissions; le Génie; la Santé, etc.

⁴ V. Wanyaka Bonguen. O., *op. cit.*, p. 43.

d'acquérir des performances génie dans les différentes spécialités rentrant en droite ligne avec la réalisation d'un édifice¹. Avant la création du Centre Spécialisé d'Instruction, et d'Application et de Perfectionnement du Génie (CSIAP-GEN) en novembre 2012, ce personnel non spécialiste poursuivait des stages de formation et de recyclage au Groupement d'Instruction et de combat au Régiment du Génie militaire à Douala.

Le Centre Spécialisé d'Instruction, d'Application et de Perfectionnement du Génie s'occupe, entre autres, de la formation initiale, continue et de l'instruction des personnels non officiers; de la formation des spécialistes de l'Arme du Génie et le recyclage des unités de cette Arme, de l'application et du perfectionnement des officiers de l'arme du Génie et enfin de la formation des personnels non officiers².

Au regard de ce qui précède, l'on peut dire que la formation, le perfectionnement et le recyclage dans cette arme permet aux militaires du Génie de faire face à tous les défis qui sont les leur dans leur apport à la construction du Cameroun. Depuis quelques années, on retrouve au sein des forces armées camerounaises, des personnels ayant de la moelle grise issue des universités et grandes écoles étatiques. En plus de la formation qu'ils reçoivent du fait de leur appartenance, les militaires des forces de défense sont pétris d'expériences tant pratiques que théoriques.

II. Des travaux d'intérêt stratégique et national.

Au départ, limitée à l'action du Génie combat, la compagnie du Génie allait dès 1964 s'occuper des grands chantiers nationaux au profit de l'administration et des populations. Le Génie militaire œuvra pour le développement de la nation camerounaise à travers ses réalisations. Ci-dessous, l'on peut observer la construction d'un pont reliant deux localités qui a été réalisé par le Génie militaire. De plus, l'on ne saurait évoquer le patrimoine bâti sans aborder les divers travaux de construction routier entrepris par cette arme spécialisée.

Le Génie militaire de sa création à 2010 a réalisé plus de 13.350.000m³ de terrassement. Cette structure n'a cessé d'être engagée dans des travaux d'infrastructure comportant pour la plupart, la mise en œuvre des produits noirs³. Les ouvrages réalisés ont nécessité des travaux très importants en volume et en tonnage.

¹ Obam Asser, Lieutenant, 35 ans environ, ingénieur du génie civil en service à la Direction du Génie Militaire, Yaoundé le 13 mai 2014.

² AMD. Décret n°2012/573 du 29 novembre 2012 portant création du Centre Spécialisé d'Instruction, d'Application et de Perfectionnement du Génie. p.2.

³ J.R. Youmba, «Le génie», *Livre d'or des forces armées camerounaises*, Paris, Ed. Média. NP

Dans cette étude sur la participation du Génie militaire au patrimoine bâti national, un groupement fut mis en place: le groupement des travaux d'infrastructures¹.

Photo n°1: Les éléments du génie militaire
dans la construction d'un pont reliant deux localités



Source: *Honneur et Fidélité*, Numéro spécial 20 mai 2008, p. 24.

1. Les travaux de terrassement

Les deux actions (terrassement et construction) quoique différentes sont liées. Stratégiques, en ce sens que relevant de ce que l'on peut nommer d'ordre sécuritaire car pouvant porter atteinte à la sécurité de l'Etat. Dans ce cas de figure, aucune société civile ne peut réaliser des travaux de cet ordre. Seul le génie militaire est habilité à exécuter ce type de travaux.

Le Génie militaire par le biais du Groupement des Travaux et d'Infrastructures anciennement appelé Groupement des Travaux Lourds mena dès 1963, des actions dans le but de faciliter les divers travaux routiers et infrastructurels².

¹ Ce groupement est composé de trois compagnies de travaux suivant les régiments. Le 11^{ème} régiment du génie militaire comprend par exemple la 111^{ème}, La 112^{ème} et la 113^{ème} compagnie des travaux tandis que le 21^{ème} Regen est constitué de la 211^{ème} à la 213^{ème} compagnie de travaux. La compagnie des travaux s'occupe prioritairement des travaux routiers et d'infrastructures.

² A côté du rétablissement de certains itinéraires de manœuvres, plusieurs terrains d'aviations furent étudiés tels que Bafang, Mbouda, Bamenda et Bafoussam.

Le terrassement dans une logique normative, permet de donner à la route un profil régulier et des pentes qui s'accordent avec des règles en vigueur¹. Plusieurs travaux furent effectués dans le cadre de l'urbanisation au profit de la maétur à Yaoundé à partir de 1985².

2. Les travaux de construction

Du point de vue architectural, le Génie militaire a pris part à de nombreux travaux³. En 1995, le Génie militaire construisit les installations devant accueillir le Pape Jean-Paul II⁴. Bien que n'ayant pas beaucoup été sollicité dans la construction des Edifices publics (Ministères, Hôpitaux, Ecoles, etc.), le Génie militaire a cependant assuré la construction de certains édifices à l'intérieur des camps ou à proximité de ceux-ci⁵. Le recours au Génie militaire obéit à des raisons sécuritaires car une société civile ne peut décemment avoir la possibilité d'intervenir au sein d'une garnison militaire alors qu'il existe une structure au sein de l'armée pouvant s'en occuper. De 1970 à 1992, le Génie eut à construire 29 bâtiments⁶ et restaura de vieux bâtiments tels que l'hôpital laquintinie à Douala, l'école maternelle et le Lycée Joss ainsi que plusieurs autres infirmeries de la place⁷.

¹ R. Kom, 40 ans environ. Ingénieur de Génie civil en service à la direction du Génie militaire, Yaoundé le 12 septembre 2013.

² Azang Mengo'o, col., Yaoundé le 23 octobre 1997. Ces différents travaux sont: le lotissement de Nsimeyon, l'aménagement du lotissement de Mfandena, la liaison routière Yabassi-Bafang, l'axe routier Nkolbisson-Zamengoé, De l'échangeur simplifié de Warda, etc.

³ A. Elumé Eyah, «*Exposé sur le régiment du génie*», officier stagiaire de la 14^e CEM, 1996. Nous pouvons citer, entre autres: la construction du château du 51^e CIR de Bertoua; l'échangeur de Zamengoué de 1975 à 1976; le parcours du combattant à Yaoundé en 1976; le parcours Vita de Yaoundé de 1985-1987; la zone de saut BTAP de Koutaba entre 1986 et 1987; la réfection du champ de tir de Yansoki- Douala de 1986 à 1987; le parcours Vita de Douala en 1990 suivi de la construction de l'aéroport de Yaoundé-Nsimalen et de la base aérienne de Garoua.

⁴ A cette occasion, trois tribunes et la loge papale furent construites pour une capacité totale d'environ dix mille unités en plus de l'aménagement du portique d'entrée de la base aérienne qui fut réalisé à partir du matériel local.

⁵ Nous parlions précédemment du volet sécuritaire. En effet, lorsqu'il s'agit des chantiers touchant la sécurité de l'Etat, le Génie militaire est la seule structure pouvant exécuter ces travaux.

⁶ La villa du COMAT à Yaoundé; le camp militaire de Koutaba; le camp des officiers supérieurs à Yaoundé; le bureau du COMAT à Yaoundé; le camp militaire d'Ekondo Titi; la base des fusilliers marins d'Ekondo Titi; l'extension du CIFAN à Ngaoundéré; le CATAT à Yaoundé; la tour du saut para de Koutaba; la justice militaire de Douala; la Radio diffusion de Yaoundé; le camp militaire de Ngaoundéré; la construction de la caserne du 12^e Bafumaco Mundemba; la construction de la caserne du 11^e Bafumaco d'Ekondo titi; la construction de la caserne du 32^e BIA à Mora, Cf. Eyah Elumé. Références incomplètes.

⁷ Lobé Etia, L/col, Douala, le 12 février 1998.

Photo n° 2: Le Ministre délégué à la présidence chargé de la défense, Alain Mebe Ngo'o en compagnie du général Camille Nkoa Atenga, chef d'Etat-major de l'Armée de Terre, du Contre-Amiral Ngouah Ngally Chef d'etat-major de la Marine et du Directeur du Génie militaire, le Colonel Jackson Kamgaing lors de la visite de la construction de l'immeuble devant abriter le Secrétariat d'Etat à la Défense en charge des Anciens combattants et Victimes de Guerre.



Source: *Honneur et Fidélité*, Edition spéciale décembre 2013, p. 16.

En 1996 par exemple, lors de la préparation du sommet de l'OUA, le Génie militaire eut à construire trois kilomètres de route bitumée entre le lieu-dit Warda au quartier Tsinga dans la ville de Yaoundé.

Photo n° 3: Bitumage de la route allant du carrefour Warda à la nouvelle route Bastos



Source: *Honneur et Fidélité*, Numéro Spécial 20 mai 2008, p. 14.

Passant sur une zone accidentée, elle nécessita des travaux de drainage importants et de soutènement en escarpement. Pour la réalisation de ce travail, il fallut un important matériel tant militaire que civil compte tenu de la durée des travaux (mars-juillet 1996)¹. La main d'œuvre retenue fut d'une part en fonction du volume des travaux à accomplir et d'autre part, du délai imposé pour l'exécution de ceux-ci qui était de 6 mois en temps sec et de 3 mois en temps de pluie. Aussi, la mobilisation se fit par l'utilisation d'une unité du Génie militaire (80 hommes) et d'un personnel civil d'appoint (80 hommes)². La rémunération établie au titre d'employés temporaires variait entre 30.000 francs CFA et 60.000 francs CFA par mois. Pour la réalisation de cette œuvre, le gouvernement proposa un devis de 1 milliard 850 millions de francs CFA. Aucune société civile ne soumit des services en-dessous de la somme proposée. Le Génie militaire, avec un devis de 550 millions de francs CFA, put réaliser les travaux et, du fait de la contraction des délais et de la main d'œuvre d'appoint, le devis fut porté à 620 millions de francs CFA environ³. Ce coût relativement bas permit à l'Etat de réaliser un bénéfice de 1 milliard 220 millions de francs CFA et de s'exprimer dans des travaux de même type dans des endroits différents.

Sur un tout autre plan, après la rétrocession de la presqu'île de Bakassi au Cameroun, le gouvernement mit sur pied une politique de développement des infrastructures économiques, éducatives, sociales, culturelles et sécuritaire dans la péninsule. A travers ces actions civilo-militaires, le Génie militaire put réaliser plusieurs travaux de construction et de réhabilitation des infrastructures socio-éducatives dans la péninsule.

Entre 2007 et 2012, le Génie militaire réalisa et réhabilita des infrastructures dans les localités d'Akwa Abedimo, Mbenmong, Wanyo, Issobo, Barracks, Idabato 2, Kombo à Munga etc.

¹ Le matériel utilisé pour la réalisation de ce travail fut: 5 camions gros porteurs (12m³) et 4 camions d'environ 6 m³ chacun, un bulldozer équivalent au D7, une pelle chargeuse sur chenille, une pelle chargeuse sur roue, une pelle ex cavatrice sur chenille, une petite pelle excavatrice sur châssis, deux niveleuses, 4 compacteurs, une citerne à eau, un petit compacteur manuel, un tracteur élévateur, un petit compacteur à gente lisse pour compacter les tranchées, 1 camion épandeur de bitume, une semi-remorque, un tracteur porte chars une auto gravillonnante etc. Entretien réalisé en 1997 avec le Colonel Azang Mengo'o, Dirgen à l'époque.

² V. Wanyaka Bonguen. O., *Forces Armées et Développement Economique...*, p. 55.

³ *Ibidem*.

Photo n°4: Travaux de finalisation d'une école dans la péninsule de Bakassi
par le Génie militaire



Source: AMD. Documents internes de la Direction du Génie Militaire à Yaoundé

Photo n°5: Ecole en construction à Kombo a Munja III par le Génie Militaire. Cette illustration montre qu'il s'agit de «gros bras», des hommes à la force physique particulière. Ils sont solides, trapus mais, un constat et non des moindres, l'absence quasi-totale de la gent féminine. Est-ce à dire qu'elles n'ont pas les capacités requises pour faire partie de cette arme spécialisée?



Source: AMD. Documents internes de la Direction du Génie Militaire à Yaoundé

Photo n°6: Les techniciens du Génie militaire en plein exercice de construction dans une zone d'accès difficile. Les sacs remplis de sable que l'on observe sur cette illustration permettent la rétention de la terre et la stabilisation de l'espace.



Source: AMD. Documents internes de la Direction du Génie Militaire à Yaoundé

Photo n°7: Les artisans du Génie devant un chalet semi-fini construit en matériau local



Source: AMD. Documents internes de la Direction du Génie Militaire à Yaoundé

Photo n°8: Les élèves dans une salle de classe de la péninsule de Bakassi construite et équipée par le Génie militaire



Source: AMD. Documents internes de la Direction du Génie Militaire à Yaoundé

Cette photo est une illustration du savoir-faire et de la participation des forces de défense camerounaise à travers le Génie militaire au devenir de la jeunesse camerounaise. Une contribution qui intervient dans l'amélioration des conditions de vie des couches sociales défavorisées. En 2007, cinq écoles primaires furent réhabilitées et équipées dans les localités d'Akwa, d'Issobo, de Mbenmong et de Wanyo. Ces réhabilitations furent financées par le Fonds spécial de la Présidence de la République. Au cours de l'exercice budgétaire 2008 par exemple, trois écoles primaires à cycle complet furent construites dans les localités de Kumbo A Munja II, de Kumbo A Munja I et à Kumbo A Munja III. La première école fut financée par le Fonds spécial de la Présidence de la République, tandis que les deux autres le furent par le budget d'investissement du Ministère des éducations de Base et le Fonds Européen de Développement, pour un montant de 140.000.000¹. Les taux d'exécution physique et financier furent réalisés à 100% par le Génie Militaire.

¹ AMD. Documents consultés à la Direction du Génie Militaire sur les réalisations du Génie dans la péninsule de Bakassi de la période allant de 2007 à 2013.

Photo n°9: Une construction d'adduction d'eau potable
réalisée par le Génie militaire



Source: AMD. Documents internes de la Direction du Génie Militaire à Yaoundé

Au cours de l'exercice budgétaire 2007 par exemple, le Génie militaire réhabilita quatre adductions d'eau avec installation de panneau solaire pour le pompage d'eau dans les localités d'Issobo, d'Akwa, de Mbenmong et de Wanyo.

Ces travaux furent financés par le Fonds spécial de la présidence du Cameroun¹. Ces réalisations en adduction d'eau potable permirent aux populations de mener une vie décente. Au-delà de toutes les réalisations effectuées par cette unité spécialisée, il va sans dire que le Génie militaire, grâce à ces divers travaux, permet à l'Etat de faire des économies de l'ordre au moins de 60°/° sur les prix fixés par les sociétés privées. Ce corps de métier utilise une main d'œuvre civile d'appoint et fait dans la sous-traitance. Le Génie militaire, grâce à ses modestes devis, s'est chargé de construire ces dessertes à la satisfaction des populations civiles tel que démontré ci-dessous².

¹ *Ibidem*.

² Il faut dire ici que la joie ressentie par les populations de la péninsule de Bakassi fut d'un grand réconfort pour ces hommes en tenues qui ne ménagèrent aucun effort à la réalisation de ses infrastructures éducatives et sociales destinées à leur bien-être.

Photo n° 10: Le Chef d'Etat-major des armées, le général de corps d'Armée, René Claude Meka et des officiers supérieurs accueillis par les populations lors de l'inauguration de la route Mundemba-Isangelé-Akwa



Source: *honneur et fidélité*, mai 2010, p. 64.

Le Génie militaire n'effectue pas de marchés publics mais signe des conventions avec les administrations pour la réalisation de certains projets. Chaque projet comporte plusieurs chantiers qui sont exécutés après signature des contrats avec la direction du Génie militaire pour la réalisation des travaux. Une note de service organise le projet et en désigne les différents responsables. La durée des chantiers varie en fonction des ouvrages et, en règle générale, dans la construction des bâtiments, le Génie utilise principalement le matériel définitif et dans une moindre mesure le provisoire par l'utilisation du bois non traité.

Conclusion

Cette étude est le prolongement d'un précédent travail entrepris il y a plusieurs années¹ où nous mettions en avant le rôle socio-économique des forces armées camerounaises. Dix ans après le premier constat, nous maintenons notre point de vue sur la participation des forces armées au processus de construction nationale de l'Etat du Cameroun.

Les différents travaux réalisés par le Génie militaire sont d'une fiabilité certaine mais, il est difficile de les chiffrer à cause du secret qui entoure parfois les forces de défense. Nous pouvons à la vue de ce qui précède dire que l'armée

¹ Nous faisons allusion à notre travail de Maîtrise portant sur *Forces Armées et développement économique et social au Cameroun de 1960 à Nos jours*, soutenu à l'Université de Yaoundé I en 1999.

camerounaise participe activement à rehausser l'image de marque de l'armée à travers ses réalisations (ce n'est pas l'idée majeure). Il y a surtout le fait que le Génie participe à l'œuvre de développement. C'est une structure qui vient au secours des structures étatiques et qui, par l'expertise dont elle fait montre, participe à l'effort de construction nationale. Possible de rappeler que l'utilisation des forces militaires à la construction nationale par la réalisation des édifices n'est pas une œuvre nouvelle. Dans l'Antiquité, ce sont les militaires, en l'occurrence les légionnaires, qui étaient affectés à la réalisation des tâches de toutes natures. L'administration romaine s'y est appuyée pour asseoir le développement de Rome et des provinces et d'étendre son hégémonie sur le monde habité de l'époque. Nonobstant tout ce qui a été relevé, le choix de la péninsule de Bakassi n'est pas fortuit. Il a permis de mettre en exergue toutes les réalisations à caractère social réalisés par le Génie militaire dans l'intervalle allant de 2007 à 2012. Ces différents travaux ont été financés par la République du Cameroun, la Coopération française, le Fonds européen de développement, le Fonds social de développement de l'ambassade de France, le Fonds spécial des télécommunications, etc.

En effet, la rétrocession de la péninsule de Bakassi au Cameroun permet aux éléments de ce corps de métier de s'activer afin de viabiliser cette localité de mangrove au travers des réalisations à but social. L'accroissement des capacités militaires dans les bâtiments et travaux publics fut destiné à réaliser un programme précis. La construction des voies de communications permet une visibilité des différentes potentialités d'une arme hautement spécialisée et qualifiée dont l'un des objectifs prioritaires de la hiérarchie fut la stimulation au développement économique de ce corps d'armée. Il ne s'agissait pas dans cette étude de faire une apologie du génie militaire mais de montrer ses différentes réalisations, fruit d'une formation technique d'appoint. Pour l'imagerie populaire, les militaires sont taxés de «gros bras». Cette image désuète que les populations ont des forces de défense doit disparaître et cela passe par la connaissance des différents apports de ce corps à la réalisation à l'unité nationale.

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THE MARITIME PIRACY IN ITS SECOND YOUTH

*Nicolae Melinescu**

Abstract

Maritime piracy was a major threat for international trade and communication from the depths of time. After its peak in the early XVIIIth century, it seemed to have been long gone and forgotten. The early 1990s witnessed a resurgence of plundering, hostage taking and ships illegal arresting on the open seas or along national coasts, mainly in the Gulf of Aden and the Gulf of Guinea. The Malacca straits, always a dangerous passage between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific remained a black hole for numerous vessels seized by local criminals who resold them under false names with forged documents for the black market. The danger along the world sea routes has been growing and forced the international community – Romania included – to fight with the means of modern technology and ships against a process which caused more than two billion dollars of direct and collateral damages in one year only.

Key words: *Maritime Piracy, Sea Safety, Civilian Hostages, Ransom, Law of the Sea, Romanian Navy*

Ships, boats or even rafts loaded with cruel robbers roaming around the seven seas always provided criminal crews with quick money made by threats, robbery and even murder in order to acquire goods for which they had never raised a finger and yet were coming their way for free. Maritime piracy as old as sailing itself was not always considered a crime. In ancient times pirates were associated to armed people sailing in search of adventure and bravery.

In the Greek and Roman times, the term “pirate” discriminated only between undesirables and the regular subjects of local noblemen. It was their victims only who identified them as thieves and barbarous attackers. The perpetrators of heinous acts committed on the open sea never assumed the title. Some of the most outrageous aggressions against trading ships were recorded initially not in chronicles or historical documents but in legends.

One of the earliest such popular stories was that of Minos, the powerful ruler of Crete. Herodotus and Thucydides thought that the legendary son of Zeus and Europa cleared the sea of piracy as far as he was able to improve his venue (Thuc. 1.4.). “Thucydides seems to imply that piracy was common among the Greeks of the eighth century B.C. as does Strabo when he reports the

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claim of Eratosthenes that the early Greeks sailed abroad for both trade and piracy (Str. 1.3.2.). Herodotus also mentions Greeks from Ionia voyaging to Egypt for plunder in the time of the first Saite pharaoh, Psammenotichos (664 / 610 B.C.)”¹.

Lionel Casson noted in his turn that pirates were from the earliest appearance in ancient literature regarded with some disapproval. It was also possible for a pirate to achieve high standards as a result of plundering, so that in the Homeric world piracy was not necessarily a shameful or deplorable activity. “Pirates were the bringers of harm whose presence may be less beneficial than that of traders, but there is also a suggestion that pirates were more glamorous since they risked much in their pursuit of gains”².

Ancient adventures, mostly in the Mediterranean, were recorded either as attacks against merchant vessels or as a revenge against a ruthless ruler. Gradually, piracy started to be regarded as a war-like act committed by outcasts who engaged in acts of robbery or criminal violence at sea. The term applied both to raids against the coastal human settlements and off shore on the open sea. A new reality emerged when the meaning of the term was expanded once the “privateer” differentiated pirates from navigators authorized by their rulers through a letter of marque to attack and rob vessels of their enemy.

As for the Black Sea, the Romanian writer Eugen Botez, known under his pen name of Jean Bart noted that people living on the Romanian territories used the water ways from the beginning of time when “sailing was identified with piracy. The local populations having its roots along the Danube and the Black Sea is certain to have sailed around. It intermingled with other tribes coming from the North like the Pechenegs, the Cumans and robbed the light vessels along the coast, upstream the Dnepr and downstream to the Bosphorus close to the walls of Byzantium. These primeval mariners cut Sviatoslav’s³ transit from Kiev to Tsarigrad”, the Slavish name of Constantinople⁴.

Vikings proved to be the most far-reaching pirates in the European Middle Ages. From 783 A.D. until 1066 they sailed to the British Isles, to Italy, Northern Africa in search of food, women, and a warmer climate. “The southward movement of the Varangian tribes was part of the grand nomad

¹ Philip de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 15.

² Hans van Wees, *Homeric Warfare*, in Ian Morris and Barry Powell, *A New Companion to Homer*, Leyden, New York, Köln, Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava, 1996, p. 668-669.

³ Sviatoslav I Igorevich (c. 942-972), Prince of Rus. His decade-long reign over was marked by rapid expansion into the Volga River valley, the Pontic steppe, and the Balkans. See Mikhail Artamanov, *Istoriya Khazar*, Leningrad, 1962.

⁴ Jean Bart (Eugen Botez), *O corabie românească. Nava-școală Brikul “Mircea”*, in *Liga navală românească. Din conferințele Universității libere “Coasta de argint”*, București, Institut de arte grafice E. Mârvan, 1931, p. 9.

expansion that scattered the Vikings all over the open sea and exposed Western Europe to their piracy exploits. Such movement was undoubtedly caused by the overpopulation from the poor areas of the north”¹. Strong and harsh men living in a demanding environment, excellent sailors in their long boats, Vikings came down along the Eastern European great rivers to reach the Black Sea and Constantinople before the harsh winter set in their birthplace from the north. “They raided the coasts, rivers and inland cities of all Western Europe as far as Seville, attacked coasts in the Northern Africa and Italy. They also plundered all the coasts of the Baltic Sea, ascending the rivers of Eastern Europe as far as the Black Sea and Persia”². To prove the feasibility of such trans-continental trips which skeptics considered most unlikely to have happened in the IXth or the Xth century, Erik Nylén, a Swedish archeologist, built a replica of a long boat to retrace his ancestors’ adventure between 1983 and 1985. At the height of the Cold War he sailed successfully from the Baltic Sea, down the Vistula, through the Duhla straits in the Carpathian Mountains. Then he moved along the Tisa and the Danube to reach Constantinople after 142 days of actual sailing³.

The Middle Ages witnessed an unprecedented outburst of pirate raids carried out by the so-called “Barbary pirates” of Islamic confession who ransacked the shores of southern Europe and attacked trading ships carrying goods to and from the Middle East. Famous captains like Aruj and Jereddin became king makers once the Ottomans substituted the Roman domination of the Mediterranean and settled their caliphates on the North African coast. When the Christian Crusades rolled European armies to the Holy Land, Muslim pirates became strategic assets for the sultans in their fight against the knights. Barbarosa brothers, Murat Rais, Uluj Ali gathered huge naval armies totaling almost a thousand vessels and thousands of fighters. It took European kings a lot of power, money and soldiers to face the pirates’ wave in the Mediterranean to regain some of the safety of the trading routes. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the entire Mediterranean was an Islamic pool where the Ottomans, joined by converted Europeans and Jews made the rules with the help of pirates.

The Black Sea too came under the Sultan’s control although his navy had to fight now and then the Cossacks who plundered the eastern shores. Pirates from the north targeted not only Turkish ships, but they attacked daringly the heartland of Anatolia and closed in the Constantinople itself on more than one occasions. Charles King wrote that such people could have been the products of a frontier society neighbouring the new empire that changed the

¹ Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Marea Neagră*, vol. I, București, Editura Meridiane, 1988, p. 290-291.

² www.geni.com/projects/Pirates-and-Privateers/978, accessed 2 February 2014.

³ Erik Nylén, *Vikingaskepp mot Miklagård-Kampmaken i österlaad (A Viking against Constantinople – Krampmaken eastward)*, Stockholm, 1987.

Black Sea into a Turkish lake. Polish-Lithuanians, Muscovites, local Muslims and nomadic herders all named generically Cossacks challenged the Polish and the Ottoman authority “offering their services as freebooters – the word Cossack probably derives from *kazak*, a Turkish word for “free-man” – to whichever sovereign could pay the highest fee”¹. They sailed in small, light boats that helped them to dribble the massive Turkish vessels. At the end of their raids, Cossacks sailed up Dnepr and found refuge upstream from the rapids in the river. Unlike the Mediterranean, the Black Sea did not witness actual acts of piracy, but rather short raids of plunder along the coast, both on trading vessels and on human settlements close to the waterline. Barbary pirates mustered large fleets able to face the armadas commanded by famous admirals like Jean Parisot la Valette, the hero of the victory over the Turkish siege against Malta in 1565. In retrospect Voltaire wrote that the victory of the Christian alliance “undoubtedly contributed to the eventual erosion of the European perception of Ottoman invincibility and marked a new phase in Spanish domination of the Mediterranean”².

The Black Sea, a rather whimsical continental stretch of water was more like a playground for gangs sailing on light vessels always ready to supplement their sources with the wine, grain, lumber, animal skins, oil and other essentials from the captured merchant vessels. No huge battles occurred on its waves and the skirmishes recorded by chronicles ended up quickly with a chase of a day or two concluded when the attackers faded into the sunset. One of the reasons of such brief exploits was the fact that the Black Sea had been on the route from eastern Mediterranean to the Caucasus area and central Asia covered by great armies since Alexander the Great and the Persian King Darius. The Cossacks’ forays proved that the Ottomans, initially land tribes with little or no sailing abilities at all, could not actually rule the waves of the Black Sea “except during seasons of war when troops might descend on local villages to burn crops and requisition livestock”³.

All along the Middle Ages and in the early modern times brief piracy encounters were recorded on the Black Sea. Navy colonel Corneliu Buchholtzer pointed out that as late as 1853 the town of Sulina, standing at the point where one of the Danube’s branches opens into the Black Sea was inhabited by almost one thousand Ionians, Greeks and Maltese living in wooden barges on the beach. “Piracy was thriving in this area. These people pretended to be pilots always ready to take vessels coming from the sea upriver to unload in Galati. They intently grounded the trade ships into the sand and mud. Most of the

¹ Charles King, *Odessa: Genius and Death in a City of Dreams*, W.W. Norton, 2011, p. 33.

² Quoted by Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. II, Berkeley CA, University of California Press, 1995.

³ Charles King, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

sailing companies would abandon them and their cargo because it was too expensive to rescue them. What the ‘pilots’ did was to pillage the contents once the crew was gone and let the wreckage rot”¹. It seems that similar schemes worked until the first decades of the XXth century. One local paper reported that as late as 1932 a Dutch cargo vessel loaded with wheat grains was trapped and looted by the same schemes, but the information could not be triangulated from independent and reliable sources.

As centuries span off the time line of history, elsewhere in the world, piracy contemplated the new horizon opened by the discovery of the Americas. First, the slave trading from Western Africa to the plantations around the Caribbean, then the plundering of the Spanish galleons carrying the riches of the Inca and Maya kingdoms attracted pirates from Europe. With them a new term emerged, that of buccaneers, outlaws of French origin living in northern Brazil who used to smoke meat on a *buccan*, a wooden frame built for the purpose. They dominated part of the Caribbean in the late XVIIth century but sailed as far as the Indian Ocean, chasing mainly Spanish or Portuguese galleons loaded with gold, silver, spices and precious stones. They operated in the vicinity of famous English or Irish pirates, all intent to live a life of danger and luxury on the cargo of the sailing ships they captured.

Each and every dare-devil experienced a short life of adventure and comfort spiced with rum, local women, gold, and finally with the gallows erected on the docks of London or in the new colonies from North America, at a time improperly called ‘The Golden Age’ of piracy. “They committed a crime so odious and horrid in all its circumstances that those who have treated on that subject have been at a loss from words and terms to stamp a sufficient ignominy upon it. Their contemporaries called them *sea monsters*, *Hell hounds*, and *The Robbers*, *Opposers* and *Violators of the Laws Humane and Divine*. Some believed they were *the Devil incarnate*. Others suspected they were *Children of the Wicked one* himself. Danger lurked in their smiles”². Once more, large fleets sailing under the Jolly Roger made tradesmen shiver and pray for the safety of their cargo shuttling to and from Europe and the North Atlantic newly discovered lands and their treasures. “Piracy reaches a peak around 1720, when some two thousand pirates were terrorizing ships on both sides of the Atlantic and seriously were threatening the trade of the American colonies”³. Combined operations of the British Royal Navy and other major maritime powers reduced the threats of piracy and its domination ended lamentably towards 1720s when some of them found their haven in the Pirates’ republic of Madagascar, a

¹ Corneliu Buchholtzer, *Ce e marea?*, București, Tipografia Brănișteanu, 1925, p. 145-146.

² Peter T. Leeson, *The Invisible Hook. The Hidden Economics of Pirates*, Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 2009, p. 1.

³ David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*, Random House, 2006.

congregation of old, and sick seafarers isolated from the rest of the world. A large number of the former pirates were caught and hanged and very few died of natural causes. Edward Teach “Blackbeard”, Jack Racham, Calico Jack and his two amazons Anne Bonny and Mary Reade, Bartholomew Roberts ended their days in violent deaths, fighting against the Royal Navy¹. Their exploits and their deaths were recorded by a mysterious Captain Johnson, frequently perceived as a sobriquet of Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe’s literary father.

Legends augmented facts which in their turn brokered new stories highly speculated by ignorant script writers from Hollywood, too easily lured to conflate fact and fiction in diminutive thrillers populated by Captain Hook, Captain Blood and, more recently, by Captain Philips. Truth should be told that piracy was a savage act against sailors and passengers. It brought pain, terror and even death to innocent travelers who imagined that water ways were safer than the dirt roads.

More often than not, whenever maritime piracy turned into an actual underground money-making industry, Romanians dedicated their abilities and knowledge to the defence of freedom and justice and joined the international effort to suppress sea robbery and plunder. One of the most convincing examples was Ion Ghica (1816-1897). “The way he fought ship-attackers was told by himself with the gift of turning business-as-usual into a story starring Ali-Baba”². The descendent of an old Romanian noble family that had produced several High Spatharuses, Inspectors of police, and nine princes of the land in Muntenia (Walachia), he joined the revolutionaries of 1848. Along a rich and long political career he was appointed prime minister five times, and also minister of the interior, foreign minister and plenipotentiary ambassador to London in between premierships. “He was a man of great care and decency who knew how to come forward or fade into the background of the revolutionary scene whenever tyrants clenched their iron fists. His good social links and connections to the powerful people of the day helped him to acquire influence and benefits from his participation in political arrangements”³. He was assigned by the local provisional government to plead the case of the Romanian revolutionaries’ plans for the management of the southern Romanian province to the Ottoman Sublime Gate. After the failure of the 1848 revolution in his country, he stayed in exile in Constantinople. The Sultan’s entourage was well aware of his diplomatic and political abilities and the English ambassador, lord Redcliffe and the French general Baraguaj d’Hilliers advised the Ottoman foreign minister Reshid Pasha to appoint the Romanian diplomat as the

¹ See Angus Konstam, *The History of Pirates*, Lions Press, 1999.

² George Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, second revised București, Edition, Editura Minerva, 1986, p. 383.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 381.

governor of the Samos islands in 1853, at the outbreak of the War of Crimea between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires. "At first I thought that I was to be sent to Dobrudja... where a French division had to be deployed. Both Reid [Pasha] and the two ambassadors [French and English] insisted so much, promising so many good things for Romania's future that I left the meeting with the commitment to go to the Archipel (Samos) for three months"¹. The mission was meant to erase piracy from the Aegean Sea and to facilitate the French and English transports of troops and resources to their units fighting the Tsar's army. The pirates' damaging raids near the Mycale straits had hindered the military operations and a sanitizing campaign was more than urgent.

It was not easy because local leaders supposed to hunt down the pirates and to police the area were on very good terms and partied every week with Captain Danu, Captain Marupa, Moru, Hoitoglu, Gheki and other fearsome criminals that brought terror among mariners from Smyrna to Mecca. It took all of Ghica's diplomatic talent and managing abilities to fulfill his mission in his fight against pirate leaders like Catargilani, Saltafero and Bilibas "who had been wounded badly and was hiding. His companions had abandoned him and left him to die alone. I took him out of his hiding, I called a doctor but nothing could be done any more. By daybreak he was gone. He had some huge tattoos on his loins. One showed king Othon² with his sword drawn and the other presented the image of Queen Amelia"³.

All of the governor's efforts paid in the long run. "Towards 1855 the Archipel [archipelago] was quiet again. I managed to set up the local administration, its finances and its judiciary in a way that I would call satisfying. I thought that my mission had been accomplished and I put forward my resignation on several occasions. Instead of a release from my duties I would get more and more demands and I was required to come to Constantinople for several promotions and medal awards"⁴. Finally, one of these trips brought him a congratulation reception in 1856. The sultan Abdul Medjid himself promoted him to the rank of *bei* (prince) of Samos in recognition for Ghica's remarkable success as governor who had led the fight against piracy troubling the Ottoman admirals prior and for the duration of the war against Russia in the Black Sea.

But that was not the end of piracy in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea or in any of the tight passages and straits of the seven seas. "Despite several interventions, many carried out by significant military naval units, pirates in

¹ Ion Ghica, *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri*, București, Editura Politică, 1973, p. 196.

² Otto or Othon (1815-1867), Prince of Bavaria, the first King of modern Greece who ruled from 1832 to 1862.

³ Ion Ghica, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

most regions continue to operate freely in sharp contrast to the situation 80 or so years ago: in 1925 it was reasonable to assume that piracy had become almost obsolete, due to the ubiquity of the Royal Navy and other naval forces and a forceful response to piracy on the part of imperial powers over much of the previous century”¹.

The Second World War produced a global disaster. Large throngs of battleships crisscrossed seas and oceans, leaving no space for adventurers and rogues, except for those wearing a military uniform. Once the two superpowers settled their spheres of influence at the end of the conflict vast chunks of the map went under the tight control of the Americans or of the Soviet Russians. The colonial system collapsed, dictators grabbed the power reins from their former masters and an even more severe partition of territorial waters cut off any attempt to meet individual interests of groups and populations.

In the case of many dictatorships, especially from Africa, the collapse of the European communism at the end of the XXth century was accompanied, by another fundamental change. “The Club of Dictators” uniting the presidents for life from the Philippines to Mauritania and Panama was being substituted gradually by rather loose patterns of administration within an environment of democratic changes, shyly experienced by several smaller and feebler states.

The fall of the former “founding fathers” of countries like Somalia left a huge void where smart, quick swindlers tuned the crisis into their own benefit. The fall of Siad Barre’s regime in 1991 opened the way to the separatist tendencies of local chieftains from Puntland and Somaliland. On January 1991, MV Naviluk was the first commercial ship to report an attack by pirates who boarded it from three boats off Xaafun, in the north of Somalia. When the ship was under the attackers’ control, three of the crewmembers were killed after being taken ashore for mysterious reasons. The terrified sailors left on board spent a few agonizing days before a trawler rescued them. The media reported briefly the whole story in ambiguous terms because it was hard to believe at that time that piracy had returned more than two centuries and a half after its climax in the late XVIIth and the early XVIIIth century.

The Somali shores and the territorial waters were left unprotected by border patrols or by coast guards. Industrial fishing ships with a huge capacity of collecting and processing blue tuna and sharks invaded the area depleting the fishing resources and neglecting the contractual obligation to return 10 per cent of each catch to the local industry that could have supported the survival needs of a very poor population. Starvation was knocking on every fisherman’s door when some local militias started to force the invading fishing vessels from Japan, South Korea, Iran, China and many others to pay some damage in return

¹ E.D. Dickinson, *Is the Crime of Piracy Obsolete?*, in “Law Review”, vol. 38, no. 1924-1925, Harrisburg, University of Pennsylvania, 2005, p. 334.

for their safe release. The beginning was modest, a couple o thousand dollars. Instead of discouraging illegal fishing, such diminutive sanctions attracted some other entrepreneurs to use the Somali waters to their own will. Specialized companies brought electronic waste and dumped old computers, cables, screens, IT units, servers and all the paraphernalia of the new digital industry outside the Somali shores. Andrew Mwangura, coordinator of east African Seafarers Assistance Program stated that: “The warlords charge as little as \$2,50 per ton for the ‘right’ to dump waste off the Somali coast, while it costs about \$250 to properly dispose the same ton in Europe. At this bargain rate, it is not likely that dumping will cease anytime soon and the prospects that anyone will step forward and offer to clean up the mess are currently nil. These ships come form Europe, they are garbage cowboys. Clean up the Ocean? Who? The Italian Mafia? NATO?”¹

Once the mechanism of getting money for those trespassing the locals’ rights a whole industry of making a lot of money in a rather short period of time developed into an international business. The local vigilantes were soon unseated by well organized criminal schemes. They provided light weapons, food, fiberglass fast boats and some coverage for desperate local youths ready to risk their lives for a several hundred thousand dollars that they could not have gained otherwise even during five lifetimes. Attacks became better documented and organized, target ships, more carefully selected. A network of lawyers, mediators, insurance companies, ship-owners started to pump money into private bank accounts posing as victims or collaterals of maritime piracy in the Gulf of Aden and along the Somali shores.

Attacks followed a rather simple pattern. Two or three speed boats equipped with a pair of powerful outboard engines approached a cargo ship or a tanker from the “blind angle” difficult to monitor from the bridge at dusk when the light is dim. They mounted light ladders and came aboard in no time, sometimes under supporting machine gun bursts from the second team still left in a skiff on the side of the vessel. At that point the crew could not do much but surrender the ship or be brutalized and even killed. When the havoc and the nervousness of both attackers and victims settled down, intermediaries would start negotiations for the amount of the ransom. Initially, pirates used to demand a sum well above what they might really get. In the case of the Saudi tanker, Sirius Star, one of the most spectacular ship-jacking, negotiations began at \$25 million. The exact amount paid by the shipping company was never announced officially, but estimates put it to about a third being actually paid after months of hackling². “A United Nations report based on a survey taken ashore in

¹ Andrew Mwangura, quoted by Daniel Sekulich, *Terror on the Seas*, New York, Thomas Dunne Books, 2009, p. 190.

² See Nigel Cawthorne, *Pirates of the 21st Century*, London, John Blackie Publishing Ltd., 2009.

Somalia unearthed the following information on how ransom money is usually distributed. The pirates performing the attack and high jacking the ship receive 30 per cent and the land-based militias controlling the shore where the pirates operate and hold the captured ships receive a share of 10 per cent. The local community which includes village clan leaders and local officials receives 10 per cent, piracy mission financiers receive 20 per cent and the mission sponsor receives 30 per cent because he is taking the lion's share of the financial risk"¹.

At the height of the attacks in 2007-2009, at least 40 ships were permanently waiting outside Somali places like Kismaio, Eyl, Banmdarbeyla or Boassasso. Hostages and pirates expected the conclusion of the negotiations and the payment of the ransom. Estimates put the yearly sums circulated at that time at about one billion US dollars².

The spiraling ransom amounts and the development of new tactics of the attackers pushed the international community to act. Initially, the reaction was feeble and inconsequential because none of the UN member states could provide provisions from the law of the sea that allowed battle ships to search and detain suspects of piracy even if they had been caught red-handed. Gradually a number of resolutions of the Security Councils and the decisions of the local authorities from Somalia allowed policing procedures both outside and inside the territorial Somali waters³. Several states deployed their own battleships to guarantee a safe passage for their commercial vessels along the dangerous routes.

The European Union set up its own armada joined by 23 member states which provided frigates, helicopters, submarines, high-altitude surveying planes and a whole structure of monitoring and communication sophisticated equipment. Operation Atalanta was supported by Romania in 2012 when the frigate "King Ferdinand" carried out complex missions for almost three months in the Indian Ocean. It was a very demanding mission for the first Romanian battleship and its 206 member crew to transit twice the Suez canal and to cross the Equator to and from the Comoro Islands and to carry out very subtle procedures like taking fuel from an American tank ship on a rough sea at night. Current exercises that included saving "man overboard", night vision firing exercises, abseiling from the Puma Socat helicopter, approaching and boarding suspect boats, negotiating with local fishermen to gather information about suspicious pirate movements were carried out to keep the crew alert, always ready to act if ordered by the joint command of the EU NAVFOR. Rear admiral Enrico Credendino stated during his visit on board the frigate: "For Romania

¹ John C. Payne, *Piracy Today*, Dobbs Ferry NY, Sheridan House, 2010, p. 93.

² See Richard Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

³ See United Nations Division for Ocean Affairs and Law of the Sea, www.un.org/Depts/los/index.htm, The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), http://www.un.org/Depts/los/conventions_agreements/texts/unclosindx.htm.

this is the first participation to the Atalanta operation under the flag of the European Union. This proves the will of your country to contribute to international operations. The frigate and its crew performed all its duties remarkably well. The men and women on board proved to be reliable professionals, well motivated led by an excellent commanding officer”¹.

No matter how carefully such exercises were planned and performed, they could not match the thrill of the actual mission. And on November the 24th nine Somali suspects of piracy were collected from the ocean after they had been stopped and placed under military watch by the crew of the Turkish frigate Gemlâk. The Romanian officers and the medical team on board the Romanian frigate identified the nine individuals by their name, tribe, location and age and passed on the information to the central command. Once such procedures were concluded the suspects were placed under arrest in a very decent cell, were fed and treated carefully on the lower deck of the stern. Two days later the crew provided the suspects who could not be charged of criminal intentions with an inflatable motor boat, food and drinking water and allowed them to sail to the nearest shore. As some of the officials who witnessed their release stated off the record afterwards, the nine Somalis were as good as dead once they reached the beach because they returned empty handed and could not reimburse the six or seven thousand dollars initially invested in their failed raid. “The command of the EU NAVFOR Atalanta had only words of praise for the professional skills that the crew of “King Ferdinand” frigate displayed in accomplishing all its tasks”².

Romania supported the operation against maritime piracy for two reasons.

First, almost 35 thousand Romanian mariners, technicians, officers, and sailors are part of international crews operating ships belonging to other states. The naval academy “Mircea cel Bătrân” of Constanța and other schools for maritime personnel certify hundreds of young graduates every year. Romania is one of the nine major providers of highly trained sailors for the multinational crews all around the world and most of them are highly regarded by their employers.

Second, more than sixty Romanian sailors were taken hostage by Somali pirates and had to go through an ordeal of several months before their release.

¹ The author’s exclusive interview with Rear admiral Enrico Credendino, aboard frigate “King Ferdinand” in an undisclosed location of the Indian Ocean, November the 21st, 2014.

² Interview with navy colonel Mihai Panait, frigate commanding officer, recorded by the author on board of “King Ferdinand” in an undisclosed location from the Indian Ocean on November the 25th, 2012.

Adrian Gîlcă was a skipper on the *Buccaneer* cargo ship under the Italian flag. The ship was traveling from Singapore to Genoa. On April the 11th it was seized by pirates and taken to Boassasso and then to Laasqorey where it lay at anchor until August the 9th. The Romanian mariner stated that initially the captors demanded a \$4 million ransom for a derelict ship and its eleven sailors on board. "I don't really know the amount paid for our release. Everyday I was wondering if I stood any chance to live another day or if one of those armed men on board was going to shoot me in my sleep. The ship was hell. Everything was destroyed and dirty. We were crowded below deck and released once a day to walk in the sun. When they thought that the chief mechanic had hidden the drinking water, they banged his head against the railing. One of their commanders came branding his pistol at me and the other crew members three or four times a week. One of the chiefs was definitely mad. He would hit us and use foul language trying to make us sound desperate whenever the pirates allowed us to use the satellite phone to talk to the company management and to our families, generally once a month. They fed us only once a day and I lost 45 pounds in four months. When the food supplies on board ended after a month of captivity the pirates ordered the cook to boil some rice that the ship was carrying, in salt ocean water. Sometimes the pirates offered goat meat that they themselves had, but I never touched that. They wanted us alive to get their money. For no other reason, at all!"¹

The threats Romanian sailors faced in the dangerous areas from the Gulf of Aden and the Somali coast damaged severely the transit of goods from the Middle and Far East to Western Europe through the port of Constanța, the second largest European harbour, placed on the Romanian Black Sea coast. Adrian Mihălcioiu inspector for the International Transport Workers Federation explained that Romania recorded severe trade losses since the unprecedented surge of maritime piracy because many shipping companies tried to avoid the dangerous areas in the Gulf of Aden and preferred a detour around the Cape of Good Hope to deliver safely their cargo in the Western European ocean harbours from Holland and Germany. "The most dramatic and the most immediate loss for Romania is not to be considered in economic terms, but in terms of the human suffering and drama that Romanian hostages lived through on board the high jacked ships, while their families were agonizing back home, fearing the worst for months and months and months"².

As a NATO member, Romania pledged to be a provider of security wherever its contribution is deemed productive. The decisive, united fight

¹ Interview with skipper Adrian Gîlcă, recorded on September, the 6th, 2012 in the Romanian port city of Constanța.

² Interview with ITF Inspector Adrian Mihălcioiu, recorded on September, the 6th, 2012 in the Romanian port city of Constanța.

against maritime piracy has proved to be a fundamental asset of the international community in later years. A new solidarity generated stern actions carried out by several alliances and individual states against the “criminals of the foamy seas”. On the 20th of February 2014, Donna Hopkins Coordinator of Counter Piracy and Maritime Security Bureau from the US Department of State concluded in front of the correspondents accredited at the Foreign Press Center from Washington: “No more piracy acts have been recorded outside the Somali shores since May the 10th 2012. For the past 20 months such acts reached a lower level of hijacking attempts in six years and definitely the lowest since the peak of the crisis in 2011”¹. On the same occasion, the American official noted that one thousand four hundred pirates and suspects of piracy acts were under investigation in 21 countries². That could be an encouraging outcome, but it is not enough. A new threat lurks in the barren forgotten lands and hills inside Somalia, few miles west of the sandy beaches. That is the association of disbanded pirate groups to terrorists. The former have the skills to navigate, the latter are ruled by the intent to kill, to reverse the march of civilization and to impose their fundamentalist approach to life and society. The cocktail of the two is more than a dangerous and deadly threat. The world should keep a close watch over them.

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**DES REPERES HISTORIQUES ET CULTURELS
DANS LES MANUELS ROUMAINS DE FLE**

*Rodica-Doina Georgescu**

Résumé

Notre projet de recherche se propose de présenter la fréquence des repères historiques, culturels dans les manuels scolaires pour les classes de lycée et pour l'École des Arts et Métiers- IX e et Xe classes. Après la description des concepts clés, nous allons identifier et observer quelques repères historiques et culturels et leur impact dans le processus de formation des jeunes et dans le contexte de la classe de langue étrangère. Le corpus est composé de cinq manuels scolaires niveau lycée et l'École professionnelle.

Mots clés: *contexte pédagogique, compétence interculturelle, repères historiques et culturels, discours des manuels roumains de FLE*

I. Introduction

Notre travail de recherche concerne la description des concepts-clés mentionnés déjà ci-dessus et la présentation suivie d'une analyse des repères historiques et culturels insérés dans le contenu d'apprentissage par les concepteurs des manuels roumains de FLE. Le corpus sur lequel se greffe cette analyse est formé de quatre manuels de lycée coordonnateur principal Dan Ion Nasta, Maison d'Édition Corint et un manuel pour l'École des Arts et Métiers, auteurs: Viorica Aura Păuș, Rodica Mladinescu, Dan Ion Nasta, Maison d'Édition Didactique et Pédagogique, R.A., Bucarest, 2006.

La problématique s'organise autour de ce questionnement:

- Quelles sont les formes et les places occupées par les repères historiques et culturels dans le contenu d'apprentissage en contexte roumain?
- Quel est l'impact de ces éléments culturels dans la formation/l'instruction des apprenants?
- Dans quelle mesure contribuent-ils au développement de leurs compétences: sociolinguistique, socioculturelle et pragmatique?

L'objectif principal visé par cette étude est l'analyse des discours des manuels scolaires, objets qui ne sont pas projetés pour l'étude de l'Histoire, mais qui l'incluent dans la formation de *la compétence socioculturelle*. Pour

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l'enseignement du Français, l'histoire est une discipline contributoire à côté des autres.

1.1. Le contexte pédagogique-cadre théorique

En classe de langue étrangère, les apprenants prennent conscience non seulement du contexte historique d'une langue, la langue dans son évolution synchronique et diachronique, mais aussi du contexte historique du pays dont la langue est enseignée. *La langue et L'histoire* sont indissolublement liées, elles se retrouvent dans un rapport d'interdépendance très étroit.

Par conséquent, l'enseignement/l'apprentissage du FLE à travers l'Histoire redevient une nécessité vitale en classe de langue. L'enseignant doit fournir à ses apprenants une base conceptuelle historique qui leur permette de se former une vision d'ensemble sur l'Histoire et de s'interroger sur ses événements, sur le cours/l'évolution de l'histoire. De plus, ils peuvent développer leur esprit critique, de juger objectivement les réalités historiques, en saisir la véracité des faits historiques, etc. Les apprenants auront la possibilité de les analyser et de les interpréter d'une façon objective, de savoir apprécier, garder et respecter l'héritage culturel d'un peuple.

Le langage historique rend possible la communication en classe, il n'y a pas de barrières linguistiques, c'est la langue standard. Les apprenants auront toutes les libertés de s'exprimer et de réinvestir toutes leurs connaissances culturelles dans des situations d'apprentissage et dans des contextes différents: réunions pédagogiques, concours scolaires, correspondances nationales et internationales, vidéoconférences, vidéo-chats, forums, blogs, etc. Donc, il existe de multiples «situations d'énonciation» (selon la linguistique) où ils peuvent se manifester, porter des jugements favorables. Les éléments civilisationnels font la richesse d'une classe de FLE, car toute langue est porteuse d'un message linguistique et à la fois, culturel, et les apprenants devront l'utiliser également pour porter un message linguistique et culturel.

Le professeur «doit envisager qu'il existe en permanence un lien entre *la progression linguistique et la progression culturelle*»¹. L'historien lui met à la disposition des documents de travail et des méthodes de travail. L'enseignant doit créer sa propre méthodologie et les entraîner à travailler sur les textes-supports, à saisir les éléments culturels inclus et à les rapporter d'une manière correcte. Le rôle de l'enseignant est, donc, «non pas de dire l'histoire du passé, mais de discuter sa signification et d'en tirer une compréhension plus profonde

¹ Traian Nica, Cătălin, Ilie, *Tradition et modernité dans la didactique du français, langue étrangère*, chapitre VIII, *Enseignement de la civilisation*, 8.3. *La Spécificité culturelle d'un document*, Oradea, Édition «CELINA», 1995, p. 116.

du présent. Il faut placer les faits de civilisation en perspective pour mieux les mettre en valeur»¹.

Il est très important de réfléchir le contenu linguistique avec le contenu culturel. Il ne faut pas les dissocier ou bien de les détacher.

1.2. La compétence interculturelle

La connaissance de la Culture de L'Autre, la compréhension des relations et la conscience des relations entre la culture d'origine et la culture-cible sont «à l'origine d'une prise de conscience interculturelle»². Elle englobe également «la conscience de la diversité régionale et sociale de deux mondes»³. De plus, elle «s'enrichit également de la conscience qu'il existe un plus grand éventail de cultures que celles véhiculées par L1, L2 de l'apprenant. Cela les aide à les situer toutes deux dans un contexte. Outre la connaissance objective, la conscience interculturelle englobe la conscience de la manière dont chaque communauté dans l'optique de l'autre sous la forme de stéréotypes culturels»⁴.

Concernant le terme de *l'Interculturel*, Patrick Charaudeau et Dominique Maingueneau (*Dictionnaire d'analyse du discours*) affirment «qu'il peut qualifier soit un objet (la situation ou la rencontre interculturelle), soit des types d'approches de la communication, des discours et de l'interaction qui se focalisent sur la variation culturelle»⁵.

Son emploi est relatif «à se former à l'interculturel»⁶. Donc, nous pourrions affirmer que l'enjeu majeur de *l'interculturel* est de former/ éduquer les apprenants à travers *l'interculturel*.

Les situations ou les rencontres interculturelles ne «se réduisent à celles entre des individus dont les compétences linguistiques sont inégales (communication exolingue*)»⁷ mais il s'agit également des situations ou rencontres où «se maintiennent des différences et des variations dans les normes communicatives qu'ils appliquent»⁸. Ce sont des situations diverses qui conduisent à des réflexions visant les domaines divers de la vie sociale

¹ *Ibidem*, 8.4. *La civilisation et les sciences*, p. 118.

² Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle, Comité d'Éducation, *Apprentissage des langues et citoyenneté européenne*. Un Cadre Européen commun de Référence pour les langues: Apprendre, Enseigner, Évaluer, Conseil de l'Europe, *chapitre 5, Les compétences de l'utilisateur/ l'apprenant*, Division des Langues Vivantes, Strasbourg, Paris, les Éditions Didier, 2001, p. 83.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ Patrick Charaudeau, Dominique Maingueneau, *Dictionnaire d'analyse du discours, Interculturel*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, février 2002, p. 322.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

(l'enseignement, les médias, le milieu professionnel, industriel) les disciplines telles que: la linguistique, la sociologie, la psychologie, etc. Elles conduisent aussi à des approches diverses qui s'organisent autour des axes différents sur les actes de langage, sur les registres de langue, sur les tâches à effectuer, sur la description/ l'analyse des éléments observables. Nous pourrions y ajouter encore: la conception sur les relations interpersonnelles, sur les valeurs humaines: la politesse, le sens des responsabilités, la tolérance/ l'acceptation de L'AUTRE et de sa Culture, sur la morale, sur l'éthique, etc. Il ne faut pas oublier de signaler les gestes et les rituels, leurs croyances religieuses, leurs motivations, leurs propres intérêts, leurs types de personnalité et leur capacité de garder leur propre identité, de se former une identité plurielle.

Il existe des problèmes auxquels se confrontent les spécialistes, des difficultés liées «au découpage»¹ des cultures qui appartiennent aux pays, aux régions, aux communautés, bref, aux aires plus ou moins étendues. Cela conduit également à «des options méthodologiques variées sur l'axe allant des démarches déductives [...]»² qui reposent sur «l'appartenance des interactants comme catégorie explicative à priori»³ et à des démarches de «nature plus inductive»⁴ consistant à étudier les individus à travers leurs conduites communicatives en fonction des contextes ou des situations données, des cultures données.

Il est à remarquer qu'il existe le risque d'analyser et «décrire les comportements communicatifs observés d'une culture donnée à travers les mots et les catégories d'une autre»⁵.

II. L'Analyse du corpus

Le **manuel de neuvième** classe offre aux apprenants quelques références socioculturelles intégrées par le coordinateur principal du manuel, Dan Ion Nasta, dans les unités d'apprentissage, sous des étiquettes tout à fait différentes par exemple: ***Page d'ouverture, Clés pour la communication, Passerelle, À la découverte du texte, Entraînez-vous, Bilan 1, Le monde comme il va, Test d'Évaluation sommative.***

L'auteur accorde une place particulière à *L'Opéra Garnier de Paris*, son image étant placée dans le chapitre consacré à la Grammaire, ayant l'étiquette: ***Entraînez-vous*** (unité d'apprentissage no. 2 ***Tout pour la musique***, page 29).

¹ *Ibidem.*

² *Ibidem*, p. 324.

³ *Ibidem.*

⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁵ *Ibidem.*

Les apprenants découvrent sous l'image quelques informations concernant la construction de cette grande œuvre architecturale dédiée à la culture musicale.

Bilan I Fêtes et Réunions de famille contiennent des activités rattachées aux manifestations culturelles: aux Fêtes religieuses, culturelles et aux événements historiques français. L'auteur a choisi l'image de **La Prise de La Bastille** en tant qu'image support pour la première activité portant sur les Fêtes en France, page 60. Les autres activités sont centrées sur les témoignages des ados. liés aux *Réunions de famille*.

L'unité d'apprentissage no. 8 **Et si on parlait de la France...** propose aux apprenants de faire un voyage-découverte des sites naturels, du patrimoine architectural de la région **Nord-Pas-de Calais**. Les informations culturelles sont accompagnées d'images représentant les monuments historiques de la région du Nord de la France. L'image de *La Vieille Bourse* située en bas de la Page d'ouverture est suivie d'une citation de «Discours et Conférences» (page 85) d'après Ernest Renan.

La leçon de littérature: «**Itinéraires-découvertes**» est une invitation au voyage à travers la région. En visionnant les images placées en marge de la page 87, ils se renseignent sur l'histoire de la Tour-Le Beffroi de Calais et sur l'architecture de La Grande Place d'Arras.

Le texte-document comporte des références historiques et culturelles qui contribuent à consolider leur savoir et leur savoir-vivre. Ce sont des informations culturelles liées aux sites naturels et au patrimoine architectural des villes du Nord du pays: *Le Beffroi de Calais, La Cour Flamande ou la Grande Place de Lille, les maisons renommées pour leur architecture flamande du XVII^e siècle de la ville d'Arras*.

L'image de *La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Picardie* placée en marge de la page 91 se retrouve dans le chapitre consacré à la Grammaire du texte: **Entraînez-vous**.

Le texte-support **Au carrefour de L'Europe** est «marqué» d'une étiquette suggestive qui leur donne envie de trouver les passe-temps idéaux: **Eurêka-Apprendre à apprendre**. Il incite les apprenants à voyager et à pratiquer un tourisme culturel. Les apprenants se documentent également sur «le tourisme populaire pratiqué essentiellement par les gens du Nord-Pas-de-Calais»¹ qui y viennent se divertir et se jouir de la beauté des sites naturels, des bases d'agrément «implantées dans les anciennes friches industrielles, des innombrables manifestations populaires»².

¹ Dan Ion Nasta, Marioara Sima, Tereza-Lili Știubei, *Manuel pour la neuvième classe*, Planète jeune, *Au carrefour de L'Europe*, București, Corint, 2008, p. 96.

² *Ibidem*.

Le soleil à tout prix- texte-document inséré dans l'unité d'apprentissage no.9 *Recettes de vacances*- les invite cette fois-ci à suivre d'autres itinéraires: les pays de L'Afrique du Nord, le Maroc et ses attraits et à «pratiquer» un tourisme culturel sans frontières. Les images que l'auteur met à leur disposition leur offrent une vision d'ensemble sur le pays africain: le texte est accompagné d'images de la vieille capitale marocaine, la ville de Marrakech, fameux pour ses palais et ses minarets. Ces images sont placées en marge de la page, portant l'étiquette *Le Monde comme il va* avec quelques indications concernant l'histoire et la géographie de la ville de Marrakech.

Nous avons noté une image avec la Pyramide de Gizeh de la Vallée des Rois (des pharaons de la Vallée du Nil en Égypte) placée par le concepteur du manuel dans le chapitre dédié à la Grammaire du texte: *Entraînez-vous* page 105 en tant que «repère historique et culturel» pour les activités étiquetées *Mises en situation(s)*:

- La première activité porte sur un dialogue relatif à un séjour de deux semaines en Tunisie;

- La deuxième activité repose sur un dialogue concernant un séjour de deux semaines en Égypte.

Le chapitre consacré à l'Évaluation, *Bilan II* comporte un *Test d'Évaluation sommative* avec l'image du symbole de la capitale de la France: La Tour Eiffel, image placée en bas de la page 114, en diagonale par rapport à une autre image représentant Jules Verne et Le rêve du progrès.

Le manuel de dixième classe, auteur Dan Ion Nasta, a pour objectif primordial de leur faire découvrir le monde francophone avec son patrimoine culturel, architectural, tout en brossant des portraits des régions de la France: *Bourgogne, Savoie, Charente Maritime, Le Midi*.

Le chapitre *Révision initiale* comporte une image avec *La Grande Arche de la Défense*, l'arche des droits de l'Homme, situé dans le quartier de La Défense, à Paris. L'image est placée en marge de la page 7, portant l'étiquette *À vos marques!*

La leçon *La Place hexagonale*, ayant l'étiquette *Découvrez le monde en français*, est une invitation à la découverte de l'univers francophone. Le texte se retrouve dans la *Préface* de l'ouvrage *La France, Monde et Voyages* d'après Max Gallo qui fait un «voyage historique», une incursion à travers les époques historiques de la France et leurs symboles architecturaux: menhirs, arènes romanes, le mur d'enceinte de Philippe Auguste, lieux et places célèbres pour leur architecture, pour son art, en général, et pour son art de vivre en particulier.

Il y a également des images placées en marge de la page 8: *La Place des Vosges de Paris, la Place Concorde et l'Obélisque, Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon*. La deuxième leçon est constituée d'extraits-documents intitulés *Une*

société de la connaissance tirés du livre *Fraternité* d'après Jacques Attali. L'auteur s'imagine l'avenir de l'humanité tout en préfigurant les changements d'ordre éthiques qui puissent changer même le cours de l'Histoire. L'Image dominante de *La Tour Eiffel* au minuit, le premier Janvier 2000 – La Nouvelle Année symbolise le commencement d'une nouvelle vie, un nouveau voyage vers le troisième millénaire, vers l'avenir aux rythmes des salves multicolores (page 9).

L'unité no. 3 *European? Européen? Europeo? Moi aussi!* «continue» son parcours culturel au Sud de la France. Le Sud de la France est, d'ailleurs, l'une des destinations touristiques favorites des Français et des touristes, en général. Les apprenants auront la belle occasion de s'informer sur les édifices historiques et culturels du Sud du pays. L'auteur a placé une image avec le Sud de la France au chapitre portant sur le texte: *Les mots-fenêtre sur le monde*, page 35.

Entraînez-vous (l'unité d'apprentissage no. 4 *La joie de partager*) se veut un «entraînement» des apprenants à explorer d'autres lieux, d'autres régions de la France: *La Bourgogne*. L'auteur leur donne un texte d'application portant le titre «Bienvenue au Pays de L'Art et du Plaisir de Vivre!» (page 51) tiré de la Bourgogne, Comité régional du Tourisme, une sorte de message publicitaire du Comité du tourisme de Bourgogne adressé aux touristes. Il est accompagné aussi d'une image de Beaune, petite ville fameuse pour ses toits.

L'unité no. 5 *C'est mon parcours (le chapitre Passerelle)* leur présente une image avec le petite ville-port de pêche La Rochelle (située au bord de L'Atlantique) où les apprenants peuvent également acquérir des connaissances culturelles intéressantes.

La Passion de la découverte, thème sur lequel s'appuie l'unité d'apprentissage no. 5 *Tel Oncle, tel Neveu*, met l'accent sur la passion de la recherche, de l'exploration des endroits inconnus qui abritent des trésors riches et assez étonnants. «*Les secrets d'un dîner en famille*», fragment tiré du roman *Voyage au Centre de la Terre* d'après Jules Verne, est en réalité, une sorte de «voyage-découverte des secrets» d'un parchemin. C'est la passion de décrypter le message d'un vieux document écrit en caractères runiques, des caractères scandinaves qui attirent l'attention du professeur-savant, Lidenbrock, le personnage principal du fragment.

L'étiquette *Éclairages* comporte quelques données biographiques de l'écrivain français et quelques références historiques, économiques sur la ville de Nantes, la ville natale de Jules Verne. L'image du *Château de Nantes* est un véritable emblème historique de la ville et une très belle illustration des informations culturelles offertes aux ados.

L'unité no.7 *Les Gens d'en Haut* «s'étaie» aussi sur des images représentant des maisons anciennes fortifiées, page 78. La journaliste Fanny

Deschamps rédige un reportage sur un village situé en haute montagne, en Haute Savoie. Le texte est illustré par des images: une image d'un village en Haute Savoie et une image d'Annecy, une petite charmante ville des Alpes du Nord, des lieux touristiques connus aussi pour leur patrimoine architectural et naturel remarquable.

Le Terroir retrouvé, unité d'apprentissage no. 8, page 88, «attire» les apprenants vers d'autres destinations touristiques du monde: La Grèce, L'Égypte avec leur passé historique et leurs éléments de culture et de civilisation européenne, orientale. La leçon **Pour une raison fort simple** est accompagnée d'images placées en marge de la page: **Le Clos de Vougeot en Bourgogne** (L'étiquette: **Le monde comme il va**, page 88), **Maisons blanches en Grèce** (L'étiquette **Le monde comme il va**, page 88), L'Église Notre-Dame de Semur et en bas de la page **L'Abbaye de Fontenay** – patrimoine mondial culturel UNESCO (l'étiquette **Éclairages-Un haut lieu de spiritualité**, page 89), **L'Île de Santorini en Grèce**, (L'étiquette **Entraînez-vous**, page 93).

Le concepteur des manuels scolaires dirige l'attention des apprenants vers des régions francophones situées dans d'autres coins du monde: Québec pendant l'hiver, *Bilan 2*, page 110. Il y «attache» également une image avec le Château Chambéry en leur proposant un voyage d'agrément et de découverte de l'héritage architectural, culturel de la région française.

Pour la classe **de onzième**, l'auteur lance de nouveau une invitation au voyage, un «Embarquement immédiat» vers le monde francophone avec son symbole, **La Tour Eiffel**. Les apprenants vont prendre contact avec le pays de L'Hexagone et avec des écrivains francophones.

Les textes portant le titre: *Regards d'ici et d'ailleurs* extraits de **Label France** no. 39, avril 2000, page 7, sous l'étiquette **Contacts** sont des témoignages de l'écrivain argentin Hector Bianciotti et de Théodore Zeldin, professeur d'histoire à Oxford, auteur de l'ouvrage *Histoire et passions françaises*. La citation de Cioran sert de moto pour le deuxième extrait de *Label France*. Les deux écrivains expriment leurs impressions et leurs opinions sur la France qui a le pouvoir d'englober les cultures occidentales, de les mélanger dans un «alambic» pour en extraire l'essence celle qui émane le parfum de sa propre culture. C'est un lieu de rencontres et d'échanges interculturels où se tissent des liens socio-affectifs solides et même des attaches, des relations amicales indestructibles. L'Étiquette *La culture en Fête* rend l'honneur à la Culture et présente aux apprenants un *Calendrier des manifestations culturelles*, accompagné d'images-supports placées toujours en marge de la page: *La Fête du cinéma* (l'image avec Le Palais des Festivals et des Congrès de Cannes, page 8), *Le Festival du théâtre d'Avignon* (l'image avec le Théâtre d'Avignon, page 9), *Les Journées européennes du patrimoine (culturel et régional)* – Le Pays de

Loire – le voyage-découverte des châteaux et de L'Abbaye de Roë, page 9, *La Journée internationale des Musées*: le Musée du Louvre, page 9.

L'unité d'apprentissage no. 3 ***L'atout créatif*** met en avant les atouts de la France, les réalisations remarquables dans les domaines de la technique et de la science: le texte *Dans la lignée de la Tour Eiffel* est une rétrospective des avancées technologiques françaises qui ont marqué le début du XIX^e siècle: La Grande Arche de la Défense, La cathédrale de Notre-Dame, la Cour Carrée du Louvre, L'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, La Bibliothèque Nationale.

Les images-soutiens représentant La Grande Arche, placée en marge de la page 37, la Bibliothèque Nationale et Le Futuroscope de Poitiers, placées au milieu de la page 37, sous l'étiquette ***À la découverte du texte***, constituent de véritables repères culturels dans *la lignée de La Tour Eiffel*.

Sous l'étiquette ***Clin d'œil*** ayant le titre: ***Brève histoire du prix Nobel***, l'auteur y a introduit une image avec le fameux City Hall de Stockholm (page 39), où se déroule la cérémonie de la remise des prix Nobel.

Placée en tête de la page 45, au chapitre ***Passerelle***, l'image de la Tour Eiffel et le texte-document, *Splendeur et décadence de l'architecture métallique* (d'après Sophie Coisne, 1900-2000, *Le Futur de grand-papa*, Science Vie Junior no. 124, Janvier 2000) accrochent l'attention des apprenants qui visionnent Le grand Panorama de L'exposition universelle de 1899-1900.

Avec le chapitre ***Bilan I*** page 62 Évaluation des connaissances de grammaire dont l'objectif essentiel est de: ***maîtriser le discours indirect***, les apprenants ont l'opportunité d'admirer l'architecture de la Place Vendôme, renommée aussi pour l'élégance et la splendeur de L'Hôtel Ritz.

L'unité d'apprentissage no. 5, ***La France – entrez par la grande porte***, «ouvre les portes» du château de Versailles, image placée en bas de ***la Page d'ouverture*** (page 65).

Les apprenants peuvent visiter le fameux château et jouir de la splendeur, du luxe, du faste de cette résidence royale – chef d'œuvre architecturale de la région L'Île-de-France. Les images du *Bassin Latone, de Neptune, de la Façade occidentale du château* (sous l'étiquette ***Repérages***, page 67) et l'image du *château de Fontainebleau* avec l'escalier en fer à cheval attestent la maîtrise et l'art des grands architectes français. Les deux images avec *Le Musée du Louvre* sous le règne de Charles V et La Chambre du roi transformée par Napoléon en salle du trône à Fontainebleau, images situées en marge de la page 67, sont des «*Pierres vives*» – étiquette qui offre aux apprenants quelques informations concernant les rois de France.

Le texte descriptif ***Un regard ému sur La Seine*** d'après Anatole France nous remonte dans le passé historique français par l'intermédiaire des symboles: *L'Arc de Triomphe, Le Pont Neuf, Le Chaillot, Le Louvre, le Paris*

monumental. L'auteur y a inséré deux tableaux fameux avec *Le Pont Neuf* appartenant aux peintres célèbres, Renoir et Pissarro.

La page *Entraînez-vous* (page 71) le texte d'application *La Forêt de Fontainebleau*, texte tiré du roman *L'Éducation sentimentale* d'après Gustave Flaubert, est accompagné aussi par un tableau du Château de Gandolfo, d'après Camille Corot.

Le Chapitre *Passerelle*, page 75, est consacré aux peintres impressionnistes: des tableaux avec des paysages pittoresques de la région francilienne. Il y a également un tableau avec l'Église d'Anvers-sur-Oise peint par Vincent Van Gogh.

Tour d'horizon leur offre une image aérienne du *Palais de Versailles* qui occupe une large place dans la page 76, précédée d'un petit texte, extrait de l'ouvrage *La Diversité française au cœur même du pays, La France et ses trésors*, d'après Jacques Rigaud (Éd. Larousse, 1987).

Concernant la lecture de l'image, l'image publicitaire, le chapitre **Tour d'horizon** (l'unité d'apprentissage no7 **Plus loin, toujours plus loin**), l'auteur a conçu des questionnaires portant sur le repérage des éléments constitutifs de l'image publicitaire, sur les articulateurs texte-image, sur les impressions et les effets de l'extrait de la revue Label France. L'activité favorise le travail en groupe: construisez un autre slogan, proposez trois nouvelles photos et continuez le Portfolio *Publicités de France*, page 100. L'image comprend les principaux monuments architecturaux de presque toutes les régions de la France: *La Tour Eiffel, Les Châteaux de la Vallée de la Loire, l'abbaye médiévale Mont-Saint-Michel en Normandie, images avec le Midi de la France*.

Bilan 2, page 120, *Évaluation, Test d'évaluation IV*, est un quiz de culture générale: *Quiz-France culture* a comme points d'appui deux images avec l'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile et le Palais de Versailles.

Le manuel de douzième classe les «emporte» toujours dans le monde en français. «Regards sur la France» et «Bonjour de La France» réunissent dans un tableau les principaux symboles de la France: *La Tour Eiffel, La Basilique du Sacré-Cœur, L'Arc de Triomphe de L'Étoile, le Carrousel du Louvre et la statue équestre de Louis XIV*, entourés d'informations et de citations sur l'histoire (L'Étiquette *À la une*, page 6, *Révision initiale*).

«Des liens solides» (L'Étiquette *S'ouvrir au monde en français*, pages 6-7), texte tiré du supplément du Monde, jeudi le 18 octobre 2001, évoque les liens entre La France et La Roumanie, la tradition des relations amicales, interculturelles des deux pays. L'un des symboles roumains La Colonne sans Fin, (image placée en marge de la page 7) jaillit vers le ciel pour maintenir avec «des liens solides» la coopération entre la Roumanie et la France.

La sculpture de Brâncuși Mademoiselle Pogany et les références culturelles sur l'architecte Le Corbusier (*Les mots-Fenêtres sur le Monde*,

page 67, unité d'apprentissage no. 5, *Au rendez-vous des artistes*) constituent, une fois de plus, des emblèmes des deux pays unis non seulement par l'amitié, mais aussi par la culture.

«Conjuguer le passé et le présent» à l'occasion des Journées du Patrimoine en Wallonie, le jeune architecte Nicolas Gilsoul, originaire de Bruxelles, entreprend des recherches en histoire et en archéologie italiennes et exprime, en même temps, ses réflexions sur l'Histoire. Il parle de ses projets d'aménagement du Palatin à Rome.

Les images qui accompagnent le texte-document: *Le Château de Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, le jardin du Musée Van Bueren de Bruxelles, le tapis floral de la Grand-Place de Bruxelles et l'image de L'Atome de Bruxelles* (pages 84-85) certifient la liaison entre le passé et le présent, entre l'architecture ancienne et l'architecture moderne actuelle (l'unité no 6, *Lycéens – citoyens, le chapitre Passerelle, l'étiquette Pour aller plus loin*).

Il convient de signaler que l'image de L'Arc de Triomphe de L'Étoile attaché au symbole de l'ancienne monnaie française- le franc français (page 110, *chapitre Bilan 2, Évaluation*) se retrouve également sous l'étiquette *Rue du Bac, Aire d'entraînement*, page 120. *L'Arc de Triomphe* est non seulement un monument historique, mais aussi un témoignage authentique de L'Histoire de la France.

Le manuel de l'École des Arts et Métiers retrace aux apprenants des «parcours» historiques: *De la France du Nord vers le Midi*. L'unité no. 1: *Un Roumain à la découverte de La France* leur met à la disposition une carte touristique (*Page d'ouverture*, page 5) avec les principaux monuments de chaque région française. Les apprenants visionnent la carte touristique de la France et identifient les monuments historiques, les édifices culturels – les symboles de chaque région. *Parcours 2, Page Grammaire* (leçon de grammaire: *En et ses valeurs*, page 19) contient l'image du *château D'Amboise*, image placée en marge de la page.

La Magazine Documentaire, pages 20-21, constitue un «dossier interculturel» assez riche et complexe. Le texte-document *La France du Nord vers le Midi* est richement illustré par des images placées au milieu et en tête de page. Le concepteur est doublé d'un guide interculturel qui leur offre des informations sur les *Châteaux de la Vallée de la Loire: Les châteaux d'Amboise, de Chenonceau et de Chambord, sur le Musée du Louvre – La Pyramide en verre, sur le Palais de Versailles et sur la ville de Lille*.

Les activités proposées par le concepteur du manuel consistent à réaliser des *Portfolios* sur La France contenant des informations supplémentaires sur les régions évoquées.

L'unité no. 4, *Chic alors, on est invités!*, *Parcours 2*, page 75 incite les apprenants de visiter la Côte d'Azur et le Monaco. L'image de *L'Arc de*

Triomphe, page 75, sous l'étiquette ***Ils parlent tous, leçon de grammaire: Localiser/ situer dans l'espace*** «entraîne» les apprenants à converser, à repérer les institutions, les édifices culturels, historiques, à savoir donner des renseignements sur ces repères historico-culturels.

Parcours 2, Le texte, à partir du texte, (l'unité 5, ***Sur la Côte d'Azur***, page 86) est, en quelque sorte, un prolongement de l'unité 4. Le concepteur a choisi comme image support, *les Mégalithes de Monténeuf*, page 86, pour la page consacrée au texte, sous l'étiquette ***Mon Dictionnaire***.

L'unité suivante, ***Il faudra se quitter***, se sert de l'image du *Quartier de la Défense de Paris* (unité no 6, Page d'ouverture, page 101). La leçon *On fera ses adieux!* «s'appuie» sur l'image de *la Conciergerie*, placée en marge de la page 102. Chaque unité comporte ***La Magazine Documentaire*** au moyen duquel les apprenants se documentent sur *Paris et les Parisiens*.

Le Paris et les Parisiens «évoquent» une incursion à travers les époques historiques avec leurs vestiges du passé et les monuments modernes afin de «conjuguer le passé au présent» et «à l'avenir» plus moderne et plus adapté aux avancées technologiques actuelles. Le texte est «parsemé» de belles images de la ville de Paris: *La Tour Eiffel* (deux images, pages 110-111), *la Cathédrale Notre-Dame*, *la Basilique du Sacré Cœur*, *la Place des Vosges* (page 110) *Saint-Germain-Des-Près*, *L'Opéra Garnier de Paris*, *Les Champs-Élysées*, *la Place de la Concorde* (page 111). Il y a des activités visant les monuments parisiens: questionnaire sur le Paris monumental, sur le repérage de ces monuments: voir la carte touristique, page 110, leur positionnement par rapport au fleuve qui traverse la capitale. L'Étiquette **«Pour lire et imaginer»** les encourage à travailler en groupes, à réaliser un sondage parmi leurs camarades au sujet des sites et des monuments parisiens, à savoir décrire leur région/ pays natal, à concevoir des posters pour un portfolio sur *le Paris monumental*, à participer aux concours *Parispouter* (page 112). La leçon ***Coup d'œil sur l'architecture moderne*** (L'étiquette ***Pour lire et imaginer***, page 112) est un «petit traité» d'architecture moderne en réunissant des connaissances rattachées au progrès technologique de la France.

Bref, *Un Roumain en quête de la découverte du monde francophone avec son histoire, sa culture, ses traditions et sa civilisation* suit un ***parcours*** assez long, intéressant et composite.

Il a eu, donc, la possibilité d'élargir ses connaissances culturelles et d'interagir avec des amis francophones de cultures différentes. Sa vision et sa conception sur la culture de L'Autre changent, son comportement communicatif acquiert d'autres valences.

Conclusions

Les «parcours culturels» proposés par les concepteurs des manuels scolaires leur permettent de se former une optique de vie beaucoup plus riche et plus large. Dans l'environnement culturel, ils pourront cohabiter et mieux coopérer avec leurs semblables francophones. Le vivre ensemble en paix et en harmonie est une devise fondamentale dans le monde francophone actuelle.

Il est assez vital de faire valoir les éléments civilisationnels, culturels, car ils représentent l'existence et l'identité même d'un pays.

Les concepteurs des manuels leur ont choisi des images représentatives, des emblèmes remarquables qui attestent *l'Histoire, la Culture et la Civilisation* d'un peuple ouvert vers l'Universel. Leur objectif primordial est de maîtriser le FLE à travers l'Histoire de la France, car c'est aussi un principe de bon sens d'avoir des connaissances historiques et culturelles de la France, du pays dont ils sont en train d'approfondir /de perfectionner la langue.

Il convient de mentionner que le contexte pédagogique devra être favorable à l'enseignement/ l'apprentissage du FLE à travers l'Histoire et que l'enseignant devra jouer, à la fois, le rôle de *guide interculturel et de médiateur interculturel afin de transmettre des connaissances culturelles pertinentes, de concilier/de gérer les situations interculturelles diverses et de surveiller attentivement les échanges interculturels entre les actants participants au dialogue des langues-cultures.*

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THE MEMORY OF THE ROMANIAN ELITES

*Filip-Lucian Iorga**

Abstract

The Memory of the Romanian Elites project is inspired by Eric Mension-Rigau's research on French aristocracy and was initiated by Filip-Lucian Iorga in 2009. It is based on an original questionnaire written by Filip-Lucian Iorga and addressed to the contemporary descendants of boyar and grand bourgeois Romanian families. The questionnaire, published here for the first time in English, contains questions about ancestry, genealogy and family memory transmission, education, social life and cultural choices, symbolic objects, country estates and manors, religious and moral values, political opinions and life during communism (or during exile), daily life, self-perception and the perceptions about "the others".

The project intends to create an archive based on the answers to the questionnaire and on the photocopies or originals received from private family archives. After collecting information, the research will concentrate on a broad qualitative analysis, in order to verify the data, and then to identify those elements that are recurrent in the answers to the questionnaire, in order to find what is sociologically relevant.

Key words: *Romanian Nobility, Boyars, The Memory of the Romanian Elites Questionnaire, Family Archives, Family Memory*

The Romanian nobility does not look like Western aristocracies. We call the Romanian nobles "boyars" and they usually have no nobility titles like "dukes", "counts", "barons" etc., except for those few families that have received, along history, titles from foreign monarchs (the Holy Emperor, the King of Poland, the Russian Tsar). But, even though there were no titles, the Romanian "boyars" constituted an influent nobility, following the Byzantine pattern. The greatest and oldest families preceded the formation of the medieval Romanian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia. They had huge estates and they had a role in electing the ruler, among the descendants of the Basarab (in Wallachia) and Bogdan/Mușat (in Moldavia) dynasties and in choosing the foreign alliances of the principalities. The smaller families served in the armies, at the court and had smaller estates (some of them, the "moșneni" and "răzeși")

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worked their own lands, much alike the Polish “aristocratic proletariat”). During the centuries, the rulers have imposed a system of boyar ranks and, gradually, only those families which obtained official functions at the court were considered “boyars”. In the XVIIIth century, a great number of Greek families from Constantinople were integrated into the Romanian nobility. At the middle of the XIXth century, the boyars themselves, who controlled the politics of the country (even though Wallachia and Moldavia and then, later, after 1859, Romania, belonged to the Ottoman Empire, until 1877) managed to obtain the abolition of boyar ranks and privileges. But, of course, Romanian nobility didn’t disappear. The descendants of the boyar families kept their strong influence over Romania’s politics, economy and culture until World War II. The old boyar families integrate, gradually, at the end of the XIXth century and the beginning of the XXth century, the newcomers, the “nouveaux riches”, the wealthy bourgeoisie, but also part of the intellectual bourgeoisie (professors, officers, lawyers, writers, artists). Everybody (or almost everybody) follows in Romania, until the communist regime, the social and cultural pattern of the former boyars. They had been, in the history of Romania, the landowners, the richest people in the country, the cultivated people (most of the medieval chronicles and of the first literary works are written by boyars). They built churches and schools, they brought the French culture, the revolutionary ideas, they built Western institutions and they pleaded for Romania’s adjustment to the Western world.

After the forced abdication of King Michael I, on the 30th of December 1947, the communist regime opened its political prisons to the descendants of the former Romanian elites. The last pieces of land were confiscated from the boyars, many of their houses were destroyed, historical and cultural treasures (books, family documents, old furniture) were burned, destroyed or confiscated. One of the main enemies of the communist regime was the “exploiting class” (“clasa exploatatoare”), therefore the bourgeois and the landowners (“burghezo-moșierimea”). Many descendants of the Romanian noble families were jailed, many of them died in prison, such as Iuliu Maniu (leader of the National Peasant Party and descendant of a Romanian aristocratic family from Transylvania), Constantin I.C. (Dinu) Brătianu (the leader of the National Liberal Party), Gheorghe Brătianu (historian), George Manu (physicist), Mircea Vulcănescu (philosopher), Mons. Prince Vladimir Ghika (catholic priest), Constantin Argetoianu (conservative politician and writer), Dumitru Burilleanu (former governor of the National Bank), Ion Cămărășescu, Radu Portocală, Henri Cihoski, Ion Gigurtu, Ioan Mihail Racoviță and many others.

Among the nobles who were jailed and survived, we can cite: Prince Alexandru Ghica, Radu Budișteanu, Gheorghe Flondor, Constantin Noica, Alexandru Paleologu, Barbu Brezianu, Gheorghe Boldur-Lătescu, Ilie Lazăr

(small titled nobility from Maramureș), Mihai Dim. Sturdza, Marioana Cantacuzino, Simina Mezincescu, Dumitru Lecca, Radu Negrescu-Suțu etc.

Immediately after World War II and especially after the abdication of King Michael, hundreds of descendants of the old Romanian families went into exile: in France, Germany, Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Italy, Spain, Scandinavia, even South America or Australia. There was “the first exile”, the personalities, the politicians, the wealthy people, the officers who tried to organize the Romanian political exile. Then, there were the heroes who managed to escape from Romania during the fifties. Later, in the sixties and seventies, the communist regime started to “sell” the relatives of the exiled elites to their families. Finally, during the eighties, there was a final “wave”, this time an exile which also had strong economical motivations.

At this hour, unfortunately, there is no complete inventory of the Romanian boyar (noble) families, or of their true descendants who live nowadays in Romania or abroad. *The Memory of the Romanian Elites* project was born out of my curiosity for the past and from a certain need to save those fragments that are threatened to disappear. It also originates from my older interest for the history of Moldavian and Wallachian boyars, for genealogies and for life stories. Since high-school, I have had a true passion for those stories that can clarify History. I meet people, I listen to their stories and I try to figure out a “bigger picture” out of their individual biographies.

During the communist regime, Genealogy was dismissed as a “reactionary” discipline and the boyars were eliminated from the official history. They were the “exploiting class”, the “landowner beasts”.

After 1989, the boyars were “admitted” again into History. It is not complicated to offer strong reasons in favor of a detailed research dedicated to the boyar families, to the Romanian nobility: for centuries, they have been the only political class of the country; they have been landowners and warriors, statesmen and diplomats, they gave us our first cultivated people, our first revolutionaries and our first reactionaries. It is evident why the study of Romanian nobility’s past is essential for the understanding of our historical evolution. In the last years, many memoirs and diaries written by members of the old Romanian elites were published. Some biographies, books of conversations and a few genealogy books were also written. The “Sever Zotta” Institute for Genealogy and Heraldry tries to increase public awareness on genealogy and family history. Prince Mihai Dim. Sturdza started to publish his huge encyclopedia of the boyar families, the first attempt, since the end of the 19th century, to bring together in one work the large majority of the Romanian boyar families (up to this moment, two volumes were released, containing the names beginning with the letters A and B).

But has the Romanian society managed to reintegrate also the contemporary descendants of the boyar families or of the grand bourgeoisie? Besides a handful of gentlemen, well known by the public and labeled as “the last boyars”, we don’t know much about the descendants of old Romanian elites. I remember a book called *Amurgul nobililor* (*The Twilight of the Nobles*): it contained interesting interviews with descendants of boyar families, but it portrayed them as “the last nobles”. This formula irritated a lot Alexandru Paleologu, who had been labeled himself, against his will, as one of the “last boyars”.

More recently, talking and writing about Romanian nobility seems to become more and more fashionable. But, unfortunately, there is still much confusion, lack of information and prejudice, especially when it comes to contemporary descendants.

This is why I wanted to listen to the voices of these silent descendants and I wrote a questionnaire dedicated to them. I had the example of Jacques and Mona Ozouf, who started, in 1961, to use a questionnaire in order to obtain information from a great number of French elementary teachers from public schools, who had started their careers before 1914. They published, in 1992, their synthesis *La République des instituteurs*. And, closer to my own research topic, there was the project of Eric Mension-Rigau, a French historian, professor at Paris IV Sorbonne University, who wrote a questionnaire dedicated to the descendants of French aristocracy and who used the answers in order to write several books about the education, the family memory and the sociability of the French aristocracy. I found, in my turn, the Romanian case very interesting, especially because of its recent experience with a totalitarian regime and I wrote a questionnaire addressed to the descendants of the Romanian families which can be defined as “noble”, “grand-bourgeois” or “intellectual dynasties”, the “nobles et notables”.

This method gives us access to information that was rarely written, to family archives, to those memories considered sometimes irrelevant but which are essential for the history of a given society.

Before starting such a research, a historian needs to admit that he will also need the instruments of the anthropologist and of the sociologist, that he will use history books, genealogical trees, but also oral history, literature, linguistics, even paintings or photos.

There is also a need to eliminate from the start several clichés:

1) Even though the Moldavian and Wallachian boyars did not belong, generally, to the Western structure of aristocratic titles, that does not mean that Romanian boyars are “less noble” than the Western aristocrats. The differences are, of course, very significant, but the boyars represent, undoubtedly, the Romanian nobility;

2) The boyar privileges were eliminated in 1858, but the boyar families did not disappear. They continued to be very influential in the country's politics and in the cultural and social life, until World War I and even between the two World Wars;

3) Many of the descendants of boyar families died in the communists prisons or went into exile. Most of those who survived in Romania lost their social status and much of their family memory and group identity. Things happened like this, but these families did not vanish completely. Many of them survived and continue to detain elements of noble memory and identity that cannot be ignored just for the sake of an imaginary historical uniformity.

The first variant of my questionnaire was longer (almost 200 questions) and was addressed exclusively to the descendants of boyar families. After two years, using the feed-back I received from my first correspondents, I produced a revised and abridged version of the questionnaire. And I addressed it not only to the descendants of boyar families, but also to the descendants of those categories that have been genealogically tied to the boyars, since the 19th century, and that have followed the social and cultural patterns created by the boyars (the grand bourgeois, the intellectual "dynasties" etc.).

This final version, "The Memory of the Romanian Elites", contains questions about ancestry, genealogy and family memory transmission, about education, social life and cultural choices, about symbolic objects, country estates and manors, about religious and moral values, political opinions and life during communism (or during exile), about daily life, self-perception and the perceptions about "the others" (see Annex I).

Since 2009, I sent around 300 questionnaires, in Romania and abroad and I received, up to this moment, more than 100 answers. In the archive of the project, I have more than 30 written answers and more than 300 hours of recorded interviews. I also received an important number of unpublished diaries, memoirs, family books, photographs, genealogies etc.

It was not at all easy to identify the right correspondents. Unfortunately, we do not have what French, for example, do: an association of the noble families (like the Association de la Noblesse Française) or a periodical publication that contains the addresses of a great number of nobles (like the *Bottin mondain*). I relied on genealogies, on published historical information, but also on personal recommendations. In fact, this last method is the best way to get in touch and to meet people that are, usually, very discreet (some of my correspondents ask me to use their answers, but not to mention their names in my future analysis).

The first outcome of this project is thus creating an archive based on the answers to the questionnaire and on the photocopies or originals received from private family archives. The number of those individuals who were born and

educated in noble or grand bourgeois families before communism and who lived for some years a “boyar” life is decreasing rapidly. In few years, there will be no memories left about many of the aspects that interest us. I feel it is a duty to collect these memories, while they are still accessible. Many family archives are also in great danger to disappear: it is urgent to save them or, at least, to save the information through photocopies.

After collecting information, I will concentrate on a broad qualitative analysis, in order to verify the information, and then to identify those elements that are recurrent in the answers to my questionnaire, in order to find what is sociologically relevant in these answers, what are those elements, those values that assure distinction for nobles and grand bourgeois (from family memory to gestures or language). It will also be possible to analyze the evolution of these elements and values (I already have answers from two different generations of a same family). Another point of interest of the research is the fact that this project is dedicated to a social elite that was confronted with a communist dictatorship, with permanent exile and with almost total loss of family fortunes.

ANNEX I

The Memory of the Romanian Elites QUESTIONNAIRE

Author: Filip-Lucian Iorga

Name and surname:

Date and place of birth:

I. Family:

1.1. Information about father's family:

- specify the place of origin of the family.
- are there legends connected to the founding of the family or to distant ancestors for which there is no documentary attestation?
- what is the age of your family for which documentary evidence can be provided?
- what has been the social and political status of your family, throughout various historical periods?
- mention the historic characters that come from your father's family.
- do you own a family tree? If so, has it already been published or is it still unpublished? In case it was published, mention the bibliographical source; if not, enclose a photocopy of it to the current questionnaire.
- if there is no such family tree, try to sketch it yourself, on the basis of the data available, without insisting on informational deficiencies; this family tree should include, as much as possible, the names of the ancestors, their date of birth, the death

date, perhaps the social rank and profession as well. In other words, try to use any genealogical information that you can find within your family.

- mention the kinship relations by marriage that exist within your father's family.

1.2. information about mother's family.

- the same questions as for chapter 1.1.

1.3. Paternal grandparents: name and surname, biographical journey.

1.4. Maternal grandparents: name and surname, biographical journey.

1.5. Father: name and surname, biographical journey.

1.6. Mother: name and surname, biographical journey.

1.7. Brothers, sisters: names and surnames, biographical journeys.

1.8. Where did you spend your childhood and youth?

1.9. What qualities or drawbacks (physical, intellectual, temperamental) do you think you have genetically inherited from your ancestors?

II. Family identity and memory transmission:

2.1. What kind of identity was most important to your family: national, religious, ethnic or group identity (belonging to an old and influential family)?

2.2. Have you been brought up in a spirit of reverence for your family's past? If so, what were the methods by which you were familiarized with the history of your own family: elder relatives' accounts, historiographical works, literary works, family documents, photographs, etc.?

2.3. Was there in your family's house (or in the countryside mansion) a collection of family portraits? If so, provide a description of these. Have you seen many photos of your ancestors?

2.4. During family discussions, were references to the ancestors' glorious past, to their dignity and courage frequently recurrent?

2.5. During conversations engaged with people that do not belong to the boyars' social category, have you often referred to your family's past?

2.6. Did your family keep family documents (letters, diplomas, estate documents etc.)? If so, which were the most important and which were valued the most by your family?

2.7. Did your family keep family objects that had symbolic value and which were passed down from one generation to another (jewels, furniture, cutlery, dishes)? If so, provide a description of the latter.

2.8. Has the name of your family ever been passed down intergenerationally via women as well?

2.9. To what extent did you feel, during your childhood and your teenage years, that you belonged to a specific social group? Illustrate this feeling of membership.

2.10. Did your family have a family tree? If so, was it "alive" (were recent dates, births, deaths, marriages, periodically added to it)?

2.11. Does your family have a coat of arms? If so, how old is it, when did it appear for the first time, when was it clearly configured in terms of heraldry and how

was it used (did it appear on objects or on documents etc.)? If possible, provide a description of the emblem and enclose, should it be the case, a photocopy of it.

2.12. Did the communists confiscate or destroy a significant part of your family's documents and objects? If so, when and under what circumstances?

2.13. To what extent do you side with members of other European aristocratic elites? What do you consider to be the similarities and the differences between you and them?

III. Early childhood:

3.1. Were you born at home or in a medical institution (public or private)?

3.2. Did you have a nanny? What was her name; how about her background?

IV. Home education:

4.1. The role of your grandparents in your education.

4.2. The role of your mother in your education.

4.3. The role of your father in your education.

4.4. The role of women (aunts, cousins) in your education.

4.5. Did you have a *fräulein* or a *miss* (governess)? What was her name, how old was she, what country did she come from, what about her social background and her studies, how did she reach your parents' entourage, what was her role in your education and what was the relationship between you and her (mention signs of affection, of respect or submission etc.)?

4.6. Did you have a private tutor? Did you study at home during your primary school years with him/her? What was his/her name, how old was he/she, what was his/her social background, what about his/her studies, how did he/she reach your parents' entourage, what was his/her role in your education and what was the relationship between you and him/her (mention signs of affection, of respect or submission etc.)?

4.7. How important do you consider the early childhood years to be? How important were politeness rules and etiquette to your parents? Can you remember some particular circumstances?

4.8. Did your family provide you with a personalized vision of history, by stories about the role played by your ancestors? If so, what was the nature of these accounts? Mention which of the following events or historical periods were most recurrent in family conversations and which particular ancestors were invoked:

- the age of the creation of Romanian principalities Wallachia and Moldavia.
- the heroic resistance of Moldavian and Wallachian princes against invaders (Mircea the Old, Alexander the Good, Stephen the Great, Vlad the Impaler, Michael the Brave).
- the age of scholarly and constructing voivodes (Matei Basarab, Vasile Lupu, Dimitrie Cantemir, Constantin Brâncoveanu).
- the Phanariote epoch.
- the 1848 Revolution.
- the Unification of the Principalities in 1859.
- Prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen accessing the throne in 1866.

- the War of Independence, 1877-1878.
- First World War.
- others (mention them).

4.9. As a child, did you feel that your family duties blended with the duties towards your country; likewise, by your name and by your membership to an old family, did you feel that you had a greater duty towards the community than other children?

V. Institutionalized education:

5.1. Did you attend nursery school? If so, describe the atmosphere, the staff and the colleagues.

5.2. Did you attend primary school?

5.3. What were the institutions where you attended secondary school and high school? Evoke the atmosphere (name of the institution, location), the teaching staff, your colleagues.

5.4. Did the family get involved in the choice of your school/college?

5.5. Did the family get involved in the choice of your subsequent career?

5.6. What are your academic studies? What university did you attend and what was your field of study?

5.7. Did you decide to follow a family tradition (attending the same college or the same faculty as your father, your mother or any other ancestor)?

5.8. Did your ancestors study abroad (where and when)? Did you do the same or did you plan to do it?

5.9 Did family or school play a higher role in your education?

VI. Daily life

6.1. Was there a meal protocol which was observed (courses served in a particular order, guests served in a particular order as well)?

6.2. What did you usually eat for:

- breakfast
- lunch
- five o'clock tea
- dinner
- any other snack.

6.3. Did you play often with children of your age? What social milieux did the children you played with come from?

VII. Cultural conventions

7.1. Did your family own a library? How many volumes did it contain roughly speaking? What were the authors, the fields, the epochs and the languages that were mainly represented?

7.2. Was there a scholarly tradition in your family?

7.3. When did you start reading and what was your first book? Did you start reading of your own initiative or did somebody else hand the book over to you?

7.4. Was your family's library confiscated or destroyed during the communist regime? If so, under what circumstances?

7.5. What are the foreign languages that you learned during your childhood and your adolescence?

7.6. Did members of your family speak a foreign language when communicating among themselves?

7.7. Was French considered in your family as the main language of communication or was it used only on special occasions?

7.8. Did your parents often speak a foreign language when addressing you?

7.9. Was your childhood marked by the French culture?

7.10. Was your childhood marked by the language, the culture and the traditions of another country (for example, Germany, England, Italy etc.)? If so, what country and who was the person by whom this influence was exerted?

7.11. Was there a musical instrument in your house (a piano, a violin etc.)? Did you learn how to play a musical instrument as a child?

7.12. Did your family own an arts collection? If so, what did it include (paintings, sculptures, graphics etc.)?

7.13. Did you take dancing classes as a young man/woman? If so, who was your tutor and what type of dance did you mostly learn?

VIII. The home

8.1. What was the town where your family lived? What about the neighbourhood?

8.2. What type of home did you have (a villa, a family house with a garden, a flat in a villa, a flat in a block of flats)?

8.3. What kind of furniture was there in your house? Was it designed in the same style everywhere?

8.4. Did you have old furniture in your house, passed down from one generation to another? If so, can you tell us some stories about these items of furniture?

8.5. Was your family home nationalized by the communists? If so, where were you forced to move?

IX. The mansion and the estate

9.1. Did your family own one or more estates?

9.2. Were the mansion and the house a family inheritance or had they been recently bought?

9.3. Be so kind as to present historical events or legends connected to your family's mansion/estate.

9.4. How many floors and rooms did your mansion have? What was its architectural style? What was its furniture like?

9.5. What was the regular agenda during the holidays spent on the countryside estate?

9.6. What was your relation with the peasants in the village where your mansion and estate were located? Did you often meet them or talk to them? Did you sometimes join their feasts?

9.7. Did your family contribute to the increase in the living and educational standards in the village where your estate was located, by the building of a school, a health centre or by other charity works?

9.8. Did your family administer the estate by themselves or did they resort to a hired administrator (bailiff)? In the latter case, what was the relation with the bailiff, on the one hand, and what was the relation between the administrator and the peasants, on the other hand?

9.9. Did the men in your family have any knowledge about agriculture?

9.10. Were the mansion and the estate confiscated/vandalized during the communist regime?

9.11. Did you try to renovate the mansion, after 1989, and to revive life on the estate?

X. The serving personnel

10.1. Did you have serving personnel in your house, as a child and a teenager? If so, how many were they in all?

10.2. How did members of the serving personnel address you?

10.3. Did your family provide financial support for staff members, on certain occasions (marriage, birth or death in the family)? Give examples, where the case may be.

XI. The parlour

11.1. Did your family often organize special dinners with numerous guests, balls, dancing parties, musical evenings? If so, provide some examples of such events you attended.

11.2. Did you meet in your parents' house personalities of the political, public and cultural life? Who were they, what were the relations between them and members of your family and how did you interact with them?

XII. The financial situation

12.1. What was your parents' attitude towards money?

12.2. Was wealth a fundamental value in the world where you were brought up or was it rather a useful instrument?

12.3. What was the attitude of ancient boyar families towards the newly rich elite? Was there a real antagonism between the boyars and the bourgeoisie or did the boyars rapidly integrate those bourgeois who adopted the conventions, the values and the life style which were typical of the boyars' social class?

12.4. What was the general view on impoverished boyar families, who were forced by poverty to lead a modest life, in spite of their belonging, at a certain moment, to the social elite?

XIII. Friendship and sociability

13.1. Were your first playmates and comrades part of the larger family (cousins etc.)? Did your first playmates and comrades belong to the same social category as you did?

13.2. Did the family get involved in the choice of your circle of friends?

XIV. Family life

14.1. Was marriage considered more of a personal option or rather as an option of the whole family?

14.2. Did your family try to get involved in the choice of your partner?

14.3. How did your family regard the absence of inheritors?

XV. Holidays and free time

15.1. Where did you spend your holidays?

15.2. What sports did you practice? Did you have your own horses?

15.3. Have you ever taken part in a hunting party? If so, describe one such session. Was there any hunting tradition in your family? What was the game that was most preferred? Can you remember any cherished hunting rifle or any favourite chasing dog?

XVI. Faith and church

16.1. What religion/confession have you embraced? Who took care of your religious education? Was there in your family a model of piety that you followed?

16.2. As a child and a teenager, how did you celebrate the major religious events:

- Easter.
- Christmas.
- St. Nicholas.
- others (mention them).

16.3. Does your family own a tomb vault? How did your family envision and how do you yourself envision the ancestors' tombs?

16.4. Has your family built, throughout history, churches or chapels? If so, when and where?

XVII. Ethics

17.1. Was the education you received based on a rigid ethical system or rather on a liberal one?

17.2. What were the prevailing nuances of the moral system along whose lines you were educated:

- Christian morality;
- Victorian morality;
- the code of honour;
- the sense of duty;
- the patriotism;
- others (mention them).

17.3. Is the concept of "word of honour" important for you?

XVIII. The army

18.1. Do you have in your family models of courage, heroism or a long military tradition?

18.2. Did you fight in WW2? If so, what was the evolution of your military career?

XIX. Historical events that influenced your life

19.1. Which of the following historical events influenced your biographical trajectory most and why?

- First World War.
- the Great Unification, the period of Greater Romania.
- the disappearance of the large estates, following the agrarian reform of king Ferdinand I.
- the start of the Second World War.
- the victory of the Allies upon Nazi Germany.
- the invasion of the country by the Soviet troops.
- the forced abdication of H.M. King Michael I and his banishment; the proclamation of the Popular Republic.
- the nationalization process and the collectivization of agriculture.
- the communist repression of the 50s, the arrestation of members of the Romanian society elites. Were you a political prisoner or were you persecuted during the communist regime? If so, mention places of detention and the pressure methods exerted upon you, etc.
- the evolution of Ceaușescu's tyrannical regime, the attempt to imitate the North-Korean pattern, the gradual deterioration of the economic and social situation in Romania.
- the events of December 1989. Did Romania confront with a revolution or a *coup d'état*?
- Romania joins NATO and the European Union.

19.2. What were the doctrines and the politicians (Romanian or foreign) who influenced you most and that you most appreciated?

19.3. Are you a monarchist or a republican? Motivate your option. What was your family's attitude towards monarchy and the Romanian royal family?

Note: Mention any other historical events that influenced your life.

XX. Job

20.1. Have you had a job/ any kind of professional activity throughout your life? If so, what was it?

20.2. Did the installation of the communist regime represent a rupture in your career? Were you forced to abandon your vocation and re-orientate professionally?

XXI. Offspring and memory

21.1. Do you have children and grandchildren? If so, how many do you have, what are their names, what studies have they made and in what fields do they activate? Whom have they married?

21.2. Have you told your offspring about the family history and about the importance of perpetuating its memory? Have you shown them the family tree?

21.3. Do you intend to leave your descendants family photos, documents and objects?

21.4. Have you kept a diary? Do you intend to write your memories? If so, do you intend to publish them sometime?

21.5. Have you written a history of your family? Have you supported the writing or the publication of a work devoted to your family's history? Did you set up a foundation that should deal with the perpetuation of your family name?

21.6. What is your descendants' attitude towards the history of their own family? Do they talk about their ancestors? Are they interested in finding out more? Does their past influence their daily decisions in any way?

21.7. In your opinion, what differentiates nowadays the boyars' and grand bourgeois' descendants from the offspring of families without a representative past?

21.8. Do you think that the spirit of the boyar families can survive in the absence of any material means which could sustain signs of distinction? In other words, does poverty automatically cancel family memory and boyar distinction or are there also other factors that ensure the latter?

21.9. Have you ever thought, in case you have just female offspring, that your girls should preserve their historical name even after marriage?

21.10. What role do you think the descendants of the old elites still play nowadays? Can they still represent a cultural and moral model?

21.11. In the case of descendants of old families gone in exile and who live outside Romania, you are kindly asked to describe the context of your departure from the country, the degree of social integration into the country of adoption, whether you still keep in touch with Romania, if your offspring still speak Romanian and if they are still interested in any way in their national and family origins.

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BOOK REVIEW

Сто години од Балканските војни. Прилози од Научниот Сојир одржан на 3-4 декември 2012 година (Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите) [Hundred Years of the Balkan Wars. Proceedings of the Scientific Meeting. Held on 3-4 December 2012. Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts], Скопје/Skopje, no publisher, 2013, 532 p. ISBN 978-608-203-100-2

The centenary of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913; 1913) was marked by the historiography of the Republic of Macedonia through many scientific meetings, some of them with international participation (as were two such events held in November 2013). In 2012 there was also a large scientific session organized under the aegis of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts; his works were published, in Macedonian language, in 2013 in a large volume (532 p.), which contains 33 articles and studies.

Enumeration of titles is enlightening for thematic content of the scientific event on December 3-4, 2012. These are – Vlado Kambovski, *From Balkan Wars to Balkan peace – Macedonian aspect* (p. 11-21); Blaze Ristovski, *Macedonian factors before and during the Balkan Wars* (p. 25-69); Vlado Popovski, *The defeat of the idea of Macedonia in the Balkan Wars – causes and factors* (p. 71-85); Ivan Katardziev, *Motives for declaring the Balkan War in 1912 and marking its centennial in 2012* (p. 87-105); Vancho Gjorgjiev, *Peace Reforms or Delaying the Conflict* (p. 107-127); Valentina Mironska Hristovska, *Macedonian question in the 19 century and the Balkan Wars* (p. 131-146); Aleksandar Trajanovski, *Participation of Macedonia volunteers in the Bulgarian army in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913)* (p. 147-169); Aleksandar Stojchev, *Military actions of the armed formations of the Macedonian People in the Balkan Wars* (p. 171-193); Natasha Kotlar-Trajkova, Vera Gosheva, *The fate of the civilian population in Thessaloniki during the Balkan Wars* (p. 196-202); Biljana Popovska, Ivanka Dodovska, *Macedonia – hundred years after the Balkan Wars* (p. 205-212); Dimitar Mirchev, *One hundred years after the conquest and partition of Macedonia: geo-politics and geo-culture in the Balkans in the present* (p. 213-227); Lenina Zila, *Determination of the Balkan Wars from the point of view of the “viability” of states* (p. 229-241); Afrim Osmani, *The development of law, with special emphasis on criminal law of Ottoman Macedonia, until the Balkan Wars* (p. 243-253); Dejan Marolov, *Balkan Wars through the prism of the broader theoretical framework of the concept of “security dilemma”* (p. 255-271); Makedonka Mitrova, Marija Pandevska, *The Kingdom of Serbia and the first Balkan War: political and diplomatic aspects* (p. 275-292); Dalibor Jovanovski, *Object and success – Eleftherios Venizelos and Macedonia in the Balkan Wars* (p. 295-309); Stefan Vlahov-Micov, *Balkan wars in Bulgarian Historiography* (p. 311-316); Dimitar Pandev, *A.M. Selishchev’s views on the Macedonian language in context of the Bulgarian and of the Serbian Propagandas (from 1914 to 1942)* (p. 317-333); Ismet Kočan, *Turkish historiography on the Battle of Sarkoy (Participation of Macedonia volunteers in the Gallipoli front in the First*

Balkan Wars) (p. 335-347); Fehari Ramadani, Gjula Celiku, *The position and diplomacy of Austria-Hungary on the Albanian Question during the Balkan War* (p. 351-370); Vera Lalchevska, *The Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Balkan Wars and its authors: thoughts and lessons learned for the Republic of Macedonia* (p. 373-382); Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, *Macedonia in the Balkan Wars through the illustrations in the Russian journal "Iskri"* (p. 385-407) (with many illustrations); Liljana Gushevska, *The correspondent of the London "Times" from the Balkans on the Balkan Wars* (p. 409-416); Shener Biljali, *World public opinion and the Balkan Wars Kumanovo Battle in the world press* (p. 419-426); Dragi Gjorgiev, *Macedonian Revolutionary Organization seen by two Ottomans: Selankli Shemsedin and Niyazi-Bey* (p. 427-436); Todor Chepreganov, *Hristo Siljanov and the First Balkan War* (p. 439-448); Marija Emilija Kukubajska, *Examples of biased ignoring of the Macedonian identity: Robert Kaplan, Balkan Ghosts* (p. 449-460); Nikola Minov, *Vlachs in the Balkan Wars* (p. 463-477); Silvana Sidorovska-Chupovska, *Political and educational situation in Veles (1912-1913). Correspondence in the newspaper Law (1910-1913) and in the journal Macedonian Voice (1913-1914)* (p. 479-485); Oliver Cackov, *Military, economic and political consequences of the First Balkan War on the life of the people in Shtip and Shtip region* (p. 487-493); Elena Josimovska, Verica Josimovska, *Evidences about the Bregalnica epidemic in 1913* (495-509); Marija Kiceva, *Education in Shtip during the Balkan Wars* (p. 511-516); Vladimir Janevski, *"Komitsko" Folk-Dance* (p. 519-527).

I exemplified by several references this representative op of Macedonian historiography present-day, testimony to its professionalism and scientific maturity. Thus, Vlado Kambovski, member of Macedonian Academy for Sciences and Arts (MANU) (it was founded in 1967), shows the historical importance for Macedonians of the Balkan Wars and of Treaty of Bucharest: "The beginning of the First Balkan War represents a crucial event of modern Macedonian history. With this War began the tragedy of the Macedonian people and its fate was decided, sealed with the Peace Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, which has fully divided the ethnic wholeness of the Macedonian people into three parts and has drawn the existing borders between: the Vardar Macedonia (today the republic of Macedonia), which was occupied by the Kingdom of Serbia after the Balkan Wars, the Pirin Macedonia, occupied by Bulgaria and the Aegean Macedonia, occupied by Greece" (p. 21). Another Academician, Blaze Ristovski, presents "the internal organized factor as a subject in Macedonia and in the international arena and its real role in the program and the partition of the country and the people. Thereby the place and role of national propaganda of the neighboring countries is presented, and especially the aggressive emergence and gradual consolidation of the Albanian culture and national movement as a governing factor within shariat Tureky" (p. 70). Professor Vlado Popovski, from "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" University of Skopje (it was founded in 1943) refers also to the modern history of the Macedonian national movement: "The Macedonian national and state idea, which was developed by three generations with the Great eastern Crisis, followed by the Ilinden period, till the Second World War and ASNOM, has undergone several changes. With them, the model of Macedonian nationalism has also changed. The variations of the Macedonian nationalism and the idea of the Macedonian state have

depended on several seasons and factors, which will be the subject on this article (p. 86). The Academician Ivan Katardziev speaking about the motives for declaring the Balkan War in 1912, highlights international context in Balkans and shows the reasons why Serbia and Bulgaria signed on April 29, 1912, the Treaty “on friendship and alliance”, considering that “the principal aim of the signatories to the Treaty on Alliance was to prevent the formation of Macedonia as an autonomous state and political unit in the Balkans and especially the promotion of the Macedonian culture and national identity” (p. 106). The researcher Aleksandar Stojchev, from Military Museum of Skopje, analyzed the military actions of the armed formations of the Macedonian people in the Balkans Wars: “All those formations were composed of Macedonians, represented the Macedonian force and, at the beginning, acted jointly in agreement and cooperation with the allied armies. The number of the Macedonian forces was not registered, but it is assumed that at this time were around 75,000-100,000 people” (p. 193). Professor Dimitar Mirchev, from FON University of Skopje (private university, founded in 2003) compares the doctrines of the Macedonian neighbours with those produced in the mid of the 19 century, at the times of the Megali-idea, the Drafts of Ilija Garashanin, the Programme of the Prizren League, etc.: “The comparative-politological analysis indicates that an obvious continuity exists between the classical and modern doctrines of the neighbours. That the modern doctrines are still based upon the ideas of ethno-romanticism, primordialism and even Marxism. The doctrines of the nineteenth century were a prologue and justification for the two Balkan wars 1912-1912. The modern doctrines are still implemented mainly in states’ policies in the Balkans, often burdened by conflicts, contrasts and denial of human and minority rights” (p. 227).

Among other studies, all very interesting and serious documented, we note that of appreciated researchers Maria Pandevska and Makedonka Mitrovica, from the Institute of National History (founded in 1948), about the political and diplomatic aspects of Serbian Kingdom in the context of the First Balkan War, the authors showing that the Kingdom of Serbia and its allies embarked in the First Balkan War during October 1912 “under the excuse of introducing reforms into the European part of the Ottoman Empire”; and, also, that “the issue of the revision of the Serbo-Bulgarian border in Macedonia would lead the Kingdom of Serbia to the Second Balkan War, which was exclusively waged for a new territorial partition of Macedonia between the former allies” (p. 293). Also, it’s remarked the study by Professor Dalibor Jovanovski, from “Ss. Cyril and Methodius” University, about Eleftherios Venizelos and Macedonia in the Balkan Wars, the Greek political man, being considered that “marked the first three decades of the 20th century in the Greek politics and history” and who “was an ardent Greek nationalist overwhelmed with the idea of creating s Greek state” (p. 310). Fehari Ramadani and Gjula Celiku, from State University of Tetovo (founded in 1994) speak in their paper about the position and diplomacy of Austria-Hungary on the Albanian during the Balkan Wars, concluding: “Since the nineteenth century, despite the declaration of national independence, Vienna was and remained the most faithful and the most significant ally of the Albanian people. Without the help from Austria-Hungary, the Albanians would have suffered even greater losses, than those from 1912-1913” (p. 371).

As a general impression, it is said that the papers presented at this consistent scientific meeting of Macedonian historians (most authors are of Skopje, seven of Shtip (Vladimir Janevski, Elena Josimovska and Verica Josimovska, Marija Kiceva, Marija Emilija Kukubajska, Dejan Marolov, Oliver Cackov), two of Tetovo (Fehari Ramadani and Gjula Celiku), two are from abroad: one in Switzerland – Vera Lalchevska, *Institute for International and Development Studies* of Geneva, one in Russia – Lenina Zila, from “Lomonosov” University of Moscow) are results and scientific advice of a young state’s historiography, for arguments of the historical past weigh significantly in asserting of national identity of its own, respectively the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian state. As can be seen from the presented titles – implicitly inserted in this volume – their content covers general aspects of modern history of Balkan area; the moments and ideas about ethnic groups in this area, especially in terms of affirmation of the Macedonian nation other than the Bulgarian or Serbian nationalities; moments circumscribed of political and military issues during the Balkan Wars; also, some aspects of social and spiritual development of the Shtip city and its area – several papers belong of researchers and professors from the University “Gotse Delchev” in Shtip is a young university; was founded in 2007, and now she integrates 13 faculties with more than 100 study programmes in three cycles of studies.

Stoica Lascu

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