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CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE PHASES OF EVOLUTION OF THE ROMAN TOWN OF ROMULA, IN LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT THE CENTRAL FORTIFICATION (2013-2018)

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Abstract

The research carried out in the first two decades of the 21st Century brings us new information regarding the evolution of the Roman town of Romula. It was the biggest urban, economical and cultural center of the Dacia Inferior (Malvensis) province. For the first time, we can clearly identify the different Roman layers, as well as their chronology as part of the Central Fortification.

Research revealed a number of five archaeological layers dating from the Roman period. They have been numbered in the order of their discovery, starting from under the plant layer. From a chronological point of view, we can place them in the second half of the 3rd Century A.D. and in the 4th Century A.D. (late Roman layer I), the middle of the 3rd Century A.D. (Roman layer I), the last decade of the 2nd Century A.D. until the first third of the 3rd Century A.D. (Roman layer II), the second half of the 2nd Century A.D. until the second-last decade (Roman layer III), the second quarter of the 2nd Century A.D. (Roman layer IV), the first quarter of the 2nd Century A.D. (Roman layer V), neolithic (layer VI).

Key words: *Archaeology, Roman Period, Romula, Roman Town, excavation*

A short history

Count Ferdinando de Marsigli, an Austrian army officer, was the first to signal the existence of archeological remains at Reșca. He sketched a map of three fortifications (Marsigli, 1726: 69, Fig. XL). Out of these, the so-called Central Fortification was the only one to be identified and partially researched. It is located in the central area of the Roman city.

In the work *Descriptio Moldaviae* written by the Moldavian ruler, Dimitrie Cantemir, it is mentioned that a merchant named Stambol had told him that there were Roman vestiges located somewhere on the riverbanks of the Olt. The locals called this place *The Domain of Emperor Ler* (Cantemir, 1981: 94).

The first archaeological research campaign at Romula was led and financed by Cezar Bolliac, a renowned antiquarian. Cezar Bolliac had started similar excavation efforts in other Roman digsites, in Muntenia and Oltenia. Of course, these were far from being scientific, as their declared goal was that of recovering as many whole objects as possible. The Reșca-Romula campaign is presented in his memoirs, *Archaeological trips from the year 1869* (Bolliac, 1869: 32-39).

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Under professor Dumitru Tudor from the University of Bucharest, scientific archaeological research was resumed in 1965 (Mărgărit Tătulea, 1994: 46-48). Between 1965-1992, research in the Central Fortification was coordinated by dr. Cristian Vlădescu from the National Military Museum. Some of the findings have been published in scientific journals, but the core of his research is contained in his Ph.D. thesis *Roman Fortifications in Dacia Inferior* (Vlădescu, 1986: 34-40).

Dr. Gheorghe Popilian led the most extended research in the northern sector. He identified and researched seven different ceramic workshops. These findings revealed Romula to be the biggest pottery center in the entire province of Dacia Inferior (Malvensis), and the results of these findings have been published in scientific journals. Additionally, they are discussed in detail as part of his Ph.D. thesis, *Roman Pottery in Oltenia* (Popilian, 1976), the first work of its kind – at a provincial level – in the entire space of the former Roman Empire.

Short term research was carried out by dr. Mircea Babeș in the northern necropolis (Babeș, 1970: 167-206), and by dr. Valeriu Leahu in the southern necropolis (Leahu, 1975: 191-215).

After the resignation from the position of team leader of dr. Gheorghe Popilian in 1999, the researches progressed to a new phase only in 2003. A few years later, in 2006, the *Romula research program – the capital of Dacia Inferior (Malvensis)* was elaborated, which outlined priorities for 2007-2013. These were grim times for the digsite, as the Romanați Museum in Caracal reduced its funding, and the Ministry of Culture had allocated money to it only in 2006.

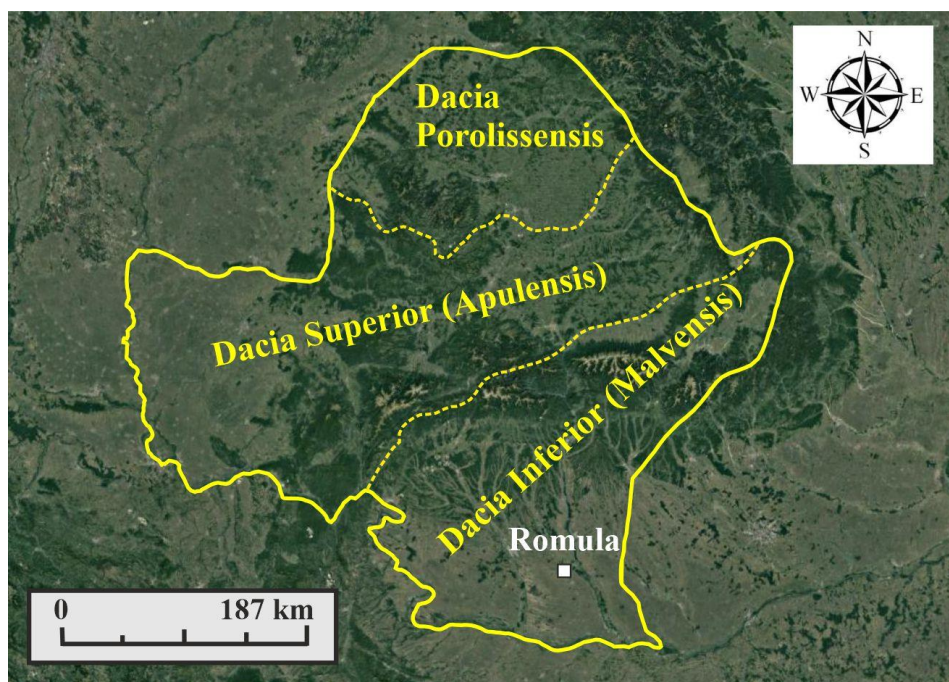


Figure 1. Map of the Roman Province of Dacia (centuries II-III A.D.)
Placement of the former Roman city of Romula

The local public authorities started funding the research in 2013, through the Olt County Museum. Currently, the allocated amount of money is in full compliance with the digsite's scientific importance, which is significant for the area of our country and of the Lower Danube.

In 2013-2018, the main objective of the research was understanding urban evolution in the area of the Central Fortification. Specific objectives were identifying the elements of the fortification, ascertaining the stratigraphy, and the attribution of different structures to each archaeological layer.

Methodology of research

As part of the *Research program for the period 2014-2020*, we presented the current state of research as well as the main issues we are facing. Included therein were also our proposed solutions and their implementation, within bounds of our budget, human resource and especially logistics, which are limited for such an ambitious archaeological program.

The issues of land mapping in regards to identifying the layers of Roman cultures revolve around the lack of previous information regarding the stratigraphy and the unearthed structures. The difficulty of establishing a chronology is created by the lack of archaeological material which could help with identifying a timeframe for the layers in this stage of the digging.



Figure 2. Romula. Central Fortification. General plan of the research from 2013-2018

In order to solve these problems, we have made two sections in the Central Fortification so that we may better identify its elements, named S1 and S2, which are perpendicular to the north-eastern side of the Roman fortification.

Furthermore, the excavation was resumed in the main section, established in 2011. The main section has a NE-SW orientation, and was divided into two sections, numbered S3 and S4. S3 was located at the southern limit of the Central Fortification, while S4 explored the central area.

Main findings

Integrated analysis of the stratigraphy, structures and archaeological materials discovered

Pedological layers have been identified and numbered starting with the upper layer of soil to the deeper. The soil's appearance, as well as the content of archaeological materials, have been described. Some archaeological complexes have also been found, which do not have their own cultural layer and pierce through older ones. They usually belong to the post-Roman period from the second half of the 3rd Century-4th Century A.D.

The most complete stratigraphy has been identified in S9, located in the northern part of the Central Fortification (Negru et al., 2016: 24-29). Here, we can also add useful information extracted from S1 and S4, in the south-eastern and central parts of the Central Fortification.

As part of the 2013-2018 campaigns, five cultural layers have been identified, one belonging to the post-Roman period as well as a prehistorical one. The rest of the paper will elaborate on each one of them, in the order of their stratigraphical identification, from the newest to the oldest.

I Late-Roman Layer (second half of the 3rd Century – 4th Century A.D.)



Figure 3. Romula. Dwelling CFC 6/2018 (*I Late-Roman Layer*)

In S9, the vegetal layer has a light ashy color, with Roman archaeological materials. It continues until the depth of 0.10/0.15 m. From 0.10/0.15 m onwards, at the depth of 0.30m, a layer of ash-colored soil, with brown accents, has been identified, its colour probably owing to the Roman mortar pigments. It represents the demolition of the last Roman layer, and we can fit it chronologically into the second half of the 3rd Century until the 4th Century A.D. This is the Late Roman layer I, rarely differentiated during research.

Building no. 4/2015, located in S9, squares 4-8 belongs to this layer. The building was made solely out of wood and clay, traces of a burnt wooden beam being identified, as well as the shape of a dismantled wall. The floor was made out of yellow clay. All of these factors point towards a post-Roman building, which can be dated to the second half of the 3rd Century to the 4th Century A.D. A coin, minted under Philip the Arab, was discovered in the demolished level, being a *terminus post-quem* (Negru et al., 2016: 27).

This post-Roman layer is also home to various remnants of deepened housing, made out of wood and clay, discovered in S4, S5a and S18, which had ovens hollowed into a block of clay, specific to the post-Roman period in extracarpatian region (Negru et al., 2009: 21-22, 42-43, 46-47).

During the 2015 archaeological campaign, remains of a dwelling whose floor intersects the Roman layer, was discovered in the profile between S5a and S6a. It had a cooking oven oriented north-west – south-east, with its mouth towards the south-east. The horseshoe-shaped oven was hollowed out into a block of clay. The walls of the oven were intensely burnt to red for a width of 6-8 cm. Its length was 62 cm, and its interior width was 43 cm. A black burnt layer was located above the oven, with a width of 4 cm (Negru et al., 2016: 15).

In the square 1 of S4, a part of a semi-buried dwelling was identified, which had a oven carved into a block of clay, having the same horseshoe shape. Another household oven, similar in shape, was discovered in S18 as part of an entrenched dwelling (Negru et al., 2019: 165).

Another noteworthy fact is that fragments of pottery of Dacian tradition, dating from the Late Roman period, were discovered near the archaeological complexes in S4, S5a, S6a and S18. They were modelled by hand, which confirms the proposed chronology for this cultural layer.

I Roman Layer (middle of 3rd Century A.D., the period of Maximinus Thrax-Traianus Decius)

The middle of the 3rd Century is a special time period for Romula due to the massive Gothic and Carpien invasions, which affected the city and bore repercussions for its future urban planning. In this context, in some areas of the digsite, the most affected buildings have been demolished or rebuild as a result of the damage suffered. We encounter one such example in S9/2015, where we can see two Roman layers from the middle of the 3rd Century. Considering that this could be a particular situation, specifically due to the short timeframe which numbers less than two decades, we have seen fit to unite the first and second Roman layers (identified previously in S9/2015) into sublayers IA and IB, as parts of a whole layer in the middle of the 3rd Century A.D. For this reason, conventional numbering will be offset

in this special section when comparing it to the rest of the Central Fortification. We will maintain its chronological borders with respect to the identification and research of the area's general stratigraphy.

IA Roman Layer (middle of 3rd Century A.D., the period of Philip the Arab-Traianus Decius)

This layer belongs to the end of the Roman age, or, more precisely, of the presence of Roman administration at Romula. In S 9/2015, in the northern sector of Roman fortification, it presents two phases, named A and B.

From the depth of 0.30 m to 0.40 m, a level of ashy soil was discovered, which contains fragments of bricks, pottery and burnt adobe remains (Roman layer II in S9/2015). This is the IA Roman layer, where we can find occasional intrusions from later post-Roman cultures. We can find it under the current vegetal stratum and pinpoint it to the 3rd Century A.D. In this Roman layer, the last coins discovered were identified to Philip the Arab.

In S5b and S6b, two buildings belonging to this stratum have been identified. The first of these, building no. 1/2015, is evidenced by traces of dismantled walls, as well as of a nearby floor made out of yellow clay. In its demolished layer, a coin minted under Philip the Arab was discovered (Negru et al., 2016: 18).

IB Roman Layer (Period of Maximinus Thrax – Gordian III)

From the depth of 0.40 m to 0.60/0.70 m, a layer of ashy soil was discovered. It contains Roman archaeological materials, including Roman coins from Septimius Severus to Gordian III.

Building no. 5/2015 was identified in S9. The foundation of its dismantled wall was preserved, having no base rubble layer, as well as a part of its yellow clay floor (Negru et al., 2016: 28). Additionally, two holes have also been discovered (Holes no. 17 and no. 18), one of them containing multiple coins, the most recent of these being a denarius minted by Gordian III.



Figure 4. Building no. 2/2015 (*IB Roman Layer*)

Building no. 2/2015 was identified from the remains of some parallel walls, located near the previous building, and from a wall fragment, from which four rows of stacked bricks have been preserved *in situ* (Negru et al., 2016: 17).

II Roman Layer (last decade of the 2nd Century – first third of the 3rd Century A.D., the period of Septimius Severus – Severus Alexander)

A stratum of ashy soil was identified in S9/2015, from the depth of 0.60/0.70 m to 0.90 m. It contains archaeological materials from the Roman age, including coins from Severus Alexander.

Building no. 6/2015 from S9 belongs to this layer. The dismantled remains of the walls have the width of 0,65, and are filled with dark ashy soil held together by small fragments of burnt wood. Coins from Severus Alexander have been discovered here.

A layer of compact soil has been identified in S4/2013, squaers 18-19, from the depth of 0.62 m to 0.88 m. Its color is ashy, and it contains brick and mortar fragments. Inside this section and within the borders with S6a, S6b, S5a and S5b, the Workshop no. 1 for glass was discovered. Furnace no. 1 has a single rectangular chamber, used for melting brute glass, which likely originated from Romula imports. Nearby, to the southwest, two surfaces for working glass have been discovered, highlighted by platforms made out of Roman bricks. One of these, in the immediate vicinity of the furnace, was heavily burnt and had fragments of melted glass (Negru et al., 2016: 17). The most recent coin from the furnace's surroundings dates to Severus Alexander (223-235).



Figure 5. Romula. The Central Fortification's brick wall (*II Roman Layer*)

In 2018, a second glass furnace was discovered in S4. It was rectangularly shaped and had two chambers: one of them was designed for fire, and the other one probably served for remelting glass.

This layer also includes the precinct made of bricks, which, according to prof. Dumitru Tudor, dates to the end of the 2nd Century A.D. and the beginning of the 3rd Century A.D. (Tudor 1978, 186); the second half of the 2nd Century A.D. according to researcher Cristian Vlădescu (Vlădescu 1986, 38). Unfortunately, the wall was studied lengthwise, which resulted in the loss of the original stratigraphy, therefore making it impossible to prove or disprove the previously mentioned hypotheses.

III Roman Layer (second half of the second Century – second-last decade of the second Century A.D.)

In S1/2013, the third Roman layer was found in squares 6-10 starting from the depth of 0.70/0.80 m to depths of 1.00/1.10 m. It is a layer of black-greyish soil which contains Roman archaeological materials.



Figure 6. Romula. Building no. 1/2013 (*III Roman Layer*)

Building no. 1/2013 was discovered in this layer, belonging to S1/2013. Its foundation was made out of river gravel and dark brown coloured sand. The wall had a thickness of approximately 70 cm and was made out of Roman *sesquipediales* bricks, stuck together with clay and sand. Five rows of bricks were preserved. Building no. 2/2013 was identified in S3, squares 13-18, with two rooms. The width of its foundation was 0.35-0.40 m, fashioned out of river gravel and sand. Some areas were rust-coloured. Some of its long walls are located near the western profile of this section, partially penetrating it (Negru et al., 2014: 45).

IV Roman Layer (second quarter of the second Century A.D.)

From the depth of 0.90 – 1.20/1.25m, a compact layer of dark grey clay was discovered in S9/2015. A coin from Hadrian was discovered in fragments of burnt wood.

Building no. 7/2015 in S9 had a simple brick foundation, without the usual layer of gravel. Between the two foundations, a mudbrick table was discovered, which overlapped with the remains of the floor's planks. In this section, at the depth of 0.90 m, a coin minted under Hadrian was discovered.

Hole no. 2/2011 dates back to the same timeframe. It was discovered in S4/2013 (former S1/2011). A small deposit of bronze and silver coins were discovered in this hole, dating to the period of Trajan-Hadrian, as well as two gold rings with semiprecious stones.

V Roman Layer (first quarter of the second Century A.D.)

In section S9/2015, from the depth of 1.20/1.25 m to the depth of 1.60 m a layer of compact clay, dark-greyish in colour, was discovered. It contains Roman archaeological materials and remains of burnt wood, numbered as the 5th Roman layer. It can be dated in the limits of the 1st quarter of 2nd Century A.D., on the basis of the fact it is superposed by a layer dated with a coin minted by Hadrian (Negru et al., 2016: 29).

In the same section (S9/2015), in the squares 3-4, a fragmentary floor, built of wooden planks was discovered. The building the floor belongs to (numbered as building no. 8/2015), was most likely a barracks used by Roman soldiers. In the same layer, a context consisting of rubble and adobe was discovered, located in the square 1, at a depth of 1.30 m.



Figure 7. Romula. The Central Fortification's early wall (*V Roman Layer*)

The defensive elements of the first phase of the Central Fortification were identified in the same layer. These elements are: two *fossae*, *berma*, the precinct built of turf and mudbricks, and the *agger*.

The most important for the study of this first Roman layer was the stratigraphical data registered in S1/2013, a section located perpendicular to the defensive elements. In the squares 7-8 of S1/2013, the precinct of the Central Fortification was observed from a depth of 0.50-0.60 m to a depth of 1.50 m. In the square 6, another wall, built in the same technique (*murus caespiticius*) was attached to the first precinct.

The precinct no. 1 has been investigated in section S1/2013, squares 7-8. It was apparently built with mudbricks, dark and yellowish in colour, a technique uncommon in the province of Dacia for such a construction. The precinct is 1.90-2.00 m in width, and its height, in the actual state of conservation, is aprox. 1.20 m, as measured on the northern profile of section S1/2013.

At the outer side of the precinct, a reconstruction (or at least consolidation) has been discovered. It has been built in a similar technique, made of turf or mudbricks. This structure is 1,90-1,95 m in width, and it was attached to the outer side of the first precinct. Part of this second precinct has collapsed in the *fossa* no. 1 and on the *berma* of the fortification.

The Prehistoric Layer (Vădastra culture)

In Section 1, squares 1-2, from the depth of 3.80 m to 4.54 m, a layer of clay soil, greenish in colour was identified. This layer contains a great number of ceramic materials, including whole intact pottery, which belong to Vădastra Neolithic culture (Negru et al. 2019, 164; Eduard, 2019, 19-43).

Archaeological materials

The chronology of different strata registered at Romula was made by processing the information offered by the archaeological materials.

During the successive campaigns carried out at Romula, a huge quantity of archaeological materials have been discovered. It is useful to mention here that only between 2013-2018 in the database of the archaeological site more than 14000 entries were registered, representing whole or especially fragmentary artifacts.

It is notable that, in only a five year interval, between 2013-2018, more than 14000 entries were registered. These include whole artifacts, but they are mostly fragmented in nature.

Pottery is the most common category of archaeological materials. During the research, several varieties of pottery were discovered: wares for storage and transport of products, tablewares (*vasa escaria*, *vasa potatoria*), and cooking wares (*vasa coquinaria*).

The origin and place of production of these were are the most important aspects for their study. In this regard, two main categories can be defined: first, the imported pottery, such as fine wares, including *terra sigillata* type, and amphoras for transport of products, and second consisting mainly in tablewares and cooking wares of local production, this later representing the great majority (Negru, Mușat, 2016: 37-58).

Other ceramic categories include the lamps, ceramic figurines representing divinities, *genii* or other anthropomorphic characters (individual persons), toys (birds, animals).

The great number of *coins* (more than 100) discovered between 2013-2018, allows for a detailed chronology of the Roman archaeological layers registered in this site. Based on the coins issued in the periods of the reigns of Trajan-Hadrian, Severus Alexander, Gordian III-Philip the Arab, a great number of archaeological structures and contexts have been accurately dated. The coins issued by Trajanus Decius (249-251 A.D.), and Constantine the Great (306-337 A.D.), sporadic as they are, offer valuable information about the last years of the Roman province of Dacia, but also about the restoration of Roman rule North of the Danube in the first decades of the 4th. Century A.D. (Petac, 2016: 65-69).

The bronze objects discovered were fibulas, keys, hairpins, belt buckles and plates, vase handles etc.

The most common *iron objects* among the findings are nails and hooks used for the construction of the wooden structures of the roofs, but also kitchen knives, spearheads, keys, and a shovel.

Fragmentary glass objects are very common among the findings as a result of the workshop for smelting and processing glass which was present in the Central Fortification.

The bone industry is well represented at Romula, where we may presume the existence of a production centre. The products of this industry were the usual hairpins, needles, tokens, dice, and other household objects (Beldiman, Negru&Szantacs 2016: 70-74; Beldiman, Sztancs, 2014: 45-47; Beldiman, Sztancs, 2016: 72-75).

Animal bones were also discovered during the excavations, both domesticated (cattle, swine, sheeps and goats), and wild (stag, boar). All of them were recently expertised and published (El-Susi, 2015).

Conclusions

The archeological research carried out between 2013-2018 in the Central Fortification of Romula have resulted a better understanding of the topography and chronology of the main area of the Roman town, an area that can be considered the most relevant for the entire archaeological site.

In the current state of research in the Central Fortification, the stratigraphy consists of a number of five layers dating from the 2nd-3rd Centuries A.D, one Late-Roman layer, and a prehistoric stratum.

We hope that further research will bring forth new discoveries, in order to complete the current information, and will also contribute to a better understanding of the chronology of the different phases of evolution of the Roman town of Romula.

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**FROM THE HISTORY OF PROFESSIONAL INTERNSHIPS:
TRAVELS OF UKRAINE'S UNIVERSITY LECTURERS TO FRANCE
IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE XIX CENTURY**

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Abstract

The article is focused on the current theme of features of professional internships in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire in the third quarter of the XIX century. During this period, professional internships were the object of the management system carried out by the Ministry of Public Education through subordinate higher educational institutions in the form of two-year foreign study trips. The study considers the features and results of study trips of famous scientists – legal scholars A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij and D.I. Kachenovskij, historians F.Y. Fortinskij and M.N. Petrov, who represented two leading universities of Ukraine in the era of the Great Reforms – Kyiv and Kharkiv. Scientists showed the forms of practical implementation of the ministerial tasks assigned to them, the peculiarities of teaching and organizing scientific research in the largest higher educational institutions in France in their reports. Foreign study trips had a significant impact on the ultimate establishment of the scientific worldview of scientists of Ukraine, their professional success and contributed to the introduction of the best practices of French professors into the educational process. The management structures of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine can rationally use the experience of organizing domestic professional internships in the era of the Great Reforms of the XIX century for the successful development of national science.

Key words: *cultural monuments, scientific purposes, Middle Ages, Great Reforms, foreign contacts*

Introduction

In the modern world, France ranks first among the leading countries in the world tourism industry (Bojko, Volkova, & Haponenko, 2013: 93). As the most popular tourist country in the world (Malska, Antonyuk, & Ganych, 2008: 201), it traditionally holds these positions due to the high level of service, a considerable number of historical and cultural monuments (Parfinenko, Sidorov, & Liubitseva,

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2015: 53). Near 90 million tourists visit France annually (<https://tourism.interfax.ru/ru/news/articles/59166/>), including Ukrainians, some of whom arrive there not for cultural and entertainment, but for scientific purposes.

Travel with a scientific and educational purpose was made known to history by subjects of the first states, and it was normalized as early as the Middle Ages (Lyman, Parfinenko, & Posohov, 2018: 25). As Ukrainian science fairly pointed out, travel of the IX-XIX centuries should be considered merely a prototype of tourism in its modern meaning (Fedorchenko & Dorova, 2002: 33). The commercial tourism emerged only in 1841, first in England, then in other western countries (Lyman, Parfinenko, & Posohov, 2018: 26). However, in the Russian Empire and its Ukrainian provinces, the first commercial tourism structures were created only in the last quarter of the XIX century. In these conditions, a professional internship became one of the forms of domestic tourism (Bakhmat et al., 2020: 205).

The study of the specifics of domestic academic internships in the third quarter of the XIX century, that is, during the Great Reforms, is extremely relevant both from a scientific and social standpoint. Large-scale reforms in modern Ukraine made its scientists not only active participants in these reforms, but also prisoners of their frankly failed directions. The historical experience of the past will answer the question of how much the promoting professional internship contributes to the development of the reformed state, stimulation of foreign contacts, study of the best practices of leading countries (Melnik et al., 2019: 47).

The need to study the specifics of academic internships in the period preceding the creation of travel firms in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire involves the search for appropriate criteria. It is necessary to investigate the history of academic internships on the example of academic mobility of representatives of two leading imperial universities of Ukraine of that time – Kyiv (St. Vladimir) and Kharkiv. The format of the study will provide an opportunity to consider the representatives of only two faculties of these universities – historical and philological (Petrov, 1861: 57; Fortinskij, 1876: 10), and legal (Kachenovskij, 1860: 22; Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903: 60), and the choice of characters is driven by the degree of their real contribution to their science. At the same time, the professional level of these historians and lawyers was especially improved by scientific study trips to France, as one of the recognized centers of scientific and cultural life in Europe of the third quarter of the 19th century and even then – the main center of foreign tourism (Dodonov et al., 2019: 92).

The theme of travel to France by university lecturers of Ukraine in the context of the history of professional internships in the third quarter of the XIX century is considered for the first time. The study trips of M.N. Petrov, F.Y. Fortinskij, D.I. Kachenovskij, A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij to a number of European countries are briefly mentioned in the anniversary, memorial, and encyclopedic editions of the pre-revolutionary (De-Pule, 1874: 76; Chubinsky & Bagaleva, 1908: 67; Matveev, 1910: 36), Soviet (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1884: 76), and post-Soviet era (Usenko, 2003: 135; Bakirov et al., 2004: 81; Yas, 2012: 182; Zaitsev, Kadeev, & Kudelko, 2015: 225).

The purpose of the study is to present a comparative analysis of the travels of four major representatives of historical and legal science of universities of Ukraine –

M.N. Petrov, D.I. Kachenovskij, A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij, F.Y. Fortinskij – to France in the third quarter of the XIX century in the context of the history of professional internships and to find out the significance of these trips for the further scientific and pedagogical activities of these scientists. The main sources for the study were the reports and memoirs published by the said representatives (Kachenovskij, 1860: 27; Petrov, 1861: 72; Fortinskij, 1876: 11; Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903: 61).

Features of the Organization of Professional Internships at Kyiv University of St. Vladimir

In the XIX century professional and personnel growth of university lecturers of the Russian Empire, including its Ukrainian lands, largely depended on the ability to carry out foreign study trips. On an all-Russian scale, such foreign internships have existed since the 1820s. In connection with the revolutions of 1848-1849, scientific contacts with the West were suspended, foreign study trips were prohibited (<http://elib.shpl.ru/ru/nodes/24432-t-2-1835-1849-1866>) and resumed only in 1855 after the coronation of Alexander II (Ejmontova, 1985: 188). Many historians and legal scholars of universities of Ukraine traveled abroad for scientific purposes since the second half of the 1850s. According to ministerial rules, such study trips usually lasted two years and were paid for by the Ministry of Public Education. For these purposes, the state treasury was allocated an additional 100 thousand rubles to the previously provided 80 thousand rubles, which encouraged young people to study science. For two years, scholars received a state scholarship (700 rubles per year) and deferment from the military service. Researchers reported on training every three months and then submitted detailed reports for publication in journals, which allowed to monitor the progress of training and the nature of scientific knowledge.

Among the scientists of Kyiv University of St. Vladimir, who went on a similar trip, was one of the founders of national science of state law, A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij (1832-1910). He was a native of the Poltava Governorate and graduated from the Law Faculty of St. Vladimir University in Kyiv in 1855 (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1884: 78; Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903: 63; Yas, 2012: 184). His successful defense of his master's thesis "Historical essay on provincial administration in Russia" in 1859 allowed him to receive the title of adjunct of the Department of State Law in the same year (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1884: 79). The next step in the scientific and pedagogical career of A.V. Romanovich was his two-year foreign study trip in 1860-1862. Apart from France, he also visited Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, England, Switzerland, Italy, and Austria and detailed his tourist impressions in his memoirs "My life and academic activity. 1832-1884".

In relation to himself, the scientist repeatedly used the term "tourist" in his memoirs (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903: 65), which had already become current. At that time, the annual salary of the adjunct was 700 rubles, but A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij (1903: 69), like other Russian traveler scientists, received 1,600 rubles per year from the budget of the Ministry of Education. Although this money was enough for the journey of one person, A.V. Romanovich went abroad with his young wife, who gave birth to a son there. Therefore, during the first year of the trip abroad, the newlyweds spent about 3,000 rubles. In August 1860, despite the storm, the family of

Romanovich-Slavatinskij arrived from England to the French port of Boulogne by ship and, as real tourists, visited the sights of the city (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903: 70). From Boulogne, the family of Romanovici-Slavatinskij went to Paris. French militarism of the Second Empire immediately caught the eye of foreign tourists, and “espionage in Paris was so developed at that time that it seems that every foreigner was a spy-warden” (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903: 73).

A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij (1903: 74) first chose “some small hotel” as his place of accommodation in Paris, and then a boarding house on Jacob Street, which he critically described: “This is something narrow, something extremely stingy”. Only during the second arrival from Germany to Paris in 1861 he stayed in the cozy “Hôtel de Genève” on Racine Street; the famous George Sand lived on the same street at that time. A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij (1903: 75) visited its main attractions in Paris – the Louvre, Palais-Royal, Champs Elysees, Le Jardin des Tuileries, the Palace of Versailles, the most popular Odeon Theater. A Kyiv tourist saw Emperor Napoleon III several times, whom, with the hostility of many Europeans towards his policy, he called a “usurper” with “horse physiognomy”.

The main goal of A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij’s visit to France was not sight-seeing, but to learn about its state institutions and organization of teaching in two main educational institutions in France – the Sorbonne and Collège de France. He listened to the lectures by well-known scholars at that time, including E. de Laboulaye, a jurist, and later Senator, who then taught the legislative history of Charlemagne. Apart from the teaching of state disciplines, A.V. Romanovich was interested in the entire complex mechanism of the political system of France. “More than once”, – he noted, “I was in the legislative body, where I saw the nobles of the empire: Morny, Persigny, Mr. Walewsky, and others. The picture is completely different, compared to the current Chamber of Deputies... The opposition was just emerging... At this time, living France seemed to be dead, and Paris itself had some official, bureaucratic physiognomy” (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903: 75). A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij (1903: 76) antithesized such a political system to the constitutional monarchy in England.

The Romanovich family returned to Russia in three; their son was born abroad, and a new reality was in their country: serfdom was abolished and “the mood of the local nobility changed” (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1903). A two-year scientific trip abroad undoubtedly raised the professional level of A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij. Upon his return to Kyiv, he gave a course of lectures on English public law at the University of St. Vladimir. In the future, the main courses of teaching A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij were foreign state law, Russian state law, history of Russian law, philosophy of law (Shandruk et al., 2019: 323).

A professional internship abroad contributed to the growth of the scientist's professional career. After his study trip, A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij became extraordinary (1866), ordinary (1870), professor emeritus (1891), secretary and dean of the Faculty of Law, defended his doctoral thesis “The nobility in Russia from the beginning of the XVIII century until the abolition of serfdom” in 1870 (Romanovich-Slavatinskij, 1884: 81; Matveev, 1910: 38; Usenko, 2003: 137; Yas, 2012: 185).

At the history and philology faculty of the same University of St. Vladimir, was F.Y. Fortinskij, one of the most successful scientists (1846-1902), a leading medievalist, associate professor, later professor of the Department of General History (Vyazigin, 1903: 151). The scientific success of F.Y. Fortinskij was largely the result of his two-year overseas trip of 1874-1876, carried out, like his colleague, for a ministerial amount of 1,600 rubles a year. A special instruction to F.Y. Fortinskij included the need to visit France among other European states (Ikonnikov, 1884: 45). F.Y. Fortinskij thoroughly described the features of the educational process in higher educational institutions of Paris in his report – the École des chartes and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Many disciplines taught there were associated with the specialty of F.Y. Fortinskij – the history of the Middle Ages. Thus, for example, at the École des chartes the lectures on archeology were taught by its principal, the famous medievalist Zh. Kishera, the author of several monographs covering Jeanne d'Arc, P. Meyer, the author of the works about monuments of medieval literature, taught the course in history of Roman adverbs, and the paleography was taught by Leon Gaultier, a major scholar in the medieval French epos. If, by the mid-1870s, a lecture remained almost the only form of teaching on the history of the Middle Ages in the universities of the Russian Empire, then a “highly practical” course, namely L. Gauthier’s seminars with the study of medieval documents, attracted F.Y. Fortinskij’s attention (1876: 12) immediately.

However, in the educational process of the Charter School there were also parties that criticized F.Y. Fortinskij. For example, he considered it unnecessary for students to read medieval letters with a mandatory definition of which category of administrative or judicial acts they belong to. Such techniques were used by the famous French medievalist, teacher of the history of political and administrative institutions E. Boutaric, author of works on Philip IV the Fair, in his classes (Fortinskij, 1876: 13). F.Y. Fortinskij considered that the “colossal” gaps of the École des chartes (1876: 14), in particular, were that “among the objects taught here, two are missed: historiography of the Middle Ages and medieval literature”.

The second famous educational institution in France, where expert mediaevalists were trained, was the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. As in the École des chartes, practical training was the basis of education here. Moreover, the level of these trainings was such that, according to F.Y. Fortinskij (1876: 14), it partially filled the gaps of the École des chartes. F.Y. Fortinskij (1876: 15) attended the courses of G. Monod, the author of works on the history of the Merovingian at the École des Hautes Etudes, who gave a review of sources on the history of France until the XIII century at the training and A. Giry, who studied the history of the emergence of communes in the North of France with students.

The experience of French scientists was used by F.Y. Fortinskij. On his return from abroad, he immediately introduced practical classes on the history of the Middle Ages in the educational process and taught them for all following years of service (Lyman, 2017: 119). The study trip accelerated the professional growth of F.Y. Fortinskij: he defended his doctoral thesis “Coastal Vendian cities and their influence on the development of the Hanseatic League until 1370” in 1877 became an extraordinary, and in 1878 – an ordinary professor at the Department of General

History, in 1887-1890 – Dean of the Faculty of History and Philology, and in 1890-1902 – Rector of the St. Vladimir University (Lyman, 2015: 113; Fedotova et al., 2020: 44).

General Imperial Legal Principles of the Organization of Study Trips at Kharkiv University

At Kharkiv University, the organization of study trips was based on the same general imperial legal principles as at Kyiv University of St. Vladimir. In June 1858, M.N. Petrov (1826-1887), an adjunct of Kharkiv University, went on a study trip abroad. A well-known specialist in the history of medieval France, he defended his master's thesis “On the nature of the state activities of Louis XI” in 1850 and received the title of adjunct of the Department of General History the following year (Derevickij, 1887: 42). His interest in the history of France made it quite natural to visit this country. M.N. Petrov visited Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, and England during two years of his study trip in 1858-1860. The representative of professional internship expressed the purpose of his trip very clearly: “prepare myself for the possible and thorough performance of the duties of a university lecturer of World History” (Petrov, 1861: 74).

M.N. Petrov spent five months in France. All this time, the scientist lived in Paris, since “the entire France was concentrated here – scientific, literary, social, political, and administrative” (Petrov, 1861: 75). The Kharkiv traveler sought not only to “complement the previous knowledge” about the work of famous French historians, including P. Barante, F. Guizot, O. Thierry, J.C.L. Sismondi, but to study the work of other authors – P. Daunou, C.- C. Fauriel, N. de Wailly as well (Petrov, 1861: 76). M.N. Petrov (1861: 77) also highlighted the main feature of French historical science, whose representatives “focused mainly on the study of the phenomena of national history” unlike, for example, more universal German science. M.N. Petrov got acquainted with the arrangement of teaching general history at four main educational institutions in Paris – at the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, the École des chartes and the École Normale Supérieure. The Kharkiv scientist emphasized the brilliant oratory skills of French teachers, favoring their manner of presenting the material over the dry monotonous reading of German professors. The study of the features of teaching a priori involved personal acquaintance with famous French historians. Their authority usually did not prevail over M.N. Petrov. For example, the medieval history of France at the Sorbonne was taught by A. Wallon, who became a famous politician over time, the author of the French republican constitution of 1875. Having attended these lectures on the history of the French monarchy, M.N. Petrov (1861: 78) noted that A. Wallon possessed neither the generalization method, nor the usual oratory talent inherent in French professors.

The second oldest higher educational institution in Paris was the College de France. Among the courses that M.N. Petrov attended there, he was granted a privileged place to visit lectures by a specialist in medieval sources, academician P. Paris. At these lectures, P. Paris not only considered the content of the “Froissart Chronicle”, but also compared the content of this chronicle with the “Grandes Chroniques de France” and “Nuova Cronica” by Giovanni Villani. Despite the deep study of medieval sources at the Sorbonne and the College de France, the

bewilderment of M.N. Petrov was caused by the very fact that training courses at both the Sorbonne and the College de France were “limited to very special topics” and at the same time “never taught” according to the suggested programs (Petrov, 1861: 80). According to M.N. Petrov, students received deeper and more thorough training at École des chartes. M.N. Petrov (1861: 81) considered the main advantage of training specialists at the École des Chartes to be the combination of theory and practice, “a deep study of the materials of national history and their critical preparation for systematic work”. At the École des chartes, a Kharkiv scientist met a few famous medieval historians – A. Vallet de Viriville, L.- F. Bourquelot, J. Quicherat (Fortinskij, 1876: 16).

Upon return to Kharkiv, M.N. Petrov managed not only to present the features of European, including French historical science in the “Report”, but also published the fundamental monograph “The latest national historiography in Germany, England, and France” (1861). After 4 years, M.N. Petrov defended his doctoral thesis on this subject – the first scientific work in Russian historiography with a complete analysis of European historical science (Keda, 2005: 103).

After defending his doctoral thesis, M.N. Petrov received the title of extraordinary professor of the Department of General History of Kharkiv University. After completing his 25-year service, the university council twice left M.N. Petrov for a new five-year term of teaching (Lyman, 2014: 18). He was not only a researcher and a popularizer of medieval history, but also the author of the first university textbook on the history of the Middle Ages in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire. Thus, the foreign scientific trip of M.N. Petrov significantly contributed to the development of his historiosophical views and significantly expanded the array of knowledge of the scientist about the Middle Ages.

At the same time as M.N. Petrov, the famous scientist of Kharkiv University, D.I. Kachenovskij (1827-1872), went on a foreign scientific journey. Just before his study trip, in 1855 he defended his doctoral thesis “On privateers and prize proceedings in relation to neutral trade”, which became famous both in the country and abroad. Successful defense allowed D.I. Kachenovskij to receive the title of an extraordinary (1855), and then an ordinary professor (1858) at the Department of International Law of the Faculty of Law (Stoyanov, 1874: 91).

Study trip of D.I. Kachenovskij in 1858-1859 was associated with the “needs of university teaching” (Kachenovskij, 1860: 30). Therewith, considering the specific features of the legal disciplines taught, he had to “study the political life” of France, the German states, Austria, England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Piedmont, Spain (Kachenovskij, 1860: 31). If in Germany the attention of the Kharkiv traveler was attracted mainly to scientific issues and formulation of teaching, and in England he was primarily interested in its political and judicial system, then in France he learned about both university teaching and the functioning of the judiciary. Unlike England with its political and administrative openness, the administration in France was “mainly inaccessible”, and the “range of acquaintances was limited” during the time of Emperor Napoleon III, according to D.I. Kachenovskij (1860: 32).

Like M.N. Petrov, D.I. Kachenovskij spent about five months of his study trip in France, but unlike his Kharkiv colleague, he lived not only in Paris, but also in the

province. Along with the meetings of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, whose members included famous French historians F. Guizot, A. Thierry, J. Michelet, a Kharkiv scientist attended courses at the best higher educational institutions in Paris – at the Sorbonne, College de France, School of Law. “Unfortunately, international law is taught unsatisfactory in Paris; the teaching of constitutional law was terminated after December 2, 1852”, D.I. Kachenovskij (1860: 35) pointed out the political realities of the Second Empire. Lectures on the history of French law by E.R. Laboulet, who was considered the founder of the historical school of the study of law in France, and lectures on Spanish chivalric literature by the famous specialist in the history of the Inquisition A. Arnoux were of greatest interest to him (Bazhan, 1983: 115).

Like M.N. Petrov, D.I. Kachenovskij noted the brilliant oratory skills of the Parisian professors and the public nature of their lectures. D.I. Kachenovskij considered the decline in the importance of provincial French universities to be a negative side of the French higher education system. “Mental centralization”, like political centralization, in his opinion, “kills the last remains of provincial life” (Kachenovskij, 1860: 37). As in England, the Kharkiv traveler visited courts, prisons, and charitable institutions in France. He had a lot of material for comparison. “Civil and commercial courts in France are above such institutions in England”, D.I. Kachenovskij pointed out. At the same time, the Parisian female prison Saint-Lazare made the worst impression of all French prisons (Kachenovskij, 1860: 40).

D.I. Kachenovskij studied not only the state of teaching in foreign universities of state and international law, general, including medieval, history, but also the mentality, the situation of different classes, state and judicial systems, the level of socio-political activity in different countries. This professional internship greatly contributed to the development of his scientific and social views. After returning from a study trip abroad, D.I. Kachenovskij published the first part of the “Course of International Law”, in 1863, which was translated into English and became available both in the Russian Empire and abroad. D.I. Kachenovskij was elected secretary of the Faculty of Law three times, for his diligent service he was awarded “to receive the Highest Favor of His Imperial Majesty” (1853), and in 1870 he became a dean (<https://www.bookvoed.ru/files/3515/11/05/48.pdf>; <http://dspace.univer.kharkov.ua/handle/123456789/14011>).

Practical results of foreign study trips of four scientists are attached in the form of the Table 1.

Table 1. Practical results of foreign study trips of four scientists

University	Faculty	Representative	Years of foreign study trip	Objects of study in France	Practical results
Kharkiv University	Historical and Philological	M.N. Petrov	1858-1859	Higher educational institutions: Sorbonne, Collège de France, the École des chartes, the École Normale	Improving the methodology of scientific research and the educational process. Defense of

				Supérieure. Information on cultural and entertainment tourism facilities is not available	doctoral thesis, receiving a professorship
Kyiv University of St. Vladimir	Legal	A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij	1860-1862	Higher educational institutions: Sorbonne and Collège de France. Cultural and entertainment tourism facilities: Louvre, Palais-Royal, Champs Elysees, Le Jardin des Tuileries, the Palace of Versailles, the Odeon Theater, etc.	Improving the methodology of scientific research and the educational process. Defense of a doctoral thesis, receiving a professorship.
Kyiv University of St. Vladimir	Historical and Philological	F.Y. Fortinskij	1874-1876	Higher educational institutions: the École des chartes, the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Information on cultural and entertainment tourism facilities is not available	Improving the methodology of scientific research and the educational process – the introduction of seminary (practical) classes, the defense of a doctoral thesis, receiving a professorship, the post of Dean and Rector.
Kharkiv university	Legal	D.I. Kachenovskij	1874-1876	Courts, prisons, charitable institutions. Académie des sciences morales et politiques. Higher education: Sorbonne, Collège de France, School of Law	Improving the methodology of scientific research and the educational process. Publication of the Course on International Law, appointment to the post of Dean.

Conclusions

The study described the features of professional internships in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire in the third quarter of the XIX century. Chronologically, this period covered the time when the first enterprises of the tourism industry were opened in Western Europe, but they had not yet been created in the Russian Empire. Under these conditions, one of the most organized types of domestic elite tourism was the academic internship of university lecturers in the form of two-year foreign study trips financed by the Ministry of Public Education. The study considered the features and results of study trips of famous scientists – legal scholars A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij and D.I. Kachenovskij, historians F.Y. Fortinskij and M.N. Petrov, who represented the two leading universities of Ukraine in the era of the Great Reforms – Kyiv and Kharkiv.

The reports and memoirs of these scientists constitute an important source for studying the stage of the emergence of domestic academic internships. In their reports, scientists demonstrated the forms of practical implementation of the ministerial tasks assigned to them, the intricacies of teaching and organizing scientific

research in the largest higher educational institutions in France – the Sorbonne, the Ecole Normale Supérieure, the École des chartes, the Collège de France, and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Fundamentally, A.V. Romanovich-Slavatinskij separately investigated the political and legal system of France during the Second Empire, places of accommodation and food for tourists in France, sights of Paris, and other French cities. Foreign study trips had a significant impact on the ultimate establishment of the scientific worldview of scientists of Ukraine, their professional personnel successes, and contributed to the introduction of the best practices of French professors into the educational process.

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THE SOCIAL AND PUBLIC ACTIVITY OF THE VESTRY OF MADONA DUDU CHURCH DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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Abstract

The Vestry of Madona Dudu Church was an influential and rich entity that played a key role in helping and sustaining war efforts in the First World War struggle. Thanks to the founders, the vestry had a consistent wealth, including buildings, fertile lands, and other benefits that were under the administration of responsible people.

In 1913 the old church was demolished and the plan was to construct a new cathedral, but all the financial resources and the vestry's goods were redirected to help the people that were suffering from the Great War. The unpublished documents that I studied are a testimony of the efforts and the consistent help of the Vestry of Madona Dudu Church for those that needed not only spiritual guidance but more likely material support.

Key words: *Madona Dudu, First World War, archive documents, war efforts, Craiova*

A brief history of the Church

Starting with the 16th century, the spiritual life in the Romanian provinces knows a great development, some boyars, merchants or even noble family rulers show a special interest towards the “holy ones” and compete in building churches. Most of the old dwellings have disappeared due to perishable materials or have been consolidated and rebuilt. However, their merit is indisputable not only from a spiritual perspective but also due to their contribution to medieval culture. With the formation of the Romanian feudal states, the need to have servants who propagate the Orthodox faith is manifested more and more, but at the same time the secular educational system is formed within the monastic and church structures.

The place of worship known since the twentieth century as Madona Dudu or *Mother-Precist* (Mother of God) from *Dud*, has a long history, with events that sometimes go beyond the realm of ordinary reality, but for the most part, events alongside a tumultuous past have a confirmed historical documentation.

The first mention of a settlement, most probably made of wood, is supposed to be from the 16th century, during the reign of Alexandru Vodă II and two other mentions from the 17th century during the reign of Matei Basarab, at about 70 years away. In the general sense, however, the event that remains in popular consciousness is the construction of a religious establishment that is related to the miraculous appearance of an icon in a mulberry tree. Over time, the building and implicitly the administration around it managed to have a fruitful collaboration with many believers, intellectuals, clergy members, politicians and artists that contributed to the development of a central and reference space, not only locally but also nationally. Like any settlement with a rich history, it has constant fluctuations, being dispossessed of property, it was destroyed by an earthquake, set on fire; but managing to return

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through the perseverance of many and without any exaggerations, stood out in its heyday as one of the most important cathedrals in Europe.

The existence of a wooden construction erected before the discovery of the icon is debatable, but credible. In a *pomelnic*¹ discovered in the archives of the Oltenia Museum from March 9, 1926, which had been translated from the original Cyrillic document, the name of Chiriac Găianul is recorded with the mention “the nephew of the author of the first wooden Church”. Consequently, it can be assumed that this wording largely certifies the idea that before the “wall” church there was a wooden one, but two presumptions can be issued. The first would be that this is the *pomelnic* of Chiriac Găianul and that the author emphasizes that he is the nephew of the one who built a wooden church, therefore before the discovery of the icon. And the secondary version, perhaps more true, is that it belongs to Chiriac Găianul’s nephew, the discoverer of the icon being thus the one who built the wooden church.

Chiriac Găianul’s name also appears on the will left by Hagi Gheorghe Ioan from May 24, 1782 in which the founder states the following: “At the holy church of *Maica-Precistă* I leave my founding son to govern the holy church, together with *Chir*² Ianache Cincul and Hagi Constantin Popa and *ceauș*³ Chiriac Găianul, keeping the whole income and expense clean (Constantinescu, 1914: 28). Thus, considering that the founder Hagi Gheorghe Ioan himself calls Chiriac Găianul *ceauș* after his son, it can be deduced that this is a form of recognition of the right to be counted among those who contributed to the development of the settlement.

The legend of the discovery of the icon in a mulberry tree has certain variations but mainly follows the same thread, not having a certain historical documentation; the story itself has only a legendary character. Over time, however, the constructions and changes that are brought to the settlement and the improvements of any kind are documentary and thus can be quantified as plausible sources. A less known information is that the painted icon of the Virgin is smaller in size, due to an addition it has the current dimensions, namely two pieces of wood, one at the bottom and another on the side. This adjustment was most likely made when the silver plating was made.

The “wall” church later named Madona Dudu is the foundation of the merchant Hagi Gheorghe Ioan and the *clucer*⁴ Constantin Fotescu, having as central point and determining factor in its construction, as mentioned, the icon of the Mother of God discovered in Livada Găianului in a mulberry tree. Between 1758 and 1760, the original wooden construction was replaced by a church in the *Brâncovenesc* style of stone and brick, with apses for pews, awning with stone pillars.

“... Constantin Fotescu collaborated with the Hagi merchant Gheorghe Ioan - that is Gheorghe Hagiul son of Ioan - to build, around 1758, the walls and to create the dowry of the holy place. And the way in which the freedom of both was united in this work is of course as uncommon as it is interesting.

¹ List of family and relative names mentioned during a Christian Liturgy.

² Sir.

³ Head of a small group of servants.

⁴ Person in charge of supplying the court of a nobleman.

The merchant started first and he build up to the «window belt». He gave, even after the end of the «fellowship», by his own will «silverware, books and rooms»; he made the cells himself, but together they finished the masonry and gave or brought from others, besides treasures, the estates: Maglavitul, from Mehedinți, Mărăcinul from Dolj; the vineyards and the Gypsies, the shops in Craiova, and also the mill, that came from both. Their participation was made in conditions of perfect equality, says the widow of Fotescu «one a penny and the other also a penny». And those who sold the *acare*¹ had decreased their normal price so they could be counted among the founders. Craiova merchants and others had come later, with smaller gifts. However, the sons of the founders reserved the right of the Vestry” (Constantinescu, 1914: 3-4).

From the mystical events related to the history of this settlement, we mention the one related to an attempt to alienate the goods of the Vestry by the widow of Constantin Fotescu. In 1784 Maria Fotescu tries to dedicate the church together with its goods to the diocese but fails, in a second attempt in 1797 she will try to sell the Church’s assets by auction but is permanently blocked by a testamentary mention. The place of worship together with its dowry could not be relocated because there was a provision in the will left by Hagi Gheorghe Ioan which provided “... that someone not dare and one of the founders dare to sell the Holy Church at the diocese or other monasteries from abroad, for whoever will be tempted to ruin this establishment which I have left to the church, should not be forgiven either by me or by God but be cursed by the 318 Holy Fathers of Nicaea” (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 56/1782: 8). This anathema could not be disputed, precisely because of the religious character and the spiritual implication behind the words, so it was not divided or alienated until the second half of the twentieth century when the communist authorities confiscated the property of the Vestry.

The ecclesiastical settlement of Madona Dudu has undergone changes over time or has been completely rebuilt. Between 1800 and 1801, the Turks set fire to Craiova, including this place of worship, which was destroyed by flames, of which, by tradition, it is mentioned that only the icon of the Mother of God from the mulberry tree remained intact.

The earthquake of January 11, 1838 completely destroyed the church, being rebuilt between 1838 and 1844, the founder was Ion Ralea Golfineanu, under the administration of the great governor Iordache Otetelișanu, churchwarden on behalf of the state and *serdar*² Ion Pleșoianu churchwarden on behalf of the founders. The new church is built in Western style, Austrian Baroque, being brought an architect from Vienna (Constantinescu, 1914: 132.) The church was to be built in Jesuit style, having three towers, one above the nave and two others being arranged above the narthex, also, the central tower later benefits from a clock, which becomes a reference point in the city of Craiova.

There is not much information left about the painting made by Constantin Lecca, but above all there is no photographic documentation. There are certain assumptions regarding the existence of some photographs, which would have been

¹ Auxiliary constructions.

² Noble military rank responsible for the security of a Land.

lost, but they cannot be considered as true data precisely because they were not recorded or noted in any particular way.

What was recorded, instead, is related to the trip that Constantin Lecca made in 1841, when “he was in Vienna to buy paints for the execution of the painting from Madona Dudu” (Rezeanu, 1988: 24). This mention reinforces the information according to which Iordache Otetelișanu entrusted the paintings to the artist Constantin Lecca in the same year.

Starting with the 20th century, the problem of building a more sumptuous church arose in order to reflect the greatness and fame of the Vestry. This was not well received by the many cultural figures of the time, including the tenor Grigore Gabrielescu¹ or Professor Ștefan Ciuceanu, who vehemently campaigned against the demolition of the settlement. The great historian Nicolae Iorga himself would later question this action:

“In order to make room for a larger church, which we want to be in the old and good old-fashioned style, the Vestry of the Precista church in Craiova, which the Latinist-Italianist school of half a century ago pretentiously named “Madona-Dudu”, demolished the rather spacious building; but absolutely trivial, which we all knew. Usually, when such a monument is torn down, they forget to be notified, those institutions that must take care of the remains of the past: The Commission of Historical Monuments, the House of the Church, of which it belongs and the Romanian Academy. Entrepreneurs work as they know how and the world suddenly wakes up to all the damage and all the cultural shame of an irremediable vandalism, which, through the timely intervention of a single intelligent man, knowledgeable and capable of piety, could have been prevented. There is no place to say how much the country loses from the treasure of art, that we will not appreciate until a large part of it has disappeared” (Iorga, 1913: 1).

This decision, although challenged by many personalities of the time, is authorized by the government, so in addition to the actual demolition, it was decided to build a chapel to provide religious service until the completion of the planned construction. The small chapel building that can still be found on the premises of the church Madona Dudu, was consecrated on November 8, 1913, the inaugural speech being held by Father Grigorie Popescu-Breasta (BOR, 1913: 656).

Father Grigorie Popescu-Breasta was one of the leading personalities of the Vestry, sometimes challenged and criticized, but distinguished primarily by his pastoral mission, being a minister and preacher at several churches, including Madona Dudu, who also had a special contribution as a tutor, teaching mainly religion and the Romanian language and occupying, among others, the position of general inspector of Seminaries and the religious education in the country. In the literary space he was a prolific scholar and publicist, enriching the religious literature through sermons, biographies, catechesis and also developing the religious teaching norms.

¹ Tenor employed at La Scala in Milan where he had been invited to sing by Giacomo Puccini, also during his lifetime he sang several seasons at the theater in Madrid, the Don Carlos theater in Lisbon, the opera house in Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires. This international experience also brought him a certain status, being authorized among the top four tenors in the world who can play Othello. This distinction and recognition was manifested by Giuseppe Verdi himself.

A unique fact, noted by Nicolae Iorga on the demolition of the cathedral is related to an unexpected discovery and of historical significance worthy of note. Thus, Professor Ciuceanu discovers the bell given by Caragheorghe to the church in the village of Topola, which according to the great historian, was brought to Craiova during the liberation struggles of Serbia by two Serbs named Melenko and Petre Dobriniatz, who for obvious reasons wanted to protect the relic. After the discovery the bell is given to the King of Serbia Petru through a delegation that also hands him the telegram with the signature of Nicolae Iorga: "The vestry of the Madona Dudu Church from Craiova is in a hurry to offer Your Majesty the precious historical bell relic, which Gheorghe Petrovici is the grandfather To Your Majesty, which he originally gave it to the Topola village church, his place of birth" (BOR, 1913: 710-711).

In 1914 the construction of the cathedral begins but it is stopped due to the war, the funds raised are allocated to orphans and war sufferers. The work was resumed in 1928 by architects Ion Traianescu and Sterie Becu, the painting was carried between 1938-1942 by Dumitru Noroceu together with 11 disciples that are mentioned in the church vestibule. The consecration is made on October 4, 1942 by the I.P.S. Nifon Criveanu in the presence of King Mihai and his mother Elena.

We can speak of the Vestry of Madona Dudu as a social complex, and on the other hand as a spiritual center, a promoter of education, but also a support for those who needed help regardless. For a very long time, the Madona Dudu settlement was a coagulating element of the city of Craiova, a reason for local pride, a building that gives strength to a city and helps its development.

Throughout history, Madona Dudu was the center of major manifestations, both during homage anniversaries and during armed conflicts and later gratitude to those who sacrificed themselves for national ideals.

Involvement of the Vestry in the First World War

This article seeks to highlight and bring to the fore the innovative character and the substantial contribution that Madona Dudu had, not only spiritually but also especially in the development of people, ideas, progress in general in any segment of society and it's mainly involvement during the First World War. Without idealizing or exaggerating certain aspects, the need to recognize the factors that led to what we call contemporary society is beneficial in terms of historical exercise, from a certain point of view but also the awareness that each development segment had an impact and that still matters, therefore it must not be marginalized, minimized or forgotten.

Due to its founders, the Madona Dudu Church benefited from a considerable fortune, taking care of and owned many buildings, forests, estates that were managed with great care by responsible people and were able to increase the income of the Vestry but also to get involved in philanthropic and cultural activities. Thus, the Vestry gave scholarships to the emerging students from the country side (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 39/1916: 17), as well financed those who went to study abroad (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 39/1916: 70-71), offered help to the poor, being a permanent record of those who needed support. They also set up and financially supported various institutions, a special place being occupied by schools, dormitories, theatres, hospitals and churches

If we look at the Church strictly from a spiritual point of view, we are tempted to associate its activity only through its liturgical manifestations, teachings or canons. However, the support provided by this institution was not limited to prayer and words of encouragement for those in suffering or need.

During the First World War, the Vestry of the Madona Dudu Church was actively involved and responded positively to requests from the Ministry of War. It is noted that many of the resources and buildings of the Vestry have been made available to the state to help those involved in the war. To attest that, unpublished archive documents were used in the writing of this article.

Awareness of an imminent conflict involving the Romanian Army can also be distinguished by mobilizing state institutions to what would become the Great World War. In a letter of thanks from the Craiova Communal Hospital from January 6, 1916, we find out that it was provided with 300 new beds thanks to the efforts of the Vestry of Madona Dudu. Suggestively, further help is requested, emphasizing that a “hospital, however, requires a large number of tools and improvements as necessary devices for the hands, feet and head; transportable chairs; hot air devices for the treatment of acute rheumatism from which soldiers suffer a lot due to staying in the trenches” (S.J.A.N. Dolj, f. Ep. M.D., d. 38/1916: 35). The Vestry responds to the wishes and mandates the amount of 4000 lei to the hospital institution, which returns with a request as direct as possible on August 27, 1916 (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 38/1916: 45), to which he answers in the affirmative again by guaranteeing the amount of 2000 lei necessary in the perspective in which the war had just begun.

On September 6, 1916, the 3rd Infantry Brigade asked the Vestry of Madona Dudu to make mechanical looms available “the army having an immediate and absolute need for laundry. The weaving will be performed right in the school workshop by Mr. Master Teodorescu “. The request is also submitted “in order to be invited by the Directorate, all working students who live in the city” (S.J.A.N. Dolj, f. Ep. M.D., d. 26/1916: 79). The 41st Regiment, which was part of the 22nd Infantry Brigade, also requests and benefits from the support of vocational school staff and resources. (S.J.A.N. Dolj, f. Ep. M.D., d. 26/1916: 80). The girls’ school was founded between 1880 and 1881 on Amaradia Street (Constantinescu, 1914, 132), initially having a single class that dealt with the training of orphan girls in the field of weaving, being equipped with Swiss autonomous looms. Later, it reached 183 students in 1903/1904, and in 1905 the upper course was established, building a new place, with tailoring, linen, knitting and weaving workshops.

In the conditions in which the number of injured increases considerably and the hospitals in Craiova become too small, the churchwardens decided that “the entire premises of the Vocational School are made available to the Hospital in stages, and courses will be suspended until the hospital moves” (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 26/1916: 102). Given the needs of the new space, a wooden hut was built that served as a mortuary room (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 26/1916: 84), a kitchen, a room for operations and dressings (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 26/1916: 85), arrangement of new beds (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 26/1916: 92), provision of firewood (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 26/1916: 93), as well as the installation of electric lighting (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 26/1916: 88-89).

On October 16, 1916, the doctor together with the medical staff was forced to leave for Moldova, consequently the war wounded were transported to other hospitals in Craiova (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Ep. M.D. f. d. 9/1916: 94).

The mayor Nicolae Romanescu approves following the meeting of October 25, 1916 (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 9/1916: 69), the initiative of the Vestry of Madona Dudu to pass the fund for opening credits provided for the construction of the new cathedral in the fund for unforeseen expenses, thus 32,493 lei are allocated for the care of the wounded (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 9/1916: 70-71).

The 3rd Infantry Brigade and the 22nd Infantry Brigade were present in the actions of conflict during the whole great war between 14/27 August - 28 October / 11 November 1918 (Ioanițiu, 1929: 18), in the last mentioned distinguishing General Ioan I. Anastasiu after the Battle of the Jiu Valley.

On December 6, 1916, Bucharest is occupied and as we know the government and the Romanian royal court retreat to Iași where the reorganization of the army and the counter-offensive begins. However, the figures are discouraging, about 400,000 soldiers are dead, wounded, missing or taken prisoner, in this desolate context the families left at home, mostly children, women and the elderly feel the state of crisis in the country, which is under German occupation. In this context, prices are rising sharply, and the ability to buy food and daily necessities is becoming extremely problematic. People seek help and submit requests to the Vestry of Madonna Dudu for support, emphasizing the difficult situation they are in (S.J.A.N. Dolj, Ep. M.D. f. d. 20/1917: 26). Some of them children with one of their parents who are prisoners of war (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 20/1917: 33), widows or simply old people who no longer have anything to live on (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 20/1917: 40), one by one many of the stepsons of the unfavourable situation the country is going through ask for help from *Maica Precista de la Dudu*.

In support of the distressed the Vestry of Madona Dudu issues minutes, records and provides constant material support (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 24/1917: 19-20), collaborates with associations and societies that support those who suffer from the war. It also helps by financing with the amount of 20,000 lei, the City Hall of Craiova for water supply (S.J.A.N. Dolj, f. Ep. M.D., d. 24/1917: 1), an extremely necessary initiative to prevent the appearance of fish.

Important sums are also donated in September 1917, when a quantum of 25,000 lei is made available to the Ministry of Interior for the construction of kindergartens in Bucharest and Craiova (S.J.A.N. Dolj, f. Ep. M.D. d. 24/1917: 4). In October of the same year, another 25,000 lei are offered to be used as the rest remain at the disposal of the Ministry of Interior to be used “especially for mobilized orphans and popular soups” (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 24 / 1917: 6-7).

Throughout 1917, the Vestry of Madona Dudu draws up lists and helps people who need more and more support (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 20/1917: 11-13), so we have a Payment Order of September 6, 1917, amounting to 11,665 lei distributed as aid for the poor (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 27/1917: 7), the amount being very high for those times, and on October 7, 1917 the amount is added of 12,765 lei (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 27/1917: 26) being destined for the same purpose.

Thanks to the successes registered in the campaign from the summer of 1917 but also of the losses suffered, efforts are beginning to channel the energies towards new beginnings, to rebuild and to treat the deep wounds left after the war. In the first months of 1918, a “fund was established for the creation after the war, in the city of Craiova, of an institute for the military, disabled, without means, giving priority to those in the city of Craiova and Doljiu County” for a total of 45,000 lei. The Vestry of Madona Dudu collaborates with associations and societies that channel their energies for the material and moral restoration of the country. Among them we mention the *Red Cross*, the *Family of Fighters*, the *National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women*, the latter receives for “maintenance of kindergartens” over 20,000 lei for “educating these young children without any support” (SJAN Dolj, f. Ep. MD, d. 16/1918: 24).

Conclusions

The Vestry of Madonna Dudu was not a great institution only by the grandeur of its edifice or by the richness of material resources, but by what the servants, the people who contributed to the development of a rich historical space, prolific in achievements and to a certain extent, witness of the Christianity of a region.

A more detailed awareness of how a spiritual society has impacted and developed the world around has led to a sense of gratitude, as well as the need to continue and bring to light more information about the rich past of some institutions regardless of their profile.

Through the prism of the analysed documents, it can be highlighted the fact that the Vestry of Madona Dudu was a solid pillar in supporting the people and institutions involved in the war, but was also involved in the post-war rebuilding, supporting the future generations. It is certainly not the first time we hear this, but the first generation of Greater Romania has given among the most important writers, artists, theologians, specialists in various fields, in other words we talk about people who have left their mark in a positive way, over more than 100 years since then.

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**A VISIT OF NICOLAE IORGA TO POLAND IN JUNE 1924:
AN ATTEMPT OF RECONSTRUCTION**

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Abstract

The article is dedicated to the reconstruction of the visit of Nicolae Iorga to Poland in June 1924. The motivation of the visit has been explored, peculiarities of its preparation and media accompaniment. It was found that Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in charge of the case of the historian's visit. The scientist's itinerary has been recreated, which included visits to the universities in Warsaw, Vilnius, Poznan, Krakow and Lviv. The subject of scientific and public lectures of Iorga were found out, their key ideas were distinguished. The peculiarities of the saturated cultural program of Romanian delegation were investigated, which consisted of excursions round cities, visits to museums and theatres, meetings with representatives of the local elite. It was assumed that the visit of Iorga was his attempt of practical realisation of the idea of setting up the tight bi-governmental Polish-Romanian collaboration with the help of the instrument of cultural diplomacy.

Key words: *Nicolae Iorga, Poland, Polish-Romanian collaboration, reception, cultural diplomacy*

Introduction

Life and activity of Nicolae Iorga are well-known not only to professionals but also to the vast public, as this highly hard-working intellectual is truly considered to be one of the fathers of modern Romania. So, for today, different literature, dedicated to numerous plots of the biography of scientist has been published. Let us risk to consider that none of the intellectuals of the Central Europe – contemporaries of Iorga cannot boast of such an attention of scientists. Although, problems are still appearing, which require verification and more detailed revision. On one such plot we would appreciate to attract attention. It is about little-known nowadays visit of Iorga to Poland in June 1924 which lasted almost two weeks. It should be noted that this was not the first either the last of the visits of the Romanian scientist who carried sincere love to the culture and history of neighbour people during his whole life, non-exhaustively popularizing the idea of more tight Polish-Romanian alliance. Polish side answered likewise to such affection, not regretting nor high state rewards nor honourable academic insignias. Regardless, to the attention of researchers occurred mostly visits of Iorga as a politician. Instead, in 1924 great scientist, recent Head of Parliament, was only the one of the leaders in the political opposition. As a result, his visit, which was presented in the press as an exclusively academic campaign, "lost"

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among others events of extremely rich biography of the scientist. So, till nowadays, both Polish (Piskurewicz, 1994) and Romanian (Teodorescu, 1976: 87) scientists only occasionally mentioned events of the June 1924 mistaking for the chronology of the visit itself. Therefore, the reconstructure proposed below will have not only the importance for more detailed clarification of Polish subjects of biography of Iorga but also some value for the biographers of the scientist.

Preparation of the visit

Preparation of the journey of Iorga to Poland was led by a serious informational campaign. In a few authoritative magazines of the country some biographical essays about the Romanian scientist were published on the eve of his arrival, which aimed to introduce Polish society with Iorga personality. The most spreading was the text of a known historian of literature and a publicist Stanisław Witkiewicz, which was published on the pages of the Krakow magazine "Przegląd Współczesny". As the content of all the published in that period of time Polish press texts about Iorga was more or less similar, we will demonstrate peculiarities of the presentation of his personality to the Polish reader on the example of the draft of a Krakow publicist. The mentioned text was divided into eleven parts and included thorough analysis of different activities of the Romanian scientist and politician. First of all, S. Witkiewicz expresses his fascination with the diversity of creative interests and the fundamentals of community service of Iorga, stating that he belongs to "exceptionally great promoters of the cultural development of Romania", because, without him, "it is impossible to imagine the appearance of modern scientific, literature, moral and political landscape of the life of Romanians" (Wędkiewicz, 1924: 2).

On the following pages of the essay, in specially distinguished sections, the Polish author, with the knowledge of many nuances of the biography of Iorga, recreated to the reader the phenomenal nature of his rewards to the Romanian people. It is completely expectedly that the most attention Polish publicist paid to the analysis of historiographic heritage of the great leader as well as to the description of its methodological foundations. He indicates rightly that, as it is impossible to conclude thousands of different scientists's publications in a work of an article form, he has to only outline the contribution of Iorga in the development of the most important disciplinary areas. And this stands near to the closest for the scientist, history of the Romanian people, as well as Byzantinology, Slavistics, Ottoman studies, Bulgaristics and others.

The continuation of the scientific activity of Iorga, by proper observation of S. Witkiewicz became his social activity. In such a case the Polish author shows how an authoritative researcher of the past makes modern history of his country by himself. Characterizing the public credo of Romanian activists, the author aptly noticed that "researcher of the folk tradition became a nationalist and traditionalist in the public arena". S. Witkiewicz explains in detail to the Polish reader what is the peculiarity of the program headed by Iorga "People's Democratic Party" compared to the others the most powerful political forces of Romania. Polish author stresses on the social idealism of the hero of his work, and talks about his numerous initiatives aimed at the raising of the cultural and educational level and national self-awareness of

compatriots. Given this, the conclusion of the Polish author sounds completely reasonable – Iorga is one of the most honored ideologues and creators of Greater Romania.

As for the very end, S. Witkiewicz addresses the enlightenment of the most interesting for the reader problem “Iorga and Poland”. This question was shown by the author in the continuous historical retrospective – from the first contacts admired with the romantic ideology of the representatives of neighbour peoples till the increasing intellectual interchange in the first decades of the XX century. The manifestation of the last tendency became more often visited by Romanian historians of the rich Polish archives and libraries. Therefore, in such a way Iorga himself became acquainted with the world of Polish culture, when by the end of the XIX century a few months working in Lviv, learning documents related to trade affairs of the city with the Romanian lands. Further S. Witkiewicz, on the several samples, shows that the great Romanian historian in his works mostly approvingly estimates relations of the two peoples during the lasting period of their historian neighbouring. The assessments of the political journalism of the Romanian figure, in the pages of which Poland appears as a natural partner of Romania, are also in favor, from which Iorga concludes that the collaboration of these countries must assure stability in the destruction of the war region. Concluding, the Polish author stressed, that “Poland has a comrade in the face of Iorga” (Wędkiewicz, 1924: 31).

It should be noted that the question of “Iorga and Poland” was in the epicenter of the attention and the other Polish periodicals, which wrote about the planned arrival of the Romanian scientist to the country. On their pages aspects which did not get in sight of S. Witkiewicz were covered, but they could be interesting for the Polish reader in regard to the close visit of Iorga himself. Thus, “Kurjer Warszawski”, introducing his audience to the future guest, reported that Iorga the day before his visit to Poland, on the 2nd of June 1924, in the Charles Hall Foundation in Bucharest, announced the report on the topic “The meaning of Poland in the Slavic world”. This was the first from the six lectures of the series of reports about Poland, which were initiated by Polish Embassy in terms of political realization of the Polish-Romanian rapprochement. The key message of the well-known historian, according to the Polish journalist, was a comprehensive substantiation of the thesis that of all the Slavic peoples, Romania had only some close friendly relations with Poland, so it should be continued for mutual benefit. The author of the article pointed out the insignificant interest of the Romanian intelligentsia in the history and culture of the neighbor and expressed hope that the lecture of the Romanian historian, as well as his next visit to Poland, would play an important role in growing mutual interest. The journalist of “Kurjer Warszawski” highlighted that Iorga makes for Poland a big favour supporting with his own authority the affair of the Polish-Romanian union. The newspaper also spoke about Iorga’s measures, unknown from other sources, to establish a department of Polish language, literature and culture at the University of Bucharest. The scientist also suggested the establishment of a Polish-Romanian institute in Bucharest and its counterpart in Warsaw. Similar to S. Witkiewicz, the author of the article stressed, that “Iorga – honest, old and true comrade of Poland” (Listy, 1924: 5-6).

Another popular Warsaw illustrated edition “Świat” in its article with an eloquent name “our Romanian comrade” also paid tribute to exceptional diligence and all-round talent of Iorga, his tireless work for the benefit of his people. The author stated: “Young peoples, who enter the European life, first of all nominate lonely outstanding persons who independently gain recognition with their own energy and talent and thus become propagandists of their own people. One of the most typical examples here is Romanian Professor Iorga...” (E. F. Z., 1924: 3-4). Unlike other publications, the article was illustrated with several photos (portrait of Iorga, a photo of the scientist with his wife, a picture of his summer villa), which aimed to visualize the reader a newspaper narrative.

The day before the trip on the pages of Polish periodical Iorga himself expressed a few words. His article was written earlier in May of 1924, but printed including the Krakow magazine “Przegląd Współczesny”, same as the previously mentioned article of S. Witkiewicz. The main idea of the text of the scientist was formulated in its name “Poland and Romania. Memories of the past and recommendations for the future”. According to such a name the text itself was structured. In its historical part Iorga posed several evidence of the “brotherhood of arms between Poles and Romanians” during the times of Turkish wars of King John Sobieski. The biggest attention the author paid to the Polish cultural influences on the Romanian lands, briefly describing activities of the Jesuit school in Iași. The school was founded and run for a long time by Polish Jesuits, and its students were numerous representatives of the local nobility, who have long preserved the grateful memory of their teachers. Summing up this plot, Iorga noted: “Romanian instinctively understood common interests of their Motherland with the interests of Poland” (Iorga, 1924: 5). In their turn, and the Romanians on occasion thanked their neighbors for their kindness. Iorga writes that exactly Romanian lands became the most reliable and hosting refuge for Polish insurgents who fought for their freedom.

However, according to Iorga, all these manifestations of friendly sympathy are unnecessary today, because both nations have their own states, which face similar challenges. Stretching at the threat posed by Bolshevik Russia, the Romanian politician emphasizes the need to cultivate “close, deep and lasting” relations between Poles and Romanians. The precondition for this should be the awakening in societies on both sides of the border of the desire for mutual knowledge, because at present “Poles and Romanians either do not know themselves completely or have a completely wrong idea about themselves”. On this occasion, Iorga recalls his attempts to overcome this problem, recognizing them as not entirely successful, because his French-language books addressed to the Polish audience never found an interested reader. With this in mind, the Romanian scientist calls for more active intellectual rapprochement in the interests of both peoples.

In fact, Iorga saw his visit as the first practical step towards the realization of the above postulate of the Polish-Romanian union. The formal reason for the trip was the official invitation of five leading Polish universities (Warsaw, Vilnius, Jagiellonian, Poznan and Lviv) to give a series of scientific and popular lectures. It should be noted that Polish newspapers exhibited precisely this academic motivation for the visit. Instead, the materials found in the archives of Lviv University allow us to speak of a

significant involvement in the organization of the visit of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the end, this should come as no surprise, as Iorga was an authoritative incumbent politician at the time, a leader of a popular party, and a recent speaker of parliament, so his words were heeded in the ruling cabinets. In addition, the scholar, as mentioned above, was the most pro-Polish Romanian figure, and his visit was of interest to Warsaw politicians, who at that time made considerable efforts to deepen Polish-Romanian military cooperation (Bulhak, 1973). The extent of the Foreign Ministry's involvement in the visit of Iorga is evidenced by the fact that the topics of his speeches were sent to the administrations of Polish universities through the ministry, and the press department of the Foreign Ministry's political department covered the visit. The found documents clearly stated that Iorga had arrived at the invitation of the Polish government (SALr, f. 26, op. 14, case 403). Confirmation of this was the considerable funding allocated from the state treasury house for the visit of the Romanian scientist, because he decided to travel in a fairly large company: the historian was accompanied by his wife and daughter, as well as a longtime friend, editor of the party newspaper "Romanian People" and personal secretary Alexandr Kuzin with his wife.

Between Warsaw and Lviv

The first point of Iorga's visit was the capital of Poland, where Romanian guests came on the 10th of June in the morning. At the station they were met by the representatives of the organizational committee consisting of professors Oscar Galecki, Marcelli Handelsman and Stanislaw Kentzynski (Prof. Dr. N. Jorga w Warszawie, 1924: 5). A three days visit was planned in Warsaw, which appeared to be saturated with different events.

Visits of Romanian guests to the Polish capital were described by authoritative newspapers such as "Rzeczpospolita", "Kurier Warszawski", "Robotnik" and others. In their articles Iorga was presented, first of all, as a great intellectual, scientist-encyclopelist, President of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, and only afterwards, his public work and high position were mentioned in the world of Romanian politics.

It was expected that the biggest attention was paid to the lectures of the Professor himself. Three of his lectures were planned in the Warsaw University – one each day. Therefore, the following lectures were planned: Tuesday 10th of June "Creatures of Romanian national Renaissance in Poland", Wednesday 11th of June "Sources and traits of the Romanian governmental idea" and on Thursday 12th of June "Romanian society in the XVIII century and the revolution in Poland" (Odczyty, 1924a: 9). All the lectures were to be held at midday in the biggest halls of the University. The entrance was free but with the tickets purchased ahead in order to let organizers book a hall of a needed size in advance. Although, because of the excess of the planned meetings during the first day, on Tuesday the lecture was canceled (Odłożenie, 1924: 4). Warsaw public, which was difficult to surprise with the visits of distinguished guests, extremely highly appreciated the lectures of Iorga, despite the fact that the scientist spoke in French. The audience most liked those plots of his lectures, which were related to the Polish-Romanian collaboration in the past, as well

as the professor's appeals to the intelligentsia of the two nations to promote the closest possible cultural cooperation (E. F. Z., 1924a: 3).

The Romanian guests spent a lot of time visiting the sights and museums of Warsaw. During these trips they were accompanied by members of the organizing committee and heads of visited cultural institutions. Iorga and his friends liked the collections of the city museum the most, where an exhibition of Flemish and Dutch art took place at that time. Journalist of "Kurjer Warszawski", who accompanied Romanian guests, noted their "admire of the wealth of the private collections of Warsaw" (Uczeni, 1924: 3).

After Warsaw, Iorga and other guests went to Vilnius for two days, where they arrived on Friday, June 13. Their stay on the occupied by Poles historical Lithuanian capital was described in local newspapers "Slowo" and "Dzennik Wileński". Like the Warsaw editions, the Vilnius editions also exhibited the guest's scientific merits, much less mentioning his political career (Odczyty, 1924: 3; Przyjazd prof. Jorgi, 1924: 3). The outstanding historian was received by the local Stefan Batory University, in the largest audience of which the lectures took place. On Friday, June 13, in the Snyadetsky Hall, Iorga reported the topic "The Character of Romanian Folk Poetry". Next day, on Saturday, June 14, the scientist gave a lecture "Byzantinism and the Crusades in Southeast Europe". Like it was in Warsaw, in his spare time, Iorga and his entourage visited the city's sights and museums, accompanied by university professors and magistrates.

Iorga came back to Warsaw with his entourage on Sunday 15th of June. This time Romanian guests visited the capital of Poland only for one day. Apart from visiting local sights, the great scientist gave a planned lecture for the vast circle of listeners. Different from university reports of Iorga, Romanian Embassy organized his lecture. Lecture on the topic of "Nature and art of Romania" took place in the evening in the hall of Polish Hygienic Society (Zalplachta, 1924: 6). The report of Iorga, illustrated with the help of a projector, gathered the whole lectorium. At the very beginning of the lecture the reporter highlighted that his stay in Poland and lectures which he gave on that occasion have no political motivation. The goal of his stay in the neighbouring country the scientist called as a need in Polish-Romanian rapprochement, which is highly important for the security of the region (A. Br., 1924: 4).

Apart from public lectures, Iorga also got a possibility to address the Polish audience from the columns of the capital's press. On the pages of the leading government newspaper "Rzeczpospolita" the article of the scientist under an eloquent name "Polish-Romanian union" was published. As for the status of the guest, as well as for the understanding of the importance of the touched by him problem told distinctly the fact that the article was published on the first column of the newspaper. In his text Iorga promoted the idea of the expansion of the composition of the Little Entente on account of Poland's neighbour, stressing on the civilizational mission of the union of these states of Central and Eastern Europe to protect Western values from the Revanchism mood of Bolsheviks Russia (Iorga, 1924: 1).

From Warsaw Romanian guests went to Poznan, where they were met by the local university. The visit of Iorga in Poznan during two days (16 – 17 of June) was described in detail by local newspapers, mostly by "Kurjer Poznański" and "Dzennik

Poznański”. Introducing locals with the honoured guest, journalists of these editorials traditionally exhibited his outstanding contribution to the cultural progress of Romania and efforts to establish Polish-Romanian cooperation; the authority of the scientist as a public figure and politician was mentioned less. It was emphasized that “among the Romanians deserved for their homeland, Prof. Iorga is undoubtedly one of the most prominent and well-known in Europe”, so “the fact that he was invited by Polish universities deserves approval” (Prof. Jorga w Poznaniu, 1924: 4).

As in previous cities, the main goal of the stay of Iorga in Poznan became his lectures. Having caught the intellectual mood of the intelligentsia of the city, which not so long ago freed from German rule, the Romanian scientist in his lectures focused on the determination of the phenomenon of the German expansion policy to the East. The first lecture “The fight of the Roman lands with the diggings of the German influence”, reported on Monday in the biggest hall Collegium Minus, Iorga started from the determination of the political condition of Romania of that period of time. The scientist mentioned that politics of his government leans on the union with France and Poland. After, the report focused on the German expansion to the East, following its genesis from the times of Charlemagne. The mentioned expansion, told the reporter, reached Romania as well, where there are a lot of German colonies, mostly – in Transylvania (Prof. Jorga w Poznaniu, 1924: 4). The second lecture of the scientist “German Invasion Aspirations over the Danube”, which took place on Tuesday, was marked by similar anti-German rhetoric.

According to local newspapers, the Poznan intelligentsia was extremely grateful of Iorga’s statements. Evidence of this was both the crowded hall of the university and the “sincere applause”, directed generously to the speaker. The audience was impressed by his initiatives to fill the Polish-Romanian cultural dialogue with concrete content as a precondition for closer political cooperation. The journalist of “Kurjer Poznański” expressed his solidar thought of the educated audience: “Lectures of Prof. Iorga became [...] an unusual event in the cultural life of Poznan” (Wykłady, 1924: 6).

The other part of Iorga’s visit was the saturated cultural program. Romanian guests were treated by the organizational committee, with the rector of the university prof. Zygmunt Lisowski and professors Bronislaw Dembinski and Kazimir Tymenecki. To travel around the city, the President of Poznan provided the Romanian delegation with his car. So on Monday, the guests toured the sights of the city in the company of Prof. K. Tymenetsky. The guide for them was the director of the Wielkopolska Museum, Dr. Maryan Gumowski. The guests visited the pearl of early Gothic architecture of the Basilica of Saints Peter and Paul, where, according to the observations of the present correspondent of the local newspaper, they were impressed by the bronze tombstones of the XV century and the tomb of Boleslaw the Brave. From there they went to the church of St. Jana, then visited the Renaissance town hall, where they were fascinated by its exquisitely decorated halls. On Tuesday, guests in the company of the same Dr. M. Gumovsky observed the Franciscan church and cathedral. Iorga drew special attention to the city archives, where the professor found a collection of documents relating to Romanians and Greeks who came to trade in Poznan in previous centuries. Then the guests observed in detail the collections of the Wielkopolska Museum, where Iorga was impressed by the portrait gallery and the

collection of the Society of Comrades of Science. Iorga also paid considerable attention to the collections of the university library.

In the evenings, ceremonial events were organized in honor of the guests. On the first day there was a banquet organized by the university. The banquet was attended by university professors led by the rector, the director of the Wielkopolska Museum, Consuls Duforth and Gloss and other famous residents of the city. In the afternoon of the second day, the Romanian guests and the city elite were hosted in the house of prof. B. Dembinsky. On Tuesday evening, Iorga left for Krakow, "gifted with the latest editions of the Wielkopolska Museum" (Prof. Iorga w Poznaniu, 1924: 2-3).

The Romanian guests arrived in the Galician capital on the morning of June 18 and spent the next three days there. According to the established tradition, Iorga was met at the station by representatives of the organizing committee consisting of professors of Jagiellonian University (Waclaw Sobieski, Wladyslaw Semkowicz and Ludwik Piotrovich), director of the Jagiellonian University library Frederic Pape, vice-chancellor of the university, city elder and captain of the Romanian army Andronescu, who were in Krakow at the time. According to the local press, after the greeting, the guests went to the apartment in a French hotel (Przyjazd wybitnego uczzonego, 1924: 5).

In the morning, according to the program of the visit, the Romanian delegation visited one of the oldest Polish libraries – Jagiellonian. The overview of the library's collections was made by the director F. Pape. Then Iorga arrived in the Senate Hall of the Jagiellonian University, where the annual meeting of the Polish Academy of Sciences took place at 12 o'clock in the afternoon. It should be mentioned that the Romanian historian was elected as a foreign member of the academy in 1923, but this choice still required government approval. At the meeting on June 18, the President of the Academy Kazimir Moravsky solemnly congratulated Iorga on the official approval as a foreign member of the Academy. In his congratulatory speech, he particularly praised the efforts of Polish scholars to establish the closest cultural and scientific connections with Romania. Responding to the greetings, Iorga gave a long speech in which he thanked for the high dignity of the academician, and also praised the merits of the main Polish scientific institution and the solidity of its achievements, especially significant given the difficult working conditions of its members during statelessness. The Romanian scholar then raised the importance of Polish culture as the oldest of the Slavic peoples. In conclusion, the guest expressed hope for the closest possible cooperation between Romanian and Polish intellectuals (Święto nauki polskiej, 1924: 6).

In the afternoon, Iorga delivered the first of the planned reports at the Jagiellonian University. His lecture in French, "Romania and Italian Economic and Artistic Influences in the East", was a kind of continuation of previous speeches and focused on Romania's civilizational role as a kind of bridge between Western and Eastern Europe. According to local correspondents, Iorga's theses were liked by all those present, who rewarded the speaker with long applause (Prof. Mikołaj Iorga w Krakowie, 1924: 2). In the evening, Iorga and his friends visited the play "Cordiana" at the local theater of Juliusz Słowacki. In his lodge, the essence of what was happening on the stage was explained by the director Teofil Trzczyński. After the first

act, the guests went to a solemn reception, which was organized in their honor by the famous Krakow nobles Krysakowski.

On Thursday, Romanian guests continued to visit the city's sights and museums. In the afternoon, Iorga delivered the second of the reports planned at the Jagiellonian University "The main representative of the Romanian poetry of the XIX century: Eminescu". Despite the special nature of the chosen theme of the speech, it was also quite popular, because the great hall was completely crowded. The journalist of the newspaper "Czas" noted that many young students came to listen to the outstanding scientist, because the tradition of studying Romanian culture in Krakow was the longest among all Polish universities.

On Friday, Iorga and his entourage observed the royal Wawel Castle. After lunch in the largest hall of the Krakow Industrial Museum, the scientist, just as it was in Warsaw, made a popular science report on a local topic. The audience was most impressed by the projections of the illustrations, which showed the historical and cultural monuments of Romania, as well as samples of national clothes. The visit of the Romanian delegation to Krakow was summed up by a solemn banquet in the small hall of the Old Theater, with which the Jagiellonian University and the magistrate honored their distinguished guest.

On Friday evening, Iorga and his family and spouses Kuzin left for Lviv, which was the last point of the scientist's busy journey. As mentioned above, the second Galician capital occupied a special place in the creative biography of the Romanian historian, as he spent the whole summer of 1899 in the city's archives, establishing friendly relations with many Polish colleagues (Starszy Hist., 1924: 3). This fact was emphasized by the newspapers "Kurjer Lwowski" and "Słowo Polskie", informing their readers about the arrival of the famous guest and his two-day stay in the city (Prof. Jorga z Bukaresztu, 1924: 4). From the pages of Lviv newspapers, M. Jorga became a living classic of Romanian culture: newspapers wrote about him exclusively in superlatives as a "polyhistorian", a "polyliterator", "one of the main creators of modern Greater Romania" (Prof. Jorga we Lwowie, 1924: 4). Journalists stressed that Iorga's trip was aimed at reviving Polish-Romanian relations.

The stay of Romanian guests in Lviv reminded them of their visits to other Polish cultural centers. At the station, guests were met by representatives of the organizing committee, which consisted of professors from the university and the Higher School of Foreign Trade, as well as employees of the civil and military administrations of the city.

After breakfast, Iorga was received by the Rector of Lviv University, Professor Juliusz Makarevich, who on behalf of the academic community of Lviv greeted the guest in a cordial manner as an outstanding representative of the intelligentsia friendly to the Polish people. Noting the outstanding merits of the historian in the field of European culture, the rector in his congratulating speech called him "the prince of Romanian science" (Bledrzycki, 1924: 5). In his words of gratitude, Iorga once again in recent days raised the importance of establishing and developing the Polish-Romanian cultural dialogue as a prerequisite for a closer intergovernmental union.

The academic component of Iorga's visit included two lectures, which were delivered in the Senate Hall of Lviv University. It should be noted that here, too, the

Romanian scholar was able to meet the expectations of the local intelligentsia, because in the first lecture he covered the well-known problem of economic activity of the Romanian colony in Lviv (Odczyt, 1924: 5). Iorga's second presentation on "The Influence of Polish Culture on Romanian Literature and Schooling" reproduced the cultural connections between the two peoples in a long historical genesis. The lectures of the prominent historian gathered a lot of willing people, first of all, cultural and scientific figures of the city. The journalist of the newspaper "Ślowo Polskie" noted: "Lectures of prof. Iorga were listened by the audience with great attention and after the end, rewarded him with loud shouts of "Bravo" and loud applause".

The cultural program of the Romanian guests included a tour of the city accompanied by university professors Jan Ptasnik and Alexander Cholovsky, as well as visits to museums and the theater. Among the scientific institutions, Iorga's attention was, as expected, most attracted by the historical collections of the well-known Ossolinski National Institute and the city archives. Romanian guests were also honored with ceremonial events. On the first day there was a party organized by the university.

On the second day, the Romanian guests were met with a solemn breakfast by the Lviv Historical Society, of which the Romanian scientist was a longtime member. At noon on the same day, a garden party was held at Princess Lubomyrska, where the local scientific and financial elite gathered. Iorga and his secretary discussed with the city's businessmen the financial aspect of Polish-Romanian cultural cooperation: the creation of scholarship funds for students, the financing of academic exchanges, the publication of scientific and popular literature, and so on. Also on Sunday, Romanian guests visited the opera house, where Iorga became interested in the play "Jesus" because, as he himself admitted to a local journalist, he had recently written a biblical drama in preparation for a production on the Bucharest stage.

The Lviv intelligentsia highly praised Iorga's visit to the city, emphasizing the scientist's sincere sympathies for Poland and the Poles. The exemplary idealism of the Romanian historian in establishing inter-neighborly cooperation was noted in many articles on the pages of the Lviv press, which comprehended the consequences of the stay of the Romanian delegation. Emil Bledzycki, a well-known Polish Romanian lecturer at Lviv University, described the mood of Lviv residents most fully in his article: "The journey of such an outstanding personality as Prof. Iorga, cannot be left without concrete benefit for both our friendly peoples. Many ideas were raised in those short waves of our admission of prof. Iorga – both scientific and economic. If we soon wait for a larger number of Romanian youth to come to our universities than before, as well as the departure of our young people to study in Romania, it will be the merit of prof. Iorga, who with his visit not only gave impulse to this initiative, but also promised his help in its practical implementation" (Bledrzycki, 1924: 5).

Iorga was also pleasantly impressed by the sincere hospitality of Lviv residents and their cordial friendship. His emotional state was eloquently reflected in a letter of thanks to the rector of Lviv University, that the scientist wrote immediately upon his return to Bucharest. This letter was put in the archives of Lviv University and has not been known to this day. Being under fresh impressions from the trip, Iorga expressed

“the deepest gratitude for such a warm welcome you gave me”, calling the days spent in Lviv “the best in my life” (SALr, f. 26, op. 14, case 403, p. 41).

Conclusions

Summarizing the above reconstruction of Iorga's visit to Poland in June 1924, we note his sincere devotion to the idea of Polish-Romanian cooperation and consistency in its implementation. After losing leadership in the Romanian political camp for a while, he continued to embody his beliefs about the importance for Western civilization of a strong interstate union of two neighboring peoples with the help of more familiar tools of cultural diplomacy. As we know, these measures were successful, as Romania and Poland consistently strengthened cooperation in various fields during the interwar period. In this process, Iorga played a prominent role not only as a public intellectual, but also as a politician, especially during his premiership. Our research also signals the need for further careful elaboration of Eastern European archival collections in order to determine the many little-known nuances of the eminent historian's creative biography, in which his Polish episodes should take their rightful place.

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JEWES MERCHANTS IN CRAIOVA IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD (I)

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Abstract

Jewish Emancipation, defining their legal status and granting their political equality represented one of the main problems which, starting with the second half of the 19th century and until mid of the 20th century, caused a powerful outburst of anti-Semitic attitudes of all kinds. The first clear anti-Semitic abuses took place during the governances of Tatarescu (January, 1939 – December, 1937) and of Goga-Cuza (29th of December, 1937 – 10th of February, 1938) and were encouraged by the administrative measures issued by the Romanian authorities. They continued during the royal dictatorship (10th of February, 1938 – 5th of September, 1940) and escalated when the Legionnaires and Ion Antonescu started their dictatorship. In Craiova, the Jewish firms were forced to close their businesses. The law no. 641 from 19th of December 1944 for repeal of anti-Semite legal measures, by art. 14 restore the circumstances, thus the trading or industry firms radiated as provided or as a consequence of some measures in effect, could be re-enrolled at request.

Key words: *Craiova, Jews, entrepreneur, interwar period, economic evolution*

The presence of minorities in today's territory of Romania is noted since the Middle Age time, even earlier, many of them finding a shelter in towns and Romanian boroughs or just being brought by various privileges offered by the rulers of Romanian Principalities out of desire to develop the Romanian trading. Their arrival was gradual, in a number of ways: military, economic, religious and also driven by a better living in this country. Over time, they made significant efforts to fit in the communities they belonged to, to have a connection with the State, trying to obtain equal rights with the majority while maintaining freedom to preserve their culture, tradition, allegiance and their own language. Embedding all these minorities have met a devious process, the ethnicity setting off social dissensions, especially when two or more diverse communities were forced to live next to the other. However, the minority bought their contribution to the opening of Romanian space to a universal culture by maintaining connection to motherland.

Amongst the minorities, the Jews have played an important role in the economic and cultural development of our country, knowing the fact that through the high level of culture and financial means they held – they were considered great merchants, bankers – and they put their mark on culture and civilization of the adoptive state, adapting themselves to the new space quite easily. In the second half of the 19th century, they represented the only ethnical minority with particular social percentage reason that let them to a continuous fight to obtain legal and political rights from Romanian state, being supported in their approach by the western governments and influential people, as Gerson Bleichröder, requirement which started numerous internal tensions and anti-Semitic events (Iancu, 1996: 178-179). An important step in empowering was Berlin Treaty (1/13 of July, 1878) by articles 43

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and 44. Reviewing art. 7 from the Constitution had as a result an “individual naturalization” that led them to the status of citizens, first of all for the Jew combatants who participated into the War of Independence of Romania (1877-1878) and for other hundreds of countrymen, until the outbreak of the First World War (Damean, 2000: 213-215; Damean, 2005: 86-96; *Istoria Românilor*, 2003: 70-72).

The Decree-laws from December 30th, 1918 and May 29th, 1919 recognized to the majority of the Kingdom “regardless of religion” and by default to Jews the right to obtain citizenship only by proof they were born in the country and they weren’t ruled by another state (Hamangiu: 71-72).

The circumstances of the ethnical minority have changed when the First World War ended, by signing the Peace Treaty with Austria (December 9th, 1919) within the Peace Conference from Paris, which stipulated the rights and liberties that national minorities from Romania benefited which basically were included in the country legislation (*Istoria Românilor*, 2003: 14). The preamble of the treaty provided that: “Romania, of its own will, has provided freedom and justice both for its inhabitants from the old Kingdom and for those from territories recently shifted, regardless race, language or religion they belong to” (*Istoria Românilor*, 2003: 14). Romanian nationality was obtained, according to art. 6. “by law through the only fact of birth on Romanian territory, by any person who can not prevail any other nationality” and art. no. 7 regarding Jews foreseen: “Romania commits to acknowledge as Romanian subjects by full right without any formalities, the Jew living in Romania and can not prevail any other nationality” (*Istoria Românilor*, 2003: 14). The legislation adopted after the First World War, based upon non-discrimination on ethical criterion. The Constitution from 1923 stipulated at art. 5 that: “Romanians without ethical distinction of language or religion benefits from freedom of conscience, education and free press, meetings and by association and of all legal rights established by law”; and art. 7 stipulated: “The difference of religious beliefs and confessions of ethnical origin and language, do not constitute in Romania a liability to acquire civil and political rights and to carry them out” (*Istoria Românilor*, 2003: 57).

Benefiting from rights and democratic freedoms, the Jews as well as the other minorities could arrange a private community life of their own, a liaison with the ruling governments could blend in the Romanian parties, and had access to education and culture, the press being a field that fully came forward, several publications of largest circulation in that time belonged to them.

Minorities’ integration, especially of the Jews, has also known tense moments as the anti-Semitic measures, occurring between the wars, manifested with a great intensity between the 30s and the 40s. The tensions were created on one hand by the leaders of the minorities who intended to obtain additional rights for communities they represented which led to a negative reaction of the Romanian political forces, and on the other hand to the anti-Semitic attitude of certain political figures, especially the right-wing. Among them the most outspoken was A.C. Cuza, the creator of Christian National Defence League, within the Romanian State (1923) whereby the Jews constituted a minority that refused to “integrate within the Romanian State and intended to set up into an elite allowing them to prevail the economic and cultural life of the country, damaging the growing of Romanian people itself” (Scurtu, Boar, 1955:

13-14). Aligned to this idea also signed up the Archangel Michael Legion (1927) led by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and also Simion Mehedinti, I.G. Duca, Octavian Goga, Gheorghe Tatarascu, Nchifor Crainic etc. The last one argued the idea of removing the Jews from the public life and economy.

Disposing them from economy started with the 3rd decade by setting up legislative proposals and ordinances during Tatarascu government (Jan. 1934 – Dec. 1937), Goga-Cuza (29th of Dec. 1937 – 10th of Feb. 1938) and in the royal dictatorship period (10th of Feb. 1938 – 5th of Sept. 1940). In this respect we recall the Law “for using Romanian stuff in enterprises” (16th of July, 1934) whereby Romanians had to form at least 80% from an enterprise employees, 50% members in board of directors; the Jews removal from selling products under the state monopole (tobacco, alcohol, matches) and trading carried out in agriculture; The foreclosure of the market of the enterprises with Jewish stuff in which the State there was a party (client or supplier); Compulsory purchase for “public utility needs” of the Jewish agriculture enterprises, of immovable, and properties belonging to Jews or Jewish institutions: “the Law of nationality revise” (22nd of January, 1938) – whereby Jews had to prove by documents they had the right to Romanian nationality: “Decree-law no. 2650 concerning Jews status in Romania” (8th of August 1940) – whereby Jews were divided in three categories, requiring them different restraints, depending on the category they belonged to, being basically expelled from Romanian society, labelled as second-rank citizens (<https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/pdf-rupal/en/report/romanian>).

Alongside with legionaries ruling the state (6th of September, 1940) the anti-Semite measures were increased by emitting series of anti-Semite legal acts and became severe during was, under General Ion Antonescu ruling who sought Romanization of the Romanian society by eliminating Jews from Romania. At the time of the National Legionary State, the anti-Semite legislative measures focused on several areas: education, army, liberal professions, trading and work. The measures enacted in September, 1940-1944 have resulted in economic ruin, civic degradation and the loss of right to work and property of the Jews. There were registered several acts of violence, forcing them to concede their houses, enterprises, stores etc at ridiculous prices (Ancel, 2008: 2011).

In commerce, the Jews were losing the title of suppliers of the Royal House; the right to attend to certain public auction; the issue of “the certificate of professional competence” for workers and craftsmen was cancelled and contracts of apprenticeship for Jew apprentices, issued after 16th of November, 1940 were cancelled. According to the decree-law from November 16th, 1949, by Romanization policy of enterprises there were disadvantaged the Jew employers from private commercial sector who needed to be fired before December 31st, 1941. The one from November 17th forfeited on State behalf the forests, the mills, the alcohol factories, forestry industries, cereal deposits and fields belonging to them and the one from 4th of December seized ships and barges (Iancu, 2001: 40-41). The law from March 28th, 1941, forfeited on State behalf, into a period of 30 days all urban properties and the one from 3rd of May 1941, that completed the one from 17th of November, 1940, specified that “there will also be expropriated the farms, alcohol factories distillers of any kind, pharmaceutical factories, all the rights on subsoil, forests and camps” (Iancu,

2001: 41). The use of goods in the State patrimony was commissioned by Romanization National Centre set up at 5th of May, 1941, handling as well with “replacing Romanian subjects with non-Romanian background and foreigners with ethnical Romanians and other foreigners” (Iancu, 2001: 42).

In Craiova, the management of Industry and Trade Chamber, summoned in January 1941, by written mailing, the Jew merchants from the town on the pretext to “discuss matters of general interest”, occasion on which the vice-president of the Trade Chamber, Willy Ianischewsky, and the police superintendent, Vâlcu Vlad, made threats “with arrest based on sabotage law and shutting down the shops” unless they accept signing on the spot of the requests for radiation of their firms (SJAN D, IF, f. 2538/1934, f. 16). Several Jewish firms were forced to close their businesses. The law no. 641 from 19th of December 1944 for repeal of anti-Semite legal measures, by art. 14 restore the circumstances, thus the trading or industry firms radiated as provided or as a consequence of some measures in effect, could be re-enrolled at request. Based on this article, lots of Jew merchants succeeded to reopen their businesses as it emerges from the disclosure of the firms below:

Marseus Jean was the owner of “Oltenia Bookstore” on *Calea Brestei* no. 38 (May 15th, 1923 – January 31st, 1941), when it was radiated. As main activity registered at the registry of Commerce it was trading with: “bookstores and giblets” (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 886/1931, ff. 1-2). The bookstore “Culture” registered on *Cuza Voda Street*, at no. 10, belonged to **Moritz and Mali Solomonovici SINC company** it was registered with main activity “bookstore, stationery, toys and giblets”. It began its activity at 2nd of December, 1931, with a capital of 100,000 lei, radiated at 9th of January, 1941 and reregistered at 22nd of November, 1944 at the same address. At 31st of March, 1948 it has registered a capital of 165,000 lei (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 432/1931, not numbered).

Flachs I. Samuel was in charge of “commercial agency, commission and consignments”, to which gives up in November, 1940. He started his activity in July, 1931 in *Lascar Catargiu Street*, at no. 5. Two years later he took the logo “Depozitul Dunarea” and extended trading to “tights, knitting, gallantry en gross and en detail” at 1st of February, 1940 he opened a branch at Bucharest, on Regele Albert I Street, at no. 1, exerting the same trading, branch he dissolved four months later. The firm was radiated in January, 1941 and reopened in 1945 for trading of “knitting, and gallantry on its own en gross and en detail” at the same address (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 385/1931, ff. 1-14; SF, f. 787/1946, ff. 26-28). At 17th of September, 1946 he associated with Dumitru I. Ionescu, which ended at 23rd of January, 1948 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 787/1946, ff. 1-16). An office of “commercial agency” functioned on Copertari Street, at no. 45 (9th of May, 1908 – 15th of June, 1946) belonging to **Leon M. Iacob**. The firm was radiated at 9th of January, 1941 and re-registered at 21st of July, 1945, in order to be radiated again, at 15th of June, 1946, on charges of failure to appear at review (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 861/1931, ff. 1-9).

Another office of “commercial agency on his own” was administrated by **Kovacs I. Iosef-Ernest** (1st of July, 1938 – 1st of April, 1948), on *Mântuleasa Street*, at no. 1. In 1941 he was forced to radiate his firm which he re-registered in 1948 for trading “of gross smithy and worked, tools and agricultural machinery on his own and

only en gross” at the same address (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 4470/1938, ff. 1-48). On *Kogalniceanu Street*, in the facility situated at no. 1, **Semo M. David** owned the office “The bee commercial agency – agent of the insurance company Dacia Romana” (March 29th, 1932 – January 9th, 1941) (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1945/1932, ff. 1-4).

Schwartz Leon handled “rentals and sales of bags, mats, commercial agency and insurance”, having offices on *St. Dumitru Street*, at no. 4 (20th of August, 1931 – 22nd of January, 1932) and *Unirii Street*, at no. 128 (1932-1941). He also opened a branch in Caracal, Romanati which he closed it at 1st of October, 1932. Along the way he restricted the activity, keeping only one office of “commercial agency”. Later on he opened a “deposit of rubber footwear for en gross selling”. The firm was radiated at 9th of January, 1941 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 555/1931, ff. 1-7).

The activity of “rental and selling of bags, mats and rugs” was registered at 28th of March, 1927 by **Jean Hodar**, too. The firm was iconic called “The Bag” started on Independentei Street no. 3, then moved to *Carmen Sylva Street*, at no. 1 (1931-1935) and then on *St. Dumitru Street* at no. 2 (1935-1949). At 14th of December, 1946, he extended the commerce adding “delivery articles”, with a capital of 1,000,000 lei. Radiated at first on 9th of January, 1941, was re-registered at 16th of February, 1945, at the same office and permanently radiated at 22nd of August, 1949. Previous setting up of his firm he was a part of the association whose partner was Zelina Hodar (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1805/1931, ff. 1-6; SF, f. 2774/1935, ff. 1-30).

Goldenberg Leia was the owner of the store of “gallantry, bookbinder, and odds and ends” with the logo “Bazaar: At Nicu’s” from *Ulise Boldescu Street*, at no. 1, opened at 3rd of March, 1931. By marrying Moritz Moscovici, the name of the firm became **Moscovici M. Lea** (29th of May, 1936). In February, 1938 she added to her activity trading with “cottons”. The firm was radiated at 9th of January, 1941, re-registered at 28th of April, 1945 and radiated at 15th of October, 1947 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1681/1931, ff. 1-22).

For a quarter of a century, **Fanny Iticsohn** pleased people from Craiova with products made in the factory of “artificial flowers, hats, manufacture, embroidery and odds and ends”, “At Citronella’s” on *Alexandru Lahovari Street*, no. 72 (15th of August, 1919 – 28th of January, 1941) (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1557/1931, ff. 1-7). Starting with 1st of November, 1944 continued worked in association with Sie Iticsohn and Nuta Brill setting up the **Trading Company Fanny Iticsohn, Sie Iticsohn and Nuta Brill**, with the same logo and office. The object of activity registered there was “store and artificial flowers shop for brides, gallantry, odds and ends and manufacture engross and en detail”. In April, 1946 they varied the activity opening a “candle factory”. Nuta Brill’s death led Miss. Betty Brill the entry into association (July, 1948), the firm becoming **S.C. Fanny Iticsohn, Sie Iticsohn and Betty Brill**, radiated at 15th of December, 1948 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 737/1944, ff. 1-44).

Rudich Iscan’s store stand out through the products displayed for selling “harness and belts” activity he practiced since 8th of December, 1912. The logo defining the trading was chosen suggestive “At Three Harnessed Horses”. After two decades, which activated on *Buzăști Street* no. 18 (1912-1931), the firm relocated in Alexandru Lahovari str. no. 154, where it operated until 1941, when it was radiated. At

25th of January, the store and the shop were taken over by Mateescu and Constantinescu (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 401/1931, ff. 1-16).

On *Emil Girleanu Street*, at no. 3, the associates of the **social firm Simon Schnirer & Haim Lazar, SINC**, were exerting trading with “glasses, china and different articles of colonials” (1923 – 31st of January, 1941). The firm was called “At the housekeeper’s” (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 466/1932, ff. 1, 2, 7).

The stores were owned by the Jews: David Segal, Adolf Bacal, Iacob Silman, Piroasca Roth. The owners of the social firm **David Segal & Adolf Bacal SINC** owned on Calea Brestei, at no. 134, the warehouse “The Wood” with “timber and building materials”, with a social capital of 30,000 lei (22nd of August, 1936 – 9th of January, 1941). The firm radiated at 9th of January, 1941, was taken over by Stefan Stoianovici (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 591/1936, f. 13, 18). It was re-founded at 31st of March, 1945 as separate firm by **Segal David**, for the same activity field with a capital of 3,000,000 lei and functioned until October, 1948 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 5303/1945, ff. 1-14).

The warehouse “firewood, coals, lime, hay, straws and gas” whose owner there was **Iacob Silman**, situated on Matei Basarab Street, at no. 10, opened its doors in June, 1922. At 1st of November, 1933, opened another branch in Madona Dudu Street, at no. 69, for trading “of economic pub” which he radiated after only a year (5th of November). The radiated firm in 1941 was re-registered in 1944 for trading of “warehouse of firewood, rugs, feed, scrap metal, lime, concrete, bricks, sand exploitation, pebble en gross and en detail”, with office in Bucovat Street, no. 43 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 198/1931, ff. 1-26).

Piroșca Roth had the timber warehouse “At Lotru”, situated on Amaradia Street (no. 127), since 1925. At 12th of May, 1938 were also added “building materials, veneer and plywood”. The firm was radiated in January, 1941 and re-registered in 1945. Starting with October 1st, 1945, “Lotru” warehouse was taken by URSS army which turned it into a car parts warehouse. The firm was radiated on 20th of March, 1948 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 2153/1932, ff. 1-48).

In the food sector have distinguished the tradesmen Appel Engelbert Iosif, Leon Mandelbaum, Naumceea H. Nicolae. The Austrian **Appel Engelbert Iosif** owned Palace bakery, opened at 30th of October, 1924, in Piata Unirii Street, at no. 1, the office being placed under the Palace of Oltenia Bank. In 1931, it was registered on *Cuza Voda Street*, at no. 1 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 682/1931, ff. 1-10). The owner’s death imposed its register under the name of the persons entitled, becoming at 18th of June, 1936 **Iosif Engelbert Appel S-sori, SINC**, for the same trading: “manufacturing and selling of bakery products and candy shop”, with a capital of 120,000 lei. Three years later, the right for practice of profession was retired and on 4th of April the Police superintendent announced the three owners that the prolongation was approved until 26th of June “for clearance” without the right to practice their professions. In 1941, the firm appeared as registered on Josef Frantz Appel’s name, at the same address and it wasn’t radiated (Mitu, 2018: 82).

On *Bucovat Street* (no. 68) there was the bread factory “The Health” managed by **Leon Mandelbaum**. The bakery was set up on 8th of June, 1906 (loaves, rolls, cereals and other loose ends) with the office in Calomfirescu Street, at no. 22. There was

registered a branch in Madona Dudu Street, at no. 10. At 9th of December, 1933, the owner required the removal of the flour factory and a month later the firm was radiated and registered on his son's name **Gheorghe Mandelbaum** (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 90/1931, ff. 1-6). In January, 1938 he opened a store in Unirii Street, in the alleyway, at no. 65, where they were selling "bread products and loaves", radiated in January, 1941 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 3946/1938, ff. 1-2).

Heinrich Weiss dates since 1924 being registered at first wit trading of: "cereal office in errand". Two years later he added "mill and cereals with their derivatives" (st. Abator, no. 22-24), with the logo "Hemerich M. Weiss Mill". In 1933, "H.M. Weiss Mill", the automatic mill, was registered on Calomfirescu Street, at no. 27. Procurator of the firm there was the Romanian Aurel Eliezer. Heinrich Weiss firm was radiated in January, 1941 and re-registered at 7th December, 1944 for trading of systematic mill, at the same address. With the occasion of reviewing, at 31st of December, 1945, the owner declared capital of 11,183,567 lei (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 333/1931, not numbered).

Sofiea E. Elman was the owner of a pub on Horezu Street from no. 3 (3rd of March, 1932 at 9th of January, 1941, 10th of April, 1945 – 2nd of October, 1947) and in 1946, was registered with a capital of 500,000 lei (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1912/1932, ff. 1-12) and **Naumcea H. Nicolae** was the owner of the inn "Two Brothers" on Carol Bld., no. 118. In 1920, the firm was registered with activity domain in "spirits, inn and grocery store" but along the way extended their activity so, in 1932, at the Registry of Commerce was registered with trading: "spirits, inn and grocery store, special debit and ordinary of tobacco and stamps" and in 1941 with trading: "spirits, inn and grocery store, special debit and ordinary of tobacco, stamps, newspapers, colonials and butcher shop". In 1941 he gives up to some of them, continuing until the radiation from October, 1947, only with spirits and refreshments (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 247/1931, not numbered).

Various clothing stores were retained by the Jew merchants.

Lillu A. Leon made his debut into commercial activity at 1st of October with a "commercial agency, commission, manufacture, cereals, odds and ends" (Elca Street no. 19). In 1931 he moved the office on *Unirii Street*, at no. 61, and he extended his business by adding "trading with tights and knitting" and also "clothing and items of gallantry" (1931) and "manufacture" (Nov. 1936). The logo "Lido Knitting" adopted in 1929 was replaced by "Lido-Evelin" in 1931. Three years later (March) he applied for reducing activity, keeping only "gallantry and haberdashery". In January, 1941, being threatened with arrest and closing the store, he requested firm's deletion which capital was 704,101 lei. At 20th of February, the Commission confirmed the fact that the gallantry and haberdashery firm belonging to Leon A. Lillu was not radiated, its activity closing at 10th of February, 1948, at the owner's request (Mitu, 2018: 78).

Roza H. Moritz managed "La cerkez" store within he was trading "clothing, drapery and manufacture" in which he had invested 100,000 lei, located in the building no. 11, on *Buzesti Street* (8th of May, 1930 – 9th of January, 1941) (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 106/1931, ff. 1-9). In the same building he had registered as field of activity: "trading with manufacture, with Lipscani goods, fabric store, leather goods, grocery store, colonials and trinkets" and the social firm **Haim Leon Sons SINC** with logo

“At Pleniceanu’s”, where the three associates, Mayer Levy, Rafael Penchas and Albert Leon, had invested a capital of 423,949 lei. Albert Leon left the association at 1st of January, 1932, the capital reducing to 354,846 lei. The firm whose debut was registered at 17th of January, 1920 (str. Elca, no. 7) was radiated at 31st of January, 1941 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 9/1931, not numbered).

Between 1934-1941, in the commercial space no. 24 on *Edgar Quinet Street*, it also operated “Trico-Textila” store belonging to **Leon Gerson**. In March, 1945 he associated to Gheorghe Neata setting up the social firm **Leon Gerson and Gheorghe Neata**, for the two associated who have deposited a capital of 3,000,000 lei (the first one 58% and the latter 42%). After only one year of activity, the association got dissolved, Gerson reregistered the individual firm in March and Gheorghe Neata continued his activity on his own behalf at the same address (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 749/1945, ff. 1-28).

Mark Avram was the owner of the store “At the honest Ardelean” (*Alexandru Lahovari Street*, no. 62) where he practiced trading with “leather goods, furrier’s shop, and wool” to which was added “all kinds of rugs, old smithy and shards of glass” (1937) and hired five employees who were entitled to sell and buy on his behalf “glassware and rugs” (19th October, 1931 – 9th of January, 1941). He also had a branch where he was dealing commerce with “furlough and coins”, on *Edgar Quinet Street*, at no. 1 (22nd of September, 1932 – 10th of August, 1936) (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1309/1931, ff. 1-11).

Cohn Betti had a resembling trading business on *Abator Street*, at no 40: “raw domestic or wild leather good” (20th of May, 1930 – 21st of December, 1931). Subsequently, the warehouse was moved on *Horezu Street*, at no. 17 (21st of December, 1931 – 18th of May, 1936) and on *Carol Bld.*, at no. 46, where it functioned until 9th of January, 1941, when it was radiated. In 1931 the merchant expanded her activity by adding trading with “crafted skins” for which she opened a store on *Lahovari Street*, at no. 42 (21st of Dec. 1931 – May, 1936) and then at no. 21 (18th of May, 1936 – 9th of January, 1941). By marrying *Lupu Blum*, at 6th of March, the firm became **Betti Lupu Blum** (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 956/1931, ff. 1-15).

The same products were marketed on *Spiridon Street*, at no. 16, by **Feldstein Oscar**. His commercial was registered for the first time at 21st of Nov. 1914, his commerce focusing on “export of eggs and different items” (*Banu Manta Street*, at no. 2.) The defining logo was “Oscar Feldestein Craiova export of eggs”. Starting with 14th of September, 1923 he extended the trading to “en detailed tweeds and any purchase of skins”, trading he developed at the place from *Bdl. Carol*, at no. 65. In 1933, from the documents registered at the Registry of Commerce it turns out he only handled commerce with “raw and dry leader goods”. The firm started with a capital of 20,000 lei and he made it till February, 1946 to run a capital of 2,000,000 lei. It was radiated at 16th of January, 1941, re-registered at 26th of July, 1945, at the same address and subsequently radiated at 1948 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 2451/1933, ff. 1-15).

On *Madona Dudu Street*, at no. 3, it functioned with 29th of July, 1931, the shop and store with “furs” and hats (March, 1932), “Viennese Furs” belonging to **Marton Wilhelm** (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 369/1931, ff. 1-2). The owner of the store was helped in trading by his brother, Nicolae. At 25th of August, 1938, Wilhelm Marton

firm had another branch on the same Street at no. 5 where they were trading “manufacture and raw skins” and another one on Edgar Quinet (ex Copertari) at no. 1 (run since 22nd of July, 1939 by his brother Nicolae). When Wilhelm died at 10th of November, 1940, Nicolae Marton requested to register his dead brother’s firm on his name. The investigation for the 3 – 4 workers during the earthquake when also the owner died, led to the sealing of the stores. At the request of the dead owner’s wife to open the shop in order to finalise the existing orders, revealing that two weeks would be enough to complete them was let without reverb. The Labor Chamber from Craiova wouldn’t allow to be opened arguing that “there were defied both the human laws and the working-class ones by keeping the stuff at work after 4 at night the entire personnel unauthorized in advance”. At 20th of December, 1940, the stores were handed over to Mr. Craciun, the deputy of the Labor Chamber who “will administrate and manage the trading arguing in advance with papers all the proceeds and payments made up to the complete stocks run out”. The firm was radiated in 1941 by default (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 4667/1938, f. 1-3, 29).

Iacobsohn Sami was the owner of the store “Russian Furrs” on *Unirii Street* nearby Pasajului no. 57, where there were sold “luxury furs and hats” (5th of September, 1925 – 31st of January, 1941) (Mitu, 2019a: 389). The am field of activity was registered in 1931 also by **Albert London Son** firm, with the logo “At the blue hat” on the same Street at no. 68. At 4th of January, 1941 he gave up practicing clothing trading added on the way, and starting with 31 he ended every type of commercial activity. At that address installed the merchant Theodor Grigorescu with the same business (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 896/1931, ff. 1-16). At 15th of February, 1945, Albert London associated with Theodor Grigorescu set up the social firm **Landau A. Jose and Theodor Grigorescu**, with the logo “Albert Landau Son” (Mitu, 2019a: 389-390). The field of activity continued to be “hats, caps, beanies with the namely shop”. The capital invested by the two associates ciphered at 1,000,000 lei (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 745/1945, f. 1).

In the commercial space no. 35, on the same Street, at 30th of Dec. 1931, **Mihail Assael** begin his commercial activity with an “embroidery shop and pointing out items to the business”. The firm’s logo was “La Paianjen”. Four years later he associated with Mauriciu Musafia setting up **Mihail Assael & Mauriciu Musafia** (15th of December, 1935) keeping the logo. The merchandise was mostly the same: wool trading, broidery items and associated goods. The office was on the same Street at no. 31. The capital invested by the two was 80,000 lei (20,000 – Mauriciu Mustafa and 60,000 lei – Mihail Assael). The association ended its activity on 15th of August, 1938 and Mihail Assael continued to practice trading as sole administrator, at the same address. At 23rd of January, 1941 the owner was determined to request firm radiation. After a forced break of four years, at 25th of January, 1945 has been ordered re-register the firm at the same office with the rights he owned before radiation. Three months later he extended the trading practicing as haberdasher and he moved the office to Unirii on Regele Ferdinand Street, at no. 6. The capital invested was 600,000 lei. During 31st of March – 6th of September, 1947, when the firm was removed from records it functioned only the shop (Mitu, 2019a: 388).

The store with articles of military and civil haberdasher managed by **Herscovici (Herman) Arturi**, known in town as “La Dorobantu”, functioned on Justiției Street (no. 16, 22 and then 20) and Cuza Voda, at no. 8, during 1939-1940 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, FI, f. 172/1931, ff. 1-9). Being an old person, the owner gave up his business in favour of the two sons, Herman and Iancu, the firm being registered as **Herscu Herman and Herscu Iancu SINC**. It was radiated at 21st of January, 1941 and re-registered at 3rd of April, 1946, on Herman Herscu’s name and Iancu Herscu’s heirs **Herman Herscu, Arthur Herscovici, Elena Herscovici and Ana Weisman**. The social firm dissolved two months later, the commerce being continued as **Herman Herscu** aka **Herscovici** who registered his single firm (SJAN D, fond CCIC, SF, f. 666/1946, ff. 1-12).

In the interwar period, in Craiova were known the manufacture stores “La Calafeteanu”, “La Tranca frumoasa”, “La satisfacere” etc. “La Calafeteanu” the owner was **Leon H. Avram aka Albert**, was registered on *Alexandru Lahovari Street*, at no. 10. The merchandise was “manufacture and trinkets en gross and en detail” (16th of January, 1932 – 10th of January, 1941; 15th of January, 1945 – 31st of March, 1948). Alongside with re-register from 1945 the office was established in *Imparatul Traian Street*, at no. 13. At 27th of Nov. 1945, the owner replaced trading with “trinkets” with “gallantry”. The firm was radiated at 31st of March, 1948, the commerce being continued in association with Albert Eschenasy and Rafael Eschenasy, at the same address (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1839/1931, ff. 1-27). In September, 1948 he starts again the trading on his own by taking over the trading reserve fund and of the employees from Doljana Society from which he took the logo Doljana. The object of activity continues to be “manufacture and gallantry” and it develops until radiation (22nd of Nov. same year) on *Lipscani Street*, no. 63, in the building he lived in (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 5534/1948, ff. 1-4).

Iancu Albahary was the owner of the store “La taranca frumoasa” on the same Street at no. 23 (29th of October, 1931 – 23rd of January, 1941, 23rd of November 1944 – 1949). The object of activity registered at the Trade Registry was: “trading with manufacture, gallantry, cotton goods, men and women clothing” in which he invested a capital of 50,000 lei. In December, 1933, he moved the office on *Buzesti Street*, at no. 14, renouncing to commerce “with gallantry, men and women clothing”. When reregistered he chosen “trading with manufacture, gallantry, trinkets and clothing” under the same logo and the same office. In November, 1945 he gave up at all the manufacture objects and he introduced “Knitting clothing” with a capital of 100,000 lei. The firm was radiated in 1949 (SJAN D, fond CCIC, IF, f. 1550/1931, ff. 1-38).

Considering that this is the first part of the article, the list of Jewish merchants will be completed with new names and facts that have been relevant in certain time intervals.

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HISTORY OF PERSECUTION OF THE INTELLECTUAL CLASS IN KAZAKHSTAN DURING STALIN'S REPRESSION

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Abstract

The end of the 1930s was marked by a new wave of political repression, which took on a massive character. Strengthening the cult of Stalin's personality and impatience of all kinds of dissent, attempts to declare all the difficulties of the country's development as the result of the activities of "enemies of the people" led to the physical elimination of almost all influential leaders who could oppose the regime. Documents and data in this area were collected and used to conduct this study. In 1937-1938, many statesmen of Kazakhstan, as well as representatives of the intelligentsia, were accused of "national-fascism" and espionage. The number of those arrested in 1937 across Kazakhstan reached 105 thousand, of which 22 thousand were shot. The executions of the intelligentsia were called the highest measure of social protection, and the concentration camps that filled the country were places of social prevention. The works of intellectuals were confiscated and banned. These were, in fact, the crimes of totalitarianism that violated and trampled on human rights. The authors used new research data from the state archives of Kazakhstan. In addition, foreign and Kazakh research works on repression in Kazakhstan were analyzed. It was found that despite several attempts, only after the proclamation of independence by Kazakhstan, the victims of the repressions were rehabilitated, and the scientists gained access to archival data and were able to study this period. However, there are still many pressing issues related to repression that need to be explored.

Key words: *autonomy, repression, Great Terror, rehabilitation, totalitarianism*

Introduction

In 1917 as a result of the October Revolution, The Bolsheviks came to power under V.I. Lenin's leadership. At that time, there was a Civil War (1918-1920) in the country, and the leaders of the "Alash Movement" of Kazakhstan, which was a colony at that time, fought for independence. Among the national intellectual class, the

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leaders who formed the Government of “Alash Orda” were A. Bukeikhanov, A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov and others. As the forces were not equal, they were defeated and were persecuted and repressed. Repression in the Soviet Union consisted of several stages. For example, they were large-scale manifestations – collectivization and confiscation in 1928-1930, famine in 1931-1933 and repression in 1937-1938.

On December 30, 1996, the first President of independent Kazakhstan, N.A. Nazarbayev, by a special decree declared the 1997 “Year of National Accord and Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression” (<https://zakon.uchet.kz/rus/docs/U960003299>). In 1997, May 31 was declared “Day of Remembrance of Victims of Political Repression” in Kazakhstan by a special decree of President N.A. Nazarbayev.

On May 30, 2020, the current President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K.K. Tokayev instructed to revise the history of Stalinist repression: “to establish a State Commission for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Repression in the 20s and 50s of XX century” (https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/tokayev-poruchil-sozdat-goskomissiyu-reabilitatsii-jertv-403910/). Despite the fact that many scientific monographs and collections on Stalinist repressions have been published since the proclamation of Kazakhstan’s independence, there are still topics that require research on repressed individuals and regions.

Western scholars M.B. Olcott (1994), J. Boffa (2015), N. Vert (2003), and P. Conquest (2008) and well-known Russian scholars N. Inivitskii (2000), V. Zemskov (1991), V. Danilov (2000), Y. Polyakov et al. (1990) devoted their works to the repression in the Soviet Union. Kazakh scholars M.K. Kozybayev & K.S. Aldazhumanov (1997), Zh.B. Abylkhozhin et al. (1989), M.Kh. Asylbekov (2013), M.K. Koigeldiev (2009), T.O. Omarbekov (1997), and others started to publish their works on the theme of repression after the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The authors used new research data from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK) (<http://archive.president.kz/ru/>), State Archive of Zhambyl Region (SAZhR) (<https://zhambyl-archive.kz/ru/>) and the State Archive of Kostanay Region (SAKR) (<https://www.gov.kz/memleket/entities/kostanai-akparattandyru-mem-kysmet?lang=ru>) in this work. In addition, foreign and domestic research papers on repression in Kazakhstan were analyzed. Documents and data in this area were collected and used to conduct this study.

Analysis of Research on Repression in the USSR

Attempts by Western Anglo-Saxon historians to study the subject of repression in a realistic and objective way began in the 1960s. And for the people of the Soviet Union, this topic was closed until 1980-1990, which is quite understandable, since the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s. In Kazakhstan, the opportunity to study this tragic page of history appeared only in the 1990s, when the country gained its independence. Therefore, such periods of history should be studied in depth from a historiographical point of view, and based on new documentary materials.

As for the nature of repression, the concept of “political repression” in its inherent meaning means oppression, legal or economic harm, as well as the

exclusion of individuals or entire social classes and groups from public life (Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary, 1982: 117). Robert Conquest was the first who conducted a comprehensive study of the nature and scale of the Great Terror in the history of repression. He wrote a detailed study of the “Great Terror” in the 1960s and his first works on the subject sparked a debate among Anglo-Saxon historians (Conquest, 2008: 452).

During the repressions in the Soviet Union in 1937-1938, the NKVD (People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs, which was the interior ministry of the Soviet Union) arrested 1,550,000 people, 135,000 of them were convicted. Of that number, 680,000 people were sentenced to “the most severe punishment”. The rest were imprisoned for 8-10 years. French historian Nicholas Vert said: “The Great Terror was carried out in the 20-30s of XX century to clean up social divisions – “dismantling”, “intellectual class” and other groups, with a dozen major operations: punishment, arrest, and repression” (Vert, 2010: 234-236).

The Italian historian Giuseppe Boffa, in his book “History of the Soviet Union” (1994: 508-509) in two volumes, wrote about the repression: “During the “Terror time” that began in 1937, NKVD officers arrested many people and filled prisons in a few months. No one in society felt safe. The blows were inflicted not only on former opposition groups, but also on party workers. Terror was also carried out in the national republics. He shot leading figures in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and other countries” (Boffa, 1994: 508-509). The author personally collected materials when he visited the Soviet Union in the 1950s. And later he used these materials in writing works on the topic of repression. It is obvious that the author’s study of the history of repression on a global scale, his assessment of the phenomena and patterns of society is a fundamental work.

Russian historian M.G. Stepanov in his work “Political Repressions in the USSR during the Stalinist Dictatorship (1928-1953)” noted that one of the directions of methodological research in the study of the history of repression is historiography: “This topic has been studied a lot. However, historiographical research on repression has not been fully implemented. Therefore, it is important to study the research of the authors through analysis” (Stepanov, 2009: 145). Therefore, it is necessary to analyze, review and compare the research of scientists of the world on this topic with the theory and methodology in comparison with the data.

Kazakhstan historian, Professor M.K. Koigeldiev in his study of the socio-political history of the intellectual class noted: “Materials in the study of the history of repression in the 20-30s of XX century are not available yet. This is due to the fact that the Communist Party once banned the subject and distorted the methodology of history with strict censorship. Many data of the former NKVD archives (now the National Security Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan) are not fully disclosed yet. I was one of the few historians of the republic who worked with this archive” (Koigeldiev, 2009: 13-14).

Preconditions for the Beginning of Repressions in Kazakhstan

At the beginning of the XX century, after the October Revolution and the Civil War in the USSR, the Soviet proletariat came to power. As a result, collectivization,

confiscation, famine and repression took place in the 20-30s of XX century. To look at these events in the context of time and space, it is necessary to connect them with the scale of the history of the USSR (Dodonova et al., 2019: 155).

Due to the strengthening of the totalitarian regime, the former national liberation groups and political parties were repressed. The first to oppose the Soviet system and enter the stage of history were the Alash Party and the Alash Horde Government formed in Kazakhstan. However, the Soviet Government did not allow to fully implement the creation of the Kazakh national autonomous state (Kozybayev & Aldazhumanov, 1997: 3-4). Repressive measures in the 20s and 30s of XX century included deportation within the region and beyond, restriction of political rights, confiscation of property, and various terms of imprisonment and the maximum penalty.

On February 6, 1922, All-Union Emergency Commission was reorganized into the GPU (State Political Administration), which was included in the NKVD, the Revolutionary Tribunals were abolished, and the GPU itself became an investigative body. Consideration of cases and sentencing was within the competence of judicial institutions. The GPU was the state's most vigilant institution of political control and repression. And this reorganization legitimized the issue of resolving conflicts between the state and society by giving permanent status to terrorism. In addition, after Lenin's letter to F. Dzerzhinsky on May 19, 1922, "active counter-revolutionary elements among professors, doctors, agronomists, writers" were deported massively to the Northern provinces of Russia or abroad by a GPU decree. By the end of the 1920s, the VKP(b) (All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks)) was ideologically united (monolithic), freed from internal party divisions, and dominated the international communist movement due to the absence of a separate opposition from the party. The availability of such a real opportunity has led to the transition to strict administrative-command methods in all spheres of public life (Aleksandrova et al., 2020: 130-131).

From the point of view of state-building, an effective centralized apparatus was created and the penitentiary system was strengthened. The GPU was renamed the OGPU (Joint State Political Administration) by the USSR Central Executive Committee on November 2, 1923, and the NKVD was renamed Main State Security Administration by a resolution of the USSR Central Executive Committee on July 10, 1934. Due to the easing of tensions between the Soviet government and society from 1923 to 1927, the bodies, which were reduced for the first and last time in the period up to 1953, in 1925, consisted of 26,000 civil servants and 63,000 soldiers. If we add to this the 30,000 spies who served in this body, we see that the Soviet secret police had not been harmed, and that it had not lost its position in defending the country from internal threats (Courtois et al., 1999: 145). Accordingly, on March 28, 1922, the Turkestan branch of the GPU was established in the territory of the Republic of Turkestan, and the regional branches of the GPU were established in the regions (Polyakova & Balanyuk, 2018: 838-840).

By the decree of November 2, 1923, the OGPU under the USSR Council of People's Commissars was established in the union and autonomous republics and consisted of political departments under the executive committee of local councils.

The powers delegated to this body and allowed them to implement many excessive decisions without feeling any responsibility (SAZhR. Fund-10, Series-1, File-113). Political repression was mainly carried out through the law on counter-revolutionary crimes. The Bolsheviks sought to involve in the penitentiary system, mainly those of European descent who had fought in the civil war, and who were also influenced by the “Leninist call” of VKP(b) members and candidates for membership (SAZhR. Fund-10, Series-1, File-113).

The Communist Party never stopped working to strengthen its support in the local penitentiary system. In Kazakhstan, the initiator of this policy was F.I. Goloshchekin, who in 1925 was appointed the first Secretary of the Kazakh Territorial Committee. In this case, he relies on the future head of the NKVD of the USSR N. Ezhov, who was the first head of the organizational department of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) for three years, then the regional and then the local committee. As a result, many prominent figures (S. Aspandiyarov, M. Myrzagaliyev, S. Saduakasov, and etc.) were branded “separatists” and “nationalists” and persecuted outside the country.

As a result of administrative and territorial reforms, after the reunification of Kazakh lands with the Kazakh SSR, the NKVD of the Kazakh SSR was established by the resolution of the USSR Council of People’s Commissars of June 5, 1927 № 33. After the second formation in 1929-1930, in January 1937 by the order of the NKVD of the USSR No 003 the NKVD of the Kazakh SSR was reorganized (Narikbayev et al., 2004: 499).

Decrees That Started the Great Terror in the Kazakhstan

The French historian Nicolas Vert, in his book “The History of the Soviet Union” (2003), deals with the history of repression in the Soviet Union: “On January 23, 1937, the Second Moscow Process began. It accused 17 people of being members of the Trotskyist-Zinovievist Center. The charges were aimed at overthrowing the Soviet government. Then, before the Third Moscow Process in March 1938, dozens and hundreds of agricultural and party workers were arrested” (Vert, 2003: 242-243). Thus, he justifiably noted the repressive nature of the USSR political regime.

The merger of the OGPU and the NKVD increased the prestige and importance of the NKVD in the political regime, and now they had the full right to search for the “enemy” and carry out the sentence. In this way, the identified or hidden enemies became politically marked – “nationalist”, “alashordash”, “Trotskyist-Zinovievist”. Later, “enemies” were joined by “fascists”, “spies”, “spies and saboteurs”, as well as “rebels”. At the same time, methods of depriving the lives of “calm elements”, “open mouths” and rotten liberals were identified (AP RK. Fund-141, Series-1, File-1599).

Subsequent expansion of the circle of “enemies” was due to the influence of domestic and foreign political factors, and throughout 1937 became “Trotskyists and other hypocrites”, “Trotskyist-Zinoviev fascist bandits”, “White Guards”. The VII Plenum of the Territorial Committee of the VKP(b) in the South Kazakhstan region noted that “in a number of organizations (Kyzylorda region, Shayan and Kazaly

districts of South Kazakhstan region) there is no weakening of the fight against Kazakh nationalism and its proponents” (AP RK. Fund-141, Series-1, File-1599).

The decision of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) of July 2, 1937, and the subsequent order No. 00447, signed by the head of NKVD N. Ezhov, signaled the beginning of mass and large-scale punishment, thereby repressing 268,950 people. 75,950 were sentenced to death by firing squad. These figures were “distributed” by region of the USSR, respectively, and, as expected, were followed by “support for the plan” (“counter-plan”) of the local population. Thus, on November 19, 1937, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (b) decided to increase the number of repressed anti-Soviet elements. Repressed people were divided into two categories. The first, according to the authorities, included anti-Soviet elements with a “most hostile” outlook and was punishable by death.

By the decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee, the “approved plan” of the first category in the country was set at 2,000 people, which exceeded the “norm” of 1,925 people previously set by the Center. An “additional reserve” of 275 and 350 people, respectively, has been provided. For example, in the South Kazakhstan region, the number of 150 people in the first category remained unchanged, and the number of people in the second category was reduced by one hundred from the “plan” to 300 people (AP RK. Fund-708, Series-1, File-53). Subsequently, the number of victims of repression in the country exceeded 600 people in the first category and 1,000 people in the second category (Degitaeva, 1998: 252; Natolochnaya et al., 2020: 474).

The right to directly apply repressive measures was transferred to a number of judicial and extrajudicial bodies. Thus, the Mobile Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR considered the cases of the largest party and Soviet workers in the South Kazakhstan region. The fact that the vast majority of the verdicts in the decisions of the mobile board were the maximum penalty, on the one hand, aimed at the elimination of part of the party-Soviet elite in the region, on the other hand, threatened the rest and warned the Center to avoid any opposition. Attempts to oppose the Stalinist group of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) were strictly prohibited.

The content of the decisions of the regional court was similar, on the basis of Article 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, various punishments were imposed, ranging from imprisonment to the death penalty. According to the decision of the regional court, the composition of the convicts varied according to their social status, including party and economic workers of different levels, ordinary party members and ordinary citizens.

As a non-judicial body, the “three parts” included the first secretary of the regional committee of the party, the regional prosecutor and the head of the regional department of the NKVD. The unlimited powers of the “three” in extrajudicial sentencing and consideration of cases of various social groups of the population, in turn, could not guarantee the personal safety of their members. Thus, by the verdict of the Mobile Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR, the secretaries of the South Kazakhstan Communist Party (b) A.Y. Dossov and B. Mankin, Secretary of the Kyzylorda Communist Party (b) K.A. Amirov were repressed (Kalabayeva, 2003: 163). In total, 15 out of 24 members of the “three parts” in the country were repressed.

However, in a short period of time, the “three parts” had already issued the vast majority of repressive sentences. Socio-psychological preparation for the use of large-scale repressive measures was well thought out in advance.

In a closed letter of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) of July 29, 1936, it was strongly demanded to eliminate the shortcomings “in the issue of vigilance and the ability to recognize the enemy”. The Bureau of the Kazakh Territorial Committee, which convened on August 5, 1936, called on its party organizations, and especially its leading cadres, to be especially vigilant and to recognize the enemy, “whether he pretended to be a good worker or tried to present himself as an active and loyal party member” thus obliged not to make mistakes (AP RK. Fund -141, Series-11, File-1592).

Mass Repressions Against the Kazakh Intellectual Class

The first “rock” thrown by the center was the story of “43 counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Zinovievists and their accomplices, who were exposed and subsequently expelled from the party due to increased vigilance” (AP RK. Fund-141, Series-11, File-1592). Of the more than 100,000 members of the Republican Party organization, it was possible that there were even more sympathizers (supporters) of this movement. However, it is not clear whether the convicts actually belonged to these groups.

At the same time, “In the South Kazakhstan region in Shymkent, nationalists Almukhamedov and Daurbayev held a meeting in their apartments, recruited other communists and carried out counter-revolutionary, nationalist and Trotskyist propaganda. In the Mirzoyan beet state farm, the Trotskyist V. Nesterov formed a Trotskyist-Alashorda group, which included nationalists, Kazybayev and Tulenov; a nationalist expelled from the party in Maktaaral district Ashirov, expressed thier displeasure with the shooting of Trotskyist-Zinovievists and expressed terrorist intentions against party leaders” (AP RK. Fund-141, Series-1, File-1599).

Repressions against the first leaders of the region, as expected, continued to be applied to lower-level personnel. The life of the head of the department of the ruling party P.T. Bidulya and his successor A.T. Zholdybayev were too short. The former served only 1.5 years, was sentenced to 25 years in prison by a special panel of the South Kazakhstan court and died before the end of his term (Degitaeva, 1998: 282).

The head of the regional land department A. Eralin (arrested on 30.10.37), the head of the agricultural department of the regional committee A.R. Grushitsyn, the head of the regional department of public education of the South Kazakhstan region E. Abdylakhatov, the editor of the newspaper “South Kazakhstan” R. Zhamankulov and others (Degitaeva, 1998: 274). During the repressions in Kazakhstan in 1928, 44 members of the intellectual class were falsely accused of being “nationalist bourgeois groups” – former members of the “Alash Orda” – A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov, M. Zhumabayev, Zh. Aimautov, H. Gabbasov and others were arrested. Among them Zh. Aimautov, H. Gabbasov, A. Baidildin, D. Adilov, G. Birimzhanov were shot. The others were convicted and imprisoned. Some of them (M. Dulatov and others) died in the camp. The convicts were accused of repression in 1937 as members of the “Alash Orda” in the former Kazakhstan, and were shot in 1937-1938.

Another group of national intellectual class (about 40 people) as members of the “Alash Orda” M. Tynyshbayev, H. Dosmukhamedov, Zh. Dosmukhamedov, Zh. Akbayev and others were arrested in September-October 1930. Later 15 of them (M. Tynyshbayev, H. Dosmukhamedov, K. Kemengerov, Zh. Kuderin, K. Toktabayev and others) were deported to the Black Earth regions of Russia. Representatives of the intellectual class were also shot in 1937-1938.

In order to carry out repressions in Kazakhstan, I.V. Stalin's brother-in-law S.F. Redens, the head of the NKVD, was specially sent. At the time of the sentencing of members of the intellectual class, in 1937-1938, only one person from Moscow, USSR divisional military lawyer A.D. Goryachev was released. Each person was given only 10-15 minutes to be accused of being an “enemy of the people” and sentenced to be shot. That is, it is clear that the politics of totalitarianism, which so easily decides the fate of man, is a crime. F.I. Goloshchekin carried out persecution and repression. Opponents of Alash Orda and the Kazakh intellectual class in power in Soviet Kazakhstan were also killed. For example, those who served in the Soviet Government – S. Seifullin, T. Ryskulov, N. Nurmakov, S. Kozhanov, S. Asfendiyarov and others were persecuted as “enemies of the people” (History of Kazakhstan, 2010: 418).

Stalin's repression also banned the enlightenment works of the Kazakh intelligentsia and prevented their use. For example, it searched libraries, centers, and the homes of individual authors and ordered their destruction. During the repression in the Kostanay region of Kazakhstan, NKVD Lieutenant Tyurin reported the arrest of Bakytzhan Baidakov on October 25, 1937, and his membership in a “nationalist” fascist organization accused of being an anti-Soviet element aimed at organizing. Following the decision, the sentence was imposed under Article 2.7, paragraph 2.7 of the Criminal Code of the USSR (SAKR. Fund-125, Series-5, File-14).

Let's pay attention to the information of NKVD officers during the repression in Kostanay region. From January 1, 1937 to January 1, 1938, 116 cases were considered there. 122 people were sentenced in the region, including 45 people to the most severe punishment, the rest to 5-10 years in camps (SAKR. Fund-212, Series-66, File-2). From this we see from the archival data and the works that have been turned into a discussion that the scale of repression in the USSR was huge.

Unfortunately, several decades passed before the processes of rehabilitation of victims of repression began. In Moscow in 1956 at the XX Congress the process of “accusation of Stalin's cult of personality” began. In connection with the acquittal of the victims of this repression, during the Soviet period, during the “Khrushchev Ottepel” in 1957 and in the 1990s, when Kazakhstan gained independence, there was a process of “rehabilitation of victims of political repression”. Consideration of such cases in Kazakhstan began in 1957. At that time, the work of the commission on “justification of the intellectual class” was carried out by the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR, where Zh.A. Tashenov took an active part. However, the victims of repression were not fully rehabilitated.

For the second time in 1989, the Kazakh leader of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Uzbekali Zhanibekov, made a bold demand to consider this issue. The commission was established in 1991, chairman of the Commission was Zh.M.

Abdildin. It included sociologists, historians and lawyers. The discussion lasted a long time. As a result, those who were the members of the Kazakh intellectual class in the 20-30s of XX century were “rehabilitated as victims of political repression”.

In the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1997 by the President N.A. Nazarbayev’s decree, it was declared the “Year of National Accord and Remembrance of Victims of Political Repressions”. This document was of great historical significance. This is because representatives of different nationalities were deported to the republic during the Soviet Union, and Kazakh intellectuals were repressed. Therefore, it was necessary to pay attention to the tragic pages of such a history, to write research about it and correctly explain it to the people (AP RK. Fund-5-H. Series-1, File-7888).

Conclusions

I.V. Stalin’s repression covered the period from 1928 to 1953. A totalitarian regime was established in the society and all life was under control. When comparing archival data and scientific literature, we see that the scale of repression in the USSR and its consequences were very large. Opponents of the Soviet government were punished. In Moscow in 1956 at the XX Congress the process of “accusation of Stalin’s cult of personality” began. During the “Khrushchev Ottepel” in 1957, the acquittal of the victims of repression in the Soviet period began. In general, several attempts were made to rehabilitate the victims of repression in the Kazakh SSR, but only after gaining independence, this topic ceased to be forbidden for study and discussion.

As shown in the work, this period in the history of the country is associated with many human losses. During the “collectivization” of 1928-1930 and the “famine” of 1931-1933, which took on a repressive character, Kazakhstan lost 2 million of its population. Then the “repression” of 1937-1938 inflicted heavy losses on the intellectual class of Kazakhstan, as thousands of people were shot and imprisoned. It was found that about the fourth part of all convicted people were members of the intellectual class. Stalin’s repression banned the enlightenment works of the Kazakh intelligentsia and prevented their use. Libraries, centers, and the homes of individual authors were searched, and their works were destructed. But after the declaration of independence by Kazakhstan, the people have republished the works of intellectuals who fought for their independence and freedom, and began to introduce them to the world community. Their moral deeds and role in the education of the younger generation of the state in the direction of patriotism were propagandized.

Last decades many research historical works on the Stalinist repression have been published. Since these people have played an important role in the history of the country, it is necessary to further rehabilitate the victims of repression and write about them. Also, museums dedicated to the history of political repression were opened in Shymkent (2001) and Almaty (2003) and in the Karaganda region – KARLAG (2001), Akmola region – ALGIR (2007). A big part of research work is carried out there.

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THE STATE – IN INTERPRETATION OF JOSE ORTEGA Y GASSET

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Abstract

The manuscript explores the historical conditionality of the state – its essence and primary features in the doctrine of J. Ortega y Gasset. In his interpretation, the state is a metaphysical phenomenon, an imaginary potency that requires the creation of a new socio-political reality. This idea is embodied due to the regulatory violence, consensus between the lifestyle of a mature nation, its freedom and the creative inspiration of the elite. The state is an integrating force that constrains the hierarchical order of values and balances spiritual movements with material stability. In turn, a nation-state is a metaphysical tension and unity of the past and the future, the tradition and a new consolidating idea, a fusion of democratic institutions and the subconscious calling of blood, earth, and a language of a mature nation. The democratic nature of the nation-state is its obligatory advantage – it provides an individual with ground and values to harmoniously withstand collective oppression. The nation-state is not possible without a high level of social elasticity, without a tight consolidation of elites with social strata, without democratic principles of cooperation.

Key words: *violence, nation, elite, social elasticity, theory of raciovitalizm*

Introduction

According to a number of well-known scientists (Toffler, 1996: 78; Negri, 2007: 54; Robertson, 1992: 21, and others) modern state has reached the critical status that will result in its “political mortality”. The author is sure that notwithstanding the existence of social and economic threatens, which should include multicultural challenges and radical individualism, etc., the state is far from exhausting of its historical potential. The basic factor of the crisis of the modern state is hidden in its vulgar-positivist interpretations, undervaluation of its ability to evolve into another more perfect form (Kildare Magalhães et al., 2018: 59-62). It's required to reveal the metaphysical and social and historical background for the occurrence and patterns of transformation of the state in order to correct this tendency. The European philosophical tradition is acquainted with a lot of national concepts, each of which brings its own standpoint regarding this phenomenon. One of the original

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interpretations of the state is a doctrine developed by J. Ortega y Gasset, up-to-dateness of research of which is reached due to the experience of the philosopher himself – the painful experience of post-imperial syndrome, fascist-barbarous invasion, civil war, immaturity of elites and the establishment of an authoritarian regime in his homeland. Without a doubt the historical realities have found a response in creativity of the resident of Madrid – in his search for a reason of the European crisis of the early twentieth century and ways of its overcoming. It is the interpretation of the state moved by J. Ortega y Gasset that is important for the post-Soviet communities, which are still in a search, for consolidating all strata of the population, principles and types of the state (Buzuk, 2017: 146-147; Miethlich & Oldenburg, 2019: 7146).

Developing the theory of raciovitalizm J. Ortega y Gasset (1997b: 88) examines the state starting from determination of the substance of an individual and society, its mutually dependent existence, which unique principles form original folk cultures that are combined in civilization. In the process of uncovering of the human nature the thinker proceeds from the expression of N. Kuzanskiy (1970: 84), that a person is “a free entity, a creator, similar to God, in other words, is a substance, that creates its own essence”. This optimistic and renaissance indication points at the imperative idea – a person must determine own destiny, assert itself as an individual opportunity and realize this target through creative relationship with the world (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c).

According to Ortega's ideal, potentially free and intelligent person must become well-known (*nobilis*) – celebrated in its career, a person which has sent a message about itself to other nations, the one who has managed to surpass an innominate mass and rise above the darkness of time. Through generosity – “intensive life with constant striving to outdo themselves, to tear away from the old achievements to the scheduled duties and requirements” (Ortega y Gasset, 1987: 115). Masses act as an opponency to the *nobilis*. Its basic peculiarity is satisfaction with itself as it is. Its representative feels himself as perfect, complete ego – it is a child spoiled by own wishes which has surrendered to enjoyment with its sensations and is not able to give itself a justified evaluation. A person out of mass is stripped of life program – masses live through feelings and float on a surface of impressions (Ortega y Gasset, 1987: 118-120). Volition conceptualization of *nobilis* counterbalances and inspires masses to cultural and harmonized system (Bekmansurov et al., 2019: 16).

According to the resident of Madrid, a healthy society has a hierarchical nature, where aristocracy dominates – it offers society the ideal perceptions, patterns. If a society loses its aristocratic nature, ruins the presence of aristocracy, the ability to generate ideas, gets rid of hierarchical relationship and values, then it falls into a state of barbarism (Iovenko, 2017: 88-91). There are no principles and standards, on which an individual would rely, no opportunity to appeal in the barbaric state (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 65). Thus, the aristocratic nature preserves healthy signs and multiplies cultural heritage. Owing to these peculiarities in its nature the human society acts as the instrument of improvement since the imposed standards of *nobilis* stipulate successful coexistence of all social strata. Thus, the purpose of the article is to reveal the historical dependence of the state – its essence and reference points in the doctrine elaborated by J. Ortega y Gasset.

Analysis of the Theory of J. Ortega y Gasset

Initial fact to Ortega is that individual life necessarily depends on the historical genesis of the community. A person “is unable to navigate in the Universe, except perhaps just through the race, to which it belongs, since it dissolves like a drop of water in the itinerant cloud” (Ortega y Gasset, 2012: 127). Collective genesis is denoted by the philosopher as the imperative existence of a person in the united body of the nation. The nation is an approved style of life, which “involves certain simple and differentiated metamorphosis that organizes a matter around itself” (Ortega y Gasset, 2012: 132). A nation “fails to choose between different styles of life: it either lives according to its own one or does not live” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 79). If there is a solidarity of strata in a nation a community positively determines the dominant type of a person, style of life, joint life procedure (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 91). It is a symbiosis of individual latitudes and collective program that forms the existing social world that presents substantive possibility of a human life. Thus, a nation constitutes a unique culture that forms certain convictions – ideas and values. They are combined in the concept – a strategic plan for the natural items use, the surrounding world arrangement. The concepts overcome the chaos of life, form a magic drape owing to which a person “looks at the life’s eyes” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 95).

In case a nation loses its solidarity, rejects traditional perceptions, then this nation tends to slide back into a state of barbarism. Thus, any nation, in the representation of Ortega, is constantly in a state of fragile balance between creative blooming conditions and a crisis – the state of stagnation or stability is an evidence of the barbarism approach, since this state does not provide new perceptions, but only uses the old ones. In order the masses would not forward a society to crisis, people established the right to use violence – a means “to which the one falls back on who is the first at the end of other resources while defending righteousness and justice, which, they say, are in its favor” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 66).

It is opinion of the author of the “Mass Revolt” violence is a cultural phenomenon. This is a righteousness that has been brought to the madness state where the forwarded force, simultaneously, is the last and first argument (Latin ultima ratio and prima ratio). Every nation in its historical development course resorts to violence both externally and internally (Petrovsky & Shmelev, 2019: 408-411). However, only that nation can be named a civilization, which has reached the level of the power limitation ultima ratio. Only that nation becomes civilized, which has confirmed the perceptions of procedure, standards, mediocre customs, justice, citizenship in its style of life, and concentrated notional concepts in a joint, equal for everyone entire community life space. And vice versa, if a nation has left violence in community as a prima ratio, then this is that very canon that crosses out any canon – it forms the barbaric lifestyle (Khadzhyradieva et al., 2019: 95).

According to Ortega’s concept, violence has a progressive and historical significance – “there would be nothing of everything we most appreciate in the past without it, and if it is removed from the future, it’s hard to imagine what kind of disarrangement will dominate in the world” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 123). However, progressive violence – as a great political surgery – must be implemented with a creative imagination. It is this principle that distinguishes historical pseudo-union of

Genghis Khan, Timur, Ivan the Terrible from the great civilizations of Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon. Violence for the latter not only concludes an idea but executes a community objective as well. The original idea of a community is formed to turn into reality a dominating general idea, and violence carries out an internal and external integration function – it engages other communities to join. The resident of Madrid confirms his thesis through the Roman history when other nations were inoculated to the Latin tree as a result of invading campaigns. To his mind, the Romans united for the first time with a definite purpose – to conquest other nations and new territories. It served as an example for other nations. And the conquered nations, who, although were forcefully taken in to the empire, recognized themselves as collaborators of the conquerors – they got connected with a great idea. That's why the conquered nations considered that a new challenge faced them – their goal found expression in the principle not to live in a pile, but to be in a pile and to produce something jointly (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 37-43).

The Latins extended the idea of the “Great City”, formed a superpower owing to violence, conquests and alliances with conquered nations. Their state of domination is assessed by the resident of Madrid as a positive civilization phenomenon, as the volitional obtrusion of perfect new order patterns, forwarding of historically mature people to the civilization goal of “young nations” – nations without their own ideas. The thinker notes that domination means “to provide nations with employment, put them in their place, in their destination; to put an end to their chimeras that lead to idleness, senseless life and despair” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994a: 125). Therefore, the violence charged with the idea of a mature nation, represent a civilization movement to a new stage in the perfection of everybody who is engaged in the sphere of conceptual order – this is the ideal program of life in the city-state in the Roman example.

The considerations of the resident of Madrid reveal the essence of the state. The right to resort to force that is combined with the conceptual order reflects one of its features and the original reason for the emergence. The process of state establishment and the right to violence is legitimized by the customs, the culture of the dominating nation, and the exemplary idea arises and introduces it through hierarchical school nobilis. Owing to violence, society “establishes for itself a state as a tool for a better life” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 127-129). Thus, the positive state arises owing to the synthesis of violence, perfect perception, distribution of a national style of life, custom of a dominating nation and the will of the “best representatives”.

The nobilis declaration of will, from a historical point of view, is a progressive form of government – it obtains a “sacred” nature since it is based on religious perceptions. They are constantly the first form on the basis of which there appears something that later turns into a spirit, an idea, a thought; in a word, immaterial and metaphysical (Ortega y Gasset, 1994a: 54-55). On the other hand, history knows the states that are established without ideal patterns, are penetrated by violence as the first and the only argument. These are barbaric states, the union of “young nations” which do not possess its own commandments, and therefore are “camouflaged” behind alien ideas – they do not go beyond endurance of the natural and vegetative rhythm of life and depend on the call of a blood. No social life is provided in their cities.

A perception regarding order acts in the doctrine of Ortega as a separate component of nation-building. He reveals this concept through the example of a phenomenon of the city-state, which is a political epicenter of European civilization. City-state is a specific embodiment of the ideal, dynamic competition of tribes, elites and nations. These are the established forms of cohabitation that arise in antiquity – the history that, starting with Alexander the Great and Caesar, “consists in an endless fight between two spaces: between a rational city and a vegetative field, between a legislator and a cereal farmer, between *ius* and *rus* (city laws and peasants habits)” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 96). A city-state is a result of the historical process of the association of small tribal communities, seeking to establish a new reality – to get liberation from nature, to withdraw from the intimate rhythms of cohabitation – to create a style of life – with division of a nation not on men and women, but on equal citizens. The state appears only “when a certain nation rejects the traditional structure of one form of cohabitation and elaborates another one, hitherto unknown. That’s why it is a real creativity. Therefore, the state at the beginning is always the fruit of free imagination. People can create the state only to the best of its own imagination” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 163-164).

The thinker placed greater focus on the fact that originally the city-state arose as a political and civil area. This field is designed for exercising public functions. The forum or Agora became a strategic point of life, on which the procedure for confirming the agreement of citizens of a city to live jointly was constantly carried out – synoecism (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 115). It was owing to the concordance in city-states that a power was created, which, in turn, was the application of authority. In turn the authority, both now and always, is supported by a public opinion. This thesis acts as an axiom for any time and sort of political regime for the resident of Madrid. Nobody ever, he states, “reigned on earth, finding support to his power essentially on something different than public opinion”. Thanks to the public opinion the ruling establishment can use power, because “notwithstanding naive and melodramatic views, domination is not a consequence of a fist but rather of a rank. In short, a state constitutes holding of opinion, maintenance of balance, statics” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 126).

Internal equilibrium of the state can be achieved by a government both through violence and authority. The latter is a spiritual power, an advantage of a certain point of view in community, which is supported by a dynamic internal and external sharing of ideas and actions between governors, the best representatives and the masses. Nevertheless, the reached statics of a state with internal powers of a community and external levers exists as a provision for execution of a state’s constitutive objectives – to carry out a program of cooperation to achieve a visionary ideal. In this context, the state must always encourage people to do something collectively – something that is a commonwealth, which is not limited by any material boundaries. The goal of the state, according to the author of the “Mass Revolt” opinion, determines its next feature – it is “not an item, but a movement”. It constantly “comes from somewhere and goes away somewhere”. Like any movement, it has the term “*a quo* and *terminus ad quem*” (Lat. – beginning and finish). Should one dissect at any moment a life of the state, which in fact is the state, then one will reveal the unity of cohabitation, exteriorly

established on peculiar physical signs: blood, language, “natural borders”. The static school considers it to be an essence of the state. However, we soon reveal that this human group is concerned not only with the domestic affairs: it conquers other nations, plants colonies, becomes federalized with other states, that is – constantly triumphs over the things which, supposedly, constitute the material ground of its integrity. It is – the term “ad quem” (Lat. – final destination), this is what is called the state in its proper sense, which integrity consists in overcoming of all this integrity. When this striving to further goal cools down, a state automatically decays, and this integrity, supposedly based on a material ground – race, language, natural boundaries – becomes useless: the state breaks up (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 145-159).

Thus, according to the doctrine of Ortega, a state is a predetermined metaphysical sense that is embodied in the political reality, and not until later that – a statically-physical subject. Since its essence lies in constant determination to the goal – the perfect images. It presents a free motion, dynamics of peaks and valleys. The state is emblematic of freedom which is “justified only as a transition from the imperfect order to more perfect order... It is necessary to move further, to “nouveau regime” establishment (Fr. – new regime) – a new order, a new social structure, a new hierarchy” (Ortega y Gasset, 1991: 21). The state manifests itself in the intensity of the spirit of the “best representatives”, in the free spirit of its creators, and is therefore an invitation, the collaborative fate of coalitions which “jointly execute some sort of undertakings. These undertakings, regardless to its milestones, consist... in the creation of the determined kind of social life. The state, on the one hand, and the project of life, the program of social action, on the other hand, constitute an inseparable integrity” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 114-116).

However, physical status of the state tends to hierarchical obduracy, maturity of freedom, which is a symptom of crisis. The state of decay of the country has its roots in the pursuit of the ruling class, the bureaucracy to state-build the society – to convert it into something secondary, destroy spiritual spontaneity, to master the creative search for perfect perceptions, reduce the political risks and social competitions. Mastering of a society by a state takes place owing to the spread of technology. Obsession with stagnation has adherents among the masses which are attracted with the vulgar-frozen mode of life (Omelchuk et al., 2020: 952-955).

The society state-building has historical roots. For the first time the state enters the crisis phase owing to the failure of the Roman ruling class to accept the new idea – Caesar’s project. Owing to this, in the times of Antonins (II cent.) “the state through deathlike dominance prevail over the society. The society falls into slavery and is no longer able to live except in the service of the state. All spheres of life become bureaucratized... Bureaucratization of life leads to its decay, and it takes place in all areas... Then the state proceeds to implement the human life bureaucratization in order to meet its own needs. The second-degree bureaucratization is expressed in militarization of the society” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 178-179).

Thus, owing to rejection of the supremacy of concepts, spiritual dynamics the society becomes governmentalized and it stiffens in a stable status. In this condition, the state is not committed to the ideal sophistication and has a goal in itself. The state perception has frozen in a mechanical image – from the spiritual perception it turns

into a dead-like technique. That's why the state is no longer an instrument for the implementation of the general welfare, but vice versa – the society must live for the state. In the extreme case, to consolidate its superficial position over the society, the state is in need for service of strangers who “muster the state, and the rest of the society must live as their slaves – slaves of the people with whom they have nothing in common. Here are the consequences of the state intervention: the people turn into meat eaten by the state machine” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 118). The state is perceived as the reason for itself.

The most progressive form of a modern state, which has embodied the highest desire of coexistence of different communities, according to Ortega's mind, is a liberal democracy. This regime permits to take into account tolerantly the desire of many other people to participate in the process of making decisions relating to political issues (Cat, 2018: 28-31). Liberalism, as the thinker notices, “is the ground of political legislation, according to which the state power, despite its almightiness, limits itself and attempts, even at its own expense, to leave a space in the country, which is governed by it, so that the people whose opinion and feelings differ from what the strongest people, the majority of people think and feel, could live there” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 128).

The Concept of a Nation and its Signs According to Ortega y Gasset

The era of modern gave rise to the national state. Exploring the nation-state Ortega makes the definition of the original concept – the nation. Firstly, this concept is not subject to precise definition. And secondly, the nation “is a well-organized human mass, regulated by a minority of selected individuals” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 36). At the same time the resident of Madrid formulates the principles of its origin, maintaining that the common past is the starting point of the nation. Being the adherent of the constructivist approach to the nation building, he underlines that prior to creating a common past, peoples had to dream of the nation, “to strive for it, to design it. It's enough that a nation design itself in order to begin its own existence” (Ortega y Gasset, 2012: 111-112). Thus, the nation building is surpassed by an imagine project, a national myth which temper the consciousness and encourage a community to create “really good things” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b). The national myth and the concept compose original beliefs and convictions of the community, establishing its scheme of life. They form the determinative factor for the history change (Ortega y Gasset, 1997c: 68).

By beginning of the identity of the national myths, unique scheme of life of the European Nations, Ortega identifies the era of the Early Middle Ages (Ortega y Gasset, 1997a), the era of traditionalism where nations are being built and only then obtain full strength (Ortega y Gasset, 1994a). In this era elites provided the nations with new beliefs, principles of consolidation, which later formed the basis for the nation-building. Thus, nation-building and development directly depend on perfect imagination of its creators. The established state is the result of human creation that historically is invented by the community. It is supported by certain virtues and prerequisites that yesterday were popular among people, but tomorrow can disappear without a trace like a smoke (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 79).

The age is the next sign of the nation. By this notion Ortega means not so much the biological state of the body, as the scheduled image of the nation life (Ortega y Gasset, 1997a: 49). Nations have different age period – in its genesis not every nation succeeds to reach the status of perfection. Therefore, nations can be divided into mature and underage ones. The first one's act as the authors of creative perceptions and the world history. The latter huff and puff and imitate the greatness of concepts, turn upside down the achievements of the first ones and give birth to the lowest types of “nationalisms”. In its essence the underage nations are at the prehistoric stage and are presented with the nation-mass which approves for itself the highest value – festive simple-mindedness and the right not to recognize other challenging imperatives and representations that are burdensome for its thinking (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 159). At the same time the thinker marks that a nation is never “ready”. It constantly is in the state of growth or decay. There is no middle ground. The nation either gains supporters, or loses them depending on whether or not its state currently has a task for living (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 162). The same peculiarity is characteristic for the national state as well.

The key sign of the nation in Ortega's opinion is Renan's thesis that the nation represents a “daily plebiscite”. The resident of Madrid means a permanent civil confirmation of cultural and political unity of the nation at the stage of nation-state building, infinite renewal of itself as a nation. This is the true life of the nation, which owing to involvement of the majority of individuals ensures its integrity and requires considerable stimulating activity and “social elasticity” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 162). Moreover, the “daily plebiscite” performs a decisive integration feature. Because “... neither blood nor the language build the national state; it is rather the very nation state itself aligns the initial difference between the red cells of blood and articulated sounds... Very rare, if not to say never, the state emerged from the previous integrity of blood and language... Every linguistic unity, covering a wider territory, almost always is the product of previous political associations” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 117). Thus, the philosopher considers the “state-nation” the historical formation of a plebiscite nature – the process of individual detection permits to reveal the inner essence of the nation: the project of building a free cohabitation by joint efforts, dedication of everybody to the nation's project (Aleksandrova et al., 2020: 129-131).

As for the “natural boundaries” of the nation-state development, according to the thinker, this notion is not sufficiently outlined. It is a relative subject, the concept which bears the sign of geographical mysticism. Because the aspiration to complete the dynamics of development of the nation and to fix metaphysically it in a specific territory is hidden behind this. For example, the historical experience of France and Spain indicates that these states have not definitively determined the “natural boundary” and started their expansion from small territories, which one period grow, another – narrow. In a historical sense, the boundaries often hindered expansion of the nation. Its spread depends on contemporary economic and military capabilities (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 161). Prior to this, “the boundaries served to consolidate the state association which had been already reached. So, they didn't act as the beginning of the nation; on the contrary, at first, they constituted an obstacle, and then, after it had already been overcome, became the material guarantee of integration” (Ortega y

Gasset, 1994c: 125-127). The notions of race and language are close to the same sense since “it wasn’t the unity of the first or the second that created a nation but on the contrary: the national state has always met in its quest to unite many races and many languages that became an obstacle to it. Only after this obstacle had been removed, a period of relative unity of races and language had come” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 131). In conclusion, Ortega proclaims: “it’s necessary to search for the secret of the success of the national state in its unique spirit, in its plans, policies, and not third-party principles of biological or geographic nature” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 132). However, the resident of Madrid doesn’t under-estimate the nation nature. It acts as a historical ground for him that is suitable for any state.

Morphogenetic process of the European nation, according to the author of the “Mass Revolt” mind, passed through three stages. The first: the territorial, ethnic and language groups start a spontaneous merge into political and moral community. The second: is defined as the period of closure of the nation in its state and simultaneously the period of consolidation. During this stage the nation is locked in its state and other nations outside the new state are considered as strangers and enemies. This is the period in which the national process acquires an exceptional nature. Nevertheless, in the context of confrontation with others, the latter gradually integrate and with the lapse of time become a homogeneous nation which is conceived in a dynamic dichotomy “friend – stranger”. The third phase approaches when starts up the idea of integration with other nations, which until recently were treated as the enemies. In this era, the confidence that nations are morally and economically congeneric obtains strength, and therefore they have jointly created a national circle against the other, more distant ones (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 166). So, after three phases of the formation of the national state, Western nations have reached the time when Europe can become their national idea. Furthermore, Europeans are unable to exist when they are not faced with a great consolidating goal. Under the condition such a goal is absent, they run down, become weedy (Bidaishiyeva et al., 2018: 10).

Ideally, the national state is a commonality that owing to the new perception, social elasticity has overcome traditional and static fatality and revolutionary directs itself to the future. It is the political principle which comes close to the pure concept of the state, rather than the state-city or the “state-tribe”, which are based on the proximity of blood. Along with this in the modern form of the state, a burdensome connection “...with the past, with the territory, with the race is present in its national concept; but the pure principle of human association around the attractive program of the future always rings the bell in it” (Ortega y Gasset, 1994c: 157). So, the essence of the nation-state is defined by bilateralism – a deliberate and won integrity which it already has achieved and the wider integrity it seeks for.

Ortega explains that social elasticity relies on commitment and ability of all social strata to the close cooperation and the development of democratic principles. Such integrity is “... mainly a union of different ethnic or political communities, but not limited to this. As the national body and the complication of its needs grow there starts the distribution through social functions, and therefore – in the bodies that carry them out. In a unitary society, there appear and grow the small worlds introduced in it, each with its own special atmosphere, with its principles, interests and a variety of

sensuous and ideological traditions... In general, the process of unification, in which a great society is being established, bears a counterpoint of the distribution process which divides the society into classes, professional groups, occupations, corporations... National health depends on the realization of each of these classes and workshops that they are only an indispensable constituent, members of one social body. It is not required and there's no need that the parts of the social unity coincide in its desires and judgments; it is obligatory and important that each as the best know about the living of other ones" (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 188-192).

Social elasticity of the mature nation also is reflected in various types of social perfection. Besides the prominent sages and artists, the scientist remarks, "We need both a pattern soldier, a perfect industrialist, a model worker, and even a world genius. In the same degree, if not more, the nation requires outstanding women. The continued shortage of some of these fundamental types of perfection will be ultimately beneficial to the lifespan development of the national life... It is required that gifted individuals were always available in the nation" (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 194-196). In case the nation loses its social elasticity, it, as the population of Spain of that period, loses its quality and becomes "a number of waterproof partitions" where each state is in a "hermetically closed" space (Ortega y Gasset, 1994b: 186).

Conclusions

In conclusion we should note that the conservative-liberal, anti-crisis interpretation of J. Ortega y Gasset defines the state as metaphysical phenomenon. This is the imagined power that insistently needs the creation of a new reality. The perfect perception is embodied owing to a legal violence, the consensus found between the life style of the mature nation, its freedom and the creative encouragement of its "best representatives". The state acts as an integrating force that restrains the hierarchical order of values and counterbalances spiritual movements with tangible physical stability. The revolt of masses, the barbaric regime of governing, the status of governmentalization of social life, its technonization, the domination of vulgar-frozen ideas, inability of the "best representatives" to creative activity for the benefit of society – all this as a historical alternative opposes and threatens the existence of the state of progressive type.

The modern form of the state – the nation-state is a metaphysical intensity and the unity of the past and future, a traditional and a new consolidating concept, the compound of democratic institutions and the subconscious call of blood, of land, of the language of the mature nation. As an instrument of the nation, the national state is a political unit, which legitimizes the concept of social order and acts as the basis for social self-development of the nation and the individual. The democratic nature of the nation-state is its mandatory benefit – it gives the individual a basis and values to withstand harmoniously collective oppression. Simultaneously, the national state is the result of the integration of nations on a new historical stage of development. It isn't possible without a high level of social elasticity, without a tight consolidation of elites with social strata, without democratic principles of cooperation, which jointly preserve the imagined-symbolic and real-institutional unity of the nation.

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ORIGINS OF THE US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

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Abstract

The article aims to analyze the origins of public diplomacy in the United States and its further development. The main objectives are to identify the main vectors of the US public diplomacy, but also the system of institutions and departments responsible for the development and implementation of public diplomacy programs in the United States. The research is exploratory and its purpose is to trace back the history for a better understanding of the evolution of US public diplomacy. For the preparation of the article, we have used chronological, comparative methods of historical knowledge, classification, and systematization of historical sources and bibliographic material.

Results show us that in the first quarter of the 20th century, US public diplomacy was focused on the active involvement in international politics and the rejection of isolationism policy, which was primarily reflected in the departure from the tenets of the Monroe Doctrine and the US's entry into the First World War, which had a great influence on the development of public diplomacy in the United States as a way of promoting the US interests. After analyzing the system of institutions and departments responsible for the development and implementation of public diplomacy programs, it should be noted that the speeches of the President, Secretary of State, the remarks of the National Security Advisor, and the head of the Pentagon have a great influence on public diplomacy. All government agencies understand the necessity and importance of public diplomacy programs.

Key words: the *USA*, *public diplomacy*, *cultural diplomacy*, *soft power*, *international relations*

Introduction

According to Richard Pells's statement, professor at Harvard University, "The Cold War is the time when the "marriage" between American diplomacy and the American culture happened" (Pells, 1997: 31).

Diplomacy, which used to be a one-dimensional process at the level of various governments, is now a multi-vector and multi-faceted activity. Public opinion is playing an increasing role. Of course, 300 years ago, foreign policy was largely shaped by professional diplomats. However, now any foreign policy action requires public support.

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To this end, the basic, multifaceted development of means and programs of public diplomacy begins to influence public opinion not only inside the country but also abroad. With classical diplomacy, public diplomacy has the same goals of pursuing state interests and ensuring the country's security. However, activities are carried out outside their own country. The increasing role of public diplomacy is very close simultaneously to such international trends like globalization, complex interdependence, development of information technologies, which together connect different countries, cultures, and societies. Having priority in the implementation of their policy in the field of public diplomacy gives countries advantages in upholding their national interests.

Public diplomacy aims to develop contacts between governments, NGOs, and societies of different countries. The main methods of public diplomacy are ramified diversified programs in the field of culture, information, and education.

The term "public diplomacy" is considered by several researchers as "strategic political communication" and is characterized by "the creation, dissemination, control, use, processing of information as a political resource by governments, organizations, or individual citizens" (Manheim, 1993: 16). Various actions of public diplomacy are characterized as "official state efforts aimed at creating a foreign information environment in which foreign policy is conducted to reduce the misunderstanding in relations between states" (Tuch, 1990: 16).

The US State Department Dictionary provides the following definition of public diplomacy: "Public diplomacy is the actions of the US government that promote the cultivation of support for national interests. And the actions carried out by various departments are characterized as "government-funded programs aimed at informing and influencing citizens of foreign countries through publications, film production, exchanges in the field of culture, broadcasting, and television" (Dictionary of International Relations Terms, 1987: 85).

Public diplomacy has existed since ancient times, however, only in the 20th century, it took the form of a centralized national policy based on relevant legislation.

According to experts from the Congress Library, prepared by the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the term "public diplomacy" was first used in 1965 by the dean of the Faculty of Law and Diplomacy of the University Taffeta at the opening of the Edward Marrow Center. In Congress, the term was first mentioned in 1977 in the Murphy Commission report. Before this, the terms "cultural diplomacy", "the fourth dimension of foreign policy", etc., were analogous to "public diplomacy". In the scientific community, the terms "public diplomacy" and "public policy" were also used.

According to various experts in the field of international relations, public diplomacy is often interpreted as propaganda. It is generally recognized that propaganda is a deliberate manipulative action aimed at the formation of values, attitudes, and behavior of people. According to D. Wilhelm, "the term propaganda was invented by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – a college founded by Pope George XV in 1622 to spread the faith" (Wilhelm, 1993: 112) and was used by missionaries. However, subsequently "the word acquired a different meaning", recorded in 1843 in the Oxford English Dictionary as "any consistent systematic

program or concerted action aimed at convincing the truth of a particular doctrine or practice” (Mitchel, 1985: 31).

The US government says that “public diplomacy is capable of ensuring national security and other interests by informing the foreign audience, as well as influencing governments and citizens of other countries” (The Freedom Promotion Act, 2003). The main vectors of US public diplomacy are identified by the following goals: informing citizens of other countries about the policies pursued by the USA, inspiring confidence. The second goal is the promotion of an American lifestyle based on a form of government and democracy and the widespread perception of this style among the masses (Staar, 1986: 212).

Speaking about the benefits of public diplomacy for the United States themselves, it should be noted that, having public support in other countries, the United States more readily conduct economic and military programs, ensure its security, and conduct economic recovery. “US public diplomacy is making a significant contribution to achieving the fundamental goals and improving the effectiveness of foreign policy and creating the most favorable atmosphere” (Performance Plan, 2003: 61).

Public diplomacy is also referred to as “soft power”— the ability to convince, relying on non-military methods, ideological, cultural, and institutional attractiveness (Nye, 1990: 171).

Public diplomacy is one of the most effective ways to implement foreign policy in other countries. The US government must perceive this type of diplomacy as a relatively inexpensive way to achieve foreign policy objectives. In 2003, the State Department spent \$ 594 million on public diplomacy programs (Report to the Committee on International Relations, 2003: 5).

However, the numbers are misleading. In addition to these bodies, the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, the Department of Global Broadcasting, the Pentagon, as well as independent federal agencies and NGOs participate in the implementation of different programs.

The origins of public diplomacy in the United States come from the moment the state was established as a subject of international relations. Public diplomacy was built on images. The USA was associated with “... a place of endless opportunities for all”, an alternative to Europe, where there were religious persecutions, interethnic conflicts, there was a class difference. People saw in a remote continent a chance to start all over again. Institutionally public diplomacy in the United States rose at the beginning of the 20th century, in particular, with the creation in 1917 of the Committee on Public Information (Greel, 1920: 466). The committee was headed by George Creel. The committee consisted of 15 departments, 150 thousand employees. Its activities consisted of the dissemination of news, propaganda through advertising, pamphlets, leaflets, the use of scientific and journalistic materials, radio, and cinema (Bell, 1972: 209).

There was the Bureau for Foreign Relations with the Committee. The mission of the Bureau was to spread the US position abroad. The Bureau also included a department for illustrating advertising and a film department. Also, during the period of hostilities, the Office of War Information was created, which however was

abolished after the end of the war. In 1938, a Department of Culture was created under the auspices of the State Department to counter German politics in Latin America. In 1942, during the Second World War, the Voice of America broadcasting service was founded (Green, 1988: 15).

After the end of the war in the USA, several key laws for the functioning of this sphere were adopted. One of them was the National Security Act of 1947, according to which the CIA, the Security Council, and the Pentagon were created. Another important law, but already in the field of information and propaganda was the Smith-Mandt Act of 1947. Now propaganda companies as an element of wartime began to be carried out already in peacetime and were legalized by relevant legislation (Smith-Mundt Act, 1984).

The President of the United States also presented a Point-four technical assistance program (Point Four Program of Technical Assistance to Developing Nations, 1949). This program of cooperation with other countries has become one of the main components of the foreign policy of the late 40s. In 1950, further development of outreach programs was also proposed. The Secretary of State Mr. W. Benton proposed Marshall's Plan of Ideas (Thomson, 1963: 80). The result of this initiative was the initiation of the "Company of Truth", increased funding for public diplomacy programs (Barett, 1953: 355). The company spread to 28 countries, including South Korea, Iran, Greece, and Finland. Countries where the USSR conducted propaganda activities. The promotion of their interests in the United States was characterized as "the mobilization of American forces for world security." That was the name of the speech delivered by Mr. Barett (Barett, 1950: 736). With the development of this program, the State Department has also stepped up Voice of America, where the State Department began to prepare information for journalists (Parry-Giles, 2000: 108).

With the advent of Eisenhower, activities in the field of public diplomacy increased significantly. The President personally oversaw the work carried out by the responsible departments. In 1954, memorandum No. 5412 was issued on the creation of a group for monitoring programs in the field of public diplomacy (National Security Council Directive on Covert Operations, 1954).

One of the central bodies that conducted various public diplomacy programs in the 20th century was USIA. The agency was created in 1953 and the main goal was "to disseminate information about American society, support American politics and improve mutual understanding between the United States and other countries" (United States Government Manual, 1994). The role of this agency may be evidenced by the President's instructions that the Secretary of State provides information on public diplomacy programs to the director of the Information Agency (Executive Order 10483, 1953).

A great contribution to the development of American public diplomacy and promoting the image of the country abroad was made by J. Kennedy. The President has done much to ensure that public diplomacy takes shape as a planned state policy. Kennedy's rule is also characterized by the active involvement of film studios in the process of creating a positive image of the United States abroad and in spreading the American lifestyle around the world. In particular, Kennedy's close friend, George

Stevens, personally directed several documentaries. It was under Kennedy's initiative of creation of the Peace Corps which was headed by Kennedy's brother-in-law Sargent Shriver.

"Decade of Development" the program initiated by Kennedy in his inaugural speech proclaimed the transition to "new diplomacy" – amore flexible propaganda policy. The Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress were all part of this program. Also, it is on the Kennedy board that the State Department acquired key powers in implementing cultural and educational programs, and the Department of Culture becomes one of the largest departments. Funding for these programs was conducted not only by the state. The U.S. Export-Import Bank, philanthropic organizations, and foundations also supported these programs.

In the 1970s there was a reassessment of public diplomacy policy (Modernizing Foreign Assistance, 1992: 18). New programs began to be implemented. New Directions – a program that started in 1973. The legislative framework of the Agency for International Development was revised. A 20-year plan was developed in which the government set 33 USAID goals, ranging from protecting citizens' rights to protecting the environment and forests. The Agency has identified 75 areas for assistance (Callahan, 1994). Director of the Agency Mr. MacPherson in 1986 stated: "international assistance serves the political, military, strategic and economic interests of the United States, as well as the development of humanitarian needs" (American Foreign Policy. Current Documents, 1987: 147).

In the 70s it was indicated more active involvement of academic circles in activities in the field of public diplomacy. About 12% of all teachers engaged in international affairs went on business trips of the State Department to conduct consultations (Ladd & Lipset, 1975: 342).

In 1978, with the advent of J. Carter, started a reorganization of the system of departments responsible for conducting public diplomacy programs. The State Department's Bureau of Culture and Education and USIA were merged. A new USICA department has been created. It should be noted that Carter's public diplomacy focused on anti-Soviet propaganda.

A breakthrough in the development of US public diplomacy is the transition to USIA "video diplomacy." President Reagan initiated the creation of a single mechanism for coordinating public diplomacy programs through the National Security Council. During his presidency, "the dominant form of public diplomacy has become a psychological war against the countries of socialism ..." (Matveev, 1987: 106). A special directive No. 77 was signed by the President. This directive initiated the creation of committees to strengthen public diplomacy programs. The Special Planning Group on Public Diplomacy, the International Information Committee, the International Political Committee, the International Broadcasting Committee, and the Public Affairs Committee were established (National Security Decision Directive 77 Management of Public Diplomacy Relative to National Security, 1983). Also, in 1983 was founded the National Endowment for Democracy, which was evaluated as an even more effective tool than USIA (<http://www.ned.org>).

The system of institutions and departments responsible for the development and implementation of public diplomacy programs in the United States is ramified.

Talking about the main figures in the United States responsible for the public affairs they are: the President, the Secretary of State, the National Security Advisor, the Public Relations Advisor, and the White House spokesman.

Among the main departments responsible for the implementation of public diplomacy are the following are: Government Coordination Unit for Public Diplomacy and Public Relations. This group was formed after the attacks of September 11, 2001. The first head of this group was K. Hughes. As an Advisor to the President, she also oversaw the work of the White House Office of Global Communications, the White House Press Office, the White House Office of Media Affairs, and the White House Office of Speechwriting. Thus, Hughes possessed all the information about public diplomacy programs around the world, having constant access to the President.

Other important White House institutions responsible for public information are Global Broadcasting Division, Coalition Information Center, and Policy Coordinating Committee on Strategic Communications. The Global Broadcasting Division is responsible for disseminating foreign policy information and information to various US agencies (Executive Order 13283, 2003). The Coalition Center liaises and coordinates with similar bodies in London and Islamabad.

An important role in the development of the main directions and coordination of the activities of departments is played by the National Security Council. The body, "providing recommendations to the President on foreign policy issues" (Public Law 61-235, 1949). Since President Kennedy, the National Security Advisor has been a paramount figure in the implementation of foreign policy, helping the President in dealing with crises (Shoemaker, 1991:38). Inside the structure of the Council, there is a Foreign Opinion Research Advisory Committee which holds monthly meetings and prepares researches about monitoring of public opinion abroad and provides it to the Security Council, the Pentagon, and the US Department of State.

The central institution responsible for the implementation of public diplomacy is the US Department of State. In 1999, the Information Agency was abolished and its powers transferred to the State Department. The Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, the Department of Public Diplomacy and Politics, the regional offices of the Political Division, the working groups and ad hoc groups for public diplomacy are responsible for providing public diplomacy. The importance of work in the field of public diplomacy is confirmed by the US Secretary of State: "Public diplomacy is an extremely important area of diplomatic activity" (Hayden, 2003: 23).

After the end of the Cold War, the importance of public diplomacy decreased. Thus it affected directly the image and positions of the United States throughout the world. "US foreign policy has been weakened by the exclusion of public diplomacy from the formation and implementation of politics" (Pachios, 2002). Therefore by the end of the 90s appeared the first Department of Public Diplomacy and Politics, which headed Charlotte Beers. Talking about the scope of activity of her department, Beers said: "We influence politics by providing information on how this policy was perceived in a particular country" (Public Diplomacy, 2002).

Nowadays in the Department of State itself, there are six regional public diplomacy sections of the Political Department plus Humanitarian Section (Public Affairs Sections – Pas) at US embassies around the world. Mark Grossman, a former head of the political department, noted that public diplomacy takes up 30% of his work time. It must be noted that regional departments coordinate their policies with diplomatic missions.

In almost all US embassies, there is a Press and Culture section. It is responsible for bearing the responsibility for the implementation of public diplomacy programs. The public diplomacy programs apply mainly to journalists, politicians, representatives of NGOs, university professors, and representatives of the younger generation. The function of the department is to bring to the public of the country the position of the United States on various issues. Departments have direct contact with various media in the host country. The competence of department employees also includes programs in the field of culture, education programs, etc.

The head of the Advisory Committee on Public Diplomacy of the US Department of State pointed out that “the Secretary of State declared public diplomacy the top priority of ambassadors” (Pachios, 2002). Also, several experts believe that “the main flaw in the 1999 reform was the appointment of specialists in public diplomacy in regional departments”.

The institution directly responsible for the implementation of public diplomacy in the United States is the Agency for International Development (USAID) which was founded in 1961. The main objective was to provide assistance to other countries and to build the image of the United States abroad. Since 2003, the Department of Public Diplomacy at the State Department and the USAID has been developing joint programs. There was also a joint plan for 2004-2009. The main directions of the implementation of public diplomacy were the development of trans-regional informational and broadcasting programs. In connection with the spread of globalization and the erosion of the borders of states, the plan provided activities in entire regions. The agency aims to “attract foreign citizens to clarify the positive role that the United States plays in the world.” The emphasis is on working with the young generation, the most passionate part of the population that easily accepts new ideas. Work is also going on with foreign media, interaction with authorities of other countries.

The International Broadcasting Bureau, led by The Broadcasting Board of Governors also leads public diplomacy in the USA. The bureau operates under the International Broadcasting Act of 1994. After the end of the Cold War, it was planned to reduce staff and funding. However, in reality, statistics indicate that only the Council on its own includes 3,200 employees, and the institution’s budget in 2003 amounted to 540 million USD (Changing Minds Winning Peace, 2003: 29). The Council is responsible for the function of several broadcasting and television services including Voice of America, Wordnet, Marty Radio, Radio Free Asia, Radio Liberty, etc.

One of the most important institutions responsible for considering, adapting and control of public diplomacy programs is the US Congress. Each program is monitored by two subcommittees. Subcommittees also provide recommendations on program funding. All programs, including those in the field of public diplomacy, are

discussed, agreed upon, and approved by the Congress. Control over the implementation of programs is also carried out by the Main Control Department of the Congress, the Executive Office of the President, and the Congressional Budget Office. It depends on the decision of these control institutions whether the programs will be implemented or not. In 1948, at the direction of Congress, a Commission on Public Diplomacy was created, which prepares reports to the President, the Department of State, and the Congress.

Contemporary public diplomacy aimed at implementing foreign policy was formed in the 20th century. The Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, the US News Agency, and the Department of State were the main institutions involved in public diplomacy activities. The final formation of the main directions of public diplomacy occurred during the board of President Reagan. In the 1980s centralization of government departments took place as well as the activation of obsolete and the launch of new programs. The greatest breakthrough US public diplomacy had during the Cold War, in the era of the struggle between the two opposing systems. The export of culture took place simultaneously with economic programs and the military presence of the United States all over the world.

Summing up the description of the main institutions of public diplomacy in the United States, it should be noted that the speeches of the President, Secretary of State, the remarks of the National Security Advisor, and the head of the Pentagon have a great influence on public diplomacy. All government agencies understand the necessity to exceed public diplomacy programs. The same opinion is shared by representatives of large business, which is beginning to understand the costs of the negative image of the United States abroad.

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**THE AFRICAN UNION (AU) AND THE ISSUE OF ARMED
OPPOSITION GROUPS IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC:
WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY**

*Patrick Magloire Essomo Ngossia**

Abstract

The humanitarian situation in CAR has always been a worry. In 2009, following attacks by certain armed groups, internally displaced persons and Central African refugees constituted more than 5% of its population, or approximately 108,000 people for internal displacement during three years between 2006 and 2009 and 138,000 Central African refugees in the South from Chad, Sudan and eastern Cameroon. Massive abuses by Ugandan rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) or the Lord's Resistance Army in the east of the country are worsening the situation of insecurity, especially with the kidnapping and destruction of their property. Added to this is the porosity of borders, the proliferation and illicit circulation of weapons, which are all threats to the stability of CAR. Since 2006, the country has been recognized as a fragile and post-conflict state. In 2008, a Security Sector Reform (RSS) project was launched with the aim of pacifying the country and initiating its development. After the signing of the APLG, the politico-military groups signatory to the agreement are inactive, thus respecting the clauses. In the face of the abuses committed by rebel groups in CAR, our analysis highlights these armed groups, the responsibility of the African Union in resolving the conflict and establishing lasting peace in CAR.

Key words: *the AU, armed groups, CAR, crimes, war, humanity*

Introduction

The human rights situation in the Central African Republic has been a worry in recent years. It is a country ravaged by a conflict in which a myriad of belligerents are involved. Countless war crimes, crimes against humanity and other serious human rights violations continue to be committed by the different parties to the conflict. Civilians are the main victims of such violence: unlawful killings, enforced disappearances, abductions, torture, arbitrary arrests, illegal detention, destruction and burning of homes, and sexual violence, including rape. Tens of thousands of Central Africans have been forced to flee to neighbouring countries. In addition, there are several hundred thousand internally displaced persons in the Central African Republic. The Central African government needs to take more action to address the root causes of the conflict and ensure respect for the rights of the population. The African Union must assist it by initiating measures to resolve this conflict, which continues to inflict untold suffering on civilians, and to improve coordinated efforts to protect civilians from human rights abuses. These serious human rights abuses includes war, crimes and crimes against humanity, continue to be committed in the Central African Republic by the various armed groups. The incompetent government is unwilling to take action to defend and protect human rights. The police, prosecutors and

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investigating judges are also unwilling and at times appear unable to investigate and prosecute the perpetrators. Acts that may amount to crimes under international law continue to be committed with impunity in CAR, despite being defined and criminalised in the new CAR Criminal Code, which entered into force in January 2010 (Walter Kālin Report, 2011). The instability in the country, the shortcomings of the judicial system, the lack of means, discipline and training of the security forces and the government's weak control over most of the country all contribute to perpetuates this climate of impunity. The referral of the situation in the Central African Republic to the International Criminal Court (ICC) resulted in only one arrest. No other arrest warrants have been issued. Although many armed groups claim to have taken up arms to protect their own from government forces, they are themselves guilty of crimes and abuses against civilians, particularly those they accuse of supporting the government. So, what is the picture of human rights abuses in CAR? What is the responsibility of the government, the leaders of the groups in defending these rights and respecting international armed law, and humanitarian intergovernmental organisations? The answers to these questions will form the basis of this analysis.

Human rights abuses war crimes and crimes against humanity perpetrated by groups in the Central African Republic

Many human rights abuses have been perpetrated by armed opposition groups from both inside and outside the country (François, 2004). These abuses appear to have been committed, ordered or condoned by the leaders of these armed groups. Bringing to justice those responsible for past abuses would go a long way to deter leaders and members of current and future armed groups from deliberately targeting civilians.

The Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP), Séléka and the Anti-Balaka Militia

Members of the Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP) have been guilty of numerous violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Humanitarian organizations continue to deeply deplore the difficulty of their work in north-eastern Central African Republic due to the escalation of fighting between government forces and the CPJP, as well as between the CPJP and other armed groups (Amnesty International Report: 2010). The CPJ Pattacks on civilians and government forces appear to have intensified after the disappearance and alleged death of its leader, Charles Massi, in January 2010. Civilians were then directly targeted. These attacks are contrary to international humanitarian law. The CPJP has accused CAR government forces of killing Charles Massi, who was allegedly delivered to them by Chadian forces. Members of the CPJP have been repeatedly accused of attacking local civilian officials, including executing some and looting or destroying their property. One of these attacks took place on 2 July 2010 in Takara, a village located between the towns of Ndélé and Ouadda, in the Vakaga sub-division (Amnesty International Report: 2010).

The Seleka

The Seleka briefly participated in a government of national unity decreed by Mr. Bozizé, before withdrawing and then overthrowing the president on 24 March 2013. Once in power, the Seleka, which ruled the country for 10 months, was quickly branded infamous for its violence against civilians in the towns it occupied (Mayneri, 2014: 179-193). According to the security analyst, Yves Golo Gatien, the Seleka included in its ranks delinquents, criminals, highwaymen, fugitives from justice and Sudanese and Chadian mercenaries. M. Djotodia announced the dissolution of the Seleka on 14 September 2013. Mr. Djotodia announced the dissolution of the Seleka on 14 September 2013. Since then, the group has carried the prefix “ex”, although the alliance fighters remain active under the command of Joseph Zoundeko and have not been disarmed. After Mr. Djotodia’s resignation in January 2014, most of the former rebels left Bangui (International Crisis Group, 2013). A few thousand remained with their weapons in three military camps in the capital. They now have de facto control of the majority of Central African territory from the centre to the north. The transitional president, Catherine Samba Panza, has overseen a ceasefire between the ex-Seleka and the anti-Balaka, but some factions do not recognise this truce or the transitional government formed in March. Rival ex-Seleka groups have clashed on several occasions.

The anti-Balaka militia

At the end of 2013, Monsignor Nestor Désiré Nongo Aziabgia, Bishop of Bossangoa, wrote: “The numerous atrocities and human rights violations perpetrated by the Seleka have created a feeling of rebellion and have pushed men, incited by violence, to organise their own defence and justice. Unrest among different segments of the population has led to the emergence of self-defence groups, including anti-Balaka groups”.

This statement partly explains the resurgence of the anti-Balaka movement, but not its true origin (FIDH Report, 2013: 22-23). The latter dates from the early 1990s. The absence of any national security institution at the time led to the emergence of self-defence units in the north-west to protect villages from bandits. While much of the violence in CAR has been presented in a simplified manner as a conflict between Muslims and Christians, although many Muslim civilians have been killed or attacked because they were suspected of supporting the Seleka, the majority of whom are from the North-East, a marginalised region with a majority Muslim population, the anti-Balaka do not consider themselves a Christian organisation. In fact, many of them wear props that are typical of animists.

The Union of Republican Forces (UFR)

The UFR was founded and is led by Lieutenant-Colonel Florian Ndjadder, son of a police general killed in a coup attempt against former president Ange-Félix Patassé. The group operated in the northwest, but has been inactive for several years. The movement split in two in 2010 and gave birth to the UFR-Fondamentale, led by Askin Nzenge Landa. Both groups signed the cessation of hostilities agreement in Brazzaville.

The Popular Army for the Restoration of Democracy (APRD) and the Popular Front for Recovery (FPR)

Fundamental rights abuses were committed by the Popular Army for the Restoration of Democracy (APRD). Abuses against civilians have continued despite a cessation of fighting between the APRD and government forces since 2008. APRD fighters reportedly executed 18 Chadian herdsmen in February 2010 between Bossangoa and Paoua in north-west Central African Republic. The Chadian consulate in CAR told Agence France-Presse (AFP) that armed men had executed the herders in order to take their cattle (AFP, 2010). While the circumstances of these killings remain unclear, it is common for APRD fighters to extort money from herders or force them to sell their animals in order to pay them a tax. Similar abuses were also reported in 2009 (Amnesty International Report, 2010). In January 2011, the UN expressed concern about the APRD's practice of summary justice and arbitrary trials (Khabure, 2014: 13). The representative of the UN Secretary-General in the Central African Republic had learned of the execution by the APRD in May 2010 of five people convicted of witchcraft by informal people's courts, an informal judicial body set up and run by the APRD.

On 30 January 2011, alleged members of the APRD abducted eight employees of the Spanish branch of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) who were travelling in their vehicle near the border between the Central African Republic and Chad. Two days later, six of them, Central Africans, were found in the vehicle, but two of their colleagues, of Spanish nationality, had been taken by the kidnappers. According to aid workers in the Central African Republic, the operation may have been intended to put pressure on the Central African government to release an APRD fighter held by government forces in Bossembélé. The two humanitarians were released by their captors on 10 February 2011 although, according to information available in July 2011, the APRD fighter was not released.

The Popular Front for Recovery (FPR) and the bandits

The RPF was created in early 2011 by Baba Laddé, a former Chadian gendarmerie officer, to defend the Fulani communities. Mr. Laddé is himself Fulani. The RPF was considerably weakened in early 2012 after an attack by helicopter and ground forces of the FACA and the Chadian army. The attack resulted in the destruction of RPF bases of operations. A 2012 peace agreement with the Central African government called for the group's fighters to return to Chad, but many remained in the border areas and some fought against RJ and ex-Seleka units.

The Bandits

Bandits, locally known as Zaraguinas, operate in well-armed, organised gangs that kill, kidnap for ransom, loot and set houses on fire. In the absence of effective national security forces, they act with impunity. Peul herders are their main target because of the value of their livestock. Their attacks have led tens of thousands of people to flee their villages to lead a precarious life in the bush, with no access to their fields or markets. Imports through the main trade routes have been cut off, especially from Cameroon. The repatriation of refugees from CAR to Chad has also been hampered by their activities.

A faction of the Movement of Central African Liberators for Justice (MLCJ)

In June 2010, a faction of the Movement of Central African Liberators for Justice (MLCJ), composed mainly of combatants of Sudanese origin, attacked the inhabitants of the village of Kamoune, near Birao, where the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) had a base. MLCJ fighters had looted the villagers' property. No civilian casualties were reported, but a large number of villagers fled the area, swelling the ranks of internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Exactions perpetrated by the LRA, recruitment and use of children by armed groups

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (AFP, 2010: 2-3) is among the groups responsible for serious human rights abuses, some of which may amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity. Since the beginning of 2008, it has proved to be the most formidable. It has carried out incursions into eastern Central African Republic, mostly from neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), but also from southern Sudan (UNHCR, 2010). These have included unlawful killings, abductions, sexual violence such as rape, mutilation, looting of food and property, forced recruitment of children into its ranks and the burning of houses (Amnesty International Report, 2010). Evidence also suggests that the LRA (AFP, 2010: 4-5) also committed crimes against humanity, such as enslavement, severe deprivation of liberty, torture, rape and sexual slavery (Amnesty International Report, 2010). LRA fighters have also attacked and sometimes injured or killed humanitarian workers in eastern CAR (AFP, 2010: 4-5).

Applicable international law for equitable justice in the CAR

The Central African Republic is bound to respect international human rights law, which includes norms derived from customary international law and norms enshrined in international and regional treaties to which the country is a party. It is also bound by international humanitarian law, which applies to armed conflicts not of an international character. Furthermore, some of the acts denounced in this report may constitute war crimes or crimes against humanity, for which there is individual responsibility, including hierarchical responsibility. The parties to the conflict in Central African Republic are government forces and various armed groups. In addition, there is a significant international military presence in the country. Foreign government and intergovernmental forces are there at the invitation of the Central African government, which they are charged with the help to ensure the security of the country.

Members of rebel groups

Although armed opposition groups are not parties to international treaties on the protection of civilians in conflict (International Crisis Group, 2007: 2), members of these groups operating in the CAR, including their military commanders and civilian superiors, are obliged to respect the customary laws of war applicable in non-international conflicts. In addition to the prohibition of attacks on life and limb,

including cruel treatment, torture and torment, Article 3 prohibits attacks on personal dignity, including humiliating and degrading treatment. Protocol II Additional to the Geneva Conventions expressly condemns, inter alia, rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault. The prohibition of rape and all other forms of sexual violence is a rule of customary law. Armed groups operating in the Central African Republic have been guilty of violations of these rules of customary international law. They have committed war crimes, including the murder of civil administration officials, killing civilians in direct or indiscriminate attacks against the population, and engaging in acts of violence and torture against abducted civilians, including rape and other sexual violence.

Armed groups are also obliged under customary international law not to engage in looting, which is a war crime under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The Elements of Crimes, which specify the nature of the offences under the Rome Statute of the ICC, define looting as the appropriation of property without the consent of the owner.

International criminal law

Ratified by the Central African Republic, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Rome Statute) also covers war crimes committed in non-international armed conflicts. Echoing Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions, Article 8(2)(c) of this Statute lists the acts that constitute war crimes. Article 8(2)(e) lists other serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in non-international armed conflicts that also constitute war crimes. These other violations include intentionally direct attacks against the civilian population or against individual civilians not taking a direct part in hostilities, rape, sexual slavery, the recruitment and active participation in hostilities of children under the age of 15, and pillaging. The Rome Statute further specifies the crimes against humanity that fall within the jurisdiction of the ICC. A crime against humanity means a criminal act committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population with knowledge of the attack. Crimes that may be considered crimes against humanity under these circumstances include murder, enslavement, imprisonment or any other severe deprivation of physical liberty, torture, rape, sexual slavery or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity, enforced disappearance and other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

Impunity for perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity

Neither the police, prosecutors nor investigating judges in the Central African Republic have investigated war crimes, crimes against humanity and human rights abuses committed in the country, including the acts denounced in this report. No criminal proceedings have been initiated in the Central African Republic against a person suspected of such acts, either by the prosecutor's office or by an investigating judge. Offences of a political nature, such as threats to state security or membership of an armed political group, for example, fall within the jurisdiction of the public prosecutor's office at the high court in Bangui. These same services are also in charge of non-political cases falling within the jurisdiction of the Bangui high court. They have often been accused by local human rights organisations and professional lawyers'

associations of not investigating crimes, but acting on orders from the government and in particular the President of the Republic, arresting and prosecuting opponents on the basis of fabricated evidence or for political reasons. Human rights defenders and political opponents accuse the prosecutor's office of failing to investigate allegations of mistreatment ordered, condoned or perpetrated by government agents and members of the security forces. The prevailing impunity is also due to the fact that, until January 2010, the Central African Republic had not defined war crimes and crimes against humanity in its national legislation, which made it impossible to prosecute persons suspected of such acts, except by charging them with ordinary crimes under Central African law. However, as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has made clear, prosecuting alleged perpetrators of such crimes against the international community under laws punishing ordinary crimes does not take into account the extreme seriousness of the facts.

The Central African Republic ratified the Rome Statute in October 2002, thereby committing itself to collaborating with the International Criminal Court. However, it was only in January 2010 that it included articles defining war crimes and crimes against humanity in its new Criminal Code. In December 2004, the government referred to the ICC a number of allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity allegedly committed in the country in late 2002 and early 2003. The authorities indicated that the Central African justice system was unable to carry out the complex investigations and trials necessary to bring to justice those accused of murder, rape and other war crimes committed during the 2002-2003-armed conflict.

In May 2007, the Court opened an investigation into a number of war crimes and crimes against humanity including rapes allegedly committed in the Central African Republic in late 2002 and early 2003. Jean-Pierre Bemba, leader of an armed group from the DRC involved in the conflict in CAR, was arrested in Belgium in May 2008. He was surrendered to the ICC the following July. After a long legal battle that delayed the proceedings, his trial finally opened in November 2010. Jean-Pierre Bemba is charged with crimes against humanity and war crimes, including murder, rape and pillaging. In August 2008, one month after Jean-Pierre Bemba was surrendered to the ICC to answer for crimes committed in the Central African Republic, President François Bozizé wrote to the UN Security Council asking it to declare Central African courts competent to try war crimes committed in his country since he took power in March 2003, and thus to request the ICC to drop the investigations it was conducting on the Central African territory. In accordance with the principle of complementarity, the ICC usually initiates prosecutions only when a country is unable or unwilling to do so itself. The Security Council did not accede to François Bozizé's request. Since then, no one else has been arrested by CAR authorities or at the request of the ICC for crimes committed in late 2002 and early 2003.

In September 2008, the Central African National Assembly adopted a general amnesty law applying to all persons who committed crimes between 15 March 2003, when President François Bozizé came to power, and 13 October 2008, when the law was promulgated by the Head of State. Although it does not explicitly cover crimes committed between October 2002 and March 2003, the law grants immunity to

former president Ange-Félix Patassé, who was in power at the time, as well as to all those who held important responsibilities in his government and security forces at the time (Amnesty International, 2003).

At the death of former president Ange-Félix Patassé in April 2011, it remained unclear whether the ICC intended to prosecute him and several other political and military leaders from the 2002-03 conflict. It was also unclear as of mid-September 2011 whether the ICC planned to prosecute individuals linked to President François Bozizé for war crimes and crimes against humanity allegedly committed by members of his armed group, which overthrew Ange-Félix Patassé's regime in March 2003. In its 2003 report, Amnesty International welcomes the opening of the trial of Jean-Pierre Bemba, but notes with concern that a number of members of government forces, including military commanders and their civilian superiors, as well as individuals belonging to armed groups, including the leaders of these groups, have still not been brought to justice (Amnesty International, 2003). Amnesty International has found that a large number of state and non-state actors in the CAR have perpetrated, ordered or failed to prevent crimes under international law and other human rights abuses in the CAR, or have done nothing to prevent them, despite the fact that their functions allow them to do so or give the responsibility for them, particularly since October 2002 when the country ratified the Rome Statute. Amnesty International deplores the fact that the ICC appears to have limited its investigation to crimes allegedly committed in 2002 and 2003.

Although the ICC Prosecutor acknowledges that there are worrying reports of violence and crimes committed in the north of the country, his office has limited its attention to continue to focus on the current situation. The crimes denounced in this report, as well as in Amnesty International's previous report, have not been investigated. The perpetrators continue to enjoy total impunity, largely due to the weakness of the Central African judicial system, the lack of control by the authorities in many parts of the country, and a clear lack of political will on the part of the government. The successive amnesties contained in the various peace agreements and presidential decrees also contribute to reinforce this impunity.

The failure of attempts to stop war crimes, crimes against humanity and other human rights abuses

Successive regimes in the Central African Republic have over the years, often with the help of foreign governments and intergovernmental organisations, taken various measures to end the armed conflict in the country, such as counter-insurgency operations, peacekeeping initiatives by intergovernmental bodies, and the organisation of elections. However, these measures have failed to protect civilians from chronic and widespread human rights abuses.

Maintaining sustainable peace in times of war

Following a series of mutinies within the FACA in the mid-1990s, several African governments in the region set up an Inter-African Monitoring Mission for the Bangui Agreements (MISAB) in January 1997 (UN Report, 2015). These agreements had been concluded between the mutineers and the forces loyal to the president of the Republic at the time, Ange-Félix Patassé. The MISAB was responsible for supervising

the disarmament of insurgent soldiers, private militias and others in illegal possession of military weapons. It was dissolved in April 1998 after the French government decided to withdraw its logistical and financial support, and MISAB (Yaboué Bazoly, 2009) was replaced the same month by the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA). In addition to MISAB's mandate. MINURCA was also responsible for protecting key installations in Bangui, protecting UN personnel and providing technical assistance in the run-up to the 1998 elections. Despite the holding of legislative elections at the end of 1998, the Central African Republic has not found stability. MINURCA was replaced in February 2000 by the United Nations Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic (BONUCA). The latter was created following an exchange of letters between the United Nations Secretary General and the President of the Security Council. BONUCA was mandated to support national efforts to strengthen peace and national reconciliation, to support democratic institutions and to monitor and promote human rights. In January 2010, it became the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic (BINUCA), following a recommendation by the UN Secretary-General to the Security Council. In addition to its predecessor's mandate, BINUCA is also responsible for coordinating UN efforts to support the national reconciliation process, as well as the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants of armed groups. In addition, after several coup attempts in May 2001 by forces suspected by the government of being loyal to former president André Kolingba, and again in October 2002 by forces led by General François Bozizé, the member states of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) created the Multinational Force in Central Africa (FOMUC) at the end of 2002. Its mission was to protect President Ange-Félix Patassé, restructure the armed forces and supervise joint patrols along the border with Chad. The latter was indeed accused by Ange-Félix Patassé's regime of supporting General François Bozizé. The presence of FOMUC in Bangui and the military support given to the regime by an armed group from the DRC, the Movement for Congolese Liberation (MLC), did not prevent the overthrow, from the government of Ange-Félix Patassé by François Bozizein March 2003. FOMUC became the Central African Multinational Force (FOMAC) in February 2008. In July 2008, the latter gave way to the Mission de Consolidation de la Paix en Centrafrique (MICOPAX) (Mba Abessolo, 2014: 5-7), an offshoot of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), which has integrated forces from the DRC. While BONUCA and its successor, BINUCA, were essentially civilian structures (with the exception of a few military and civilian police advisers), MINURCA, created by the UN Security Council in September 2007, had a larger armed component, with 300 members deployed in North-Eastern of CAR. While the presence of MINURCA (Fofack, 2005: 5-7) has helped to protect some civilians, particularly in and around Birao (in North-Eastern CAR), as well as some humanitarian convoys, it had only a very limited impact in terms of stabilising the region and protecting civilians, who have remained very vulnerable to human rights abuses. In accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1923 (2010), adopted on 25 May 2010, which authorized the cessation of the deployment of MINURCAT in Chad and the Central African Republic by the end of December

2010, the force had completely withdrawn from the Central African Republic by 15 November 2010.

Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of combatants from armed groups

In December 2008, the government, political parties, various civil society organisations and a number of armed political groups participated in an initiative known as the Inclusive Political Dialogue (IPD), aimed at paving the way for a process to end the armed conflict and restore democracy in the Central African Republic. One of the main recommendations of the dialogue was the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of combatants from armed groups (International Crisis Group, 2013). An adhoc commission was set up, comprising delegates from BONUCA/BINUCA (Gutierrez, 2003) and military observers from the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), as well as representatives of the different groups involved in DDR. The DDR process itself began in early 2009 (Tsakadi, 2010:37-38), including the establishment of lists of combatants to be disarmed eventually. With the apparent aim of improving the chances of success of this process, President François Bozizé appointed, in January 2011, six leaders of the UFDR, the FDPC, the APRD, the MLCJ and the Union des forces républicaines (UFR) to advise him on disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. As of July 2011, no confirmation of the appointment of these advisers had been announced.

However, at the end of July 2011, the Central African Minister in charge of DDR told Radio Ndeke Luka that the demobilisation of APRD members had begun in the Subdivision of Ouham Pendé. He also reportedly added that a similar operation would soon be undertaken in the North-East of the Central African Republic. According to testimonies, members of the UFDR attacked and occupied the town of Sam Ouandja in mid-July. The UFDR said it had only responded to attacks by the CPJP. The continued existence of numerous armed groups committing abuses against civilians seriously undermines any further steps to end the armed conflict and create conditions that would allow perpetrators of human rights abuses to be brought to justice.

International and regional initiatives to end armed conflict

Various foreign forces have succeeded one another in the Central African Republic in recent years, and the country's armed forces, the FACA, have frequently come into action (Manembou, 200: 4). The climate of insecurity is such that the country's population is the victim of countless human rights abuses, many of which could constitute war crimes or crimes against humanity. In late 2008, the US government funded and supported the UPDF to enable it to militarily eliminate the threat posed by the LRA, which had several bases in northern DRC. The UPDF offensive against the LRA camps resulted in the death of a number of combatants and the dispersal of some of the survivors, but did not stop the group's abuses. The deployment of several thousand UPDF soldiers in eastern CAR has resulted in a decrease in the number of LRA attacks on major towns in the south-east. Nevertheless, the armed group's abuses (killings, sexual enslavement of women and girls, rape, abductions, forced recruitment, especially of children, etc.) in CAR, DRC and southern Sudan were still ongoing in July 2011.

In May 2010, US President Barack Obama signed into law a bill committing his administration to provide political, economic, military and intelligence support to multilateral efforts to apprehend LRA leaders or compel them to abandon hostilities, provide humanitarian assistance and promote justice and reconciliation in areas affected by the LRA's actions. The strategy was to be implemented jointly by the Department of State, the Department of Defence, the US Agency for International Development and the US intelligence services.

In April 2010, France and the Central African government signed a defence agreement under which France committed to participate in the reorganisation and training of the FACA. The African Union has been concerned for years about the activities of the LRA and has supported regional initiatives against the LRA, including military operations. In 2009, it called on countries in the region to work together to end the insecurity and abuses perpetrated by the LRA. In July 2010, it held a series of consultations among countries affected by the LRA's activities, with a view to coordinating military action against it. In October 2010, it convened a meeting of regional defence ministers to discuss LRA activities in the area. The AU was represented by its Commissioner for Peace and Security. The participants agreed on the establishment of joint initiatives, including security and humanitarian assistance, that could provide a sustainable solution to the LRA threat. A communiqué issued at the end of the meeting stated that similar meetings would be held every four months.

The failure of the peace agreements

The government of President François Bozizé has signed peace agreements with several armed opposition groups, but none of them has brought an end to the armed conflict and to the war crimes, crimes against humanity and other human rights abuses (Gonidane, 2006: 2). Thus, in February 2007, the Central African government and the FDPC signed a peace agreement, thanks to the mediation of the Libyan authorities. Although mentioned in this agreement, the UFDR did not sign it. The government signed another peace agreement with it two months later, in April, in Birao, a city in the north-east of the country. Article 4 of both agreements provided for the release of political prisoners, as well as a general amnesty for combatants of armed groups. In May 2008, the government signed a new peace agreement, this time with the APRD. Again, Article 4 of the agreement provided for the abandonment of all legal proceedings in the Central African courts against members, civilian or military, of the APRD, under a general amnesty law, as well as the release of members of the group, civilian or military, who were in detention. In June of the same year, the government signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the APRD and the UFDR in Libreville, the Gabonese capital (Abassouma, 2007: 57). The FDPC, which had initially agreed to join the negotiations and whose name is included in the agreement, did not sign it in the end. According to the UN Secretary General's report to the Security Council, the FDPC joined the peace process in the Central African Republic on 3 July 2009. On 7 December 2008, on the eve of the start of the DPI, the government signed a peace agreement with the MLCJ faction led by Abakar Sabone. The MLCJ pledged to respect the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of June 2008. The signing of this new agreement in Bangui took place in the presence of the special representative of the UN Secretary General, the French

ambassador, the special representative of the President of Gabon and the special envoy of the Secretary General in charge of Francophonie. Another armed group, the UFR, signed the agreement on 15 December 2008. However, despite this agreement, the MLCJ announced in February 2009 that it had launched, together with the FDPC, attacks against government forces deployed in Batangafo, in the north of the Central African Republic.

The peace agreements, particularly those concluded in 2008, foreshadowed the December 2008 IPR. One of the outcomes of this initiative was the decision to disarm, demobilise and reintegrate combatants from armed groups in order to create political conditions for free and fair elections and to end the armed conflict. However, despite the IPR and successive peace agreements, as of July 2008, hostilities had not ceased in the north of the Central African Republic between government forces and some armed opposition groups.

The AU and the threat of punitive measures against actors obstructing the latest peace agreement in the Central African Republic

The African Union (AU) on Thursday warned actors seeking to obstruct the implementation of the latest peace agreement in the Central African Republic (CAR) that they should refrain from any wrongdoing. This urgent appeal was made by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union (AU-PSC) during its last meeting on the resource mobilization process, in support of the AU's efforts for the implementation of the Political Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in CAR (Abassouma, 2007: 57). Council warned that agitators and all those who would seek to obstruct the implementation of the Political Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation (APPR) in CAR and the peace process as a whole in the country will be held accountable, the AU said in a communiqué. It also reiterated its commitment to adopt tough measures against individuals or groups that could jeopardize the implementation process of the agreement, indicating that Council remains committed to consider appropriate punitive measures. The peace agreement, which was signed by the CAR government and 14 armed groups in the capital Bangui last February, is widely regarded as a crucial political instrument for ending several years of conflict in the country. According to the United Nations, since the outbreak of conflict in CAR in 2012, clashes between the predominantly Christian anti-Balaka militia and the predominantly Muslim Seleka rebel coalition have resulted in the deaths of thousands of civilians, and two out of three people have become dependent on humanitarian aid in the Central African country.

Conclusion

The humanitarian and human rights situation in the Central African Republic remains precarious. The armed conflict in the Central African Republic has resulted in thousands of civilian casualties, killed by the belligerents or killed by weather or preventable diseases. Nearly 200,000 people have fled abroad and an equivalent number are currently internally displaced. Hundreds more have been abducted and many women and girls have been forced into sexual slavery by the LRA. The Central African population has little or no protection from human rights abuses, violations of

international humanitarian law and violence by criminal groups. Victims of violations and abuses have virtually no means of getting the help they need to rebuild their lives. As a result, those who have managed to escape the LRA's clutches or who have survived its attacks receive no support from the government. The wounded do not receive medical care. Abductees who regain their freedom are treated as criminals and arrested by the authorities, or treated as outcasts, rather than being helped to overcome their ordeal and make a fresh start by reintegrating into society. Investigating and prosecuting war crimes and crimes against humanity is a joint responsibility of the international community and the Central African government, which requires the same coordinated response and the same material, financial and human resources on the part of states as for other serious crimes. Measures taken by the US government, the African Union and other states, particularly in the region, to combat LRA abuses must be coordinated and implemented jointly by all parties involved, in accordance with international humanitarian and human rights law.

They must also be applied with due regard for measures to combat abuses by armed groups and criminal gangs, as well as violations committed by government forces, all of which continue to act in disregard of human rights, starting with the right to life. Due to a lack of investment in the judicial system and a lack of political will, most of those responsible for human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law have not been brought to justice. Central African forces have committed and continue to commit human rights violations with impunity. The necessary political determination must be cultivated and a genuine national consensus built around it. However, it is unlikely that such a consensus will emerge until an effective and coordinated response from all stakeholders has been found. The African Union, through its Peace and Security Council (PSC), must lead by example and coordinate action to build a coalition of governments and intergovernmental organisations to protect and promote human rights in the Central African Republic.

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