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## LE PAN – SPIRITUALISME HINDOU. L'ADVAITA VEDĀNTA ET L'ANTÉRIORITÉ DE L'HOMME PAR RAPPORT À L'UNIVERS

Ovidiu Nedu\*

**Abstract.** *The monist school of Advaita Vedānta, the "official" philosophy of Hinduism, when dealing with the relation between man and Universe, takes a stand totally opposite to the one of the realistic common sense. Man is not just a part of the Universe, but rather the subject which projects the Universe. The Universe is nothing but illusory experience and it can't be found anywhere else but in the consciousness of the subject which experiences it.*

*The manifestation of the Universe starts when consciousness gets, first of all, covered by ignorance and, consequently, loses its self-awareness. Instead of comprehending itself, the consciousness thus affected by ignorance starts projecting some successive layers of illusion which represent the personal identity wrongly assumed by consciousness and the experience of the Universe.*

*The article deals with the successive steps through which consciousness manifests the Universe. Starting with the causal body (kāraṇa śarīra), where consciousness has been only dulled by ignorance (avidyā, ajñāna), the projection of the Universe takes more and more definite forms. It determines itself as an individual at the level of the subtle body (sūkṣma śarīra), which is the psychic structure of the individual being. In its coarsest forms, it manifests as the gross body (sthūla śarīra), the physical Universe, which is only a very dense, compact form of illusion. Materiality is nothing but a particularly opaque form of ignorance.*

*Thus, the Universe represents a cosmic expansion of the person, the consciousness which goes out of its own nature and, through the intermediary of the psychic structure, projects all forms of "materiality". Man and Universe can never be separated,*

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*both being only different layers of the manifestation of consciousness (cit).*

**Keywords:** *idealism, Hinduism, Vedānta, consciousness, illusion, microcosme.*

L'ontologie réaliste, d'ordinaire implicite dans la mentalité du sens commun, rapproche l'homme à une perspective angoissante qui lui relève son importance mineure dans un Univers qui est indifférent à ses valeurs. L'être humain semble un accident mineur, produit dans un Univers qui, en dernière instance, suit un autre sens de l'évolution que celui qu'intéresse l'être humain. En fin de compte, après une courte période de "survie", l'homme est écrasé par ce même Univers qui continue son évolution, indifférent aux valeurs humaines.

Certains systèmes religieux, parmi lesquels l'Advaita Vedānta, la philosophie „officielle” de l'hindouisme, renversent cette perspective, en affirmant la priorité de l'homme par rapport à l'Univers. D'une manière ou d'autre, la raison d'être de l'Univers est liée à la finalité de l'homme. Cette manière de voir les choses a pu être également contextualisée dans un cadre ontologique réaliste, comme il arrive pour le judaïsme et le christianisme (au moins dans leurs formes canoniques), où l'homme est une partie de l'Univers, mais la raison d'être de l'homme précède la raison d'être de l'Univers.

Le renversement de perspective est encore plus radical dans le cas de certains courants idéalistes, comme c'est le cas de l'Advaita Vedānta. Dans le cas de ce courant philosophique, l'homme cesse de représenter une partie de l'Univers, même la partie fondamentale, et devient la base même de l'Univers. Dans le cas de ces systèmes, il est plus correct de parler de l'expérience humaine de l'Univers que de l'Univers en tant que collection d'entités objectives, parmi lesquelles se trouve l'homme aussi. L'expérience de l'Univers a l'homme comme sujet qui expérimente et celle – ci ne peut pas être trouvée ailleurs. Les raisons d'être de l'Univers ne sont pas seulement connectées à la raison d'être de l'homme, mais elles dépendent exclusivement de celles-ci. Il n'y a rien d'objectif dans l'Univers, rien qui ne dépende de la condition du sujet qui expérimente, rien qui puisse

exister sans refléter cette condition. L'Univers ne s'oppose et, en plus, il n'est pas non plus indifférent à la direction d'évolution de l'être qui expérimente, mais il existe justement pour donner la possibilité à cet être d'évoluer; l'Univers représente, tout simplement, une partie du mécanisme évolutif du sujet humain. En dernière instance, la direction d'évolution de l'Univers est subordonnée à la téléologie humaine.

C'est la perspective que l'Advaita Vedānta adopte en ce qui concerne le rapport entre l'Univers et l'être humain. Étant donné que, par son nom même, l'Advaita Vedānta se proclame comme une philosophie moniste, *a-dvaita* signifiant „non-dualité”, dans ce système de pensée le sujet est unique, est la conscience absolue (*cit*) qui, étant affectée par l'ignorance (*avidyā*, *ajñāna*), prend l'hypostase d'une variété d'êtres individuels (*jīva*). Dans leur essence, tous ces êtres sont la même chose avec la conscience absolue, nommée *Brahman*, mais ils représentent d'hypostases délimitées, d'une manière illusoire, de la même conscience. Le Vedānta discute de toute détermination individuelle, de toute particularité personnelle en termes de „limitations” (*upādhi*).

„III.3. Le Soi (*ātman*) est tout comme l'espace (*ākāśa*) et l'apparition (*udita*) des âmes individuelles (*jīva*) est similaire à [l'apparition] de l'espace de la cruche.”<sup>1</sup>

„III.19. Celui qui n'est pas né (*aja*) se différencie d'une manière illusoire (*māyayā*) et non pas d'une autre manière.”<sup>2</sup>

Une fois autolimitée et avoir pris l'hypostase des êtres, la conscience absolue expérimente tout par cette „fenêtre” restreinte qui est l'individualité assumée. L'Univers n'est autre chose qu'une projection, une expérience de la conscience absolue hypostasié sous la forme d'êtres variés. Les textes du Vedānta présentent ce procès de projection de l'expérience de l'Univers comme une couverture successive de la conscience absolue par un nombre d'enveloppes (*kośa*) de plus en plus grossières et de plus en plus éloignées de sa nature.

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<sup>1</sup> *ātma hyākāśavajjīvairghaṭākāśairivoditaḥ |  
ghaṭādivacca saṃghāṭairjātāvetannidarśanam ||3||  
Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā, III.3, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1949, 149.*

<sup>2</sup> *māyayā bhidyate hyetannānyathā'jaṃ kathañcana |  
tattvato bhidyamāne hi martyatāmamṛtam vrajet || 19||  
Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā, III.19, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1949, 180.*

„17. Le soi (*ātman*) est celui sans parties (*vinīṣkala*), celui vraiment unique (*eka*), celui couvert (*āvṛta*) par de nombreux corps (*deha*).”<sup>3</sup>

„II.20. Le corps (*śarīra*), les paradis (*svarga*) et les enfers (*naraka*), l’enchaînement (*bandha*) et la délivrance (*mokṣa*) tout comme la peur (*bhaya*) – [tout cela] est seulement d’idéalisation (*kalpanāmātra*)...”<sup>4</sup>

L’article décrit les étapes phénoménal-ontologiques de la manifestation de l’Univers, sans insister sur son relevance spirituelle, sur la manière dans laquelle la condition spirituelle du sujet qui expérimente est réfléchié dans le plan de ses projections.

### **L’ignorance (*ajñāna*, *avidyā*)**

L’altération ontologique, qui fait le passage de la condition absolue à celle phénoménale-humaine, se produit sous l’effet de l’ignorance (*ajñāna*, *avidyā*) et de l’illusion (*māyā*), projetées sur ce fond d’ignorance. L’absolu perd la conscience de soi et, au lieu de celle-ci, expérimente l’illusion de l’Univers dans lequel, ultérieurement, va se perdre lui – même.

Le moyen de manifestation de l’illusion est résumé dans la philosophie de Vedānta par l’exposition des deux capacités (*śakti*) que l’ignorance possède. Les deux capacités sont celle de „l’enveloppement” (*āvaraṇa*) et la capacité de „projection” ou de „dispersion” (*vikṣepa*). La capacité d’enveloppement fait que Brahman perd sa conscience de soi, son autoréflexivité (la connaissance absolue). La capacité de projection substitue la connaissance absolue, perdu par l’enveloppement, avec l’Univers illusoire. Le mot sanskrit qui nomme la capacité de projection de l’ignorance est „*vikṣepa*”, qui, littéralement, signifie „dispersion”, „diffusion”, mais qui, dans les langues européennes, a été presque toujours traduit par des formes du nom „projection”. Mais les traductions européennes ne gardent plus la connotation

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<sup>3</sup> *ātmā vinīṣkalo hyeko deho bahubhirāvṛtaḥ |  
tayloraikyaṃ prapaśyanti kimajñānamataḥ param || 17||  
Aparokṣānubhūti*, 17, en Swami Vimuktananda, 1996, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *śarīraṃ svarganarakau bandhamokṣau bhayaṃ tathā /  
kalpanāmātramevaitat ...||*

*Aṣṭāvakra Samhitā*, II.20, en Swami Nityasvarupananda, 1999, 28.

de dispersion, d'altération de l'unité primordiale qui devient multiplicité de l'acte d'apparition (projection) de l'Univers.

„51. Il existe deux capacités (*śakti*) de l'ignorance (*ajñāna*), nommées «enveloppement» (*āvaraṇa*) et «projection» (*vikṣepa*).

52. La capacité (*śakti*) d'enveloppement (*āvaraṇa*) [se manifeste] de la manière suivante: Tout comme une agglomération [formée] de nombreux petits nuages, constituant une obstruction (*pidhāyakatā*) du champ visuel d'un observateur (*avalokayitr*), cache le disque solaire, ainsi (*ajñāna*) l'ignorance (*paricchinna*), constituant une obstruction de l'intellect (*buddhi*) d'un observateur, cache le Soi (*ātman*) illimité, celui qui ne participe pas à l'existence humaine (*asamsārin*).”<sup>5</sup>

„54. La capacité (*śakti*) de projection (*vikṣepa*) est celle par laquelle l'ignorance (*ajñāna*), par ses propres capacités, fait de la sorte que par le Soi (*ātman*) enveloppé (*āvṛta*) par elle prenne naissance l'espace (*ākāśa*) et toute autre manifestation (*prapañca*) de ce genre (*sāmarthyā*), tout comme la méconnaissance de la corde mène, par ses propres capacités, à la naissance de [l'idée] de serpent et d'autres.

«Le monde est issu par la capacité de projection (*jagat*), à partir des corps subtils (*līṅga*) et finit avec l'Univers (*brahmāṇḍa*)».”<sup>6</sup>

Conforme au Vedānta, l'ignorance est éternelle, à la différence de ses manifestations déterminantes. La manifestation illusoire est un aspect normal, naturel, associée à la réalité ultime. À la différence du christianisme, l'ignorance n'est pas un

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<sup>5</sup> *asyājñānasyāvaraṇavikṣepanāmakamasti śaktidvayam ||51||*

*āvaraṇaśaktistīvadalpo 'pi*

*megho 'nekayojanāyatamādityamaṇḍalamavalokayitrñayanapathapidhāyakata*

*yā yathācchādayatīva tathājñānaṃ*

*paricchinnamapyātmānamaparicchinnamasamsāriṇamavalokayitr̥buddhipidhā*

*yakatayācchādayatīva tādr̥śaṃ sāmartyam | taduktam*

*ghanacchannadr̥ṣṭirghanacchannamarkaṃ yathā manyate nisprabham*

*cātimūḍhaḥ | tathā baddhavadbhāti yo mūḍhadr̥ṣṭeḥ sa*

*nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'ahamātmā || iti || 52 ||*

*Vedānta-sāra*, 51-52, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 37-38.

<sup>6</sup> *vikṣepaśaktistu yathā rajjvajñāna svāvrtarajjau svaśaktyā*

*sarpādikamudbhāvayatyevamajñānamapi svāvrtātmani*

*svaśaktyākāśādiprapaṅcamudbhāvayati tādr̥śaṃ sāmartyam | taduktam |*

*vikṣepaśaktir̥līṅgādi brahmāṇḍantaṃ jagat sr̥jet | iti ||54||*

*Vedānta-sāra*, 54, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 39.

„accident ontologique”, le résultat d’une éventuelle „chute”. Il réside dans la nature de la réalité ultime de projeter l’illusion et même de se perdre lui – même dans l’illusion issue. L’expérience n’est autre chose qu’une sortie de l’absolu de Soi même, une sortie vers l’Univers projeté toujours par lui – même et un retour vers Soi. Cette dynamique cyclique est inhérente à la réalité. La création et la libération ne représentent pas, comme pour le christianisme, des événements uniques, contingents, qui sont issus à la suite de la „libre décision” d’une divinité théiste. Le monisme plutôt déiste du Vedānta considère la manifestation comme une „nature dérivée” de l’absolu, comme un aspect dynamique de la réalité ultime. Les procès de perte de la conscience de Soi de l’absolu, par le pouvoir de l’illusion, ainsi que la libération de l’illusion, la redécouverte de l’identité essentielle, sont des procès naturels. La libération elle – même est un procès naturel et il n’est pas nécessaire une intervention extraordinaire de la divinité dans l’Univers par laquelle les êtres humains soient „convertis” et dirigés vers la pratique de la libération.

La dissolution finale d’un cycle d’existence (*kalpa*) ne représente pas la destruction de l’illusion, mais simplement une réduction de celle – ci d’une forme de manifestation multiple à sa forme primaire, non différenciée. L’éternité de l’illusion fait que chaque dissolution universelle soit suivie par la manifestation d’un nouvel Univers, la naissance d’un nouveau cycle cosmique. Pendant la période intermédiaire entre deux cycles cosmiques, l’illusion existe sous sa forme non manifestée, sous une forme latente.

Même si elle est éternelle, l’illusion n’est pas essentielle, elle n’existe pas par elle – même, mais représente seulement un aspect de l’absolu. C’est ici que réside la différence entre le monisme vedāntin et les systèmes dualistes (qui accordent à l’Univers un être autonome). Autant Brahman que l’illusion sont éternels, sans que chacun représente une substance propre, sans qu’ils soient indépendants de point de vue ontologique. Seulement Brahman existe par lui – même, l’illusion étant une manifestation établie en Brahman. Seulement Brahman est objectif, l’Univers illusoire n’étant qu’une expérience ayant Brahman comme sujet qui expérimente.

La distinction entre le statut ontologique de Brahman et l’Univers résulte, d’une manière suggestive, de la considération

selon laquelle Brahman est une „existence” (*sat*), pendant que l’Univers est qualifié comme étant un „jeu” (*līlā*). La métaphore du jeu est souvent rencontrée dans les textes de l’école comme une explication du statut de la manifestation et celle – ci indique le caractère non nécessaire, accidentel de la manifestation, en opposition avec la réalité absolue. Le manque de la substantialité, le caractère non essentiel du jeu caractérise, en même temps, l’Univers qui, par rapport à l’absolu, ne représente qu’un „jeu cosmique”.

### **Les enveloppes phénoménales du Soi**

Le phénoménal illusoire qui se superpose sur la conscience pure de Brahman, qui enveloppe la conscience absolue donnant naissance à l’expérience de l’Univers, est structuré de plusieurs manières par les philosophes védāntins. Il se forme plusieurs types de systématisations du monde phénoménal, trois acquérant la consécration. Il s’agit de la description de l’expérience de l’Univers comme étant la totalité de trois corps sur – imposés (*adhyāsa*) à l’absolu, la totalité des trois enveloppes ou l’ensemble de trois états.

En général, les niveaux du phénoménal sont imposés d’un ordre hiérarchique, correspondant à leur degré d’éloignement de la nature absolue. En même temps, des relations de conditionnement s’établissent entre ces deux niveaux, à partir des plus proches à la réalité ultime jusqu’au plus éloignées. De cette manière, le premier corps de l’absolu, c’est à dire le corps causal (*kāraṇa śarīra*), est celui qui conditionne l’existence de toute manifestation. Par la suite, au sein des manifestations phénoménales conditionnées par le corps causal, le premier à s’individualiser est le corps subtil (*sūkṣma śarīra*), les structures psycho - noétiques. Le dernier niveau d’expérience – par rapport à cette classification – est le corps grossier (*sthūla śarīra*), le corps physique.

### **La prémisse non – différenciée de l’expérience: le corps causal (*kāraṇa śarīra*)**

La modalité primaire de l’illusoire phénoménal est représentée par le corps causal (*kāraṇa śarīra*). Il s’agit plutôt, à

ce niveau de la manifestation, de la prémisse de l'expérience que du phénoménal en soi. L'illusion primaire existe comme une méconnaissance de Brahman; l'expérience de cette illusion consiste du fait que Brahman perd la conscience de Soi sans que ce manque d'auto-réflexivité soit accompagné par l'expérience d'une réalité positive. Brahman est ignorant strictement au sens négatif du terme – c'est à dire qu'il ne détient pas la connaissance réelle – sans être induit en erreur par une manifestation illusoire qui prend la place de la connaissance de Soi.

Étant donné l'unité et l'indifférencié absolues de l'ignorance primaire, elle ne peut pas être subsumée aux concepts que la pensée utilise, concepts qui présupposent nécessairement, la discrimination. C'est pour cette raison que les textes vedāntins affirment que l'ignorance ne peut pas être décrite (*anirvācyā*) et qu'elle manque les déterminations caractéristiques des ses multiples manifestations individuelles (*nirvikalpa*). À ce niveau de la manifestation, seulement la première capacité de l'ignorance, celle d'enveloppement (*āvaraṇa*), est active, l'ignorance primaire représentant seulement la perte de l'auto-réflexivité de Brahman.

„Concernant [le corps] non - déterminé (*avyākṛta*), on dit qu'il représente la cause (*kāraṇa*) des deux corps (*śarīra*), la non – connaissance (*ajñāna*) de Soi (*ātman*), sa manifestation (*ābhāsa*). C'est le corps (*śarīra*) causal (*kāraṇa*) de Soi.”<sup>7</sup>

„Qu'est-ce que c'est le corps causal (*kāraṇa śarīra*)?

Celui qui ne peut pas être décrit (*anirvācyā*), qui manque de commencement (*anādi*), [ayant] la nature (*rūpa*) de l'ignorance (*avidyā*), cause unique (*kāraṇa*) des deux autres corps (*śarīra*), celui qui représente la méconnaissance (*ajñāna*) propre à sa nature, celui dont la nature manque de déterminants (*nirvikalpaka*) – voilà le corps causal (*kāraṇa śarīra*).”<sup>8</sup>

Le corps causal représente la condition indifférenciée de toute expérience, étant ainsi inhérent à toute manifestation; seulement à l'état de sommeil profond (*suṣupti avasthā*) ce corps

<sup>7</sup> *śarīradvayakāraṇamātmajñānaṃ sābhāsamavyākṛtamityucyate / Pañcikaraṇam*, en Balasubrahmanyam, 1910, 190.

<sup>8</sup> *kāraṇaśarīraṃ kim / anirvācyānādyavidyārūpaṃ śarīradvayasya kāraṇamātraṃ satsvarūpā'jñānaṃ nirvikalpakarūpaṃ yadasti tatkāraṇaśarīraṃ / Tatva-Bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 147-148.

est expérimenté par lui – même, sans les manifestations déterminantes qu’il fait naître. De cette manière, l’état de sommeil profond est le plus proche de Brahman, représentant la moins altérée hypostase de la conscience.

„XVI.18. Le germe (*bīja*) de l’état de veille (*jāgrat*) et du rêve (*svapna*) est [l’état] connu (*ākhyā*) sous le nom de «sommeil profond» (*suṣupta*) et qui est fait de l’obscurité (*tamomaya*).”<sup>9</sup>

Pendant le sommeil profond, la condition absolue est affectée seulement par l’ignorance indifférenciée; en dépit de l’enveloppement dans l’ignorance et de l’obstruction de la conscience de Soi, la souffrance n’existe pas encore dans cette étape. Pendant le sommeil profond, tous les êtres bénéficient d’une expérience unique et indifférenciée de la béatitude. À ce niveau de l’expérience, le niveau caractérisé par la non – détermination et l’uniformité, aucun conflit ne peut apparaître et, ainsi, la souffrance ne peut apparaître non plus. Dans ce sens, au corps causal correspond la soi - disante „enveloppe qui consiste en béatitude” (*ānandamayakośa*).

„Qu’est-ce que [l’enveloppe] qui consiste en béatitude?

Celle qui est de la nature (*bhūta*) du corps causal (*kāraṇa śarīra*), qui est établie dans l’ignorance (*avidyā*), qui constitue l’existence (*satva*) impure (*malin*), accompagnée par des fluctuations mentales (*vṛtti*) comme le plaisir (*priya*) et les autres, [est] l’enveloppe qui consiste en béatitude (*ānandamayakośa*).”<sup>10</sup>

### **Les trois tendances (*guṇa*) de la manifestation**

À partir des niveaux ultérieurs du corps causal, on peut parler de la projection proprement dite de l’illusion par la conscience absolue qui, en plus, prend l’hypostase de plusieurs êtres. L’explication des types de projection de la conscience se fait souvent par l’appel à trois catégories très importantes de la philosophie indienne que Vedānta a pris de l’école Sāṃkhya, un des systèmes philosophiques les plus anciens de l’espace indien.

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<sup>9</sup> *jāgratsvapnau tayorbījaṃ suṣuptākhyāṃ tamomayam* / *Upadeśa-sahāsrī*, XVI.18, en Swami Madhavananda, 1997, 172.

<sup>10</sup> *ānandamayaḥ kaḥ* / *evameva kāraṇaśarīrabhūtāvidyāsthāmalinasattvaṃ priyādivṛttisahitaṃ sat ānandamayaḥ kośaḥ* / *Tatva-Bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 151.

Il s'agit des trois „tendances”, „qualités” (*guṇa*) de la manifestation: *Sattva* (manifestation en tant que connaissance, idéation), *Rajas* (manifestation en tant que volition, action) et *Tamas* (manifestation en tant qu'expérience de la matérialité opaque, qui manque de conscience). L'école dualiste Sāṃkhya les considèrent comme des tendances sous lesquels prend forme la matière, la nature (*prakṛti*); l'idéalisme du Vedānta les réinterprète comme des moyens de l'illusion (*māyā*) projetée par la conscience absolue.

Excepté le niveau primaire de l'existence phénoménale (l'enveloppe qui consiste en béatitude, le corps causal) qui, en vertu de son non – détermination et unicité absolue, n'est soumis à aucune division, toute autre forme d'expérience prend la forme d'un de ces aspects. Il est très important que ces trois „qualités” représentent des propriétés „internes” de la conscience, des moyens dont elle fait sentir sa présence. Même la matérialité représente une projection de la conscience, même si dans le cas de cette expérience la connaissance s'est éloignée, dans une grande mesure, d'elle même.

Le *Sattva* représente le phénoménal qui se présente comme idéation, comme connaissance. Les philosophes védāntins décrivent le *Sattva* comme la conscience translucide, la luminosité. Le phénoménal manifesté sous aspect *Sattva* représente la forme la moins altérée de l'expérience. De tous les types du phénoménal, *Sattva* constitue la modalité la plus élevée d'expérimenter l'Univers. Les êtres supérieurs – c'est à dire les dieux et tous les êtres célestes – expérimentent plutôt l'expérience du type *Sattva*.

La béatitude est le sentiment qui accompagne l'expérience *sattvique* de l'Univers. L'expérimentation passive et la non implication dans la manifestation caractérisent le phénoménal du type *Sattva*; ce type de manifestation ne peut pas générer de la souffrance parce qu'elle ne suppose pas de conflit.

„I.14. Le non attachement (*vairāgya*), la patience (*kṣānti*), l'amplitude (*audārya*) et autres, sont des produits (*sambhāva*) de *Sattva*.”<sup>11</sup>

*Rajas* représente une expérience projetée sous la forme de la volition, de la passion, de l'action. L'expérimentation de

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<sup>11</sup> *vairāgyaṃ kṣāntiraudāryamityādyāssattvasambhāvāḥ* | *Pañcadaśī*, II.14, en Swami-Swahananda, 1998, 36.

l'Univers sous ses aspects de type *Rajas* cesse d'être une contemplation passive et devient un acte d'implication existentielle. Dans le domaine de l'expérience, les discriminations de la valeur sont tracées et, en fonction de celles – ci on essaie de transformer l'expérience.

Le sentiment qui accompagne l'expérience de type *Rajas* est la douleur, l'insatisfaction, la frustration qui sont le résultat des efforts et de l'angoisse du Soi qui s'implique d'une manière passionnée dans l'expérience.

„I.14. Le désir (*kāma*), la furie (*krodha*), la cupidité (*lobha*), l'effort (*yatna*) et les autres naissent (*utthita*) de *Rajas*.”<sup>12</sup>

*Tamas* caractérise l'expérience opaque, incontrôlable, „la matérialité”, ce qui a été éloigné en très grande mesure de la conscience qui l'a projeté. Le sens littéral du mot *tamas* est „obscurité”, en suggérant l'éloignement de la manifestation de type *Tamas* de la lucidité de la conscience. L'éloignement de la source est si accentuée que l'expérience *Tamas* se montre comme être même „extérieure” à la conscience. L'„extériorité”, l'„objectivité” de l'Univers physique, auxquelles tous les êtres humains consentent, sont dues précisément à cette „obscurité”, à cette „opacité” projetées par la conscience dominée par les tendances de type *Tamas*. La conscience se perd elle – même, elle s'induit lui – même un état „d'obscurité” et ainsi ses propres projections lui paraît quelque chose de l'extérieur, non pas comme ses propres manifestations, mais comme un objectif implacable.

„I.15. La somnolence (*ālasya*), la confusion (*bhrāntita*), l'obscurité (*andra*) et autres transformations (*vikāra*) prennent naissance (*utthita*) à partir de *Tamas*.”<sup>13</sup>

„57. À partir de la conscience (*caitanya*) enveloppée (*upahita*) en ignorance (*ajñāna*), qui possède la capacité (*śakti*) de projection (*vikṣepa*) et qui a une grande partie (*pradhāna*) de *Tamas*, est né l'éther (*ākāśa*). De l'éther, le vent (*vāyu*); du vent, le feu (*agni*); du feu, l'eau (*āpas*); de l'eau, la terre (*pṛthivī*).”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *kāmakrodhau lobhayatnāvityadyā rajasotthitāḥ ||14||*  
*Pañcadaśī*, II.14, en Swami-Swahananda, 1998, 36.

<sup>13</sup> *ālasyaṃ bhrāntitandrādyā vikārāstamasotthitāḥ |*  
*Pañcadaśī*, II.15, en Swami-Swahananda, 1998, 37.

<sup>14</sup> *tamaḥpradhānavikṣepaśaktimadajñānopahitacaitanyādākāśa*  
*ākāśadvāyurvāyoragniragnerāpo 'dbhyaḥ pṛthivī cotpadyate etasmādātmana*  
*ākāśaḥ sambhūtaḥ | ityādiśruteḥ ||57||*

## **L'individualisation et l'apparition de la multiplicité: les corps subtils (*sūkṣma śarīra*)**

Au niveau du corps causal, l'ignorance a une forme globale, une forme holiste, qui manque d'individualisation. Le premier niveau de l'individualisation et, implicitement, de la création de la multiplicité, est représenté par le corps subtil (*sūkṣma śarīra*). À partir de ce niveau, l'absolu enveloppé en ignorance prend diverses formes individuelles, tout en projetant la multiplicité des êtres. Tout être existe comme une individualité au niveau du corps subtil et du corps grossier, le corps causal de tous les êtres étant l'ignorance unique, non spécifiée.

Les corps subtils représentent l'individualité psycho – noétique de chaque être; le registre des êtres ne se résume pas seulement aux hommes, mais il contient toute forme de vie, y inclus les êtres mythologiques, comme par exemple les dieux. De toute façon, l'individualité noétique ainsi projetée, à laquelle le Vedānta fait souvent référence en utilisant le mot „âme” (*jīva*), existe d'une manière séquentielle, tout au long d'une série d'incarnations grossières. Le corps grossier et le sujet de la transmigration, les résidus karmiques d'expériences actuelles ou passées qui projeteront de nouvelles expériences dans l'avenir s'imprimant à ce niveau. L'expérience du corps subtil prend la forme d'un périple à travers une série de corps grossiers, en fonction de la condition karmique accumulée. Les conditions grossières assumées peuvent être de divers types; en accord avec la cosmologie pas assez précis du Vedānta, tout corps subtil peut s'incarner, en fonction du mérite (*puṇya*) accumulé, même sous la forme d'un être céleste, d'un „dieu” (*deva*) – cas dans lequel il va avoir beaucoup de pouvoir (mais pas de l'omnipotence) et de béatitude (à un niveau très intense, mais pas absolu), pour une période très longue (mais pas pour l'éternité), jusqu'à l'épuisement des résidus karmiques qui l'ont projeté dans cette condition.

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*Vedānta-Sāra*, 57, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 42.

Suggestif pour la manière de laquelle le Vedānta considère la manifestation de l'Univers, comme un éloignement progressif de la conscience absolue vers des éléments de plus en plus grossiers et qui manquent de conscience, est le schéma cosmogonique présenté avant, dans lequel les éléments „matériels” sont nés dans un certain ordre, commençant avec les plus subtiles et les plus raréfiés (l'éther) et finissant avec les plus grossiers (la terre).

„Qu’est-ce que c’est le corps subtil (*sūkṣma śarīra*)?

Le corps subtil est celui composé de cinq éléments sensibles (*mahābhūta*) non - quintuplé (*apañcīkṛta*); celui qui est né des résidus karmiques existantes (*sat*); celui qui produit l’expérience (*bhoga*) du plaisir (*sukha*), de la douleur (*duḥkha*) et d’autres; [celui formé] par l’union de 17 parties – c’est à dire les cinq facultés de la connaissance (*jñānendriya*), les cinq facultés de l’action (*karmendriya*), les cinq souffles (*prāṇa*), la pensée (*manas*) et l’intellect (*buddhi*) – celui qui existe de cette manière, voilà le corps subtil.”<sup>15</sup>

### **La projection de l’expérience psycho – noétique individuelle au niveau du corps subtil**

Le corps subtil projette l’expérience „interne” individuelle, c’est-à-dire l’expérience psycho – noétique de chaque être. Seulement l’expérience „externe”, l’expérience de la „matérialité”, dans laquelle la conscience s’éloigne en très grande mesure de soi-même, n’appartient à ce niveau de l’expérience, constituant le troisième registre de l’expérience, le registre du „corps grossier” (*sthūla śarīra*).

L’analyse psychologique assez pénétrante du Vedānta identifie, au niveau du corps subtil, un nombre d’instances qui expliquent toute la vie psychique individuelle. Ces instances sont les suivantes: l’intellect (*buddhi*), la mémoire (*citta*), la pensée (*manas*), le sens du soi (*ahaṃkāra*) – qui, ensemble, sont désignés comme „l’organe interne” (*antaḥkaraṇa*) – les cinq facultés de la connaissance (*jñānendriya*), les cinq facultés de l’action (*karmendriya*) et les cinq souffles (*prāṇa*). Étant donné le fait que, en général, la mémoire est considérée comme faisant partie de l’intellect et le sens du soi comme faisant partie de la pensée, le plus souvent, le Vedānta parle du corps subtil comme ayant 17 instances.

Sur les quatre instances qui forment l’organe interne (*antaḥkaraṇa*), deux – l’intellect et la mémoire – projettent

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<sup>15</sup> *sūkṣmaśarīraṃ kim / apañcīkṛtapañcamahābhūtaiḥ kṛtaṃ satkarmajanyaṃ sukhaduḥkhādibhogasādhanam pañcājñānendriyāṇi pañcakarmendriyāṇi pañcaprāṇādayaḥ manaścaikaṃ buddhiścaikā evaṃ saptadaśākalābhiḥ saha yattiṣṭhati tatsūkṣmaśarīram / Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 144.

l'expérience de type cognitif et deux – le sens du soi et la pensée – projettent des expériences volitives, décisionnelles, actives.

La fonction de l'intellect est l'inclusion catégorielle (*niścaya*) de l'expérience sensorielle produite au niveau des facultés sensorielles (*jñānendriya*). L'expérience amorphe des facultés sensorielles, correspondant à l'apperception kantienne, une fois conceptualisée, incluse à une catégorie par l'intellect (*buddhi*), est déposée au niveau de la mémoire (*citta*).

„L'essence de l'intellect (*buddhi*) est la détermination catégorielle (*niścaya*).

.....  
La mémoire (*citta*) est celle qui apporte le rappel (*cintana*).”<sup>16</sup>

L'ensemble de ces sept instances – les cinq facultés sensorielles, l'intellect et la mémoire – est responsable pour toute l'aire de l'expérience de type cognitif. Précisément dans ce sens, cet ensemble d'expériences est désigné comme „l'enveloppe qui consiste en connaissance” (*vijñānamayakośa*) de l'absolu.

„72. L'intellect (*buddhi*) ensemble avec les faculté de la connaissance (*jñānendriya*) forme l'enveloppe qui consiste en connaissance (*vijñānamayakośa*).”<sup>17</sup>

La pensée (*manas*) et le sens du soi (*ahaṃkāra*) expliquent les expériences psychiques de type volitif. Le sens du soi fait plus que de projeter un certain type d'expérience; ses manifestations induisent la connaissance en erreur (*viparyāsa*), la faisant s'identifier avec l'individualité créée à ce niveau. À part le fait d'expérimenter, la conscience absolue aussi s'auto – limite au registre de l'hypostase individuelle projetée. Cette identification erronée représente la prémisse pour l'apparition de l'attachement, du désir (*kāma*), de la condition enchaînée (*bandha*). Le sens de soi introduit, au niveau de l'expérience, l'élément subjectif, discriminatoire, la séparation entre le soi et le non – soi, l'attachement envers le soi, la tendance de lui assurer la continuité (*abhiniveśa* – l'instinct de survie, le désir de vivre) au niveau d'une expérience dynamique. À partir de ce niveau, les projections de la conscience perdent leur caractère neutre, passif

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<sup>16</sup> *niścayātmikā buddhiḥ /.....cintanakarṭṭ cittaṃ / Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 154.

<sup>17</sup> *iyam buddhirjñānendriyaiḥ sahitā vijñānamayakośo bhavati ||72|| Vedānta-sāra*, 72, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 48.

et commencent à être caractérisées par l'attachement, le désir et acquièrent des connotations existentielles.

En fonction de la subjectivité et de l'attachement induits par le sens du soi, la pensée (*manas*) prend des décisions pratiques, se rapporte à l'expérience d'une manière active. L'essence de la pensée est précisément l'émission du jugement pro (*saṃkalpa*) ou contre (*vikalpa*) le commencement d'une certaine action.

„66. L'activité (*vṛtti*) de l'organe interne (*antaḥkaraṇa*) qui a comme nature ses propres décisions pro (*saṃkalpa*) ou contre (*vikalpa*) [a] le nom (*nāman*) de „pensée” (*manas*).

.....

69. L'activité (*vṛtti*) de l'organe interne (*antaḥkaraṇa*) qui a comme nature la conscience de soi (*abhimāna*) représente le sens du soi (*ahaṃkāra*).<sup>18</sup>

Ensemble, la pensée, le sens du soi et les facultés sensorielles forment „l'enveloppe qui consiste en pensée” (*manomayakośa*).

À ce niveau, la conscience est déjà enchaînée dans ses propres projections avec lesquelles, d'une manière erronée, a fini par s'identifier et qui sont devenu l'objet de son intérêt, la source du son désir (*kāma*) ou de sa peur (*bhaya*). La conscience s'est créée toute seule l'identité limitée qui peut être enchaînée (en opposition avec sa condition réelle, totalement libre et sans déterminations) et l'expérience qui enchaîne.

„74. La pensée (*manas*) ensemble avec les facultés de la connaissance (*jñānendriya*) forme l'enveloppe qui consiste en pensée (*manomayakośa*).<sup>19</sup>

„Qu'est – ce que c'est l'enveloppe qui consiste en pensée?

Ce qui prend naissance par l'association de la pensée (*manas*) avec les cinq facultés de la connaissance (*jñānendriya*), voilà l'enveloppe qui consiste en pensée (*manomayakośa*).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *mano nāma saṃkalpavikalpātṃmikāntaḥkaraṇavṛttiḥ ||66||*

*abhimānātṃmikāntaḥkaraṇavṛttiḥ ahaṃkāraḥ ||69||*

*Vedānta-sāra*, 66,69, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 46-47.

<sup>19</sup> *manastu jñānendriyaiḥ sahitaṃ sanmanomayakośo bhavati ||74||*

*Vedānta-sāra*, 74, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 49.

<sup>20</sup> *manomayah kaḥ / manaśca jñānendriyapañcakam militvā yo bhavati sa manomayah kośaḥ /*

*Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 150.

Le corps subtil est une combinaison de manifestations de type *Sattva* et *Rajas*. Tout ce qui tient de la fonction cognitive, la fonction représentationnelle du corps subtil – c’est à dire les facultés sensorielles et l’organe interne – constitue le phénoménal de type *Sattva*, pendant que les facultés d’action et les souffles – qui représentent le côté actif, volitif de la manifestation – sont des composants de type *Rajas*.

### **La projection de l’expérience sensorielle brute – les facultés sensorielles (*jñānendriya*)**

Ce que le Vedānta désigne comme *jñānendriya* représente, plutôt, les facultés sensorielles, les capacités de la conscience de projeter un certain type d’expérience que les sens. Le concept de „organe sensoriel”, de „sens”, est élaboré dans un contexte philosophique réaliste, où le sujet entre en contact avec les objets réels extérieurs à lui; ce contact se réalise par l’intermédiaire des sens. Cette modalité de considérer les sens n’est pas trop adéquate à la métaphysique védāntine. Dans le contexte philosophique idéaliste du Vedānta, le sujet n’entre pas en contact avec quelque chose qui se trouve à l’extérieur, mais projette diverses expériences qui deviennent son propre Univers. Dans ce sens, les facultés sensorielles sont plutôt constructives que réceptives, représentant des capacités de la conscience de donner naissance à un certain type d’expérience. La traduction du terme *indriya* par „faculté sensorielle” est plus fidèle par rapport à la manière de laquelle le Vedānta comprend l’expérience sensorielle que l’équivalence de *indriya* avec „sens”.

Les facultés sensorielles créent l’expérience de l’Univers, sous la détermination du karma fixé au niveau de l’individualité à laquelle elles appartiennent. Mais, les facultés sensorielles projettent, sous une forme brute, l’expérience de ce que le sens commun interprète comme „matérialité”. Une fois l’action de l’intellect se produit, cette expérience acquiert une structure catégorielle par laquelle des entités déterminantes sont projetées.

L’école idéaliste du bouddhisme, Vijñānavāda, en adoptant une position similaire avec celle du Vedānta en ce qui concerne l’expérience sensorielle, essaie même d’expliquer le statut créatif des facultés sensorielles en base de l’étymologie du mot *indriya*, dérivé du terme *indra*. Le mot *indra*, en dépit des

incertitudes liées à son étymologie exacte, porte avec lui un sens de „pouvoir”, de „capacité”.<sup>21</sup>

„Comme l’indique leur nom d’*indriya*, ils sont seulement des «puissances» (*śakti*), non pas des choses extérieures constituées par de la matière d’rivée des quatre grands éléments (*bhautikarūpa*).”<sup>22</sup>

„On donne le nom d’*indriyas* aux virtualités des fomes (*rūpasāmarthya*) qui résident dans la conscience.”<sup>23</sup>

Les facultés sensorielles ne doivent pas être confondues avec les organes corporels impliqués dans leur activité, la désignation des facultés sensorielles par le même terme que l’organe associé étant due à un inconvénient d’ordre linguistique qui est l’absence, dans le vocabulaire sanskrit du Vedānta, d’un terme spécial pour chaque faculté sensorielle. Pour remplacer cette déficience d’ordre linguistique, les philosophes védāntins ont été obligés de faire appel à l’aire sémantique la plus proche à celle de la faculté sensorielle et celle – ci a été l’aire des organes sensoriels du corps grossier. De cette manière, les auteurs de l’école ont dû faire référence à la faculté visuelle en utilisant le mot *caḥsus*, dont le sens de base est de „œil”, la faculté gustative utilisant le terme *jihvā*, c’est à dire le mot sanskrit pour „langue”. Là où on a trouvé des termes plus abstraits, on a préféré leur utilisation, comme par exemple au cas du sens olfactif, désigné comme *ghrāṇa*, mot qui ne signifie pas „nez”. La distinction entre les facultés sensorielles et les organes physiques associés résulte clairement si on prend en considération le fait que *jñānendriya* appartient au corps subtil, ayant une nature noétique, pendant que les organes de sens représentent les parties du corps grossier (*sthūla śarīra*), matériel.

### **La projection de l’expérience volitive – active – les facultés de l’action (*karmendriya*) et les souffles (*prāṇa*)**

Si les facultés sensorielles représentent la capacité de la conscience de projeter, de manifester des expériences de type cognitif, les facultés de l’action (*karmendriya*) et les souffles (*prāṇa*) lui permettent de donner naissance aux expériences

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<sup>21</sup> Monier–Williams, 1997, 166-167.

<sup>22</sup> Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch’eng-wei-shih-lun*, en Vallée Poussin, 1928, 42.

<sup>23</sup> Hiuan-Tsang, *Ch’eng-wei-shih-lun*, en Vallée Poussin, 1928, 231-232.

caractérisées par la participation volitive, d'implication active. L'activité des facultés concernant l'activité ne représente pas une interaction de la connaissance avec un domaine extérieur, avec un registre des „objets” sur lesquels la conscience peut exercer une certaine influence, mais cela signifie que la projection d'un registre auquel le soi – projeté toujours par elle et pris comme identité propre – participe en mode actif. La conscience ne s'extériorise pas par ces facultés, elle manifeste seulement ses propres projections d'une manière spécifique, caractérisée par la participation volitive du soi. Il s'agit plutôt de la projection d'une expérience caractérisée par l'activité que par le développement d'une certaine activité.

De même que les facultés sensorielles, les facultés d'action représentent également les capacités de la conscience, des éléments noétiques, des parties du corps subtil et non pas d'organes corporels, leur désignation par des termes qui dénotent les parties du corps physique étant dû à une déficience d'ordre linguistique. Au moment où les textes védāntins se proposent d'énumérer les cinq facultés de l'action, elles énumèrent, les organes grossiers qui leur sont associées. Ainsi, au lieu de la „capacité de manipulation” il apparaît „la main”, au lieu de la „capacité de locomotion” il apparaît „le pied” et ainsi de suite.

„75. Les facultés d'action (*karmendriya*) sont les suivantes: la voix (*vāc*), les mains (*pāṇi*), les pieds (*pāda*), l'anūs (*pāyu*) et l'organe génital (*upastha*).”<sup>24</sup>

La manifestation des cinq „souffles” (*prāṇa*) est toujours une expérience volitive – active. À part la respiration, les penseurs indiens considéraient qu'il existe encore quatre souffles responsables de maintenir le corps en vie, chacun des souffles étant attribué une certaine fonction végétative. Les souffles vitaux constituent, de manière égale, des expressions de la volition, plus exactement de la volonté de vivre de l'inconscient (*abhiniveśa*) que le soi manifeste de manière subliminale. La fonction végétative des souffles vitaux est subordonnée à ce désir primaire vers la conservation de la vie.

Les souffles ont ainsi en commun avec les facultés d'action le fait qu'ils projettent un type d'expérience caractérisée par l'activité, par l'expression de la volonté du soi, soit qu'il

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<sup>24</sup> *karmendriyāṇi vākpāṇipādapāyūpasthākhyāni* ||75||  
*Vedānta-sāra*, 75, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 49.

s'agit du désir inconscient de vivre (dans le cas des souffles), soit des désirs délibérés, conscients (dans le cas des facultés d'action). Ensemble, les cinq souffles et les cinq facultés de l'action forment „l'enveloppe qui consiste en souffle” (*prāṇamayakośa*), par lequel la conscience projette d'expériences caractérisées par l'implication active, de participation volitive.

„Qu'est –ce que c'est [l'enveloppe] qui consiste en souffle?”

Les cinq souffles vitaux (*vāyu*), commençant avec Prāṇa et les cinq facultés de l'action (*indriya*), commençant avec la voix (*vāc*), [celles - ci] forment l'enveloppe qui consiste en souffle (*prāṇamayakośa*).<sup>25</sup>

La réduction de toute l'action à l'expérience du souffle, de la respiration, représente un héritage de la période archaïque du brahmanisme – la fin de la période védique et le commencement de la rédaction des Upanishads – quand, tout en essayant de trouver le principe ultime de la vie et de l'Univers, le souffle a été parfois identifié comme étant celui – ci. L'importance majeure du souffle, de la respiration, non pas seulement dans les pratiques religieuses de l'Inde, mais même dans la philosophie indienne, est due justement à l'identification du souffle comme l'essence de la vie et même du Cosmos, surtout dans la période archaïque du brahmanisme.

### **Le corps subtil et l'état de rêve (*svapna avasthā*)**

Étant d'une nature purement noétique, le corps subtil est expérimenté par lui – même seulement dans ces situations dans lesquelles l'expérience des facultés sensorielles et les facultés d'action sont suspendues, c'est à dire dans l'état de rêve (*svapna avasthā*). Les facultés sensorielles et celles d'action sont responsables pour la manifestation de l'expérience grossière au niveau de la conscience et, de cette manière, leur suspension laisse comme actives seulement les souffles et l'organe interne (*antaḥkaraṇa*), au niveau desquels prend naissance l'expérience du rêve.

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<sup>25</sup> *prāṇamayah kaḥ / prāṇādyāḥ pañcavāyavaḥ vāgādīndriyapañcakam prāṇamayah kośah / Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002,150.

„Le rêve (*svapna*) représente la conception (*pratyaya*) d’objets (*viṣaya*), [conception] qui prend naissance à partir des impressions mentales (*saṃskāra*) [produites] dans l’état de veille (*jāgarita*), au moment où les facultés de connaissance et d’action (*karāṇa*) sont supprimées (*upasaṃhrta*).”<sup>26</sup>

Dans la littérature du Vedānta, les trois enveloppes qui forment, ensemble, le corps subtil (*sthūla śarīra*) sont, en général, exposées dans un ordre qui reflète une certaine hiérarchisation ontologique de celles – ci. Le plus près de l’absolu se trouve l’enveloppe qui consiste en connaissance (*vijñānamaya kośa*), au niveau de laquelle l’expérience prend la forme d’une simple représentation. L’expérience de l’enveloppe qui consiste en pensée (*manomaya kośa*) s’éloigne plus de Brahman parce que, à ce niveau, on impose à l’expérience constituée auparavant des déterminations subjectives – existentielles, des évaluations axiologiques. L’enveloppe qui consiste en souffle (*prāṇamaya kośa*) est la plus éloignée de l’absolu parce que, à ce niveau, la conscience s’implique d’une manière active dans ses propres projections.

„89. Parmi ces enveloppes (*kośa*), celle qui consiste en connaissance (*vijñānamaya*) est celle qui possède la capacité (*śakti*) de connaissance (*jñāna*) et est de la nature (*rūpa*) du sujet de l’action (*kartr*). L’enveloppe qui consiste en pensée (*manomaya*) est celle qui possède des capacités volitives (*icchā*) et est de la nature de l’instrument de l’action (*karāṇa*). L’enveloppe qui consiste en souffle (*prāṇamaya*) est celle qui possède la capacité d’action (*kriyā*) et est de la nature de l’effet de l’action (*kārya*).

La distinction (*vibhāga*) de celles – ci a été exposée en base de [leur] fonction (*yogatva*). Ces trois enveloppes sont appelées „le corps subtil” (*sūkṣma śarīra*).”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *karāṇeṣūpasamhrteṣu jāgaritasamskārajaḥ pratyayaḥ saviṣayaḥ svapna ... / Pañcīkaraṇam*, en Balasubrahmanyam, 1910, 189.

<sup>27</sup> *eteṣu koṣeṣu madhye vijñānamayo jñānaśaktimān kartrrūpaḥ | manomaya icchāśaktimān karaṇarūpaḥ | prāṇamayaḥ kriyāśaktimān kāryarūpaḥ | yogyatvādevameteṣāṃ vibhāga iti varṇayanti | etatkośatrayaṃ militaṃ satsūkṣmaśarīramityucyate ||89||*

*Vedānta-sāra*, 89, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 52-53.

## Le corps grossier (*sthūla śarīra*) et l'expérience de la matérialité

La dernière enveloppe qui altère la conscience de soi de l'absolu est le corps grossier (*sthūla śarīra*), l'expérience de la matérialité. Tout comme le noétique, la matérialité, l'objectivité représente la manifestation, la projection de la conscience. À la différence de la philosophie réaliste, qui oppose la corporalité à la conscience, pour l'idéalisme védāntin le matériel n'est que la plus grossière projection de la conscience. Compte tenu de l'intériorité de la conscience, la matérialité représente, quand même, la manifestation par laquelle la conscience s'éloigne, dans la plus grande mesure, de sa propre nature.

Ce niveau de l'expérience suppose tous les autres (le fond de l'ignorance issu au niveau du corps causal et les structures noétiques du corps subtil), supplémentant leurs manifestations avec une expérience de la matérialité. On arrive à un renversement radical de la perspective, en comparaison avec la mentalité réaliste du sens commun, qui confère un degré très élevé d'autonomie à l'expérience de la matérialité. Dans le cas du Vedānta, la matière n'existe pas par soi – même et elle n'est pas indépendante du noétique non plus; par contre, le noétique précède la matérialité, étant une structure qui la projette.

„Qu'est – ce que c'est le corps grossier (*sthūla śarīra*)?

Celui composé de cinq éléments sensibles (*mahābhūta*) quintuplés (*pañcīkṛta*); celui né à partir de résidus karmiques existants; le lieu (*āyatana*) où on expérimente le plaisir (*sukha*), la douleur (*duḥkha*) et les autres; le corps caractérisé par les six altérations (*vikāra*), c'est à dire cel qui existe (*asti*), est né (*jāyate*), grandi (*vardhate*), devient adulte (*vipariṇamate*), se déprécie (*apakṣīyate*) et meurt (*vinaśyati*) – voilà le corps grossier.”<sup>28</sup>

En conformité avec les autres systèmes de classification de la manifestation, le corps grossier correspond à l'„enveloppe qui consiste en nourriture” (*annamayakośa*) et l'expérience de l'état de veille (*jāgrat avasthā*). Pendant l'état de veille, parce

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<sup>28</sup> *sthūlaśarīraṃ kim / pañcīkṛtapañcamahābhūtaiḥ kṛtaṃ satkarmajanyaṃ sukhaduḥkhādibhogāyatanaṃ śarīraṃ asti jāyate vardhate vipariṇamate apakṣīyate vinaśyatīti śaḍvikāravadetatsthūlaśarīraṃ / Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 143-144.

qu'elle a part de tous les types d'expériences possibles (l'ignorance, le noétique et la matérialité), la conscience est, dans la plus grande mesure, éloignée d'elle – même.

„Du Virāj on dit qu'il représente tout ce qui est formé par les cinq éléments sensibles (*mahābhūta*) quintuplés (*pañcīkṛta*). C'est le corps (*śarīra*) grossier (*sthūla*) du Soi (*ātman*). À l'état de veille (*jāgarita*) [correspondent] les objets (*artha*) perçus par l'intermédiaire des facultés sensorielles (*indriya*). Viśva est le Soi qui s'imagine lui – même comme étant deux.”<sup>29</sup>

„Qu'est –ce que c'est [l'enveloppe] qui consiste en nourriture?

Celle qui, étant issue de la sève de la nourriture (*annarasa*), grandie grâce à la sève de la nourriture et qui se dissout dans la terre (*prthivī*) – [la terre] qui a la nature (*rūpa*) de la nourriture (*anna*) – voilà l'enveloppe qui consiste en nourriture (*annamayakośa*), [voilà] le corps grossier (*sthūla śarīra*).”<sup>30</sup>

Le corps grossier, l'enveloppe qui consiste en nourriture, réunit plus que le corps biologique; tout l'Univers physique appartient au plan de la manifestation, le corps étant seulement un élément privilégié que la conscience assume comme une partie de son identité. Le nom de „enveloppe qui consiste en nourriture” n'indique pas nécessairement le caractère biologique de cette expérience, la nourriture (*anna*) représentant, spécialement pour les Upanishads, un élément métaphysique fondamental, le principe ultime de toute l'existence, pris dans ce contexte comme dénomination générique du matériel.<sup>31</sup>

Le corps grossier (*sthūla śarīra*) du Soi, l'enveloppe qui consiste en nourriture (*annamayakośa*) représentent des expressions de la tendance Tamas du phénoménal, c'est-à-dire, ils sont des expériences qui se sont éloignées de la conscience dans la plus grande mesure, arrivant à être expérimentées sous la forme d'un donnée implacable.

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<sup>29</sup> *pañcīkṛta pañcamahābhūtāni tatkāryaṃ ca sarvaṃ virāṇityucyate / etatsthūlaśarīramātmanaḥ / śarīradvayakāraṇamātmājñānaṃ sābhāsamavyākṛtamityucyate /*

*Pañcīkaraṇam*, en Balasubrahmanyam, 1910, 189.

<sup>30</sup> *annamayah kaḥ / annarasenaiva bhūtvā annarasenaiva vṛddhiṃ prāpya annarūpapṛthivyām yadvilīyate tadannamayah kośaḥ sthūlaśarīram / Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 149.

<sup>31</sup> *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad*, II.ii.1, en Swami Gambhirananda, 1995, 87-88.

„49. La tendance (*guṇa*) *Satva* représente le sujet de l'expérience (*bhoktr*) et elle est pure (*śuddha*), *Rajas* représente l'instrument (*sādhana*) de l'expérience (*bhoga*) et la tendance *Tamas* représente l'objet de l'expérience (*bhogyā*)...”<sup>32</sup>

Le Vedānta ne se pose pas de problème en ce qui concerne le caractère commun, „partagé” (*bhājana*) par plusieurs êtres de l'expérience de l'Univers physique. L'école idéaliste du bouddhisme, Vijñānavāda, assez rapprochée de Vedānta en ce qui concerne l'ontologie, explique cet aspect par la synchronicité des expériences individuelles. Même si elles apparaissent au niveau personnel, les expériences de l'Univers physique sont produites par le soi – disant „karma partagé/commun” (*sādhāraṇakarma, tulyakarma*) et, ainsi, elles sont dans une relation de synchronicité, faisant l'impression de leur „objectivité”.

### **Le microcosme et le macrocosme**

Étant donné le fait que l'Univers physique représente une projection ayant un aspect de „matérialité” des instances noétiques de l'être qui l'expérimente, il est naturel qu'il existe une similarité structurelle entre les instances noétiques humaines qui projettent et l'Univers projeté. L'être humain représente un microcosme ou, plus correctement dit, l'Univers représente l'expansion cosmique de l'homme, la sortie de l'homme en dehors de lui.

Conformément au Vedānta, l'Univers physique est formé par cinq éléments „matériels” fondamentaux (*mahābhūta*): l'éther (*ākāśa*), le vent (*vāyu*), le feu (*tejas*), l'eau (*āpas*) et la terre (*prthivī*). Ces cinq éléments physiques sont corrélés au cinq types d'expérience sensorielle (visuelle, auditive, tactile, gustative et olfactive), au cinq facultés sensorielles (l'ouïe - *śrotra*, le tact - *tvac*, la vue - *caḡṣus*, le goût - *rasanā* et l'odeur - *ghrāṇa*), un élément „physique” étant associé à chaque faculté sensorielle. Cette correspondance entre les facultés sensorielles et les éléments matériels primaires indique le fait que l'expérience représentationnelle – noétique et celle „matérielle” ne représentent autre chose que des aspects distincts d'une seule

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<sup>32</sup> *bhoktā satvaguṇaḡ śuddho bhogānāṃ sādhanam rajah / bhogyam tamoguṇam ..... //*  
*Sadācārah*, 49, en Swami Anubhavananda, 1995, 131.

expérience; plus exactement, il s'agit de l'aspect *Sattva*, respectivement de celui du type *Tamas*, du phénoménal.

„De tous ces cinq éléments de l'existence (*tattva*), basée sur la composante (*aṁśa*) caractérisée par *Satva* de l'espace (*ākāśa*) est née la faculté de la connaissance (*indriya*) qui est l'ouïe (*śrotra*).

Basée sur la composante caractérisée par *Satva* du vent (*vāyu*) est née la faculté de la connaissance qui est le tact (*tvac*).

Basée sur la composante caractérisée par *Satva* du feu (*agni*) est née la faculté de la connaissance qui est la vue (*cakṣus*).

Basée sur la composante caractérisée par *Satva* de l'eau (*ap*) est née la faculté de la connaissance qui est le goût (*rasanā*).

Basée sur la composante caractérisée par *Satva* de la terre (*pṛthivī*) est née la faculté de la connaissance qui est l'odeur (*ghrāṇa*).<sup>33</sup>

„De la composante caractérisée par *Tamas* de tous ces cinq éléments de l'existence (*tatva*) sont nés les cinq éléments (*tatva*) [grossiers].....<sup>34</sup>

„57. De la conscience (*caitanya*) enveloppée (*upahita*) par l'ignorance (*ajñāna*), qui possède la capacité (*śakti*) de projection (*vikṣepa*) et qui a une prépondérance (*pradhāna*) de *Tamas*, est né l'éther (*ākāśa*). De l'éther, le vent (*vāyu*); du vent, le feu (*agni*); du feu, l'eau (*āpas*); de l'eau, la terre (*pṛthivī*).

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58. Parce qu'on observe une prépondérance (*ādhikya*) de la matérialité (*jādyā*), leur cause (*kāraṇa*) a une prépondérance (*prādhānya*) de *Tamas*.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *eteṣāṁ pañcatattvānāṁ madhye ākāśasya sātvikāṁśāt śrotrendriyaṁ sambhūtam /*

*vāyoḥ sātvikāṁśāt tvagindriyaṁ sambhūtam /*  
*agneḥ sātvikāṁśāt cakṣurindriyaṁ sambhūtam /*  
*jalasya sātvikāṁśāt rasanendriyaṁ sambhūtam /*  
*pṛthivyāḥ sātvikāṁśāt ghrāṇendriyaṁ sambhūtam /*

*Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 153-154

<sup>34</sup> *eteṣāṁ pañcatattvānāṁ tāmasāṁśāt pañcīkṛtapañcatattvāni bhavanti /*  
*Tatva-bodha*, en Nedu, 2002, 156.

<sup>35</sup> *tamaḥpradhānavikṣepaśaktimadajñānopahitacaitanyādākāśa*  
*ākāśādvāyurvāyoragniragnerāpo 'dbhyaḥ pṛthivī cotpadyate etasmādātmana*  
*ākāśaḥ sambhūtaḥ | ityādiśruteḥ ||57||*  
*teṣu jādyādhikyadarśanāttamaḥprādhānyaṁ tatkāraṇasya | tadānīm*  
*sattvarajastamāṁsi kāraṇaguṇaprakrameṇa teṣvākāśādiṣūtpadyante ||58||*  
*Vedānta-Sāra*, 57-58, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1997, 42-43.

La similarité structurelle entre les capacités sensorielles d'un être humain, son expérience sensorielle, et l'Univers „matériel” s'explique par le fait que justement les capacités sensorielles (*jñānendriya*) sont celles qui projettent à „l'extérieur” les cinq éléments „matériels”. L'expérience sensorielle se projette elle – même vers un domaine encore plus éloigné de la translucidité de la conscience, où elle sera interprétée comme „matière” inconsciente.

Le parallélisme va encore plus loin et on suggère que même le phénoménal du type actif – volitif est projeté toujours en base de la même structure qu'on trouve dans le cas de l'expérience sensorielle et de la matérialité. On a essayé de mettre en correspondance chaque faculté d'action à un certain élément „matériel”, sur lequel on avait focalisé une expérience du type actif – volitif. Ainsi, le parler a été considéré comme une expérimentation active de l'éther, la saisie avec les mains comme une expérimentation active du vent etc. De cette manière, il existe une similarité structurelle parfaite entre l'expérience noétique – idéelle de l'Univers (l'expérience du type *Sattva*), l'expérience „matériel” (l'expérience du type *Tamas*) et celle volitive - active (l'expérience de type *Rajas*).

„De ce cinq éléments de l'existence (*tattva*), en base de la composante (*aṁśa*) caractérisée par *Rajas* de l'espace (*ākāśa*) est née la faculté de l'action (*indriya*) qui est la voix (*vāc*).

En base de la composante caractérisée par *Rajas* du vent (*vāyu*) est née la faculté de l'action qui sont les mains (*pāṇi*).

En base de la composante caractérisée par *Rajas* du feu (*vahni*) est née la faculté de l'action qui sont les pieds (*pāda*).

En base de la composante caractérisée par *Rajas* de l'eau (*jala*) est née la faculté de l'action qui est l'organe génitale (*upastha*).

En base de la composante caractérisée par *Rajas* de la terre (*pṛthivī*) est née la faculté de l'action qui est l'anus (*guda*).

En base de la composante caractérisée par *Rajas* de la totalité (*samaṣṭi*) de tous ces sont nés les cinq souffles (*prāṇa*).”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *eteṣāṃ pañcatattvānāṃ madhye ākāśasya rājasāṁśāt vāgindriyaṃ sambhūtam /  
vāyoḥ rājasāṁśāt pāṇīndriyaṃ sambhūtam /  
agneḥ rājasāṁśāt pādendriyaṃ sambhūtam /  
jalasya rājasāṁśāt upasthendriyaṃ sambhūtam /*

Le brahmanisme spéculé sur le parallélisme homme – Univers dès ses étapes archaïques, quand ce parallélisme était considéré plutôt sous ses aspects ontologiques. Même si l’homme (*Puruṣa*) dont le fameux hymne de la création, *Puruṣa-Sūkta*, du *Ṛg-Veda*, X.90, parle est plutôt un homme primordial et l’approche n’a pas encore des tendances phénoménologiques, mais seulement ontologiques, on peut considérer déjà avoir à faire avec l’intuition de la priorité de l’être humain par rapport à l’Univers.

On peut déjà rencontrer dans les Upanishads l’analogie homme – Univers dans des formulations qui prennent en considération l’aspect phénoménologique du parallélisme, mais qui trace cette analogie d’une manière naïve. Ainsi, en *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, par la suite du „chauffage” (*abhi-tap*) d’un homme (*puruṣa*) (primordial?), celui – ci développe des facultés ou des organes par lesquels il s’extériorise et, par l’expansion cosmique, ces facultés donnent naissances aux différentes composantes de l’Univers.

„I.1.4. [Puis], il l’a chauffé.

Cependant, la bouche (*mukha*) de celui chauffé se descella, comme le fait un oeuf. De cette bouche, [sortit] la parole (*vāc*); de la parole, [sortit] le feu (*agni*).

Les deux narines (*nāsika*) se descellèrent. Des deux narines [sortit] le souffle (*prāṇa*); du souffle, [sortit] le vent (*vāyu*).

Les deux yeux (*akṣi*) se descellèrent. Des deux yeux [sortit] le sens de la vue (*cakṣus*); de la vue, [sortit] le Soleil (*āditya*).

Les deux oreilles (*karṇa*) se descellèrent. Des deux oreilles [sortit] le sens de l’ouïe (*śrotra*); de l’ouïe, [sortit] l’espace (*diś*).

La peau (*tvac*) se descella. De la peau, [sortit] les cheveux (*loman*); des cheveux, [sortirent] les herbes (*oṣadhi*) et les arbres (*vanaspati*).

Le coeur (*hr̥daya*) se descella. Du coeur, [sortit] la pensée (*manas*); de la pensée, [sortit] la Lune (*candramas*).

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*pr̥thivyāḥ rājasāṃśāt gudendriyaṃ sambhūtam /  
eteṣāṃ samaṣṭir̥rājasāṃśāt pañcaprāṇāḥ sambhūtāḥ /  
Tatva-Bodha, en Nedu, 2002, 155-156.*

Le nombril (*nābhi*) se descella. Du nombril, [sortit] le souffle descendant (*apāna*); du souffle descendant, [sortit] la mort (*mṛtyu*).

L'organe de procréation (*śiśna*) se descella. De l'organe de procréation [sortit] le liquide séminal (*retas*); du liquide séminal [sortit] l'eau (*ap*).<sup>37</sup>

## Conclusions

Le schéma ontologique de l'école Advaita Vedānta réussit à imposer une forme de pan – spiritualisme; l'Univers entier a une pertinence spirituelle, morale, représentant une projection de la conscience affectée par l'ignorance et déterminée par le Karma. En dernière instance, la cosmologie est spirituelle, la physique est „sacrée”; tout ce qui existe, existe à travers une raison spirituelle liée à l'évolution de la conscience vers la consommation de ses propres déterminations karmiques qui la maintiennent dans l'état d'ignorance et le retour à sa nature absolue.

En même temps, ce schéma ontologique impose l'importance et la responsabilité absolue du sujet. La conscience – sujet représente la seule réalité, l'Univers entier n'étant que sa projection; tout ce qui existe dépend exclusivement de la conscience, de sa condition.

„II.12. Le Soi (*ātman*) conçoit lui – même par Soi; le dieu (*deva*) lui – même est celui qui connaît la diversité (*bheda*) par l'intermédiaire de son propre illusion (*svamāyā*) – c'est une certitude (*niścaya*) du Vedānta.”<sup>38</sup>

Le schéma ontologique du Vedānta réussit à être très conséquent avec le monisme. La conscience – réalité est unique et elle ne crée même pas quelque chose qui soit différent d'elle; elle

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<sup>37</sup> *tam abhyatapat | tasyābhītapasya mukhaṃ nirabhidya yathāṇḍam | mukhād vāk | vāco 'gniḥ | nāsike nirabhidyetām | nāsikābhyāṃ prāṇaḥ | prāṇād vāyuh | akṣiṇī nirabhidyetām | akṣībhyāṃ cakṣuḥ | cakṣuṣa ādityaḥ | karnau nirabhidyetām | karṇābhyāṃ śrotram | śrotrād diśaḥ | tvaṅ nirabhidya | tvaco lomāni | lomabhya oṣadhivaspatayaḥ | hṛdayaṃ nirabhidya | hṛdayān manaḥ | manasaś candramāḥ | nābhir nirabhidya | nābhyā apānaḥ | apānān mṛtyuḥ | śiśnaṃ nirabhidya | śiśnād retaḥ | retasa āpaḥ || I.1.4 || Aitareya Upaniṣad, I.1.4, en Swami Gambhirananda, 1999, 24-25.*

<sup>38</sup> *kalpayatyātmanā 'tmānamātmā devaḥ svamāyayā | sa eva budhyate bhedāniti vedāntaniścayaḥ || 12|| Māṇḍūkya-kārikā, II.12, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1949, 105.*

ne fait que projeter ses propres idéations. Sous aspect substantiel, l'Univers - idéation n'est pas différent de la réalité – conscience.

„II.19. La discrimination (*vikalpita*) de ces infinis (*ananta*) entités (*bhāva*), commençant avec le souffle (*prāṇa*) représente l'illusion (*māyā*) du dieu (*deva*), par laquelle [il] s'induit lui – même en erreur.”<sup>39</sup>

L'impératif religieux qui en résulte est celui du retour de la conscience vers sa propre condition trans – individuelle, de la redécouverte de cette condition.

„XV.14. Ce que tu penses (*man*), tu l'es ...”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *prāṇādibhiranantaiśca bhāvairetaivikalpitaḥ | māyaisā tasya devasya yayā saṃmohitaḥ svayam || 19|| Māṇḍūkya-kārikā*, II.19, en Swami Nikhilananda, 1949, 116.

<sup>40</sup> *yanmanāstanmayo ...*

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## BARBARIAN ENVOYS AT BYZANTIUM IN THE 6<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

**Ecaterina Lung\***

**Abstract.** *The byzantine diplomacy has been for long time an object for the historical research, its efficiency being considered one of the explanations for the so long survival of the Empire. The barbarian embassies sent to Constantinople were studied mainly in the context of general discussions on byzantine diplomacy.*

*We intend to focus on the possibility of deciphering a barbaric point of view regarding the relations with the Byzantine Empire, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, when the narrative sources that are available to us have a Byzantine origin, or, when referring to barbarian kingdoms in the West, they are profoundly influenced by Roman and Roman-Byzantine traditions.*

**Keywords:** *Byzantine diplomacy, barbarian embassies, diplomatic envoys, narrative sources.*

We intend to use for our analysis the narrative sources from the 6<sup>th</sup> century, because this period represents a turning point in the military and political situation of the Byzantine Empire and most of that we know about it derives from chronicles and histories<sup>1</sup>. Old and new enemies confronted the imperial power, especially during the huge effort of reconquest made by Justinian and the relations weren't always of confrontation, but also diplomatic ones. We propose to try to adopt the point of view of the barbarians who send envoys to Constantinople or who participate to negotiations with the Byzantines, which is a very difficult attempt. The byzantine diplomacy was very often studied, but that of post-Roman barbarian kingdoms from the

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<sup>1</sup> We use the term “narrative sources” because the historical writings in the Middle Ages represent a kind of federation of subgenres, “the boundaries between which are notably unclear”, to cite Lake, 2014, 345.

Occident entered the attention of academics only recently and partially<sup>2</sup>. Also, the envoys that came to Byzantium from the East were studied only in the context of the attention paid to the imperial diplomacy<sup>3</sup>. When it comes to Western Barbarians, we have some narrative sources written in the successor kingdoms, but usually, we can know something about the Eastern barbarian embassies or envoys only from Byzantine sources, which pose the problem of the bias of the authors. But even if we use Byzantine sources to discuss the Barbarian embassies we can stress some specificities of the societies the envoys came from, some aspects of the Byzantine diplomacy, and more often some Byzantine ideas and stereotypes.

The most important methodological problem is how to decipher a Barbarian point of view in sources written by Byzantines or by very Romanized Latin authors. Also, we can not always give weight to the information about Barbarians presented in the narrative sources, because the authors were often politically motivated or tried to hide internal controversies and not to offer valid data about the strangers, because they use the Barbarians as a mirror for the Byzantine society<sup>4</sup>. It is true that the authors interested by ethnography have sometimes transmitted a barbarian point of view, that some of them admired the Barbarians, and some of them used the strangers to criticise their own society. In Byzantium, the ethnography could have been used with subversive intentions<sup>5</sup>.

But the Byzantines were really curious about foreigners even if they tried to filter new information through old myths and stereotypes<sup>6</sup>. We can find this genuine curiosity in the discussion between Justin II and Turk envoys, when the emperor asked many question about a people who inhabited distant lands and who was not a direct threat or a valuable ally<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, no ally was unimportant from the point of view of Byzantines for whom

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<sup>2</sup> One of the first works on the subject, regarding the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century, is Andrew Gillet, *Envoys and political communication in the late antique west 411-533*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> For the recent bibliography on the subject of byzantine diplomacy, see Whately, 2013, 239-254.

<sup>4</sup> Kaldellis, 2013, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Luttwak, 2009, 145.

<sup>7</sup> Menander, 1985, 10.9.

the ambassadors were important channels for passing on and obtaining useful information<sup>8</sup>.

If we can find a lot of information about barbarian envoys in the works of Byzantine historians and chroniclers, the Latin authors are less proficient in this respect. But they tell us something about diplomatic missions and envoys and interpret them in accordance with their own literary or political interests.

Representations of barbarian envoys by Byzantine authors can sometimes give rise to digressions or ethnographic notations. However, it must be noted that the historical works dealing with embassies were literary pieces written for a competitive literary scene<sup>9</sup>. They could have an objective form, as the Wars of Procopius or written in the first person, as the diplomatic reports of Priscus Panites<sup>10</sup>. The tradition required that the authors use references to classical works as the integration of descriptions, speeches before the battle, and diplomatic speeches of persuasion<sup>11</sup>.

The sources for studying barbarian embassies could be not only chronicles and histories but also fragments of official diplomatic reports, as those written by Priscus, Zemarchos, and Nonnosus. It is possible that the barbarian envoys presented such reports themselves, once back in their country, but we can suppose that their form was an oral one, because, often, the envoys were of high origin, related to their monarch, and not professional writers. A good example is given in Menander's history, where Yesdegusnap appears, the Persian who negotiates the peace of 562, who is related to the milk-brother of king Peroz<sup>12</sup>.

In the Latin West, the most important sources are the chronicles, but there is some information in saints' lives, letters, etc.

So, we can point here to another methodological problem, that of the character of our sources, which are fragmentary and often they note only the most important embassies, or offer

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<sup>8</sup> Drocourt, 2012, 91-112.

<sup>9</sup> Kaldellis, 2013, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Blockley, 1983.

<sup>11</sup> Kaldellis, 2013, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Menander, 6.1. See and Rezakhani, 2008.

insights into the so called „kinship diplomacy” (marriages, baptism, adoptions in arms, etc)<sup>13</sup>.

Taking into consideration all these limitations, our goal is not to realize another reconstruction of byzantine diplomacy, but to show how a particular category of sources, the narratives ones, enlightens the way the Byzantines related to the Others and to themselves.

We shall start with a short presentation of the byzantine diplomacy in the context of the 6th century. If for the Romans force was the most important tool of their government, and diplomacy came second, for the Byzantines it was the opposite. They had a lesser military capacity to face more enemies than the Romans, their society had different values and they disposed of other ways of persuasion, as the orthodox christianity<sup>14</sup>. It is possible to assert that Byzantium survived so long also due to a relative prosperity which allowed it to pay off the enemies when war was not possible<sup>15</sup>. And although the discussion is stil open, it is said that the Byzantines had a „grand strategy”, as “the setting of the states objectives and of priorities amongst those objectives, allocating resources among them, and choosing the best policy instruments to pursue them”<sup>16</sup>.

The narrative sources inform us about various diplomatic channels in use in the 6th century and we may begin with those linking various Western barbarian kings and the Byzantine emperor (and then between Barbarian chiefs and Byzantine generals, during Justinian’s wars). Other channels linked the Byzantine empire and Persia, through peace talks during the wars but also through the exchange of information between the two sovereigns, during the more peaceful periods. Finally, there are informations about diplomatic exchanges between the Byzantine empire and various Oriental peoples.

The basic form of diplomatic communication in this period is the mission. The envoy was a person who represents the political authority from which it was sent and who acts as a vehicle of communication. During this period the oral form of communication was essential, the envoys carried letters which

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<sup>13</sup> Gillet, 2003, 3-4.

<sup>14</sup> Luttwak, 2009, 112.

<sup>15</sup> Whately, 2013, 243.

<sup>16</sup> Kagan, 2006, 348.

were secondary and were only guarantees of their credibility. The letters were used to give them the opportunity to speak to the foreign sovereign. The speech of the envoy is underlying diplomatic relations<sup>17</sup>.

What can we learn from analyzing reports about barbarian embassies in the Byzantine world? Sometimes it's the issues that we might consider "objective" and which refer to the actual operation of diplomatic relations at the time.

In terms of duration, narrative sources confirm that these were temporary assignments, because obviously no permanent embassies system existed then. But envoys spent much time at the mission, sometimes several years. From this point of view, some may be considered as a sort of ambassadors, others as a sort of hostages. This may be the situation, presented by Procopius, of the embassy sent by the Ostrogoth King Vitiges to Constantinople at the beginning of his reign, who is allowed to go back only after a few years, and is additionally retained by General Belisarius. He used the Ostrogoth envoys in exchange for a Byzantine ambassador, Petrus Patricius, who was sent to the King Theodat in 533 and could go back to Constantinople only in 540<sup>18</sup>.

The narrative sources from the 6th century record, most often, the missions that reach recipients who are far away. The missions sent to great distances were normal in Byzantium but they were less common in the post-Roman world of the West. There are also embassies with military character, moving over very short distances, during the war. Procopius of Caesarea gives numerous examples during the war of reconquest. The war is centered on sieges, therefore negotiations regarding the surrender of besieged towns have a central role in his works<sup>19</sup>.

After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the envoys are in the post-Roman world the voice of kings, due to the multiplicity of political entities existing there. The diplomatic missions can be correlated with the great politics but sometimes also with local politics. I think that the most interesting is a case of the second category, in which a French aristocrat, the representative of a local aristocratic groups, Gontran Boson, goes

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<sup>17</sup> Gillet, 2003, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Procopius, *Wars*, VI, 22.

<sup>19</sup> Procopius, *BP*, II, 5 ; I, 13 ; II, 8-10.

to Constantinople, in 581-2 to talk to a royal pretender to the throne.

Presenting the complicated history of an usurper, Gundovald, Gregory of Tours helps us to understand how were regarded those who were too close to Byzantium. The duke Gontran Boson was accused of treason by the king Gontran of Burgundy because he went to Constantinople to discuss with Gundovald, a supposed bastard of another Frankish king, Clotar, and to convince him to come back to Gaul and reclaim his inheritance<sup>20</sup>. Gundovald, who was protected by Maurice, the Byzantine emperor, come back to Gaul with money given by the Byzantine and a civil war begins<sup>21</sup>. So, we can ask ourselves if we can consider Gontran Boson a kind of „conspirators’ ambassador”, who was well received at Constantinople and managed to get some help from the emperor, even if Gregory presents us only his discussion with Gundovald, as related by this one.

Another question we have tried to ask to, using our narrative sources, is: to whom are the envoys sent? In general, we can see that they are sent by sovereigns to other sovereigns.

Sometimes, the sources present more than embassies, events that we may categorize as “official visits at the highest level”. Iordanes describes the visit made by the Visigoth King Athanaric in 381 on January 11 at Constantinople. He is received with pomp by Theodosius which comes to meet him outside the walls of the imperial capital. When Athanaric dies on 25<sup>th</sup> of January he receives an official funeral organized by the emperor, in the Roman rite, as expression of imperial policy of conciliation with the Goths<sup>22</sup>.

The interesting but also questionable part of the story written by the historian of gothic origin is the presentation of Athanaric’s reaction, who, seeing the majesty of Constantinople exclaimed dumbfounded that the Emperor must be a god on earth<sup>23</sup>. Athanaric's words constitute a clear affirmation of the respect inspired by the imperial power. But they were recorded by Iordanes somewhat in response to the consideration shown by the

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<sup>20</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 2009 (1916), VII, 14; VII,32.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, VII, 36.

<sup>22</sup> Iordanes, 1939, XXXIX, 144. See the interpretation in Wolfram, 1990, 74.

<sup>23</sup> Iordanes, XXVIII, 142.

emperor to the Visigoth king and have been used to demonstrate (during the war of reconquest of Italy from the Ostrogoths ) that the agreement between Goths and Byzantines was possible. But even after this period, inviting foreign potentates remains a firmly established practice of Byzantine diplomacy. “The foreign ruler was expected to be overwhelmed by the imperial court’s display of power, thus spreading the fame of the empire’s invincible superiority among his compatriots and other barbarian nations”<sup>24</sup>.

There are also situations when an envoy can go to Constantinople to discuss with someone else than the Emperor and the person who send the envoy is not always another sovereign. The history of Gundovald that we discussed above presents a situation different from the norm, because a Frankish aristocrat goes to Constantinople to talk not to the Emperor, but to a pretender to the throne of one of the Frankish kingdoms. Gundovald was protected by the Emperor, so Gontran Boso probably made his intention known at the highest level. The pretender come back to Gaul with money given by the Emperor Maurice, so the envoy of the conspirators must have convinced the Byzantine court to support Gundovald, telling everyone that he has some important backing in his country.

Another case of envoys coming not from a legitimate sovereign but from a pretender or a usurper can be found, around the same time (585) in Visigoth Hispania. Gregory of Tours presents the Catholic prince Hermenegild, son of the Arian King Leovigild, rebelled against his father, in a very favourable manner, as a martyr of the faith. We learn from the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great that Hermenegild sends to Constantinople the Bishop Leander of Seville, asking for help. The Byzantines, in conflict with the Persians, can not help him, but some support comes from the Byzantine commander of Cordoba, whit whom he negotiated, perhaps, as suggested by Gregory of Tours, through his wife, the Frankish princess Ingonda<sup>25</sup>.

Envoys can be also sent by military leaders in a region which constitutes a war theatre, because the generals had the possibility to negotiate directly with enemies on the battlefield<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Beihammer, 2012, 158.

<sup>25</sup> Wolfam, 1997, 267.

<sup>26</sup> Gillet, 2003, 9.

Procopius presents the detailed situation of the Ostrogoths who offered to Belisarius, through their envoys, the rule as king of Italy, in 540<sup>27</sup>. Although many of the statements of Procopius can be put in doubt, this offer could be real, as seems to confirm the coldness shown by Justinian to the victorious general, during the triumph and later. If real, the negotiations were secret, as a kind of closed door diplomacy, in a very complex situation during the byzantine-gothic wars in Italy<sup>28</sup>. Probably the offer made to the Byzantine general actually expresses the shift in the rather geographically defined identities, which are going beyond ethnic or political criteria. It would seem that it is the wish of the inhabitants of Italy to find a formula that would allow them to retain their own individuality in a state that does not directly depend on the Emperor of Constantinople.

When Belisarius is recalled by Justinian and is preparing to leave, Goths messengers come to him and accuse him that he prefers to be the slave of the Emperor than the king of Italy<sup>29</sup>. This version of facts can be fairly close to the truth, for Procopius was present beside Belisarius. On the other hand, when he wrote about it he knew that his master was suspected of attempted usurpation and tries to clear the suspicions that hung over him<sup>30</sup>.

There are countless other less spectacular cases of envoys sent by the local military leaders to the military chiefs from the opposing camp, in the context of a war based on sieges which assumes that at some point the surrender have to be negotiated<sup>31</sup>. The result of such negotiations could be that of the acquisition of the Roman identity by the Goths. They may become Roman by entering the Byzantine army or by accepting to be subjects of the Emperor. Gothic garrisons in Fiesole and Urbino are absorbed into the Byzantine army after the surrender, and those in Osimo, eager to preserve the properties, swear to be faithful subjects of the Emperor. Everything is resolved through complicated negotiations.

The narrative sources confirm the general idea that messengers were also acting in order to provide information to

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<sup>27</sup>Procopius, *BP*, II, 30, 26.

<sup>28</sup> Nechaeva, 2012, 188.

<sup>29</sup> Procopius, *BG*, V, 30.

<sup>30</sup> Cameron, 1985, 188

<sup>31</sup> Whitby, 2013, 433-462.

those who sent them (to not openly call them spies). Procopius shows how Vitiges sent messengers to besieged Belisarius to ask him to surrender Rome; at their return he requires information about Belisarius and the situation of the Byzantine army<sup>32</sup>. We can not be certain, in this case, that the Byzantine historian has a way of knowing what the Ostrogoth King discussed with the envoys returned from the Byzantine camp, but he was well aware of the procedures of the time and knew that such interrogations would have been normal to happen.

Menander Protector, who writes in the last quarter of the sixth century, shows how the envoys can be a source of information for those to whom they were sent. The emperor Justin II asks the Turkish messengers who came to Constantinople about their country, leaders, habits and recent events in Central Asia, especially about the Avars<sup>33</sup>. From the viewpoint of the Turkish envoys these were considered neutral information and they could be shared - so foreign envoys can be used as a source of information about very distant territories. For the people to whom the envoys belong this is the benign version of a kind of “debriefing”, but they also had their agenda in showing their force and their attitude about the Avars, which they consider former subjects of the Turks<sup>34</sup>.

A rather malign one is that in which a Byzantine commander manages to find out what were the true and dangerous intentions of the Avar Chagan. The general Justin befriends the Avar envoy Kunimon and is told that the Chagan Baian wants to conquer Moesia. Because of this very useful information, the Byzantines are able to prevent them from crossing the Danube<sup>35</sup>. In fact, we may be here in the presence of a common practice of the period, that of recruiting double agents from inside the group of envoys and using them as spies<sup>36</sup>. It was said that the Persian ambassador Isdigousnes (Yesdegusnaph at Menander), about whom Procopius wrote with great antipathy, could have been recruited by Justinian who gives him a great

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<sup>32</sup> Procopius, *BG*, V, 20.

<sup>33</sup> Menander, 10.9.

<sup>34</sup> Nechaeva, 2011, 175-184.

<sup>35</sup> Menander, 5.4.

<sup>36</sup> The analysis of the intelligence system in this period in the now classical work of A.D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers. Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1993.

freedom of movement at Constantinople and great sums of money<sup>37</sup>.

Envoys can be used to set up complex diplomatic games, to build defensive alliance or, most often, offensive ones. Procopius shows how Vitiges besieged in Ravenna sends messengers to the Persians to arouse them against the Empire. He sends envoys who are not Goths but two bribed priests from Liguria, one of them assuming the title of bishop<sup>38</sup>. The priests had a role in diplomatic communication because they were literate and had the habit of speaking in public, an essential quality in a period characterized by the oratorical nature of the messages. Chosroes is convinced by the envoys to take action against the Byzantines and his armies invade the empire's territory in the spring of 540<sup>39</sup>. The new threat is considered serious, such as the Gothic embassy sent by Vitiges from the beginning of his reign to Constantinople and held there is sent back with promises of peace. But Belisarius retains it and uses the Gothic envoys in exchange of Petrus Patricius, detained by the Goths as a prisoner from the time of the reign of king Theodat<sup>40</sup>.

The narrative sources confirm that one can not speak of a professionalization of diplomacy during this period, the envoys were recruited from amongst individuals whose career or qualification was different, but in a moment or another they were considered suitable for the mission that has been entrusted upon them. Sometimes the envoys are very high born, as we learn from Menander that the Persian ambassador sent to Dara, on the frontier in 562 to negotiate the 50 years peace with the Byzantines, was the king's chamberlain, "the highest honour amongst the Persians"<sup>41</sup>. Sometimes they have received rhetoric training as the most important of Byzantine ambassadors of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Petrus Patricius, remembered by Procopius and Menander and whose reports have fragmentary survived,

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<sup>37</sup> Procopius, *BG*, IV, 15, 19-20. The theory of Isdigousnes being recruited by the Byzantines in Nechaeva, 2004, 143.

<sup>38</sup> Procopius, *BP*, II, 2, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Dignas, Winter, 2007, 107.

<sup>40</sup> Procopius, *BG*, VI, 22; Wolfram, 1997, 347.

<sup>41</sup> Menander, 6.1.

confessing his literary abilities<sup>42</sup>. Even a mere interpreter used by the Persians, Paulus, studied at an elementary school in Antioch<sup>43</sup>.

On the other hand, there are a number of procedures and attitudes that the envoys, regardless of their origin and education should respect. The process of negotiations implies some very precise technicalities that suppose a certain professionalization<sup>44</sup>.

A component *sine qua non* of any embassy appears to be the exchange of gifts. Turks envoys wishing to establish economic, diplomatic and military relations with the Byzantines bring, says Menander, raw silk. The most common and most appreciated gifts were precious objects and weapons<sup>45</sup>. Avar envoys are given money and weapons, but when it becomes known that Chagan wants to invade Byzantine territory, the given weapons are taken back<sup>46</sup>.

Also noteworthy is the significance of this exchange of gifts as reflected by a conversation that Gregory of Tours is said to have had with the King Chilperic. The king has sent ambassadors to the emperor Tiberius II and after having spent three years in Byzantium they returned with jewels and gold coins with the effigy of the emperor<sup>47</sup>. Chilperic has proudly shown Gregory the diplomatic gifts, because he has seen in them a source of prestige for himself, but also for the kingdom of the Franks<sup>48</sup>. In reality, the intention that the emperor had when he was sending such precious objects was to offer a “powerful gift” which put the recipient in debt and overwhelm him, expressing the Byzantine superiority<sup>49</sup>. Whatever the interpretation that this episode may be given, it seems clear that the empire managed, through diplomacy, to be still recognized as a source of legitimacy by barbarian sovereigns.

The narrative sources confirm the use of translators, interpreters, mostly when it comes to relations with the Persians or oriental barbarians. Procopius details how the Persian king Chosroes uses the interpreter Paulus, a native of Byzantine

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<sup>42</sup> Martindale, Jones; Morris, 1992.

<sup>43</sup> Procopius, *BP*, II, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Levy-Rubin, 2011, 14-15.

<sup>45</sup> Cutler, 2008, 79-101.

<sup>46</sup> Menander, 6. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Gregory of Tours, VI, 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> Curta, 2006, 698.

territories, to extort besieged Byzantine cities<sup>50</sup>. Menander Protector mentions the use of interpreters during the negotiations between Byzantines and Persians or between Byzantines and Avars or Turks<sup>51</sup>.

The professional character acquired by the diplomatic relations between Byzantines and Persians is well documented by the description of the negotiations held by Petrus Patricius and Yesdegusnaph for concluding the “50 years peace” in 562. The story is based on the report written after the Petrus Patricius and the essential elements of the negotiations appear to be authentic. Menander Protector shows how both delegations meet at Dara, on the frontier. The Byzantines were led by Petrus Patricius, *magister officiorum*, and the Persians by Yesdegusnaph, who held the „rank of Zikh, which is the highest honour amongst the Persians, and he served as his king's chamberlain”<sup>52</sup>. The chief negociators were of very high rank, which underlines the importance of the issues that were discussed. The differences between the two sides were that the Persians wanted a lasting peace and a large sum of money to be paid immediately by Justinian, the Byzantines wanted a shorter term truce in order to be able to regroup and nothing to pay. Finally, they reach a compromise. The procedure of signing the treaty is carefully described by Menander, who reproduces a fragment of the report written by Petrus Patricius.

“The fifty year treaty was written out in Persian and Greek, and the Greek copy was translated into Persian and the Persian into Greek. For the Romans, the documents were validated by Peter the master of the offices, Eusebius and others, for the Persians by the Zikh Yesdegusnaph, the Surenas and others. When the agreements had been written on both sides, they were placed side-by-side to ensure that the language corresponded”<sup>53</sup>.

The long lasting relationship between the two parties had led to the development of elaborated concepts and procedures<sup>54</sup>. The establishment of treaties demanded skills and

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<sup>50</sup> Procopius, *BP*, II, 8.

<sup>51</sup> Menander, 6. 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, 6. 1,3. About the career of Yesdegusnaph also see Rezakhani, 2008.

<sup>53</sup> Menander, 6. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Gillet, 2003, 7.

expertise, consisting in writing and translating, comparing the translation by both sides, formal signing, making copies, sealing of the original documents by the envoys, exchanging the originals and copies to be used for reference<sup>55</sup>.

Also, the long familiarity between the two camps may even lead to the inclusion of certain very particular clauses in the treaties, as Agathias, who continues the work of Procopius, tells us about the one negotiated in 532 by the Persian delegation<sup>56</sup>. They obtain for the Platonic philosopher refugees in Persia, because of the persecutions against pagans and of Justinian's closure of the philosophical school in Athens, the right to return to the Byzantine Empire, being granted freedom to practice their religion<sup>57</sup>.

All that information confirms that Byzantium and Persia “respected each other as established empires and so evolved more regular diplomatic procedures to conduct international relations between political equals<sup>58</sup>.

It was said above that the reports about the barbarian embassies can offer some information of ethnographic nature or, more exactly, stereotypes regarding barbarian traits.

Menander presents quite often the vain pride, which was considered a barbarian character. Kandikh, the leader of the Avar mission from Lazica tells Justinian that their people is the most powerful in the world and invincible, but they had needed the help of other barbarians, the Alans, to be introduced to the Byzantines<sup>59</sup>. They used for their benefit the law of hospitality, respected by most of the Barbarians, which put them under Alan protection<sup>60</sup>. In Menander work, the Avars are shown “now pleading, now threatening”, as proof of their inconstancy, another barbarian trait<sup>61</sup>.

But there are situations when presenting a barbarian embassy, the historians record a real ethnographic information, as

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<sup>55</sup> Levy-Rubin, 2011, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Agathias, 1975, 2.30.3-4.

<sup>57</sup> Watts, 2005, 286.

<sup>58</sup> Souza and France, 2008, 2.

<sup>59</sup> Menander, 5.1.

<sup>60</sup> Luttwak, 2009, 103.

<sup>61</sup> Menander, 8, 35. For the stereotypes regarding the Barbarians in the Roman world, see Dauge, 1981, *passim*.

in the case of Menander describing the Turks. Sent by Sizabul<sup>62</sup>, the Turkish envoys come to Constantinople under the protection of Maniakh, a leader of the Sogdians from Central Asia, to negotiate economic and politic relations. After offering “a valuable gift of raw silk”, they “asked the Emperor for peace and an offensive and defensive alliance” and they took an oath. Interesting is their manner of swearing, because they “raised their hands on high and swore upon their greatest oath that they were saying these things with honest intent. In addition, they called down curses upon themselves, even upon Sizabul and upon their whole race, if their claims were false and could not be fulfilled”<sup>63</sup>. This description could be accurate, we even have other older sources which present the barbarians, who lack the custom of written treaties, using the oaths as a traditional way to ensure the respect of an agreement<sup>64</sup>. The possibility that here we have an information about an actual practice and not a stereotype about a barbarian custom is suggested by another episode from Menander’s work, which proves that the historian uses first-hand information about the peoples who enter in diplomatic contacts with the Byzantines. After establishing the relations with the Turks, a byzantine envoy, Zemarchos, is sent to them, reaches Altai region and is the witness of a shamanic ceremony.

“They set fire to branches of the frankincense tree, chanted some barbarous words in their Scythian tongue, making noise with bells and drums, waved above the baggage the frankincense boughs as they were crackling with flames, and, falling into a frenzy and acting like madmen, supposed that they were driving away evil spirits”<sup>65</sup>.

This kind of description can not be found in older texts, so this account has to be authentic<sup>66</sup>.

The analysis of the barbarian embassies and envoys presented in the narrative sources from the 6<sup>th</sup> century could continue, but we believe that some important aspects have already been highlighted. The relevance and richness of details varies

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<sup>62</sup> It seems that his real name was *Yabghu qagan Ishtemi*; see Luttwak, 2009, 98.

<sup>63</sup> Menander, 10.1.

<sup>64</sup> Levy-Rubin, 2011, 16.

<sup>65</sup> Menander, 10.3.

<sup>66</sup> Luttwak, 2009, 99.

widely from author to author, but as a general idea, much more detail is given by Byzantine authors than the Western, Latin ones.

Depending on the context, the recourse to diplomatic means can be judged or condemned and the attitude towards the barbarian envoys varies according to the location of these barbarians on the ladder of civilization. The Western Barbarians and to a certain extent the Persians are considered compatible with the Byzantines, and usually they are shown acting in a diplomatic manner which complies with the Byzantine rules. The security of envoys is observed, according to the so called *ius gentium* (law of nations), even if some of them are sometimes detained as a sort of hostages. Of course, these rules are sometimes broken, sometimes even by the Persians, who are equal partners of the Byzantines but can not be always trusted.

The Eastern Barbarians behave insolently, asking with boldness subsidies, but some of them could become friends of the Byzantines, even if usually they are treated with a lack of confidence.

Talking about an objective reality, the depiction of barbarian embassies tells us more about stereotypes and imaginary and more about the Byzantines than about the Barbarians.

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# VISUAL-MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF VIKING PRESENCE IN THE BALKANS

Konstantin Kolev Jr.\*

**Abstract.** *The Swedish and Norwegian Vikings were present in the Balkans including in Bulgaria. The archaeological and visual materials found on the Romanian, Bulgarian and Turkish territory support this statement. The majority of the objects constitute parts of weapons and tools related to the Scandinavian warfare. Most of these artifacts were discovered in North East of Bulgaria close to the Romanian border. They can be attributed to the Rus princes (father and son): Igor I (912-945) and Svyatoslav I Igorevich (942-972) who passed by the Bulgarian lands in the 10-th century and the Norwegian prince Harald who supported the Byzantine Empire to cause the downfall of the First Bulgarian kingdom at the beginning of the next century. Despite this sorrowful reputation, though, the Viking material culture in Bulgaria, Romania and Istanbul gives evidence to the multicultural mosaic of our region. It also enriches the Balkan history and culture. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to outline the Viking objects discovered in the Balkans.*

**Keywords:** *Vikings, Varangians, the Balkans, artifacts, Byzantine Empire.*

## INTRODUCTION – CONTACTS BETWEEN VIKINGS AND BYZANTIUM

The Swedish Vikings, who are known as “Varangians” mostly in Byzantine sources, were present in the Balkans. They first carried out their military and trading campaigns from Scandinavia to the territories of European Russia, Ukraine and reached the Balkans<sup>1</sup>. A party of Norwegian Vikings called *normen* led by the Norwegian prince Sverkel directly interfered in the Bulgarian history by helping the Byzantine Empire defeat the

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<sup>1</sup> Jansson, 1994, 34-35.

Bulgarian troops and put an end to the First Bulgarian Kingdom at the beginning of the tenth century. Scandinavian warriors took part in the Crusades in the 11-th and 12-th centuries.

The contacts of the Scandinavians with the Eastern Europe and more specifically with the Balkans are abundantly investigated in the Russian and Swedish historiography.<sup>2</sup> However, their availability is quite vague and scanty in Bulgarian research. Few discussions have been carried out by Bulgarian scholars on the presence of Vikings in the Balkans. What is known about the Scandinavian presence in the Balkans is as follows. Firstly, Scandinavians led by the aforementioned Rus Princes Igor I and Sviatoslav invaded the Bulgarian lands through Danube in the end of the first half and the the second half of the 10-th century. Secondly, they contributed to the collapse of the First Bulgarian kingdom supporting the Byzantine emperor Basil II (the Slayer of Bulgarians) (958-1025). Thirdly, they crashed all attempts of Bulgarian rebellions against the Byzantine rule (11-13 century) such as the one organized by Peter Delyan in 1040-1041. Finally, they took part in the Crusades<sup>3</sup>.

However, the other hand, the cultural and historical relations between Scandinavians and the Balkans in the Middle Ages are not reflected solely on historical narrative. They remain available in material-visual artifacts found mostly in North East Bulgaria<sup>4</sup>.

Since no Bulgarian medieval written evidences for the arrival of Vikings at the Bulgarian and Balkan lands are available, the Bulgarian historiography frequently refers to Byzantine annalists such as John Skylitzes (1040-1101)<sup>5</sup> and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959)<sup>6</sup> as well as chronicles from the remote lands of Kiev Russia such as the Russian Primary Chronicle (*Povest Vremyannikh Let*)<sup>7</sup>. These text sources denominated the newcomers “Varangians” or “Rus-people”<sup>8</sup> since they originated from the Eastern parts of Scandinavia (Sweden) and the first large Russian state (Kievan Rus’) where Slavic and

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<sup>2</sup> Kirpichnikov 1966; Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2009, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Gyuzelev, 2001, 57-58.

<sup>4</sup> Yotov, 2004, 34.

<sup>5</sup> Skylitzes; Wortley, 2010, 319.

<sup>6</sup> Moravcsik; Jenkins, Constantine Porphyrogenet, 1967, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Cross; Wetzor, 1953, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

Scandinavian communities intermingled<sup>9</sup>. Russian and Swedish scholars also consider that the Scandinavians in the Balkans were Vikings from Sweden, more specifically from the Viking trade center of Birka located at the lake of Melaren and the Island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea<sup>10</sup>. The Swedish provenance of the Scandinavians who came from Scandinavia, European Russia and today's Ukraine; settled in the Balkans and served as mercenaries and personal bodyguards of the Byzantine emperor, has been confirmed in travel notes written by Arab travelers such as Ibn Fadlan<sup>11</sup> in his work *Risala*, where he describes the journeys through the Volga Bulgaria<sup>12</sup>.

Therefore, Swedish Vikings comprised the Viking group who moved southeast to the Balkans via the large water routes of Volga, Don, down through Dnepr, and Danube where they reached the coasts of the Black sea and Byzantium. This is the so-called „Put iz varyag v greki” (trade route from the Varangians to the Greeks)<sup>13</sup>. This immense waterway proved to be the threshold to the Byzantine European periphery coinciding with the Balkans, where the Varangians left their material-visual legacy of their military and commercial travels and presence at the Balkans (FIGURE 1).

Hence, the Bulgarian archaeology and art history has further contributed to the analysis of this evidence for Scandinavian presence in the Balkans (including the Bulgarian territory). It would be sufficient to mention in this regard scholars such as the archaeologist Valeri Yotov<sup>14</sup> from the Varna historical museum and the art-historian Oksana Minaeva<sup>15</sup> who was a member of the Bulgarian Art History Institute at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. They are among the few scholars who worked on the area of the Scandinavian presence in the Balkans and Bulgaria.

According to the above-mentioned scholar, there are a lot of common similar stylistic features in the external aspect and the decoration of the Scandinavian objects found in the Bulgarian

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<sup>9</sup> Duczko, 2004, 156-158.

<sup>10</sup> Holmqvist, 1993, 65-66; Melnikova, 2011, 187-188.

<sup>11</sup> Бораджиева; Наумов, 1992: IV, 22, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Wikander, 1978, 89.

<sup>13</sup> Melnikova, 2000, 76.

<sup>14</sup> Yotov, 2004, 35.

<sup>15</sup> Minaeva, 2012, 75-76.

territory with those excavated next to the Swedish Viking center of Birka situated not far from Stockholm<sup>16</sup>. This statement has been supported by Swedish scientists as well such as Lena Holmqvist<sup>17</sup>. This discovery also confirms the presence of Scandinavians in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. So, these Vikings, denominated *Rus* by the Arabs and *Varangians* by the Byzantines, used to assault the Byzantine capital and periphery along with Slavs and Pechenegs; served as Byzantine mercenaries and personal bodyguards of the emperor; and helped Basil II (976-1025) defeat the Bulgarians and subdue the First Bulgarian kingdom<sup>18</sup>.

## THE SCANDINAVIAN ARTIFACTS

The discovery of Scandinavian finds in the lands southeast of Scandinavia, including the Balkans, confirm the standpoint that Scandinavians were actively present at these territories rather as conquerors than as peaceful settlers and wanderers traveling to new places. These artifacts have acquired a more specific nature in the Balkans (and Bulgaria). The objects originated from Scandinavia have been found mostly in the northeastern and the northwestern parts of Bulgaria, on the border with Romania as well as in the Istanbul cathedral of Hagia Sophia. The majority of the objects have been manufactured of metal (iron, bronze)<sup>19</sup>. Generally, among them predominate those associated with weaponry and the outfit of the medieval Scandinavia. Viking finds on the Bulgarian and the Balkan territory can be provisionally split into several groups: weapons and equipment; monuments related to the cult of their ancestors or divinities from the Scandinavian pantheon (Odin, Thor, Freyr); and objects of everyday use such as straps and harness.

### **Weaponry – Axes**

The first group of finds are weapons and military equipment. They constitute the most numerous and consequently

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<sup>16</sup> Minaeva, 2012, 54.

<sup>17</sup> Holmqvist, 1993, 132.

<sup>18</sup> Gyuzelev, 2012, 67.

<sup>19</sup> Yotov, 2004, 36-37.

the most obvious component of the visual-material evidence for Scandinavian presence in the Balkans and Bulgaria. They entail elements of the so-called offensive weapons (axes, swords) as well as devices attached to parts of the clothing such as tips for sword sheaths, for instance. It can be suggested that the objects related to weaponry and military equipment occupy almost the entire arsenal of Viking artifacts in Bulgaria. We can start with the investigation on the axes, since axe was the most popular and affordable weapon for each warrior of Scandinavia<sup>20</sup>. Despite being in terms of a construction the most simplified kind of a weapon (a long shaft + edge), the Viking battle-axe is not to underestimate. This weapon is one of the basic visual components of the Scandinavian warrior equipment. That is why a lot of people could afford it. In the same way as the elite Viking warrior, the Scandinavian farmer (bond) used an axe both, as an agrarian tool and as a weapon to fight against wild beasts and people. In other words, their simplicity does not decrease their efficiency as weapons. Especially the long and heavier two-hand axes (Danish axes) were stable weapons, which could function as defensive weapons. Their shaft was approximately between 130 and 180 cm. whereas the entire weapon was very heavy; it could reach 3-5 kg.<sup>21</sup> Let us imagine, an ordinary sword weights on average between 1 and 2 kg, being the heaviest the two-hand types of swords. The axe edge itself was light, which gave the possibility to swing with one hand like a spear over the head<sup>22</sup>.

The most frequently utilized battle-axes were the so-called Danish axes, which were so sharp that a single swing could cut through a knight along with his horse. In this regard, a skillful warrior wearing one long axe was capable of opposing a shield-and-sword armed knight. Two axes have been found in northwestern and northeastern Bulgaria: in the Vrachansko region, close to the Barzina village and in the Shumenski region, at the stronghold near to the Stana village, not so far away from the Novi Pazar city (FIGURE 2). For the manufacturing of the axes incrustation with silver and copper thread was used<sup>23</sup>. Artistic motifs and subjects were included in its decoration. These

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<sup>20</sup> Pedersen, 2008, 181.

<sup>21</sup> Yotov, 2004, 37.

<sup>22</sup> Bennett, 2005, 94.

<sup>23</sup> Yotov, 2004, 39.

art motifs were directly associated with the North Germanic animal style of the so-called “four-legged beast” and with the animal menacing pose<sup>24</sup>. In the case of the axe from the Vrachansko region, the illustration includes two snakes and a four-legged animal, while the axe from Shumenski region – two birds. The edge of both axes is relatively narrow but arched. These axes are lightened (300 grams and length of 25 sm.<sup>25</sup>. This logically leads to the suggestion that these were one-hand (short) axes and could be combined with a wooden shield with a central umbo in the other hand when battling. Both axes date from the period between the end of the 10-th century and the beginning of the 11-th century.

### **Weaponry – Swords**

Unlike the axes, there have been found more swords in number – 4 being one of them not preserved (FIGURE 3). Swords were not so widely distributed the same as axes, since few Vikings could afford to buy this expensive article, which was manufactured and forged in the expensive workshops of the Frankish empire, from where they were exported to Scandinavia. Unlike axes, swords were usually perceived as a representative weapon owned by the rich and the noble (jarls) of Scandinavia who were the only ones who could afford it. The manufacturing was a complicated task that used to take a lot of time and means. Therefore, the production of swords was ordered in advance, whereas the axes could be manufactured more quickly. The first of the three entire Viking swords in Bulgaria was found in the region of the medieval fortress near to the Opaka village, not far from Popovo city. Its dating has been determined around the 9-th century, when a set of military campaigns against Byzantium were organized. Hence, it could be associated with the campaigns of the Kievan prince Svyatoslav. A second sword was found in the region of the Gradeshnitsa village, Vrachansko region. It dates from a later period, the second half of the 10-th century<sup>26</sup>. The approximate one-century difference in the dating corresponds to the dissimilarities in its structure if we compare it to the previous

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<sup>24</sup> Näsman, 1991, 67.

<sup>25</sup> Yotov, 2004, 40.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

sword. Whereas the sword from the Opaka village has its guard upright, the two arms of the guard of the one from the Gradeshnitsa village are symmetrically twisted from both sides. The third sword is from the Govezda village in the Montansko region and is determined as one of the most preserved swords in medieval Bulgaria. It has a long ending (tip) and a straight guard, which places it closer to the form of the later medieval swords of Europe from the period between 12-th and 14-th century<sup>27</sup>. Like the one from Gradeshnitsa, the third sword is probably related to the campaigns of the Magyars into the Balkans. But this does not decrease the Scandinavian influence. Apart from the three more preserved swords, a part of another sword has been found in Northeastern Bulgaria (the exact location is unknown)<sup>28</sup>. The edge has a similar form and it dates from the second half of the 10-th century.

### **Weaponry - Tips for sword sheaths**

Besides the offensive weapons (swords and axes), another component of the military equipment are the tips for sword sheaths. In Bulgaria, several tips for sword sheaths have been found. These have a different decoration, which according to the Bulgarian art historian Oksana Minaeva draws them closer to those excavated in the Swedish Viking city of Birka (Minaeva 2012). According to the Bulgarian archaeologist Valeri Yotov the tips for sword sheaths in Bulgaria are probably 15 (FIGURE 4). They constituted small tracery and thick cases with rounded asymmetric shape and were manufactured of bronze by means of casting. The tips (endings) were attached to the wooden sword sheath<sup>29</sup>.

One of these tips for sword sheaths has been discovered in northeastern Bulgaria, but the exact location still remains unclear. Its decoration resembles other tips for sword sheaths found in the Viking center of Birka (today a Swedish archaeological complex) as well as in Russian Viking settlement centers such as Gnezdovo, Ladoga, in Ukrainian archaeological reserves such as in Pskov and Kiev. The ornament reminds the old-Scandinavian style

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<sup>27</sup> Kirpichnikov, 1966, 49.

<sup>28</sup> Yotov, 2004, 40.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

Borre, which constitutes interlacing of geometrical and curved lines. What can be noticed on one side is the image of a bird with open wings, whereas on the other side there are intertwined snakes clutching each other's bodies and preparing for scrimmage or battle. This is frequently a popular theme in old-Scandinavian art. It is the so-called the Jellinge style, which is typical especially in Denmark<sup>30</sup>. The dating can probably be attributed to the end of the 10-th century and the beginning of the next century.

Another tip for sword sheath is found in the Razgradsko region, close to the stronghold of the Miladinovtsi village. The pictorial composition on the surface of both sides also supports the attribution of Scandinavian origin to the object. The interweaved serpentine geometrical shapes allude to the "Germanic four-legged beast" style, which constitutes the representation of animal images mutually grabbing each other. This can be interpreted as a battle scene in that case. The dating is probably the 10-th century.

A third tip for sword sheath has been discovered in the Pavlikeni region<sup>31</sup>. It has two openings that have probably played decoration functional role. There also were indented nicks shaping the image of a fish (more precisely a fishbone), one of the most interesting animal symbols in medieval art as a whole featuring the mythical and ritual systems of many marine civilizations as well. On some of the borders of the tip there is gilding, which suggests that the bearer of the respective sword sheath could afford a more expensive and more exquisite workmanship. According to the Swedish scholar Charlotte Hedenstierna there were tips for sword sheaths with gilding in Scandinavian (Norway and Denmark) as well, and these gave evidence to the eminent provenance and political power of the one wearing it<sup>32</sup>.

Another metal plate of a sword sheath has been discovered close to the Stana stronghold, not so far from Novi Pazar city. Its decoration is compound of interweaved lines (or ribbons), accompanied by an image of a protruding face in the middle.

Similar stylistic compositions combining the above-mentioned motif of "a Germanic four-legged beast" with

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<sup>30</sup> Bertelsen, 2002, 145.

<sup>31</sup> Yotov, 2004, 41.

<sup>32</sup> Hedenstierna, 2002, 68.

interweaved geometrically curved or parallel lines can be observed in other sword sheaths tips (for instance, those found in Madara, from Chirpan city (Starozagorsko region), the region of the Preslav stronghold). The last sword sheath tip found in the Preslav region contain is decorated with vegetation elements such as palmette, heart-shaped leaf, clear-cut ribbon, and massive bud. However, the exact location of a great number of sword sheath tips is still not established. Instead, what is known is that they have been discovered in northeastern Bulgaria. Apart from sword sheath tips, there have been found tips of sword handles in the northeastern Bulgarian settlements of Preslav city and Manastirishte village (FIGURE 5).

### **Pagan cult objects**

Besides weapons and the elements connected with the Viking warrior outfit, there have been discovered, although few in number, artefacts illustrating the cult of the pagan divinities from the Scandinavian pantheon (Odin, Thor, Freyr). More specifically, these are four small amulets discovered in Drustur city, Veliki Preslav city, and not far from Shumen city, as well as on the aforementioned Danube island (today a part of the Romanian territory)<sup>33</sup>. The last amulet, which was found in Romania, probably resembles a miniature axe and was published by Petre Diaconu and Dumitru Vilceanu<sup>34</sup>. Georgi Atanasov also considers that these small amulets are related to Viking pagan beliefs and were used in the complex sacrificial rituals of the Varangians arriving at Danube<sup>35</sup>. Analogically, the Polish archaeologist Wladimir Duczko, among other East-European and Russian researchers, writes about the availability of a great variety of small amulets in the shape of a hammer (Thor's hammer, Mjolnir) (and axe) along with other significant objects linked to the way of life and the environment in the Viking settlements of the European Russia, the Baltic region and Ukraine (Kiev)<sup>36</sup>. Returning to Bulgaria, other amulets, this time in the shape of small axes, have been excavated in the Bulgarian territory. Their

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<sup>33</sup> Yotov, 2004, 41.

<sup>34</sup> Diaconu; Vilceanu, 1972, 140.

<sup>35</sup> Atanasov, 76-80.

<sup>36</sup> Duczko, 2004, 265.

exact number is unknown, maybe because many of these figures are considered not Scandinavian or influenced by non-Scandinavian art (Magyar or Pechenegian)<sup>37</sup>.

### **Objects of everyday life**

So far, we have indicated those objects related to the bellicose existence and the cult attributed to the Scandinavians in the Balkan territory (principally in Bulgaria). Despite the small quantity, among the Viking artifacts are also such objects related to the everyday living such as straps and horse-trapping, antique hasps (fibulas) (FIGURE 6). More specifically, a leather strap tip has been found in Bulgaria, although the exact location is unclear. In reality, according to the Bulgarian archaeologist Valeri Yotov, whom we referred to a couple of times, this tip constitutes a small case with the shape of a cylinder. Two interweaved curved lamellas are also included in the structure, whereas the decoration reminds of the motif of intertwining, interweaving lines or ribbons, serpentine ribbons, as we have already seen in the decoration image on the surface of the axe blades and the sword sheath tips. This is a clear proof for propinquity with the medieval Scandinavian art styles.

According to the Romanian archaeologists Gheorghe Stefan and Ion Barnia, who confirm the presence of a similar leather strap found in Romania, in the ancient Danube settlement of Dinogecia, this similarity consolidates the viewpoint that before crossing Danube (cultural and transitional border) and reaching the Balkans, the Vikings (more precisely the Varangians) have passed by Eastern Romanian regions<sup>38</sup>. This happened when the Prince Igor's (Svyatoslav) warriors crossed the Dnieper river, reached the Black Sea mouth and the Danube coastal regions, where they prepared to cross Danube<sup>39</sup>. The analogy of the Romanian researcher confirms that this strap is a Viking (Varangian) find. Furthermore, a hollow (curved) fibula has also been found, but it is unclear where exactly. It is a silver-cast hemisphere with images of human face on the front side.

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<sup>37</sup> Yotov, 2004, 42.

<sup>38</sup> Stefan; Barnea; Comsa, 1967, 295, fig. 173/26.

<sup>39</sup> Pavlov, 2005, 61.

Interesting to notice are other everyday objects discovered close to the Byzantine fortress Nufaru such as bracelet glass fragments, dated to the 11-th century and objects made of wood such as wooden horses as toys<sup>40</sup>. The glass bracelets exist rather in fragmentary form and have different shapes (circular, semi-circular, ellipsoidal or square). Most of these glass adornments are coloured in different hues of blue, but green, black, violet, yellow or colourless bracelet fragments were also found<sup>41</sup>. Similar bracelets were also discovered in other nearby Byzantine settlements located on the Danube arms, in archaeological sites such as Pucuiul lui Soare, Dinogetia-Garvăn and Isaccea-Noviodunum-Vicina<sup>42</sup>. The presence of bracelets which were typical women's decoration objects and wooden objects different than weapons indicate the presence of peaceful Viking settlements in Romania close to the Danube delta.

### **Runic inscriptions**

Despite not resembling exactly a historical find, since it is not a specific artifact of object, a significant evidence for the presence of Vikings on the Balkans is provided by a runic inscription on the monumental cathedral of Hagia Sophia in today's Istanbul (FIGURE 7). The inscription is probably carved by the future Norse (Norwegian) konung (king) Harald Hardrade (the Severe) (1047-1066), who supported the Byzantium emperor Basil II the Slayer of Bulgarians to bring the end of the First Bulgarian kingdom acting as a leader of a 500 Viking warriors vanguard and a mercenary in the Varangian Guard protecting the same emperor. Another runic inscription is carved in an antique statue from Piraeus in Greece, where a Runic (probably old-Scandinavian) inscription from the XI-th century has been attested (FIGURE 8).

### **CONCLUSION**

Summarizing, among the Varangian finds in the Balkans including Bulgaria, those related to weaponry and bellicose outfit prevail. They demonstrate clearly that Scandinavians arrived and

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<sup>40</sup> Damian; Vasile, 2011, 275-290.

<sup>41</sup> Bugoi, Poll, Adameseanu, Calligaro: Pichon, 2012, 165.

<sup>42</sup> Diaconu, 1965, 140; Diaconu, 2001, 11-16.

even settled in the Bulgarian and the Balkan territory because of the Variangian-Russ military and trading campaigns to Constantinople in the period between IX and XI century and the recruitment of Varangian warriors as personal bodyguards of the Byzantine emperor and particularly Basil II. They also attest that the contacts between Scandinavians and Balkan people (including Bulgarians) had predominantly military nature. It might be concluded that the settlers from the Scandinavian North have contributed to the downfall of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, their role for the cultural and historical development and ethnical diversity of the Balkans is indubitable.

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## ENCLOSURES

FIGURE 1

Distribution of archaeological excavations related to the Varangians in the Balkans (including Bulgaria), X-XI century and the Dnepr waterway (путь из варяг в греки)

Source: <https://slaviablog.wordpress.com/2014/06/07/varangians/>



FIGURE 2

Battle axes from northwestern Bulgaria (Vrachansko region, Barzina village, Liutibrod village) and northeastern Bulgaria (Razgradsko region, Stana village, Provadia city)

Source: Йотов, В. „Варяги и нормани по българските земи през ранното средновековие – археологически данни“, В: *Снори Стурлусон и корените на нордската книжовност*, Софийски университет „Св. Климент Охридски“ София, 2004, стр. 48-60



### FIGURE 3

Two whole swords from the Bulgarian villages Opaka and Gradeshnitsa (1 and 2 respectively) and a pommel with a guard (3rd) from the Romanian island Păcuiul lui Soare.

#### Sources:

Stefan, Gheorghe; Barnea, Ion; Comsa, Maria; Comsa, Eugen *Dinogetia I Așezarea feudală timpurie de la Bisericiuța-Garvăn*, (Biblioteca de Arheologie XIII), Editura Academiei, București, 1967;

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FIGURE 4

Sword sheath tips from northeastern Bulgaria (Razgradsko region, the villages Stana, Zavet, Miladinovtsi, Madara city), Northern Bulgaria (Pavlikeni city, Gigen village)

Source:

Minaeva, Oksana & Holmquist, Lena. *Bulgarian Parallels to Oriental Finds of Metalwork from Birka*, New Bulgarian University, Sofia 2012



Analogy with sword sheath tips from Birka, Sweden.



FIGURE 5

Sword handle tips from northeastern Bulgaria (Manastirishte village and Preslav city)

Source: Йотов, В. „Варяги и нормани по българските земи през ранното средновековие – археологически данни“, В: *Снори Стурлусон и корените на нордската книжовност*, Софийски университет „Св. Климент Охридски“ София, 2004, стр. 48-60

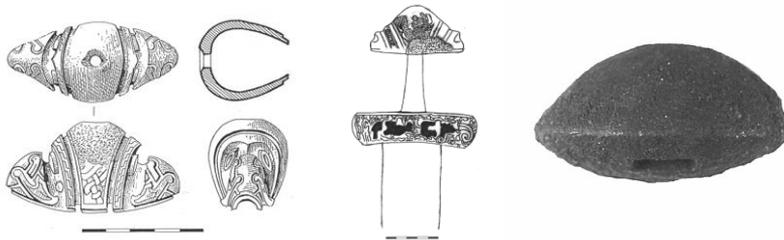


FIGURE 6

Strap tips from Romania (the antique settlement of Dinogecia) and northeastern Bulgaria

Source: Йотов, В. „Варяги и нормани по българските земи през ранното средновековие – археологически данни“, В: *Снори Стурлусон и корените на нордската книжовност*, Софийски университет „Св. Климент Охридски“ София, 2004, стр. 48-60



FIGURE 7

The runic inscription from Constantinople (Hagia Sophia cathedral) with the name of Halfdan, a mercenary in the Varangian guard of the Byzantine emperor Basil II.

Source:

<http://members.ozemail.com.au/~chrisandpeter/relics/relics.html#Griffitti%20in%20Hagia%20Sophia>

And

James E. Knirk, “Runer i Hagia Sofia” i: *Istanbul, Nytt om runer* 14 (1999), 26-27

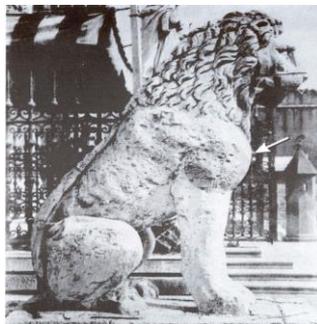


FIGURE 8

Antique statue of a lion in Greece (Piraeus) with a runic inscription from the XI century.

Source: The Viking Rune, online

<http://www.vikingrune.com/2008/11/piraeus-lion/>



**GESTUELLE COURTOISE ET ÉCARTS DISCOURTOIS  
DANS *FLAMENCA*  
(ROMAN OCCITAN DU XIII<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE)**

**Luminița DIACONU\***

**Abstract.** *Coagulated at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century at the seigniorial courts from the southern France and spread afterward in the northern French territory, the courteous ethical code intended to be a set of rules representative for the nobility. It included, between other elegant specifics, the discipline of the body, necessarily based on the self-control and, in the same time, on a distinguished, elegant, polite and moderated gesture. The Middle Ages imaginary and mainly the literature from the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries are full of this kind of examples. In fact, the elite's will to adhere on this ethics and to appropriate it till transforming it in its second nature represents the theme of the courteous novels, focused on some characters which are symbols for the ideal courteous values. By contrast, some other characters are not only at the limit of the courteous model, but also transgress its principles by more or less serious discourteous deviations. The Occitan novel *Flamenca* (from the 13<sup>th</sup> century), that we are focusing on, illustrates this trend: one of its principal characters, the signor Archambaut, shows, immediately after his marriage with *Flamenca*, an unexpected regression, in fact a profound alteration of the courtly behavior, in terms of verbal and mainly gestural manners.*

**Keywords:** *courtesy, ethics, body, gesture, dismissal, transgression, savagery.*

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Après le succès de l'anthropologie culturelle, personne ne doute plus, de nos jours, que chaque société comporte des normes propres vouées à modeler le corps dans ses postures, dans son apparence, dans ses attitudes, autant que dans ses rapports à l'espace, aux autres et à soi-même. En tant que mouvements extérieurs du corps ou de l'une de ses parties, principalement des bras, des mains et de la tête, volontaires ou involontaires, qui visent à exprimer une manière d'être ou de faire de quelqu'un<sup>1</sup>, les gestes n'y font pas exception. En dépit du fait qu'ils nous semblent parfois « naturels », entièrement rattachés au charnel, voire commandés de manière exclusive par le corps, ils relèvent, en réalité, de la culture, renvoyant à un idéal de maîtrise de soi que toute communauté rêve d'atteindre à travers des codes qui changent en diachronie aussi bien qu'en synchronie.

La volonté de fixer des valeurs éthiques et morales sur lesquelles on puisse amender, corriger ou reconstruire le corps – la manière la plus visible, concrète, dont l'homme insère son existence dans le monde – fut particulièrement forte au sein des élites dans l'Occident médiéval, surtout au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pour reprendre l'expression de Jean-Claude Schmitt, une véritable « morale du geste »<sup>2</sup> s'affirme alors, redevable à certains écrits de Cicéron et de Sénèque, que l'Occident commence à découvrir et qui faisaient l'éloge de *la tempérance* (ou *la modestie*), jugée comme la qualité fondamentale de l'homme vertueux. En outre, qu'il s'agisse de l'univers monastique et du clergé séculier ou de l'aristocratie, l'iconographie et la littérature de l'époque, tout comme les autres pans de la culture écrite, témoignent du rôle notable qu'avaient les cérémonies solennelles, les coutumes féodales et, par voie de conséquence, les codes verbal et gestuel, dont les valeurs symboliques renforçaient un statut social, scellaient un pacte, visaient à promouvoir un modèle humain ou, au contraire, à sanctionner les écarts et les transgressions, bref à maintenir l'équilibre social. En ce sens, il suffit de rappeler les gestes accomplis et les formules prononcées par les autorités ecclésiastiques lors du sacre du roi ou à l'occasion d'un mariage au sein de la noblesse, mais également les gestes qui relevaient des valeurs féodales tels l'acte d'hommage et de foi vassalique,

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<sup>1</sup> Rey-Debove & Rey, 1995, 1017.

<sup>2</sup> Schmitt, 1998, 50-52.

l'adoubement, ou encore les gestes dont on se servait pour rendre la justice, voire les châtiments qu'on appliquait aux coupables.

À notre avis, il y a pourtant une autre raison qui justifie, dans la société féodale, une pareille valorisation de certains gestes, allant de pair, certes, avec la dévalorisation d'autres gestes : l'étude était réservée alors de manière presque exclusive à une minorité, les clercs, qui apprenaient à lire et à écrire dans les couvents ou dans les écoles abbatiales et épiscopales.

Quant à la courtoisie, qui fleurit dès la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le Midi, pour s'affirmer pleinement au siècle suivant, lorsque ses valeurs furent diffusées également dans le Nord, elle fut conçue d'abord comme un « art de vivre » propre à l'aristocratie, supposant à la fois politesse, élégance des mœurs, générosité (*largueza* en occitan) et un savoir parler. Mais, par-dessus tout, cet art de vivre mettait l'accent sur la mesure (*mezura*) – un certain équilibre psycho-affectif<sup>3</sup>, ce qui prouve sans aucun doute à quel point la culture ecclésiastique surplombait alors la société. Ces valeurs furent vite transférées dans le registre des sentiments, le sens restreint de la *cortesia* (*la fin'amors*), indissociable de la poésie lyrique des troubadours, renvoyant essentiellement à une « sublimation codifiée du désir »<sup>4</sup>, autrement dit à une discipline du corps. Par conséquent, la conduite requise au *fin'amant*, comme à la dame pour laquelle il éprouvait un amour sincère et raffiné, ne pouvait être que le fruit d'un long travail sur soi-même, un véritable dressage du corps. Et, pour que ce dressage aboutisse, il était nécessaire de discipliner conjointement l'âme, d'autant plus que, à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, on a tendance de plus en plus à concevoir le corps tel un miroir ou une expression de l'âme, sinon comme l'instrument de celle-ci. En d'autres termes, on favorise la conception selon laquelle, bien que le Mal ait pour lieu de manifestation le corps, c'est dans l'âme ou dans l'esprit qu'il faut chercher sa source. Mais, comme la chute est visible dans la chair, il n'y a de réhabilitation ou de purification possible pour l'âme qu'à travers ce corps même.

Dans la présente étude, nous avons choisi de nous pencher sur un roman anonyme du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, écrit dans le Midi –

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<sup>3</sup> Bec, 1972, 12, 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, 31.

*Flamenca*<sup>5</sup> –, afin d’analyser les écarts au code de la courtoisie, voire les transgressions discourtoises qu’engendre la jalousie au niveau de la corporéité et notamment dans le registre gestuel. Ce récit<sup>6</sup> nous a semblé particulièrement intéressant par son contenu subversif, car, bien que rédigé dans le foyer de la *cortesia*, il s’applique à promouvoir non pas une sublimation du désir, mais un amour adultère. Par ailleurs, l’auteur anonyme se montre tout à fait favorable à une telle forme de la *fin’amor*, et il s’emploie à la promouvoir suite à la déshumanisation inattendue que subit sire Archambaut, le mari de Flamenca. D’autre part, les agissements du mari, qui s’y font jour avec une violence hors du commun, attirent l’attention de l’auditoire – son public était certainement constitué des élites aristocratiques – sur les dangers latents que le corps recèle et sur l’impératif de le faire obéir à la raison. En fin de compte, ce récit rend compte abondamment de la volonté de la noblesse d’adhérer à l’éthique courtoise, voire de l’intérioriser au point d’en faire une seconde nature.

Ce qui sème le désordre dans l’univers paisible de la cour et, de façon plus grave encore, dans l’âme du seigneur Archambaut, c’est un geste du roi que la reine interprète de manière erronée, à l’occasion des noces de Flamenca. En effet, la joie et le parfait équilibre des individus commencent à s’effondrer au moment où le roi, participant à une joute en tant qu’invité de premier rang, attache à sa lance une manche que la reine prend pour un signe d’entente amoureuse avec la jeune mariée, ce dont elle ne tarde pas à parler à Archambaut :

*Jes li reina non s’oblida,  
anz fon dolenta e marrida  
e dis : "N Archambaut, bels amix,  
non fai le reis mout ques enix  
quan, vesen mi, porta seinal*

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<sup>5</sup> *Flamenca*, texte établi, traduit et présenté par Jean-Charles Huchet, Paris, U.G.E., 1988. Toutes les citations seront prises dans cette édition. Désormais, nous précisons le numéro des vers dans le corps de l’article, entre parenthèses, alors que, dans les notes, nous proposerons la transposition en français moderne, qui appartient à J.-C. Huchet, et qui, dans l’édition citée, se trouve en miroir du texte occitan en vers.

<sup>6</sup> Pour une étude plus ample du roman, nous renvoyons à Jean-Charles Huchet, *L’étreinte des mots. Flamenca, entre poésie et roman*, Orléans, Paradigme, 1993.

*de drudaria ?" (v. 855-860)<sup>7</sup>*

La conséquence n'en est pas visible tout de suite, car, dans un premier temps, Archambaut rejette vivement l'hypothèse de l'adultère, n'y voyant qu'un simple divertissement :

*–Dona, per cel ques hom adora,  
non cug que.us fassa deissonor  
le reis si.s fen joios d'amor,  
quar miels ne fai so que.ill atain. (v. 868-871)<sup>8</sup>  
–No i movas, domna, gelosia,  
que ja per ren non o seria. (v. 879-880)<sup>9</sup>*

Force est de souligner que, durant les fêtes organisées jusqu'alors à sa cour pour célébrer leur mariage, Archambaut s'est montré très poli et délicat envers son épouse, voire affectueux, comme si l'auteur du roman avait voulu démontrer dès le début que l'amour et le mariage étaient compatibles, en dépit du fait que ce dernier fût conclu comme une alliance politique et patrimoniale entre deux lignages.

Néanmoins, il renonce bientôt à ses efforts de croire à la fidélité de Flamenca, se laissant prendre au piège tendu par la reine, puisqu'il aperçoit un autre geste du roi, plus audacieux cette fois-ci, sinon nettement intime : après l'office divin, auquel participe toute l'assemblée, le roi met la main au sein de la jeune femme (v. 936-939), et, le vingtième jour des cérémonies, juste avant leur séparation, il l'étreint et l'embrasse devant son mari, pensant faire à celui-ci un grand honneur (v. 984-987).

C'est donc surtout le deuxième geste qui est la racine de tout le mal, et, si Archambaut réussit à dissimuler son inquiétude et sa peine pendant que la cour est réunie, une fois resté seul avec sa femme, il se laisse gagner de plus en plus par la jalousie, ce qui entraîne des changements de conduite, pour mener finalement à

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<sup>7</sup> *Flamenca*, 1988, 69. « La reine ne perdit pas de temps ; elle était contrariée et affligée ; elle dit à sire Archambaut : "Bel ami, le roi ne se montre-t-il pas bien cruel en portant devant moi un signe d'entente amoureuse ?" »

<sup>8</sup> *Idem*. « Dame, au nom de Celui qu'on adore, je ne crois pas que le roi vous déshonore en éprouvant cette exaltation amoureuse : il se comporte au plus près de son devoir. »

<sup>9</sup> *Idem*. « –Dame, ne mêlez pas sans raison la jalousie à cette affaire, car, pour rien au monde, je ne serai pas jaloux. »

des métamorphoses choquantes au niveau de la corporéité en général et plus particulièrement dans le registre gestuel.

Le tout premier symptôme de cette maladie de l'âme est l'angoisse, mais, peu après, elle favorise des formes plus graves, telle la mélancolie profondément ressentie aux moments où Archambaut se considère faible ou, de toute façon, incapable de garder Flamenca : « En Archimbaut totz los esdreissa,/ *Mais al cor ha una drestreissa/ Per que s'en torna mout dole(n)tz.* » (v. 993-994, c'est nous qui soulignons.)<sup>10</sup>

Ces états alternent, souvent de manière imprévue, avec l'irritation et la colère, de sorte que, au niveau du récit, on parvient à distinguer deux types de séquences : celles où il préfère s'isoler, en rejetant les autres, où il se lamente de sa faiblesse et de son choix, auxquelles succèdent brusquement des séquences où il agit et réagit avec violence, du point de vue verbal et gestuel, ayant pour principale cible sa femme. Or, les changements d'humeur brusques, comme l'agitation, sont bien des formes de manifestation de l'animalité<sup>11</sup>, et, si à certains moments, le mari jaloux est conscient d'avoir changé à cause des soupçons de la reine, cela ne suffit pas pour autant pour arrêter sa déchéance. Ainsi, les mains tordues (v. 1004), les pleurs (v. 1005), le visage morose, les regards fixes et les lamentations (v. 1013-1016 ; v. 1094-1104) expriment son dépit ou son inquiétude, alors que les regards agressifs, doublant les malédictions (v. 1033) ou les menaces verbales fréquentes, visent à humilier et à terrifier Flamenca, traduisent sa colère.

L'amour excessif transformé en esclavage était sans doute connu au Moyen Âge, du moment que, dans le III<sup>e</sup> Livre de son *Traité*, André Le Chapelain mettait en garde les adeptes de la courtoisie, considérant que, pour un pareil amant, « le moindre soupçon bouleverse son esprit et l'atteint au plus profond du cœur. En proie à cette jalousie [...] il craint, chez sa bien-aimée, toute conversation ou toute promenade avec un autre ou tout autre retard habituel. »<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, 75. « Sire Archambaut raccompagna tous ses invités, mais *il ressent au cœur une telle angoisse qu'il s'en retourne tout affligé.* » (C'est nous qui soulignons.)

<sup>11</sup> Durand, 1977, 87.

<sup>12</sup> Le Chapelain, 1974, 187.

C'est ce qui arrive à Archambaut, d'où sa capacité d'hypersémantiser le réel, toute communication verbale ou non verbale, et l'agitation physique à laquelle il est en proie presque sans cesse dans l'espoir d'éviter une possible trahison : « soven vai dins, soen defora;/ deforas art, dedins ancora:/ ben es gelos qui aci bela. » (v. 1037-1039)<sup>13</sup>

Par ailleurs, aucune solution ne lui semble rassurante en vue de défendre son honneur : ni la tour dans laquelle il emprisonne sa femme, bien que, à part deux servantes, il soit le seul à y avoir accès, ni le refus de participer aux fêtes et activités spécifiques à ceux de son rang, ni la cloison qu'il fait mettre en place dans l'espace sacré de l'église afin que personne ne puisse parler à Flamenca. La clôture ou plutôt les clôtures, quoique emboîtées, ne s'avèrent jamais parfaites aux yeux d'Archambaut. Par contre, celui-ci a l'impression que le corps de sa femme se laisse difficilement enfermer de manière rassurante. En même temps, il trouve partout des preuves diffamatrices : par exemple, la chevelure claire et brillante de Flamenca, dont le nom en occitan signifie justement « celle qui brille », lui semble être une « crinière » attrayante pour les regards des hommes, donc un signe évident d'appétit sexuel<sup>14</sup> :

*Na falsa, que.m tenaras  
que no.us aucise e no.us affolle  
e vostre penchura non tolle ?  
E gens aves levat coaza,  
a l'autr'an cuh qu'en fares massa  
en sospesiso que la us.arabe ;  
e ja non cug que.us sia sabe  
quan la.us farai ab forfes tondre ;  
greus la.us veiria hom rescondre,  
quan venon ist cortejador  
pers so que digan antre lor :  
"Dieus, qui vi mais tam bellas cris !*

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<sup>13</sup> Flamenca, 1988, 77, 79. « ...il sort souvent puis rentre, extérieurement il bout, intérieurement son cœur défaille ; il est assurément jaloux celui dont le regard a une telle fixité. »

<sup>14</sup> Ariès & Duby, 1995, 73. Pour ce qui est de l'étymologie du nom de Flamenca, nous renvoyons au verbe occitan *flamejar*. (Levy, 1973, 191).

*Plus bella(s) son non es aurs fis."* (v. 1122-1134)<sup>15</sup>

Le seuil extrême de la jalousie discourtoise est suggéré par la perte totale de la maîtrise de soi. De moins en moins refoulée, l'agressivité d'Archambaut s'oriente alors contre les autres et même contre sa propre personne. Il parvient, en effet, à appliquer des corrections physiques à Flamenca et à lui adresser des répliques vouées à l'offenser. Quant à lui, toute censure disparaît, de sorte qu'il se maltraite, comme pour se châtier d'avoir choisi une femme tellement séduisante et pour compenser l'impossibilité de la punir, ou bien ses gestes laissent transparaître une véritable régression à la sauvagerie, car il se gratte la tête, se frotte les flancs, s'étire et bâille :

*A si meseis fortmen s'irais,  
tira.s los pels, pela.s lo cais,  
manja.s la boca, las dens lima,  
fremis e frezis, art et rima,  
e fai trop mal oils a Flamenca.* (v. 1115-1119)<sup>16</sup>  
*Grata.l(o) suc, grata la cota,  
leva.l braier, tira la bota,  
poissas si dreissa, pois s'aseta,  
pois s'esterilla, poissa.s geta  
un gran badail e pois si seina.* (v. 1259-1263)<sup>17</sup>

D'autre part, il ne s'intéresse plus à l'hygiène personnelle au point de perdre toute apparence humaine, aspect souligné surtout par sa barbe, symbole de virilité, dont les poils en désordre ressemblent à une « gerbe d'avoine mal faite » (v. 1325-1326).

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<sup>15</sup> *Flamenca*, 1988, 83. « Madame la traîtresse, qu'est-ce qui me retient de vous tuer et de vous maltraiter ? d'arracher votre crinière ? Vous l'avez bien levée en queue, mais l'année prochaine je crois que vous ferez un chignon de crainte que je ne vous en dépouille. Je ne pense pas que cela vous sera agréable quand je vous la ferai couper avec de grands ciseaux. Cela vous serait très pénible de devoir la cacher quand viennent ces galants qui disent entre eux : "Dieu, qui vit jamais une si belle chevelure ! plus belle que l'or fin !" ».

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, 81, 83. « [il] se tire les cheveux, s'arrache la barbe, se mord les lèvres, grince des dents, frémit, frissonne, brûle et grille et envoie des regards noirs à Flamenca. »

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, 89. « Il se gratte le sommet de la tête, se frotte les flancs, remonte ses braies ; tire ses bottes, se relève et s'assied, puis s'étire, émet un grand bâillement et finalement se signe ».

Cependant, l'apparence d'Archambaut relève moins du règne végétal. En revanche, elle le rapproche de plus en plus de la bestialité, bref de la nature non apprivoisée, ce qui apparaît aussi dans les passages où l'auteur anonyme le décrit en se rapportant de manière explicite à plusieurs animaux dont :

- le singe : « Lo Pater Noster diz soen/ del simi que res non l'enten. »<sup>18</sup> (v. 1043-1044)
- le chien : « Adoncas fai un joc cani,/ que las dens mostra e non ri. »<sup>19</sup> (v. 1067-1068) ; « Quan la fort gelosia.l tocha/ el estraga si coma cans. »<sup>20</sup> (v. 1330-1131)
- l'ours et le léopard : « mais defors sec ad una part,/ a guisa d'ors e de laupart; »<sup>21</sup> (v. 1429-1430)
- le chiot : « poissas s'en vai si coma goz/ c'om geta de cort jangolan,/ que.s vai per los osses trian. »<sup>22</sup> (v. 1504-1506)

Les comparants désignant par analogie le mari jaloux ne sont pas choisis au hasard. Au contraire, au Moyen Âge, ils avaient des connotations particulières mises en circulation par les *Bestiaires*, des traités qui en inventoriaient les propriétés réelles et notamment les propriétés légendaires, les connotations morales ou religieuses qu'on leur attachait. La principale source d'inspiration de ces ouvrages était le *Physiologus*, le plus ancien traité de ce genre, composé en grec, à Alexandrie, au II<sup>e</sup> siècle après Jésus-Christ. Mais les auteurs des sommes encyclopédiques rédigées aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles faisaient appel également à d'autres autorités dont Pline, Solin et les *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville.

Le *Bestiaire* de Pierre de Beauvais, par exemple, qui fut composé avant 1206, reprend les données du *Physiologus*, attribuant au singe le statut de représentant du Diable, car

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, 79. « Il récite souvent le Notre Père du singe que personne ne comprend. »

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*. « Il grimace alors comme un chien et montre les dents sans rire. »

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, 93. « Quand un accès de jalousie le saisit, il se met à extravaguer comme un chien. »

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 97. « ...mais il préférerait s'asseoir à l'extérieur à la manière d'un ours ou d'un léopard » Il s'agit de l'extérieur de la cloison dressée par le jaloux dans l'église afin de garder sa femme. (N. n.)

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, 101. « ...puis s'en allait comme un chiot glapissant qu'on a jeté hors d'une assemblée et qui va trier les os à ronger. »

hypocrite et fourbe dans son cœur<sup>23</sup>. Il en est de même dans le *Bestiaire divin* écrit par Guillaume Le Clerc de Normandie vers 1210, à la précision suivante : cet auteur considère que le singe est « laid et difforme », « qu'il a des rapports avec le Diable et lui ressemble ». Il le juge donc « trop mauvais et trop repoussant »<sup>24</sup>. Quant à Jean Corbechon, son *Livre des propriétés des choses* (*Liber de proprietatibus rerum*, écrit vers 1240) insiste sur l'appartenance du chien et de l'ours à l'espèce des bêtes voraces, vu leurs dents serrées<sup>25</sup>. En réalité, cet aspect apparaît déjà au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, chez Isidore de Séville, à la différence que, le paradigme des bêtes englobe aussi les léopards et les singes, munis, comme les chiens, de griffes et de gueules féroces.<sup>26</sup> Cela revient à dire que leur dénominateur commun est l'agressivité, la cruauté, et la dévoration n'est que l'une de leurs formes de manifestation.

Sans nier la symbolique ambivalente du chien,<sup>27</sup> bénéfique lorsqu'il agit en défenseur de l'homme, en gardien fidèle ou en compagnon de chasse; maléfique, lorsqu'il devient un dévoreur impur de cadavres, symbole de la glotonnerie et de l'appétit sensuel, ambivalence qui, au fond, définit la plupart des animaux au Moyen Âge, nous pensons toutefois que l'association d'Archambaut au chien souligne une perversion de la fonction bénéfique faute de mesure, d'équilibre. Une preuve irréfutable en ce sens est que le désir de garder sa femme et de défendre leur fidélité tourne en obsession. La connotation sexuelle se fait jour également dans le cas du singe qui, à part la laideur et la difformité diaboliques dont il est pourvu dans les *Bestiaires*, représente, en outre, les instincts primaires, particulièrement la luxure.<sup>28</sup>

À une lecture profonde, tout élément du portrait du mari jaloux se montre donc riche de sens, suggérant le passage progressif vers l'inhumain et, finalement, une substitution de l'homme par la bête<sup>29</sup>. Ayant la valeur d'un *exemplum*, l'histoire

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<sup>23</sup> Bianciotto, 1980, 44.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, 102.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, 254.

<sup>26</sup> Isidore de Séville, 1986, 86-87.

<sup>27</sup> Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1996, t. I, 326-333.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, t. II, 256-260.

<sup>29</sup> Pour plus de détails sur la manière dont on concevait la monstruosité au Moyen Âge, nous renvoyons à Claude Lecouteux, *Les Monstres dans la*

d'Archambaut renforce l'idée que la jalousie discourtoise se rattache, de par la démesure et le désordre psycho-physiologique qu'elle entraîne, au Mal, au Diable. C'est un péché à part entière d'autant plus grave qu'il peut en engendrer d'autres, mais il n'est pas pour autant insurmontable. La dernière partie du roman, qui nous est parvenu inachevé, s'applique, d'ailleurs, à démontrer la capacité qu'a l'homme de recouvrer sa condition d'être civilisé.

Pour redevenir courtois, le mari jaloux réapprend certains gestes et recouvre la maîtrise de soi, mais cela n'est effectivement possible que lorsque la maladie de son âme est guérie, suite à une prise de conscience qu'Archambaut doit, de manière paradoxale, à sa femme, car elle déplore sa déchéance et la perte du prestige dont il bénéficiait jadis. Flamenca tient, en outre, à le rassurer au sujet de sa fidélité par un geste symbolique : elle prête serment sur des reliques. C'est donc ce geste qui rend possible d'abord la guérison de l'âme et, ensuite, la guérison du corps du mari jaloux, qui suppose forcément par une purification. Archambaut redécouvre, en effet, la nécessité de certaines pratiques du corps en matière d'hygiène (il se lave la tête, par exemple, comme on le souligne au vers 6713) et le rôle majeur de la convivialité : il décide de prendre le repas avec sa femme et d'organiser des fêtes (v. 6714 *sq*), ce qui signifie qu'il réintègre les valeurs de la sociabilité, de la modestie et de la largesse. Malgré cela, la réhabilitation d'Archambaut reste un signal voué à avertir sur la fragilité de la frontière entre sauvagerie et courtoisie, aussi bien que sur les latences redoutables qui guettent l'homme à tout instant.

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## BUCHAREST DURING THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR 1828-1829

Ana-Maria Lepăr \*

**Abstract.** *This article presents the image of the Bucharest during the Russo-Turkish war 1828-1829. Compared to the Russo-Turkish war from 1806-1812, which was more documented in the Romanian historiography, the 1828-1829 conflict can be restored from the testimonies of foreign travelers, most of which are soldiers of the Russian army crossing the Romanian territory. The available information about Bucharest is related to the number of citizens, the general image of the city, the mixture of Eastern and Western influences, the merchandise that was being sold, the way that the population perceived the Russians, and the power games played by boyars who were seeking various benefits.*

**Keywords:** *Bucharest, 1829, Russo-Turkish War, Adrianopole.*

The year of 1828 introduces another episode in the Russo-Turkish series of conflicts, starting with April 26. This conflict is caused by the suspension of the Akkerman Convention and the Ottoman Empire's decision of closing the Bosphorus and Dardanelle straits. This measure was a direct result of the Turkish defeat in the Navarino battle that took place a year before the context of the Greek War of Independence.

Due to their geographic position, the Romanian Principalities came under the occupation of The Russian Empire which conducted parts of its military operations from there. Thus, 105,000 Russian soldiers cross the Prut River and occupy the two capitals at the beginning of May<sup>1</sup>. Bucharest faces Russian occupation on May 12 1828, when the Russian army set camp in

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<sup>1</sup> Giurescu, 2009, 263.

Colentina, two days later emerging into town<sup>2</sup>. As expected, Prince Grigore Ghica leaves Wallachia, leaving the administration to Count Pahlen and the boyars.

The confrontations last more than a year, until 1829, when the Adrianople Treaty is signed. Within the Principalities, the Russian occupation persists, especially as the protectorate of the Tsar is acknowledged, the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire is diminished, the rulers are chosen for life, and the Danubian thalweg becomes the border between the Sublime Porte and the Wallachia<sup>3</sup>.

Compared to the Russo-Turkish war from 1806-1812, which was more documented in the Romanian historiography, the 1828-1829 conflict can be restored from the testimonies of foreign travelers, most of which are soldiers of the Russian army crossing the Romanian territory.

The available information about Bucharest is related to the number of citizens, the general image of the city, the mixture of Eastern and Western influences, the merchandise that was being sold, the way that the population perceived the Russians, and the power games played by boyars who were seeking various benefits.

According to the estimates made by some of the travelers, among whom was the Russian officer Frederik Nyberg, active participant in the war, Bucharest had 80,000 citizens. The overall image resembled an “extraordinary mixture between Europe and Asia”<sup>4</sup>, due to the mixture of nationalities: Russian, German, French, Italian, Turkish, Greek (in small numbers, as most have died in the carnage made by Chehaia-Beiu in the Autumn of 1821), and Jewish, due to the mixture of Asian and European architecture styles, and the mixture of Eastern and Western products available in shops.

Another unusual aspect for a foreigner was the presence of books and newspapers in Western languages, especially since the education level of the population was low. Carriage rides through the gardens of the city, after 6 in the evening, where everyone displayed their best garments, represented the only form of

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<sup>2</sup> Giurescu, 2009, 263.

<sup>3</sup> Xenopol, 1930, 79-81.

<sup>4</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 359.

entertainment for the inhabitants during the war. The Viennese provenance of the carriages enhanced the Western atmosphere<sup>5</sup>.

Berndt Johan Rosenström, a participant of the Russian-Turkish war, in the Uhlan regiment of Courland, presents a few aspects related to the conduct of hostilities. His testimonies also contain information about Bucharest. The Russian army was fair to the occupied inhabitants, as they were treated well and received financial compensation for the supplying of the soldiers.

Those who were seen as enemies were the Turks, stationed in a garrison in Bucharest, with the purpose to set fire to the city. This news determined the regiment to which Rosenström belonged to go to the capital, in order to foil the plans of the Ottomans, who, after being warned, left the establishment. Uhlans were received as liberators, being “acclaimed with joy by the inhabitants”<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, for preventing the destruction of the city, the Uhlans received “everything free of charge”<sup>7</sup>.

Apart from this episode, strictly correlated with the development of the war, the soldier also mentions aspects related to daily life. According to his testimonies, the clothing was not expensive and the Ottoman influences still persisted, because, despite belonging to the Orthodox faith, most of the people in Bucharest were wearing Oriental clothing.

Rosenström also captures the end of the war when, in 1829, he returns triumphant to Bucharest, marching as if on a parade: the Russian generals are escorted by Albanian mercenaries (*arnăuți*) “mounted on small and beautiful horses”<sup>8</sup>. They are received with joy by the citizens, and most enthusiastically by Romanian women, who were staying in the front rows, welcoming the victors.

On this occasion, Rosenström performs a new review of Bucharest, which was hosting, according to his estimates, about 50,000 inhabitants, a quite large number considering that, in 1828, a plague outbreak ravaged the city. As expected, the general aspect of the city could not have changed in a year, maintaining

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<sup>5</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 359.

<sup>6</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 381.

<sup>7</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 381.

<sup>8</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 383.

the same Turkish characteristics, with the winding and narrow streets and the Oriental costumes<sup>9</sup>.

Similarly, according to the description of the Russian military writer Alexandru Ivanovici Mikhailovski-Danilevski, a participant in the 1828-1829 war, Bucharest “is not a European city, the streets are narrow and dirty”<sup>10</sup>, populated by people with Asian features, speaking a language unknown to him.

Danilevski takes notice of the boyars, well known for their lack of activity, spending their “lives in idleness and sloth. They neither work, nor study sciences, they start and end their lives on soft couches, surrounded by clouds of tobacco smoke. The monotony of their "lives is interrupted only by the occasional wars between Russia and the Ottoman Porte”<sup>11</sup>. On this occasion, a competition starts between boyars for various administrative positions and alliances are made and broken. The alliances involved external supporters, the Russians being the most wanted, as they were not connected to the Ottoman administration that still named the Prince, and, indirectly, all the clerks. The Russians took advantage of this game of alliances formed between boyars, as they received various “favors and services”<sup>12</sup>, which diminished the expenses for the supply of the army.

This is also reflected in a document dated on November 11, 1828, which presents how the Stewards Gheorghe Golescu and Alexandru Nenciulescu are named by the Divan to take care of “supplying the army” in exchange for some benefits<sup>13</sup>. They were hoping for a new position in the committee led by Count Minciaky, whose purpose was, officially, limiting abuses, but, in fact, it was the enlargement of the Tsarist authority.

The Divan had also gotten involved in building horse mills in every monastery to fulfill the food requirements of the population and of the Tsarist army. The decision was determined by the water level decrease of river Dâmbovița and by the arrival of winter, affecting multiple ecclesiastic centers such as Radu-

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<sup>9</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 383.

<sup>10</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 410.

<sup>11</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 410.

<sup>12</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 410.

<sup>13</sup> Potra, 1975, 328.

Vodă, Sf Spridion-Vechi, Sf Ecaterina, Sf Krețulescu, Sărindari, Sf Gheorghe, Sf Apostili, Cotroceni, Văcărești, Mărcuța<sup>14</sup>.

Among the measures taken to sustain the war was also the closing of schools, already few in number and with an irregular schedule, and turning them into hospitals to treat the Russians that were wounded on the battle field. The medical personnel was not qualified, any person being able to participate; most of the participants were seeking financial gain<sup>15</sup>. The lack of spaces for tending to the wounded or for quartering soldiers determined the expansion of the decision towards ruined buildings, which were rebuilt<sup>16</sup>.

Danilevski has captured the time when the plague was ravaging the city, thus access to the boyars' houses was restricted. In the beginning, the plague was kept secret, so as not to demoralize soldiers. Thus, false testimonies, attributed to physicians, were written, among whom was also the chief physician of the army, professor Witt, who, on February 21, 1829, noted: "I, during my stay and practice here, have not seen, nor had the occasion of treating someone affected by the plague; I've seen, however, and tended to people affected by typhus and similar diseases"<sup>17</sup>. Although the epidemic had not been declared officially, there were a few measures taken in that regard: removing beggars from the streets, as they were considered to be contagious<sup>18</sup>.

Apart from the medical aspects, Danilevski shows an interest regarding the cultural-educational aspects, because, just as Frederik Nyberg, he notices the variety of books, many of which had been banned in Russia: *Mémoires de Michael Oginski*, *Las Cases*, *Mémorial de Sainte Helene*, *Mémoires d'un homme d'Etat*<sup>19</sup>. The existence of this literary freedom is justified by the lack of involvement by the leading class in controlling the population, which was caused by the idleness of the boyars and by their interest for politics.

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<sup>14</sup> Olteanu, 2002, 132.

<sup>15</sup> Samarin, 1938, 195.

<sup>16</sup> Iorga, 2008, 201-202.

<sup>17</sup> Samarin, 1938, 96.

<sup>18</sup> Samarin, 1938, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 410.

The image of a green city, surrounded by wine yards and plains, is presented by P.D. Holthaus, a tailor from Westphalia that had gone to the Middle-East to become rich. He passes through the Romanian Principalities during the Russian-Turkish war of 1828-1829. The contrast between proximity and distance is astonishing to the traveler, the city not being what it seems: the streets are narrow, dirty, unpaved, covered with logs, under which there are drains that collected garbage – a source of disease; the houses are small, made of wood, low and shattered. All this presents the image of a settlement that is insalubrious, disorganized and poor<sup>20</sup>.

According to Holthaus, the capital is 9 miles in length and has many slums, being split by Dâmbovița, both a symmetry axis and a source for water supply. Unfortunately, this water is not as clean as it should be, since all the dead animals are thrown in it. As a consequence, instead of having a purifying role, the water becomes a source of infection and disease for the population. Water is sold in barrels without being purified, at prices that vary each season, from 20 Para during summer to 2 silver Grosh in the winter<sup>21</sup>.

The most shocking fact is the large amount of Orthodox churches, most of them having three towers, low ceilings and paintings of saints on the walls<sup>22</sup>. The Metropolis captures the attention of Holthaus through its exquisite painting, depicting the Last Judgement. He notices that the bells now have a diminished role (only to announce peril), as decided by the Turks. Holthaus also makes mistakes, believing that church Colțea is Swedish. There was, in fact, a Colțea tower (almost destroyed by the 1802 earthquake), which, according to the tradition, had been built by the Swedish troops defeated at Poltava in 1709<sup>23</sup>.

Another building that catches the eye of Holthaus is the Old Princely Court, which he considers “a fairly beautiful palace”<sup>24</sup>. On this occasion, he expresses his opinion of the boyars, which is not different from the opinions of the previously mentioned travelers: the lack of education, of a code of conduct,

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<sup>20</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 440.

<sup>21</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 441.

<sup>22</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 440.

<sup>23</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 440.

<sup>24</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 441.

the mixture of German and “Oriental behaviors”<sup>25</sup>, the luxurious life. The ones who are the most willing to express this luxury are the wives, who spend large amounts of money to acquire modern garments and accessories. At the same time, they are more receptive to novelty, so they are less ignorant than their husbands, also showing interest in foreign culture, especially French culture. Their interest, of course, is superficial, only seeking to impress instead of learning something well.

During the ten months spent in Bucharest, the main attraction point for Holthaus was the German street, where he spent the “day after the German rite and almost all night in the cheerful sound of wine glasses”<sup>26</sup>, in hospitable company. The price of wine was very low, due to the significant number of wine yards that surrounded the city.

By making an overall analysis of the events that occurred within the Principalities during this conflict and of the decisions made by Tsar Nicholas I, it can be said that the relationship of the Principalities with Russia has taken a new direction, one in which Russia is actively involved in the destiny of the Principalities.

By comparing the testimonies of the previously mentioned travelers, we can notice that they are impressed by the “green city”, as it seems from the distance, however, once they get near, the travelers see the filth, the poverty, and the Oriental atmosphere, unexpected to some. The streets maintain the same characteristics that they had at the dawning of the century: narrow, having drains underneath, and covered with logs. The clothing of the inhabitants also plays an important role in the construction of this image. Although it suffers a few modifications compared to 1812, the clothing style remains Oriental. The ones who are able to stand out are the boyars and their wives, who taste the luxury of modernization and can afford Western-style garments.

Another common problem that the travelers note is the lack of hygiene, a factor that causes epidemics. The sanitary system is poor and the number of hospitals is low, having insufficient personnel. This is why, during the war, some buildings that are relatively spacious (such as schools) are used as hospitals and people who are willing to help work as medical

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<sup>25</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 441.

<sup>26</sup> Cernovodeanu, Bușă, 2005, 439.

personnel. The intent is praiseworthy, since even in a time of war, the people who become involved receive financial compensation. However, few people are willing to be useful and help the diseased; most of the applicants do not have special knowledge and are only concerned with their personal gain.

The boyars also leave a bad impression, through their opportunism and lack of education. They are raised in an Oriental system, only seeking high positions and privileges, without being morally involved in the decisions that they make – which, eventually, mark the future of the community that they belong to.

Mentally, one can notice a liking for the Russians, who were perceived as liberators and modernizers. This vision is somewhat predictable, as their opposition to the Turks determines the inhabitants to perceive the enemy of the enemy as their friend. Although the actions taken by the Russians have the purpose of integrating the Principalities into the Tsarist sphere of influence, at first they are perceived as positive due to the novelty and organization that they bring.

Shorter in development, the war of 1828-1829 has had a smaller impact on the city, not requiring extreme measures, thus there is no evidence about new taxes, nor about an opposition to quartering from the population.

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**ROMANIAN GRAIN MARKET  
IN THE BRITISH RUSSOPHOBIA CONTEXT  
(1829-1853)**

**Cristian Constantin\***

**Abstract.** *In this paper the author present the rivalry of the mouths of Danube market and the south Russian hinterland. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Adrianople (1829) marked the beginnings of a new era in the history of the Romanians, opening significant perspectives of political, institutional or national development, although Russia's status as protector of Wallachia and Moldavia overshadowed these prospects. The Danube River was the most appropriate artery for connect the Romanian market with central Europe, Black Sea and the Mediterranean markets. The Sulina channel was still the only way of access of commercial ships to and from the Danubian ports. Two cities, Galati in Moldavia and Braila in Wallachia, personify the interests and hopes of the principalities regarding the Danube. These ports are the result of the Romanian and British economic policies of this era.*

**Keywords:** *Braila, Galati, Odessa, grains, foreign trade, agriculture.*

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Moldavia and Wallachia (The Danubian Principalities from 1859) had the chance of modernization after the Treaty at Adrianople in 1829 it took advantage of it, taking over the political Western model and connecting to the European economy. In the 1840-50s, Braila and Galati were among the greatest grain ports in the world. The sums necessary for modernization were obtained from economic activities, more numerous and important, and the agricultural exports played the

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primary role. Ștefan Zeletin's study on the beginning of capitalism and the emergence of the Romanian bourgeoisie generated much controversy at the time of publication. Among Zeletin's concerns was to prove that Romanian economic and political evolution was the result of becoming enmeshed at the beginning of the nineteenth century in global trade, whose symbol and engine was the British Empire<sup>1</sup>. Zeletin's opinions can be easily understood by comparing the Romanian situation with the La Plata River region (Argentine, Uruguay) or the North Black Sea region. This region had a similar status in the world economy in the early and mid-nineteenth century, neutral economic zones supplying agricultural products to the great powers and benefiting from their rivalries.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after 1829, Danubian exports increased sufficiently to disturb economic and political circles in Russia.



**Port of Braila in activity - in the middle of the 19 century**  
**Source: Valeriu Avramescu Collection**

An important consequence of the new British political initiative in South-Eastern Europe was the measure taken by Ambassador Stratford Canning – with the permission of the British authorities – to re-establish the Britain Consulate, close in 1816) in the Danubian Principalities with both a political and economic competence, as a point from which to observe the Russian's activities and also to promote more active trade in the

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<sup>1</sup> Zeletin, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Enache, 2013, 218.

Black Sea and on the Lower Danube. After the abolition of the monopoly exercised by the Levant Company, free enterprise on the part of all the merchants was to be encouraged and chiefly the Ionians, who were eager to establish flourishing business in that area.<sup>3</sup>

*“The monopoly on merchandise and grain, the annual firmans that enumerated the goods requested from Constantinople, the tariffs fixed lower taxes for these articles than the current ones, the free supplies of butter, wood, wheat, sheep, horses, the privileges of Greek merchants, the produce seized by Turkish merchants from Rusciuk or wherever else are now fortunately all gone.”*

(T. Lefebvre, 1857)<sup>4</sup>

The Treaty of Adrianople (2/14 September 1829) marked a decisive turning point in the economic history of the Lower Danubian area. From a commercial perspective, by article V of the main treaty the Romanian Principalities preserved “all privileges and immunities” and enjoyed “full liberty of commerce.” During the years 1828-1834, Walachia and Moldavia remained under Russian military occupation. Pavel Kiselev, the Russian Governor, introduced an administrative and legislative “constitution” known as the “Organic Statutes,” with a similar structure in the two provinces.<sup>5</sup> Due to the reforms undertaken during the Russian occupation between 1829 and 1834, Moldavia and Wallachia gradually created their own system of border control, quarantines and passport checkpoints. The state imposed a stronger control over the circulation of people and goods between the two banks of the river, as well as a barrier against diseases.<sup>6</sup> It was only after the 1829 that British trade with the Romanian Principalities received a formal structure. As one would expect, the most active trading centres were to be the Danubian ports of Braila and Galati, where British vice-consulates were soon established. The clearly defined intention of British Governments after 1829 was to counterbalance the distinct

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<sup>3</sup> Cernovodeanu, 1986, 34-36.

<sup>4</sup> Lefebvre, 1858.

<sup>5</sup> Ardeleanu, 2014, 54.

<sup>6</sup> See Ștefan Petrescu, 2012, 97-116.

advantages held by Russia in this area, owing to the possession of the mouths of the Danube, as well as to the control which Russia exercised over international navigation on this river: even more since she also had great prospects of advancing towards the straits, thus endangering the precarious balance of power attained in the Eastern Question.<sup>7</sup> “So, the British reply on economic grounds to Russian hegemony, consisted – among other things – in initiating an active trade with the Romanian Principalities.<sup>8</sup>”

David Urquhart played a major role in the genesis of British Russophobia in the nineteenth century. Talented pamphleteer and expert in Near Eastern affairs, he enjoyed a great public success during the period when Russian-British relations were affected by the conclusion of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelleli (1833). With his Russophobic and Turcophilic sentiments development to an acute phase, he referred extensively in his writings to the Danube question, as it represented a good illustration of Russia's aggression to European trade. Thus, he considered that the enormous resources of Central and Eastern Europe, of the Danubian Principalities in the first place, and the navigation on the river aroused Russia's jealousy so that the latter employed ally convenient means to obstruct or block the increasing trade of her economic rivals. Russia's hold over the Danube Mouths was a perfect tool for accomplishing these malicious intentions, just as, consequently, the foreign response was to make the tsarist authorities respect the free navigation on international rivers, as settled by the 1815 Treaty of Vienna, or to find alternative routes to bring the Danubian produce to the European markets. Urquhart's brochure and the highly popular 'Portfolio' contributed enormously to popularising the Romanian question to the Western public.<sup>9</sup>

Romanian specialist in modern Romanian economic-history Constantin Ardeleanu in his book describes the Romanian agriculture in this mode: “The economy of the Romanian Principalities was determined by the character and structure of the local economy. Placed on difficult political coordinates, at the intersection of diverging imperial interests, the two provinces shared a favourable physical geography, taking into account the

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<sup>7</sup> See for detail in Paul Cernovodeanu, 1986, 51-97.

<sup>8</sup> Cernovodeanu, 1986, 365.

<sup>9</sup> See Ardeleanu, 2010, 337-352.

natural fertility of the land, Romanian's most valuable resource. The best soils for agriculture were the humus-rich chernozems, which account for large parts of the plain of Wallachia and Moldavia. Alongside this abundance of black earth, Romania agriculture enjoys a temperate climate, generally adequate precipitations averages, and a relatively long growing season. Contemporary sources are quasi-unanimous in considering agriculture as the "sole occupation" in the Danubian Principalities, and land cultivation its main competent<sup>10</sup>." In Wallachia, cultivated surfaces increased from about 511,000 ha in 1829 to 1,415,000 ha in 1863 and in Moldavia from 278,000 ha in 1829 to 1,000,000 ha in 1863.<sup>11</sup> The lack of a proper transport infrastructure strongly affected the development of Moldo-Wallachia's economy, the state of public roads being "deplorable". Land transportations of goods was made by ox or bullock driven carts, prepared by the peasants who carried their goods to the Danubian outlets. With productions increase and higher demands on Western markets, the transport of goods by professional carriers became a lucrative enterprise. Many carters established partnerships and made caravans, which advanced slowly towards the large Danubian ports. According to the Constantin Ardeleanu: "Nevertheless, land transportation remained extremely expensive, amounting to 10% and 40% of the products' market price. According to contemporary data, the cost of internal transport, on a distance of about 100 miles, was greater than that from Galati to London.<sup>12</sup>."

**Table 1**  
**Total Exports from the Danubian Ports.**  
**Values sterling pounds 1837-1852**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Galati</b>	<b>Braila</b>	<b>Total</b>
1837	120,213	113,481	233,694
1838	172,168	148,238	320,406
1839	280,713	297,206	577,919
1840	504,447	364,030	868,477
1841	189,036	255,610	414,646
1842	268,353	288,636	556,989
1843	225,345	449,556	674,901

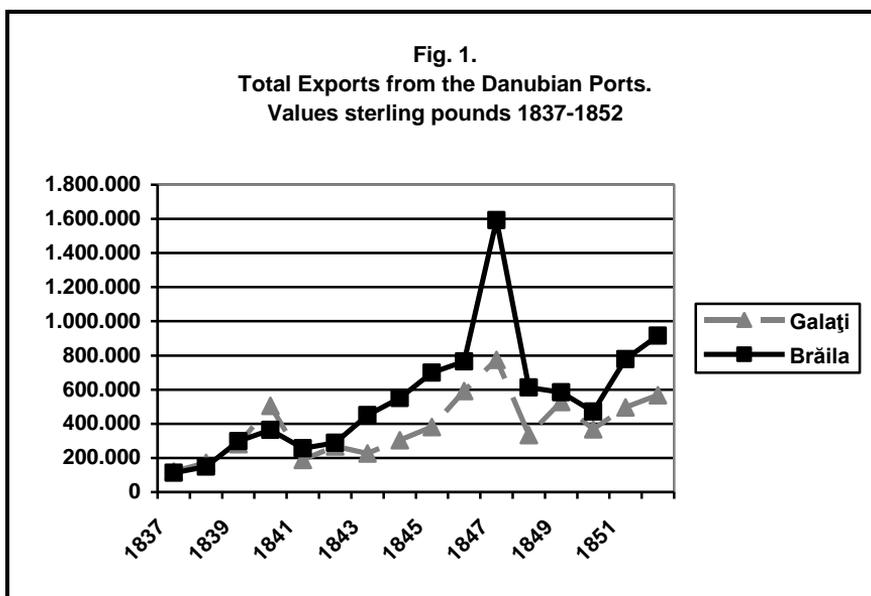
<sup>10</sup> Ardeleanu, 1837, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Mureşan, 1995, 69; See also Marcel Emerit, 1937, 231.

<sup>12</sup> Ardeleanu, 2014, 99-100.

1844	303,885	551,044	854,929
1845	379,797	698,680	1,078,477
1846	592,578	764,909	1,357,487
1847	775,528	1,592,944	2,368,472
1848	333,271	611,958	945,229
1849	528,342	584,930	1,113,272
1850	367,700	472,012	839,712
1851	496,368	778,157	1,274,525
1852	567,110	916,933	1,484,043

**Source:** „Commerce of the Danube,” *Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review*, New York. t. XXVII. nr. 3. September 1852, 293.



The most important resource of the Wallachia and Moldavia, grain ranked first, by quantity and value, in the foreign trade of the two provinces. Although the diversity of cereals was larger (wheat, maize, rye, barley, oats, miller, buckwheat), the grain which secured the Principalities’ place on the international market were wheat and maize. In first half of the nineteenth century, the Moldavian grain was considered qualitatively superior to the Wallachian sort. In the period 1840-50, the progress of agriculture caused the amelioration of the quality of grain from Wallachia, which equals that of Odessa; it is already

similar to that of the Taganrog port.<sup>13</sup> The rudimentary method of separating the grain from the chaff, by beating it out with horses, was also responsible for the low quality and dampness of goods; another shortcoming was derived from the method of preservation, as they were stored in earthen pots, dried by fire, which made them rather damp.

There were too many differences of size and hinterland between Braila/Galati and Odessa, as well as of political interest to create a veritable rivalry. The French diplomat Thouvenel also mentioned that Moldavian grains (the best Romanian assortment) was sold on the Western markets 4-5% cheaper than the Odessa sorts, and with the large number of ships calling at Braila and Galati, “these two cities are a redoubtable competitor for Odessa, hence Russia’s discontent and the obstacles which this power creates at the Danube.”<sup>14</sup> Grain trade patterns during this period and the gliding scale system in use in the West did not allow the direct access of Eastern products to the British and northern markets. The deposit ports system, with the Mediterranean storing ports of Constantinople, Trieste, Marseille or Genoa, was almost compulsory during this period. But the Romanian Principalities were among the largest grain growing areas in the world, and the upsurge of exports from the Danube was recorded in almost all contemporary economic magazines<sup>15</sup>. The Odessa-Danube ports competition should be placed in its dynamic economic context as well: the expansion to South-eastern Europe of the modern world system and the shift from the medieval agriculture to that dominated by the rules of capitalist economy. The opening of new agricultural markets on the Black Sea coasts was concurrent with a significant demographic and industrial development in Western and Northern Europe, thus with an increasing need of foodstuffs. In only a few decades, the area completely reshaped its economic structure, so as to resist in this huge vortex represented by the capitalist world market. The Russian reaction to the increased Western economic involvement in the Romanian Principalities was to tighten her hold over the Lower Danube navigation, which

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<sup>13</sup> Ardeleanu, 2014, 101.

<sup>14</sup> Thouvenel, *La Hongrie et la Valachie*, III, 834-835 *apud*. C. Ardeleanu, 2014, 120.

<sup>15</sup> Ardeleanu, 2014, 118. See for an opposite view Bogdan Murgescu, 2010; Ardeleanu, 2012, 43-74.

foreign diplomats reported as highly detrimental to the commercial enterprises in the ports of Braila and Galati.

**Table 2**  
**Wheat Exports from the Danubian Ports (1837-1852)**  
**Quantities (in quarters) and Values (in sterling pounds)**

Port	Galati			Braila		
	Quantity (quarters)	Average price (shillings)	Total value (pounds)	Quantity (quarters)	Average price (shillings)	Total value (pounds)
1837	98,380	15	73,785	75,792	14	53,054
1838	171,813	16	137,450	61,524	15	46,143
1839	150,378	24	180,454	143,184	-	-
1840	230,568	26	299,738	132,596	24	159,115
1841	100,855	24	121,026	84,692	22	93,161
1842	154,675	21	162,409	160,121	20	160,121
1843	107,634	17	91,489	322,343	16	257,874
1844	166,535	16	133,228	347,888	17	295,705
1845	180,032	24	216,038	314,940	23	362,181
1846	110,902	27	149,718	327,526	26	425,784
1847	180,860	32	289,376	390,818	30	586,227
1848	113,605	22	124,966	159,484	20	159,484
1849	183,797	23	199,867	117,346	20	117,346
1850	140,652	23	161,750	283,290	19	269,126
1851	134,474	21	141,198	283,106	18	254,795
1852	187,555	22	206,311	343,584	20	343,584

**Source:** Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, Gavrilă, 1978, 635-639. Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, 1979, 716-717 (percentage and totals recalculated by Constantin Ardeleanu. in Ardeleanu, 2014, 266).

**Table 3**  
**Maize Exports from the Danubian Ports (1837-1852)**  
**Quantities (in quarters) and Values (in sterling pounds)**

Port	Galati			Braila		
	Quantity (quarters)	Average price (shillings)	Total value (pounds)	Quantity (quarters)	Average price (shillings)	Total value (pounds)
1837	86,964	8	34,786	24,313	8	9,725
1838	58,374	8	23,350	37,200	8	14,880
1839	128,649	12	77,189	57,172	-	-
1840	189,037	17	160,681	68,586	16	54,869
1841	35,394	16	28,315	26,818	15	20,114
1842	93,531	12	56,119	10,221	11	5,622
1843	140,662	10	70,331	121,309	9 s/ 6 d	57,622

1844	174,023	11	95,713	128,221	10 s/ 6 d	67,316
1845	157,101	13	102,116	124,714	12	74,828
1846	336,627	20	336,627	163,145	19	154,988
1847	318,605	25	398,256	619,115	25	773,894
1848	143,727	19	136,541	292,115	18	262,904
1849	258,763	18	232,887	332,532	16	266,026
1850	122,875	18	110,588	149,734	15 s/ 6 d	116,044
1851	350,682	16	280,546	646,617	12 s/ 6 d	404,136
1852	329,279	16 s/ 6 d	271,655	725,259	13 s/ 6 d	489,550

**Source:** Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, Gavrilă, 1978, 635-639. Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, 1979, 716-717 (percentage and totals recalculated by Constantin Ardeleanu. în Ardeleanu, 2014, 267).

**Table 4**  
**Wheat Exports from the Danubian Ports to Great Britain (1844-1852)**  
**Quantities (in quarters) and Values (in sterling pounds)**

Port	Galati			Braila			
	Year	Quantity (quarters)	Price(£)	%	Quantity (quarters)	Price (£)	%
1844		1,326	1,061	0.80	18,607	15,816	5.35
1845		2,328	2,794	1.29	17,917	20,605	5.69
1846		-	-	-	2,653	3,449	0.81
1847		23,281	37,250	12.87	-	-	-
1848		31,702	34,872	27.91	6,305	6,305	3.95
1849		47,405	54,516	27.28	4,655	4,655	3.97
1850		78,871	90,702	56.08	83,113	78,957	29.34
1851		35,368	37,316	26.30	100,593	90,534	35.53
1852		98,586	108,445	52.26	85,336	85,336	24.84

**Source:** Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, Gavrilă, 1978, 635-639. Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, 1979, 716-717 (percentage and totals recalculated by Constantin Ardeleanu. in Ardeleanu, 2014, 267).

**Table 5**  
**Maize Exports from the Danubian Ports to Great Britain (1844-1852)**  
**Quantities (in quarters) and Values (in sterling pounds)**

Port	Galati			Braila			
	Year	Quantity (quarters)	Price(£)	%	Quantity (quarters)	Price(£)	%
1844		4,724	2,598	2.71	698	366	0.54
1845		735	478	0.47	7,704	4,622	6.18
1846		52,863	52,863	15.70	4,228	4,017	2.59
1847		176,878	221,098	55.52	0	0	0
1848		95,497	90,722	66.44	120,640	108,576	41.30
1849		163,671	147,304	63.25	168,161	134,529	50.57
1850		82,810	74,529	67.39	64,055	49,643	42.78

1851	295,200	236,160	84.18	286,882	179,301	44.37
1852	28,550	23,554	8.67	337,948	228,115	46.60

**Source:** Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, Gavrilă, 1978, 635-639. Cernovodeanu, Marinescu, 1979, 716-717 (percentage and totals recalculated by Constantin Ardeleanu. in Ardeleanu, 2014, 267).

Starting with the 1830s, the Danubian an increasingly frequent destination for British and European entrepreneurs who had discovered their great commercial prospects. After 1829, the Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia witnessed a veritable commercial revolution. The abolishment of the Porte’s relative commercial “monopoly” and the almost simultaneous introduction of steam navigation on the Danube (1830) turned the Danubian ports of Braila and Galati into important suppliers of grains on the European markets, but also into large importers of industrial goods from western countries. The Principalities and the Caucasus became. The Principalities found some advantages in the extension and diversification of their trade relations, in spite of the inequitable position in which they were placed vis-à-vis the great powers, not only as political dependences on the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, Wallachia and Moldavia undertook to ensure an active trade, chiefly along the Danube, the main artery. Through the ports of Braila (in 1836) and Galati (in 1837) were exported the natural resources of the Romanian lands, namely their food products and their cattle, in exchange for high quality manufactures, which their own industry, then at its very beginning, could not provide. The first British commercial Company in the Danubian Principalities, headed by George Bell and Andrew Lockhart Anderson failed to bankruptcy in 1836, due to some Russian obstructive measures against the foreign vessels in the Danube Delta and also to some unhappy financial speculations. Many Romanian merchants were ruined also this failure.<sup>16</sup>

Organised in commercial houses, the merchants served as partners or agents of the most important company from Marseille, Trieste, Vienna, Leipzig, Constantinople and London. In an area where capitalist instruments were still at the beginnings, these businessmen were “at the same time bankers, merchants,

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<sup>16</sup> See for detail: Part one, Chaper III in Ardeleanu, 2014, 95-117.

exchange agents, traders for import and export, but more than anything they are middlemen.”<sup>17</sup>

In 6 August 1847 the English Ambassador Colquhoun describe de Romanian agriculture and the foreign trade in this mode: “It is certain that the immensely high prices obtained this year for Agriculture Produce of all kinds have accounted the Wallachian Boiar from the Torper & Inactivity in which he has hitherto exposed; he is now making great efforts to increase the Produce of his Estates, in which he will doubtless succeed, for the Country is capable of yielding twenty times, the present amount. It becomes therefore of vital Importance, not to the Provinces alone, but the Purchasers, that no Impediments which can be removed, should be allowed to exist in the High Road by which this Produce must pass.”<sup>18</sup> In the 1829-1853 periods the economic environment at the Mouths of Danube ports was completely changed.

A very dynamic commercial class, made up of active merchants enjoying a privileged status, took control an entire economic chain. The strain induced by revolutionary events of 1848-1849, as well as the deepening of the Eastern Crisis, owing to the deterioration in Turkish-Russian relations, also contributed for the progressive worsening of relations between Russia and Great Britain (the being supporter of Ottoman integrity). This also resulted in grave problems for the trade of the Mouths of Danube in 1853. The sharpening of antagonism between the great powers led to the outbreak of the Crimean War, which ended, as it is known, with the defeat of Tsarist Russia<sup>19</sup>.

In conclusion, after the Treaty of Adrianople the economic structure of the North Black Sea region adapted to feed this grain frenzy. In Moldavia and Wallachia, the treaty of Adrianople abolished all former obligations to supply the Porte with grain and other commodities, and Danubian products could be sold freely, according to free market rules. In the next decades, the two states imposed a coherent policy meant to favour production and encourage foreign trade by means of a low tariff, and Danubian grain started to compete against the Russian cereals.

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<sup>17</sup> Lefebvre, *Etudes*, 313, *apud*. Ardeleanu, 2014, 78-79.

<sup>18</sup> P.R.O. F.O., Turkey, dos. 78/696, f. 74 and 76, *apud*. P. Cernovodeanu, 1986, 116-117.

<sup>19</sup> C. Ardeleanu, 2012, 43-74.

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# THE DANUBE QUESTION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE VIENNA PEACE CONFERENCE AND CONGRESS OF PARIS (1855-1856)

Mihaela Munteanu\*

**Abstract.** *After the start of the Crimean War, one of the main objectives of the European diplomacy was the resolving of the contradictions related to the navigation on the Danube. Removing Russia from the Danube's mouth and eliminating the danger of Austria's exclusive control in the Romanian region of the river, represented important victories for Romanians, which, under the collective guarantee of the great European powers, could follow their own political destiny and meanwhile to grow economically.*

**Keywords:** *commercial relations, Lower Danube navigation, treaty, interest.*

## 1. The Great Powers and their interests at the Lower Danube within the context of the Crimean War

A quarter of a century prior to the Crimean War, the development of the Romanian Principalities' foreign trade and the entry of the Romanian ports into the major international trade routes were shadowed by the Russian occupation of the regions of the Danube's mouths. During this period, Russia – which claimed that the Danube navigation was affected by the physical obstacles that nature had created at the mouths of any river of this size – was accused that it aimed at closing the Danube navigation in favour of

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the trade in the Odessa Port, which was competing with the Romanian ports of Brăila and Galați. The situation also worsened on the background of the growth in the number and capacity of the ships docking into the Danube ports, and under these circumstances the obstacles<sup>1</sup> seemed even greater and the accusations directed towards Russia were proportionally growing. In the absence of competent scientific research, we are analysing the accounts of the travellers, of the foreign consuls accredited in Brăila and Galați, as well as of the crews of the Austrian paddle steamers that were sailing weekly to the Danube in search for cheap products in the Principalities<sup>2</sup>.

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the western European countries reached a high degree of development due to the technological discoveries and industrial policy that favoured and encouraged their application. The English agriculture could no longer satisfy the needs of its own population, which had significantly increased. The existence of the customs protection – previously justified – made no sense any more, as at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it did not match the interests of the majority any longer. “In their turn, the manufacturers, who dominated a large part of the public opinion, did not demand industrial protection; however, they requested the reduction of taxes on cereals, with the purpose to improve life standards, as well as the decrease of the industrial products' prices, which allowed them to conquer the global market step by step”<sup>3</sup>. While the English production, which supplied the majority of the population, was impressively developing, the leaders were improving the existing outlets and seeking for new ones at the same time. The cautious politics of colonial and commercial expansion was becoming England's main concern. Thus, the

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<sup>1</sup> When analysing the hydrographical conditions of the Danube, we notice that it carries a huge quantity of silt and it flows into an enclosed sea that lacks strong tides. According to the Adrianople Treaty, the island of Sf. Gheorghe, where the town of Sulina is situated, along with the other islands of the Danube, should not be inhabited. However, the Russians built a quarantine station at the south-east end of the Letea Island and a little later they built the town of Sulina, where they declared themselves rulers. At the opposite end of Sf. Gheorghe isle, at the entrance to the channel, the Russians built another quarantine station. The rest of the Sf. George Island is a desolate swamp.

<sup>2</sup> Ardeleanu, 2011, 113, 136-137.

<sup>3</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 44-45.

English discovered the shores of the Black Sea and the Danube region in particular; these were areas with productive agricultural capacity, offering vast prospects to the expansionist interests of the English industrial production<sup>4</sup>. The old English principle “he who controls the water controls the land”<sup>5</sup> was now of interest to the Romanian Principalities, too, as their interests coincided with the interests of Romanians. American historian David B. Funderburk<sup>6</sup> noticed that the Romanian-British commercial relations had been continually amplifying and diversifying, as the Danube ports steadily developed.

Austria, which held the quasi-monopoly of the traffic on the Danube under the circumstances of the steam-boat introduction and of the freedom to export Romanian grains to the "Turkish Empire" (introduced through the Adrianople Treaty), more than ever sought to keep this water non-Russian. Beyond the line of the Austrian ships there were the Russian quarantines, and Austria knew very well that if its rival Russia had not been defeated in the would-be war, it might remain in the Principalities. Moreover, through its diplomatic skilfulness, Austria represented "Germany's economic burst towards the East" at the time and, by defending the German economic interests in the East, it came into more political prominence in the empire whence Napoleon I had banished her<sup>7</sup>.

But just like Austria, the English came across the Russian political domination on the Danube, which made Ștefan Zeletin exaggerate in asserting that: "the hurdles in the trade operations made England unleash the Crimean War"<sup>8</sup>. Radu Florescu considered that the controversial issue of the "Sulina Channel"<sup>9</sup> deserved an in-depth approach in the study of the Crimean War's history, as the western Christian powers also had on their diplomatic agenda regulations regarding the conditions of navigation to the productive agricultural regions of the Romanian Principalities.

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<sup>4</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 46-47.

<sup>5</sup> Botez; Kirițescu, 1905, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Funderburk, 1982, 427.

<sup>7</sup> Iorga, 1913 [There is also a curated edition, with an introductory study and index by Victor Spinei. Iași: European Institute, 1998], 248-249.

<sup>8</sup> Zeletin, 1925, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Florescu, 1999, 300. See also Florescu, 1964, 46-67.

Yet this war<sup>10</sup> had other causes. Russia, encouraged by its victories against the Ottoman Empire deemed this moment suitable for the consolidation of its eastern politics. The liberation of the holy places – which had been the cause of arguments between the Catholic states and Orthodox Russia – was the alleged reason chosen by the latter to trigger the war in 1853<sup>11</sup>. Tsar Nicholas I, who relied on Austria's gratitude and underestimated the military power of France – reckoning that the latter, shaken by the revolution, would not step in – took into account a possible intervention of Great Britain alongside the Ottomans. The Tsarist diplomatic body did not consider even for a moment a possible intervention of Piedmont or Prussia, as they had their own problems to solve, regarding their state unification. "Austrian loyalty, the very fulcrum of the Tsarist diplomacy, was the weak point of the Crimean War". Austria drew Prussia and the German Confederation on its side while Piedmont<sup>12</sup>, willing to draw Europe's attention on the Italian question, joined them<sup>13</sup>.

In July 1853, Palmerston<sup>14</sup> wrote to earl Aberdeen<sup>15</sup> that "the invasion of the Romanian Principalities is a *cassus belli* for the sultan and we cannot advise him to stay passive. But caution and tactics are needed, as it is not recommended that he venture in sending an army north of the Danube".

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<sup>10</sup> Iorga, 1913, 248 explains the outbreak of the war: „The Crimean War started the day after the Russians left the Principalities, quite unexpectedly for everybody. It is not a war that anybody would have desired. Diplomacy prevents wars sometimes, but oftentimes, through its finesse, it provokes them. This war of 1853 was started exclusively by diplomacy".

<sup>11</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 48.

<sup>12</sup> Ciachir, 1996, 43.

<sup>13</sup> Demorgny, 1911, 80.

<sup>14</sup> Henry John Temple 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Palmerston, British politician, member of the Tory Party (from 1807) and of the Whig Party (from 1830), was prime-minister during the periods 1855-1858, 1859-1865 and a promoter of the British colonial interests (particularly of the expansion in China). Hostile to France and particularly to Russia, in the "Eastern Question" he was an advocate of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>15</sup> George Hamilton-Gordon 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Aberdeen was the British prime-minister during the period 1852-1855 and in this capacity he made a government coalition, but his indecision shattered the peace-keeping efforts, resulting in Great Britain's involvement in the Crimean War. Being constitutionally responsible for the British generals' mistakes during the war, he resigned in 1855.

The Ottoman Empire, feeling supported and taking the invasion of the Principalities as an excuse, declared war on Russia in September 1853. Following the destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Sinope (November 1853) – which secured the supremacy of the Tsarist Empire in the Black Sea – England and France signed a military treaty with Turkey in March 1854, and declared war on Russia next month<sup>16</sup>. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 1854, Earl Clarendon claimed in the House of Lords that the Crimean War, the goal of which was "to control and reject Russia's unjustified aggression" was a "battle of civilisation against barbarism, with the purpose to maintain the independence of Europe"<sup>17</sup>.

However, in order to avoid simultaneous military operations on three fronts – on the Danube, in Caucasus and Crimea – the Russian commandment decided to withdraw the troops from the Principalities, starting from July 19<sup>th</sup> 1854. Their place was taken by the Austrian forces, under the convention with Turkey (Boiagy-Koy<sup>18</sup>, 1854). Under these circumstances, the Austrian administration could enforce its authority at the mouths of the Danube without hindrance, according to its interests as a great power<sup>19</sup>.

The representatives of the allied countries met several times during the war, with the purpose to warn Russia on the European nature of the Eastern Question. In this regard, the first meeting took place in Vienna, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1853, when it was decided that Austria's minister of Foreign Affairs, Buol Schauenstein and the ministers plenipotentiary of England and France would meet the following year, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, to establish the issues that the future treaty of peace had to regulate<sup>20</sup> through its "Four items": 1) the cession of the Romanian Principalities, of the three districts in Bessarabia and of the Chilia channel; 2) the freedom of navigation on the Danube according to the principles of the Congress of Vienna, 1815; 3) the

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<sup>16</sup> Ciachir, 1996, 44.

<sup>17</sup> Seton-Watson, 1937, 328.

<sup>18</sup> On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 1854, the Court of Vienna managed to sign a convention with the Ottoman Empire at Boiagi-Koy, which provided that: "The Emperor of Austria pledges to make use of all diplomatic and any other means, in order to obtain the evacuation of the foreign occupation army from the Danubian Principalities and, if needed, to send the necessary troops to attain this goal".

<sup>19</sup> Suciu, 2005, 36.

<sup>20</sup> Demorgny, 1911, 193.

relinquishment of the protectorate on Christians in Turkey and on the Romanian Principalities, which should be organised under the collective guarantee of the Contracting Powers; 4) the neutrality of the Black Sea and the confirmation of a regime of freedom for this sea<sup>21</sup>.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1854, the accredited ambassadors to the Imperial Court of Vienna "addressed a memorandum to Prince Gorchakov, requesting the freedom of navigation on the Lower Danube" and the provision of a permanent trade-union authority<sup>22</sup> that would have "the right and the power to eliminate all the obstacles that Russia might raise in the freedom of navigation on the Sulina channel<sup>23</sup>". The Russian official showed his principled agreement regarding the items for which the western powers demanded Russia's agreement in order to overcome the state of conflict<sup>24</sup>.

## **2. The Conference of the Ambassadors in Vienna (March 1855)**

On the occasion of the opening of the Conference of the Ambassadors in Vienna on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1855<sup>25</sup>, count Buol of Schauenstein specified right from the start that: "the premises for peace were agreed upon, which have been deemed requisite in order to ensure security and compel Russia to accept them. These conditions were communicated beforehand to a Russian delegate who accepted them and showed his interest to accept and adopt them as starting points for the negotiations"<sup>26</sup>.

During the session of the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1855, the representative of Austria, Count Anton Von Prokesch-Osten presented a project drafted as a memorandum in 6 points. The representative of Ballplätz recommended that articles 108-116 of the Final Act of the Vienna Congress of 1815 should be the guidelines in establishing the principles regarding the navigation on the Lower Danube, from the point where the river becomes

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<sup>21</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 52; Seton-Watson, 1937, 332.

<sup>22</sup> *The Danube Question. Documents and Papers*, 1883, 128.

<sup>23</sup> Suciu, 2005, 38.

<sup>24</sup> *History of Romanians*, VII, tom. I, 2003, 430.

<sup>25</sup> The protocols of the Vienna Conference comprising the debates on the "Danube Question" can be found in Sturdza, 1904.

<sup>26</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 52-53.

common to Austria and the Ottoman Empire to its flowing into the Black Sea. Such an arrangement would become, from this date onward, part of the European public law, guaranteed by all the contracting parties. The application of these principles would be done with a view to facilitating the trade and navigation in order that on this part of the Danube there should be no obstacles of any kind. Russia was compelled to remove the quarantine measures on the Sulina channel and not to build any military units in the Delta – a territory declared neutral<sup>27</sup>. In order to remove the natural obstacles existing on the Lower Danube, drainage and reclamation works were to be made, with the purpose to allow heavy ships to reach Galați and Brăila. The compliance with these provisions was guaranteed by the great powers of Europe. They were to appoint delegates to examine the localities and present to the powers participating at the conference a report on the points and natural obstructions that impeded the navigation on the Lower Danube<sup>28</sup>.

At the same time, the Contracting Powers had to appoint delegates in a European trade union, with a view to institute a legislation and a river police on the lower course of the Danube<sup>29</sup>. The delegates of Austria, Russia and Turkey – riparian states – had to set-up a permanent Commission for the Lower Danube navigation, which would put into practice the decisions of the European trade union. This commission could only be dissolved by means of the mutual agreement of its members. The trade union had to lay the basis of a set of river- and sea navigation regulations and of an instruction project which would serve as a guideline and rule for the commission made from the delegates of the three riparian states<sup>30</sup>.

Count Prokesch-Osten's memorandum led to vivid debates among the participants and was lingeringly negotiated by the ambassadors of Great Britain (Lord John Russel), France (Baron of Bourqueney), Turkey and Russia (Prince Gorchakov ) accredited to Vienna, without reaching any conclusions or drawing up a final document fully agreed on by all the parties.

Chancellor Gorchakov rejected the memorandum, claiming that Russia had observed the freedom of navigation for all the flags

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<sup>27</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 41.

<sup>28</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 41-42.

<sup>29</sup> *Memoire sur la question du Danube*, [191?], 6.

<sup>30</sup> Manolescu, 1941, 49-50; Geffcken, 1883, 9-10; Kaeckenbeeck, 1918, 85-88.

transiting the river, removing, to all possible extent, the obstacles at the mouths of the Danube. The chancellor deemed the term "trade union" improper for the mixed commission, considering that the latter trespassed against Russia's interests, and he rejected the idea of a European control at the mouths of the river. In the opinion of the Russian minister plenipotentiary the memorandum had two sides: a political side and a commercial one – this idea being admitted by the Austrian minister plenipotentiary Bourqueney – under the circumstances of the impossibility to "objectify a question raised to the rank of a European guarantee while the trade union was nothing else but the representative of all the states involved"<sup>31</sup>.

As regards Article five of the memorandum, which stipulated that the delegates of the riparian states assembled within the commission would be the executive power of the European trade union, Lord John Russell, on behalf of England, insisted on the necessity of a British delegate's presence in the executive commission, as his country had major European trade interests on the Danube. Turkey's representative, although he had no ideas of his own during the negotiations, supported the opinion of Great Britain's minister plenipotentiary<sup>32</sup>.

Prince Gorchakov was against the idea of the Danube Delta becoming neutral, claiming that "he will never give his consent to a combination that smells like an indirect exploration"<sup>33</sup>.

After a prolonged confrontation of ideas between the representatives of the great powers, they finally signed a protocol in six points. It comprised a series of provisions that largely anticipated the stipulations of later conventions. Thus, the Contracting Powers agreed that the principles governing the navigation on rivers crossing several states would also apply to the lower course of the Danube, from the place the river became common to Austria and Turkey up to the sea. It was also stipulated that drainage works would be performed on the river up to Galați and Brăila, with a view to enabling the navigation of heavy ships. The European Mixed Commission, made from delegates of the contracting parties, guaranteed the execution of these works as well as the ultimate control on the application of the Danube

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<sup>31</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 42-43.

<sup>32</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 43.

<sup>33</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 52.

navigation principle<sup>34</sup>. Furthermore, a riparian executive commission was established, made from the delegates of the three riparian states: Austria, Turkey and Russia<sup>35</sup>.

We notice that, following the protocol of March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1855, the Danube was going to be divided into two main sectors: the Upper Danube, where the freedom of navigation was ensured only by the riparian states – Austria, Bavaria and Wurtemberg – and the Lower Danube, which was going to fall under the administration of an executive commission of the riparian states and of a European trade union<sup>36</sup>. This was an exemption from the Vienna Treaty's principles, which provided a unique regime for all navigable courses of international rivers. This<sup>37</sup> exemption was requested by Austria, who wanted to remain the only governor of the navigation on the Upper Danube.

### **3. The Congress of Paris and the Danube's Regime**

On the background of the Vienna Conference, which had set the premises for the future peace negotiations, Count Esterhazy, Austria's ambassador to Sankt-Petersburg, threatened Russia on the severance of diplomatic relations, "if it did not accept the peace conditions set in Vienna". On the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1855, an agreement between the allied powers and Russia, regarding the premises for the peace negotiations, was signed in Sankt-Petersburg, and on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1856, in the prospect of the conference, a preliminary protocol was signed in Vienna, to be used as theme of the debates<sup>38</sup>.

Thus, a step forward was taken, as the Vienna project of preliminary discussions began with the assertion that "the freedom of the Danube and its mouths shall be efficiently ensured through European institutions wherein the European powers shall be equally represented, besides the particular positions of the riparian states, which shall be regulated according to the principles set through the Act of the Vienna Congress in matters of river navigation".

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<sup>34</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 43.

<sup>35</sup> *Memoire sur la question du Danube*, [191?], 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Memoire sur la question du Danube*, [191?], 6-7.

<sup>37</sup> *Memoire sur la question du Danube*, [191?], 7.

<sup>38</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 44.

Following the Sankt-Petersburg agreement, Russia foresaw that by signing the peace she will lose her right as a riparian country and this is why it did not insist anymore on the idea of establishing a European commission in the form of a trade union. In exchange, the representatives of England and France took over this idea in order to develop it on their own<sup>39</sup>.

By insisting on their "Danubian" policy, in harmony with the European powers' policy to give maximum validity to the river navigation freedom - acknowledged as a major European interest in the case of the Danube, too - the Romanian Principalities served the interests of the international communities, which coincided with their own interests in this matter. This had been a feature of the Romanian nation's development: serving the ideals of the community and advancing through its attitude towards the foreign politics<sup>40</sup>. Thus, when the issue of analysing and discussing the Romanian Principalities' state of affairs was raised, the great powers supported them. Obviously, the great powers were not at all disinterested, because, as we have seen so far, both the eastern empire – on one side – and Austria, France and England on the other side had economic, political and strategic interests in the Danubian region<sup>41</sup>.

The Tsarist politics of strengthening Russia's positions in the Balkans were opposed to the interests of the British bourgeoisie. France was also afraid of Russia, although it had trade interests in the countries of Levant<sup>42</sup>. And Austria, leading the same opportunistic politics, had advantages to gain from either Russia or Turkey, depending on which side the balance tilted. The purpose of the Habsburg monarchy was to maintain the Romanian Principalities under a regime similar to that which they had been subject to under the Ottoman Empire<sup>43</sup>.

The Treaty of Paris was preceded by a period of negotiations that highlighted the great powers' desire to fulfil their goals. In the "Danube II" project of preliminary peace discussions - signed in Vienna on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January/ 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1856 by the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia and

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<sup>39</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 44.

<sup>40</sup> Sofronie, 1939, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Seftiuc; Cârțână, 1972, 36.

<sup>42</sup> Filitti, 1915, 45.

<sup>43</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 46.

Turkey - it was stipulated that the freedom of the Danube and its mouths would be ensured through European institutions wherein the Contracting Powers shall be equally represented<sup>44</sup>.

In Count Buol de Schauenstein's opinion, the grounds for peace were laid – "deemed requisite with a view to providing guarantees for the future security and to putting an end to a state of affairs that had forced Russia to resort to hostilities against most of Europe ". These peace conditions were communicated beforehand to the Russian delegate. He took note and stated he was authorised to agree to all the principles imposed and was ready to adopt them as starting point for the negotiations. Consequently, the freedom of navigation on the Danube would be ensured through efficient means, under the control of a permanent trade-union authority<sup>45</sup>.

This is what the Austrian minister plenipotentiary declared one month prior to the Congress of Paris, wherein he would drastically change his position, on the background of Austria's exclusive administration of the Upper Danube since March 1855. Despite the opposition of England and France, Austria managed to leave the Upper Danube out of the treaty, under the alleged reason that this part of the Danube was of interest for the riparian countries only. The freedom of navigation on this sector had already been ensured through the treaty signed in 1851 by Austria, Bavaria and Wurtemberg<sup>46</sup>. Emperor Francis Joseph's instructions to his representatives at the Congress – Baron Hubner and Count Buol – stated that there had to be "a clear distinction between the question of Sulina and the question of the Danube itself. As regards the former, all the powers have equal rights, while in the case of the latter only the riparian states have a word to say"<sup>47</sup>.

Within this context, the Congress of Paris tried to give a solution to the Danube question. The allied powers – France and England in particular – "did their best to make the Danube a European river and to put its freedom of navigation under Europe's guarantee"<sup>48</sup>. During the session of March the 6<sup>th</sup>, England imposed its point of view and made all efforts to remove Russia

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<sup>44</sup> Sturdza, 1904, 24.

<sup>45</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 52-53.

<sup>46</sup> *La Commission Européenne du Danube et son Œuvre de 1856 à 1931*, 1931, 7-8.

<sup>47</sup> Hajnal, 1920, 71-72.

<sup>48</sup> Kogălniceanu, 1882, 16.

from the mouths of the Danube and to put this river under these states' domination, as proof that the decisive role in establishing the European Commission of the Danube was not to be played by the riparian countries, but by the very forces that signed the peace treaty<sup>49</sup>.

Napoleon III's France was not only a supporter of Russia's removal from the mouths of the Danube and of the expansion to the Balkan Peninsula and the straits, but also an advocate of the two Romanian Principalities' union<sup>50</sup>. During the session of March the 6<sup>th</sup>, Count Walewski proposed, on behalf of his country, the set-up of a European Commission at the mouths of the Danube, which could only be dissolved by mutual agreement. This commission had the task to draw up a set of river – and sea navigation and police regulations, as well as to execute the necessary works<sup>51</sup>.

Count of Schauenstein, Austria's minister plenipotentiary, objected that "the enforcement of the regulations about to be supervised by the Commission can only take into account the interests of the navigation on the Lower Danube"; that "the navigation on the Upper Danube has not led to any conflicts between the stakeholders and there are no justifiable reasons to extend the Commission's authority"<sup>52</sup>.

The minister plenipotentiary of France replied on the spot: "The Congress is concerned with a general question regarding the navigation on the river; this question was presented as such in the document that served as a basis for the negotiations. The text of the proposed articles does not raise any ambiguities and sufficiently shows the nature of this commission's duties"<sup>53</sup>.

The conflicting discussions went on during the session of March 12<sup>th</sup> 1856 (Protocol no. 8)<sup>54</sup>. Count Buol kept supporting the

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<sup>49</sup> Lungu, 2002, 56.

<sup>50</sup> Sofronie, 1939, 4.

<sup>51</sup> Sturdza, 1904, 26.

<sup>52</sup> Sturdza, 1904, 27.

<sup>53</sup> Kogălniceanu, 1882, 21.

<sup>54</sup> Protocols of the Conference of Paris with discussions referring to the question of the Danube and the attitude of the European diplomats, in Sturdza, 1904, 12-23; for the provisions of the Treaty of Paris regarding the Danube Question, see Sturdza, 1904, 32-34; Holtzendorff, 1884, 139-141; *La Commission Européenne du Danube et son Œuvre de 1856 à 1931*, 411-413; Demorgny, 1911, 317-318.

theory according to which the exclusive river-navigation right should be reserved to the riparian states only. But Count Walewski and the Earl of Clarendon did not agree with this restrictive point of view. France's minister plenipotentiary claimed that: "all the Contracting Powers will see to the free navigation on the Danube"<sup>55</sup>.

Austria's opinion that the riparian states should have the administration of the Danube was essentially right; however, in this situation it was not supported by the care for the real interests of the riparian countries, but it had to serve exclusively Austria's purpose to dominate the entire river<sup>56</sup>, under the circumstances of Austria's domination of the Danube up to Turnu Severin, while Wallachia, Moldavia and Serbia, being under foreign domination, could not enforce their point of view.

Count Buol stated that the government of his country agreed to comply with the provisions of the Vienna Treaty of 1815 (article 109), but only on the condition that the riparian powers "shall be called to focus" on the river-navigation and river-police regulations and to "supervise their enforcement". Moreover, he requested that, in order to "keep the spirit and terms of the Vienna Congress", both the European Commission of the Danube and its successor, the Permanent Danube Commission of the riparian states, should limit their "works to the Lower Danube and to the river's mouths"<sup>57</sup>.

Therefore, there were two theses regarding the set-up of a navigation regime on the Danube: "the first one, referring to the exclusive river-navigation right reserved to the riparian states only", supported by Austria's minister plenipotentiary, disproved "with no less energy" by the representatives of France and England<sup>58</sup>. The second one was supported by these two representatives, who thought that the internationalisation of the entire course of the Danube was the only sustainable solution to be put into practice.

Count Clarendon was even more downright in his statements: "By remaining the sole administrator of the Upper Danube and participating in the navigation on the upper side of the river,

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<sup>55</sup> Sturdza, 1904, 21-22.

<sup>56</sup> Seftiuc; Cârțână, 1972, 39.

<sup>57</sup> Kogălniceanu, 1882, 21.

<sup>58</sup> Kogălniceanu, 1882, 21.

Austria would gain particular and exclusive benefits which the Congress could not welcome"<sup>59</sup>.

The great powers (England and France) could not allow Austria to be the sole party with benefits from the administration of this navigation route, as they had interests in this respect, too. Earl Clarendon warned with the possibility of excluding Austria from the negotiations, "if it keeps opposing the programme of the Congress in its entirety".

Under these circumstances, when seeing that its restrictive claims are not accepted, Austria had to withdraw them. "Count Buol announced that he had received instructions from his Court, on the subject of the second point regarding the Danube; he stated that Austria had adhered to the complete application of the principles set through the Congress of Vienna, both for the upper and for the lower part of the Danube, on the mere condition that this measure be confuted with the previous duties assumed *bona fide* by the riparian states. Consequently, he proposes a rewrite of the river-navigation and river-police regulations, which should meet the principle of free navigation stipulated in the preliminary protocol, taking these pledges into account for a specified period"<sup>60</sup>. This statement was deemed important and was annexed to the protocol of the meeting; debates were adjourned for the next session.

During the session of March the 27<sup>th</sup>, Count Walewski read the articles referring to the regime of the river, which were subsequently included in the text of the peace treaty that ended the Crimean War. "Thus, the principle of free navigation on the Danube on its entire course was officially declared European interest, being part of the European public law and put under the collective guarantee of Europe"<sup>61</sup>.

The agenda of the Congress of Paris in 1856 included, among other issues, the question of organising the Romanian Principalities, which had become an international question. The congress opened the path towards the union of the Principalities, it consolidated their autonomy and they were put under the collective guarantee of the great powers; thus the unilateral Tsarist protectorate was abolished. The Romanian Principalities remained

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<sup>59</sup> Kogălniceanu, 1882, 22-23.

<sup>60</sup> Kogălniceanu, 1882, 25-26.

<sup>61</sup> Kogălniceanu, 1882, 26-27.

under the suzerainty of The Porte, which had no right to interfere with their domestic affairs and pledged to respect the full freedom of cults, legislation, trade and navigation. The Principalities were allowed to have a national army for their internal security, as well as for the defence of their borders; in case of domestic upheavals, The Porte could not intervene without the consent of the guarantor powers<sup>62</sup>.

As far as the political issues were concerned, a new stage was inaugurated for the Principalities, a stage of "decisive fight between the desires and will of the Romanians, on one hand, and the tendencies of the great powers, on the other hand; though divergent in their views, the great powers were naturally oriented towards compromises that were not always favourable to the Romanians"<sup>63</sup>.

Besides these provisions – of major importance for the future of the Romanian Principalities – the Treaty of Paris signed on the 30<sup>th</sup> of March 1856<sup>64</sup> comprised 5 articles regarding the free navigation on the Danube. They were an actual statute of the river, which would largely remain in force and govern the activities related to the navigation on the Danube until the outbreak of the First World War<sup>65</sup>.

Article 15 of the treaty provided that the principles that came from the act of the Vienna Congress regarding the navigation of the rivers that separated or crossed the states would also be applied on the Danube, as well as its mouths<sup>66</sup>. It was obvious that a distinction was made between the river and its mouths and this provision did not exist in the said document of 1815.

The consecration of the principle of navigation freedom was first of all due to favour the commercial relations between states, to boost traffic on the Danube on the background of the rise of the steam power, which allowed the entering of heavy ships up on the river. Thus, not only the interests of the riparian states were established, but also the interests of some of the non-riparian states, such as France, England and Sardinia<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> Stanciu, 2001, 48.

<sup>63</sup> Berindei, 1995, 118.

<sup>64</sup> The treaty was signed by the representatives of seven states: Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey.

<sup>65</sup> Florescu, 1975, 53.

<sup>66</sup> Sturdza, 1899, 4.

<sup>67</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 49-50.

The river navigation could not be subject to any hindrance or royalty, to any toll founded solely on the navigation on the river or upon the goods which might be onboard the vessels. The police- and quarantine regulations would be drawn-up in such way as to favour the transit of the ships to the best possible extent. With the exception of such regulations, no other hindrance of any kind shall be brought upon the free navigation<sup>68</sup>. This final provision of Article 15 was an acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the Danubian states on their river domain<sup>69</sup>. We cannot state the same about the provisions of Article 16 of the Treaty of Paris, which instituted a commission that would bear the name "European Commission" and included non-riparian states with full rights: Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey. The set-up manner of this commission appointed on a two-year period disclosed the great powers' tendency to disregard the rights and interests of the Romanian Principalities, the rightful owners of the Danube's mouths<sup>70</sup>. Alleging reasons that the riparian countries did not have the money and the technical means to maintain the Lower Danube navigable would not withstand criticism. The authors of the Commission realised its frailness and this is why they provided a two-year term for its operation; after this period, its duties would be taken over by the permanent Danube Commission of the riparian states<sup>71</sup>.

England and France knew about Austria's ambitions regarding the navigation monopoly on the Danube. The fear that Austria might adopt an obstruction policy forced the two non-riparian powers to include it in the European Commission of the Danube, wherein it would have a major word to say, considering that Turkey was weakened and its external influence was decreasing<sup>72</sup>.

In the opinion of the Italian lawyer Catellani, the navigation regime subject to the great powers' control was motivated by "Turkey's negligence in terms of notoriety, added to its weakness and precarious condition, which Europe could not miss; besides, the latter could not abandon the river regime to Russia – which lost

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<sup>68</sup> Petrescu; Sturdza, 1888-1901,1075-1088.

<sup>69</sup> Bădulescu *et alii*, 1957, p. 137.

<sup>70</sup> *The Danube Question. Documents and Papers*, 1883, 1075-1088.

<sup>71</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 51.

<sup>72</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 51-52.

its riparian-state status – nor to Austria, which thus would have had an arbitrary control over other states crossed by the river"<sup>73</sup>.

The role of this Commission was to decide upon and execute the necessary works below Isatcha, with a view to clearing the mouths of the Danube and the neighbouring parts of the sea from sands and other impediments which obstructed them, in order to put that part of the river and the said parts of the sea in the best possible state for navigation<sup>74</sup>.

The same article also included an attempt to solve the problem of the necessary funds for the reclamation works and for the construction of buildings to ensure the proper navigation conditions, as well as to levy tolls on river navigation from all flags.

Great Britain's delegate in the European Commission of the Danube noticed that: the proposed works to be carried out by the Commission must be paid in advance by the Turkish treasury, and the various materials delivered by the Turkish government must be regarded from this point of view. The fact that the powers represented in the Commission must contribute with amounts of money for the necessary works is not consented upon. If The Porte does prove that it is incapable of paying the advance amounts it has promised, the instructions of other governments shall be sought<sup>75</sup>.

We notice that through these advance payments Turkey was securing a privileged position within the European Commission of the Danube, although the measures taken in this respect were not deemed positive by the Turkish government. Here is what the documents of the time say about this matter: "as the advance payment for the works of the Commission is made by Turkey, any measure aimed at diminishing the immediate expenses is a real relief for it"<sup>76</sup>.

Through Article 17 of the Treaty of Paris a second Commission was instituted, the permanent Danube Commission of the riparian states, according to the provisions of Article 108 of the final Vienna act of 1815: the powers whose states are separated or

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<sup>73</sup> Catellani, 1883, 55.

<sup>74</sup> Sturdza, 1913, 2.

<sup>75</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 336, 212.

<sup>76</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 336, 212.

crossed by the same navigable river pledge to regulate by mutual agreement all matters related to the said river"<sup>77</sup>.

This commission – made from the delegates of Austria, Bavaria, The High Porte and Württemberg (one delegate for every power) – was supplemented with the commissioners of the three Principalities (Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia), whose appointment would be approved by The Porte. Unlike the European Commission of the Danube, this second commission would be permanent. Its mission was: 1) to draw up regulations for the river navigation and for the river police; 2) to remove any and all impediments that might occur and oppose the application of the Vienna Treaty provisions on the Danube; 3) to order and put to practice the necessary works on the entire course of the river; 4) to supervise the navigability sustentation of the Danube and of the contiguous sea regions, after the dissolution of the European Commission of the Danube<sup>78</sup>.

We notice in the provisions of Article 17 that the Danube was deemed a unitary river, undivided into sectors, and the navigation regulations were going to be set accordingly. As members of this commission, the riparian states had the right to draw-up river-navigation and river-police regulations. Such a competence came from exerting the principle of state sovereignty of the riparian powers – a principle that even the non-riparian powers did not challenge. As we have previously seen, the permanent Danube Commission of the riparian states was also in charge with executing the works of removing the natural obstructions that existed on the entire course of the river. This provision entailed an overlap of the duties of the two commissions. Both of them had to manage the sector where the river flowed into the sea, which resulted in an actual confusion regarding the competences. This was yet another clue for the uselessness and frailness of the European Commission of the Danube<sup>79</sup>.

According to Article 18 of the Treaty of Paris, both commissions had a two-year term to achieve their goals. At the end of this period, they would gather in a conference in order to assess their activity, and afterwards the European Commission of the Danube was to be dissolved. Since that moment, the permanent

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<sup>77</sup> Gligor, 1971, 71.

<sup>78</sup> Sturdza, 1913, 2.

<sup>79</sup> Gogeanu, 1970, 52-53.

Danube Commission of the riparian states would enjoy the same powers as those held up till then by the European Commission of the Danube<sup>80</sup>.

D. Nenițescu considered that the two-year term given for the Commission's activity was assumingly a mistake, out of several reasons. Firstly, the large quantity of works that were going to be executed on its sector could not be finished within such a short period. The general level of technology at the time had to be considered, too. The second reason was that, after setting the two-year term, the interested states realised the inefficiency of the term and started to extend the Commission's terms of operation by turns, which resulted in the violation of the principles laid in the final act of Vienna and of the 1856 Congress of Paris<sup>81</sup>.

Subsequent to 1856, when Russia lost its access to the mouths of the Danube, "Austria turned out to be extremely persistent and even aggressive at times" in its attempt to obtain hegemony on the entire river<sup>82</sup>. These increasing tendencies of interference could not be overlooked by England and France, which had major interests in the trade on the river. They could not accept Austria's prevalence, after having driven away the same tendencies of Russia, by means of war. Hence, these two states' politics of maintaining their influence through this European Commission of the Danube, whose operation term they sought to extend as much as possible. As a matter of fact, dissensions between the great powers soon occurred, on the occasion of discussing the river-navigation and river-police regulations drawn-up by the members of the Commission, assembled in Vienna.

Article 19 of the Treaty of Paris was a double violation of the Danubian states' sovereignty, as it did not take into consideration their right as riparian states and forced them to accept the entrance and anchorage of foreign war ships in the waters of the river. This article did not limit the tonnage of these ships and it only specified that they would be "light"; the great powers justified these provisions through "the necessity of ensuring the enforcement of the regulations"<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>80</sup> A.M.A.E., vol.11, 1.

<sup>81</sup> Nenițescu, 1903, 57-58.

<sup>82</sup> Lungu, 2002, 156.

<sup>83</sup> Sofronie, 1939, 64.

The application of the international law principles to the river navigation on the mouths of the Danube marked a new stage in the evolution of the European trade circuit, in drawing the Lower Danube towards the European market, which implicitly led to its economic development<sup>84</sup>.

The Austrian diplomats thought it was wise to limit the application of the navigation-freedom principle only to the Lower Danube, as in case Austria had not managed to counter-balance the Anglo-French meddling on the Danube, the interference of France and England would not have been possible, at least on the upper course of the river. In a telegram sent to London, Colonel Stokes stated: "Now that Russia is moved away from the mouths of the Danube, the whole river, on its entire course, must fall under the influence of Austria, in less than a year starting from now (1856). However, Austria's interest was that the river navigation should be kept safe. At the moment, Austria already has a complete system of ships spread from Vienna to Trieste and all across the Levant"<sup>85</sup>.

Great Britain thought that "caution" was needed as regards Austria's manifest exclusiveness at the Lower Danube. Austria kept making statements regarding the general welfare, while its monopoly on the major navigation companies had the goal to "exclude any other forms on the Danube"<sup>86</sup>. In case The Porte did not provide the necessary funds for the execution of the Commission's works, the general opinion was that Austria would not renounce its monopoly without raising claims upon the instruments at the mouths of the Danube.

Austria was fighting for supremacy on the Lower Danube, believing that the existence of this Commission of the riparian states would entail "allowing international boats to operate in the trade, while the Austrian companies – which now have the monopoly on the trade – would not manage to uphold themselves against these ships"<sup>87</sup>.

Great Britain was interested in the existence of "a free port somewhere on the Lower Danube" due to the numerous benefits that it might bring for the English trade<sup>88</sup>. In April 1856, Charles

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<sup>84</sup> A.M.A.E., vol.11, 2.

<sup>85</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 333, 330.

<sup>86</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 336, 106.

<sup>87</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 336, 337.

<sup>88</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 333, 54.

Cunningham, English Consul, stated: "it is ultimately important for us to obtain a convenient site on the Lower Danube to build a warehouse where all the grains from Bulgaria, Moldavia and Wallachia could be stored and subsequently exported with no second payment". The Romanian Principalities opposed this desideratum, although England considered that "there were only three powers that had a particular interest in this regard: Turkey, Austria and England"<sup>89</sup>. On this background, the English delegates believed that the founding of a free port should be made against the will of the Principalities. At the same time, Charles Cunningham stated that "Austria seems to oppose the founding of a free port on the Danube, as it has no major interests in the grain trade. At any rate, Austria would not have any trade benefits from its import operations. Any benefit would favour the British trade, while building a free port would be to the detriment of Austria's trade. Except for England and Austria, no other country has such a major interest in the trade on the Danube"<sup>90</sup>

Following the research on the documents from the England Microfilm Collection of 1856-1861, we have not found any other mentions regarding the achievement of founding a free port on the Danube for the grain trade.

Having researched the debates between the representatives of the seven European countries, we could easily notice their conflicting interests. Turkey wanted "the improvement of the Danube navigation, as this measure also involved an improvement of the situation of the countries under its domination". England believed that "The Porte has a major mercantile interest on the Danube. It seems that the desiderata of The Porte, of France, Sardinia, England make up a majority". But this majority actually consisted in the manifestation of the hegemonic tendencies of these states on the Danube, to the detriment of the riparian states<sup>91</sup>.

The above assertions are also supported by the subsequent situation of 1858, when another question was raised: the signing of the Danube-related documents by Turkey, not by the Romanian Principalities. In the light of the documents of the time, the British Government adopted the following position: "the question is not that Turkey is signing on behalf of Wallachia at present, but that it

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<sup>89</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 333, 54-55.

<sup>90</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 333, 56.

<sup>91</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 333, 417.

is enforcing its decisions without the agreement of the Principalities or even without an opportunity for the latter to express their reasons for disagreement"<sup>92</sup>.

The conclusions of the English consuls – reflected in the documents – show that there was already a clearly-shaped distinction between the countries with interests in the rapid development of the trade on the Danube and the countries whose interest was to "restrict it to Sulina or Sfântul Gheorghe" channel<sup>93</sup>.

The Romanian Principalities admitted the positive role of the Paris Congress decisions and did not hesitate to oppose the expansionist tendencies of foreigners, as well as the violations of the respective provisions. They believed that in this commission they could find the maximum guarantee for the defence of their economic and political interests on the way of their powerful expansionist neighbouring empires. The Danubian Principalities also had economic, political and strategic interests on the river, but they did not have and could not use any means for the improvement of the navigable course of the Danube, as they were dependant on foreign powers<sup>94</sup>.

Constantin Băicoianu noted: if we consider that the duration of the European Commission of the Danube "embodied the presence of foreign interests at the mouths of the Danube" and that it was "set on too short a term" and if we also take into account the "effect of these mistakes", we can understand "why on every term-extension some powers – now Austria, then Russia – did not give up except in exchange for a concession" from the principles of the 1815 Congress of Vienna, from the Treaty of Paris and from the small riparian states<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>92</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 52, 51.

<sup>93</sup> S.A.N.I.C., roll 339, 243.

<sup>94</sup> Seftiuc; Cârțână, 1972, 41-42.

<sup>95</sup> Băicoianu, 1917, 59-60.

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## L'IDILOGIE FRACTIONNISTE. L'ANTI-DYNASTICISME

Irina Gafița\*

**Abstract.** *The nineteenth century Romanian society was going through a vast modernization process. Political life was no exception. It was in this context that numerous political parties made their appearance on the public stage, although the majority had only a temporary existence.*

*The political party named “The free and independent faction” is an interesting addition on the public stage. Anti-dynastic, had it been in their powers, they would have banished Prince Carol I of Romania. Their dream was to see a “Romanian ruler on a Romanian throne”. Their importance lies in the overwhelming influence they had in Moldova, a Romanian province. They played a decisive role in Parliament, because their votes brought the power in the hands of the Liberals or the Conservatives.*

*This paper aims to present a main aspect of this group’s ideology, to analyze the impact of their anti-Dynastic ideas and relate them to the person of Charles I and the foreign policy promoted by him. The study will also analyze the route of this party ideological ideas, in this case the anti-Dynastic ones, since its appearance on the public stage, to the point where they disappear as a political group, from public discontent to acceptance and even appreciation. Their beliefs are, as the study will point out, in close relation with the influence of Simion Barnutiu, the individual believed to be the group’s mentor.*

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**Keywords:** *Charles I, Nicolae Ionescu, Anti-dynastic, Germanisation, Teutophobia.*

## **Introduction**

La principale motivation de l'analyse de l'idéologie fractionniste a la besoin d'établir le cadre des idées sur lequel Nicolas Ionesco et son groupe ont actionné sur la scène publique. Du point de vue méthodologique. Les idées fractionnistes peuvent être divisées en quatre grandes catégories: les idées des ceux qui sont anti dynastie, les unionistes, les antisémites et les idées du groupe radicalisme fractionniste. Dans cette œuvre nous nous axerons sur la première de ces quatre composants idéologiques au-dessus présentés.

### **2. L'apparence de la Factionne**

En ce qui concerne le antidynastique de la factionne, celui – ci a représenté une constante dès le moment de son apparition sur la scène publique. Dans le cas de Nicolas Ionesco, ces idées se sont manifestées, selon sa correspondance avec D. A. Sturdza, de la période d'avant de l'année 1859. De même que les fractionnistes ont été contre l'idée d'une dynastie étrangère, ils ont été profondément attachés au concept de l'unité du Moldavie avec le Pays Roumaine, sans qu'ils ne soient jamais d'accord avec les idées séparatistes très connues à l'époque à Iasi.

Il n'y a pas un programme manifeste ou une déclaration des fractionnistes qui atteste la date à laquelle ce groupe a été né. On suppose que le groupe fractionniste s'individualise du point de vue politique sous l'influence de la philosophie de Simion Bărnuțiu, dès le règne de l'Alexandre Ioan Cuza. Sur la scène politique, ils s'affirmeront comme un groupe distinct, en commençant avec l'année 1866, dans le contexte des travaux de l'Assemblée Constituante.

Les pareils des membres fondateurs ne sont pas unanimes vis-à-vis du moment de l'apparition du groupe fractionniste. Alexandru Gheorghiu considérait que la fraction vient apparaître après le moment 1866, ayant comme programme politique « l'enrichir des citoyens comme prémisses de la consolidation de

la nation » et la réglementation des financiers de l'état comme garantie de la « prospérité ».<sup>1</sup>

Dans un discours soutenu à l'occasion de la rencontre électorale de la Mairie de la ville Iasi, Nicolas Ionesco précisait son propre point de vue, en liaison de moment de l'apparition de la faction et c'est-à-dire l'année 1866, sans préciser une date fixe: « ceux quelques jeunes de cœur, qui sont connus de l'année 1866 comme former un groupe politique séparé, nommé libre et sans indépendance ». Ionesco considérait que « ce que, chez nous on nomme des parties ne sont pas que des factions, [...], toutes les réformes les plus grandes qui se sont réalisées de 1859 jusqu'ici [...] ne sont que l'œuvre de l'opinion publique.»<sup>2</sup> Par cette affirmation, Ionesco réitérait pratiquement la croyance de Bărnuțiu, qui disait que dans le cadre d'un état organique, n'a pas d'importance la volonté des ceux qui conduisent, mais la volonté de l'individu, qui est le seul capable à influencer le cours des événements.

Le peuple fallait guider et ici intervient la nécessité de la constitution de la faction: «l'opinion publique n'a pas opposé la même résistance à toutes les tendances pernicieuses, nocives des factions. C'est donc nécessaire et naturel de trouver un groupe des gens politiques [Fraction Libre et Indépendante-n. n.], qui se dit qu'il faut réveiller l'opinion publique pour lutter contre les tendances de préjudice les intérêts publiques ».

À cette occasion, Nicolas Ionesco explique le motif pour lequel son groupe a gardé son titulature de la faction et on n'a pas désiré se constituer initialement comme une partie » nous sommes une minorité infime, mais nous travaillerons que cette idées soit être adoptée de la majorité des citoyens [jusqu'ici – n. n.], nous ne dirons pas le partie libre et sans indépendance, mais jusqu'à la constitution de la majorité citoyens dans une même partie, nous nous monnerons faction provenue de Parti libre et indépendant».<sup>3</sup>

Dans un article manifeste de « Mișcarea Națională/ Le Mouvement National, la même année 1866, est souvenu, étant précisé de cette fois et aussi le motif qui a conduit vers l'apparition de la faction : «Notre Groupe de Nationales Libérales

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<sup>1</sup> *Dreptatea / La Justice* Iași, an III, no. 219, 21 mai 1870.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 220, 28 mai 1870

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

Indépendants, surnommé faction, est né l'année 1866 comme un groupe de protestation et de propagande nationale. Tous ceux qui croyaient que l'œuvre de l'éveil national du peuple roumain n'était assez fortifiée pour la résistance des tempêtes qui s'annonceront à l'horizon, tous étaient spontanément groupés autour de cette pensée. »<sup>4</sup>

Comme propagation géographique, l'influence de la faction se manifeste en Moldavie, spécialement à Iași, Roman, Bacău, Botoșani, Bârlad, Tecuci. À l'époque ils se donnaient le nom de « les rouges de Moldavie »<sup>5</sup> et si on croit l'hypothèse lancée par Apostol Stan<sup>6</sup>, ils se sont développés comme groupe en profitant de l'impossibilité des radicaux du Pays Roumain d'exercer l'influence au-delà de Milcov.

Nicu Gane, dans ses mémoires vient avec autre hypothèse liée avec les causes de la constitution de la faction. Celui-ci considérait que l'élément principal a constitué la spécificité géographique de la ville Iași particulièrement et la région de la Moldavie en général. Gane croyait que les libérales du Pays Roumain ne pouvaient pas imposer en Moldavie, parce qu'ils étaient trop libérales et ainsi on a créé une niche favorable pour l'apparition d'un groupe politique avec un programme « moins avancé »<sup>7</sup>. Malheureusement cette chose n'explique pas quelle est la signification accordée par lui à syntagme antérieure.

Adolphe Stern considérait que le facteur décisif qui a conduit à l'individualisation de la faction comme groupe politique distinct a été le moment dans lequel on a posé le problème d'apporter un prince étranger sur le trône du pays. Kogălniceanu est crédité avec l'hypothèse selon la faction apparaît comme groupe politique seulement pour «prendre des garanties par l'intermède de la Constitution contre l'influence d'un prince étranger. Car on disait à l'époque dans les rues de Bucarest que le prince étranger émancipera les juifs comme avant-coureur du germanisme, et voici l'histoire du 7<sup>e</sup> article de la Constitution». <sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Le Mouvement National. / Mișcarea Națională*, Iași, année I, no. 107, le 10 juillet, 1880

<sup>5</sup> Bacalbașa, 2014, 72.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stan, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> N. Gane, f.a, 168.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Stern, 2001, 36.

## L'influence de Simion Bărnuțiu

Un moment extrêmement important en ce qui concerne l'achèvement en ce qui va devenir le groupe fractionniste, constitue l'entrée à Iasi en 1854, comme professeur de logique à l'Académie Mihăileană, de Simion Bărnuțiu. Celui était considéré « le père » de fractionnistes, le mentor de Nicolas Ionesco et implicitement la source de laquelle il a pris toutes les idées selon il s'est guidé dans son activité ultérieure. C'est difficile d'apprécier en pourcentages combien d'idiologie fractionniste a comme point de partir la réflexion de Bărnuțiu et combien a représenté la contribution de chaque fractionniste. Il est certain que Bărnuțiu ait une influence augmentée sur ses adeptes en ce qui concerne les principales directions fractionnistes et spécialement l'anti-dynasticisme, l'antijuif et le radicalisme. On impose une analyse de la philosophie de Simion Bărnuțiu et implicitement une analyse de l'influence de sa réflexion sur les fractionnistes.

Entre 1860-1864, Simion Bărnuțiu enseignera à l'Université de Iasi à la Faculté de Droit, des cours de droit romain. C'est le moment dans lequel on établit des liaisons étroites entre lui et les futurs fractionnistes : Nicolas Ionesco, Andrei Vizanti, Grigore Cobălcescu, Dimitrie Brândză, Alexandru Gheorghiu, A. D. Holban, Ștefan Micle, Ștefan Șendrea ou Petru Suciu.

George Panu, son élève à l'Académie Mihăileană offre dans ses souvenirs une description éloquente de l'influence de Simion Bărnuțiu qui était capable d'avoir exercé sur ses étudiants et sur ses élèves d'autour de lui : Simion Bărnuțiu, avait une influence tant irrésistible sur ses étudiants et sur ses élèves qu'il puisse hypnotiser, inoculer le fanatisme de ses idées ; ils parlaient comme son professeur, ils s'habillaient comme lui , il allaient comme lui, sans doute ils pensaient comme lui »<sup>9</sup>.

En ce qui concerne le prince étranger, controverse sur laquelle s'est fondé l'idiologie fractionniste. Bărnuțiu soutenait que « le choisir de prince régnant roumain tient de droit naturel, mais non de droit public et par conséquence, c'est assez que un seul roumain soit contre le prince étranger parce que celui-ci ne soit accès au trône ».<sup>10</sup> Concrètement, celui affirmait dans l'œuvre

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<sup>9</sup> Panu, 2013, 45.

<sup>10</sup> Panu, 2013, 45.

*Droit publique des roumaines* : «La forme républicaine est la meilleure pour les roumains parce qu'elle est la plus accommodée pour leur nature et pour l'humanité »<sup>11</sup> ; « Les conducteurs des Roumains ont été et il faut être ce qu'ils ont été les consules et les prétoires chez les Romains, des juges au temps de paix et les imperators au temps de guerre »<sup>12</sup> ; « Les Roumains ont toujours détesté l'idée de l'hérédité ».<sup>13</sup> « Toutes les communautés des roumains d'aujourd'hui sont encore libres et républicaines, parce qu'ils se choisissent soi-même ses magistrats ».<sup>14</sup> « L'élément républicain rejette la domination héréditaire; où ce qu'il se trouve, là on impose à la politique la doute de relever, c'est la doute de chaque Roumain »<sup>15</sup>

Ultérieurement, en historiographie, Lucien Boia définit bref l'influence de Simion Bărnuțiu dans la formation de la Factionne Libre et Indépendante : « Les étudiants et les disciples de Simion Bărnuțiu ont constitué aussi un groupe politique inspiré par ses idées: la Factionne Libre et Indépendante d'inspiration démocratique, républicaine, mais nationaliste ». Les fractionnistes auraient emprunté de Bărnuțiu plus exacte la prononciation en faveur d'un « système républicain, contre le prince étranger, pour une réforme agraire radicale ».<sup>16</sup>

### **Pourquoi contre la dynastie ?**

Une partie extrêmement importante de l'idiologie fractionniste représente l'anti-dynasticisme de ses membres. Les principales sources utilisées dans notre analyse seront les publications fractionnistes: *La Tribune Roumain*, *La Justice*, *L'Union Libérale et Le Mouvement Nationale*, dans lesquels les membres de groupe ont exposé ses arguments antimonarchiques. On remarquera l'inexistence d'une réflexion unitaire entre les fractionnistes en ce qui concerne les bénéfices et les désavantages que un prince étranger puissent apporter aux Roumains.

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<sup>11</sup> Simion Bărnuțiu, 1867, 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, 141.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, 171.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, 171.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, 83.

<sup>16</sup> Boia, 1976, 167-168.

La factionne libre et indépendante a été dès le moment de sa formation un groupe qui a refusé l'idée d'une monarchie, à la tête de laquelle soit un prince d'une dynastie étrangère. Bien qu'il soit indubitable le fait que les idées républicaines répandues par Simion Bărnuțiu, aient eu une influence considérable, dans l'adoption de cette position, la croyance antidynastique de Nicolas Ionesco, le lieder de la fractionne, s'est manifestée dès une période d'avant de l'année 1859.

Dans la correspondance de Nicolae Ionesco avec D. A. Sturza, des années quand celui coordonnait l'activité de la publication *L'étoile du Danube/Steaua Dunării* à Bruxelles, nous retrouvons clairement exprimées les convictions du futur lieder fractionniste contre le principe étranger: «l'une des causes qui m'a apporté la censure de frères de Paris, a été ma position contre un prince étranger».<sup>17</sup> À ce moment-là Ionesco anticipait un complètement autre déroulement des événements dans les Principautés Roumaines, en affirmant clairement l'option pour un avenir sans principe étranger à la tête du pays: «Nos anti unionistes s'effrayeront comme ils veulent, L'Union administrative et politique et aussi sans la fondation d'une dynastie étrangère, reste la meilleure et sure combinaison<sup>18</sup>.»

De ce point de vue, les années suivants n'ont pas été bons pour Nicolas Ionesco. En 1866 le nouveau groupe fractionniste, conduit par celui-ci confrontera avec la possibilité et après avec la certitude d'apporter d'un principe étranger à la tête du pays. Leurs contre attitude pour celui – ci connaît deux moments principales de déroulement: l'année 1866 avec ses mouvements de séparation de Moldavie et le plébiscite pour la confirmation du Carol, et l'année 1871, l'année record de mouvement anti dynastique de Principautés.

Le discours fractionniste n'es pas l'un linéaire, celui – ci pendule fréquemment entre la nécessité de l'instauration d'une république que puisse assurer le bonheur de tous les Roumains et la nécessité d'un prince indigène qui gouverne sur le fondement de la tradition. En plus, en ce qui concerne Nicolas Ionesco, celui-ci changera son attitude pour Carol vers la fin de sa vie.

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<sup>17</sup> Nicolas Ionesco pour D. A. Sturza, le 2 avril, 1857, Bruxelles; dans BAR, S 67 (17).

<sup>18</sup> Nicolas Ionesco vers D. A. Sturza, le 15 novembre [1857], Paris; dans BAR, S 67 (26).

Les fractionnistes ne se retrouvent pas dans la rhétorique du leur temps qui militait pour l'apporter d'un principe étranger sur le trône du pays pour garder l'union. Nicolas Ionesco considérait qu'une consolidation de l'union sous le commandement d'un principe étranger n'était pas et ne pouvait pas être aussi précieuse comme la garantie collective des grandes puissances ou avec les bonnes relations eues des siècles avec les turcs qu'ils ont toujours respecter l'intégrité territoriale.<sup>19</sup>

Pour Nicolas Ionesco, l'union était déjà un fait historique, une certitude qui ne pouvait être contestée. En regardant de cette perspective, il ne voyait que l'inutilité d'un principe étranger qui déshonorerait les efforts de ses prédécesseurs qui ont lutté pour la réalisation de l'union: «c'est une vraie ingratitude de notre parte, pour notre passé même, quand la domination nationale a été soutenue avec tant de force et nous disons qu'il n'est pas possible une union avec un régime spécial.»<sup>20</sup>

La façon dont Nicolas Ionesco percevait la politique externe reste la même dans la période passée à Paris et à Bruxelles. Pour lui, les intérêts de Roumains ne pouvaient pas être réalisés que par l'intermède des Puissances Européennes. Mais pour que ces puissances pensent au moins à la situation des Principautés, était absolument nécessaire que leurs désirs ne soient pas négligés par des Roumains: «il signifierait une vraie absurdité quand les puissances de l'Europe sont pour une monarchie avec un prince indigène, les Roumains sollicitent un prince étranger. Il doit tenir compte des intérêts générales de l'Europe, mais non d'aller de bravade en bravade.»<sup>21</sup>

Cette peur pour ce que l'Europe pourrait faire en éventualité d'une trahison hypothétique roumaine persiste au cours des années. En 1880, les fractionnistes suggéraient, à nouveau, l'utilisation de « la croyance et de l'honnêteté » dans les rapports du pays avec les Grands Puissances, parce' ils considéraient « il faut que nous inspirons à tous la confiance que nous sommes un peuple pacifiste qui veut ordre, et par

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<sup>19</sup> *Moniteur Officiel / Monitorul Oficial*, no. 98, 5/17 mai 1866, 434.

<sup>20</sup> *M.O.*, no. 99, 7/19 mai 1866, 438.

<sup>21</sup> *M.O.*, no. 99, 7/19 mai 1866, 438.

conséquence il est préparé de vivre tranquille avec tous ses voisins [souligné par l'auteur.] »<sup>22</sup>

George Panu, fractionniste pour une période courte, partageait la réticence des autres membres du groupe alors quand on discutait de la possibilité d'apporter sur le trône du pays d'un prince étranger. Voilà ce qu'il notait dans ses mémoires: « La ville Iasi par sa tradition, par son état d'esprit et par ses idées politiques dominantes, était pour un roi roumain. De les élèves jusqu'aux professeurs, cette idée était fortement soutenue. Je me suis souvenu que nous, les élèves du lycée, nous n'avions autre chose à faire toute la journée et toute la nuit que travailler pour un roi indigène. Le jour nous fabriquions des grandes affiches sur l'étoile ou sur le papier, écrites avec des grandes caractères calligraphiques, avec les suivantes inscriptions: <roi roumain veulent les Roumains>, <Nous ne voulons pas roi étranger>, <Le Roumain maître chez lui>. Et puis, la nuit par vents par trente nous sautions les haies de l'internat, nous nous répandions dans toutes les rues de la ville, nous nous cachions des sergents et des patrouilles et nous collaient ces proclamations-là. »<sup>23</sup>

Alecu M. Şendrea, fractionniste avec moins exposition publique que ses camarades, pense autrement ces questions. Iacob Negruzzi se souvient un discours de celui-ci un discours soutenu avec l'occasion des conférences organisées par les adeptes du « juminisme » de l'Université : « ils protestent avec énergie contre l'idée du Roi étranger, duquel ils avaient peur de dénationaliser les Roumains. Dans le public, plusieurs avaient commencé l'approuver et les choses se seraient bouleversées, si, vers la fin de son discours, l'auteur n'avait pas ajouté comme concession qu'il aurait reçu, peut être si cela est nécessaire un Roi étranger, si ce Roi était d'origine latine [souligné par l'auteur], mais jamais l'un d'origine allemande [souligné par l'auteur]. »<sup>24</sup>

Plus tard, les fractionnistes reviennent à cette idée quand ils affirment que: «L'Union et le roi d'origine latine était l'un et le

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<sup>22</sup> *Le Mouvement National/ Mişcarea Naţională*, Iasi, année I-er, no. 1, 1 mars 1880.

<sup>23</sup> Panu, 2013, 43.

<sup>24</sup> Negruzzi, 2011, 69.

même principe; c'était le complexe d'une grande réflexion politique.»<sup>25</sup>

V. A. Urechia se retrouve parmi ceux qui partagent l'idée selon cet aspect de l'idiologie fractionniste, anti-dynasticisme proviendrait exclusivement de la réflexion de Simion Bărnuțiu et dans ses mémoires, il offre aussi une explication pour cette hypothèse: [les fractionnistes- n. n] soutenaient qu'il était plus utile pour le pays d'avoir un roi national. Simion Bărnuțiu, le chef de l'école, était exaspéré de roi étranger de son Ardeal.»<sup>26</sup>

Dans ses mémoires, N. B. Locusteanu relatait que dans la Constituante étaient deux membres qui ne désiraient l'apporter d'un prince étranger: Nicolas Ionesco et I. H. Rădulescu. Le dernier considérait à son tour que « la monarchie plus facilement corrompt les moraux que prépare une république.» Locusteanu considère que tous les deux auraient désiré l'instauration d'une « demarchii » (un gouvernement du peuple)<sup>27</sup>.

Pour les fractionnistes, la monarchie seulement par « l'établi du règne est loin de faire la Roumanie heureuse » Le fondement soi-même, La Constitution était l'une inefficente et corrompue, car elle a favorisé « la bataille de jeu des conducteurs, profiteurs qui se multiplient après le 11 février.»<sup>28</sup>

Un article plus dur vis – à – vis du moment le 11 février 1866, on retrouve dans la publication fractionniste *Le Mouvement National* : « La tombée du Cuza a été pénible senti dans le pays et il a eu besoin d'une grande dose de patriotisme » plein d'abnégation de part de sincères libérales pour réussir le fait que la douleur ne se traduise pas par violence ».<sup>29</sup>

L'inutilité d'un prince étranger résultait le mieux d'une comparaison avec le passé. Par une image idyllique de Cuza, les fractionnistes ont superposé l'image de Carol « l'Allemagne », qui ne s'arrêtera pas jusqu'au moment quand tout le pays soit devenu allemande. Regardant les choses de ce point de vue, il n'est pas étonnant que les fractionnistes ont salué le choix de

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<sup>25</sup> *L'Union Libérale / Uniunea Liberală*, Iași, année Ier, no. 67-68, 30 janvier, 1872.

<sup>26</sup> Urechia, 2014, 109.

<sup>27</sup> Locusteanu, 1898, 160-161.

<sup>28</sup> *La Justice/Dreptatea*, Iasi, année II, no. 126, 6 avril 1869.

<sup>29</sup> *Le Mouvement National / Mișcarea Națională*, Iasi, année I, no. 57, le 9 mai 1880.

Cuza comme député du IVème Collège de Mehedinți le janvier 1870.

L'année 1871 connaît un renouvellement de l'attaque fractionniste adressée au prince Carol.<sup>30</sup> La rhétorique fractionniste se fonde sur les accuses de vendre du pays, discours provenu de la question des voix ferroviaires. La célèbre «affaire Strousberg» est très critiquée par les fractionnistes qui considèrent le déroulement des événements une épreuve en plus de fait qu'ils ont eu raison quand ils ont prévu la faillite, la ruine du pays une fois avec l'accès au trône d'un allemand: « le péril est éminent pour pays! Si on consigne aussi le nouveau crime; si on consentit aussi le nouveau le coup de pouce, le pays est cofondé dans un abîmes profond. Les Roumains seront condamnés au travail et toute leur richesse et toute leur production de son travail ne peuvent pas payer cette colossale catastrophe financière. »<sup>31</sup>

Le danger « germanisme » n'était pas l'un économique, dans la vision des fractionnistes, mais il a la tendance à acquérir des connotations ethniques, tout étant du plan hypothétique des Allemagnes à «coloniser» le pays: « l'idée de la colonisation des Allemagnes n'est pas une blague, n'est pas une chimère et non une fois on a senti chez nous la présence allemande forcée et son regard plus sérieux sur la questionne orientale. »<sup>32</sup> En plus on reprend l'idée selon les juifs sont une avant-garde des Allemagnes: on restera une seule chose à faire pour l'achèvement du programme dynastique: la colonisation du pays avec des Allemagnes, en résolvant la questionne juive. »<sup>33</sup>

Une hypothèse intéressante, mais une peu probable on retrouve chez Radu Rossetti. Dans le contexte international de l'année 1871, en spécial dans le cadre de la guerre franco – prussien, la société roumaine se trouvait dans un vrai dilemme. Voilà ce qui affirmait Rosetti: « Mais personne de toute notre société ne pensait pas pour une participation à la guerre, à un aide effectif que la Roumanie puisse donner à France; seulement de partie des membres *fractionnistes libres et indépendants* [souligné

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<sup>30</sup> Les fractionnistes n'ont pas était le seul groupe politique qui a adopté une position antidynastique dans le contexte de la guerre Franco- Prusse. Pour une analyse de la position de la revue « Le Roumain », implicitement du Pays Roumain, on voit l'étude de Sorescu, 2013, 153-173.

<sup>31</sup> *L'Union Libérale/ Uniunea Liberală*, Iasi, année Ier, no. 7, 27 juin 1871.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, Iasi, anné II, no. 118, le 14 janvier 1873.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 122, 11 février 1873.

par l'auteur] parlaient les mêmes mots en Moldavie.<sup>34</sup> C'est difficile à croire que les fractionnistes qui ont milité toujours pour une neutralité et pour garder de bonnes relations avec les Grands Puissance adoptent cette position indifféremment d'aversion qu'ils ont eu pour le prince Carol et pour les Allemandes.

Ce moment détermine les fractionnistes de réaliser un bilan de presque quatre années de gouvernement du prince Carol, ils concluent que la tendance de faire d'adopter le mode de vie allemande du pays continuait, le futur financier, économique et commercial était compromis, les intérêts fondamentales du peuple étaient négligés, la dignité de l'état était subordonnée aux intérêts étrangères, mais l'instruction, l'église, l'armée, la justice, l'administration, toutes s'en remettaient à la providence.»<sup>35</sup>

Le principal responsable de la situation du pays était, sûrement, Carol. Les fractionnistes deviennent des victimes, des personnes de bonne volonté qui ont été trompées, de même que au moment 1866, ils ont renoncés aux propres principes pour permettre à apporter un prince étranger. La relation des fractionnistes avec le prince Carol est exposée par l'éditeur en employant un exemple des contes mille un nuits. Les fractionnistes représentent le voyageur qui par bonté du cœur a porté sur son dos un pêcheur resté sur autre bord d'une rivière et il ne pouvait passer. Le pêcheur, l'image allégorique du Carol, une fois assis sur les épaules du voyageur, s'est trouvé sa vigueur inattendue et il a étouffé le bienfaiteur généreux comme dans un pince de fier. L'auteur de l'article conclut: « tel nous arrive avec notre bonté et avec la gentillesse de notre caractère »<sup>36</sup>.

La possibilité d'une abdication du prince Carol est considérait blague par de publication souvenue antérieur: «la dynastie n'abdique pas ! Et elle n'abdique pas parce qu'elle se sent bien ici et parce que personne ne laisse 100.000 des monnaies en or par an et une telle couronne facile à porter. Que les fidèles dynastiques calment son cœur, car le danger n'est pas et il ne peut pas être. »<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Rosetti, 2013, 509.

<sup>35</sup> *La Justice/ Dreptatea*, Iasi, année III, no. 196, le 26 février 1870.

<sup>36</sup> *L'Union Libérale/ Uniunea Liberală*, Iasi, année Ier, no.21, le15 août 1871.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 53, le 5 décembre 1871.

A. D. Holban s'expliquait la décadence du pays par les fondements soi-même de l'institution monarchique. Il ne voyait pas la possibilité de progrès tant temps que « le premier magistrat du pays est la personnification du principe féodal de la dynastie héréditaire.» Mais le même Holban offrait une « solution » pour le prince qui « doit être circonspect et très équilibré dans ses gestes, pour ne provoquer le sentiment national du peuple car seulement avec cette condition on peut oublier son origine.»<sup>38</sup>

Presque dix ans plus tard, l'image de l'« Allemagne » reste inchangée dans la presse fractionniste. Ceux –ci déplaisent l'incapacité de Carol de renoncer à ses propres aspirations et idées en faveur de celles –ci qu'un conducteur des Roumaines aurait dû les avoir: « C'est une vraie folie à croire que un homme une fois devenu conducteur d'un pays étranger puisse oublier son origine nationale, son éducation, ses liaisons de famille [...]. Celles – ci sont des merveilles de la nature et contre de la raison santé.»<sup>39</sup> Cependant, « le prussien » Carol n'amène aussi le respect du pays natal face de Roumanie, mais en plus «L'Allemagne nous déteste et nous veut détruire.»<sup>40</sup>

Les fractionnistes ont offert au long du temps et des autres explications par lesquels il justifiait la position dynastique. Dans la vision d'Ionesco, la monarchie avait une influence néfaste sur les parties politiques et il représentait le motif principal pour leur stagnation, car ils divaguaient du vrai but et ils se proposaient de gagner autres chose que la confiance du roi: «Chez nous, les partis politiques sont un conte de fée. On procréé et on nait, quand on accède en tête on sottise et on tue tant mieux sous l'influence du roi. À vrai dire dans notre régime constitutionnel, un parti travail pour le bien du peuple seulement quand il est en opposition politique. [...]. Certainement l'impuissance des partis a y origine, les partis naissent et croient pour accéder en tête seulement par l'aide de roi.»<sup>41</sup>

Pour les fractionnistes c'est clairement que le monarque devra avoir un rôle limité: «nous croyons que c'est arrivé le temps d'arrêter la politique secrète et la politique de cabinet du

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<sup>38</sup> *La Justice/ Dreptatea*, Iași, an III, nr. 201, 15 mars 1870.

<sup>39</sup> *Le Mouvement National / Mișcarea Națională*, Iasi, année Ier, no. 122, le 27 juillet 1880.

<sup>40</sup> *L'Union Libérale/ Uniunea Liberală*, Iasi, année Ier, no. 90, le 21 mai 1872.

<sup>41</sup> *L'Union Libérale / Uniunea Liberală*, Iasi, année Ier, no. 90, le 21 mai 1872.

conducteur [...] que c'est le temps de pratiquer ce principe salué : <Le roi règne et non gouverne> .»<sup>42</sup>

Même si personnellement Nicolae Ionesco soit contre la dynastie, il se considérait un représentant du peuple et par conséquence il est décis de respecter la décision de celui: « la nation par ses représentants se sont ainsi prononcés, nous nous inclinons devant le plus grand souverain du monde qui est le peuple »<sup>43</sup>, mais d'autre parte «la dynastie s'est fondée seulement par la volonté et avec la conscience du peuple. Le choix de la personne, même inopportun, ne peut pas signifier grand-chose.»<sup>44</sup>

Ionesco s'expliquait que ce choix en partant de l'histoire de peuple roumain: « je crois que les Roumains préfèrent la dynastie vers l'autre forme de gouvernement parce qu'ils ont toujours vécu sous la forme de gouvernement dynastique qui a été Roumaine au temps de la gloire et après elle a été étrangère»<sup>45</sup>

Si dans le temps des dynasties roumaines, l'esprit national était resté intact, le peuple roumain a prospéré une fois qu'avec l'apparition des dynasties étrangères<sup>46</sup>: « cependant, l'esprit national est corrompu et toutes les intérêts les plus chères du peuple ont reçu les coups les plus durs». Ionesco considérait que l'échec de cette forme de gouvernement dynastique n'a pas empêché les Roumains à désirer pour le futur une forme de gouvernement dynastique, en espérance de revenir aux temps de gloire d'autrefois.<sup>47</sup>

L'avis d'Ionesco est que la dynastie occidentale mis en œuvre chez nous devait respecter le contrat entre le dynaste et le peuple, représenté par la Constitution, implicitement les limites de ce qu'il conduit la dynastie et ainsi « nous, les fractionnistes en demandant être en conformité avec la constitution, nous sommes les vrais dynastiques.»<sup>48</sup> C'est la définition du contrat social entre le peuple roumain et son souverain donné par les fractionnistes: « Le souverain, dans notre État est seulement le peuple roumain,

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<sup>42</sup> *Le Mouvement National/ Mișcarea Națională*, Iasi, année I, no. 175, le 2 octobre 1880.

<sup>43</sup> *La Justice/Dreptatea*, Iasi, année III, no. 220, le 28 mai 1870.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, année II, no. 132, le 1er mai 1869

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, année III, no. 220, le 28 mai 1870.

<sup>46</sup> Nicolas Ionesco les nomme „*des dynasties orientales*”, mais il est possible qu'il fasse référence à l'époque phanariote.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

parce que c'est lui qui dégage la vraie puissance et parce qu'il est le seul qui conserve tous les droits et aussi parce que l'action de sa volonté est sans fin. Les autres ne sont que les engagés du peuple.»<sup>49</sup>

Le jour de 10 mai a représenté une longue période, une journée de triste souvenir pour les fractionnistes: «Aujourd'hui c'est l'anniversaire de 10 mai 1866; douloureux souvenir! Alors, il semblait que le peuple roumain a posé la fondation de sa nationalité et de son indépendance; il croyait que par l'intronisation sur le trône des ancêtres d'un prince étranger va consolider et va sanctionner plus solennel ses libertés.» Il a été le jour dans lequel « nous avons voulu construire notre édifice politique sur une fondation de sable parce que nous n'avons pas fait de confiance aux nous et à la vitalité de notre pays.»<sup>50</sup>

Le 10 mai a été un point de repère, a été la fin d'une époque «roumaine» et le commencement d'une autre époque, «étrangère». Tant que les fractionnistes ont été contre d'apporter un principe étranger sur le trône roumain, toute dérapage de la politique interne a été utiliser pour justifier leur position idéologique et pour légitimer du point de vue moral aux électeurs : «En 1866 on nous a promis des merveilles de vertu et de moralité par l'adoption d'un principe étranger en Roumanie: on a promis la gloire et la dignité pour la nation, on nous a promis l'honnêteté politique. Ce qu'on a réalisé par ces toutes pour être justifier l'aberration politique par laquelle les gouvernements indigènes ont été abandonnés, qui ont fait renomme à notre idée et qui nous ont conservés jusqu'aujourd'hui?»<sup>51</sup>

La liaison avec le passé idyllique dans lequel le pays a été gouverné dans l'esprit du sentiment de «roumanisme» est brusquement rompue, grâce à l'ambition des politiciens et grâce à l'incapacité de ceux –ci de respecter «les valeurs authentiques» : «les Roumains – je parle ici de leurs politiciens – n'ont pas aujourd'hui le motif de protester après le moment 1866 quand ils ont déclaré leur propre incapacité. Ils ne devraient être irrités aujourd'hui que ce jour- là si fatale que des quelques fils beaux-

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<sup>49</sup> *L'Union Libérale / Uniunea Liberală*, Iași, année Ier, no 50, le 25 novembre 1871.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 88, le 11 mai 1872

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, année Ier, no. 90, le 21 mai 1872.

enfants déchiré avec une main indifférente tout leur passé fameux, ils ont blâmé leurs illustres traditions ancestrales.»<sup>52</sup>

Un autre moment dans lequel l'anti-dynasticisme du Nicolas Ionesco a été remis en question a représenté la nomination comme le ministre des affaires étrangères en juillet 1876. Titu Maioresco, son adversaire connu l'accusait sans aucune prudence hypocrite: « il qui s'était opposé à l'intonation du Carol I, il se transformait « le plus décisif et le plus dangereux ennemi du Principe Carol » en le plus « sincère ami »<sup>53</sup> en oubliant que « hier il était encore ardent partisan du gouvernement roumain. »<sup>54</sup> Mais le principe même Carol qui affirmait de la Nicolas Ionesco comme ministre des affaires étrangères qu' « il était autrefois un adversaire déterminé d'un principe étranger, mais maintenant il m'a aidé avec croyance comme ministre pendant neuf mois »<sup>55</sup> contredit Maioresco.

Bien que la contribution de Nicolas Ionesco au *Mouvement national* ne puisse pas être quantifiée, car les éditoriales ne sont pas signés et ni autre source n'offre pas des détails à cet égard le groupe fractionniste a gardé la rhétorique des années passées, en combattant l'idée que la dynastie étrangère aurait apporté la paix interne et l'indépendance du pays en rapport avec les Grandes Puissances: « Quand on a fait de propagande dynastique dans notre pays, on a dit que par la dynastie on établit la paix interne. Il a été que les souverains roumains en impliquant dans toutes les affaires, ils les compromettent, que l'élection des souverains indigènes crée des milliers des intrigues dangereuses [...]. Bien, j'ai coupé la liaison des compétiteurs, j'ai implanté la dynastie étrangère chez nous, mais où est-il la paix interne, où est notre liberté nationale? Aujourd'hui, nous n'avons pas du temps pour respirer à cause de l'ingérence étrangère dans nos affaires.»<sup>56</sup>

C'était évident que les discussions de la société roumaine en ce qui concerne la proclamation du Roi, ne pouvaient rester sans écho dans la presse fractionniste. Ceux –ci offrent l'occasion

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, année IIIème, no. 103, le 3 septembre 1872.

<sup>53</sup> *Le Temps / Timpul*, Bucarest, année Ier, no. 92, le 4 août 1876.

<sup>54</sup> *Le Temps / Timpul*, Bucarest, année Ier, no. 92, le 4 août 1876.

<sup>55</sup> *Memoriile regelui Carol I al României de un martor ocular*, 1994, 106.

<sup>56</sup> *Le Mouvement national / Mișcarea națională*, Iasi, année Ier, no. 112, le 16 juillet 1880.

idéale pour présenter à nouveau les désavantages qui les impliquent un régime monarchique: «la royauté attrait des frais élevés, des augmentations de liste civile, des apanages, additions de dépenses pour les représentants externes [...]. Un mot, un titre plus ou moins, ne donne les forces effectives d'un peuple, ni n'assure le plus l'existence d'un État [...]. Majesté royale est un beau titre, mais il ne faut pas exposer pour lui notre pays, il ne faut pas devenir le théâtre d'une guerre acharnée. Des peuples plus grands que le nôtres ont payé avec des fleuves de sang ces ambitions énormes.»<sup>57</sup>

Quoiqu'il a commencé la carrière politique comme un antidynastique convaincu, Ionesco a finalisé par apprécier Carol. Dans une œuvre de 1888, qui traitait par les autres les événements récents de ce temps – là de Bulgarie<sup>58</sup>, Ionesco posait en antithèse notre situation avec la celle de les voisins de sud de Danube: «pourquoi nous nous saucissons, nous qui nous avons un État indépendant, une diplomatie sage, un roi judicieux, nous qui nous sommes un peuple doux et gouvernable a haute degré.»<sup>59</sup>

## Conclusions

La Factionne Libre et Indépendante ou «le groupe des professeurs» comme il a été surnommé en époque a représenté une présence inédite sur la scène politique roumaine. Cela était dû à l'idéologie promue par ceux –ci. Des antidynastiques et les antisémites mas dans le même temps des unionistes, les fractionnistes affirment toujours leur individualité.

En l'absence d'une œuvre mémorialiste, notre analyse est fondée sur une série de publications fractionnistes parues au travers du temps. «La Tribune Roumaine», «La Justice», «L'Union Libérale» ou «Le Mouvement National» nous aident de pénétrer l'univers de la pensée fractionniste.

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 137, le 15 août 1880.

<sup>58</sup> Le Trait de Berlin a assuré l'autonomie de Roumélie Orientale dans l'Empire Ottoman. En 1885, la Roumélie a passé sous le contrôle des Bulgares, à la suite d'une révolte. L'annexion de Roumélie Orientale n'a pas duré, la province étant retournée formellement aux Turcs la 17 avril 1886. La Roumélie est restée sous le contrôle effectif des Bulgaries et le 24 mars 1886, le sultan a reconnu le principe de Bulgarie le statut de «gouverneur général» de la province.

<sup>59</sup> Ionescu, 1888, 11.

En justifiant ou en affirmant, les fractionnistes ne se cachent pas derrière des articles bienveillants. Ils veulent être acceptés, remarqués, ils veulent accéder et garder le gouvernement. L'idéologie propre représente l'une de leur armes, arme qu'ils n'hésitent pas à utiliser.

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## THE “ECHO” OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICY ON EDUCATION IN THE WRITTEN PRESS OF THE GOVERNING PARTIES (1919-1929)

Diana-Gabriela Reianu\*

**Abstract.** *The principles that stood at the base of the educational policy in Romania during the first interwar decade, discussed and analyzed by the politicians of that time, by the decision-makers, teachers, parents, specialists etc., occupied frequently the columns of the newspapers. Thus, this study tries to emphasize the “echo” of the government policy on education in the written press, and to show what media considered as being relevant in terms of education in the period of 1919-1929. The study reveals and confirms the opposition of political parties; it is noticeable that while liberals praised in the “media house” the steps, actions and projects proposed by liberal ministers, the members of the Peasants Party were criticizing those actions. Unfortunately, the controversial reactions do not occur and do not remain only in the “quadrant” of the press, but they sometimes put their mark on the educational process, which not infrequently had suffered. Overall, however, despite divergences and critical attitudes, an important place in the concerns of those who had the power to legislate was occupied by the desire to create an education adapted to the specific conditions of our country, an education that takes into account the circumstance in which the Romanian state develops and the needs that had to be met.*

**Keywords:** *education, government policy, media, political parties, interwar.*

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## **1. Introduction**

The educational policy of the government undergone radical changes after the World War I, a period marked by the common opinion that education had to be reconsidered, mainly because the reform of education had to take into account the new administrative organization of the country. Starting from the way in which the education had been organized in Romania before the World War I and analyzing the press published in the first decade of the interwar period, this paper aims to make an analysis of how the government's proposals regarding education were reflected in the press. The study assumes that the press is the place of written confrontation between parties, so we focused our attention towards the comments published in the written press by those political parties that dominated the political scene of the first decade of wars, the National Liberal Party and the Peasant Party. The National Liberal Party was the one that declared in the *Manifesto of the National Liberal Party*, published at the end of 1918, the party's intention of decreasing the number of illiterates and increasing the number of schools and teachers<sup>1</sup>, while the Peasant's Party was the one that, in its *Declaration of Principles*, advocated for the spreading of learning through the establishment of schools in every village, through courses for adults, and through the formation of a well-trained and well-paid teaching staff<sup>2</sup>.

## **2. The government's policy**

### **a. General principles of organizing the education**

The educational policy of the government regarding the general principles of how the education should be organized in Romania after the war determined controversial reactions in the press. Some articles were expressing a feeling of disappointment regarding the actions taken by the Parliament in order to satisfy the cultural needs of the people, the message being that the government and the parliament are silent as to the means through which the educational goals should be accomplished. Other

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<sup>1</sup> Sbârna, 2001, 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 128.

articles stressed over the expensiveness of the books, the school fees, the inability of some parents to pay school expenses, and the lack of basic learning materials in schools.

„The whole cultural initiative of the government consisted in a proposal of law regarding the reconstruction of new buildings and the repairing of old schools, for which it was predicted a credit of 3 million, when in reality this great and urgent problem should need ... 300 million!”<sup>3</sup>

In 1921, *Viitorul*, the central press of the National Liberal Party, called attention over the education by publishing an article about the expensiveness of the school books and the lack of schools. Under the subheading entitled “Teaching children it has become a luxury”, the author debated over the excessive expensiveness of books, mentioning that their price increased by 30-50% over a year. A comparison of prices before and after the war showed that the prices of the school books increased 10 to 15 times, fact that inevitably led to the persistence of the illiteracy<sup>4</sup>, many families being unable to pay the books, the fees, and all the other expenses in order to keep the children in schools. If before the war the costs for a child that was in school were around 50 lei in the lower secondary school and 80 lei in the upper level of secondary school, in 1921 the tax reached 500 lei and, respectively, 1,000 lei. These taxes were far outweighed by the fees charged by the private schools, where they would double. *Viitorul* underlined in this way the well-known problem of those who could not afford to send their children to school because of their material situation, problem that interfered with the objective of the government, that of reducing illiteracy<sup>5</sup>.

This problem had been also debated in the press of the People’s Party, on September 1925, the newspaper *Îndreptarea* publishing an article that came up with the proposal that poor students should take an examination which, in case of good

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<sup>3</sup> *Țara Nouă*, II, no. 209, 2 December 1920.

<sup>4</sup> The reports show that before the World War I, the illiteracy registered 43% in the Old Kingdom, 40% in Transilvania, 60% in Bukovina and 94% in Basarabia. See for details Angelescu, f.a., p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Viitorul*, XIV, no. 4081, 21 October 1921.

results, would allow them to stay in school without paying taxes or to benefit from a scholarship.<sup>6</sup>

The situation was even worse in the countryside, the primary schools from rural areas being in an unpleasant situation; there was a shortage of 25,000 teachers and a severe need of buildings<sup>7</sup>. The proposed solution to form the teachers that were needed for and to specialize them (in order to increase the quality of the educational process) was to establish schools that would train those who want to embrace teaching as a career. The real problem was that the rural schools, in their majority, were missing teachers mainly because the teachers were leaving the system. Their poor financial situation and poor salaries determined the majority of them to find another job and other places where to work. The same situation was encountered in secondary education; there were many vacancies and numerous teaching positions filled by substitutes. At the university level, the problems consisted in the lack of learning materials in the laboratories, the books and courses had exorbitant prices, being available only for the students with a good financial situation, while the student houses were insufficient, and the life in those dormitories became unbearable, mainly because of the terrible food and their bad administration.

„... While millions upon millions are wasted to satisfy political partisans from all kinds of committees and missions, the government doesn't find money for the maintenance of student dormitories. Even the university professors endure the same privations as students, except those who, to save their unbearable financial situation, engage themselves in the service of the governing party, which gives them the possibility of doing jobs incompatible with intelligentsia, or in the service of capitalism, becoming totally dependent of that...”<sup>8</sup>

The reactions in the press were sometimes very controversial. While *Viitorul* exhibited empathy for the work of the liberal minister of education, Constantin Angelescu, the

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<sup>6</sup> See *Îndreptarea*, VII, no. 212, 22 September 1925.

<sup>7</sup> See *Viitorul*, XIV, no. 4081, 21 October 1921.

<sup>8</sup> *Patria*, VI, no. 36, 22 February 1924.

newspaper *Patria* (the central newspaper of the Romanian National Party) was publishing critical remarks regarding those actions. For instance, on February 1924, *Patria* published the article “The Crisis of Education”, article which stated that minister Angelescu is not ceasing to congratulate himself through the liberal press for his work, work that it is actually confined only to inspections and expensive banquets<sup>9</sup>. Indeed, the liberal press included a lot of articles which emphasized the work of Angelescu, offering statistics that showed how many new schools were built and how many old schools were reconstructed or repaired during the Angelescu’s mandate as a minister of education. *Patria*, on the other side, highlighted the problems faced by each stage of education and by education in general, which, in its opinion, was “threatened with a complete disruption”<sup>10</sup>.

In harmony with *Patria*, *Aurora* published in December 1924 an article that underlined the need for the culture of the masses and the need to eliminate illiteracy. Among other things, the minister of education was asked to take action on improving the material condition of the teachers and on improving the education in general. The main idea was that solving the problems that persisted in the Romanian society regarding the cultural stage of the people would be a solution for the social reform of the villages which included the extirpation of the disruptive influence of the alcohol over the people, the disruptive influence of the cities over the villages, and the replacement of the taverns with “reading houses” or libraries<sup>11</sup>.

The controversial opinions on education continued to be expressed in the newspapers. Another issue of debate was the law on primary education; the press considered that in theory the law provided beautiful things and easy to apply if we would live in a country with a strong educational past, but in our country those principles will hardly find their fruitful achievement. This pessimism was fueled by the reality that in Romania were neither kindergartens (apart from some cities and some provinces with minority population), nor normal schools for teachers, which meant that we lacked the first level of the educational structure

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> *Aurora*, IV, no. 942, 25 December 1924.

and the staff that was needed for at that level. In addition, the teachers, “few, hungry, and demoralized”, barely coped with the level of primary education, not having enough power to cope with the complementary one. The suggestion was that the government should look at the social problem in all its extent, and endorse the most urgent means for straightening the terrible situation.<sup>12</sup>

*Îndreptarea*, the press of the People’s Party, praised the work of their own minister, P. P. Negulescu<sup>13</sup>, and criticized the efforts made by Angelescu, declaring that the work done by Negulescu during his term as a minister of public instruction under the People’s Party government “was objective and civilized” and the political considerations and political interests were expelled from where only the exclusive interest of the schools should dominate. The same newspaper accused minister Angelescu that, together with the general director of the primary and normal-primary education, overloaded the budget with unnecessary expenses and unnecessary jobs. It was stated that there were counties that had 10 or 20 “political parasites” placed in jobs only to compensate their electoral merits. Besides, Angelescu was accused by building schools without a methodical plan and by forcing people to pay contributions<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, the same newspaper sustained that the interest of Angelescu was only to increase the adherence of new members to the liberal club, regardless of the means employed<sup>15</sup>.

On the other hand, the liberal newspaper *Viitorul* praised the work of Angelescu publishing articles in which Angelescu was portrayed as being the man “who is interested with so much love by the fate of education at all levels and who is inspired by the best intentions in solving the problems of the Romanian school”<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, *Viitorul* published articles that were attacking the opposition proposals and comments, so that both, the project of P. P. Negulescu, submitted for public debate in his quality as minister of public instruction in 1921, and the project proposed by I. Petrovici, the minister of education in 1926-1927, encountered opposition in the liberal press. As an example, from

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>13</sup> See Negulescu, 1927, II.

<sup>14</sup> *Îndreptarea*, VI, no. 588, 9 December 1924.

<sup>15</sup> *Îndreptarea*, VI, no. 581, 2 December 1924.

<sup>16</sup> *Viitorul*, XIV, no. 4215, 1 April 1922.

the article “The reorganization of education” we can perceive the disapproval regarding those projects on the grounds that the draft organizational principles that regard education should be established in the limits and based on the Constitution, and not before the adoption of the fundamental law of a state.

„ [...] must not be forgotten that, before we have a Constitution, which establishes general directives, all these projects are simple patches of various shapes and colors, added to an old cloth, which tomorrow will be changed. ... The project proposed by Negulescu is of course frivolous, the law not embracing multiple issues related to the reorganization of the education but still adding one stone to the entire mosaic. Tomorrow, when the Constitution will determine the attitude of the State towards education and will give directives in a particular direction – all these disparate projects will be a serious obstacle to a normal development.”<sup>17</sup>

Criticism continued in the same terms in December 1921 under the heading “Last information”, which included an article entitled “The education reformer”, article that addressed multiple critical comments at the address of Negulescu<sup>18</sup>. Negulescu was mainly condemned because he considered himself as being the “reformer” of education, ignoring the work of his predecessors. The press considered this declaration as being a proof of disrespect and lack of intelligence by ignoring the work of his predecessors, mainly the work of Spiru Haret who contributed fundamentally to the strengthening of education in Romania before the war. The article “A reformer defends himself”, in the same manner, criticizes the work of Negulescu, mentioning that the law that Negulescu is assuming as being his work it was actually a plagiarism of Angelescu’s activity. It was also stated that Negulescu, “unable to conceive some reforms, as it was unable to take any positive and useful measures, did nothing else than copied the decrees laws of Angelescu in order to create a pedestal based on the work of others”<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> *Viitorul*, XIII, no. 3962, 2 June 1921.

<sup>18</sup> *Viitorul*, XIV, no. 4126, 14 December 1921.

<sup>19</sup> *Viitorul*, XIV, no. 4127, 15 December 1921.

The problems that the educational system was facing and the activity of the Ministry of Education were once more debated in *Patria*, the central newspaper of the Romanian National Party, in September 1924, under the title “The new school year”. The article brings into focus the issue of the reopening of schools’ gates, highlighting the flaws and the causes which, according to the Romanian National Party, form the basis of the failures and the shortcomings in education. The main reason of the poor functioning of the schools and of the whole educational system it was considered to be the hundreds and thousands of laws and decrees that had no coherence and no continuity, that embraced different mentalities of the governments that after 1920 manifested opposed opinions on how the unification of education should take place. The newspaper reiterates the idea that education was better left to the provinces and not centralized at the governmental level<sup>20</sup>.

The ministers were criticized because “they didn’t research over the needs of the cities and regions, but they established the school that the vanity of the governmental political human being from that part of the country was asking for”<sup>21</sup>. The result was that there are a lot of schools purely intellectual, and only a few practical preparatory schools.

„Thus we found ourselves with little practical career preparatory schools, industry and commerce, and too many schools purely intellectual. In ten years we will have a considerable number of proletarian intellectuals, and the cities will still miss the craftsmen and the merchants.”<sup>22</sup>

The article concluded that what was necessary to enterprise and what should be the main concern of the ministers of public instruction was to bring a better educational guidance in this field, a stability of the educational system and a stability of teachers.

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<sup>20</sup> *Patria*, VI, no. 204, 25 September 1924.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*.

## **b. The issue of the professorship**

The problem of the insufficient number of teachers appears briefly described in *Viitorul*, on April 1, 1922. The author of the article, Mihail Marinescu, tried to alert the public about the small number of teachers and the growing tendency of young people to embrace totally different careers than that of teaching. Obviously, the professorship involved, at least initially, a spirit of material sacrifice. To become a teacher the person had to go through a lot of tests and examinations, to leave his place of birth, and to spend a pretty long period of time until obtaining a stable and permanent job. So, the opportunity to get faster in other careers encouraged young people to decide for a military career (which asked only 6 or 7 years of school plus 2 years of preparation in the military school) or for various administrative jobs which were already available to them when they finished their baccalaureate exam, or, more profitable than those two, for the Commercial Academy or the Polytechnic school. Among other things, the article suggested that the high-school should be organized in that way to assure the preparation of teachers and to offer the students elements from all specialties and so for to prepare them for the career as a secondary teacher.<sup>23</sup>

„It is said, and rightly, that we live in an epoch of acute materialism, that the necessities of life, the desire to win and therefore to have a wider life, more convenient, cannot be achieved otherwise than through the studies that the high-school has to offer, moreover through studying mathematics. It is also stated that our country has industrial trends and that will need many, many engineers and technical specialists. This statement it is justified till to a point. The intellectual road of mankind it is not a straight line but a winding one with heights and downs which represent periods of psychological uplifts and periods of material interests. We are in the era of descent which corresponds now to the study of sciences, producing wealth for the individual and the society. The sector of humanities disappeared for the moment, with the advent of cinema, aviation, and wireless telegraphy. [...]

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<sup>23</sup> *Viitorul*, XIV, no. 4215, 1 April 1922.

The duty of those called to reform education is to not get out of their hands the brakes of classicism and to know how to lead a chariot – even using mathematical solutions – through the most dangerous places.”<sup>24</sup>

In 1923, the problems faced by the teachers became more acute and visible. There were protests organized by teachers in different locations in the country, protests in which the teachers were threatening to resign if their demands regarding salaries would not find favorable settlement. At that time, at the head of the ministry of public instruction was the liberal Constantin Angelescu. Therefore, the pages of *Viitorul* (the liberal press), instead of offering details about the protests, were writing about the liberal minister’s activity regarding the numerous school buildings built through his initiative, naming Angelescu as “the second Haret of education”. In response, *Aurora* published on June 2, 1923 the article „The demagogy of C. Angelescu, the minister of schools”, making reference to the last visit of Angelescu in Brăila County, where the minister wanted to prove to the minister of finance that the schools were built only with the peoples’ money, not the state money. The newspaper revealed that in reality the majority of the schools that were visited those days were rebuilt, while the rest of them were only subject to slight reparations<sup>25</sup>. Related to this issue, “The crisis of the Romanian culture”<sup>26</sup>, manifested a critical attitude towards the miserable reality that surrounded the teachers, noting that the efforts for the consolidation and construction of schools buildings were overcome by the misery in which the teachers were living. On December 7, 1923, *Aurora* continues in the same manner, criticizing the activity of the minister of education, entitling the article “The minister of schools, but not the minister of teachers” and naming Angelescu as being “the minister of the walls”<sup>27</sup>.

The newspaper *Dreptatea* used similar appellatives regarding the person of minister Angelescu, naming him as “the maniac of the vacuum contour” and describing his activity as a kind of “acrobatics”. The school is presented as being the place

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>25</sup> *Aurora*, III, no. 480, 2 June 1923.

<sup>26</sup> *Aurora*, III, no. 539, 10 August 1923.

<sup>27</sup> *Aurora*, III, no. 639, 7 December 1923.

where the students are left in the care of disappointed teachers who are waiting for the time to elapse, with the hope that it will bring a better future situation<sup>28</sup>.

### **c. School fees and other administrative matters**

The media didn't omit to underline in its pages the actions taken by the ministry of public instruction regarding administrative matters. So it was the article "The exams at university" which stated that the introduction of exams in order to be declared admitted in a university represents a disguised «*numerus clausus*», an illegal and stupid measure taken by Angelescu. Moreover, *Aurora* criticized another newspaper, *Universul*, which was looking to find a justification for this measure, bringing the ridiculous argument that there were many fake diplomas and a lot of Romanian students enrolled at various universities from abroad without even knowing to write. *Aurora* was insisting on solving those cases of fake diplomas and certificates through the judicial way and not through this measure of introducing the exams, considered to be "the entering through the back door of an absurd measure and an absurd goal as that of «*numerus clausus*»"<sup>29</sup>.

With respect to the fees established by the ministry and which had to be paid by students (for example at the Faculty of Law from Bucharest the fee for bachelor degree was 1,500 lei, and, respectively, 2,000 lei for the doctorate) the article "University fees. A scandal and a provocation" stated that the increase of taxes will prevent the poor young people to reach a bachelor degree. The newspaper *Aurora* addressed, in this way, a request towards the Minister regarding the revision of taxes and the adoption of such measures that would improve the living of the young university class.

„The poor student must wrestle with the owner who requires him 1,500 lei monthly for the most modest room; the shopkeeper who raises the prices of meals every day; the tailor, the bookseller, all these speculators who make impossible the life of a student. Well, now the student

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<sup>28</sup> *Dreptatea*, II, no. 79, 20 January 1928.

<sup>29</sup> *Aurora*, III, no. 590, 10 October 1923.

wakes up with another opponent, who speculates him, the state.”<sup>30</sup>

The discussion about the shortcomings in schools, the expensiveness of the books and the sums that had to be paid as school fees came back into the attention of the press at the beginning of the 1925-1926 school year, when, unlike the liberal press who had only words of appreciation for the work of Angelescu, the press of the Peasant Party published articles that emphasized the fact that education became a luxury, a thing that only rich people could afford.

„Come in the courtyard of a high-school, or a commercial school, or a vocational school. You will find out how expensive are school books; how high are school taxes; how increased are the prices for the uniforms required by the regulations; and what fantastic prices ask the hosts for the maintenance of a scholar whose parents live in the province or in the countryside ... And after this short and easy investigation you will conclude rightly that education has become a luxury – the preserve of the rich people. The civil servant, the soldier, the peasant, the priest, and the rural teacher cannot cover the expenses required in order to send their child to a secondary school.”<sup>31</sup>

In the period of 1926-1927, I. Petrovici (member of the People’s Party) was at the head of the ministry of public instruction. During this time, both, the liberal and the peasant newspapers were criticizing the activity of Petrovici, declaring that “these months of his activity were sufficient to rank him as being not only the most neutral Minister of Instruction but also the one who in a short period of time disorganized the school and discouraged the teachers”<sup>32</sup>. *Viitorul* claimed that Petrovici decided to close eight regular schools, of which two have hardly been reopened, that he tried to engage the ministry in doubtful affairs and took some actions that were in opposition to the

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<sup>30</sup> *Aurora*, III, no. 606, 28 October 1923.

<sup>31</sup> *Aurora*, V, no. 1179, 11 October 1925.

<sup>32</sup> *Viitorul*, XIX, no. 5622, 23 November 1926.

provisions of the law by granting privileges to minorities in the detriment of the Romanian people, or by approving new examinations to students who fell the exams, with the recommendation that the exams to not be done too seriously etc. One month later, the same newspaper published facts that were describing some of the above actions, making public the cases of two primary schools, one of which had been closed and the other reduced to 2-3 rooms, so being unable to offer education to more than 100-120 students, instead of 300-400, the typical number for a primary school. As a result, Romanian population had to enroll their children in schools belonging to minorities, because the Romanian schools had not enough capacity<sup>33</sup>. The discussion on this issue was reopened one month later, in December 1926, when *Viitorul* published the letter received from the principal of the school in question, which complained that the normal school had been evacuated from the building and moved in train wagons, the vocational school was thrown in the street and another primary school was closed<sup>34</sup>. It is interesting to see that the liberal newspaper *Viitorul* brought this problem into the public attention only in 1926, after Angelescu's mandate as a minister, while *Patria*, the newspaper of the Romanian National Party, published articles that concerned this issue since August 1925. Therefore, in the article "The scandal from at the normal school in Satu-Mare", *Patria* emphasized that the school in question was almost closed, so the students were forced to go to schools in neighborhood cities (Sighet and Oradea-Mare)<sup>35</sup>. There were also given some other examples of schools from Transylvania which encountered the same difficulties, the main cause being the lack of resources, the lack of government funds and State aid, the schools being financially supported neither by the State nor by the civil society<sup>36</sup>.

In 1927, *Viitorul* is the one that continued to criticize the activity of Petrovici, accusing him of creating a philosophy chair for him at the University of Bucharest, and a chair for his son at the Law Faculty in Iași<sup>37</sup>. In a subsequent issue, published on

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<sup>33</sup> *Viitorul*, XIX, no. 5625, 26 November 1926.

<sup>34</sup> *Viitorul*, XIX, no. 5654, 31 December 1926.

<sup>35</sup> *Patria*, VII, no. 182, 23 August 1925.

<sup>36</sup> See *Patria*, VII, no. 229, 22 October 1925.

<sup>37</sup> *Viitorul*, XX, no. 5664, 14 January 1927.

February 4, 1927, two articles have been printed in which the name of Petrovici was involved; in one of them Petrovici was accused that he approved a state fund of 60 million lei for Hungarian schools, while unfinished Romanian schools were deteriorating. *Viitorul* considered that “this amount of money represented one of the conditions which were at the basis of Averescano-Hungarian electoral pact”. The second article referred to the conflict between I. Petrovici and P. P. Negulescu (the predecessor of Petrovici at the ministry of public instruction), accusing Petrovici by ignoring the studies realized by his predecessors regarding the needs of the Romanian educational system and drawing up a bill of secondary education which had opposing trends to those considered as necessary in order to reform the secondary education. Negulescu, former minister of public instruction during the first Averescu’s governance, considered the project proposed by Petrovici as a project that ignored the whole concept of the People’s Party regarding education, project that could have adverse effects on the overall image of the People’s Party, especially that there were signs of violent attacks against this project during parliamentary sessions<sup>38</sup>.

The administrative issues were often the subject of the debate inside the columns of the newspapers, the press including statements that accused the ministers by controlling the body of the Ministry, and by controlling the way in which the inspectors were recruited and appointed in administrative jobs. *Viitorul* brought to the public attention some famous cases of inspectors which lacked the necessary studies or exams but were in positions of inspectors or revisers, or were still in jobs despite the fact that were defendants in criminal proceedings for fraud or forgery convictions. The liberal newspaper declared, in this context, that “the anarchy spread out: no one knows exactly how many people are hired at the ministry of instruction as the control body of the ministry; for a department or a chair there are 5-7 appointments,

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<sup>38</sup> *Viitorul*, XX, no. 5681, 4 February 1927; Nicolae Iorga is the one who wrote about the educational reform projects of Negulescu and Petrovici, stating that both projects included also original ideas, mentioning, through others, the development of personal aptitudes which are very important for the development of a human being... See Iorga, 1928, 342-343.

from inspectors to the minister, each one of them trying to impose their protégés...”<sup>39</sup>.

At the end of Petrovici’s mandate as a minister, *Aurora* published the article “A fall and a parable” which detailed the activity and the governing concept in the mind of Averescu, the Peasant’s Party press summarizing the views of Averescu’s ruling in a simple formula: “I am the government”, which in the thought of general Averescu became “I am the state”<sup>40</sup>.

In June 1927, the portfolio of the ministry of public instruction was retaken by Angelescu, the Peasant’s Party press starting a new campaign in the name of the Romanian education, with a different attitude towards Angelescu’s work. Without criticizing the school construction campaign done by Angelescu, *Aurora* actually published an interview of him, under the title “The Romanian peasant the builder of the schools”<sup>41</sup>, interview which underlined the efforts made by the Romanian peasantry in creating the places of culture in our country. The article mentioned that the problem of the Romanian schools still exists, but the ministry of education imposed it as a task of it.

„The placement of the students will be solved, undoubtedly, according to the new necessities of our country, giving special attention to the technical education – so as to arrive at a decongestion of the secondary high-school level. Guidance towards agricultural and vocational schools, etc., should be effective and should offer the possibilities of doing so. It is a known fact that good craftsmen, those who have responsibilities and occupy the first places among the workers in an enterprise, are foreigners... Instead, we produce graduates with baccalaureate and diplomas – those who are aspiring to positions of clerks. In addition, in the Ministry of Education’s view, there is a decentralization of education, which would be a new impetus and a reduction of expenses. Not only in municipalities, but also in other

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<sup>39</sup> *Viitorul*, XX, no. 5763, 14 May 1927.

<sup>40</sup> *Aurora*, VII, no. 1675, 8 June 1927.

<sup>41</sup> *Aurora*, VII, no. 1769, 24 September 1927.

small cities, it is necessary to build new schools. The benefits are incalculable.”<sup>42</sup>

On the other hand, Angelescu was criticized in the pages of *Țărănismul*, the article “Students on the roads...” published in September 1928 bringing accusations against Angelescu’s policy; the paper entitled Angelescu as being “the petroleum man of fallen walls”, while the reform that he proposed for the secondary school was described as being bad envisaged and not applicable to our schools and our children<sup>43</sup>. The gaps in educational system and the lack of material resources were also emphasized in the article, being reiterated the idea that the liberal policy was designed to shut down the schools for children of rural areas, discouraging the children of the lower and working classes to enter into schools and to follow education, giving a chance to education only to sons of noblemen which had the necessary resources to pay high fees, to enroll into high-schools or into private schools<sup>44</sup>.

### 3. Conclusions

The written press of the governing political parties of the first interwar decade includes in its pages political, social, cultural articles, which deal with general or specific issues. Noteworthy is the trend of the liberal press, the newspaper *Viitorul*, to insert therein, not infrequently, enthusiastic articles which praised the work of liberal ministers while they were at the head of a ministry, while the projects proposed by the ministers coming from the opposition (from the Peasant’s Party or the People’s Party) were attacked violently and devalued publicly.

The analysis of the written articles published in the newspaper during 1920s leads us to the conclusion that while the liberal press (*Viitorul*) published articles criticizing members of other political parties, *Patria*, *Îndreptarea*, *Țărănismul*, and *Aurora* were criticizing the actions taken by the liberals, namely the activity of Constantin Angelescu, minister of public instruction during 1918-1919, 1922-1926, and 1927-1928.

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<sup>42</sup> *Aurora*, VII, no. 1771, 26 September 1927.

<sup>43</sup> *Țărănismul*, IV, no. 22-23, 30 September 1928.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*.

The overall image of the Romanian school and education in the first decade of the interwar period, the crisis of the Romanian culture, the governmental politics, and the problems faced by the educational system appeared frequently reflected in the columns of the newspapers. The educational system, as a whole, was described as being characterized by general instability, by anomalies and disorientation, fueled by general instability and lack of design manifested at the governmental level, attested by a lot of ministerial orders, given without any logic and any order<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> See *Patria*, VII, no. 166, 2 August 1925.

## THE PARADOX OF GLOBALIZATION WITH FOCUS ON GERMANY AND EUROPE

Eperjesi Zoltán\*

**Abstract.** *Globalization has become a frequently used notion in the applied social sciences and a catchword for the media and politics. It has been applied to refer to the development of supranational and multinational institutions, to explain major shifts in the nation-state organization, to elucidate transformations in the global market, and to describe the rebirth of diverse national and minority cultures. Nevertheless, the various connotations of globalization as observable fact are certainly not exhausted by the given examples and there seems to be no consensus among elite researchers about how globalization can be precisely defined. This synthesis focuses on certain challenges of global competitiveness by showing sequences of the case of Germany. It is a federation that powerfully shapes the EU as well as the paradigm of globalization with a human face and vice versa.*

**Keywords:** *Germany, Bretton Woods, world order, globalization, EU, neoliberal thinking, imperialism, colonial powers, cosmopolitanism, neocolonialism and democratic state.*

Globalization is currently an omnipresent subject in mediatised public discussions in Germany, which shows the ever-increasing meaning of this occurrence with strong economic, social and cultural connotations as notion. Despite the fact that specialists are approaching the process and concept of globalization from several scientific sides, it can be observed that even before the financial crisis of 2008 people have had several doubts and fears concerning the issue. One of the main results of globalization is that it has generated a worldwide increase in living standards, but this expectation was accomplished only

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partially until today. Usually a variety of unfavourable and favourable versatile transformations are attributed to the special effects of this phenomenon, without trying to track the politico-historical outset and the context in which this observable fact has developed.

The Allensbach Institute<sup>1</sup> made an inquiry by 2006 that underlines the increasing scepticism of Germans toward globalization. According to the study, the number of people who were expecting more dangers as chances in globalization has almost doubled from 1998 to 2006. This is a high growth in comparison to the results of the end of the 90s as people estimated the advantages and disadvantages of globalization to approximately half-and-half. Thus, it is to observe that globalization can represent frustration for several people and that in a Western industrialized state as Germany.

Survives concerning the mood of Germans<sup>2</sup> related to further internationalization are reflecting high disagreement on this intricate topic. Moreover, particular debates about globalization are shaped by the fear of potential risks<sup>3</sup> and invited experts are full with arguments to counteract or attack any adverse effects. Therefore, the concept of globalization is frequently associated with negative circumstances as massive job losses, outsourcing of professionals, offshore of companies, rising work hours and increasing international competition. Furthermore, certain experts are continuously emphasizing on the wide-ranging benefits of globalization for the German economy. Nonetheless, the more positive views are often shifting into the background in the public perception or these are nowadays already taken for granted by the majority of the local population.

It seems that globalization is now ever-present in current quotidian life because it is everywhere in the media and is impossible to simply quit the process; however it is still possible to shape certain effects of it. Indeed, not only Germans, but all nations and entities are affected by the many-sided changes generated by globalization. Nevertheless, Germany is seen as the prototype of a highly harmonized and regulated market economy.

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<sup>1</sup> Source: <http://www.ifd-allensbach.de/>

<sup>2</sup> Source: <http://www.jjahnke.net/rundbr112.html#3299>

<sup>3</sup> Source: <http://www.zdf.de/wiso/ttip-risiko-fuer-mensch-und-umwelt-38077134.html>

The fact is that West Germany experienced particularly strong economic and industrial performance after World War II. This high-productivity, high-wage, high-value-added and high-skill sample lasted to the middle of the 1970s, but the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the oil crises of the '70s has led to decline in the West German economy. There was certain improvement in trade and industry in the 1980s, but economic difficulties became visible again by the integration of the socialist East German system after the '90s.<sup>4</sup>

Economic growth has been low and unemployment very high, but since 1995 the political structure has been secure and quite balanced. Germany has a federal system but employment relations policy is standardized across states, which is in contrast with the Canadian or the American structures. Furthermore, the country has a comprehensive welfare system focused on occupational status and the insurance principle. Employee interests are organized in a dual structure in the German employment relations system: co-determination at the workplace and company levels as well as collective bargaining at the industry level. On the one hand, a minority of employees are enjoying this representation; and this dual system is gradually eroding, on the other hand. The number of industrial controversies is rather low due to the strong centralisation of the system, the high degree of collaboration and confidence, and the alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently, there is a slow shift towards the Anglo-American liberal market economy model. This could be confirmed by the decentralisation of collective bargaining between conflicted parts, more flexible work practices, and the increasing focus on investors' interests. Nonetheless, a complete convergence seems to be unlikely. There is a major social dissatisfaction among the German population because many people think that due to growing worldwide competition there will be greater job losses as ever before. Workers are quite negative about promises and estimations that new jobs will emerge through globalization. Moreover, there is a high uncertainty among the population because of growing wage and

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<sup>4</sup> Abelshauser, 2011, 14-169.

<sup>5</sup> Abelshauser, 2011, 169- 201 and Bamber, Lansbury, Wailes, 2010, 218- 302.

income inequalities. Several people are afraid about a possible breakdown of the German social system.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, following questions are arising: How could one grasp the concept and the history of globalization? What are the particular risks and opportunities brought by globalization for the German economy? Are there emerging sufficient new jobs in order to compensate the losses on the domestic labour market? What is to be done in order that all Europeans can benefit from globalization? Do we need to introduce additional social compensations and minimum wages to make globalization more equitable? One could dissect globalization by several additional interrogative approaches but these questions are relevant in the context of the exodus of German companies in low-wage regions. One of the accompanying effects is the massive loss of regional workplaces. The answers will show the diverse ways of looking at a global problem in the following sections.

The importance of the phenomenon that is globalization is below to be stressed as its impact will be experienced for many years to come. Financial difficulties of one state can spill over speedily on the global market, because of the increasing interconnectedness of national economies. (Please see Figure number 1.) Globalization can indicate the health of a country. It could be that process by which the nations of the world will be unified into a single society. The integration of national markets into the international market mainly happens by trade, migration, foreign direct investment, capital flows and spread of technology. (Please see Figure number 2.) Criteria for measuring globalization could be political engagement (foreign aid, treaties, organizations and peacekeeping); personal contact (including telephone calls, travel, and remittances); technological connectivity (number of internet users, hosts, and secure servers); and economic integration in worldwide systems (foreign direct investment and international trade).

### **Recent impacts of globalization in Germany**

The main pillars of German economy are especially the industry and the service sector. GDP shows that Germany is the leading economy in Europe and the fourth biggest in the world.

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<sup>6</sup> Bamber, Lansbury, Wailes, 2010, 17- 218.

„The eurozone's languishing economy is getting help from an unlikely supporter: the German consumer. A detailed breakdown of Germany's gross domestic product in the fourth quarter of last year shows a strong spurt in consumer spending on the back of low oil prices, a strong job market and low interest rates. German companies are also ramping up investment.”<sup>7</sup>

In addition, the country is permanently mentioned among the major exporting nations and has a well-trained workforce. These developments are indicating that the country is definitely a winner of globalization and it continues to put on the market top quality products and it exports brands of its own economy all over the world.<sup>8</sup> Although the key business partners are industrial countries due to the global openness and networking, there are additional partnerships with developing countries and even other states. Nevertheless, as indicated above, this phenomenon is not a recent development of our times because humans practiced expansion and trade for thousands of years. Goods have been commercialized across boundaries throughout ancient civilizations, going back beyond the “Silk Road”, which back then linked the Eastern with Western world from China (Xian) to Italy (Rome). The North-South enlargement of the “Silk Road” coupled India to this pivotal trade route. The North-South trade caravans of Africa were as significant as well in this ancient business system. It follows the examination of certain causes of globalization.

Such an intricate emergence as globalization cannot be overviewed minimally. One direction is to consider several causes and implications. However, it is quite complicated to depict the main cause-effect relationships as the notion itself often changes its meaning in between, thus it is highly context-sensitive. This is maybe the only circumstance on which everyone would agree on globalization, because further details and backgrounds are still highly disputed even among scientists. Therefore, causes and driving forces are changing in relation to what kind of meaning of globalization is taken as starting point. Accordingly, there is no complete list of causes and reasons. Even so, here are some of the

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<sup>7</sup> Source: <https://www.gfmag.com/global-data/country-data/germany-gdp-country-report>

<sup>8</sup> Source: <http://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/konjunktur/nachrichten/ifo-institut-deutschland-mit-hoehherem-exportueberschuss-als-china/9329150.html>

most addressed roots: internet technology, low costs, growing speed of transportation, the end of the Cold War, liberalization of markets, global matters as migration and environment.<sup>9</sup> Max Roser states that „data shows that international trade has a history with four distinct parts. In the long period of pre-modern worldwide poverty international trade was very limited and grew only very slowly. Technological advances, especially in the communication and transport sector, and political liberalization revolutionized the international economy and made the first wave of globalization possible – until 1913 world wide trade grew by more than 3% annually. The decline of liberalism and the rise of nationalism around the beginning of the First World War brought political powers to the front that chose protectionism instead of internationalism and world trade slowed down. The fourth part of the history of world trade started when protectionism gave way to the second – and still ongoing – wave of globalization after the end of the Second World War. Since then world trade has been growing rapidly and more and more countries turned away from isolation and opened to liberalism and internationalism.”<sup>10</sup> (Please see Figure number 3.)

Besides, the grounds of globalization can also be searched in the improvement of contemporary information and communication technologies. Undoubtedly, technical innovations have played and still play an essential role in our modern life. Internet provides a variety of information and communication facilities. It is made up by various interconnected digital networks, thus, news and other information are quickly accessible on transnational tracks. Accordingly, educational knowledge is now over economic policies, production methods, export markets, management techniques and it is practicable at a very low cost. World Wide Web and Web 2.0 represent a valuable resource for the developing world and learning communities with very limited means. Internet is in many respects one of the key emblems of globalization.

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<sup>9</sup> Source: [https://www.tcd.ie/Economics/TEP/2002\\_papers/TEPNo1KO22.pdf](https://www.tcd.ie/Economics/TEP/2002_papers/TEPNo1KO22.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Source: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-connections/international-trade/>

Furthermore, the acceleration of globalization should be associated with the massive growth of worldwide commerce,<sup>11</sup> since the costs of transportation and travel decreased promptly and goods can be delivered more rapidly and all over the earth. In addition, one has to consider the high flexibility of international economic and capital flows, which can be transferred to any location of the planet within seconds. Items of trade are globally transferable and are subject to standardised world market prices. Globalization of financial markets, the transfer of unthinkable amounts of money within a few seconds around the world or the organization of integrated production at transnational level would be impossible without the developments presented in the above. This is especially true if considering the service sector, for instance, software products or information databases can be transmitted rapidly from one end of the world to the other. The end of the Cold War has been repeatedly mentioned as one of the causes of globalization as well. (Please see Figure number 4.) The world was divided between the east and the west into two sides, which two conflicted parts maintained very few relationships with each other, but finally the Iron Curtain disappeared in 1989/90. (Please see Figure number 5.)

Global struggle also played a particularly important role - especially at the level of consciousness. The proofs for this direction are several publications, such as "One World". However, the successful management of global troubles involves the internationalization of certain national guiding principles by fostering the further improvement of a global consciousness. Organizations as Greenpeace and Amnesty International are dedicated to vital global issues such as environment or human rights. Thus, transnational organizations are some of the global players. This development clearly shows the beginnings of a new global society.

The production factor of labour will be examined as a further point for this subsection, because globalization process seriously affects the working conditions in Germany. Despite harsh protests organised by trade unions, corporate companies gradually reduced the rights of employees during the last years

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<sup>11</sup> Total world trade volume in products and services increased from \$7.6 trillion in 2000 to nearly \$14 trillion in 2007. Source: [https://www.wto.org/english/tratop\\_e/tratop\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/tratop_e.htm)

and people are working harder and in between for much lower wages as before. The rights of workers are decreasing and obligations are growing ever more. Recent research shows that current tendency concerns a significant increase in the profits of businesses, which occurs by raising financial pressure on employees. The head of German Trade Unions, Dierk Hirschel confirms this information.<sup>12</sup>

It follows a short overview of employers and their associations. German Unions were mainly founded after WWII according to the international guidelines of unitary unionism and industrial unionism. The organisational structure of unions was stable until the mid-1990s when shrinking membership was suddenly decreasing because of financial resources and structural changes. This has led to a flurry of merger activity and lobby in Bonn, Berlin and Brussels. Today there are eight<sup>13</sup> powerful German associations all united in the DGB. Industrial associations engage in collective negotiations for workers rights whilst the peak federation, the DGB is responsible for complex political dealings.<sup>14</sup>

There are three types of interest organisations in Germany: chambers of industry and trade; autonomous employer unions that are interfering in employment relations, collective bargaining and social policy: an umbrella organization in this respect is the over strong alliance of the BDA; - business or commercial federations represent more universal business, product market interests and lobbying: the chief association in this respect is the BDI. Certain characteristics of these top federations are that membership density is estimated to be quite high but as real representation of participants was getting weaker also membership has declined in the last two decades. Associations have been losing members since the 1990s and density was at all-time quite low of nearly 25 % by 2006. It does not mean that these organizations could not mobilize more people if it is needed. However, huge membership

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<sup>12</sup> Source: [http://www.axel-troost.de/article/2650.macht\\_preis\\_und\\_profit.html](http://www.axel-troost.de/article/2650.macht_preis_und_profit.html)

<sup>13</sup> The names of eight German unions are as follow: IG Bauen-Agrar-Umwelt; IG Bergbau, Chemie, Energie; EVG- Eisenbahn – und Verkehrsgewerkschaft; Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft; IG Metall; Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten; Gewerkschaft der Polizei; and ver.di – Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft. Source: <http://www.dgb.de/uber-uns/dgb-heute/gewerkschaften-im-dgb>

<sup>14</sup> Source: <http://www.dgb.de/uber-uns/dgb-heute/gewerkschaften-im-dgb>

losses also contributed to a decline in union bargaining capability and the reinforcement of a key non-union segment. The union membership is concentrated amongst full-time, skilled, male workers in the manufacturing and public sectors. There is an attempt to counteract huge membership losses; - thus, certain associations permit companies to join in without being liable via collective agreements. Associations have to organise groups who are under-represented in membership, thus, women, young people, and highly skilled, foreign and white-collar workers in order to strengthen their position on local, federal and global levels.

Employers' unions that are in charge for collective bargaining represent various enterprises according to special industries as well as communal, local and federative levels. Generally all member businesses have to stand for the collective agreements that their employer association represents upwards and outside within the association. This type of scheme has generated much discontent amongst small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). Multinational corporations still have an extraordinary unofficial status by largeness and open networks, which is growing in official businesses by dealing within the framework of legal monopolies and new brands. The counteracting of unions to these shaping influences with socio-economic and legal balances can work, but it is an ongoing experiment according to changing global requirements, economic competition and business trends at local company levels in practice.

Hans-Werner Sinn, president of the Institute for Research in Munich thinks that competition of Eastern Europe and globalisation are reinforcing current inconveniences, which is reflected in labour productivity and quality of goods.<sup>15</sup> The large German corporations are continuing to adjust to the harsh rules of global competition. Employees from the metalworking industry are expected to work even 50 hours per week in the near future that in fact means six days from seven. Moreover, Martin Kannesiger (Chairman of the companies in metal industry) even suggests workers to give up some free days from the free period

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<sup>15</sup> Source: <http://www.wiwo.de/politik/deutschland/arbeitsmarkt-unternehmer-setzen-auf-osteuropaeer-seite-3/5262206-3.html> and [http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/mindestlohn-einfach-zu-billig\\_aid\\_210131.html](http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/mindestlohn-einfach-zu-billig_aid_210131.html)

assured by law in Germany.<sup>16</sup> One related study published by the Bank of America concludes that in the world of globalization, employee representatives must understand that wages and working conditions will no longer be negotiated at macroeconomic levels. German employers regularly extend collective agreements to every employee in which they are trying to avoid providing reasons to workers to enter into influential associations.

The apparatus of state is Germany's principal employer. However, public sector employment has been declining since 1995 and the financial crisis of 2008. The government could have managed economic downturn as Keynes proposed to the U.S.A. in 1944 by pushing the Europeanization of economic institutions further. They should have created a strong European treasury that can recycle surpluses around Europe. However, this was the "American way" of the U.S.A. Fed and Treasury across the entire country. Examples are: the support of military bases in the South that were spared from the direct effects of the economic crisis, the subvention of national benefits, pensions and the creation of huge public works projects. Nevertheless the U.S.A. chose voluntarily to also help the reorganization of Europe after 1945. Moreover, Keynes's international economic regulatory institutions were reconditioned by 1944 by Washington. America has recycled its financial surpluses by giving credits to countries in need to offer them the possibility to buy products and induce productive economic power of their own interests as well.<sup>17</sup> In comparison Germany counteracted the financial crisis of 2008 on European levels with strict cost-saving measures. It burdened bankrupt governmental budgets and economies with more obligations coercing them to contract their output by prioritizing debt reimbursements over investments, which encourage workplace creation and consumption demand. Now turn back to the domestic levels.

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<sup>16</sup> Source: <http://www.dw.de/globalizarea-afectez%C4%83-grav-condi%C5%A3iile-de-munc%C4%83-din-germania/a-2631672>

<sup>17</sup> Financial assistance of the U.S.A. has manifested in the following: Marshall Plan (1948-1952) – aid to Europe by lowering of trade barriers; giving grants, loans, technical aid; overall it helped America's economy, but also Europe (For instance see in France: les trentes glorieuses; Germany: Wirtschaftswunder).

Employment relations in the public sector are characterised by the distinction between civil servants and public employees with quite different conditions and stipulations (status). Furthermore, privatisation of national utilities and of East-German state-owned enterprises has had a number of impacts on employment practices. There are contradictory developments in this respect: collective bargaining used to be highly centralised for all employers is currently counteracted by decentralisation at the regional level and it is very probable that this tendency will be continued by Berlin. Governments have repeatedly amended the legislation of then to create more flexibility in order to declare industry wage agreements as binding for all employers.

Germany, as other European states as well was/is inclined to decentralise collective bargaining patterns. Conversely, the course of action has been qualitatively different to other countries. Experimental legal amendments have become the main tool of restructuring since the 1980s. This made possible for enterprises to disagree or vary from some requirements, which were compulsory provisions within the industry-wide collective agreement. Dissimilarities have to be discussed among employers and works councils at corporation levels. Furthermore, results must be integrated in labour contracts. Subsequently, works agreements are of growing importance. Ultimate judgements about essential matters have slowly but surely shifted to managers and works councils. This trend was going with the proportionate decline in the influence of employer associations and unions. Although, the official frames of industry wide collective negotiations remained integral but its functions and effects were considerably changed. Employers and their networks have demanded more flexibility since the early 1980s. Let's see below what this flexibility issue in German terms means.<sup>18</sup>

Flexibility can denote functional flexibility, temporal flexibility or flexibility in wages and salaries and flexibility in the forms of employment. However, functional flexibility is not a central objective in collective bargaining for the reason that the dual system of vocational training offers young people a wide choice of acquirements. The dual system of vocational training involves apprenticeships and training at German vocational

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<sup>18</sup> For the section of above please see: Eßer, 2013, 1-17.

schools and enterprises. This synchronized educational scheme has mainly contributed to Germany's high-skill and high-wage pattern in order to gain competitive advantage over other countries. Temporal flexibility has been a key collective bargaining concern, with unions by winning reduced working hours by 1984. Moreover, employers were resisting to further reductionist measures. Ever afterwards, working hours have been designed more flexible at regional level. Besides, individual working-time accounts have been introduced for the majority of labourers. However, effective working times are nowadays much longer as before, whilst part-time work has increased to more than one third of the labour force (it is possible to have more part time jobs simultaneously).<sup>19</sup>

Additionally, the growth of irregular employment was boosting the tendency of segmentation on the labour market. It is segmented now into a core part, unionised and legally protected subdivision and a peripheral random and highly exposed subunit. This circumstance has led to a polarisation about working time frames and the functions of private job service. Businesses of temporary work agencies (TWAs) with official job centres and MNCs have generated heated debates in the German media. Labour's share of the national income is currently at all-time low. Moreover, income inequality between low- and high-paid employees has massively increased. Flexibility in forms of employment has risen, as presented in the above by the growth of uncharacteristic employment forms such as: petty employment, part-time, temporary work and fixed term contracts. The inevitable repercussions of these transformations in the practice of employment affairs are still in progress at regional levels.<sup>20</sup>

On the one side, it is fact that the role of the German Federal Government is decisive in such labour policy developments, but the social partners are engaging in collective negotiations without active state interference, on the other. This is the principle of "free collective bargaining". Industrial actions and lobbying are strictly prohibited during the term of an official negotiation. However, social partners have a high degree of freedom to establish their own structures and connections. For example: mediation agreements are created in from of voluntary

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<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, 23-35.

<sup>20</sup> EBer, 2013, 14-20, 31-41.

negotiations between social partners without the intervention of the state. Nevertheless, the state has played an active role during corporatist arrangements, which culminated in late 1960s and 1970s. Currently, the German employment relations are characterised by a high degree of juridification. Examples in this respect are: - the Basic Law of Germany that guarantees the right to freedom of association; - the Works Constitution Act that regulates how an employer and a works council has to interact at the plant level; - the Act on Collective Agreements, which regulates collective bargaining; - and various Co-Determination Acts that are regulating how an employer and employee representative has to interact at the company-level and in decision-making board reunions. Co-determination is the key feature of employment relations in Germany, based on the idea of industrial democracy and cooperation, which also can have repercussions by taxation strategy.<sup>21</sup>

Accordingly, co-determination at the workplace level involves a specialised structural system. Rights are ranging from information, through consultation to binding co-determination and strong veto privileges, but these civil liberties are varying from case to case. Labours councils have a set of rights divided in three main parts including special issues as: - staff matters; - economic and financial affairs; - and social topics. The Works Constitution Act does not apply to very small enterprises or public sector employees and only moderately covers nonfarm payroll employments (NFPs) and Non Government Organizations (NGOs) type structures. Furthermore, there is a fully autonomous and expert organization of labour courts that effectively operates at local (communal), regional and national levels. Nevertheless, works councils are autonomous and separate from the association and are supposed to be standing apart from wages and income distribution affairs. However, there is a huge interference in practice between the actions and the partisanship of unions and/or works commissions. The establishment of works councils is quiet complicated, as their election must be requested by employees in several companies. For instance, one half of all private sector employees are not enclosed in particular work councils.

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<sup>21</sup> EBer, 2013, 14-20, 21-36.

Consequently, there is a growing gap in socio-economic representation.<sup>22</sup>

Works agreements which are negotiated between employers and works councils on the basis of these special rights cannot disagree with industry-wide collective agreements. There are three kinds of collective agreements: - umbrella agreements that regulate all other conditions of employment, such as working time, overtime and paid or unpaid holidays; - usual wage agreements that adjust the level of wages and their periodic increases; - and framework agreements, which denote wage payment systems. Collective bargaining takes place at regional and industry levels, for instance, between the union being associated with its specific industry and the regional branches of an employer association. This construction has led to a pattern bargaining chain. Thus, pilot agreements in the metal and electrical industry are relocated to other regions within the same industry or other sectors also in quite different industries.<sup>23</sup>

However, industrial negotiations are usually industry-wide within a certain region and are centrally controlled by employer associations and unions. The number of industrial disputes in Germany is quite low in comparison to other states. This is because of the former high centralisation of the collective bargaining system, the high degree of cooperation and trust that is generated through co-determination as well as the existence of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms such as conciliation and labour courts for disputes about legal provisions. Lockouts as well as strikes are legally allowed. Unions take ballots before a strike, and the votes are prescribed by union rules, not legislation as in some other countries. Nevertheless, only conflicts about the requirements and terms of recent collective contracts can be subject to legally approved industrial actions.<sup>24</sup>

Alternatively, certain enterprises are secretly avoiding current collective agreements: in the way that they do not comply with certain provisions of the contract despite being legally obliged to implement decisions. The coverage rate of industry-level agreements has declined to a critical juncture as less than 58% of employees in western Germany. Around 35% are in fact

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<sup>22</sup> EBer, 2013, 14-20, 16-50.

<sup>23</sup> EBer, 2013, 14-20, 11-28.

<sup>24</sup> EBer, 2013, 14-20, 19-48.

integrated by industry agreements in the eastern part of the country. Several companies bargain enterprise agreements with associations outside the industry-wide contractual form. It is to observe that there is a moderate level of centralisation with well-coordinated collective negotiation strategies. There are narrow wage differentials, although in recent times it has been a widening. Bargaining coverage has decreased in recent years and unions in some industries are struggling to secure adequate wages. This has led to the appearance of the working poor labourer image and related highly mediatised debates about the introduction of a compulsory minimum wage. Germany has commenced with experimental legal implementations to initiate a federally-mandated minimum wage by July 2014. The main act was coming into effect on 1 January 2015. Thus, Germany becomes the 22nd European country with federal minimum wage by having a € 8.50 per hour standard. However, there are a lot of special amendments and exceptions. Therefore, it can be stated that social partners (role of the SPD) conditionally succeeded to expand the minimum wage conditions at industry level. There is now a statutory national minimum wage in Germany, but before this measure, the historically extensive collective bargaining coverage provided the protective netting for workers.<sup>25</sup>

Consequently, the long-established remarkably integrated, well ordered, dual educational system is slowly eroding today in Germany. The restructuration of the main institutions and bureaucratic rules of the German system in the early 1990s have generated better deviations in employment relations and practices. Moreover, there is a growing similarity to the Anglo-American pattern, but currently it still remains a rough approximation. Devolution of authority influences is the key balance of power tool between unions and employer associations. Finally, it can be stated that employers and works councils have considerably changed in the last three decades, because the scope of bargaining at the company level is now much larger as before.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Eßer, 2013, 15, 20-72.

<sup>26</sup> Eßer, 2013, 60-72. and for the entire unit please see primary documents:  
Source: <http://www.verfassungen.de/>

## **The creation of the Bretton Woods system<sup>27</sup> and its breakdown**

Certain aspects of economic globalization are optimal to show the agent-centred sides of global developments. Fundamentally, it represents a conscious and determined change of systems in search of a new global economic structure, which could not have been put into practice unless there would have not existed a strong-minded international consensus in its favour. The World Economic Forum was one of the main platforms where the process of globalization was initiated and propagated. Furthermore, there were powerful political structures behind the idea of globalization such as Thatcher's cabinet in the UK or the Reagan administration in the USA. This is why globalization is often named as Thatcherism or even as Reaganism in public debates. Moreover, the more stabile German political line practiced by chancellors of the Bonn era have early recognised that is crucial to interpolate their country in emerging worldwide structures. Positive directions in this respect were the German reunification of 1990 with its international implications, the propagation of the concept of the Western Balkans (respectively intensive politico-military engagement for the independence of Kosovo) and the new image of the country as global export champion. The bases of these developments were made around 1947 as the results of several international negotiation rounds were successfully institutionalized. This is the birth moment of the World Bank Group, International Monetary Fund and International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) that is the successor of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The evolution of cooperative global trade agreements shows the following bigger picture: the International Trade Organization (ITO) agreed upon Bretton Woods (1944) but the decision was never ratified by the U.S.A. GATT agreed upon in Geneva and was adopted by 23 countries in 1947. The purpose was to provide

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<sup>27</sup> Allies are meeting to set up postwar economy at the conference in New Hampshire. Results were: currencies are pegged to the price of gold; the U.S.A. held back then two-thirds of the world's gold supply; essentially, Washington was fixing the world economy to the dollar; and U.S.A. was the only creditor nation after WWII. It is important to mention the role of the IMF to compensate for trade imbalances of payments.

an international forum to encourage free trade among member states. The devices were the following: regulation and reduction of tariffs on commercialized products; provision of a universal instrument for dealing with different trade disputes. Its name was changed to World Trade Organization (WTO) on January 1, 1995 and it was based in old GATT offices in Geneva.

However, GATT was the precursor of the WTO up to 1995. Its objective was the promotion of worldwide commerce by reducing tariffs and removing additional foreign trade restrictions. It had the status of a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) being replaced by the WTO. It continues to supervise and liberalize trade among 161 member nations since 26 April 2015.<sup>28</sup> It principally deals with the regulations of trade between different nations, negotiates and implements new commercial rules. Furthermore, is in charge of policing member countries' compliance to the entire WTO contracts. Its key functions are to manage WTO trade agreements; to organize a forum for trade negotiations; to deal with trade disputes as it has the power to put into effect decisions; to monitor national trade guidelines and if there is a country found in offending WTO conventions it is expected to modify course of action or otherwise it has to face sanctions. The first GATT agreement came into force on 01 January 1948.

GATT was organizing eight main international negotiation rounds till its substitution. The very last one was the Uruguay Round in 1986-93. The Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement was completed as part of the GATT Uruguay Round. It was a modernization of the basic treaty by guaranteeing that patent protection does not obstruct developing countries' right to use reasonably priced medicines. This was at the top of the list of items to be agreed upon. The objective of consultations was the further improvement of elimination of trade barriers by a range of contractual compromises. WTO's ninth round was called the "Doha Development Agenda" or the Doha Round was launched in Doha in Qatar in November 2001. It smoothed the progress of the way for China and Taiwan to get full partnership in the WTO. The interim arrangement of December 2005 to end farm export subsidies by 2013 seemed to prevent the collapse of the round of

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<sup>28</sup> Source: [https://www.wto.org/english/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/org6\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/org6_e.htm)

talks, but it didn't happen as such. Finally, the Doha Round discussions are considered to have failed as of August in 2008.

Subsequently, to only name one striking example the average custom duties applied to industrial products decreased from 40% to around 4%. There is an additional crucial institution which has to be named: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The above mentioned organizations all together represented the Bretton Woods system that is commonly understood to refer to as the international monetary regime that predominated from the end of World War II until the early 1970s.

The name of the system comes from the site of the 1944 conference (Bretton Woods, New Hampshire). It was the peak of some two and a half years of hard planning and negotiating of postwar monetary redevelopments. Key figures behind the scenes were the Treasuries of the U.S.A. and the U.K. They created the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It is the first historical example of a fully negotiated monetary order that was designed to coordinate currency relations among sovereign countries. Theoretically the new regime was founded to reprocess and unify the existent legal obligations within the international multilateral decision-making frame. This was managed by the parent organization, the IMF, vested with legally restricted supranational official duties. In actual fact, the original design, as well as its subsequent implementations and ultimate demise, were determined by the preferences and various strategies of its most forceful participant, the United States of America. Although all forty four allied nations were present, and also the neutral government of Argentina, the bargaining phase of the conference was considerably shaped by two competing schemes. These were designed by John Maynard Keynes of Britain and by Harry Dexter White of the U.S.A Treasury. The agreement that finally emerged was much closer to White's proposal than to that of Keynes, reflecting the vast authority of the U.S.A by taking into account that World War II was drawing to an end.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, pointedly the talks of Bretton Woods can be also viewed as the confrontation of two economic ideas that of John Maynard Keynes and Harry Dexter White. The main question

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<sup>29</sup> Source: <http://www.welt.de/finanzen/geldanlage/article128861625/Der-geheimnisvolle-Deal-der-Amerikas-Macht-festigte.html>

was: Should recycling of US surpluses be institutionalized at the global level or rather left to the decision of America? On the one hand, Keynes wanted to create world institutions for guaranteeing wealth transfers, thus, recycling. This was similarly with how the U.S.A. proceeded internally with its federal states and very dissimilar to that what Europe does today because it refuses to create such kind of institutions. On the other hand, White searched to preserve the discretion of America to recycle its surpluses abroad. However, the official agenda was full with issues to prevent postwar recession in the U.S.A. by trying to find the best solution to recycle abroad its excess supply of products. Washington offered bankrupt states with no financial credit the means to pay for American commodities and services. Despite its refusal to participate in intercontinental economic institutions with autonomous economic power, Washington prefers to enthusiastically recycle its surpluses. The main results of Bretton Woods were the following: it fixed the dollar to gold, then world currencies to the dollar; several states were now at the mercy of resolutions made in New York and Washington concerning worldwide capital movements; multi-billion of dollars flow in European countries and somewhere else in the form of aid, loans and investments assuring financial resources to credit users in order to purchase American merchandise. Simultaneously the conference also established the IMF in order to assist in the development of a multilateral method of payments concerning current banking operations among member states and to remove foreign exchange restrictions. Further tasks were the promotion of international economic cooperation and systematic trade measures. Finally, it was the supervisor of the expansion and balanced intensification of international commerce.<sup>30</sup>

The significance of the international political economy of the Bretton Woods system mainly lies in the incentive that it gave to the later improvement of official regime theory. The system as such was principally a well intended establishment. It was properly negotiated and it was institutionally “personified” in a joint organization: the IMF. Intercontinental regimes, which operate as a kind of power machinery among independent states, are usually defined by a set of implicit or comprehensible principles, norms, set of laws and core executive actions around

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<sup>30</sup> Eichengreen, 2011, 12-47.

which actors' prospects have to meet in a given framework. The setting of the system's origin and functional phases opened researcher's valuable material for measuring the comparative significance of dissimilar variables in fostering or impeding trade as well as industrial collaborations among dissimilar administrations.<sup>31</sup>

Apparently, Bretton Woods is a proof of the key role of some kind of politico-economical authority in determining the planning and improvement of transnational systems, giving rise to the so-named hegemonic stability assumption. The supremacy of the USA in the talks at the wartime forum seemed to validate the crucial weight of hegemonic assistance in the early configuration of emerging global regimes. Thus, Washington's presumption of steadiness for stabilization after the warfare seemed to confirm the successive and long-term desire for another type of authority in order to defend trade interests, industry and economic strength – if necessary. Similarly, the destructive consequence of less well-organized implementation of authority could be seen in the destabilizing energy of Washington's benevolent ignorance of its steadiness of expenditures just before the end of the Bretton Woods period. As Richard Milhous Nixon comes to power in 1969 there were high running deficits rather than surpluses. Moreover, he has had to counteract a continuously growing inflation. Because of such negative cyclical trough, President Richard Nixon ended the dollar's convertibility to gold in 1971. However, it took another two years until the Bretton Woods system completely ceases to exist. The dollar becomes fiat money as the Federal Reserve Bank and Treasury decided how much to print. Although the dollar was no longer backed by gold, several countries were still pegged to it. The Bretton Woods system became completely operative as currencies became convertible in 1958. Countries established international balances in dollars, and American dollars were convertible to gold at a fixed exchange rate of \$35 an ounce.<sup>32</sup>

Between 1971 and 1999/2000, the U.S.A. was trying to make different maneuvers within world market frameworks by trying to push back running high debts. Many governments, the trade sector and millions of consumers have accumulated high

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<sup>31</sup> Eichengreen, 2011, 45-57.

<sup>32</sup> Eichengreen, 2011, 50-197.

debts. The financialization of the economy happened in the following way: debts became tied to assets in doubtful financial packages. These instruments have created new kinds of money and the capitals of banks were based on massive but well-hidden deficits. How did that happened? The double-cross now was to reprocess other countries' payment surpluses through the Wall Street rather than recycling the American surpluses overseas. The huge profits made in other producer units as the result of American consumption have found again their way to the Wall Street. Here, they got integrated in various financial devices that in actual fact were hiding accumulated debts. Furthermore, many Americans citizens went into debt to buy those goods coming from abroad. As a matter of fact, debts and deficits themselves become a minus amount money among banks, which were trading with them in well camouflaged financial junk packages.<sup>33</sup> Examples of strong currency fluctuations are the Mexican meltdown of 1995 or the Asian financial crisis between 1997 and 1999. The Asian financial crisis was caused by China because it devaluated its yuan. In comparison to the American dollar, the Thai baht has lost almost the half of its buying power. The spending capacity of the Malaysian ringgit and the Korean won dropped around 40%. The financial crises of Argentina (2001) and Brazil (2002) were also radical losses as Argentina suffered financially and lost about 40% of the purchasing power of its currency. This also affected Brazil's financial situation. The mortgage and credit meltdown of 2007/2008 has had severe global consequences until today. The destructive effects of these interim currency flows are in our time far more influential for exchange rates than an investment of German or Korean auto producer.

Less apparently the Bretton Woods system also brought confirmation of the long-lasting self-helpfulness of the regimes even after historical changes in the division of inter-state authority in relation to their roots or premature functions. Despite the fact that the decision-making position of Washington was finally destabilized in the postwar phase by the appearance of emerging economic and political competitors, financial affairs did not split

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<sup>33</sup> Source:

[http://research.stlouisfed.org/publications/review/91/05/Bretton\\_May\\_Jun1991.pdf](http://research.stlouisfed.org/publications/review/91/05/Bretton_May_Jun1991.pdf)

up in disorder, because they experienced comparable situations during the 1930s. Two centers, Washington and New York have had the responsibility to keep the price of gold fixed and have had to regulate the supply of dollars in order to preserve confidence in the future of the gold convertibility system. The Bretton Woods scheme was in function until constant US balance-of-payments deficits led to huge foreign-held dollar accumulations that were exceeding the gold stocks of Fort Knox.

Consequently, America could not fulfill anymore its obligation to reconvert dollars for gold at the established official rate. However, finally all that was involving the impressive crash of the whole system as the par value regime and the gold exchange standard were abandoned at the beginning of 1970s.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, a considerable level of cooperation was conserved by the support of the IMF, which constantly executed its regulatory role by giving financial and consultative impulses to serious market participants. The regime's original values and norms persistently signalized control signals via different uncertain actions of national authorities. The IMF gives loans and fund's, thus, means for the interim to members under sufficient accountability, to help them to readjust their balance of payment difficulties and to lessen the level of disequilibrium in the global balance of payments. The main balance of payments categories are including: current account;<sup>35</sup> financial account (IMF) and capital account (economics);<sup>36</sup> official reserves;<sup>37</sup> and net errors and omissions.<sup>38</sup>

The resources of the IMF are in SDRs whose value is subject to the weighted average of the American dollar, the yen, the euro, and the British pound. Foreign exchange and exchange rates are a quite complex issue. The well-known categories are: fixed exchange rates and floating exchange rates. The latter one is

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<sup>34</sup> Eichengreen, 2011, 197-217.

<sup>35</sup> This category includes the balance of trade as well as net factor income (fees, interest, dividends) and also net unilateral operations from foreign countries.

<sup>36</sup> That means the increase in foreign ownership of domestic assets. More exactly the increase in domestic ownership of foreign assets (FDI) as well as portfolio investment and also additional investments.

<sup>37</sup> That encloses stock of reserve assets at a state's financial authority. More exactly: official gold reserves plus foreign exchange reserves as well as (IMF) SDRs and also any foreign means held by such issue banks.

<sup>38</sup> That means any necessary operational correction in the above three accounts.

generally free of governmental interventions, but some of them are managed by limited administrative interference. Corporations and firms are using hedging in order to avoid the risks of currency fluctuations. Thus, there are target exchange rates as well. The spot versus forward exchange rates line is an issue for itself. Since prices in the spot and the forward markets roughly constantly move in the same course by the same amount and there are boomers on both parts of expected future price fluctuations, the use of hedging is made feasible. The process of hedging involves engaging in two equivalent but converse transactions in the spot and forward markets at the same time.<sup>39</sup> However, there are many factors that have an effect upon foreign exchange rates. This can be random factors as unanticipated actions, collective panic of financial losses, terrorism, war, and catastrophes, to name but a few. Strong political factors are election campaign periods or sudden headship changes at governmental levels and severe exchange rate control by the state. The category of macroeconomic factors includes: balance of payments, foreign exchange reserves, economic growth, government spending, money supply growth, relative inflation and interest rate policy. Most production oriented countries are trying to keep a lower rate for their currency in order to encourage merchandise intended for export. This was/is the case of the German Federal Republic as one of the world export champions.<sup>40</sup> According to the CIA World Fact Book (data of 2007), the largest exporters and importers of the earth in the category of world exports were the following countries: \$14+ trillion Germany \$1.334 trillion; China \$ 1.217 trillion; United States \$1.149 trillion; Japan \$677 billion; and France \$548 billion. In the category of world imports (14+ trillion overall) as follows: United States \$1.97trillion; Germany \$ 1.09 trillion; China \$ 901million; United Kingdom \$ 617billion; and France \$ 600billion.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Example: transactions on the spot market: 4/02/09 bought 10mm £ - £10/\$, next move 6/22/09 sold 10mm £ - £11/\$ The result of the operation is:1 £/\$ loss but concurrently in the other direction, thus on the forward market: 4/02/09 sold 10mm 5/31/09 £ - £9/\$ and 6/22/09 bought 10mm £ - £10/\$; the result: on this side is 1 £/\$ profit; however, the overall result of the transactions is a net result= +/- 0, therefore it is an optimal hedge.

<sup>40</sup> Source: <http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>

<sup>41</sup> Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2078rank.html> and

What was the worldwide effect of the breakdown of the system of Bretton Woods? Small countries experienced devaluation and severe debts. The IMF lends to weak countries in urgent situations, but with the condition that they cut public spending. But this stipulation shrinks their national economies. IMF helps to privatize public assets but these are often covered by scarce natural resources, then pays back credits with interest but now without the public assets or tax revenues of productive forces. Thus the main effects are: downward deflationary spiral and indebtedness. This involves the escalation of hostility among different groups, right and left wing power fluctuations can end in regional disasters. The clear answers to the regional financial crises are coming from the consumer that ends in low or marginal propensity to consume. Thus, institutional measures to the recession are quite different: to pull-out, to boost local procurements, to strengthen marketing in the region, to look outside the region for development opportunities, to maintain more sever inventory, to reconsider the product mix, and to focus on the value of a product.<sup>42</sup> To avoid speculations against currency pegs, different foreign capital flows were strictly constrained. But the increase in foreign direct investment has also been supported by the struggles of a lot of national administrations towards multinationals. Businesses from various countries have expanded into new markets around the world in so doing they accumulated the stock of foreign direct investment (FDI) in latest thirty years. FDI is an investment in service facilities and production in a foreign country. Portfolio investment or indirect investment concerns investments in foreign countries that are promptly retrievable, for example as foreign bonds and stocks.

Above and beyond, the unwillingness of circles of Washington and New York to adjust American economic policy to maintain the gold peg and as well as President Nixon` decision to abandon the linkage to gold in 1971 have led to the disintegration of the fixed exchange-rate system. On the other hand, the Bretton Woods system was followed by a period (more as twenty years) of fast economic developments and a

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<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2087rank.html>

<sup>42</sup> Eichengreen, 2011, 200-230.

comparatively small number of financial crises, but in the end it proved to be too rigid to deal with such expanding economic powers as Germany or Japan.

Up to the present, both the IMF and World Bank<sup>43</sup> have survived all of the crises. Furthermore, today each of them individually has fierce critics and opponents, not least for their apparent control of the more prosperous countries. The IMF has been attacked for the provisions it ties to loans, which have been seen as too concerned with austerity measures and the obligations of creditors and too little worried about the interests of the disadvantaged part of the world. The World Bank, which has first of all concentrated on credits to developing countries, has been censured for failing to spot the societal system and ecological consequences of the plans it finances. It is not complicated to predict that either financial institute will exist around in another fifty years' time except if they really want to change to respond to the increasing influence of up-and-coming economic powers in particular China<sup>44</sup> or other unpredicted challenges.

A more positive effect is showed by the following short elucidation. The manifestation of the opportunity of stability in public regimes at global level, apparently in clash with the hypotheses of the hegemonic stability approach, could be a climax of all the Bretton Woods' originative effects for the formation and development of global political economy theory (GPE or IPE). International political economy is an academic discipline within political science that examines international relations and economics together. It is an interdisciplinary field and it draws on several individual academic schools, most notably political science, political

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<sup>43</sup> The powerful institutions of the World Bank are: IBRD (1945) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; IFC (1956) International Finance Corporation; IDA (1960) International Development Association; MIGA (1988) Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency; and ICSID (1966) International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes.

<sup>44</sup> Let's see a comparative advantage example on China versus U.S.A case. Both have 1,000lh (labor hour) resources China has 5lh bred, 2lh torchlight; U.S.A has 1lh bred, 5lh torchlight. Without trade: China has 100 bred plus 250 torchlight; U.S.A. has 500 bred plus 100 torchlight. The overall sum is of 600 bred plus 350 torchlight. However by trade: China has 500 torchlight and U.S.A. has 1,000 bred. The total amount is of 1,000 bred plus 500 microwave torchlight.

economy, economics, but also history, cultural studies and sociology. In this context one has to concern the Washington Consensus as well.

The Washington Consensus was a development strategy based on the logic of politico-economic deregulation, liberalization privatization and openness towards the world economy. The term Washington Consensus was coined by the English economist John Williamson.<sup>45</sup> This consensus represents the core idea of globalization and it is the main item, which shows its normative aspect: the necessity of a main concept concerning development strategy based on the quick and ongoing integration of single units into the global economy. Such stipulations and measures were adopted by several countries mainly from the 80s, which played a decisive role by the further development of economic globalization. Based on the German economic miracle (Wirtschaftswunder) the export-led economy of the country has found worldwide position. Germans will never forget the goodwill gesture of Americans to help them in the reconstruction of their country after WWII without not even the economic miracle would have been possible. Today's global tendency is to deconstruct borders and limitations, even though the boundaries of certain countries are not as unimportant as they seem to be by having different degrees of permeability or opening not only because of ICTs, but also because of the constant removal of several protectionist barriers and customs restrictions. Thus, as a result of long-lasting negotiations the majority of governments are motivating commerce, foreign investment, standardization of banking and global competition by implementing politico-economic, fiscal and juridical measures. In this respect, globalization can be described as the creation process of an open and integrated economy based on the elimination of trade barriers, the facilitation of foreign capital and the harmonization of international standards.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> The study was named: „What Washington Means by Policy Reform”, in Latin American Adjustment How Much Has Happened? ed. John Williamson (Washington D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1990).

<sup>46</sup> For this entire section was used as source:  
<https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/history/>

## **Fast changing technologies and slowly shifting identities in a Global Village**

If the world were a village of 100 people, there would be: 61 from Asia; 13 from Africa; 12 from Europe; 8 from South America, Central America (including Mexico) and the Caribbean; 5 from North America; and less than 1 from Oceania. Marshall McLuhan predicts the global village: "Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned."<sup>47</sup> Global Village is a term closely associated with McLuhan, promoted in his books *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962) and *Understanding Media* (1964). Author described how the earth was shrinking into a village by electric technology. Furthermore, the instantaneous flux of information from every quarter to every point at about the same time. In gathering all social and political features together in a sudden implosion, electric speed increased the awareness of responsibility of the people to a high degree. Today, although a toponym "Global Village" can be applied to depict the internet and World Wide Web.<sup>48</sup> The contracting world in short techno-historical terms by showing the increase of speed: between 1500 and 1840 the best average speed of a sailing ships or a horse-drawn coach was of 10 mph.; however, 1850-1930 represents the time when steamships average is of 36 mph. and steam locomotives median 65 mph.; then the in the 1950s propeller aircraft powers 300-400 mph.; and in the 19660s jet passenger aircraft reaches 500-700 mph. From another side: 8% of the world's countries had a free-market system around 1975 and in 1997 had on of the countries a FDI of 28% \$644 billion.

Opening happened in the case of the globalization of communication and information system as well, which together with the economic adjustment are the basis of international transformations in other fields such as the social or cultural segments. That means more exactly the emergence of global consciousness, the intensification of identity-shifts, the reconsiderations of cosmopolitan attitudes and the understanding

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<sup>47</sup> Source: [http://www.livinginternet.com/i/ii\\_mcluhan.htm](http://www.livinginternet.com/i/ii_mcluhan.htm)

<sup>48</sup> An example for this is also the website of the provider of this internet link.  
Source: <https://www.global-village.de/>

of cultural hybridization. Indeed, the fast improvement of new technologies and the media generated deep changes in everyday life. Information technology and the changing nature of global competition involve a complex issue respectively any piece of electronically uploaded intellectual property can be simply copied, multiplied, dispossessed and changed. International and national regulators have not kept pace with the quick proliferation of global e-commerce or additional internet-related informational developments. Laws and other official guidelines are unclear regarding e-commerce operations. The United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) has created a working group on electronic commerce to reconsider recent conventions.<sup>49</sup>

The widespread diffusion and the tendency of information-technological products to be procured at very low prices were pivotal in many directions. It is to see that the technological factor has had a particularly important role by pushing not only technocommunicational globalization forwards, but even internet-related jurisdiction. Albeit it made more difficult, but not impossible the control of information flow and communication by officialdoms and secret services, it can be observed that this aspect is not the only determinant in the emergence of this type of globalization. Without the free flow of information it would be not possible to comprehensively explain today's massive free circulation of various media products whereof the majority can be accessed mostly costless in the global free market. However, behind this case are a set of strong political decisions within the deregulation process of the national telecommunications markets. Decision makers of developed countries were preparing the implementation of the liberalization of telecommunications during the last four decades. The German Telecom (Deutsche Telekom AG) was created in 1996 when the former state-owned monopoly, the Deutsche Bundespost was privatized. It is not a secret that it cooperates with the Federal Intelligence Service (Bundesnachrichtendienst – BND) as this is the case in other countries as well.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Source: <http://www.dis-arb.de/de/51/materialien/uebersicht-id0>

<sup>50</sup> Source: <http://www.geheimdienste.org/bnd.html> and <http://www.teltarif.de/telekom-bnd-zusammenarbeit-gesetzpflicht/news/58408.html>

The shareholder structure of the German Telecom shows that currently the Federal Republic owns 14.3%, the KfW Banking Group 17.4%, retail investors 14.6% and institutional investors 53.7% of the capital stock. (Please compare and see Figure number 7 (“Shareholder structure split by investor group.”); 8 (“Free float split by region.”); and 9 “(Free float and number of shares March 31, 2015.”)

It is to observe that the majority of far-reaching deregulations were undoubtedly inspired by neoliberal thoughts, thus it can be stipulated that many of implemented contemporary globalization designs were inherently influenced by (neo) liberal economic thinkers. There are several liberal values as basic components in deregulatory proceedings, such as free market, private enterprise or the minimal involvement of the state in private economy and banking paradigm. As it was shown in the above, the success of foreign trade and the redistribution of production activities operated by multinational enterprises in the global space are principally based on the logic of advantage or the comparative cost among nations. This assumption and line of argumentation was categorized for the first time by the liberal economist David Ricardo who reconsidered them in terms of globalization. This development was also based on the Heckscher-Ohlin-Samuelson model (also known as the factor endowment or the variable proportion model) by emphasizing especially the technological progress, economies of scale, the dynamic nature of the comparative advantage, the global mobility of the production factors, and so forth. The growth of multinational corporations (MNCs) and intra-firm trade is a key feature of international markets. Foreign production operations and international trade are supervised and decided on a global basis. The EU<sup>51</sup> is just one of the agents who have to cope with global issues. Another relevant European organization is the EFTA (European Free Trade Association) with members as Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. Additional significant agreements are of Asia:

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<sup>51</sup> The governing bodies of the EU are the following: the Council of European Union, which is the main decision-making body. There is one minister from each member country in it; the European Parliament that is the legislative body; the European Commission, which means a lot of red tape; the Court of Justice, which ensures that Community laws are well interpreted and also applied; the Court of Auditors that reviews EU's bills and expenditures and coordinates the budget. Source: [http://europa.eu/geninfo/sitemap\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/geninfo/sitemap_en.htm)

ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation). There are very different agreements of Africa: a current example is ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States). Several institutions are of Latin America as MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market), LAIA (Latin American Integration Association), CENCOM (Central American Common Market), ANCOM (Andean Common Market) and CARICOM (Caribbean Community and Common Market). Last but not least the NAFTA of North America.

Accordingly, it is a necessity to see why global cooperation is an imperative within this framework. It involves several tracks as the internet and e-commerce revolution; the domestic market maturation, especially in developed economies; the intensification between global and domestic struggles; the realization of expanding market prospects; the higher margins abroad; the option to reduce risk by sharing it; and mass of potent customers moving out of the country. All these aspects are showing how important it is to communicate with the fellow partner. This is impossible without communicational means and devices and not to forget about the gesture of good will to do so. Thus, there is need for global collaboration and indeed international competition can generate large-scale assistance. The globalization of national economies implies both convergences and divergences. Just a few examples in this respect: discretionary portion of income is growing dramatically, which means rising convergent pressures on consumer buying actions in higher per-capita-income countries; however, in lower per-capita-incomes countries the most part of the revenue is exhausted by buying supplies and other musts, thus, there is a very little room for flexible expenditure.

Let's put it this way: somehow or other per capita income decisively determines buying behavior but not necessarily the access to information. On the one side, divergence of consumer needs is parallel, but globalization can release national cultures from ethnocentricity or other local deficits. Therefore, consumers become more open to innovative know-how and have the possibility to select goods and services from a much wider and more divergent brand choice and suppliers. Citizens with higher earnings tend to benefit from similar educational levels, demand

for material quality and leisure time options. Global reach means wide-ranging transnational infiltration of various businesses and life style. International business means worldwide trade and the coordination of foreign production. However, global commerce is continuously coined by exports and imports. Approaches of international trade and the multinational enterprise induce the following matters: Factor Endowment Theory; International Product Life Cycle Theory; commodity terms of trade; economies of scale; supply industry position; absolute advantage; and comparative advantage. Absolute advantage can be defined as follows: assume that a country (1) is performing better than country (2) at producing computers and country (2) is doing better than country (1) at making meat products, then both would benefit if (1) specialized in computers, (2) specialized in meat products and they deal with their surplus production. However, what if a country (1) is better than (2) at producing no matter what? They would still profit from commerce for the reason that the paradigm of comparative advantage sustains that if (1) is much more advanced in producing computers and only to some extent better at making meat products, then (1) should still invest means in what it does most remarkable, thus, making computers and sell abroad the product to (2). And (2) should still support what it does best, thus by making meat products and by exporting that goods to (1) even if it is not as skillful as (1). However, both would still gain advantage from commerce.

Conclusively, a country does not have to be outstanding at anything to benefit from trade operations. The resource endowment of comparative advantage relays on artificial resources as science, technology, and engineering, infrastructure, capital or on other similar human developments. Additionally, it also rests on natural resources as climate, size, location, topography, minerals, flora and fauna, and all that. Moreover, it is also based on human resources as number, age distribution, health, size, and so forth, which is another important category in this respect. Besides, managerial know-how, education and training have to be considered as well. Finally, traditions constitute a base of source to it. (Please see Figure number 10. and 11. and compare)

Why it is so important to name this complex package of mainly Anglo-Saxon scientific standards? For the reason that

Germany has long been recognized the significance of this guidelines, moreover by putting them in practice it has created original imperatives within this frameworks. Germany is a county, which strongly invests in research and technological development (RTD). There are several diverse applications for the internet in worldwide research such as online surveys and buyer panels (CATI -Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing a CAPI – Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing). Furthermore, the issue comprises online focus group monitoring, web visitor tracking, publicity measurement, consumer recognition systems, and electronic message marketing lists. There are several drivers of globalization as technological change, globalization of markets and production as a result of lowering of trade barriers, which was enabled by hi-tech developments, thus telecommunications and microprocessors, the internet and the world-wide web and transportation technology.

Therefore, research investments have a huge impact on Europe as Germany emerges in alliance with France,<sup>52</sup> China, Japan<sup>53</sup> and Russia<sup>54</sup> to a technological superpower. For to see clever but well hidden research-energy collaboration pacts please surf on the homepage of the German Federal Foreign Office.<sup>55</sup> Collaboration with foreigners rests on a sophisticated system of bilateral agreements, which works very efficiently and is typical for German diplomacy science the term of office of Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The collaborative role of the Goethe Institute and higher education with the German Federal Foreign Office is excellent by supporting it in cultural diplomacy. “At times of new global challenges the work of the Goethe Institute aims to reinforce understanding among cultures and to strengthen the prestige of the Federal Republic of Germany in the world. The Goethe-Institute also runs next to 76 reading rooms, dialogue meeting points and information centers 122 foreign-German

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<sup>52</sup> Source: [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/AAmt/Koordinatoren/D-FRA-Koordinator/D-F-Beauftragter\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/AAmt/Koordinatoren/D-FRA-Koordinator/D-F-Beauftragter_node.html)

<sup>53</sup> Source: [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/Japan/Bilateral\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/Japan/Bilateral_node.html)

<sup>54</sup> Source: [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/RegionaleSchwerpunkte/Russland/Russland-Wirtschaft-Energie\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/RegionaleSchwerpunkte/Russland/Russland-Wirtschaft-Energie_node.html)

<sup>55</sup> Source: [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/China/Bilateral\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/China/Bilateral_node.html)

cultural societies, 54 language learning centers and 150 teaching-aid store centers.”<sup>56</sup>

Let’s briefly review the importance of culture in business terms as this framework copes with both simplified and sophisticated approaches. International commerce involves dealing with clients, strategic associates, merchants, and rivals having diverse cultural way of thinking. Culture coins the course of action of consumers in many ways: disposal (resale, reprocess, restore, collective conscientiousness and ecological orientation); consumption settings (urban versus rural, products versus service, cultural orientation, traditional versus modern and social influences); buying activities (loyalty, attitudes about marketing and consumption, brand and country insights); and access (economic and physical features). Therefore, culture mainly influences the behavior of buyers and the needs of customers. There are quite a few definitions of culture, but in a business setting is described as being a skilled, shared, convincing, interconnected collection of symbolical codes, whose connotation offer a set of guidelines and prospects for participants in a society. It often encloses subcultures that are not interlinked, but have a lot in common with the conventional culture. They are often shaped by official boundaries, particularly when countries are cut off the outside because of natural limitations. The key components of culture are aesthetics,<sup>57</sup> value system,<sup>58</sup> education,<sup>59</sup> and religion.<sup>60</sup> However, a main transmitter of culture is language, which can be written, spoken or body language. It can be very direct or sophisticated implying contextual meanings. It can reflect hierarchies and variety on the same time. The main element by introducing yourself to somebody is to find the best way of how to address a person as first impression is crucial. Hofstede’s cultural classification model shows how cross-cultural comparison works. For instance, power distance is the degree of

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<sup>56</sup> Source: [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/KulturDialog/Initiativen/DSDI/PartnerGI\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/KulturDialog/Initiativen/DSDI/PartnerGI_node.html)

<sup>57</sup> This item can be defined as ideas and perceptions, which a culture comprises with reference to beautifulness sand tastefulness.

<sup>58</sup> Values are coining the norms and principles of an individual person or a group.

<sup>59</sup> It is one of the significant devices to connect different generations.

<sup>60</sup> It can be described as a set of beliefs of people that reflect to a kind of world that cannot be proven empirically.

inequity among people within a specific culture. Individualism represents the preference for being alone condition versus participation in a group. The uncertainty avoidance is a cultural partiality for structured circumstances with obvious conventions over shapeless ones. Masculinity involves the weight of male versus female way of thinking. Finally, long-term versus short-term point of reference means future against past, present or both orientations. The adaptation process to culture involves the self-reference criterion (SRC), which represents the unaware inclination of persons to revert to their own cultural understanding and symbol structure to deduce a given business condition. Ethnocentrism can be interpreted as the sensation or conviction in one's own cultural pre-eminence. Top multinationals have gained experience how to cope best with persons of dissimilar cultures in order to integrate them in international environment.

According to Oxfam these a global citizen should have following features: it is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as world citizen; respects and values diversity; understands how the world works economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically and environmentally; challenges injustice; participates in and contributes to the community from the local to the global; is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; and takes responsibility for their actions.<sup>61</sup> There are various issues that are affecting the worldwide integration of national economies. Two main categories are distinguishable: restrictive influences (national control, management myopia and organizational culture) and motivating forces (technology, quality, product development costs, world economic trends, regional economic agreements, leverage, market needs and wants, transportation and communication improvements). Now, let's see how liberal values work.

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<sup>61</sup>Source:  
[http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~media/Files/Education/Global%20Citizenship/education\\_for\\_global\\_citizenship\\_a\\_guide\\_for\\_schools.ashx](http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~media/Files/Education/Global%20Citizenship/education_for_global_citizenship_a_guide_for_schools.ashx) (Oxfam, Curriculum for Global Citizenship (1997))

## **Liberal values and globalization**

Milton Friedman the former chancellor of Ronald Reagan and Friedrich Hayek the former advisor of Margaret Thatcher were both adepts of economic liberalism. This circumstance shows the main ideological track by the implementation of globalization. Interestingly, it is still a dominant global economic doctrine in spite of a revival of neo-Keynesianism, especially after several economic crises<sup>62</sup> in the framework of neoliberal globalization. It was promoted through concise economic recommendations by various international organizations. In line with this, globalization was intended to provide a certain convergence of public policies and reforms coined by neoliberal values. As this process has started, the USA and its Western allies were attempting to support capitalist systems in reply to communist internationalism. After the collapse of communist regimes in 1989/90 this system not only persisted but expanded at a global level. The transition to the market economy system was an intermediary phase that included a wide geographical area, comprising almost all former communist countries inclusively the territory of China. Therefore, the term globalization also includes the track of the introduction of an original type of global capitalist structure showing the global dimensions of the development of free market capitalism after 1989/90 all over the world. For that reason the collapse of communism also means the partial disintegration of the international order, which was established after WWII and during the Cold War era.

Accordingly, Thomas Friedman thinks that globalization is just the new international regime that replaced the Cold War system. Following Friedman's view, this system has the unifying characteristic to integrate nation states, markets and technologies. Furthermore, it is the main drive of the free market capitalism paradigm as the prevailing economic mainstream of American culture. Some related defining technologies were: the internet, digitalization, fiber optics, satellite communications, computerization, and miniaturization. Globalization can be

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<sup>62</sup> I mean here the crises of Mexico in 1994, of south-southeast Asia between 1997 and 1998, in the USSR by 1998, in Brazil 1999, in Argentina and Turkey between 2000 and 2001 and as well the global financial-economic crisis of 2008.

perceived therefore as the “new world order” as presented by George Bush senior after the end of the Gulf War. Basically it means the extension of the previously existing liberal order of Western democracies after 1989/90. Thus, the collapse of the Berlin Wall is the symbol of the new order. Indeed, it is a world, which is more borderless at the present time.

Certainly, the structure of global capitalist system is not just an economic mechanism, but also a construction of international order. This world order is of liberal origin having a central idea: peace through global trade, which was sustained in “*De l'esprit des lois*” by Montesquieu and revisited by such contemporary neoliberal thinkers as Thomas Friedman. Furthermore, Samuel Huntington's theory shows three main waves of democratization since 1928. The third wave includes the shift to democracy of former communist regimes after the revolutions of 1989/90. Although the first two waves were also accompanied by several counter-waves, which may be an alarm signal to support the irreversibility of the third one, it is also undisputable that the number of democratic systems is nowadays much higher than ever in the past.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, political democracy does not seem to have the same importance as economic integration in the new sample because countries as China that made relevant steps in this direction or Singapore, which is increasingly globalized, do not have democratic governments but severe authoritarian rule. However, this new global system has not only a *Pax Mercatoria* face but it also has a *Democratic Pax* key-aspect because it ties to the basic idea of peaceful, non warrior and mutual setup of democracies in the long run. The chief architect of this emerging system was/is the USA that after the collapse of the USSR has remained the only real superpower in the world by gaining economic, technological, military, cultural and political supremacy in the world. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that this new order is often called *Pax Americana* too.

Incidentally, the features of the new international order are largely reproducing the items of American political system. Although there are more and more resolute Asian and European attempts against the only promotion of Anglo-Saxon and American type of global capitalism, the worldwide liberal

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<sup>63</sup> Huntington, 1991, 12-69.

economic turnaround seems to be a revolution that was initiated by the USA. A major historical event that illustrates this shift is the controversial NATO military interference in Yugoslavia in 1999. The action was justified with the abuse of human rights in the case of Albanians of Kosovo by the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. From this standpoint, globalization immediately shows the shift towards the world order. If one accepts the distinction mentioned in specialized literature between the international order and world order then this move means the change from an order, which is exclusive interstate focused on the principle of absolute sovereignty, to another one, which does not exclude interstate order but involves protection of universal human rights. Thus, the sovereignty of states was limited to a basic requirement in order to implement certain legal reasons.

According to Matthias Küntzel, the German concept for Kosovo was including the following issues:

- „to make a stand against the Yugoslav government
- unlimited support for the Kosovo Albanian nationalists who demand independence and a lasting unification with Albania
- to demand for air-strikes against Yugoslavia in order to achieve a NATO protectorate for Kosovo which is supposed to be only an interim step towards the independence of Kosovo. Strategic differences between German and the US policies diminished considerably in 1999 when the Clinton administration decided to go to war in favour of the ultra-secessionist KLA. They seem to gain, however, new weight in the post-war debate about the final status of Kosovo. US Secretary of State Madelaine Albright recently rejected the idea of creating a greater Albania, whereas German policy seems to be pushing in the opposite direction.

Karl Lamers, the influential CDU foreign affairs spokesman for the opposition in the Bundestag said about the transformation of Kosovo into a NATO protectorate that this is “only the first step towards the separation of Kosovo from Yugoslavia” and that an independent Kosovo will be “only an interim step to merging (“Anschluss”) with Albania.” (See the

minutes of the Bundestag parliamentary session of April 15, 1999.)

Recently, Lamers mentioned with great satisfaction “that everything we are actually doing in Kosovo, e. g. the creation of a new currency zone, is aimed at creating an independent Kosovo...”. (See the minutes of the Bundestag parliamentary session of April 5, 2000.) Even Germany’s red/green coalition government does not want to recognize Kosovo as being a province of Yugoslavia. That is the reason why in his last major statement Joschka Fischer – Germany’s vice-chancellor and secretary of state – let the question of “the future status of the Kosovo” open claiming that it would be impossible to resolve this now. In an interview with a French newspaper, however, he made clear that he had no doubts about the Kosovo’s future status: “The international community is present in Kosovo and the Balkans in order to show that – according to the example of resolving the, German question’ in 1990 – the, Albanian question’ could be resolved only with the agreement of the neighbouring states.”

US government circles are quite aware of the ambitions of their rival, Germany. Zbigniew Brzezinski called the Berlin republic a “geostrategic main actor” and a “subversive big power inspired by an ambitious vision”. Strobe Talbott, the deputy secretary of state, characterized Germany as the seismic focal point of the current geopolitical earthquakes which are disrupting the Atlantic Alliance as well as the Balkans. He emphasized that Germany is “the epicentre of those processes – enlargement and expansion, extension and deepening.” (See Frankfurter Allgemeine, February 5, 1999.)

Within the context of the war against Yugoslavia the other great powers, however, not only reacted to aggressive German moves but pursued their own special interests as well. The United States wanted to retain its influence in Europe, to strengthen a worldwide role for NATO and to weaken Russia’s influence within the new world order. Great Britain and France were eager to demonstrate their military superiority over Germany and wanted to give a starting signal for the establishing of an independent European intervention force (together with Germany) vis-à-vis the USA. Each of these nations is a rival to the others and is trying to retain or achieve as much influence and power as possible. The war against Yugoslavia has been the first, however,

to be spurred on by Germany as an attempt to redesign current world order after the fall of the Berlin Wall. This war has put the irrational elements and the destructive roots of capitalistic societies into a new light.”<sup>64</sup>

According to Thomas Friedman, the new international system (globalization) that replaced the Cold War regime has the unifying feature of integration of technologies, markets, cultures and nation states. Moreover, its main driving is free capitalism, an inspiration that has to be treated separated from the market scheme. However, there is a leading American culture and strong technological development as well, such as the internet, fibre optics, satellite communication, computerization, miniaturization, X-ray and digitalization. Furthermore, there is a defining fear of politico-economic instability caused by uncertainty about the near future, there is a distinct demographic model based on flexibility (rapid travel from A to B) and massive changes in urban lifestyle. Finally, there is a formative power structure of three balances of influence among nation states, between individuals and nation states, and among national states and global markets.

To sum up, one could observe that although it was facilitated and boosted in certain respect by the recent technological revolution, globalization is primarily the result of the implementation of specific economic political and social thoughts at national and international level. If one looks behind the scenes, the central structure of globalization is based on complicated international political and economic agreements, decisions and political actions for the adoption of influential liberalization measures and legislative amendments. These politico-economic adjustments were based on the paradigm of a neo-liberal political and economic chain of concepts. Accordingly, hypothetically said, globalization represents in essence the process of establishing a neo-liberal world order. Major consequences are the increased integration, interconnection and interdependence of the present world. This happens under various aspects: economic, cultural, social, technological and political even though changes in this last field are to a lesser extent very impressive. Depicted as a liberal world economic

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<sup>64</sup> Source: <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/germany-and-the-kosovo>  
(See emphasis by the author in *Le Monde* 25 March, 2000.) also see Küntzel, 2000, 6-70.

order, globalization is not a new phenomenon. Such an order had already existed during the 19th century. It was based on the supremacy of Great Britain and named Pax Britannica. It started at the beginning of the 19th century and ended tragically with the beginning of World War I and the subsequent ascensions of fascism and communism.

If examining Pax Britannica in economic terms it is to state that it has major similarities with current Pax Americana: interrelationship, increased foreign direct investment, diversification of production and free trade, as well. Moreover, some of these tracks were even more pronounced, for example, in terms of labour mobility or education in the Commonwealth of Nations. Besides, globalization of information and communication is not an entirely new trend. Communication networks were always systematically organized on the global scale, even though there was no television, internet or mobile phone, but only the telegraph and other devices of information transmission via electromagnetic waves. However, international news agencies of then have remarkably managed to effectively communicating with each other.

Finally, the current global political order shows certain striking similarities with the feudal world (except states), characterized by the large number of associated actors in the public eye, the fragmentation and dispersion of power with overlapping regional, state and international authorities. Territorial borders were almost unimportant. Thus, it was more significant to have cross-border relations between organizations or groups other than states. Examples are affiliations between the Catholic and Protestant groups or between such alliances and foreign powers or with supranational organizations of the time as the papacy or the imperial court. Further characteristics of the feudal system were the complete absence of the concept of ownership and absolute sovereignty or the significance of shared values: first of all religious. However, it is to point out that there was no globalism in the medieval era, but authors as Alain Minc<sup>65</sup> are drawing parallels in the context of globalisation by using comparisons as new medievalism. The change of the promoting hegemonic power becomes obvious, thus the UK is followed by the USA. However, another striking difference is the large

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<sup>65</sup> Minc, 1993, 6-47, 82-235.

proportion of it, because much more countries are involved today than before. The intensity and quickness of contemporary globalization is also amazing, but there was neither technological nor financial integration in the medieval past and the speed of technological progress is exceptionally high today. Germany is a good example in this respect as further facts will show this below.

### **Germany as one of the champions of globalisation**

Germany is one of the most developed industrial nations. This country is the fourth largest economy in the world after the USA, Japan and China. The national economy concentrates on technologically produced goods and services. Principally the products of German mechanical engineering, motor vehicles and chemical goods are internationally requested. Approximately each of fourth Euros is earned by exports and every fifth job is directly or indirectly dependent on foreign trade in Germany. The country was six times the export world champion between 2003 and 2008. Moreover, Germany was the second largest global exporter of goods after China (1202 billion US dollars) in 2009. Thus, has had an export capacity of 1121 billion dollars, which is appreciatively one-third of the gross national income. The German participation in total world trade by percentage is currently around 9% and due to its strong export orientation is so strongly interlinked with the global economy as maybe no other country. Consequently, Berlin is highly interested in open market capacities.<sup>66</sup>

The key trading partners of Berlin are France, the Netherlands, the USA and the UK. Statistics of 2009 are showing that products in worth of € 82 billion were exported to France, € 54 billion to the United States and the Netherlands and finally, € 53 billion to Great Britain. Apart from the commerce with older member states, there is a significant evolution in German commerce with Eastern European partnerships since the extensions of the EU of 2004, 2007 and 2013. Roughly 10% of the

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<sup>66</sup>Source:

[www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/Globalisierungsindikatoren/Globalisierungsindikatoren.html](http://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/Globalisierungsindikatoren/Globalisierungsindikatoren.html)

German exports is directed into the new EU member states. The overall proportion of German exports into the EU is of 63%.<sup>67</sup>

The German industry has increased the global value sourcing, but only in absolute terms. The study of the Institute of German Economic Research (IW) has reported to the Federation of the German Industry (BDI) that due to its close international involvement, the German industry has performed well in globalization. Since 1995, the German performance on the gross added value declined from 9.2% to 6.3%. Therefore, China shows a growth of 24, 4% and is placed before Germany and the USA. In the meantime, the German industry increased its advantage in absolute figures by 45% (561.3 billion Euros). Japan declined by 7%, France has only an increase of about 3%, and the UK has produced 9%. Thus, president of the BDI, Ulrich Grillo states that despite new economic centres of power, Germany remains a beneficiary of globalization.<sup>68</sup>

The quality of commerce and good economic relations with emerging markets of Asia are on the best way. In the interim, Asia has become the second most important market for German goods. Therefore, about 14% of exports of Germany are going to Asian countries. The most important trading partner of Berlin is Peking now. From 1999 Germany became the main European investor in China. Nearly 3000 German companies have businesses or production plants all over China. Despite this development, only one-fifth of Germans are considering that they are the real champions of globalization. Consequently, the population is recently very critical about the process of globalization. According to a study of the Deutsche Bank Research, the German economy will continue to be successful and due to international economic networks, the Federal Republic will benefit from the rapid rise of China and India in the next years. Emerging market areas are well supplied by Germany, because of its technological products that are sold and put in practice overall in the world. However, domestic brands will be threatened by

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<sup>67</sup>Source:

[https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/Globalisierungsindikator/en/GI\\_Kategorien.html?cms\\_gtp=669656\\_slot%253D2&https=1](https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/Globalisierungsindikator/en/GI_Kategorien.html?cms_gtp=669656_slot%253D2&https=1)

<sup>68</sup>Source:

[https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/Globalisierungsindikator/en/GI\\_Kategorien.html?cms\\_gtp=669656\\_slot%253D3&https=1](https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/Globalisierungsindikator/en/GI_Kategorien.html?cms_gtp=669656_slot%253D3&https=1)

globalization because they have to respond to the price competition with low-cost equipment brought by the emerging China. Losers of globalization will be persons who possess lower qualifications, because they are in strict competition with workforces from neighbouring countries. More than 3/4 of adults have a vocational education; nearby 15% of them have a university or technical college degree in Germany.<sup>69</sup>

Globalization means the growing international interconnectedness of the world, thus people from different regions are getting in touch by using social networks or other technical facilities. Nonetheless, the opportunities of globalization are strongly coining the economy as well. The German economy has enormously changed after World War II. The winners of globalization in Germany are mainly business people from independent entrepreneurs and large corporations. Possibilities brought by globalization have assured a vast market for various categories of entrepreneurs. Small businesses were winning new contracts by the use of different internet portals. Moreover, large corporations can outsource their work in places where work is much cheaper as in original setting.

A question arises: Who suffers from globalization most in Germany? Globalization affects several wage earner groups negatively. This is the case by factory workers, because they require high wages in comparison to labour force from low wage countries and therefore minimize the profits of corporations. However, the same principle applies to the IT industry as well. For example, IT specialists of India are ready to work for much lower salaries as their German colleagues as for these people it is the only way to ascend from a low caste upwards in the society. However, many workplaces of German skilled labour disappeared because of strong outsourcing through large corporations. As a result, the unemployment rate is slightly higher in comparison to the period without globalization. Simultaneously, the alternatives for company founders were particularly interesting because various web-based ideas are lucrative even today. Whether as main occupation or second job, for many self-employed people, globalization was the catalyst to their business successes. Without

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<sup>69</sup> Source: <https://www.dbresearch.de/>

such developments self-starters would not have managed to enter the market.<sup>70</sup>

On the other hand, Germany has a social market economy. What does it mean? The state guarantees free economic actions, but seeks to maintain social equilibrium. The former economic minister, Ludwig Erhard, promulgated this concept in the post-war era. This is one explanation for the high social stability in Germany, which is even in economically difficult times a country with high social peace. This is reflected in very rare industrial disputes as well. The social partnership of trade unions and employers associations is written in the institutionalized settlement of conflicts within the framework of collective labour law. Additionally, the Basic Law guarantees the freedom of collective bargaining, thus, employers and trade unions are entitled to regulate work conditions on their own responsibility by legalised collective agreements.<sup>71</sup>

Germany occupies number six among countries tested for competitiveness, thus is one of the best performing European countries in the world after Sweden and Switzerland. However, the majority of Euro-countries are still in an economic decline phase, for instance the global and European competitiveness of France, Spain, Italy and Eastern European countries was seriously damaged by the multifaceted effects of the financial crisis of 2008. However, international financiers are ranking Germany as one of the most attractive locations for foreign investments. The estimated sum of FDI after 2008 was by 500 billion Euros including major investment projects by corporations such as AMD and General Electric. Germany is preferred for FDI because of its central geographical location, legal security, political stability and advanced logistics (banking, ITC and transport). Furthermore, investors appreciate the country because of high

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<sup>70</sup> Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesamtwirtschaftUmwelt/Arbeitsmarkt/Arbeitsmarkt.html>

<sup>71</sup> Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesamtwirtschaftUmwelt/Arbeitsmarkt/Arbeitsmarkt.html>

quality standards of life, top education and its research institutions.<sup>72</sup>

Germany was in the middle of a dynamic economic growth phase as the global financial crisis reached the European market by 2008. The German Federal Government reacted similarly as France or Great Britain to the systemic crisis on the financial segment in order to calm down the situation on the monetary markets by allocating two multibillion-dollar rescue packages for banks and for the economy. Additionally, two other major fiscal stimulus packages were created for the German industry. Governmental programs for the rehabilitation of roads, schools and other public buildings were successful restructuring measures, despite of strong underutilisation of capacities as short-time work and the car scrapping premium for old vehicles until September 2009. The Growth Acceleration Bill was adopted at the end of 2009 and it offered more tax cuts and incentives for domestic demand.<sup>73</sup>

Considering the global financial market crisis, Germany was committed on many levels for example, the EU, the G20 and the IMF in the restructuring process of the international financial basics. For this purpose, the scope of financial market regulation has to be extended to cover all agents, products and markets. Moreover, it is pivotal that all participants to implement the regulatory measures consistently and extensively. In addition, some of the leading German economic experts are for internationally accepted accounting rules, stronger financial supervision, and stricter capital/liquidity requirements in the banking sector. At the same time, they think that remuneration systems of banks and insurance companies should be better synchronised. Governments are changing their economic policy in the hope to overcome the unexpected decline in growth as soon as possible. German policy makers have enhanced the conditions for businesses already before the crisis. They lowered wage labour costs and have made the labour market more flexible and red tape

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<sup>72</sup>Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/Konjunkturindikatoren/Konjunkturindikatoren.html>

<sup>73</sup>Source:

[www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesamtwirtschaftUmwelt/VGR/VolkswirtschaftlicheGesamtrechnungen.html](http://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesamtwirtschaftUmwelt/VGR/VolkswirtschaftlicheGesamtrechnungen.html)

was reduced too. Moreover, the corporate tax reform was applied already in 2008, thus, several companies have been considerably released of hard taxation patterns.<sup>74</sup>

The main German economic centres are in the Ruhr area (it is a region in transition from industrial to service and high-tech core), including the greater areas of Munich and Stuttgart (high-tech, automotive and creative economy), Rhine-Neckar (chemical corporations), Frankfurt am Main (finance, assurances), Cologne, Hamburg (harbour, shipping, Airbus aircraft construction and media). One of the main driving forces behind the economic recovery of the country is probably the strong innovativeness of the German trade and industry sector. Germany invests above 2.5% of its gross domestic product in research and development (R & D), which is significantly above the EU average of 1.9 % of the crisis period of 2008. Moreover, Berlin wants to increase this ratio up to 3% of its GDP until 2015 together with the federal states and business.<sup>75</sup>

Germany holds a leading position on corporate-funded R & D expenditures (nearly 50 billion US dollars). Even with the adverse consequences of the economic crisis of 2008, the inventiveness of entrepreneurs remains unbroken in federal states: investors and businesses that were recorded in Germany have registered above 10% of the world patents. The country holds number three in this respect on the world-ranking list of 2009 and Germany belongs to one of the leading nations in several promising future technologies as nanotechnology, information technology, and biotechnology or other high technology sectors such as aerospace, biometrics, logistics or electronics. The German environmental technology is present on international markets in which alone the wind turbine manufacturers have a world market share of nearly 30%. However, the German photovoltaic and biomass environmental developments were the most required goods after wind energy products on global level, just as the equipment of the constantly growing industries as

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<sup>74</sup> Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesamtwirtschaftUmwelt/UnternehmenHandwerk/UnternehmenHandwerk.html>

<sup>75</sup> Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/LaenderRegionen/Regionales/Regionaldaten.html>

mechanical engineering, electronic, and information/communication.<sup>76</sup>

It is to observe that the information and communication sector is growing much faster than the national economy. Moreover, Germany maintains its European leading position in biotechnology and genetic engineering. Nevertheless, the country has high potential in nanotechnology, as well. And not only big companies (DAX) are assuring the international competitiveness of Germany, but tens of thousands of small and medium-sized businesses, that have up to 500 employees in the manufacturing sector, predominantly in engineering, the supply industry, but also biotechnology and nanotechnology, which are often organized in clusters. Alternatively, the industry is an essential pillar of the German economy as compared to other mechanized countries such as the USA or the UK it has high employment proportion, because industrial companies are providing work for more as five million people. It covers nearly 40% of the German economic performance and there is no other traditional economic system where standard industrial production plays a similar key role. The country is specialized in the development and manufacture of advanced industrial products, predominantly on innovative production technologies and investment goods.<sup>77</sup>

The core industrial sectors are mechanical engineering, automotive, chemical and electrical engineering industry. Just about 3 million workers are employed in these four branches and they are producing revenues exceeding the sum of 800 billion Euros. The automobile construction is simultaneously driving force for further innovations. Approximately 30% of total internal company research and development expenditures of the German economy are coming from this industrial sector. Large manufacturers as Porsche (VW), Daimler, Audi, BMW, VW and Opel (General Motors) have strong proportions in the market segments of the upper middle class and the upper class auto construction on global levels. Therefore, Germany is listed among

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<sup>76</sup>Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/BildungForschungKultur/BildungForschungKultur.html>

<sup>77</sup>Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Wirtschaftsbereiche/IndustrieVerarbeitendesGewerbe/IndustrieVerarbeitendesGewerbe.html>

top automobile constructors as China, the United States or Japan. This is why the worldwide sales crisis produced huge losses by German car producers, who were answering by several innovations as environmentally friendlier vehicle propulsion, for instance a new generation of diesel engines, hybrid engines and further electrification of the power train.<sup>78</sup>

Mechanical engineering companies (after vehicle construction concerns) are covering over 12% of the total sales, thus this branch is on the second place in Germany. Mechanical engineering occupies a strategic position in the overall economy, because it is the largest industrial employer (nearly one million employees) and the leading export industry. More than 20% of the investments made by the German industry in R & D are going to the electrical industry. Besides, electronic engineering belongs to one of the strongest and most innovative growth sectors. The chemical industry is partly owned by foreign enterprises, because of mergers and acquisitions. These chemical MNCs are mainly producing intermediate consumption goods by trading all over the world.<sup>79</sup>

Each MNC sources particular products and services from a set of locations it selects around the world. They are developing a global web of suppliers as a source of competitive advantage, thus by deciding where to fabricate is depending on a country's factors of production as labour, land, capital, energy and expertise. Host governments have a stake in the successful establishment of an MNC's actions.

About 30 million people are working in the service sector: approximately twelve million are in private and public service enterprises; ten million in trade, tourist industry and transportation; seven million in financing, rental and business services. In addition, the banking and insurance sector has a key role in services and several financial ways are linked together in Frankfurt am Main. Here are the headquarters of the German Stock Exchange, the Bundesbank and the European Central Bank.

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<sup>78</sup>Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Wirtschaftsbereiche/IndustrieVerarbeitendesGewerbe/IndustrieVerarbeitendesGewerbe.html>

<sup>79</sup>Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesamtwirtschaftUmwelt/VGR/VolkswirtschaftlicheGesamtrechnungen.html>

However, the German cultural and creative economy is becoming increasingly essential. The sector comprises sub-sectors such as art, film, theatre, music and literature, as well as mass media, advertising, design and software and employs around nearly one million people. The creative economy sector is a sample for modern business systems by offering exceptional employment prospects. Besides, it plays a key role in the adjustment phase by helping to move to a knowledge-based economy. This small but sustainable and viable industrial segment has now become pivotal for modernisations in eastern Germany in various high-tech centres also known as lighthouse regions. These are concentrated nearby Berlin-Brandenburg, Dresden, Leipzig, Jena and Leuna.<sup>80</sup> Finally, these fast growing centres are a basic source of original concepts for the adaptation of Germany to global trends. Let's see further conceptual definitions on the globalization model.

### **Different views and ways of globalization**

There is no commonly recognized definition for the concept of globalization in science or public opinion. The phenomenon is approached by several disciplines as international relations, history, anthropology, economical- and political sciences. The idea of globalization has various interpretations and it is a greatly polarized issue as it involves such word combinations as: integration of economies, equality/inequality, communication, and recognition, trade versus aid, outsourcing, brands, exploitation, economic growth, poverty, capitalism, free international trade, monopoly power, culture, technology/internet, terrorism, accountability and shrinking world. However, this list can be easily supplemented with other topics. The word system is an interdependent structure of countries linked by economic and political competition. Globalization means the increasing interdependence and interconnectedness of places globally. The main components of globalization are the continual expansion of global connections, relations and networks, which are becoming faster and more intense. The increasing awareness about the world is driven by advancing technologies.

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<sup>80</sup>Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Wirtschaftsbereiche/Dienstleistungen/Dienstleistungen.html>

Let's try to describe globalization as the movement towards the development of economic and social ties by connecting states through the spread of corporate institutions and the implementation of capitalist and (neo) liberal philosophy that leads to the "shrinking" of the world in economic terms. Integration of economies was made possible by the collapse of communist regimes, technological progress, modern communication networks, access to information (internet), movement to free trade, growth of economic cooperation, thus, trading blocs as EU, NAFTA, and so on. Economic integration is quite visible by the following matters: the growth of global markets in finance; the opportunities for capital and labour to move anywhere in the world; the options to be able to buy and sell in any foreign country; and the increasing dependence of economies towards each other. It is to draw attention to the circumstance that stock markets are now available from every internet connected corner of the earth.

The next stage is the brief examination of trade as generally it has led to massive increases in wealth for many countries. On the one hand, there are inventive employment possibilities through international commerce and relocations of plants. Different corporate units who are participating in the commercial race have greater potential for economic growth, but they were to also taking big losses into account. Above and beyond, international economies of scale are vastly developing. On the other hand, the main disadvantages of commerce are the dominance of global trade by the industrialized, northern hemisphere states thus the poor and developing countries have no real access to markets as they are not able to compete with gigantic export performers. Therefore, the gap between the rich and the poor regions is continuously increasing. Furthermore, the workforce of skilled and unskilled employee is maximally exploited.<sup>81</sup>

No matter where one travels in the globalized world, certain businesses will always have a presence. The control of stocks and raw materials may be one reason for the global expansion of multi-national (MNCs) or trans-national

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<sup>81</sup> Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/LaenderRegionen/Internationales/Internationales.html>

corporations (TNCs). These are mammoth enterprises having complex politico-economical backgrounds with headquarters in one state but with business operations in a number of others. Some characteristics of the expansionist development are: increasing revenue, sourcing of resources, management of key supplies, rise of global economies of scale, lowering costs and control of processing. The intensification of corporate domination (Douglas, Takko, Aldi, Shell or Nike) involves several adverse effects as the wastage of non-renewable resources, irreversible damage to the environment, economic degradation of abandoned locations, mistreatment of employees, dependability to growing monopoly influence (lobby as networking), absorption of local cultures and identities. Although, there are constant attempts to remove still existent trade barriers the ethical responsibility of business is still open to discussion. Consequently, the accountability issue of global businesses is extremely sophisticated. Another example is the rising gap between rich and poor, which fuels potential terrorist reaction.<sup>82</sup>

Despite the above, cognate subjects as democracy, legitimatization of political or economic affairs are very carefully addressed in official and public debates about globalization in the German media. If one only focuses on the economic side of globalization then it is possible to track the growing interdependence and fusion of different economies across Europe, but this can not entirely be carried out without political decisions, which are not always as responsible as reflected by the media. Therefore, certain participants of roundtable talks have more often than not the possibility to play with catchwords related to globalization in public debates, as it remains often deliberately undefined or inexplicit in vulnerable contexts as election campaigns. By following the economic pathway, it has to be mentioned that the core of globalization is the expansion of the international division of labour that enables each country to participate by using its own strengths and weaknesses in order to

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<sup>82</sup>Source:

[https://www.dbresearch.de/servlet/reweb2.ReWEB;jsessionid=0AD52FAB187E6DFB95DDE157A87ABB26.srv-net-dbr-de?rwnode=DBR\\_INTERNET\\_DE-PROD\\$EM&rwsite=DBR\\_INTERNET\\_DE-PROD](https://www.dbresearch.de/servlet/reweb2.ReWEB;jsessionid=0AD52FAB187E6DFB95DDE157A87ABB26.srv-net-dbr-de?rwnode=DBR_INTERNET_DE-PROD$EM&rwsite=DBR_INTERNET_DE-PROD)

achieve welfare gains. Welfare means here the degree of coverage of a society with products and services.<sup>83</sup>

Globalization was also described around 1985 as a multifaceted development in which international relations will be deepened at various levels among global competitors and subsequently a strong global interdependence will emerge in political affairs, finances, culture and the environment. Concepts as mondialisation (mostly used in France) and denationalization are also known and used to express the meaning of globalisation. In the latter case, the loss of power and status of individual nation-states is overemphasized. Denationalization has fundamentally negative connotations from the very beginning. Thus, dangers and disadvantages of global worldviews are frequently brought to the fore, without informing about factual benefits of internationalisation of national institutes and national governments.

Interestingly, hi-tech developments related to globalization and the phenomenon itself is frequently defined in a strict technological reasoning, which can get quite abstract if somebody has no technical qualification. This view depicts globalization as exclusively the outcome of the contemporary revolution of information and communication technology (ICTs). There is no doubt that this (r)evolution was a catalyst of contemporary globalization developments, but this paradigm skips something crucial by explanations as it does not even mention the key role of human decision in ICTs. However, each component of these intricate phenomena, thus the emergence of the global society of information and communication, the materialization of a form of global governance through the international proliferation of political decisions concerning global affairs or even the genesis of a global civil society, whose central part is made up by the increasing number of NGOs and transnational lobbyists cannot be understood without the decision-making level of institutions. Moreover, the growing interdependence between local social dealings and distant actions implemented from abroad, the fast compression of time and space, the unprecedented interweaving of contemporary cultures, the sudden increase of international

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<sup>83</sup>Source:

<http://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/oekonomie/nachrichten/globalisierung-wie-objektiv-ist-die-deutsche-presse/3961604.html>

commerce and transnational corporations, the global financial integration through the establishment of a single market for capital, which operates as real-time unit on global level, could not have been occurred without the fundamental involvement of political decision makers. It is apparent from the fact that as the informational revolution has started to take full effect in all directions, the political infrastructure, which is the solid basis of globalization, has already existed at least in the developed countries. Further conceptualizations can be useful in order to see scientific views about the issue.

In Elmar Altvater's view, globalisation means the elimination of boundaries that appeared during the preliminary stages of history. It becomes synonymous with the erosion, but not with the total loss of sovereignty of nation states. Furthermore, it occurs as a division of the market economy towards institutionalized ties and moral principles of corporations. Altvater also considers the key aspect of the disappearance of borders with its consequences for the nation-state. However, Weizsäcker or Desai are defining globalization only in economic terms and in the more narrow sense. According to Meghnad Desai, globalization generates new interdependences and integration of dissimilar economies in the world of today. It follows the opinion of Karl Friedrich von Weizsäcker. „Today, our lives are depending on the world economy: Where was grown what you ate and drank early this morning, whence comes the oil that powered your plane or car? So I have to talk about the world economy, when I want to treat economic challenges of the future.”

Johannes Varwick addresses the function of the conception in public debates by pointing out that there is no reason to discuss about the occurrence if one does not involves simultaneously the rhetoric of globalization. According to Varwick, it became a popular term used for some time very intensively in mediatised political and scientific debates. On the one hand, globalization was presented as a danger, on the other hand, as a chance.

In Klaus Müller's opinion, the dynamics of globalization are guided by strong economic powers, but consequences are mainly reflected in the political sphere. To sum up, definitions of globalisation are often focusing on interdependence, mutual

dependence, connection, integration and interchange. These directions are often mentioning the juncture of growing connections and they remain on the level of more general formulations.

According to Anthony Giddens, globalization helps to improve social relationships from everywhere. Remote places will be still more interconnected with each other so that activities in one location will be affected by processes that happened far away in another region and vice versa. This is a broader view on the phenomenon that includes each social linkage. Dirk Messner and Franz Nuscheler are thinking that this is the greatest economic and social change since the Industrial Revolution. Ulrich Menzel stresses the quantitative and qualitative intensification of transactions, which are easily exceeding the limits imposed by political boundaries. This track is associated with the transgression of the spatial and temporal systems of the earth.

According to Malcolm Waters, the issue can be seen as a social development by which increasing geographical mobility makes that socio-cultural undertakings are getting freer in space and time. Thus, many imposed official or nonofficial constraints are just disappearing or it becomes possible to avoid them. Globalization does not necessarily mean homogenization as it simply implies better connectedness and de-territorialisation. On the one hand, Schumann and Martin are thinking that internationalisation is mainly the reinforcement of the world market design, and the deterioration of the economic power of the nation state, on the other hand. Schumann, Martin and Altvater are severe critics of globalization. Accordingly, they think that one assists to economic empowerment, which can no longer be controlled or ignored by politicians nowadays.

There is a connexion, which can be followed by the integration process of the EU. This is a parent organization, which coordinates meticulous institutional standardisations and the reorganization of official establishments at certain junctures as politics, law, finances, healthcare or education. As a result of this strategic EU approach and the management of “*acquis communautaire*” the member states are gaining more competitiveness on global level by facing strong competitors as China, U.S.A., India, Indonesia or the Russian Federation.

Actors and agents of nation states, which are scattered in East-Central Europe that regained their complete sovereignty in recent times (after the turnaround of 1989/90) generally mistrust the concentration of power experiment of Brussels by stressing the significance of local, regional and national devices. Nationalist “barons” are disturbed as they do not want to lose their strong domestic influence because of standardizations. Some populists are afraid that this could happen if they give up central functions towards Brussels and transnational organisations. To put it the other way round, Germany is a parliamentary federal republic and has developed for a long time state and affiliated institutions in both directions: federal and local levels; to make no mention of strong international and communal inter-institutional experiences.

The German government can deal with institutional structures in construction. The best example is the completion of German unification in 1990. Redesigned and competitive institutional structures are making this country with its 82 million inhabitants the most powerful apparatus of Europe. All the same, German top executives are involved in several mega-projects as the restructuring of the Eastern parts of the country. However, continuous modernisation programmes are running overall in Germany by applying innovative energy strategies, international commerce, EU standards, intraregional and also interstate migration. Besides, there are massive financial investments in the high-tech sector. The German political agenda is full with significant domestic issues. Therefore, the indecision of nationalist leaders to delay European institutionalization development enjoys no priority on the German list of items.

Conclusively, there are solid inconveniences in the coordination of mutual national and European interests at European and global level. It is not to forget that the creation of European identity is still in the making phase, thus single states are mainly acting in their own benefits by searching for potential allies in order to influence decision making procedures in Brussels. The European monetary union section is in early developing stage for several “new” member states. It is to observe that such coalitions are unbalanced if there is no strong political support. Indeed, sovereign nations do not constantly follow common rules of a single alliance. Example: the UK is part of the

EU but leads the Commonwealth. It is evidence that countries, which are included in politico-economical coalitions being interconnected by mutual interests are permanently keeping together.

EU member states are often claiming that the framework of the EU is rather inaccessible and a megaproject, which is shifted by realizations into the more distant future. Indeed, the institutional construction of the EU is designed to be accomplished progressively. All the same, representatives of smaller nation states are continuously struggling for more legitimacy by using all resources to hold the reins of power and assure own political survival. Accordingly, the tool of populism is usually applied against the big foreign competitor as a common enemy in Eastern Europe. This link also includes well-known forms of governmental implications as the recentralisation of administrative, legal and executive units. However, several autochthonous national and ethnic groups are expressing their intentions to be allowed to be active members in real decision-making processes and the shaping of minority rights. Milton Bennett's ethnocentric stages are showing the following levels: rejection, resistance, as evidenced by defamation or feelings of supremacy and minimization from either corporal or transcendent universalism. Minorities are imposing their home countries to accept more otherness. Since the turnaround of 1989/90 growing freedom of movement has coined the spread of spiritual, linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe. Analysts described this circumstance as multidimensional diversity. Certainly, originally more homogenous western civilisations are getting now more and more multi-ethnic. Moreover, the spread of different types of transnational citizenships is a reality today.

It is to remark that the cultural and linguistic diversity of societies within the EU, together with the worldwide diffusion of international principles of human rights is continuously damaging the Westphalian model of a uniform nation-state. The question is how the mentioned tasks will be resolved by participants. Inside the EU it could be a historic turning point what kind of clever solutions can be negotiated for both ancient and newly recognised minority groups. Maybe the implemented methods for the first group can be later an example for the second one. Germany and other EU states have similar responsibilities towards minorities.

Thus, let's suppose that all involved sides are interested to find the most feasible solutions in order to gain more social cohesion among minority and majority groups and not only within the EU. This would be a preventive measure in a world that faces critical ethnic, religious and political conflicts.

### **The nation state in a global setting**

Contemporary processes of globalization are impacting on states but there are competing explanations of ways how this happens. However, it could be appropriate to critically look at the relationship between the development of the nation-state and capitalism. Now let's explore certain approaches to be aware about the relationship between the market and the state. On the one hand, there is the liberal understanding of state and market of Phil Cerny and Susan Strange which understands these as distinct entity. On the other hand, there is the emblematic Marxist description of state together with the market, which defines the state as an authoritarian agent and the materialization of wider social relations of production.

The liberal outlook is relatively uncomplicated. State and market are separated from each other and presented as potentially oppositional entities. Alternatively, if the competition for supremacy between the two is not a zero result than definitely a balance of power between the two rival units. According to Strange and Cerny, the extension of the global market, predominantly that of the transnational market undermines the independence or effectiveness of national public policy. However, Cerny's position is more complicated as of Strange. Cerny thinks that what is in decline is not so much state capacity as state autonomy, therefore increased openness implies the shift from welfare to a struggling state. This is a shift from welfare to enterprise, self-support to be able to move to market circumstances and from the macroeconomic to the microeconomic level.

There was a vigorous debate about the nature and definitions of globalization among those who are sceptical about it as Grahame Thompson and Paul Hirst. Globalisation is rather a myth for both. The debate about the existence of globalisation occurred between those participants who thought that it represents

the end of the nation-state and the collapse of political affairs and those who were refusing all positive statements about globalization as so much misinformation. The (over) globalist approach stays in contradiction with the sceptical viewpoint, which even denies the existence of it. Thompson and Hirst have contributed significantly to reveal the factual weak points of the (over) globalist considerations. Thus, they actively improved the quality of dispute about globalization. However, they have also tended to make excesses. More specifically they have criticised the publicity and have failed to notice what has been really transformed by internationalization. Besides, their conclusions are confusing in several key directions. Here are some counterarguments of it.

According to Thompson and Hirst, the current economic world order is by no means a well integrated system in historical terms. They accentuate that the current financial net flows between leading economies are notably less than one hundred years ago. Furthermore, they think that the main challenge of globalization is whether world economic tendencies validate the presence of a united and compact global economy. Nevertheless, certain statements have to be elucidated below. To begin with, while certain net economic capital flows, thus foreign direct investment in particular, were higher for certain states during the late 19th century, the period of the conventional gold standard, the modern global economic situation is a lot more problematical. More and more states are trapped in international economic flows than previously, and they are involved more deeply in internationalization. Therefore, it is to observe that the world has never been more open to worldwide commerce than it is in recent times. Additionally, trade has constantly expanded as a part of the GDP. Export- and import-GDP ratios were about 10-14% for the developed industrial states during the gold standard stage, but ascended to 15-24% or higher for certain highly industrialised countries, at the end of the 1970s. In the one hand, the expansion of trade, capital, finance and transnational economic business was seriously disrupted in the 20th century by the First and Second World Wars, the world depression of 1929 and the Cold War era. On the other hand, there was a high level of economic

interconnectedness during the post-Cold War era that continues even today.<sup>84</sup>

This applies not only for international commerce, but for MNC dealings and gross cash flows as well. The global financial setting currently encloses nearly each nation-state and market, while the level of gross financial flows is unique because of the turnover on global capital markets. Besides, transnational economic activities are gradually more integrated in local, national and global frameworks. By reading the approach of Anthony McGrew (emphasised in *Global Transformations*)<sup>85</sup> one could think that Thompson and Hirst are wrong in their own economic terms and defended perspective. Indeed, the challenge of globalization is not just economic; it is furthermore, among others, cultural, environmental, technical and political. Hence, one has to distinguish a confluence of factors, which together are shifting the situational background of informal affiliations and states. For instance, Saskia Sassen's view contains much that is valuable about the ways in which the logic of neo-liberalism has penetrated the institutional structures of national states. Moreover, she examines how property rights of distant owners and long-distance contracts have been supported by state power. These are imperative results both for those who want to maintain the existing structures and for those who want to challenge the system.

Sassen's main idea is that traditional national institutions were restructured for new global purposes. Due to certain institutional features it is possible to jump across pathways in order to rapidly support new normative principles. At the same time as the institutions are promoting the new kind of logic, tracks of the previous reasoning roughly remain and new idea collections arise inside the structures designed with the earlier logic. Sassen proves her hypothesis by concentrating on the patterned transformations and continuities that are typical for political economy, territorial state authority, and citizenship and law in European societies since the 11th century. She is searching for the emergence of a historical scheme of national societies out of a many-sided and multijurisdictional medieval grouping of empires, manors, city-states and churches. The doctrine of divine

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<sup>84</sup> Source: <https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/history/>

<sup>85</sup> Source: <https://www.polity.co.uk/global/globalization-oxford.asp>

right of kings, where legitimization comes from above (God) became reconfigured as secular national power relaying on social contracts with the people is coming to the fore. The legitimating from below approach is modified into the representation of the nation and the citizen. Similarly, the institutions of the national state of America of the late nineteenth century and primarily those which were created at Bretton Woods, began to be modernized in order to support the goals of the neoliberal globalization plans. The coordination of this change was managed by an executive subdivision of government, which was using its growing influence to privatize state issue while simultaneously destroying the right to property of the citizens.

Sassen's narrative about the appearance of the national institutional setting is comparable in many cases with the account written by Michael Mann, although she is not as strict as Mann in stressing that the political and economic official organizations were functioning separately. Nevertheless, as with Mann, the concept of systemic world historical development is not present. Immanuel Wallerstein's statement that capitalism, once had become prevalent, issued periods and directions in the long-lasting 16th century but remained fundamentally the unchanged scheme for centuries, is also applied by Sassen as a scarecrow in contrast to her successive changes of global scale dialectic. Sassen basically skips Giovanni Arrighi's sample of development of systemic cycles of accumulation. Moreover, there is no argument about the hegemonic rise and fall as an evolution that both repeats and evolves, while the story about hegemony (British, Dutch, and American) is encountered as so many dissimilar tracks of national evolution along with the Germans and the French. As with several other global capitalism scholars, the topic of who has the weapons in modern times is more or less fully avoided by her. Has the increasing salience of economic institutions entirely pushed off the topic of military force on the sidelines of history? The captivating argumentation about transformations in the creation and history of citizenship and the beginning of global law manages to fully ignore to refer to an evolving global state by taking the metaphor of a mysterious, multijurisdictional structure similar to the (pre)national medieval arrangements.

Sassen includes topics as the elites in her depiction of an emerging global system. Besides, discriminated low-wage workers, migrants and political campaigners stick together with specialists as early members of international groups, despite the fact that most of the people were closely knotted to national organizations. There is a remarkable argument that cities are becoming more significant places of political activities in the world of today. Sassen presents both the pros and cons of the internet in relation to democracy.

There are no suggestions about how humankind should face forthcoming ecologic catastrophes or the global bottleneck, thus the circumstance that many people of the Third World were persuaded that they need a First World standard of living. Nevertheless, the realization of this idea is utter impossibility by present scientific, environmental and demographic backgrounds. The democratic disorder of certain organizations of global governance is not concerned at all as subject. Growing inequalities in a globalized world that has principally adopted the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” as an imperative is implying real provocations to the contemporary international distribution of influence and affluence. A deeper examination of institutional transformation of Sassen could have been helped in order to determine historical mistakes and to find viable solutions for current crises.

Conclusively, Sassen has written an insightful analysis of recent global social change that extensively promotes the thoughts of global capitalism. She successfully answers to a number of deliberations to the suggestion that universal history has started a completely new chapter since the 1980s. Author does not neglect historical facts, as an alternative, she uses them by the search for information phase as she tracks the manifestations of national systems. Her optimistic conclusion is that institutions of the national world are still persisting simultaneously with the construction of the globalized system.<sup>86</sup>

The most explicit statement concerning the relation of globalization and the nation state is provided by Susan Strange. „The impersonal forces of world markets, integrated over the post war period more by private enterprise in finance, industry and trade than by the cooperative decisions of governments, are now

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<sup>86</sup>Sassen, 2006, 19-478.

more powerful than the states to whom political authority is supposed to belong.”

What comprises the so called “Open Marxism” approach? The modern state is a result and reflection of capitalist relations of production. Furthermore, the modern state is a product of absolute property and the separation of the economic and political spheres. The state as institution is thus the manifestation of a wider set of social relations and it is a regulatory organization whose purpose is to ensure the preservation of capitalism or the completion of economic circuit. There is no rationale to assume the autonomy of the state. There is a difference between rather trivializing approach to globalization of Ngaire Woods and other scholars who critically analyze the impact of changes in the framework of global markets on how state implements its regulatory tasks. For example, Peter Burnham's thesis of “depoliticisation” shows a dominant accumulation strategy and regime. ”Open Marxism” has its theory of the state with radical underpinnings. The theory subsumes the state in the capital relation. There are uncertainties around Burnham's interpretation of New Labour in power as it is committed to depoliticisation. According to Burnham, the achievements of depoliticisation are dependent on the transparency and reliability of the regulations that officialdom is claiming to follow. Governments have searched deeply to track such conventions after Britain's departure from the ERM by 1992. Without having a feasible international set of rules they decided for second-best by implementing domestic reforms, concentrating above all on operational and administrative autonomy of their central bank. It is well-known the traditionally close connection between the Bank, Treasury and government in Britain, but it is uncertain to what extent operational independence works as realistic imperative. On the contrary, the developed European countries are integrated in the European Monetary Union. Thus, they are now bound together by a series of coherent, reliable financial regulations, which dampen expansionist struggle and are very expensive to amend. UK's membership in this structure would be the rational next move in order to intensify the guidelines of depoliticisation. Conclusively, Burnham's observations about the tensions between the new public management and the contradictions of the politics of depoliticisation are factual circumstances.

Gerard Strange<sup>87</sup> is contra-Burnham by making a distinction between regime of accumulation and mode of regulation, presenting New Labour's political economy in terms of the latter as a type of depoliticised Keynesianism backed by “discretionary constraint”. Strange refers to the sustained effectiveness of Keynesian and social democratic political agency in the framework of a dialectic of depoliticisation and repoliticisation concentrated on the function and authority of the state. This dialectic is about the disputed control of capitalism around the justification of the significance of money and its wider administration and relocation.

Although different scientific approaches have little in common and seriously influence understanding of contemporary occurrences there is least superficial similarity between the conclusions of certain Marxist thinkers and Cerny. Nevertheless, process and history are imperative. Furthermore, contemporary processes of state restructuring are involving approaches as Strange/Harvey on failures of the system as wrong financial regulation. There are problems with seeking experimental answers to questions of state transformation through a simple analyse of policy, because the same concrete phenomena can look mainly different depending on the critical position one approaches. It is also a matter of creating material and ideational cause. Finally, there is a problem of richness of detail as an accurate evaluation of global state reorganization requires unmanageably broad knowledge of political economy.

However, one could also track the current development of a new dominant state form and that the composition of it can be seen as reflecting transformations in the frame of global markets. Now let's consider certain policy areas to discover the new type of dominant state in the composition of international markets. The reorganisation of public services by the state means the conversion into a sphere of accumulation. The coordination of industrial policy generates a change from securing contestability of specific national companies to middle-level competitiveness of the global space. The intensive regulation of the labour market pushes wage-labour relation into further variations and the

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<sup>87</sup> Source:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13563467.2013.779648?journalCode=cnpe20>

individualisation of it. The state gains design and action flexibility within the market. Welfare states are processing devices and means to suitably face challenges of global competitiveness. State will put into practice different regulatory reforms by the use of autonomous central agencies. The purpose of reform packages is to settle market failures and encourage economic competition. But, market based regulations issued by the state have to orientate on globally recognized regulatory standards. Moreover, particular financial regulations need to be strictly market-based and issued in formal legal frameworks. The states shape monetary policy by establishing autonomous central banks (European System of Central Banks) and rules-based system, which removes policy from power political contestation. Finally, there is the apparatus of corporate governance that means the shift to a system that is based upon market and shareholder control. For instance, there is the German Corporate Sector Supervisory and Transparency Act of 1998 and the German Corporate Governance Codex. The American Sarbanes–Oxley Act was issued by 2002.

According to the information of above it is recognisable that there are major difficulties with attempting to attribute changes to either ideological reflection of globalisation or domestic politics. However, there is no reason to necessarily prefer neither the spatial nor overstate earlier autonomy. To sum up, there are too complex issues to attain definite conclusions. Fact is that the way of how we understand the basic relationship between state and market or capital is critical to how we comprehend the development of globalisation. Answers to key questions about the state, almost over determine the response to subsequent problematization concerning welfare and so forth. However, the magnitude of globalization is considerably greater today as in the past century, exactly as the consequences are. At this instant, globalization offers both pros and cons.

### **The pros and cons of globalization**

The bipolar order of the Cold War has collapsed by 1989/90. However, the long supremacy of the western world is based on the fundamental achievements of modernity: industrial capitalism, efficient administrative structures, constitutional legality, scientific and technological progress. Europe has become

a melting pot of different cultures and mentalities. Today's Germany is the best example for it. One of the paradoxes of globalization is that several people have lost confidence in progress, political order and market economy. Therefore, exactly the cornerstones of modernism are undergoing an existential crisis nowadays. Statistics are showing the proportion of the foreign population in the overall population of Germany in the years from 1991 to 2014. The proportion of foreigners in Germany was 8.95% in 2014.<sup>88</sup>

However, no other numbers should be as hardly credible as of about foreigners who are residing in Germany. According to the German Foreign Office (2006) around 7.3 million foreigners live in Germany (8.8% of the total population) and 1.7 million are Turks. Is it true that only 1,739,000 Turks have lived in Germany in 2006? According to "DATA4U" (2012), the number of Turks in Germany is over 3 millions.<sup>89</sup>

A majority of foreigners are statistically invisible because they were naturalized and have more citizenships and residences within Europe commuting between Germany, their state or even a third country. Millions of foreigners who have German passports are considered as Germans in the statistics. This category is completely ignored by population census or rather public evaluation of figures. Nowadays the media and politicians are positively influencing the immigrants to become naturalized in Germany. Indeed, politicians of Berlin have recently recognized Germany's key-role as immigration target country. In any case, it is undeniable that a large part of foreigners who immigrated into Germany in recent decades is no longer recognizable as such, because of administrative measures. On the homepage of the Federal Statistical Office of Germany (Central Register of Foreigners) one can read the following declaration: „Among the legislative concept of foreigner are included all those persons living in Germany, who exclusively possess a foreign passport. Immigrants having exclusively a German passport as well as dual nationality and their descendants are not considered as foreigners. They are therefore not registered in the Central Register of

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<sup>88</sup>Source:

<http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/14271/umfrage/deutschland-anteil-auslaender-an-bevoelkerung/>

<sup>89</sup> Source: <http://data4u-online.de/die-zielgruppe/fakten/>

Foreigners and are not recorded in the statistics as foreigners.”<sup>90</sup> Alternatively, is also presented that according to the micro census of 2013, the population with migrant backgrounds was of 20.5% in Germany.<sup>91</sup>

Multilateral factors are now contributing to the rise of the wider world or to the contracting of it. Global conflicts are a side effect of several catch-up activities, but these are multiplying. The pillars of modernism, thus progress, market economy and rule of law are undergoing themselves a wide-ranging existential crisis. Herein lays the central contradiction of our time: people are experiencing the globalization of modernity - and simultaneously its disintegration. Business economists have observed that productivity growth in industrialized countries has slowed down.<sup>92</sup> Some of them argue that inventions such as smart phone or GPS have not changed so dramatically the productivity like the combustion engine or electrical energy in the past century. Robert Gordon softens the role of computer technology in the economic growth of the latter 20th century in accounting for business cycle and trends. Besides, the economist also attacks the actual productivity of such high-tech improvements. We are exposing ourselves to return from an intensive progress based to an extensive supply dependent resource growth. Wherever advancement happens, the employment implications are quite unclear. One can observe the growing polarization of the labour market, which is associated with lower employment and falling wages for several people in rich countries.<sup>93</sup>

Certain global developments still have an open end. All that happens on a planet with a population of nearly 8 billion

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<sup>90</sup>Source:

[https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendischeBevolkerung/AuslaendischeBevoelkerung\\_Info.html](https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendischeBevolkerung/AuslaendischeBevoelkerung_Info.html)

<sup>91</sup>Source:

[https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendischeBevolkerung/AuslaendischeBevoelkerung\\_Info.html](https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendischeBevolkerung/AuslaendischeBevoelkerung_Info.html) on the same page (AT A GLANCE section)

<sup>92</sup> Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/LaenderRegionen/Internationales/Internationales.html>

<sup>93</sup>Source:

<https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesamtwirtschaftUmwelt/Arbeitsmarkt/Arbeitsmarkt.html>

inhabits a fragile ecosystem, restricted means and scarce resources. Beyond, people are expecting a continuous improvement of prosperity as certain leading economists are convinced about the benefits of exponential growth. Such current expectations of the masses were very different of manual workers of the pre-industrial era as back then exploitation of people and resources just begun to take larger dimensions. Alone the belief in progress encourages investments, as this is the main base to start businesses and innovations in private property, social systems, institutions, technology and research. If progress no longer generates wide-ranging economic reimbursements then political and social stability are threatened.

However, it is to observe that nowadays people are losing confidence in the markets. The triumphant advance of the market economy goes in conjunction with the faith in progress, because it is a second motive force behind the globalization of the modernity. The rapid rise of countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa was essentially the outcome of profound economic reforms and complex socio-political experiments. China's economy continues to grow for decades with over 10%, helping millions of people to gain a better status even though tens of millions are still suffering. The price of progress is high (for example ecologically) and it is manifested very differently in all regions. India experienced a similar strong economic growth and lowered its overall poverty rate from 50% to 20%. Furthermore, some of the fastest growing economies are still in Africa.<sup>94</sup>

Statistics may appear eloquent but several results are a question of interpretation and it needs a balanced and transparent context to show as much as possible the significant meanings or the other side of the coin to the public, which action activity rarely occurs. The overall inequality in China is 50% higher than at the beginning of his mixed market reforms, greater than in liberal market systems such as the USA and Great Britain and twice as high as in the stable social market economies of northern Europe. A rhetorical question arises: Is there a global social equality? Economists commonly refer to the relationship defined by the Nobel laureate Simon Kuznets. It describes the circumstance that market reforms may exacerbate insecurity and inequality in the short term but reduce in the long term. However,

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<sup>94</sup> Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

this correlation is contradicted by the fact that inequality has increased rapidly in advanced countries too. If there are winners, then there are losers, as well. Consequently, such processes are generating pros and cons. Critics are complaining that globalization pushed down wages in the developed countries and several businesses are struggling to survive on the market. Thus, ever more entrepreneurs are constrained to take offers from low-wage countries and correspondingly are adjusted the revenues within the industrialized countries. However, not only individual contracts are given to cheap labour countries but also the entire relocation of production of large concerns goes there currently. The high level of unemployment and what they leave behind in residing countries is commonly explained as an effect of increasing globalization. Significant losers are the small enterprises in poorer countries as they have hardly any chances of survival by a severe global competition. Various opponents are associating globalization with the term of wage dumping. Thus, businesses from countries with low wage levels are penetrating the domestic market that in due course also pushes down its own prices. Especially enterprises from industrialized states must often make savings on personnel costs in order to optimise and lower the costs of production. Several businesses are saving by variable costs thus, salaries and wages, which involves lower incomes for the individual employee. Through the reduction of revenue, employees have less income, which has a negative impact on the domestic demand and consumption choices of customers. Subsequently, due to low domestic demand, certain firms will have considerably lower demand. When orders and profits of companies are decreasing on the domestic market, which in turn leads to new cuts and financial reductions, then it is time to be aware of a vicious circle effect. In this case, wealthy countries can pretend sever conditions to poor countries. According to critics, big corporations are continuously taking advantage by international trade. Entrepreneurs with strong capital are going to newly industrialized and developing countries, where they also change especially the local structures. Small and family-run businesses were simply pushed out of the market, which phenomenon is named as destructive competition by certain economists. Larger corporations have a dominant position only by

their dimensions and world market status; therefore, they can set terms to lower trading collaborates.

Besides, the environmental implications are enormous because tons of goods have to be moved back and forth around the globe, beyond, third countries often do not have strict environmental regulations, as it is the case by more developed western states. It is to point out that the sharp competitive struggle on the market is not always an advantage for the community because some resulting damages have to be paid and every so often, it is the social system, tax monies or the society alone who has to compensate the locally resulting gaps and intricate losses. However, businesses that want to compete on the world market today are frequently exposed to low-cost providers from abroad. Additionally, more conservative researchers are often complaining about the loss of local identities and refer to this change as a major inconvenience of globalization. Corporations are struggling for a uniform appearance by supporting corporate identity or other additional tools in order to give staff members certain guidelines of desirable lifestyle. The standard of living of several people is coined by brand awareness, consumption drive, workplace replacements and endless fight to maintain status or to achieve a better one. This kind of behaviour can eventually generate the loss of initial and regional identity.<sup>95</sup>

Furthermore, durable wage cuts, problems of distribution and low growth will lead to official debates about the political embedding of markets. If income from investments in research, education, healthcare and industry are constantly declining, the need of political interference progressively grows. According to the economist, Moises Naim, it is not capitalism, but corruption the root cause of increasing inequalities and discrepancies in countries such as China, Russia and its federations, Ukraine, Serbia, Greenland, South Africa, Thailand, Egypt, Indonesia, Nepal, Vietnam, Togo, Guatemala, Brazil, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Irak, North Korea, Somalia and Phillipine.<sup>96</sup>

Even certain liberal economists of the USA and Europe are arguing about the negative sides of corruption in the context

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<sup>95</sup> Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

<sup>96</sup>Source:

[http://www.finanzen.net/top\\_ranking/top\\_ranking\\_detail.asp?inRanking=640&inPos=1](http://www.finanzen.net/top_ranking/top_ranking_detail.asp?inRanking=640&inPos=1)

of globalization. Joseph Stiglitz, Simon Johnson and Robert Reich are providing impressive proof that the growing power of lobbyists creates a favourable background for the spread of exploitation, insecurity, discrimination and favouritism. In view of that, the confidence in traditional governance structures decreases but the influence of charismatic leaders with strong personal networks grows rapidly. European history shows that Humanism, Reformation, anti-Reformation, the Enlightenment, industrial revolution, nationalism, socialism and democratic systems have been completed by strong networks that challenged traditional structures. Railways, steamships cars and airplanes carried not only products but also the powerful ideas of liberalism, conservatism, social democracy and socialism. The same time, new hierarchies were founded in the form of powerful states, corporations, consortiums and holding companies. All these diverse organisational structures were participating in a gigantic experiment in which the fast economic growth of the past centuries was carried out. Deep-rooted establishments are experiencing challenging constellations and are getting more and more under pressure.

Does really reflects this creative restructuration process the making of a new-networked system? Or is that another evidence for the usual loss of centralised command because the new order has still to be found? The minister for German Foreign Affairs, Frank-Walter Steinmeier used the notion of loss of order to describe the trend behind the crises of these days. However, the emerging new regulatory still remains hidden in the machinery of officialdom. Autocratic regimes create false patterns of democracy without real freedom of expression and the separation of powers. Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, North and Central Africa are experiencing the complete deterioration of official and societal order. The western world looks up at the actions and liberal democracies seem ever more preoccupied with themselves, surprised inflexible and divided. The sociologist Ulrich Beck concludes that not the disaster but the fear is that what guides our actions.<sup>97</sup> Alongside these lines, fear evolves to political tool. People understand that the world is getting smaller by globalization but this is still perceived in certain regions and

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<sup>97</sup>Source: <http://www.kulturradio.de/rezensionen/buch/2015/Ulrich-Beck-Risikogesellschaft.html>

groups as a threat. Global integration is increasingly viewed as a risk; therefore, the demand for the false sense of welfare, security and safety constantly grows.

Moreover, the isolation towards inferior systems is a welcomed measure. Exactly such developments facilitated the rise of totalitarian systems in the past centuries. Charismatic leaders were promising impartiality, security and the rearrangement of the old order into a new but stronger. However, such promises mostly remained empty slogans and their activities ended in destructions. Stored fears are facilitating once again the rise of populist, extremist, and nationalist groups, which can use and misuse their position in higher power structures towards voters. It is fact that exclusionist measures are no feasible solutions for the EU as history shows that rather rapprochement and tolerance have brought to Europe such values as reconsolidation and prosperity. Ulrich Beck sustained that “the national idea is unable to unite Europe. A big European super state makes people afraid. If there is one idea that could unite the Europeans today, then it is that of a cosmopolitan Europe, because this takes Europeans the fear of loss of identity, which raises constitutional tolerance to its target in many European nations by dealing with each other and simultaneously opens up new political spaces of action in a globalized world. The more secure and recognized in their national dignity Europeans will feel, the less they will need the nation-state, and so more resolute they will open to European value to represent it in the world.”<sup>98</sup>

However, history remains only history and people have the possibility by it to learn of previous mistakes. There is no hope that problems will be fixed just because that happened sometimes in the same way in the past. Actors and agencies are guiding the happenings.

The globalization of modernity will only bring reconciliation and success if everyone is ready to do something for it. The first step begins by the reconsideration of old meanings and concepts such as economic growth, legality, legitimacy, alternative development of culture, distribution of revenues, old and new forms of dissidence, networks of resistance (national-, regional and international level), relations between government,

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<sup>98</sup> Source: [https://www.schader-stiftung.de/uploads/tx\\_schaderstiftung/Beck-Kernthesen\\_01.pdf](https://www.schader-stiftung.de/uploads/tx_schaderstiftung/Beck-Kernthesen_01.pdf)

enterprises NGOs and society. Resistance takes several new forms currently in the context of globalisation for instance, opposition by web 2.0 in social networks in which the role of the internet is decisive. Furthermore, it is to determine which the current structural forms of resistance were. More exactly, it is to discover the exact demands, goals of activists. An alternative topic could be the study of mythologizing resistance activities and its members in order to understand retrospectives of the opposition clusters. Various forms of disapproval may be present in music, film, stage, literature and economy. It would be thought provoking to comprehend different identities in the context of local resistance, respectively how identity shaping and demarcation between minorities and majority in certain social setting is functioning. As a final point, it would be attention grabbing to observe the development of official policies issued by the state in order to overcome resistance of specific movements, respectively to grasp how manipulation of information and propaganda on both sides is working.

However, there are several issues in favor of globalization. It is frequently associated with the term of equal opportunities. There are several open possibilities, especially in the third world countries, because the global economy continues to grow, thus numerous states and entities can also benefit from the advantages. First of all, international trade can provide increasing prosperity by a targeted division of work. Entrepreneurs have the chance to present and commercialize their own goods on a large scale at the international market. Such positive economic developments cannot be denied even by the opponents of globalization. The entire society can benefit through the increased economic activities of companies and multinational corporations. Globalization can generate more prosperity for those nations and entities, which play an active role in it. Dialogue and many-faceted possibilities of communication are essential for relationships and business contacts all over the world.

The range of goods has grown steadily by international trade including coffee, tea, condiments Mediterranean food and exotic fruits are currently simply procurable products. The exchange of scientific, economic, cultural, educational, technological and political advantages is now given. Strengths and skills or even weaknesses can be utilized among the

participating parts; but a profitable transfer is theoretically possible for all participants. Globalization has opened further opportunities as improved economic performance for business communities. On the basis of the steady growth of the world economy, many countries can take advantage of globalization and benefit from it. The process of globalization has generated a heated debate about the Third World. Some critics argue that where globalization is taking place there is exploitation too and only richer countries benefit from the poorer countries. Therefore, a large gap is created between them. While others claim that, more international commerce enables developing countries to open out through the further increase in the national income in order to finance their own modernization and infrastructure. Thus, all nations and entities can benefit from globalization, whether rich or poor – with the condition that the land and region is only prepared to be open to international trade. However, it is not sufficient simply to open up to the global market, because this needs to be done in a strategic way that corresponds with the characteristics of a region and its people, so it is possible to properly take advantage of commercial activities. There is no perfect solution or a recipe for globalization as it is an experiment in a flexible but highly complex setting. Moreover, rigid rules as well as too much protectionism can lead to the destruction of the economic performance of a region. States may grow both economically and succeed socially through the choice of the optimal tools to participate in international trade.

Many people who are against globalization have various reasons to think in this way, for instance they believe that it is incorrect that workers of abroad are receiving only a small fraction of the entire price for the product, which is sold in more developed regions. Every second item of clothing comes from Asia into German stores as the country imported apparel worth of about 14 billion Euros from Asia. That is more than half of the total of imported clothing, which is worth about 24 billion Euros. China has the largest portion with an import volume of 8 billion Euros followed by Turkey and Bangladesh with three respectively two billion Euros. Nine out of ten garments that are purchased by German customers are imported from these low-wage countries. Since the 90s only a small percentage of the sold apparel is produced in Germany and the indigenous clothing industry is

undergoing a crisis and is in a sever restructuration phase. Only certain larger enterprises as Seidensticker, Trigema and partially Boss have operating sewing and tailoring. Since 2010, the number of employees decreased by approximately 15 000 to only 45 000 in the German textile industry. On the other hand, meanwhile more than half of all imported Jeans is coming from Bangladesh and China to Germany. The last entire data gathering is from the year 2008, when approximately 77 million jeans were thrown on the German market.<sup>99</sup>

The profit margins are huge, because the costs of production have nothing to do with selling prices of stores. According to a study of the "Clean Clothes Campaign" of 2008 a pair of jeans from China was sold by 6.93 Euros and if it was manufactured in Bangladesh then it was bought by only 4.72 Euros from customers in Germany. According to a study of 2013 written by Camilla von Loeper, approximately 2.2 million mainly young women are employed in the textile production in Bangladesh. They are working in 13- to 16-hour shifts and overtime hours. Moreover, wage dumping and sexual assault were a daily occurrence there. Due to insufficient schooling and high unemployment, women generally have no other alternative but to work in these factories and endure poor circumstances. Moreover, families have frequently no other possibility for their survival than to send their children to work in these developing countries. Usually there are no particular opportunities of school attendance or medical supplies as in the richer countries and even though some forms of education and healthcare exist, these services are only reserved for wealthier families who also can pay for these facilities. Due to globalization, households have the option for higher incomes whereby a family will be eventually able to send their children to school and to give them any kind of healthcare.<sup>100</sup>

Jagdih Bhagwati notes that “child labor will surely decrease over the time by increasing economic growth, partly also

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<sup>99</sup>Source: [http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/tid-28299/kleidung-aus-billiglohn-laendern-in-fast-jedem-kleiderschrank-stecken-billig-klamotten\\_aid\\_868874.html](http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/tid-28299/kleidung-aus-billiglohn-laendern-in-fast-jedem-kleiderschrank-stecken-billig-klamotten_aid_868874.html)

<sup>100</sup> Source: [http://www.security-explorer.de/fileadmin/media/pdf/Bangladesh\\_Billigprodukte.pdf](http://www.security-explorer.de/fileadmin/media/pdf/Bangladesh_Billigprodukte.pdf)

because of globalization."<sup>101</sup> The implementation of the Harkin Child Deterrence Act was an American draft law with the purpose to finish with child labor. But it led to the circumstance that child laborers were dismissed and after that they tried to find work elsewhere. It was much worse that several girls were actually forced into prostitution. The chance of globalization consists in this case by the increase of the levels of prosperity in order to enable families to offer their children a balanced school education without the danger that this will threaten the very existence of the family.<sup>102</sup>

The case of above is a clear demonstration of cheap labor and wage dumping from the perspective of globalization critics. Indeed, 60 cents or even much less payment per hour would be an extremely unfair wage in industrialized countries. However, the price of 6.93 Euros or 4.72 Euros for a jeans trouser refers to mass production quantities and it is to notice that not all articles will be sold. Furthermore, costs are arising for development, materials, storage, transportation and additional unforeseen expenditures. In certain cases laborers, who are working for a foreign company in their own country, earn more money compared to workers who are employed by domestic enterprises. The economist Paul Glewwe found out that employees in foreign firms are earning twice as much as the average laborer in a local enterprise. Glewwe's information was connected to Vietnam.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, the impacts of globalization in this field can be seen more accurately if one does not compares the wages of laborers between individual states because in this way results get a quite subjective character, but rather salary differences should be reviewed within a country. Consequently, the proper evaluation criteria for payment of workers is a complex topic as this can vary even within a country by different regions, legal background, specific governmental projects and other circumstances. Subsequently, the potential to produce goods by leveraging the comparative advantages of a single state may generate optimal

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<sup>101</sup>Source: <http://www.hec.unil.ch/ocadot/SECODEVdocs/Articles/Cigno-Rosati.pdf> and [http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/tid-28299/kleidung-aus-billiglohn-laendern-in-fast-jedem-kleiderschrank-stecken-billig-klamotten\\_aid\\_868874.html](http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/tid-28299/kleidung-aus-billiglohn-laendern-in-fast-jedem-kleiderschrank-stecken-billig-klamotten_aid_868874.html)

<sup>102</sup>Source: [http://www.security-explorer.de/fileadmin/media/pdf/Bangladesh\\_Billigprodukte.pdf](http://www.security-explorer.de/fileadmin/media/pdf/Bangladesh_Billigprodukte.pdf)

<sup>103</sup> Source: <http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/13209/1/mae701.pdf>

benefits in commerce and since each country has a comparative advantage this means that theoretically every participating national unit or entity can also join in to benefit from global trading. Several studies have been written about the national income all over the world during the 1990s. Results clearly show that the income of developed and more globalized countries was increasing on average by 2% per year. Research also proves that countries are experiencing a higher increase by income per year as poor, less globalized states. After a closer look at these studies it is to state that outcomes are also indicating that the poor and more globalized states have had an overall income increase of 5% per annum. On the other hand, the poor, less globalized countries have had a yearly decrease of 1%. The median income of the wealthiest 20 countries was 15 times higher as that of the poorest 20 states in the 1960s. The rate of then is at 30 times higher nowadays.<sup>104</sup>

Globalization and wage trends<sup>105</sup> and now let's see certain benefits of enterprises, labor market and commerce. The labor market is benefiting from increased trade, which enhances the overall economic performances. Moreover, people have the possibility to accept employment abroad. Businesses can extend their location and create new workplaces. Enterprises and households have the opportunity to invest their money wisely where it is most profitably. Thus, restrictions to one's own country are not anymore applicable. The term of globalization implies many advantages in the personal sphere of people as well. Private and business travels abroad, the importation and exportation of products is much easier now as border controls do not exist anymore within the EU. Furthermore, the imposition of customs duties has been simplified, which circumstances are increasing the significance of individual advantages of persons related to globalization. This is applicable in the fields of research, science and technology because experts of different disciplines may team up at global level and therefore obtain more effective results. This can influence the development of technological achievements and health care positively. At the same time, such professional cooperation prevents competition in the affected areas, which

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<sup>104</sup> Source: <http://faculty.apec.umn.edu/pglewwe/research.html>

<sup>105</sup> Source: <http://www.freit.org/WorkingPapers/Papers/FirmLevelGeneral/FREIT590.pdf>

restrains the resentment from other countries and thus possible conflict potential is smothered from the very beginning. Occasionally the latter point is reflected in politics as well, because leading minds of various nations are tending to find joint decisions rather than to struggle against each other, which has as result that political conflicts and warfare are minimized.

However, political environment is made up by individual government structures of various administrations whose members can be driven by different ideologies as socialism, communism, capitalism or liberalism. Political parties are important magnets of interest or otherwise oriented participants. Governments can be built of single-party-dominant countries, dual-party systems and multi-party systems. Governmental policies and regulations are designed to promote a country's benefit in the international field regarding national security, developing ground-breaking industries, defending industries in bad conditions and creating employment. Political risk indicators are quite different as societal comprising matters as urbanization, bribery, favoritism, social unrest that can be manifested in ethnicity, language, religious fundamentalism, xenophobia or extreme nationalism.

Furthermore, there are political indicators, which involve topics as politically provoked aggression, degree of authoritarianism (use of force to preserve control) military or political control, wars or participation in foreign conflicts, relations with neighbors and authority of government devices for transfer of powers. Economic risk indicators can be subjects as commodity dependence, GDP, price rises, flight from the currency, foreign financial obligations and food output. Governmental risk reduction strategies have the following components: political risk insurance; local partners; decisive technologies; vertical integration; invaluable status; minimizing fixed investments; dangerous parts from home country; local borrowing; and frequent scientific transfers. There could be quite a few risk assessment methods as quantitative samples, commercial services, Delphi method, old hand and grand tour that include the United States Chamber of Commerce (AmCham Germany).

Furthermore, even opportunities of health development can be maximized through globalization. It can be stated that internationalization has generated considerably higher incomes

during the past decades in the People's Republic of China. This country has mastered the implementation of globalization in its own way far off from western standards. Estimates of Dani Rodrik are showing that through the opening of China to the global economy the median income has raised annually by nearly 8% per person. Through participation in the globalization process the People's Republic was able to finance the modernization of its economy and their country by selling its goods on the world market. A further striking fact that can be seen as a consequence of the opening to free trade is that life expectancy by 1960 was only 36 years in China in 1960; however, it increased right up to 70 years until 1999. These figures are clearly showing that if a country develops well adjusted strategies concerning globalization then it can be successfully implemented.<sup>106</sup>

Globalization may offer benefits in daily life as well because moving consumer goods can be produced where the production costs are lower. That means decreasing prices and hence financial savings for the purchaser. Foods that can not be grown or only at great expense in its own country that would affect the final price are now available at low cost through globalization on the international open market. This is also true for livestock breeding. Therefore, the subsistence of the consumer will be cheaper. However, improvements and advantages resulting from globalization are arising gradually, which is an ongoing process. It enables that more work processes, technologies and methods can be shared throughout the world, which finally can also lead to increased prosperity.<sup>107</sup>

A country that cuts oneself off from the outside world can not learn to improve itself - instead, it will continue to do things the way it has did until now. In line with this, there will be no such vast opportunities to ameliorate and follow new ways as in the countries, which were actively participating in globalization even if challenges of global competitiveness are rather diverse. Furthermore there are several arguments about globalism versus

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<sup>106</sup> Source: <http://rodrik.typepad.com/>

<sup>107</sup> I have reviewed data from the World Development Indicators. It shows the amount of exports and imports of products and services measured as a share of gross domestic product. The data resources of the World Bank are national accounts information, and OECD National Accounts data files. Please see trade in % of GDP by the WTO. Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS>

localism over the years. In order to succeed globally, even the biggest multinationals have to think locally. The “think global, act local” idea comprises fine-tuned changes that entrepreneurs can carry out.

A few examples in this direction: Ford was one of the first automotive corporations to go International with the formation of Ford Motor Co. of Canada in 1904. Even Henry Ford the second was the meaning that in order to increase the growth of its international activities, any purchasing operation should be done after thinking on the selection of sources of supply not only in its own business but also resources located elsewhere in foreign lands. When Ford had set up its first plant outside the USA, thus in Canada, it profited significantly from its socio cultural and geographic vicinity.

Starbucks is experimenting with locally designed franchises in stores. These are non-Starbucks branded in order to bring back the sense of a local coffee shop, which would otherwise be endangered by the simple presence of Starbucks as immediate neighbour. Starbucks’ first business was opened in the autumn of 2012 in India and it has no pork or beef as it is treated taboo by the people. The Indian bill of fare has local preferences as Chai Tea Latte and the coffee is purchased and roasted regionally. Certain food products, vegetarian dishes, contain baked goods like Konkani Twist or Chatpata Paratha Wrap to adapt its offerings to local meat-free tastes. There are even different stoves and counters for non-vegetarian and vegetarian offers.

When Tesco expanded globally in countries such as Hungary, Czech Republic and Thailand it kept its standard name and chain of custody. Nevertheless, as it entered the market in the USA, it renamed its shops "Fresh & Easy Neighbourhood Market".

McDonald’s strategy is to listen to local consumers and then intensively customise products. The company searches to implement this globally. Some of its local favourite items around the world include the Ebi Filit-O in Japan, the McItaly burger in Italy, the McLobster in Canada and the Maharaja Mac in India. McDonald’s has novelty offers on its menu in Japan like the Teriyaki McBurger with Seaweed Shaker fries, Ebi Filet-O, Croquette Burger and Bacon Potato Pie. McDonald’s branded

model Yuri Ebihara (known as Ebi-chan in Japan) to market Ebi Filet-O. Ebi means shrimp in the Japanese language. To see the second wave of globalization of 1945 until now and world maps of trade openness (trade as share of GDP) between 1960 and 201 please visit the website of Max Roser.<sup>108</sup>

### **Historical backgrounds of globalization with current retrospections in a nutshell**

The word globalization has been used by economists since 1981. The notion was rather unknown for the public until the later half of the 1990s. The first conceptions and forecasts of globalization were made by an American entrepreneur-turned-minister Charles Tazz Russell who initially coined the concept of corporate giants by 1897. Different social scientists have tried to show continuity between contemporary trends of globalization and previous ages. The first age of globalization, in the fullest sense, during the “long” 19th century was the fast intensification of intercontinental trade between the European imperial powers, the European colonies, and the United States of America. Globalization was fully restarted after World War II being driven by core progress in technology, which led to lower commercial expenses.

It remains disputed when exactly globalization has started. There are different views on this and it is often claimed that globalization emerged only after World War II. However, several savants are convinced that the worldwide expansion of European countries during the 19th century can be considered as the beginning of globalization. Besides, other researchers are quite certain that globalizing trends are as ancient as humankind itself is.

International relations could be one of the possible tracks to approach the origins of globalisation, because probably it has already functioned in the ancient world. Certain examples could be the Nile Valley, Mesopotamia, Greeks, and Romans. The early days of globalization can be traced in the existence of the Silk Road. Historical evidence dates back to 1600 BC and it lasted through the Mongol Empire until 1400. However, there are

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<sup>108</sup> Source: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-interconnections/international-trade/>

additional traditional cases, such as China the native civilizations of the Inca, Maya and Aztecs. Furthermore, one could name India or the Hittites, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Mongols and the Ottomans (etc.) as all of them were engaged in some form of globalization also known as commerce. Some emperors early recognized the key aspects of international trade and developed on it in order to facilitate networking and consolidate their regimes. Certain patterns of ancient trade relations are disclosing the intense interaction of different cultures and civilizations.

The colonization phase could be an additional stage of globalization, which has begun with European colonialism and slave trade (1400s-1800s). Consecutively, one could focus on the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus and the history of large flotillas of Portugal, Spain and England, which explored foreign, distant cultures by constructing strong empires. Their main tools were money, gold, silver, weapons, the church, coffee, tea, food, labour, spices and slavery. The way how to gain more political hegemony was in many situations also the main economic driving force. Sometimes domination over a region or the world involves not just military or political control, but the most pervasive is economic and cultural control as in the cases of imperialism or colonialism.

Certain geographic implications down to the present day were: imperialism and colonialism, ethnocentrism, racism and environmental determinism. Imperialism could be also perceived as formal colonialism as colonies were under direct governance and control of the emperors. Indirect and representative political rule was frequently implemented through carefully selected local leaders. Besides, the key control tracks were labor, resources and land. (Please see Figure number 12.)

The early 1800s is the time of the Industrial Revolution and wage labor. Britain is the hearth of it by dealing with slaves, cotton, textiles and having steam power, iron and canals. However, until the middle of the 1800s, technological development is diffused to Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. Steel was massively used for railroads, steamships, telegraph and weaponry. Such issues were showing the means of modern globalization, which was rapidly spreading through Europe to other continents, the USA and Japan. Additional power devices were electricity, oil, engines, roads and the invention of

the radio. However, such issues as ethnocentrism and racism were also widely distributed because Europeans have considered that their individual way of living is the very best one. Thus, they attempted to civilize the natives and the non-whites. (Please see Figure number 13. and 14. and 15.)

How could one define environmental determinism? It is the conviction that certain physical environments or climates are more inclined to produce advanced civilizations than others. According to this theory the world has following environmental and regional categories: torrid or tropics, temperate or mid-latitudes, Mediterranean or the middle of the earth and frigid that encloses the Polar Regions. It was theorized that the temperate or mid-latitudes regions were most probable to produce higher civilizations. Although, this approach can be also justified with accurate statistics it has quite eccentric characteristics. Such interpretations should not provide nations or entities the right to refine other people. There are definitely some other factors that can help to explain such assumptions. Indeed, around 1900 commences the rise of strong multinational and transnational corporations (MNCs and TNCs) because investment activities are transcending boundaries as never before. Furthermore, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries were supplying the core with cheap labor and plenty of resources. Business and governments were getting increasingly intertwined in the meanwhile. Therefore, it is to observe that the Industrial Revolution helped to create the rise of MNCs and TNCs. The gold as imperative was in full effect and the rules were made by core countries in the interests. Maybe the Dutch East India Company (1602) is one of the oldest of transnational trade corporations. It commenced to trade in Indonesia and South-East Asia. Subsequently, the Dutch West India Company has started first businesses in the Caribbean and Americas by 1621.

There are additional issues as the conflict of European imperialism or the power struggle predominantly between the German Empire and England, France and Russia for the division and re-division of the world, which resulted in the outbreak of World War I. after that it followed World War II, the Cold War period and decolonization till the mid-1900s. European powers were interested in raw materials such as oil, coal and minerals: as a result, they conquered other countries and exploited the

colonies. Thus, there are such issues as neocolonialism and the rise of strong corporations within the developments of the late 1900s.

The United Nations was founded by 1945 having 51 member countries and the EU was created by 1952. The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact was formed as an answer to NATO created during the Cold War in 1955. The World Bank was inaugurated in 1944 and has expanded from a single organization to a finance group of five institutions, which are linked. Its objectives evolved from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) as architect of post-war reconstruction and development. Additional members are the International Development Association, International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).

Countries can be listed of the world by economics. Accordingly, they are belonging to major income divisions as the core (states with high-income economies: \$ 9,386 or more), semi-periphery (middle-income economies: \$765 to \$ 9,385) and periphery (low-income economies: \$765 or less). These measurements were made by the IBRD (1997). It is to stress that there is an external area with several other countries as well, but statistical data from there is totally missing. The measurement of income is usually showed in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It means the total value of all materials, goods, and services produced in one year, but inflows or outflows of money, for instance the transfer of funds or other issues are not included. GDP is impacted by factors as the relative buying power or purchasing power parity (PPP) and the exchange rate versus buying power (Dollar vs. Yuan vs. Euro). PPP is based on the hours of labor required to purchase a good. But there is another frequently applied economic term: per capita. It is used for leveling comparisons between diverse populations, more exactly to divide GDP by population (Example: GDP per capita vs. GDP).

The core encloses the dominant and most developed countries (MDCs). Thus, in the terms of dependency theory these are the former colonial powers. With other words, this is the so named first world or industrial word category. Here are the

centers of productivity, technology and trade. It is characterized by a very high GDP per capita. Such countries have a main developmental advantage that allows them to design the global economic system to serve their own interests by exploiting the periphery and semi-periphery. There are over 200 countries in total out of which about 30 countries are classified as developed countries – also called OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries. This group of states includes the U.S.A., Canada, most part of Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and Turkey etc. Another 30 or so are Middle Income Countries: Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Mexico, South Africa, Brazil, Israel, Chile, several Eastern/Southern European countries, Russia, etc. Another 15 or so are major oil exporters or 11 OPEC members like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Indonesia, Nigeria, Venezuela, etc. together with non-members of this oil export agreement as Mexico, Russia, U.K., and Norway.

The semi-periphery is a classification, which can be described as somewhere in-between the core and periphery. These are the so-called industrializing ex-colonial countries (NICs). Most Asian and African countries are belonging to the developing countries group. A majority of the world's countries belong here. Additionally, the rapidly developing very large countries are: China, India, Brazil and Russia (BRICs). It follows the poor countries type that are countries inert at very low levels of development, such as Burma, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Haiti, Nepal, mostly sub-Saharan African states. Finally, there is the Triad Region enclosing North America, Western Europe, and Japan. They together produced over 78% of world's GDP in 2004.<sup>109</sup>

These countries or regions have very mixed processes as they are both exploited and exploiters but exporters and importers of products as well. However, the example of China clearly shows that there are special economic zones. Historically the land was considered a periphery, but it was never colonized. Moreover, China has quickly emerged into the semi-periphery with trade opening strategies over past 20 years. Its huge population and the continuously growing yearly economic output have already coined the entire globalization processes. Most recent impacts on

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<sup>109</sup> Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

international markets could be observed by the massive presence of products “made in China” and the over-demand on oil, metals and other materials going to the People's Republic. A main potential conflict issue could be whether China will be fully accepted or not by competing power partners as full-right key-player in the core category in the not-too-distant future.

Countries as Kenya, Bolivia or Pakistan (etc.) are belonging to the periphery. These are Big Emerging Markets (BEMs) in the next 10-20 years. BEMs such as the Chinese Economic Area (CEA: China + HK+ Taiwan), India, South Korea, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, South Africa, Poland, Turkey, Russia, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN: including Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Vietnam) will provide major/dominant opportunities in global business. To put it the other way round, it is the so-named third world or developing countries (LDC's). These are the poor and exploited ex-colonial nations. Exploitation means here the act of employing to the greatest possible advantage, for instance exploitation of bauxite or copper deposits. Alternatively it is the instrumentalization of another individual or group of people for self-centered purposes, for example to make full use of unsuspecting customers. It is claimed that these countries are instrumentalized by the core and the semi-periphery. States belonging to this category are tending to sell to other countries their own resources and provide cheap workforce for them by having very low GDP per capita.

The internet has started within ARPANET in 1969 and the first intercontinental and trans-Pacific trade agreements were made at this time in the frame of the WTO. The Bologna Agreement of 1998 was signed by several European countries and it standardised the higher education degrees (bachelor and master). A new level of global changes has begun after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which can be associated with the abandonment of the planned economy and the return to the global market in the former Eastern bloc countries as well. It is relevant to mention the major growth of emerging markets of China, India and Vietnam with various effects on the world economy, such as the increase of raw material prices and the outsourcing of large European companies to Asia. Critics of globalization such as ATTAC network are accentuating the circumstance that

internationalization is not an inevitable development, but rather a result of deregulation policies of the U.S.A. has initiated at the end of the Second World War. Without the liberalization of world trade within GATT and the WTO, such an economic growth would have been impossible.

Further world divisions schemes of the late 20th century are: the first world (Global North) comprising the industrialized capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America; the second world including former-socialist countries with centrally-planned economies being in transition to market economy or hybrid structures; the third world (Global South) embracing ex-colonies as India, Malaysia, Brazil or Algeria; the fourth world (Global South) embodying the poorest nations together with indigenous communities. This approach also symbolizes the splitting of the earth into two opponent and competing divisions: north and south. Thus, it is the Global North versus the Global South. According to estimations of the World Bank, more than 1 billion people, thus much above 15% of the inhabitants of the world, are living in extreme poverty by having less than \$1.25 (USD) per day for living. Unfortunately, appreciatively 70% of the impoverished are women and children. Thus, two statements are arising: due to globalization, the rich have become richer; however the poor have also become richer; or the gap between rich and poor has considerably widened because of globalization. It is fact today that the economic discrepancy among rich and poor is increasingly larger.

The digital divide means fast versus slow worlds. Those who are belonging to the fast division, thus around 20% of the world, have access to improved services in telecommunications, commerce (quality consumer goods) or arts and entertainment (media, cultural products). Those who are in the slow division, thus approximately 80%, have limited access to the same offers. Therefore, there is a full-scale objection of the majority towards the 20% backed by technology. To put it another way: 80% of all homepages are in North America and 20% of the population possesses 74% of all phone connections of the world.

It is very probable that contemporary globalization started off simultaneously with the transformations induced by World War II. There are sudden shifts in economic hegemony, political power, technological innovations, communications networks, and

in the development of transportation. The U.S.A. will be more and more dominant in the late 1940s and Washington has the monopole of the atomic bomb until 1949. Industries of Europe, Russia and Japan the U.S.A. are financing the reconstruction of open societies. Simultaneously, the colonial flags were coming down (decolonization) in Asia (1940s-1950s) and in Africa (1960s-1970s). According to Marxist thinking, although periphery countries were getting free, but ex-colonial powers are still dominating their economies, resources and cultures. However, the concept of neocolonialism has numerous theoretical influences. With the granting of sovereignty to former colonies, a theory of modernization gained acceptance. It indicated that self-governing former colonies would begin to develop promptly politically and economically, and would be similar to industrialized Western countries. It soon became obvious that this was not the case. Postcolonial scholars now sought answers for the persistent stunted development condition of African countries and established a second influence in dependency theory. It first gained importance as a tool to elucidate the underdevelopment of Latin American economies in the 1960s. Walter Rodney and Samir Amin (economic theorists of postcolonial Africa) combined the Marxist-Leninist notion of colonialism as a juncture of capitalism with the conception of underdevelopment in order to create the concept of neocolonialism. The notion can also be depicted as informal colonialism because spheres of influence the core dominated states are not anymore military controlled but rather through the management of resources and international commerce.

Certain theoreticians continue to sustain that neocolonialism still exists today, but it survived in unusual structures. Moreover, if one compares colonialism and neocolonialism then one can contrast and see the impact on social stratification. Neocolonialism is a notion that is frequently applied in a variety of scholarly writings related to the history of the capitalist and industrial systems, their development and current global interactions. These contain, but are almost certainly not limited to, political economy, global development studies, anthropology and considerations on the affairs of globalization and its unique effects on mostly non-Western societal models, norms and other correlations in the modern world. The term

appeared in a contrast made by I. V. Lenin in a political lampoon entitled "Imperialism," which was at first available by 1939. At this juncture Lenin's comparison encloses direct political domination through force of arms in contrast with "domination by extra political means." However, contemporary researchers of today are often applying a contrast between early and late colonialism, or between colonialism and neocolonialism to construct equivalent distinctions. This feature is mostly used to draw attention to the circumstance that the development of the capitalist system has from the earliest days of European exploration and colonization to the present days constantly implied the control and assimilation of non-Western social categories to Western lifestyles. Put differently, despite the fact that the exact methods used to achieve these goals may have changed in the meantime but the implications for non-Western peoples remained pretty much the same. They are to become "restructured", "modernized", "reorganized" or "Westernized" whether they are supportive or not, and whether it is in their best interests or not. Certain confuse argumentations are even attacking the institution of the EU in this context, which line really not applies at all neither in historical nor in politico-ideological analogies to current issues as Western Europe versus Eastern Europe contrast or rather vice versa?

Transnational corporations, such as oil and mining companies, and multinational organizations such as the IMF, WTO and World Bank are mostly accountable for the "neocolonial influences" in Africa in the early 21st century. The operations of these organizations and corporations go beyond the borders and rules of the conventional nation-state. Therefore, it is not worth to look at interregional interactions except in terms of a given model: on the one side, the weak and poor South by including Latin America, Asia, and Africa and a cohesive and strong North by incorporating Europe, USA and Canada. Whereas the spectrum of subjects of international and intercontinental interactions is all the time more adjusted within IR, the notion of neocolonialism will continue to be revisited. In line with this, it is no wonder that neocolonialism is present in the terminology of several students of Third World relations. Furthermore, the concept is well-established in the history of ideas as well.

If one has to define neocolonialism it is to see that it concerns the constant power of former colonies by enjoying additional political, politico-economical or trade related devices in specific frameworks (agreements, alliances etc.). Alternatively, though it is a continuation of the same procedure of exploitation and assimilation, it functions not anymore by the use of military force or legislative authority, but through commercial and economic pressure. However, early colonialism is somewhat different to neocolonialism and describes the period from the first phases of the age of European exploration and expansion to the gaining or granting of self-determination up to official sovereignty to former colonies. On the one side, it basically concerned the obligation of centralized political rule upon non-Western peoples by applying diverse tools and frameworks of direct political compulsion as power political calculus. Neocolonialism is a notion used to explain certain economic affairs at the global level that have assumed certain parallels to the traditional colonialism of the 16th to the 19th centuries, on the other. The assumption (claim) is that political administration intended to have power over other regions by means of indirect devices: that instead of direct military-political devices, neocolonialist units (states) make use of trade and industry, economic, and fiscal policies to control and influence less powerful nations. Critics of neo-colonialism explain the alternative to grant or to reject offered credits (principally those factoring and funding otherwise unpayable Third World deficits), above all by international economic institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, as a basic track of financial influence. Critics state that in order to meet the criteria for such “funding” loans (as well as other financial programs of economic assistance), poorer countries are imposed to implement measures (structural regulations) that are encouraging to the economic interests of the IMF and/or WB, but disadvantageous to their own markets and often socio-economic situation, intensifying rather than lowering their poorness.

It is to observe that globalization also means the power in the hands of stock, bond and currency traders, who are moving funds around the globe. Moreover, it is a conventional tendency that multinational corporations are looking for most resourceful low-cost manufacturers simultaneously beginning to substitute

administrations as principal source of financial means for both corporations and countries. Supranational organizations (WTO, IMF, WB, and UN) are issuing the “rules” of international economic activity. Thus, by concerning the globalization of markets matter it is to observe that distinct or separate markets are merging into a mammoth global marketplace. These single merging units are mostly not consumer product markets but usually mass-produced industrial goods. In this context it remains to see if tastes and preferences of consumers are converging or not. Fact is that MNCs are usually more vulnerable to competition in their home markets as abroad. It is uncertain if MNCs are creating global marketplace or rater just subject to it or/and maybe both. It is also visible that alternative measures to globalization as to contract governmental administration, to balance budget, to maintain low inflation and price stability or to maintain the private sector as key component of economic growth were not necessarily succeeding until now. International law, thus the law of nations has three main sources: thus customs, international treaties and court decisions. Nevertheless, legal systems are quite different by including common law, commercial law, civil law, code (written) law, and Islamic law, to name but a few.

Germany experiments with the openness of legal information. Such an institution is the Centre for German Legal Information (CGerLI). General Information about CGerLI: “The Centre for German Legal Information (CGerLI) provides free online access to German legal materials in English. CGerLI thereby aims to promote the exchange of ideas and arguments among different legal systems, to facilitate access to German law for foreign practitioners, judges, researchers and students, and to advance the harmonization of law on both a European and a global level. This section contains some general background information about CGerLI, who we are and what we do. You will also find a user guide and answers to frequently asked questions, both of which are also accessible from any other page through the links in the header and footer section. Finally, please take note of the legal disclaimer as well as our terms of use and privacy statement.”<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Source and ©: <http://www.cgerli.org/index.php?id=28>, “Centre for German Legal Information” 2015.

Certain examples for laws of the U.S.A. are: The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890; The Clayton Act of 1914; Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) of 1977, which forbids the payment of any money or anything of value to a foreign representative, faction, party or any candidate for political functions for purposes of acquiring, preserving, or directing economic activity. FCPA does not abolish so named facilitating or grease transactions. It also does not forbid corruption operations to nongovernmental staff. Local laws are mainly concerning issues of prevalent business practices as market competition, fraud, consumer protection, employees' rights, and other regular and irregular business affairs.

Nevertheless, nationalization is acceptable according to international law if it is in the interest of public purpose and also contains compensation. Thus, expropriation as a form of rapid, efficient, fair compensation; confiscation of property and resources where is by no means compensation; another significant category is local content, local buying, local hiring laws; discriminatory dues; and biased price of resources. Therefore as one can remark in the above and below consequences of political dealings as indigenization or domestication are quite diverse. Furthermore, they can concern other legal categories as the risk of equity dilution, joint-venture demands, price controls, profit adjustment limitations, discriminatory boycotts, and terrorism, import and export restrictions.

However, there is no doubt that globalization was gaining more and more speed after World War II as military alliances, monetary unions, economic pacts and educational cooperation were becoming the main devices for quick transformations. There were significant coalitions and block formations after World War II, which ultimately ended in bipolarity known as the Cold War period. The new situation generated deeper international cooperation and some synchronization among nations from the same coalition behind the Iron Curtain. John Willinsky's statement helps by examining the inheritance of imperial worldviews: „We need to learn again how five centuries of studying, classifying and ordering humanity within an imperial context gave rise to peculiar and powerful ideas of race, culture, and nation that were, in effect, conceptual instruments that the West used both to divide up and educate the world.”<sup>111</sup> In order to

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<sup>111</sup> Willinsky, 1998, 2-3.

see more about Willinsky's book please check the review of Aaron Whelchel of Washington State University on the homepage of world history connected.<sup>112</sup>

It is obvious that various intellectuals both in the West and developing countries are associating globalization with strong neo-imperialist and/or neo-colonialist struggles. They are identifying in nearly every phenomenon or a controversial current event an American attempt to destabilize and control others. Alternatively, these assumptions are speculating on a controversial issue as they suppose in American interests the hidden objective for the re-colonization of the earth. These scientists are also quite sceptical about the economic involvements of the WB or the IMF as it is insinuated that they are backed by USA. Therefore, business provisions as the conditioning of loans or different credits are interpreted as direct threats to state sovereignty. Furthermore, the effort to impose emerging countries a minimum of various modern standards (legislation concerning children, slavery and environmental protection) are also viewed as a camouflaged form of protectionism aimed to decrease the global economic competitiveness of nations or regions. The expansion of multinational corporations is pigeonholed as corporate colonialism as they want to completely exploit the countries of the third world and destroy the basics of emerging democratic systems and their wellbeing as well. Similar claims and speculations as presented in the above have undoubtedly Marxist and neo-Marxist origins, as they understood the spread of global structures as the direct expansion of capitalism. The identification of globalization as imperialism is a particular characteristic of Marxist economic theories represented by such classic wives as of Rosa Luxemburg or Lenin. Anti-Americanism was strong on the communist left and populist right movements as key-actors meant that American financial support is equal with economic colonization. However, not even the modern world system approach of Immanuel Wallerstein is free of Marxist thoughts and influences. According to Wallerstein's approach, the global capitalist system is a new form of hidden imperialism by mostly

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<sup>112</sup> Source:

[http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/5.2/br\\_wchelchel.html](http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/5.2/br_wchelchel.html)

supposing that the exploitation of LDCs by MDCs and (NICs) is a given circumstance.

Furthermore, a kind of secret imperialism was identified in the global electronic invasion of the American mass media products. Informational imperialism also includes issues as culinary imperialism known as McDonalds-colonization and Coca-colonization, the imperialism of values by promoting modern consumerism, the imperialism of the entertainment sector driven by Disneyland and Hollywood, and the linguistic imperialism, because English is the current lingua franca. All these “imperialisms” are causing the destruction of local cultural traditions with the concealed intention of mental colonization of humankind in order to ensure the global supremacy of the U.S.A. This is a straight Anti-American line, which turns into ridiculous argumentations. Although it is also true that the U.S.A. has even stimulated some reasons for concern in this respect, but statements about and around American (neo) imperialism and corporate (economic) colonialism must be approached strictly critically. It is also remarkable that quite a few of the phenomena presented by the “critics” of American imperialism are fully enjoying the cooperation of the accusatory countries. Financial interventions (references have informal character) of the IMF and the World Bank do not happen automatically, but only at the firm request of countries that need that kind of professional assistance. The corporate colonization of LDCs is no colonization as such, but a well-known business process and outsourcing (BPO) or a relocation of a business, which happens because several host countries are striving to attract large companies to go there. The host countries are even in strong competition with each other in order to give locations to big corporations and to benefit together from the growth opportunities what MNCs are generating at regional and global levels. The overall presence of American cultural products is due to the fact that there is a global request for such offered goods and services. There is no reason to search for incontestable causal connections between the prosperity of developed countries and the poverty of others, because one can not generally prove a systematic and intended exploitation by MNCs. Despite of the fact that there are also legitimate historical reproaches towards “misuses” older MNCs, the specific ostracizing of multinational companies is quite unreasonable and

such a trend can even be harmful for the development of national economies and regional units.

The U.S.A. was the leading supplier of international demand for technology and industrial products during 1950s, the 60s and the early 70s. This winner status also resulted in technological and cultural delight. Moreover, self-satisfaction has led to perceptions, which portray the U.S.A. as a “good” manufacturing nation. Thus, trading was for inferior “bad” nations like Japan. Accordingly, Washington was/is often unprepared for real economic competition coming from Europe, then Japan, then Korea, Taiwan or Singapore. Today the same situation applies towards China and India. America was losing a huge amount of shares on its own markets for electronics, small appliances, textiles, garments, shoes, toys, steel, autos, and much more during the 1970s, 80s, 90s and this continued even after 2007. Currently there are serious worries concerning the outsourcing processes of American corporations.<sup>113</sup>

The U.S.A. accounts for 5% and 18% of the world population and economy, correspondingly the majority of international business is made overseas. Business conducted globally involves far more inconsistencies and resolutions than trade carried out in the domestic market. Most American companies are becoming insolvent at a very early stage (generally the first years are extremely critical). The average corporate active commercial activity expectancy in Europe and Japan is roughly over a decade. The average active economic activity expectancy of a global 500 MNC varies from 40 to 50 years.<sup>114</sup>

Although nobody contests the powerfulness of Washington, the new type of world order in the making is still less than an American sphere of influence. Despite certain indistinct parallels with the imperial schemes of the past, the current American world system fostered by the Foreign Office and other institutions is mainly based on a dense system of alliances and coalitions, which covers almost the entire world. This complex diplomatic network principally avoids the use of military force but it can not totally exclude such measures as last resort or worst case scenario, because it belongs to superpower politics. However, the American way of life is not exported by the

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<sup>113</sup> Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

<sup>114</sup> Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

White House, but by corporations in the field of information and communication, which are sending the issue worldwide by publicity.

As to the theoretical model of homogenization or Americanization of global culture it is to see that the presented facts are excessively weak and the whole argumentation frame of Anti-Americanisms is rather pathetic. English is a world and business language and it is a device of globalisation by its given power position and not because some constipation made possible this status. Despite of the worldwide spread of a distinguishable global civilization imposed by the same products, skills, and patterns of behaviour or communication these are also constantly changing components and elements of a bigger and more multicoloured picture. It is rather true that intercultural connections and affairs are amplified by the means of ongoing informational revolution as there are various cultures and global players on the world stage that can foster such tendencies. Thus, the contemporary world remains culturally highly diversified with a multicultural society at the grassroots levels. Even human experience becomes an increasingly globalized phenomenon in which people are influencing each other and they are simultaneously biased by worldwide and cross-cultural interactions. It becomes ever more crucial for institutions, NGOs and other organizations as well as governments the understanding of different cultural backgrounds and multiple perspectives. This implies the knowledge of how beliefs and values affect actions of various individuals. Thus, several complex skills need to be developed such as cross-cultural competence, knowledge of global economic and political systems, and thereby it is crucial that the free movement of people with their ideas should be allowed as to be a small country does not means less globalized.

## **Conclusions**

Imperial Germany faced the challenges of its exclusive continental responsibility so far as it was conducted by Otto von Bismarck, but even he made a wrong step in the year of 1871 as Alsace-Lorraine was taken over by the troops. Conclusively, the German government was incapable to perform the intricate mediator function to which the country was destined by its

geographic location. Germany played an important role in world politics and not only since the 1940s. The gap between the USSR and the West gave the FRG the possibility to influence the reactions of the West. Superpowers trusted Germany and gave it the key-role in the reorganization of a new European security (NATO) and economic (EU) order. Simultaneously, the reunited Germany strengthened its central position within the EU and on the globe. It represents the balance of power between north and south and east and west throughout Europe. This unique and strategic function inside the European and global system assures this country to conduct a stable foreign trade-policy at overall levels that no other state can ignore.

This current position was achieved without weapons, without belligerence, without borrowing exorbitant sums of money for its European neighbors in need after 2008. The clever management of crisis situations shows the know-how of the people of this federation being able to see the bigger picture. All the same, many citizens find Germany's current geopolitical status frustrating. There are difficult tasks that come with the German position of power, thus to cope with the politico-economic issues of the EU or to conduct negotiations with Russia, to name but a few. Taken as a whole, the German political elite was remarkably competent from the establishment of the Bonn Republic right up to the fall of the Berlin Wall. Subsequently, the achievements are very mixed: Helmut Kohl's ruinous negligence of the financial costs by the German unification and the adoption of the Euro have left his political successors with a complex legacy. Furthermore, Gerhard Schroeder, in spite of his significant domestic economic restructuring, has suddenly lost its popularity as soon as the news came out that his new job will be by Gazprom.

Angela Merkel holds currently one of the most complicated portfolios of the world, because she tries to hold the transatlantic alliance, the EU and has attempts to realize the idea of a larger Europe by including Russia as partner with special rights by its bigness and energy supplies. If she manages to resolve substantial progress on the diverse matters on her agenda, she could be considered another successful German chancellor. Moreover, Germany's situation in the middle of the global system will become even more stable as today is. Although, the situation

is under control, the chances are not exactly the most optimal for reconciliations and therefore further precision work is needed. Germany's global alternatives are both far-reaching and tricky at the same time.

Globalization is not a new occurrence. On the one hand, the globalization process follows a linear trend in Germany. The reason for it could be the decrease in transportation and communication costs. On the other hand, the process of globalization is cyclical. The reason could be the cyclical course of its hegemonic stability but a new phase of rivalry is to be expected. The question is: How can be a second period of rivalries prevented? Globalization can be seen as a matter of perspective and as an explanatory model for different developmental phases. According to the explanatory model the decline of transportation and communication costs influences positively the commercial globalization, which is linked to conflicts, free trade, ideological hegemony and investment globalization. However, there is hegemonic stability, which is also well-connected to the above listed units except decline of transportation and communication costs.

Globalization of the future could mean continued low wages in the peripheries and the further high-tech growth of economies in Europe, Asia and maybe also in Africa. Perhaps there will be a rising demand for cheap raw oil (sudden variations in crude oil supply costs on the global markets). New global high technologies as internet and telecommunications will be even more sophisticated, which will continuously improve worldwide e-commerce and e-marketing.

The internationalization of national institutes and the intensification of global trade will surely continue but future of humankind is coupled to the world environment. Given social, political, and ecological circumstances can generate unconventional opportunities – as always happened in historical times. However, fortunately there are still many tracks in which the general public can contribute or even redesign global affairs rapidly.

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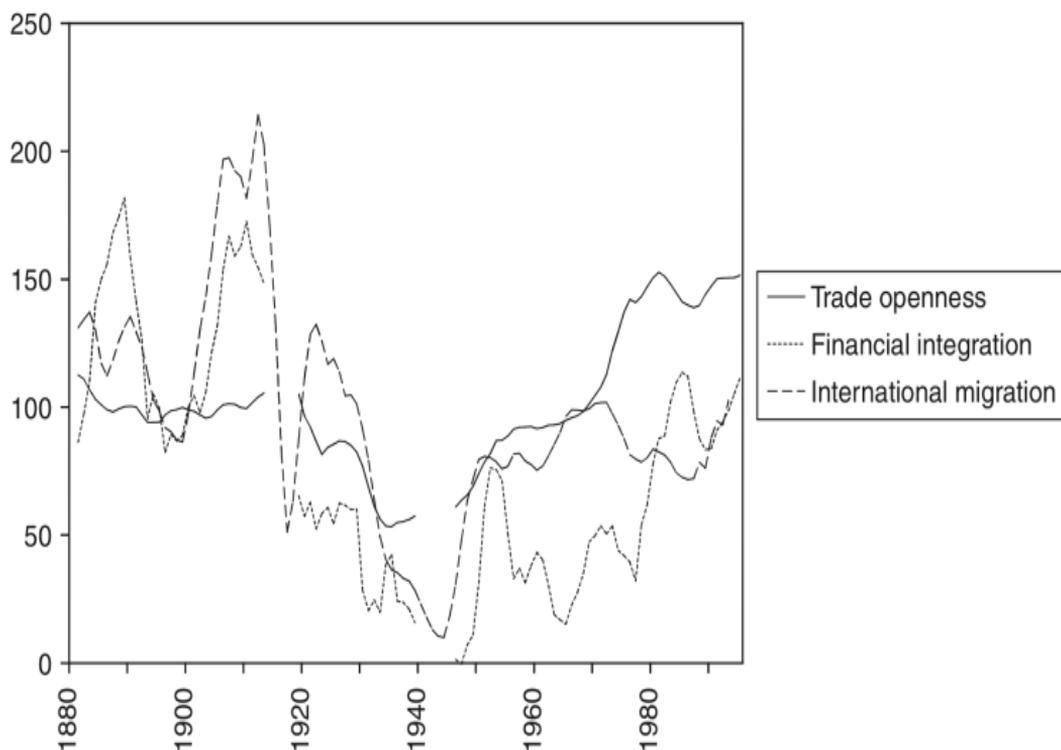
### List of illustrations and figures

Time Period	World Trade Growth
1500–1820	0.96%
1820–70	4.18%
1870–1913	3.40%
1913–50	0.90%
1950–73	7.88%
1950-1973	7.88%
1973-1985	3.65%
1985-1996	6.55%
1996-2000	6.98%
2000-2011	5.00%

**Figure 1** – „Growth in Volume of World Trade (annual average compound growth rates) – 1500–2011 – Max Roser”

**Note by Roser, Max:** “My sources – by time period – are: 1500-1973 – Maddison (2007) – *Contours of the World Economy 1-2030 AD: Essays in Macro-economic History* Essays in Macro-economic History. Oxford University Press. 1973-2000 – Table 13.1 from Szirmai (2005) – *The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Development: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press. Online at [www.dynamicsofdevelopment.com](http://www.dynamicsofdevelopment.com). His data is from the IMF and the UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics. 2000-2011 – WTO International Trade Statistics (merchandise trade) The early data is reconstructed and therefore less reliable.”

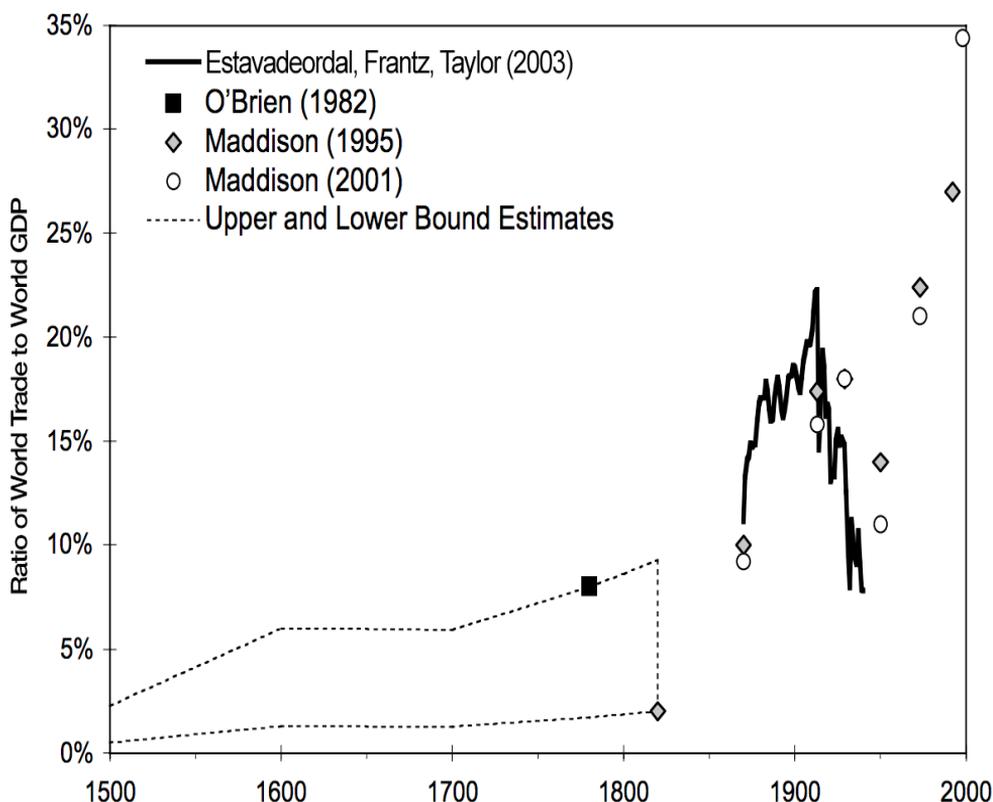
Source: © Max Roser (2015) – ‘International Trade’. Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrieved from: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-interconnections/international-trade/>



**Figure 2** – „Migration, Financial integration, and Trade openness from 1880–1996 (indexed to 1900 = 100) – Cambridge Economic History Vol. 2 Broadberry and O’Rourke (2010) – The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe: Volume 2, 1870 to the Present. Cambridge University Press.”  
**Note by Roser, Max:** “The graph depicts the ‘evolution of three indicators measuring integration in commodity, labor, and capital markets over the long run. Commodity market integration is measured by computing the ratio of exports to GDP. Labor market integration is measured by dividing the migratory turnover by population. Financial integration is measured using Feldstein–Horioka estimators of current account disconnectedness.’ This data is taken from: Bayoumi 1990; Flandreau and Rivièrè 1999; Bordo and Flandreau 2003; Obstfeld and Taylor 2003.”

Source: © Max Roser (2015) – ‘International Trade’. Published online at OurWorldInData.org.

Retrieved from: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-interconnections/international-trade/>



**Figure 3** – „Five Hundred Years of World Trade-to-GDP Ratios – Estavadeordal, Frantz, Taylor 2003”

**Note by Roser, Max:** „This chart is taken from Antoni Estevadeordal, Brian Frantz and Alan M. Taylor (2003) – The Rise and Fall of World Trade, 1870–1939. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (2003) 118 (2): 359-407. doi: 10.1162/0033553033321675419. Online <http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/content/118/2/359.short>.

I have added the y-axis label and replaced the label for the black solid line with ‘Estavadeordal, Frantz, Taylor (2003)’ (the label was ‘This study’ before). The authors list the following notes and sources: Trade volume from Mitchell [1992 1993; 1995], converted to 1913 U.S. dollars using U.S. exchange rate and GDP deflator; see text. Data for a constant sample of 56 countries (excluding war 1914–19, when sample is at least 51 countries). Missing data imputed from trend interpolation. GDP data from Maddison (2001) adjusted and interpolated for missing data. See Appendix. 1500–1800: Trade growth rates from O’Rourke and Williamson [2002, Table 1; volume estimates only]. Level index derived, and scaled by world GDP levels from Maddison [2001, Table B-18]. The “upper bound” series is then scaled to the benchmark 8 percent European trade-GDP ratio for 1780 due to O’Brien [1982], probably an overstatement of the world trade-GDP ratio. The “lower bound” series is scaled to the benchmark 2 percent world trade-GDP ratio for 1820 due to Maddison [1995, Table 2-4], possibly biased downwards relative to the long-run trend because of the blockades during the Napoleonic Wars.”

**Source:** © Max Roser (2015) – ‘International Trade’. Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrieved from: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-interconnections/international-trade/>

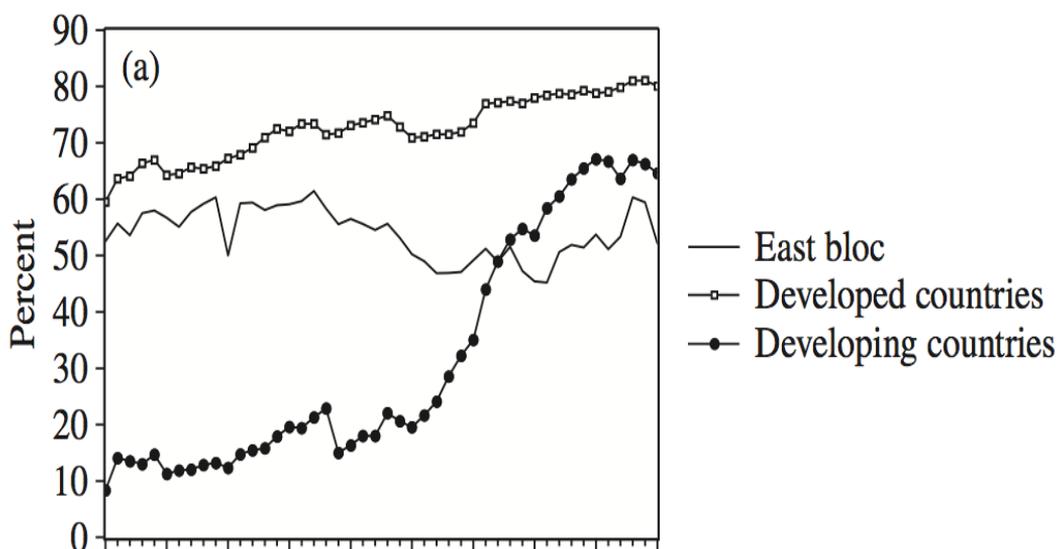


**Figure 4** – „The Slump over the World Wars (1914-1945)” Carreras and Tafunell (2008) – Western European Long Term

Growth, 1830-2000: Facts and Issues. Centre de Recerca en Economia Internacional (CREI) – Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF).

**Note by Roser, Max:** „The above graph shows how political control stopped the trend towards international integration and how the First Wave of Globalisation came to an end. The trend was eventually reversed over the course of the years leading up to the Second World War. The slump of international integration over the wars started with the First World War and ended with the Second. It was only then that Western Europe returned to resume the effort for more integration and cooperation. As the graph shows, this effort is successful until the recent past.”

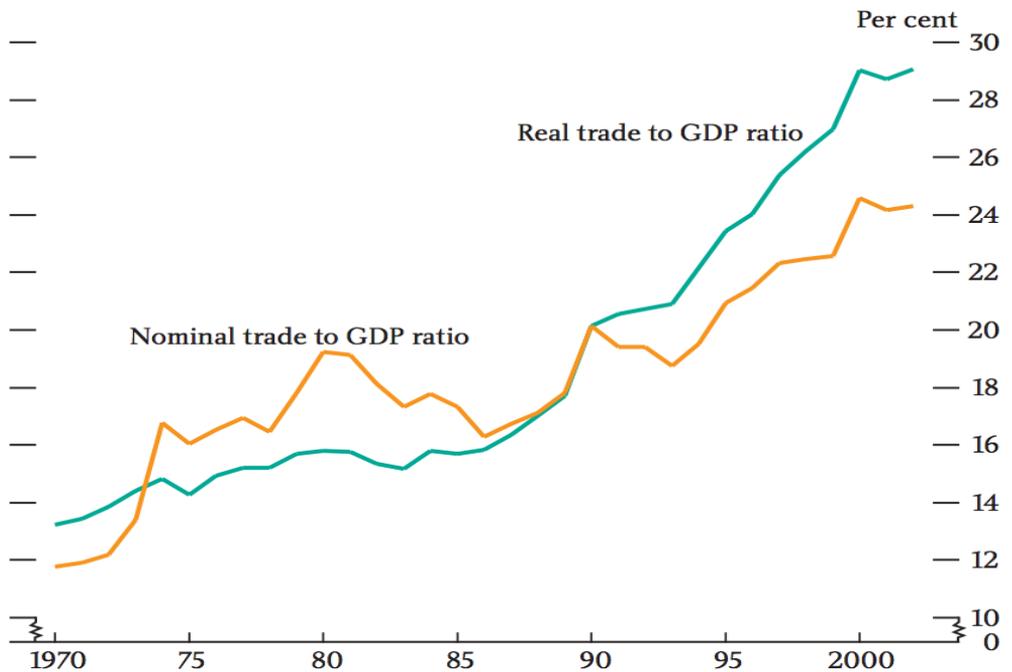
Source: © Max Roser (2015) – `International Trade`. Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrieved from: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-interconnections/international-trade/>



**Figure 5** – „Manufactured products’ share of exports, 1955–2000 (percent) – Findlay (2007)” Findlay and O’Rourke (2009) – Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium. Princeton University Press. Original source for the data is the UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics On-line.

**Note by Roser, Max:** „The changing composition of international trade is shown in the next graph. It shows that the composition of trade of developing countries has changed rapidly. Whereas more than 80% of their exports used to be non-manufactured products – predominantly primary goods – the share of manufactured exports has almost reached 70% by the end of the 20th century. An interactive visualization of trade data of the recent past (post-1995) can be found at the MIT: <https://atlas.media.mit.edu/de/>”

Source: © Max Roser (2015) – `International Trade`. Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrived from: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-interconnections/international-trade/>



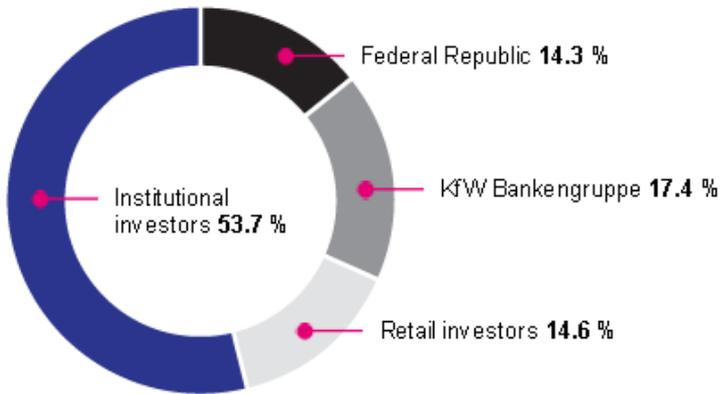
**Figure 6** – „ World imports as a ratio of world GDP (nominal and real) 1970-2002 – Dean”

**Note by Roser, Max:** „ Dean – Why has world trade grown faster than world output?

Online [http://www.econ.brown.edu/fac/Mark\\_Dean/Other\\_Paper\\_1.pdf](http://www.econ.brown.edu/fac/Mark_Dean/Other_Paper_1.pdf) He has taken the shown data from UN statistics.”

Source: © Max Roser (2015) – `International Trade`. Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrieved from: <http://ourworldindata.org/data/global-interconnections/international-trade/>

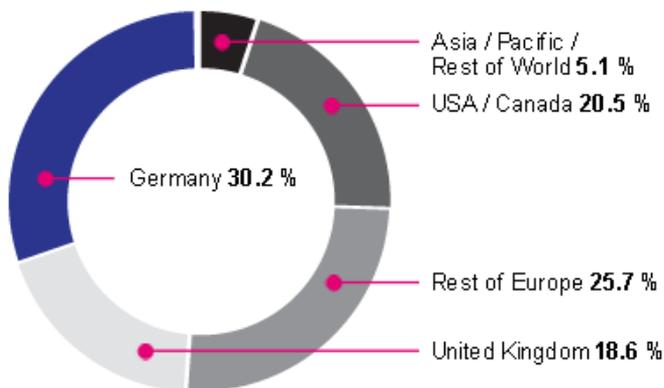
#### Shareholder structure split by investor group



**Figure 7**

Source: © 2015 Deutsche Telekom AG

#### Free float split by region



**Figure 8**

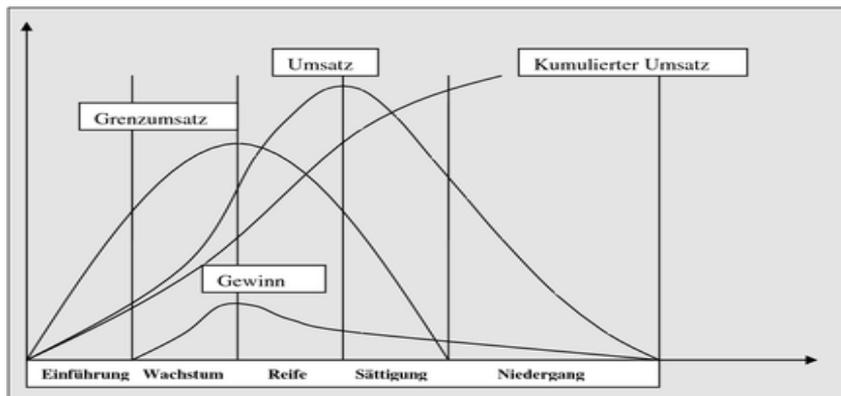
Source: © 2015 Deutsche Telekom AG

Free float and number of shares (March 31, 2015)

Shareholder	% of capital stock	Number of shares
Free float	68.3%	3,097,819,797
State-owned Germany	31.7%	1,437,751,450
- Federal Republic (Part of the State Ownership)	14.3%	646,575,126
- KfW (Part of the State Ownership)	17.4%	791,176,324
Total	100.0%	4,535,571,247

Source: © 2015 Deutsche Telekom AG

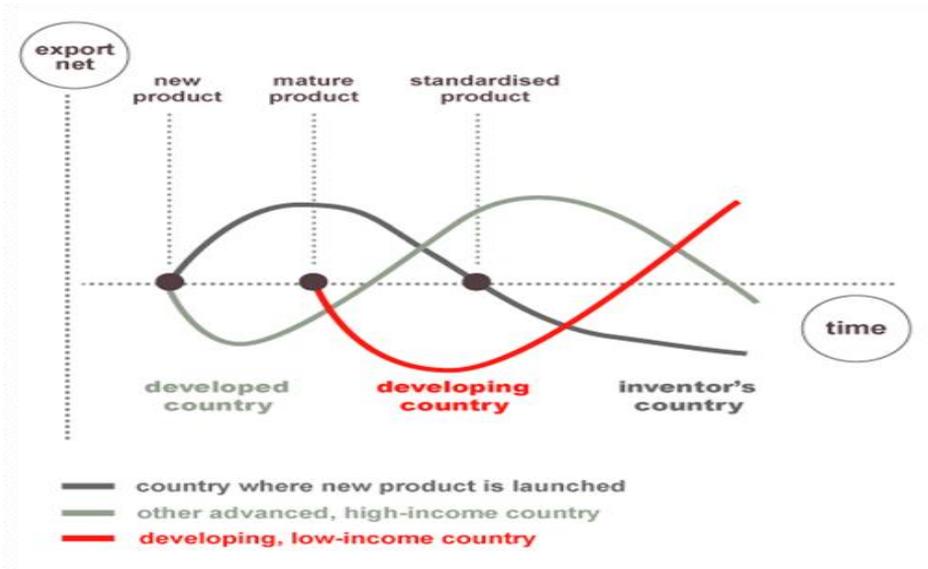
**Figure 9**



**Figure 10** – Product Life Cycle Management (Das Modell des Produktlebenszyklus)

The following figure is intended to represent the curve profiles, which are most widely used to explain the life cycle phenomenon in a specific context.

Source: © In Anlehnung an Siegwahrt. H. (1995): Product Life Cycle Management: die Gestaltung eines integrierten Produktlebenszyklus. Stuttgart: Schäffer-Poeschel. 1995. Seite 5.



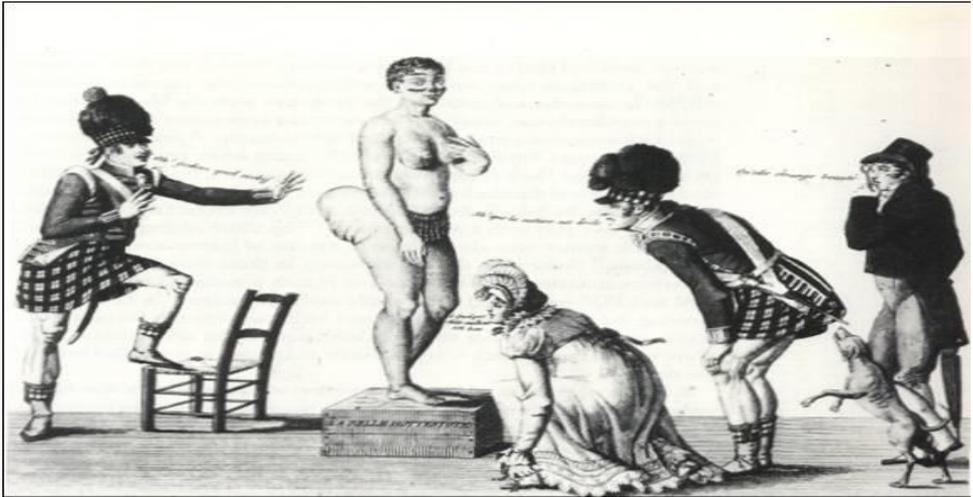
**Figure 11** – International Product Life Cycle Theory  
 Source: © 2007 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.



**Figure 12** – How did imperialism divide the world into countries  
 Africae nova descriptio...W. J. Blaeu 1630. Source: © Google  
 2015



**Figure 13 and 14** – How did imperialism divided people in categories as more and less superior. Other cultures in conflict to European pre-eminence. Source: © Google 2015



**Figure 15** - Saartjie Baartman: The Hottentot Venus; Unfortunately racism was scientifically guaranteed. © Google 2015

**Diaconu, Luminița (dir.). *Orient et Occident.*  
*Construction des identités en Europe médiévale*, E.U.B.,  
colecția „Mediaevalia”, n°. 5/ 2014, 225 p.**

The fifth volume of the collection *Mediaevalia* gathers most of the papers presented in 2013 at the Colloquium focused on Medieval Identity, organized by the Centre for Medieval Studies (University of Bucharest). *Orient et Occident. Construction des identités en Europe médiévale* consists of studies which bring to light several instances of the complex relations between East and West, from the Late Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages. Identities of individuals and nations alike emerge as results of the interaction between the complex political and social contexts of each epoch and cultural traditions.

Constructions of identities are followed by those of alterities. This topic is the starting point of Mihaela Voicu's *Introduction* to the volume, which surveys the evolution of the various definitions that East and West received, from the point of view of alterity, from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

The first article of the volume is Anca Manolescu's study, "Le philosophe évêque et l'évêque philosophe: Synésios de Cyrène et Augustin de Thagaste. Définitions de l'intellectuel dans l'Orient et dans l'Occident chrétiens." It compares the way in which Synesius of Cyrene and Augustine define themselves as "Christian intellectuals," through a similar built identity, based on which they have a comparable perception of both their role in the world and of their positions as bishops. When they have to assume the bishopric, "Augustine offers the model for the Western medieval intellectual" while "Synesius prefigures the Byzantine intellectual" (p. 25).

"The figure of Hermolaos: the Oriental Identity of an Occidental Demon?," written by Robert Mirică, casts light upon a seventh-century Satanic-Antichristic figure, Hermolaos/Armilos, described in an anti-Jewish treatise, *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*. Robert Mirică suggests as a possible source an earlier anti-Christian treatise, *Sefer Zerubbabelet*, where demon Armilos is "a kind of a twin-brother of Antichrist" (p. 37). Giving as further evidence the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*, where Romulus, the founder of Rome, is identified with Armilos, the author states that seventh-century Christian authors "borrowed"

and “reinterpreted” characters from the Jewish tradition, (p. 41) willing to serve the needs of their religion.

In “Paul the Deacon and the Identity of the Lombards between Byzantium and the West,” Ecaterina Lung explores the emergence of Lombard “identity.” Paul the Deacon, in *Historia Langobardorum*, “uses a tripolar system,” (p. 51) in which the Lombards, inheritors of both Christian and Roman values, occupy the central place, in opposition with the rest of the barbarians and the ‘Romans.’ Even after 774, the Lombards preserved their “new identity, which ceased to be barbarian, without becoming Roman and which resisted the Carolingian conquest” (p. 63), and which became the seed of the medieval Italian identity.

Ana-Maria Răducan, in “The Biography of Saint Symeon the New Theologian Seen by Nikita Stethatos. Shaping an Identity,” draws back the way in which Niketas Stethatos, the disciple and biographer of Symeon the New Theologian, builds the identity of his spiritual father after his death. The written portrait of Symeon is shaped with the aim of promoting his sanctity. His characters reveal a tension between “the Byzantine theocratic power” and the monks (p. 74), whose representative Symeon is.

Cătălina Gîrbea, in “*Le dit du vrai anel* ou le paradoxe de l’altérité fraternelle,” discusses a thirteenth-century French text preserved in the ms Français 25566 (B.n.F.). Having a propagandistic agenda for Crusades, both the text and the illuminations describe the relations of the three monotheistic medieval religions. Christianity, the unique inheritor of the true faith, is opposed to Islam and Judaism; but the text alludes also to the spiritual superiority of Judaism over Islam and mirrors the rapports between “the Western Christian states and the Arab world, the Jews representing only a link, a bridge between these two universes of believes” (p. 86).

In “L’autre peut-il devenir mon prochain? Métamorphoses de la perception de l’Oriental par les chroniqueurs français (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles),” Mihaela Voicu explains the aim of the French chroniclers of the Fourth Crusade in depicting a certain image of the Greeks and the Saracens. The texts justify the crusade, showing at the same time that, neither the Greeks, nor the Saracens, can become companions of the Westerners.

Luminița Ciuchindel, in “Le Prêtre Jean à la lumière des chroniques et des relations de voyage occidentales (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles),” presents the image of Priest John (Prêtre Jean), king either in India, China, or Ethiopia, in several chronicles and pilgrimage journals written from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. On the one hand, Marco Polo and Jean de Joinville reveal negative characters of him, while the travel journals present to the Westerners a mythical figure that they attempt to approach.

Luminița Diaconu, in “Les Pèlerins occidentaux face à l’altérité orientale: préjugés et vécus d’une rencontre vouée à l’échec (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)” explores the portrait that three pilgrimage accounts from the thirteenth-fourteenth-century built for the Saracens. The rather negative image, which the Christian pilgrims report, is grounded in the dogmatic differences to the Muslims, which could not be overcome for several centuries.

In “Knocking at the Enemy’s Gate: a Gesture of Power of Bogdan III of Moldavia (1509),” Ovidiu Cristea analyzes the account of Grigore Ureche concerning Voivode Bogdan III’s expedition to Poland. During the campaign, the Moldavian Prince struck the gate of Lvov with his spear and took the bell from the church of Rohatyn. The chroniclers do not offer any justification for the first gesture, but Ovidiu Cristea finds it symbolic, and explains it as “a declaration of war which the lord addressed to the wall defenders and, through them, to the entire kingdom of Poland.” (p. 171)

In “L’étranger dans la société des Pays Roumains au Moyen Âge” Șarolta Solcan presents the large array of attitudes that foreigners encountered at their ingress in the three Romanian Principalities, as revealed in documents from sixteenth-seventeenth century. The attitude depended on the status of the foreigners, varying between hospitality and fear or hatred.

Anca-Irina Ionescu, in “Dimitrie Cantemir and Sofronie Vrachanski – The Beginning of the Modern Bulgarian Culture and Literature,” discusses the identity of Bishop Sophronie of Vrasta, as revealed by his extended work, *The Book of the Three Religions*. The article focuses on its third part, an adapted and annotated translation of almost the entire *Book of the system or the creation of the Mohammedan religion* (Dimitrie Cantemir), the first text in modern Bulgarian. The author explains the context of the emergence of this text and discusses the translation

techniques in relation to the public to which bishop Sophronie addressed.

The *Varia* section contains the article of Óscar Alfredo Ruiz Fernández, “Persia y la lucha europea por la supremacía mundial. Creación de identidades orientales a comienzos del siglo XVII.” The author focuses on the statute of Safavid Persia, found in the middle of complex diplomatic relations, between Spain, Portugal, England, and the Netherlands. The study reveals both the identity of this region and the way in which it was perceived by the other European maritime powers.

Like in all the colloquia that the Centre for Medieval Studies has organized, this volume sheds light on a variety of sources, from a broad time frame and a variety of places. It also reunites different approaches to the written testimonies, from philological analyses to anthropology, revealing that, in building Medieval identities, whether individual or communitarian, alterity has always played a crucial role.

**Andra Jugănaru\***

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**François Mitterrand and his principle of exception française**  
**Angelika Praus, Das Ende einer Ausnahme. Frankreich und**  
**die Zeitenwende 1989/90 Marburg: 2014, Tectum Verlag, 539**  
**S.**

Mitterrand's policy towards Germany by the historical turnaround of 1989/90 is considered even nowadays highly controversial among experts. Whilst some justify his hesitations with the intention to incorporate the reunification in the process of European integration, others see this as an attempt to slow down or even to block the German unionist struggles. The sub-title already indicates that author primarily concerns issues as the attitude of the French President François Mitterrand to the Peaceful Revolution in the GDR, the Cold War and the German reunification.

There are certain key questions in the book. Why Mitterrand visited in December 1989 the doomed GDR? Why the French president refused the invitation of Helmut Kohl to walk together with him through the Brandenburg Gate? Mitterrand stood with Helmut Kohl hand in hand at the tombs of Verdun in 1984, thus one could ask why the French politician was missing support for the unity of the Germans and forced simultaneously the introduction of the euro?

France's behaviour during the German unification process and European upheavals of 1989/90 still stimulates experts to put even today several why questions related on the issue. The scientific controversy is also addressed by Praus, who presents well-known historical and political facts, but she does not contribute with new evidences on the topic. Author provides a new interpretation of the behaviour of Mitterrand during this time and her descriptive work-up relies mainly on the available literature. For instance, author involves the analysis of Ulrich Lappenküper, who published a book with the title Mitterrand and the Germans in 2011 in which he is offering a comprehensive overview on the matter.

Author stresses that Mitterrand was strongly influenced by the policy categories of de Gaulle. Brigitte Seebacher already emphasized the old thinking style of Mitterrand in the foreword of

the book. Six elements were coining this thought: the self-image as a protector of human and civil rights; the myth of the heroic resistance against Hitler's Germany; the demand for belonging to the victorious powers of World War II; the creation of an independent foreign and domestic policy; the claim for predominance in the European Community and the reinforcement of the centralised nation-state size.

Praus points out how the French president was following a political concept that had become fragile in the eighties and during the events of 1989/90 had lost any factual basis. The construct followed by Mitterrand was the idea of French exception. The special feature of the book of Praus is much more the interpretation of the attitude of Mitterrand that she embeds in a complex historical framework. The red line of her argumentation is the keyword „exception française” thus, the official French view, which means that the country represents as a nation and historical greatness a unique case in the world. According to the author, the origins of this assumption are in the 17th and 18th centuries. After that, it turns in a Gaullist myth of history of „résistancialisme” that was taken over by Mitterrand even though he lacked the legitimacy of de Gaulle. The new president implored the claim to independence, although the >> trente glorieuses << (splendid epoch of economic success of France was long over) and the fundamentals of the >> exception française << were starting to disintegrate.<sup>1</sup> Mitterrand insisted on the defense doctrine created by de Gaulle, albeit its core item, the nuclear weapon was losing its value.<sup>2</sup> Gradually the role of Europe becomes a visible priority in the diplomacy guided of Paris.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the French power man also changed basic political positions during his lifetime is not a secret anymore and author criticizes predominantly that Mitterrand inherited the political line of Charles de Gaulle that he continued without hesitation. In view of that, Praus is missing the own visions of the president, thus the originality of Mitterrand's strategic guidelines as top executive. The French president failed to implement old economic models in his country and was not open to process the

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<sup>1</sup> Praus, 2014, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Praus, 2014, 408.

<sup>3</sup> Praus, 2014, 118.

legacies of the Vichy regime and thus reconciliation with his German neighbours was a challenge. This conservative-centralist line leads to the circumstance that he had not properly monitored the factual upheavals, which were analogously happening in both German states, but implemented all possible diplomatic tools to coerce Bonn to consider specific interests of Paris and his allies. After 1989/90, things have completely changed and the politico-historical weight of France was not anymore sufficient to compensate the errors originating from Mitterrand's traditionalist thinking. Contrary to certain different assessments, the Gaullist socialist was no visionary realist, but „a fatalist”.<sup>4</sup> Thus, Mitterrand remained somehow trapped „in the past” keeping alive all the time his „historical fears” that were coining his political decisions.<sup>5</sup> The president was not trying to understand the Germans in their right to self-determination and the connection with the maintenance of stability in Europe, but he only wanted to preserve the status quo of the two former German states. Only after the People's Chamber elections in the GDR in March 1990, he accepted „the unavoidable fate”.<sup>6</sup>

Even after the turning point of 1990 /91, Mitterrand was sticking to the mirage of „French exception” and believed he could back up Paris's rank in international relations. The French European policy was still coined by his „thinking in equilibriums”.<sup>7</sup> With the European Monetary Union, he thought that the reunified Germany would be much weaker as France as it was giving up the strong D-Mark. However, the Treaty of Maastricht should not reinforce the French exception but „worsened the identity and economic crisis of the country”.<sup>8</sup> Indeed Mitterrand's successors brought a part of the components of exception française „to the grave”. The ending of the „French exception” without ifs and buts is still difficult for current politicians as even President François Hollande reconfirmed that issue in 2013. Hollande: „France is a unique nation. It is more than a great history it is a project”. Therefore, author effectively outlines how the inherited French self-understanding still exerts

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<sup>4</sup> Praus, 2014, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Praus, 2014, 218.

<sup>6</sup> Praus, 2014, 257-265.

<sup>7</sup> Praus, 2014, 199.

<sup>8</sup> Praus, 2014, 338-370.

an influence nowadays in diplomacy and why Paris continues to have big difficulties with on-going processes as Europeanization and globalization.

The historical overview of Praus is critically designed, but ignores the fact that the constant appeal to the principles of the French Revolution – Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity – could hardly be reconciled with the durable mistakes of a rapidly growing colonial power. Besides skips to mention that, the standardization and unification of the French language under Richelieu also involved the circumstance that women were extremely marginalised. However, for the more recent history, author manages to identify the continuous contradictions between historical reality and sophisticated heroization attempts of the French central authority. Mitterrand appears in this contextual frame and is presented according to the statements of historians and contemporary witnesses who are mostly people in power.

The structure of the book is well balanced and has five main chapters<sup>9</sup> constructed around the concept of *exception française*. Chapter I and III are somewhat longer in extent as the other ones. The last chapter (V) also involves the subject of „the internal crisis of France and it's changed role in Europe”.<sup>10</sup> The edition ends with a section of closing remarks of the author that comprises a brief summary. Additionally there is a very useful list of abbreviations and bibliography. The bibliography is divided into a list of primary sources and secondary literature.

Praus is convinced that the French political leader has missed his chance to shape European policies not later than 1989/90, but from time to time she uses rather one-sided descriptions for Mitterrand, which are more as critical turning to negative as the main comparison reference is de Gaulle. Certain elucidations concerning the French president are in some way reformulations, which are weakening the argumentation. Therefore even if one cannot share all views of Praus is useful to

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<sup>9</sup> After the preface of Brigitte Seebacher it follows the introduction of Angelika Praus. The titles of the five chapters are: I The >> *exception française* << Charles de Gaulle and the greatness of France, II François Mitterrand: continuity within a changing world, III France and the turning point of the year 1989/90, IV François Mitterrand: in a changing world on which the >> *exception française* << remains, V Successors of Mitterrand and the >> *exception française* <<: A farewell by rates.

<sup>10</sup> Praus, 2014, 444.

read her vast work that could have been considerably shorter if not every French citation had been converted into German in the footnotes. On the other hand, exactly these translations are increasing the authenticity of author's foreign references.



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