THE ROMANIAN JOURNALISTIC EDUCATION – THE HISTORY OF A POLEMIC

Marian Petcu*

Abstract: The present study introduces the reader to early approaches relating to journalists' education and accession to the journalistic profession. In Romania, the press was originally managed by writers, priests and teachers, who used to promote a rhetoric of talent, rather than one of competence in the trade of journalism. It was often said that talent was of prime importance here, and, since there was no vouching for talent in schools, journalism needed not to be taught in an educational format. However, Romanian intellectuals who had been schooled in Germany, France or elsewhere would plead for journalistic education. Unfortunately, all attempts in journalistic education failed in Romania until the communist regime came to power.

Keywords: journalistic education, Romania, press, student, accession.

A polemic as old as the press is the one connected to the journalist profession – do we or do we not need profile studies? If we do, in what conditions, for how long, in which fields? In this chapter we neither get into this polemic, nor suggest solutions, but rather invite to reflection because there were some attempts of institutionalizing the journalistic education in Romania, in the past; still, only a small number of specialists are aware of all this.

If our first journalists were more often teachers and priests, the fact seems to be explained by the political, social and cultural evolution of Romanian provinces. This is also the point of view of Dem Teodorescu, the one that has said that "the school and the newspaper/gazette had been borne

^{*} Ph.D. Professor, University of Bucharest, Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication Studies; e-mail: marian petcu2003@yahoo.com

once in Romania. From the same need. Through the same willies. With the same people. We can say that (...) the journalist was the pioneer of the book in our country. Elsewhere, the press has appeared as a practical and lucrative efflorescence of the culture. Here, she was the very ABC book of the nation. The first teachers of Romanians were also the first journalists".

The problem of the seriousness of professional commitment of journalists would be put, in modern terms, as far back as in 1862, when I. Missail published the study "The journalism after the classic school", in The Sciences, Letters and Art Magazine (Bucharest). Missail demanded to the press "to fix some rules" necessary for the practice "of the job of a journalist", of which we remind: impartiality, sciences and the feel of justice, avoiding of injurious words, "commitment to the value of truth, beauty and justice", giving up the vain declamations, healing of habits, "the encourage of the talent and real genius", "the exposure of charlatanism and ignorance", of mediocrity. The journalist must understand that "the quill that he holds in his hands doesn't belong to him, but to the public he writes for", so that we should "prove, with solidity, what we think and let the public to decide" because "what the public search for is not our judgment, but the rapport of the process which only the public is able to judge." There are more of these arguments, such as the pleading for the "cleaning" of language of the improper terms, the imperative that a journalist must know at least two foreign languages and be a good "dialectician". The journalist must "stay above the daily passions, the fights of parties and the wind of ephemeral happenings"2. Here is also the image of a journalist from 1886, presented by G. Barițiu: "A journalist, such as the editor of a political newspaper must be independent from more points of view: his vocation, or, as the poets would say, the political nerve, without what he doesn't do anything, but ruins everything, then that calling which was helped, all the time, both by the theoretical sciences, especially the judicial ones, the state, the political, national, historical and geographical economy of all time, but also the experience, based on much many countries and from all human social classes; enough knowledge at least four to five languages; at last, a patience like in no other fields, not even in the military one. It's still possible that a journalist had been for a few years lawyer or jurist, so that he should have practical knowledge, even from the most prosaic branches of life. More briefly, those years are gone when our nation took its journalists from the

¹ Teodorescu, 1939, 14.

² Missail, 1862, 121.

teachers of Saint Sava High School, from the clergymen from Cluj and than later from Oradea, Arad, Sibiu..."³.

Nevertheless, there are still a series of doubts on the exact period of time when local professional journalists first emerged. According to George Panu, between 1870 and 1880, there was no such thing: "Until the Convorbiri literare revue was first edited (1867), only men of high social status and intellectual value - such as C. A. Rosetti and Cezar Bolliac - practiced journalism. At that time, journalism was not a real profession – everybody (the entire young politically involved generation) worked at a newspaper or another"4. On the other hand, there are some who consider that a certain feeling of belonging to this new profession started out around 1883, and this is how "the development of the press, more and more newspapers being edited and proofs of the fact that journalism truly became a career (...) brought up a few journalists' decision of creating a journalist association"⁵. In quite a similar way, but in 1922, Constantin Bacalbaşa, the president of the Journalist Union in Bucharest spoke about the creation of the Journalist Society (1883) - "at that time, as the purely professional journalism was not developed enough, those who wrote in newspapers were deeply influenced by the parties they represented "6. The 5th article of the Journalist Union Status in 1899 referred to the "journalist profession", the 7th to "the dignity of the organization". The Status of "The Press" Romanian Journalists Club, created in 1906, mentioned "the journalist gathering" (2nd article), and also only the ones who "activated as journalists" were allowed to be members of the Club (5th article). Moreover, information available on this particular stage of the present research suggest the fact that it is around 1900 that journalism grew more and more apart from the literary field; also, more small frequency publications (daily / weekly) were edited, meanwhile a larger range of people earned their living by journalism related activities. For example, Nicolae Iorga believed that "a new kind of press (...) started out around the 1890's" because the first periodical "at that time belonged to Rosetti, Bolliac, Haşdeu. The three of them were poor, they had no way of hiring others to work for them (...) All of these newspaper editors were poets, archeologists, historians (...) When Mr. Cazzavillan created Universul (1884) ... the intellectual owners of the

³ Barițiu, 1886, 1.

⁴ Panu, 1998, 261.

⁵ Bacalbaşa, 1994, 207.

⁶ Bacalbaşa, 1993, 100.

newspapers realized the fact that it was enough for them to write the leading articles, and hire students for the rest (ordinary news - n.n.)¹⁷.

Ion Ghica was one of the first to express their concerns about the quality of the journalists' activity (1882) - "whatever their personal opinions and beliefs, journalists should develop a unity of ideas and guidelines concerning honor and good-faith; they should create an organization of well respected and respectable people", Ghica said, referring to the journalists' partisanship and the passionate writing. He also suggested a solution - "The evil's remedy is to be found only in mutual control". The invitation to responsibility is a constant theme for Ghica - "how is it possible for a man without education and any kind of experience to speak about the essential facts of a nation? And how is it possible for grown-up men who call themselves men of state, leaders of the people, ex-ministers to leave into the hands of boys such a powerful and dangerous weapon as a newspaper (...) and this in a country where no one is allowed to even prescribe a bit of quinine without having studied the science of diseases and the art of curing them; in a country where the law does not allow the wisest man to say even a word to a judge in order to support a friend in the right if he hasn't been through elementary, gymnasium and high school studies at least ten years, another 4 or 5 in law school to get his PhD or his diploma. Only journalists are allowed to speak about social suffering and problems, without having the slightest idea about the means to solve them; only they are allowed to write no matter what, to disseminate wrong information and poor venom to thousands and thousands of honest people, wrapping up lies in slander; only they're allowed to hire their writing to one person or another, to praise one day the honor and patriotism of the one person they accused of betrayal the day before; to mock for a paycheck from their paper. It is more than enough nowadays for a young man to have some spleen at heart and some verve in writing in order to be requested on good money by partisan papers (...)"8. Therefore, the lack of adequate training of journalists, reliable ness - responsibility were problems which concerned mainly the growth and development of the profession, which were to be accomplished later on, together with the affirmation of the informative press.

⁷ Iorga,1903, 1.

⁸ Ghica, 1970, 450.

One of the important personalities of the Romanian culture who studied journalism was Constatin Radulescu-Motru. Here is one of his stories about a journalism class he attended at the University in Leipzig, where he also got his PhD in philosophy: "It was around 1892 that professor Bücher (Karl) notified about his journalism workshop. (...) At that time, a tutorial class on journalism at the University - it was simply outrageous. A lot of students did not attend it, although everybody was talking about it. The German university environment was, in that period, quite conservative, following the traditional career paths. Me, I attended the class with great enthusiasm, thinking of it as a meeting set out to protest against the fact that journalists were neglected and ignored, and there was no special training for their profession. Then I was very fond of journalists, and I still am. But the opening lesson was not at all what I had expected. First of all, there were only a few students, ten tops (...) After (...) the introduction (...) the teacher presented a draft of the subjects he was to develop, and an important place in it were the instructions on how and where exactly a journalist might find information. As a matter a fact, the documentation centers created afterwards in many universitary towns were made up according to those particular guidelines, as C. Bouglé told me (...) To which social need does journalism respond to, and therefore, which are its characteristics? Because it is a social need, and not human nature that creates a certain job. There are bankers, accountants, doctors, lawyers etc. because of the way society is organized, and not because of the human nature, which constitutes only the means to achieve that profession. So journalism emerged because of the need of people of the modern period to get the pulse of the society they live in, in order to be at ease and on the right side. (...) Once the social need is discovered, it is more than obvious what traits a journalist should possess - meaning the one who makes it his job to present on a daily basis, and if not, after a short period anyway, the way society works, in all its displays have. It would be absurd to pretend that he had a serious authority in all the matters he deals with, because it would be like asking for a universal knowledge. Still, it should be more than enough for him to be acquainted with matters of a general type. The specialization of journalism makes it easier and easier to satisfy this demand. Knowledge apart, the journalist must also have a special and enthusiastic insight towards the subject he is to write about. Without it, his job becomes pure slavery. He lacks of reasons why he writes, he has no clear and airy style, he has no patience - all these come from enthusiasm, and only a sincere one. In order to keep this kind of interest alive

all the times he wishes – and he wants it quite often, because subjects are also divers, there is the need for a sine qua non premise: the journalist's freedom of mind. But there is no such thing nowadays, professor Karl Bücher said, referring tot hat period's journalism which lied at the behest of political parties and of plutocrats. The great economist ended his speech with an outlook of the faraway times when, once the tyranny of the political parties was terminated, a noble and beautiful journalist profession would emerge in order to correspond to civilized people as it should "9. There is no saying whether this was indeed Bücher' forecast – the end of political pluralism, meaning dictatorship – or Motru's personal opinion, considering the fact that the story above was told at the opening of The Free University of Journalism in Bucharest, the 16th of December 1940 – a university started out by a group of legionary intellectuals.

A special interest for the universitary training of journalists is to be found in the creating of the Dr. Ioan Mihu Foundation in Cluj (1910). The association had an important financial back-up and part of the funds were set out to "helping Romanian journalists to study abroad" – In 1931, the Foundation was at the service of the Romanian Press Union in Ardeal and Banat.

The care for journalist training shown by members of the General association of the Press (Bucharest, 1913) is also worth mentioning. Its regulations stipulated for libraries, classes and conferences, the building of places meant to increase the professional knowledge of the members.

Onisifor Ghibu (1883 – 1972) also tried to attend journalism classes at the University of Zurich. Advised and supported by Nicolae Iorga, he then was directed towards the University of Strasbourg. Studies apart, his job was also to "observe the way in which the Romanian cause is presented in the foreign press". First of all, Ghibu started out in Switzerland "in order to contact the specialists in the fresh science of journalism"(s.n.), for which a department had been created a couple of years before at the University of Zurich, with professor A. Wettstein as keeper (...) After attending to classes (...) and a workshop I've introduced myself to the professor, because I was tempted to stay there and devote myself to journalism, and that is why I spoke to the professor about my paper on Romanian religious journalism. The professor's answer was that my paper should be accepted as a post-graduate

⁹ Rădulescu-Motru, 1940, 1.

¹⁰ Popa, 2002, 3-20.

doctoral thesis"¹¹. In the end, Ghibu submits another subject for the doctoral thesis – Romanian journalism in Hungary fighting against the Hungarian chauvinistic policies, more precisely, "against the education upon any law" – which would be accepted again by the teacher, after which the student changed his mind over again. "I've realized I was not prepared enough for this kind of fight overseas and that I still had much to learn in order to be able to embark on such a risky and engaging task"¹². He will then go away, first to Basel and later to Strasbourg.

Ghibu seems to have been one of those who supported the idea of creating a journalism department in the law faculty of the University in Cluj, in autumn 1919. Here's how I. Vinea remembers this particular period, in an article in *Adeverul* (nr. 10.929, the 19th of October, page 1): "A journalism school was created at the University of Cluj, as an enlargement of the juridical faculty. There is where future journalists will undertake the secrets of their complex and tiring job, as careful supervisors of the public life, as people set out to explore the next day, to look out for the news, to catch and set a light upon the secrets of politics, to build or ruin reputations, to popularize ideas, to create opinions and trends, to be like attentive ant sensitive satellites for the continuous vibes on every side. This is where the official sealed document is to be obtained, in order to certify the fact that one is ready to assume the untold mission of asking questions and speaking for the public and working only for him.

There is no thing less useful than these high standard schools set out to teach a skill that consists only of good will, fine temper, talent and assertiveness, and whose real workshops and classes are the news rooms (s.n.). Journalism still is the job in which professional worthiness wins over and reveals itself – and maybe this too is a compensation for the journalist's task to signal values and the place where these lie. University provides knowledge, and any wise man has his own opinions and style. Still, universities do not provide for those skills so very needed in that intense, diverse and rushed life, in which only talent, power, enthusiasm and intelligence can manage. One can get knowledge in any library or university. The rest of the characteristics are, unfortunately, inassimilable. And we must emphasize on the fact that journalism is the only job which does not allow stupidity". Vinea became one of the leaders of the journalist community – president of the Professional

¹¹ Ghibu, 1981, 168.

¹² Ghibu, 1981, 168.

Journalists Union; he gets his law diploma in 1924 and then develops a rich publishing activity. The Yearbook of the University of Cluj (Universitatea Daciei Superioare), 1919 – 1925 mentions a department of journalism in the syllabus of the Law and State Sciences Faculty, its keeper being the teacher's assistant Iorgu Radu, born in 1886, PhD in law in Berlin, specialized in international law¹³.

Although the community of journalists was divided by the time they talked about access to profession, at feb. 14, 1921, during a meeting of Professional Journalists Union, taking all the chance, H. Streitman asked the commite of UZP to follow the "selection of journalist" as the critics of some jornalists present were more and more frequent, withou any echo. The debates of Press Congress in December 3-5, 1922 in Bucharest are to be reminded, as the issue of journalists preparation was considered. B. Brănișteanu¹⁴ wrote a large article about the event of which we quote: "... in the midafternoon started the debates of the Congress directed by C. Bacalbaşa. The first issue was: Press moral situation. The opinions clashed violently; without any reason, in our humble opinion. D. Tomescu, of the Sindicatului Ziariștilor Români din Ardeal și Banat/Romanian Journalists Union in Ardeal read a report that contained good parts as well as criticeable parts. He spoke for a better intellectual and moral preparation of the journalists and proposed as main solutions: 1) Formation of journalism departments; 2) Scholarships for abroad study in journalism; 3) Guarantee of the financial status of journalist. We can see in first sentence that the debate started besides the question and the proposals of the rapporteur. Instead of the preparation he asked jor the journalists, they said he asked for a diploma and that it would transform our profession in a closed guild and this would be a press freedom constraint, the debate became violent is to be understood and at a closer look it is not regretable the freedom that is rooted in the souls of Romanian journalists. The two currents were not even antagonistic. No journalist can be against a vaste preparation for the noble apostolate "journalism" and no journalist can vote for closing his guild as it is not imaginable as the freedom of writing and printing is a wright connected to citizen freedom and no matter the way he would be constrained, we should condemn this constraint as any other try to limit citizen wrights. This is the reason nobody thaught about limiting the press entrance to a diploma. Such diploma guarantees nor the talent or the

¹³ Rad, 2004, 4.

¹⁴ Adevărul, anul XXXV, 5 decembrie 1922, 1.

knowledge. It is obvious that the presence of a diploma is not a constraint of entering the guild. The multilateral culture, encyclopedic (...) that the journalist needs, that as well said by Prelate (metropolitan, that spoke at congress opening – n.n.) relatively profond, declaims with certitude the specilization and that a special course wouldn't hurt any journalist as it wouldn't be a shameful for the younger and less prepared, perhaps lacking experience, to attend one or more courses with advanced people or important people outside the guild".

It is the reason why, after the storm, the sun of agreement rised again, and a motion that, I wouldn't say, pacifies both sides, but: proved that basically no clash of opinions, was uninamously voted. The opinions were split about forming journalism chairs, journalists like Pantelimon Halippa, Constantin Mille and others agreed the proposal of Tomescu. Mille once claimed: "It is true that a diploma doesn't offer talent, however a good preparing is more than useful to journalism guild"15. Sensitive to the idea of some specilaity training, Pantelimon Halippa became the echo of the proposal of "Bucharest University students to intercede for founding a journalism faculty, after the abroad model" reading the message addressed by them to the Congress. Finally, the motion adopted by the representatives of all the professional associations in Romania concerning this matter had the following content: "The Congress offers more recuitment freedom to the journalists and, in the meanwhile, decides for intellectual thrieving of people by press, to oraganize each year a cicle of professional conferences in all journalism domains, that all the journalists are free to attend. In the meanwhile The Congress will form a comission to study the details of applying this matter, presentin it to the Congress in a special report". As the proposal of Bucharest students, it is decided that "the petition will be guarded"16.

In 1923, at Press Congress in Romania (second after Union) organized in Cluj, during the third day (Tuesday, december 18) was to be debated a proposal of Bucovina delegation – forming a Press Academy. Unfortunately, groups of students associated with politicians hindered the debates of Congress, that leaded to a political shindy. The initiative wasn't completely new, as during the first Congress (December 5, 1922) they debated, among other issues, "delimitating journalism". 1926 was rich in articles referring to the condition of journalist. Most had their roots in a text

¹⁵ Adevărul, anul XXXV, 5 decembrie 1922, 1.

¹⁶ Adevărul, anul XXXV, 5 decembrie 1922, 1.

signed by Iosif Nădejde – "Press and Culture. Talent, knowledge and... certificates"¹⁷. Nădejde condemned the proposal made at the general meeting of Journalists Union in Bucharest to forbid accepting in The Union journalists that doesn't own a diploma.

The initiative came from Pamfil Şeicaru, that once said, during a meeting, that "the talent belongs to literature and the intellectual preparation to the press...", allusion to the retorics of talent promoters that a journalist needs. Moreover, Şeicaru agreed to the idea of a law to demand from journalists at least a baccalaureate diploma, while Nădejde warned that "before becoming a profession, it is a public liberty" - the wright of writing. Against Seicaru were other known journalists. Ion Gorun reminded the public in one of his articles that he started writing side by side with Cezar Bolliac, about whom he knew he didn't have a bacalureat diploma, and a journalist like Emil Costinescu didn't have at least four classes and this didn't bothered him in making a good career. As for Gorun "journalism is more of an art and it is known how much conflict in art can weight. A school, yes, an academy or free university, that I'm sure any young journalist would happily attend..."18. Emil Socor published a text that denied the conditioning of information access with studies, "bacalaurest, licence or PhD doesn't have any connection with the selection of journalist", especially that you can be a deputy, senator, minister without having elementary studies. His conclusion was that "professional honesty" became more important than studies. And this time, the question of studies was to be forgotten, although from the rezolution of Polish-Romanian Press Conference (may 9, 1926) results that Romanian party signed an agreement that specified they should create university opportunities for the youth in the two countries "from all the science, politics and journalism schools to be able to study in good conditions in Poland as well as in Romania". So, the Polish had journalism faculties by the time their Romanian mates wondered if they should or shouldn't demand certificate studies to become a journalist, and in Prague there was a special school of Czech journalists willing to learn the Romanian language (they could be acredited in Romania – n.n.).

In November 11, 1926, in *Adevărul* newspaper there was an article signed "D. G." of which we find they created a "journalism contest" in Vienna, for the best article titled "Road to work peace. Practical proposals for peaceful

¹⁷ Adevărul, anul XXXIX, nr.12.938, 18 februarie 1926, 1.

¹⁸ Adevărul, anul XXXIX, nr. 12.940, 20 februarie 1926, 1.

solving a conflict between employers and employees", the prize was 1000 shillings (approx 25.000 lei). The news offered the author the opportunity to flatter the initiative of Neuer Wiener Journal director and to comment upon: "you will see that for becomina a valuable journalist, you must be a teoritician as well as a practician, to be able to apply the theories, and literate, to give a nice form to the ideas. A series of qualities you hardly find in the same individual. This is why the profession of journalist isn't as easy as you may believe..."¹⁹.

The matter of journalists preparation was redebated in 1927, once with press law project, that general Averescu claimed to advocate Vespasian V. Pella. Among the first to react as rejecting the project was Em. Socor that said: "In general Averescu conception you can be a deputy, senator and minister without having elementary atestate of first four elementary classes, but you can't be a journalist without academic diplomas, the only that give you the talent, power and skill of journalism (...) The reglementation of journalism exercise comes in conflict with the constitutional principle of press freedom, so with the elementary and essential freedom (...) Diploma? What kind of a diploma? A person licenced in pharmacy, phisics, chemistry or natural sciences can be a journalist? But why couldn't be a doctor or an advocate? The Government isn't logical in its point of view. Only people with appropriate diplomas can be advocates or doctors. What speciality school should attend a young man that wants to become a journalist? And as long as such speciality school doesn't exist, with what wright the State can claim diplomas? (...) The Constitution guarantees freedom to communicate and publish ideas and oppinions to EVERYBODY..."20.

The author knew that the incriminated project didn't demand a licence in journalism, but a baccaluareat diploma and superior studies for reporters. In March 18, 1927, Socor returns with a new article, accusing the government that, by this law, "The exercise of writing becomes conditiond by a patent, as they cliam from alcohol dealers. And like with alcohol dealers, any contravention from corporation rules will be punished with licence withdrawal. Only a citizen with a patent will be able to think and write to a newspaper. Short and comprehensive: journalists are to be obediant, or they stop being journalists..."²¹. Pamfil Şeicaru responsed in *Cuvântul* in March 19,

¹⁹ Adevărul, anul XXXIX, nr. 13.161, 11 noiembrie 1926, 2.

²⁰ Adevărul, anul XXXX, 16 martie 1927, 1.

²¹ Adevărul, anul XXXX, 18 martie 1927, 2.

with an article named "Press Response", that said: "... the source of all bad thigs in Romania (...) the cause of all the trouble that bothers the poor Romanian people, is: defective organization of the press. If all the journalists were recruited in front of a earnest comission, if every journalist would be at least social sciences PhD, if every journalist would have a high level of morality (as it is well known our ministers are) attested by the district police, section manners, if journalists were best in all domains, everything would work in our country"²².

Finally, a general meeting of journalism associations representatives will be united in march 22, and Nicolae Iorga will have an honour invitation, for convincing the government to withdraw the idea of professional access reglementation. For this matter spoke Pamfil Şeicaru as Journalists Union president, Nae Ionescu (the one to be charged by I. Pangal in 1931 to found a school of journalism in Bucharest), G. Silviu, Ion Teodorescu and others. Iorga claimed that "the law is idiotically made" because "you can't express in a law the wright to express a conviction or to sustain a belief (...) There is no meaning in this proclamation and what woud be the meaning of creating a journalists guild. All other guils are over just to create this one?". The meeting adopted a motion that claimed the government to leave the initiated press law project and consider the one proposed by press associations.

In may 28, 1928, during the conference organized by Romanian Social Institute, Eugen Filotti spoke about "press and its social issues". We can't avoid, obviously, one of the most claimed matters – the preparation of journalists. This is why, after proving "the press uses" he said that "the capital problem is the one of professional preparation of journalists. Here, the vocation, the talent are more important than academic title. We need to create a special education adapted to the journalism exigencies", as the obligaion to form "a press institute".

We should mention now that the Leipzig University attracted Dimitrie Gusti (1880-1955), the one that obtained PhD in Leipzig (1908) after the studies in Paris and Berlin, with a wok on press regime. Gusti was amongst the promoters of the idea of forming superior studies for the preparation in Bucharest. The moment in evoqued by C. Radulescu Motru in terms: "Hereby, professor Gusti, inspired by the initiative of Karl Bucher, proposed, some years ago, the foundation of asocial sciences and journalism

²² Curentul, anul III, nr. 713, 19 martie 1927, 3.

Faculty, that wasn't realized by now, as other teachers asked for a pedagogy Faculty, in the meanwhile, and it was too much for our University", without specifying the year of initiative. There were, in interbellum period, journalists to obtain specility diplomas abroad. Nicolae Sever Cărpinişan, One of the remarcable Constanța Journalists, obtained a diploma in Journalism in Sorbonne University – Paris, in 1925, with a scholarship offered by Commerce Chair in Constanța.

Returning to the previous polemics - with or without studies, we mention that in 1929 G. Vladescu - Racoasa will publish in Adevarul a previous article for the information it offers. He states that the matter of a professional contract of the journalist was presented in a report by D. N. Daşcovici back in 1922, at the first congress of the Romanian press (Bucharest, the 5th of December-n.n) report that was forgotten by the participants at the workings. It is "Even more important for us", says Vladescu - Racoasa, "The idea of establishing a press institute near a faculty of social and political sciences of even near the Romanian Social Institute can only be inspired and welcomed, and we, the journalists, have the duty to sustain it with all our powers. The organization manner can be set through a complete argument between the press association, newspaper managers and the scientific institutions that would undertake the responsibility of its functioning. Because it is worth reminding here an eloquent fact in this sense: in Germany, there were created after the War journalism schools near sixteen universities, two technical schools and five trade superior schools. The Journalism Institute of Heidelberg, having an interesting and instructive Zeitungs probestelle dates back in 1895 and enjoys a great and unanimous reputation..."23. Only one month after the publishing of the mentioned text, the newspapers announced that the Press Division from the Minister of External Affairs founded three scholarships for journalists that were placed at the disposal of the committees of the Small Agreement of the Press and Polish Romanian Press. The scholars, professional journalists, members of a press company, were supposed to take three-month training periods in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia or Poland, each of them receiving ROL 25,000, amount that seemed modest for them. (33). In 1932, Emil Samoilă was publishing the first journalism manual in our country - Ziaristica. Noțiuni elementare de gazetărie (Journalism. Basic Notions of Journalism) - were he noted, referring to the journalists education:

²³ Adevărul, anul XXXXII, nr. 13.848, 10 februarie 1929, 1.

"Journalism is a profession like any other. And as any other profession, it must be learnt. In our country there is no current journalism school. D. (I.) Pangal, as press and information assistant secretary of the state that recently took the initiative of founding some training courses for the journalistic and diplomatic career. He mentioned that these are not compulsory courses, but a free school for the youth training that are destined to journalism. Professor Nae Ionescu, manager of Cuvântul newspaper works at the project design. D. Eugen Filotti, the press manager (...) declared back in 1927 to be in favour of creating some journalism courses in our country. He studied the way these schools work abroad..." (34). Samoila will quote from a lecture of I. Filotti defended on the 27th of May 1928 at the Romanian Social Institute press and information assistant secretary of the state where he said that "The problem of the journalists professional training was taken into consideration by us only incidentally and then in a wrong way". Filotti rejected: "the wrong conception" of asking the candidate at the journalist profession an academic degree, because this "contradicts the constitutional principle of the freedom of writing, meaning the right any citizen has of expressing the opinions by a press means", showing that before any degrees lies, in the journalist profession, "the vocation or the talent". In addition, "the obligation of the academic diploma is useless in the same time, for the simple reason that in the natural evolution of things, the journalists with academic degrees are more and more numerous". This is why "the matter of the journalists professional training must be taken into consideration differently. A special education system must be created, one adapted to the journalism exigencies and freely be at the disposal of those who want to enter or intent to devote themselves to this profession"24. The question was, even in 1927, what model should we adopt? "There are institution of professional training for journalists and journalism studies in 17 countries and these are: America, England, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Swiss, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Russia. The press education being at its beginnings it presents chaotically and insecure. It is still searching for a final form. The countries where it reached a bigger development an a more precise orientation are: US and Germany. There are two systems, two conceptions. The American systems follows the students' initiation in the technique of the calling, there is practical training for the profession that they will be called to exercise.

²⁴ Samoilă, 1932, 47.

Americans start from the idea discussed in theory, but with excellent results in application, that everything can be taught, that a good training under the report of the grafted professional technique even on a medium vocation, values more than a medium vocation, values more than a brilliant ability, without a technique exercise. The German system is completely different. It is bipartite, each branch following different purposes. One is the research of the newspaper phenomenon as scientific studies object under all its aspects. This branch received the name of newspaper science (Zeitungwissenschaft), the youngest of all philosophic subjects, that might be placed near the literature science. The second branch is that dealing especially with the journalists. Unlike the American system, this one deals with its scientific training, providing general and special knowledge that he needs to better correspond to the mission of the incumbents," said Filotti²⁵. In the US there are 86 institutions for journalistic studies, among which 28 are in state universities, 17 are part of colleges and superior state schools and 41 universities. In Germany, there are now functioning journalism seminars near the following universities: Berlin, Leipzig, Munchen, Hamburg, Koln, Freiburg and Munster. The most important institute is that of Berlin, placed under the patronage of the Prussian state. In England, there are many journalism schools similar to those in America. Abroad there are many journalism schools. We will quote here some of the more accessible to the Romanians. Ecole de journalisme pres de la faculte de l'universite libre, Lille, (France). This is the catholic university of Lille, that founded few years ago a journalism course. The course takes two years and is attended especially by the students of the faculty L' Universite de Fribourg (Swiss). This university has a private course. Ecole universelle par correspondance de Paris, Boulevard Exelmans, Paris XVIe. this is a private school through correspondence with a special journalism department. Metropolitan College of Journalism St. Albans (England). It is a private British college". After finishing the quotation from the intervention of E. Filotti, E. Samoilă says:" In this paper its author affords to give some fundamental notions of journalism. This is, as good as the author knows, the first essay in our country. It will soon be followed by a real journalism course where the author of these lines will also collaborate", letting know that specialty courses will be initiated²⁶.

²⁵ Samoilă, 1932, 47.

²⁶ Samoilă, 1932, 47.

Samoilă was in contradiction in appreciation – on one hand he could not ignore what was happening in the world in the journalistic education field and on the other hand he did not want to start a conflict with those denying the necessity of this kind of education. Here is a proof in this sense -"If we will follow the articles of the leaders of a Romanian daily newspapers and we will analyze their articles from the point of view of the style and gathering, we would have made the most useful journalism school. This is the best system to learn journalism, as much as this learning is possible, because the journalist calling requires, in the first place, native qualities and only secondly a certain professional technique"27. Nevertheless, at the end of his volume, he announced, under the title "A Detailed Journalism Course" that: "Following the example of the journalism school from the western countries, few Romanian journalists decided to form a journalism practical course for the use of the newspaper corresponds, of the occasional collaborators, of the newspaper reporters and editors from the country. The first part of the course which is still in preparation, will appear during fall 1932. Information about it can be acquired from Mr. Emil Samoilă, journalist, Bucharest 4, str. Ismail no. 8"28. We also remind that among those considering as opportune a journalism school in our country before the Second World War was also the famous reporter F. Brunea – Fox, fact confirmed by him in a 1973 interview²⁹. It must have been difficult to practice in a domain that did not have neither schools nor even a few specialty papers because the first manual would appear, as shown before, at Bucharest, only in 1932. This is why Perpessicius upset to such an absence is to understand - " In this moment we do not have that paper on journalism of Jouvenel (...) It seems like it would have been a good guide on the tournament and full of spines road of the nowadays Romanian press...".

"Not even one young man would have thought, in those days, at the eventuality that, in the same with the faculty graduating, he would also receive the respective position" – remembers journalist A. P. Samson, from *Adevărul*, evoking the 1930's – "*The Life entrance* of the young with bachelor's degree diploma was, in most of the part, randomly directed. For instance, journalism entrance was more than anywhere else. There were also many bachelor degreed young men but not with journalist diplomas, but many others: letters,

²⁷ Samoilă, 1932, 48.

²⁸ Samoilă, 1932, 48.

²⁹ Butoi, 1973, 23.

philosophy, medicine, law, mathematics and even engineering. The journalist diploma did not exist because there was no diploma that could make a journalist a person that they were not. Generally, the entrance in journalism was made on the basis of a minimal devotion at smaller newspapers where one was working in exchange of a symbolic payment or even without it. One was working for a name. But how many forms - sometimes even comic - of entering at a newspaper - did the chance imagine!"30 The intellectual unemployment was indeed one of the biggest problems of the above said period. In 1932, there were 1175 bachelors in law, 875 in letters, 293 in sciences and 202 in medicine. The number being appreciated as big reporting to the work places offer. This is why it is understandable why a great part of graduates could not practice in the fields for which they were trained and so they found an escape in journalism. From the analysis of the available data about the journalists representative for the Romanian press, that worked between 1829-1925, it results that 73 had high-school education and/or incomplete academic studies, 53 were bachelors in law, 19 in letters, 18 were teachers, 7 were bachelors in economics and finances, 5 in theology, 5 in engineering sciences, 5 were officers, 5 were conservatory graduates, 4 were bachelors in agronomy, 3 were doctors, one was an historian, one was a bachelor in political sciences and one was an architect. (apud. G. Caliga).

The works of the Third Congress of the Province Press (The General Federation of the Province Press) that took place at Constanța on the 29-30th of September 1934, had as main objective on the agenda "The professional courses for the members of the Federation". The one who proposed a subject like that was the general secretary Virgil Molin, one of the most trained journalists, editors and printer technician of the moment. Here is a selective reproduction of his text.

"Mister President, Dear colleagues, At our meeting from a year ago, held at Resita, we brought into discussion the matter of the professional education which is so sensed by us and I enjoyed seeing the unanimity of the colleagues from the meeting who enthusiastically embraced this matter. At the opening meeting on the activity of the Board Committee (held on the 27th and 28th of January at Craiova), the Committee heard a new report of mine and tried to make the desideratum of the Resita congress. I could not turn into practice this wish for reasons that will be expressed in this speech. Dear

³⁰ Samson, 1979, 233.

colleagues, Any calling, any profession has its training and then advanced school. It is without any doubt that in our journalistic profession are needed before anything else certain characteristics, talent and special abilities, yet it is just as true that the journalist needs routine, training and especially a lot of general and professional culture. I think it is useless to prove here the importance of the press in general and of the province press in particular, as well as the role of the journalist in this press. It is known that our nowadays press is a necessity of the soul just as bread is everything for the body (...). And if it were the case to guide in the field of the professional training after what was accomplished in other countries, we would again make painful findings. In Germany, a series of institutions and schools like: Institut fur Presewesen in Colonia, where it was the first big press exposition. Institut fur Zeitungswissenschftliches Seminerium near University of Munchen. Hochschule fur politik at Munster, Seminar fur Publizistik und Zeitungswesen near University of Freiburg and others. In Italy, after the regulations of the press and the calling exercising on the basis of the fascist principles, Mussolini founded a school (Academy) of journalism at Rome, having the following 8 departments: 1. Internal and external politics, 2. National economy and finances, 3. Letters and art, 4. Armed nations, 5. Press technique, 6. Physiscal education and sport press, 7. Stenography, 8. Foreign languages: English, French and German. And in 1918 it took birth near University of Perugia the faculty of journalism, with 4 years of study. With a bachelor's degree exam at the end and a doctorate thesis. The Vatican has also a school of propaganda and press, with listeners recruited from the lines of the catholic missioners. In Romania, the idea is known from a few years ago from the press in Capital. We do not know in what extent this idea stepped over the lines of the articles of season and how much did the officials start to interest in it strongly. Probably it also remained only in the domain of the cheap talks since (nothing) was accomplished and not even the word can be seen. We would not like that all we preach in our annual congresses follow the same route. And we can definitely say that we would reach a more decisive step, at more practical measures, and this way more real, if we would have the slightest contest. If we are too weak to found an Academy, we feel that we have enough forces to found our professional courses, one that would be accessible to all our colleagues in the country, even to those who do not have enough material means to support the professional knowledge, maybe even under am imperfect shape, but for now sufficient.

For this purpose I already set the scheme of a program and this is: I. General culture and professional orientation. Press in the service of the nation (a cycle of conferences, held by the most distinctive statesmen). II. Professional knowledge. Editorial technique. How to edit a newspaper. Correspondence from the province. Press and advertising. Information agencies. Press legislation. III. Auxiliary courses. Photography course for the journalists. Stenography courses.

Technique of the printing press related to the needs of the press (Pagination, proof, printing press etc.). The conferences and the lectures would be held be renown persons of our cultural life and by colleagues in the Romanian press. We would also invite personalities from the abroad press. The courses would take place in a seaside locality with a pleasant climate in the months July and August or during the winter in Bucharest. In the province press and namely in the VESTUL newspaper from Timisoara, a colleague agitated through a series of articles the necessity of founding a press institute and professional guiding. Our federation takes care of this matter as you see right from the first general meeting. We took the charge of coordinating and bring into practice your wishes. But for the their accomplishment we need a material helping hand and from which we are unfortunately deprived as you could see from the statement of the cashier colleague. I submit to the debates of this congress my propositions with faith that from these debates it will come the solution which will enable us to accomplish the most useful and important preoccupation that must be part of the program of activity of a press organization"31.

In fall 1935, the journalists are again called through a law project that vised their calling. On the 24th of September in the cabinet of the minister of justice took birth commission formed by Valer Pop, minister, Al. Săndulescu – president of the Journalists trade-union from Bucharest and a few journalists, event related by *Adevărul* in the terms: "Mr. Al. Săndulescu exposed his ideas on a pre-project of professional organization of the journalist, after which the journalists will be organized in regional colleges, with a central college in Bucharest. The pre-project stipulates a disciplinary jurisdiction. The old journalist will not be affected, their rights remaining earned. In the future it will be accepted the entrance in press only of the persons over 21 years old, with certain studies and an uncontested morality"³².

³¹ Al III-lea congres al presei din provincie, Constanța, 29-30 septembrie, 1934.

³² *Adevărul*, anul XXXXIX, nr. 15.855, 25 septembrie 1935, 3.

Reactions followed the project: of rejections, of dispute of the representation at the negotiations (Săndulescu was charged by the minister with the elaboration of the law project), of condemnation of the state interference in the problems of the branch. In the beginning of 1936, the journalist from Adevărul condemned the initiative of the minister of justice. M. Djuvara, who was insisting on adopting a rule like that, initiates a series of interview on the matter of the law. Among those who were interviewed there was also Paul Negulescu, who declared: "I don't believe that a journalism school could be organized, not one where anyone could register, regardless of the knowledge proved at admission and where even the journalists would be able to perfection (enter – n.n.). in France the journalism school functions for a several years and it shown very nice results. A school like that could be organized in our country too by the press institutions and in this way we would have specialists in the field too"33. The Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Bucharest, professor C. Rădulescu Motru is reserved regarding the new law, saying that "the law founders who believe that, by making more difficult the conditions of appearance of the newspapers in order to make them better and more honest written, will reach the education of the readers, are wrong " (he will change the opinion after only four years, as we will see further). We also see the enthusiasm with which L. Florin salutes, in August 1937, the new offer of journalistic education in France – at Paris it was founded a superior school, annex to Sorbone, under the form of a "Press institute", leaded by prof. S. Charlety. "Journalism becomes a science" noted the journalist, "This is why in a future we will also have doctors in journalism, just as we have in doctors chemistry, doctors in veterinary medicine etc.34

An important moment for what it were to become the specialty training is registered in 1940, starting with a new Institute of Social Sciences of Romania, leaded by Dimitrie Gusti, where among the 15 departments we also find one of Journalism, which make us believe that this occupational area represented a scientific interest for those who founded the institute. (47). One month after this event, the Journalists' Trade – Union in Bucharest offered a reception in the honor of the new minister of propaganda, C. Giurescu, an occasion when the president of the Trade – Union, Al. G. Săndulescu would declare: "We are preoccupied in the first place in the way in which the press

³³ *Adevărul*, 25 noiembrie 1936, 5.

³⁴ Adevărul, 4 decembrie 1936, 3.

freedom will be ruled (...) Journalist do not reject the idea of union, but they require an organization to correspond the spiritual essence of their calling (..) We are preoccupied in the idea of founding a superior school for the professional training and perfecting (s.n.). this school corresponds to an older wish of the journalist who are aware of their important role in the life of the State. It is meant to select the professional values and to raise the press to the summit of the fineness of thought and creative powers of the people. It will be the real school of freedom, of dignity and of journalism prestige..." ³⁵. In the word of response, the new minister said that he had a project regarding the journalists' training and organization, that stipulated "a training of superior rank and a professional perfection", without offering details³⁶.

It is clear the fact that a prime form of journalistic education started in 1940, au University of Bucharest, through the founding of "The Free University of Journalism", near the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy - is similar to the popular universities, with free access. At the solemnization of the opening of clourses took part Al. Constant - Press and Propaganda Undersecretary of the State, prof. P. P. Panaitescu - chancellor of the University of Bucharest and manager of the Cuvântul newspaper, prof. Al. Marcu - dean of the Faculty of Letters, Victor Medrea - Press General Secretary, Em. Bulbuc - Propaganda General Secretary and others. After the opening word of the president of the students of the Faculty of Letters, Cornel Irimia, who said that the name of the new institution was "The Free University of Journalism and Propaganda", addressed to the participants Al. Constant, who will say that the authentic newspaper "does not offer the great public only the meaning, it is not only a talented supplier of intellectual nourishment, does not satisfy only the curiosity of the reader (but it also) offer a certain meaning that reaches beyond the thin layer of intelligence, deepens and completes the national conscience. In this way the newspaper goes beyond the function of information supplier and instructor and becomes educator (...)"37. He addressed the initiate ones the wish "to form Romanian journalists, (and) the diploma they will grant to represent not a right like the majority of our diplomas, but a consent".

The chancellor of the University, P. P. Panaitescu praised the freedom where an institution of education like that could be founded – "in this creative

³⁵ *Timpul*, anul VI, nr. 1.043, 28 martie 1940, 2.

³⁶ Timpul, anul VI, nr. 1.043, 28 martie 1940, 2.

³⁷ *Timpul*, anul VI, nr. 1.306, 18 decembrie 1940, 3-6.

freedom, that both the Fascist Movement and the Iron Guard (Legion of the Archangel Michael) understand, also allows the initiative to create an Academy for Journalism". A freedom where the making of the press "Romanian" was possible - "It will be an moment that when the leading of the press, which was in Jewish hands o in the hands of other people that were too professional (s.n.) in order to create fighters for faiths, will pass into the hands of the real propagators in the service of the national ideas (or) this change wont be made through laws or governmental decisions, but only in the case we find trained people to take the place of the old ones"38. Finally, the inaugural lesson will be sustained by the Chief of the Iron Guard Press and Propaganda, Horia Cosmovici, who declared that "for us (the press) is a means of propaganda through writing; and the propaganda, in the Iron Guard conception, represents the offensive power of a regime, because if it does not represent this thing, then it represents nothing than a firm". Is intervention including more references to "the book of the Capitan" (Corneliu Zelea Codreanu), presented as a source of lessons for Legionnaries, for the students of the new institution of forming. The fight against the Judaism, (of) freemasonry and political parties - here, after Cosmovici, a priority of the future journalists: "if you will not define politics as a negation of the Iron Guard, you did nothing, because you will be accused that what did until today and what has been done before is wrong do be done all over the country"39.

We do not know if this form of training had an education curriculum, the name of those who lectured, the duration or its efficiency, but only the fact that on the 19th of December 1940, Mircea Vulcanescu was programmed to deliver a lecture on "The professional training of a journalist". The text of the lecture contains attempts of defying the newspaper, its role/functions, specifications regarding the division of the work in a redaction, journalistic genres. We keep in mind that for Vulcănescu "it would be good that not even one editor be callow, but each be good at, at least one of the great fields of life of the spirit: theology, philosophy, poetry, moral, law, arts, mathematical sciences or of the being, technique, political economy or military art (...) more need it has the editor of a newspaper to have a more beautiful general culture...". We will also find at him frequent references about the necessity of making the press "Romanian", as well as the belief that eventually the calling is learned in redaction: "The true training of them can be made only there,

³⁸ *Timpul*, anul VI, nr. 1.306, 18 decembrie 1940, 3-6.

³⁹ *Timpul*, anul VI, nr. 1.306, 18 decembrie 1940, 3-6.

through practice, trying, stumbling, hitting the upper threshold, looking at the manager, spying on the older colleague in redaction"40.

We mention that an alternative of professional training was, in the inter-war period, the scholarships: "for the training of the journalists there is no school. There is nothing to do than the school of life. The Trade-union of the Journalists gives, instead, different scholarships (either 2 or 4 per year) to the new and capable elements in order to perfect professional learning abroad", noted Ioan Georgescu in 1938. Later, when speaking about press in one of his books, Gh. Micle declared that "the journalism being a social science, together with its own history and technique, it is obvious that this science must be learned, that it has its own methods and institutions"41.

Inspired by what is happening in what the professional regulation in Germany and in Italy, in special, is concerned, the Romanian authorities will initiate a series of legislative measures in the sense of the control of the access at the profession. In May 1944, upon the proposition of the minister of propaganda, marshal Antonescu will sign the "Decree - Law for the exercise of the profession of journalist and the founding of the College of the Journalists from Romania". Here are a few stipulations of that law: "Art.1. (...) The College of the Journalists will grant the professional qualification of journalist only to those who, besides the professional ability of journalist, present a bachelor's degree of university or and equivalent academic title and the diploma of training and professional specialization in an scientific institute" (s.n.). Article 4 referred to the Statute the journalists would draw up, in accordance with the law, and which "will establish the admittance conditions in the college, the courses and the professional training that will be carried out for the admittance into the college, as practitioners or on a definitive basis, by the journalists, as well as the way in which the Press Department of the Institute for Int. Research and Political Public Sciences will be organized, invested with the right to grant diploma of training and specialty stipulated in art. 1"42.

The statements that were the preliminaries of this regulation and even the report of the vice - president of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Propaganda, Mihai A. Antonescu to marshal Antonescu contained praising expressions to the journalist profession and older arguments, like "the

⁴⁰ Vulcănescu, 1996, 98.

⁴¹ Micle, 1946, 12.

⁴² Timpul, nr. 2.517, 15 mai 1944, 3.

journalist calling, just as that of the teacher, is more a vocation, and only through technicality and work discipline a profession (...). The vocation being the essential element in the exercise of the journalist profession..." Yet, from that moment one could no longer profess as journalist under with a bachelor's degree and an attestation from the above named Institute. It is true that the law could refer to the future journalists, those already entered in redactions being supposed to solicit only the registration in the College, without making the proof of the studies. Another Decree - Law complementary to the previous named one, established the minimal salaries of the professional journalist and stipulated, among others, that "any newspaper, under any circumstances would appear, is obligated to have at least 2/3 of its editorial personnel formed by professional journalists, employed on a permanent basis and paid according to this law" (Art.9). These laws were not implicated in the cause of the political and military evolutions from the last part of the year 1944, but the obsession of the regulation of the profession will have a certain continuity, as we shall see. After the 23rd of August 1944 the situation grew more complicated in the sense the purges in press, made at the request of the allied Commission of control regarding the application of the stipulation of the truce (see Law 102, published in the Official Gazette on the 12th of February 1945) that created the need for new "groups" of journalists. "The Communist Party – declared Nestor Ignat ⁴³ – removed from the press people that knew this calling or that have passed through schools. There were very few of these that could be kept and the others were people that did not have enough training (...) did not exercise this profession, but were brought on the places of others". In the beginning, the new journalists were trained in redactions - "I remember that there were founded schools like this, in the interior of the newspaper - the newspapaer is the main school, this is where they practice, but not with much theory. Actually, the theory was of the type of Lenin, Stalin or Kalinin said about the press. Our people said little, meaning they formulated the tasks of the press, of course, because this is what the owners say even now" remembers Nestor Ignat⁴⁴. "It was a dramatic situation. We, the those who were brought there (in the redaction of the Scânteia newspaper, n.n.) were improvised, we did not know this calling like Silviu Brucan, for instance, who worked at Dimineața and had to do with mass newspapers. Not even Miron Constantinescu, the one who leaded the

⁴³ Nestor Ignat, interview, 25 mai 1996.

⁴⁴Nestor Ignat, interview, 14 mai 2004.

newspaper, was not a journalist, but enjoyed the trust of the party. And Călugaru made press, was at Cuvântul newspaper of Nae Ionescu. At a certain moment, they began to bring workers, but which had problems with knowledge, some of them did not have education, others did not even know well the language. It is true that among them there were people with talent. Lots of Jews were there. Brucan was the general secretary, the one who made this publicity, a selfdidact (...) sometimes I rewrote texts, because the people were not ready, we had to face competition (the oppositions of the newspapers) that have skilful article writers"45. Under these conditions, in 1945 or 1946 - the date was not known with accuracy, at Băneasa, near Bucharest, functioned an improvised school of journalism under the form of a camp with barracks, where journalist with experience taught. Why there was no real school made? - I asked Nestor Ignat. "There was no one to teach!" came the answer. The necessity of some "schools of journalism" was remembered both in the Resolution of the Congress of the Union of the Trade-unions of Artists, Writers, Journalists, organized at Bucharest during the period the 29th-30th August 1945, upon the proposition of the Tradeunion of Professional Journalists that was constituted on the 4th of November 1944.

Bibliography

Bacalbaşa, Constantin. *Bucureștii de altădată.* București: Minerva, 1993.

Bacalbaşa, Constantin. Ziaristica română din zilele noastre". In: Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria presei românești*. București: Fundația Rompres, 1994.

Barițiu, Gheorghe. "Anarhia și corupțiune presei nemțești. Presa maghiară. Presa daco-română". 1886. In: vol. *Studii și articole*, Ediție de dr. Ioan Lupaș. Sibiu: Editura Asociațiunii, 1912.

Butoi, Octavian. Interview. In: *Presa noastră*, anul XVIII, nr. 9, august, 1973.

Ghibu, Onisifor. *Pe badicadele vieții. Anii mei de învățătură.* Cluj Napoca: Dacia, 1981.

_

⁴⁵ Nestor Ignat, interview, 14 mai 2004.

Ghica, Ion. "Producțiunea, consumațiunea și schimbul". In: *Convorbiri literare*, no. 5, August 1882, in Ion Ghica, *Opere*, *III*, ed. Ion Roman. București: Minerva, 1970.

Gheorghe, Micle. Puterea presei în lupta lumii. București:Viața literară, 1946.

Missail, I., "Ziaristica după școala clasică". In: Revista română pentru Ştiințe, Litere și Arte, Vol. II, București, 1862.

Nicolae, Iorga. Sămănătorul. 1903.

Panu, George. Amintiri de la Junimea din Iași, București: Minerva, 1998.

Popa, Mircea. "Istoricul Sindicatului Presei Române din Ardeal şi Banat". In: *Studia Universitas Babeş-Bolyai. Ephemerides*, XL, VII, Cluj Napoca, 2002, pp. 3-20.

Rad, Ilie. "85 de ani de la introducerea, la Universitatea Daciei Superioare din Cluj (octombrie 1919) a primului curs de jurnalistică din România". In: *Adevărul de Cluj*, anul XVI, nr. 4.239, 14 octombrie 2004.

Rădulescu-Motru, Constantin. "Ziaristica". In: *Timpul*, anul IV, nr. 1311, 30 decembrie 1940, p. 1

Samoilă, E., Ziaristica. Notiuni elementare de gazetărie. Bucuresti: Atelierele Adevarul.S.A., 1932.

Samson, A.P. *Memoriile unui ziarist*. București: Cartea Românească, 1979, p. 233.

Teodorescu, Dem. "Presa și gazetarul". In: Mircea V. P Ienescu, Curentul. 1928-1938. Temeiuri politice pentru actualitate. Craiova: Ramuri, 1939, p. 14.

Vulcănescu, Mircea. "Pregătirea profesională a ziaristului". In: *Către ființa spiritualității românești. Dimensiunea românească a ființei,* București: Eminescu, 1996.