

---

# ESSAYS

---

## A DIALOGUE OF THE YOUTH

Samira Cîrlig<sup>316</sup>  
Narcis-Claudiu Rupe<sup>317</sup>  
Alin Bulumac<sup>318</sup>  
Anand-Sergiu Donca<sup>319</sup>

### ABSTRACT

*A group of young people who want to understand the world and the issues facing it through dialog, share ideas from their weekly readings. In this way, theory meets practice and opens up new perspectives of knowledge. This material is the result of some of these youth dialogues.*

**Keywords:** dialog, youth, knowledge.

### DECEMBER 22, 2023: ELITE, ECONOMY AND FREEDOM

#### SAMIRA

A few days ago, the Professor [Radu Baltasiu] sent us a comprehensive and enlightening piece on economic sociology and theory of elites, from which I will share a few ideas:

1. Why we are talking about this topic: 47% of Romanians live at risk of poverty and deprivation. The answer to this issue is: *the organisation of labour*; and we can deal with this issue from economic sociology and theory of elites. What is economic sociology and what does it do? It is an applied science, more precisely an interdisciplinary approach between sociology – the science of social logic – and economics – the science of resource distribution.
2. What we mean by elites:  
“The elite means that minority of the national community which takes the uttermost responsibility and amasses the highest qualities of the community”<sup>320</sup>.

---

<sup>316</sup> PhDc in Sociology, University of Bucharest, E-mail contact: oana.samira.cirlig@gmail.com

<sup>317</sup> PhDc in Sociology, University of Bucharest, E-mail contact: narcisrupe@gmail.com.

<sup>318</sup> BA in Sociology, MA in Human Resources, E-mail contact: alin.bulumac@gmail.com.

<sup>319</sup> BAc in Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, E-mail contact: anandsergiu@gmail.com.

<sup>320</sup> „Elita înseamnă acea minoritate a comunității naționale care își asumă răspunderea socială supremă și cumulează calitățile cele mai înalte ale comunității”, in Mihail Manoilescu, *Forțele naționale productive și comerțul exterior – Teoria protecționismului și a schimbului internațional* [National productive forces and foreign trade – Theory of protectionism and International Trade], Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1986, pp. 275–276.

### 3. What is their role, precisely?

“The aim [of the elite] is [or is not] the nation, the affirmation of its consciousness, the enhancement of its power and independence, its integration into a single whole and the development of all the potentialities contained in the huge collective personality it [the nation] forms”<sup>321</sup>.

“The obligations of the elite are not only to preserve, but also to elevate the other social classes”<sup>322</sup>.

Going back to the organisation of labour and why is it important: “We work a lot and without keenness of perception”<sup>323</sup>; and this can be observed in matters like emigration, demographic decline, or even mortality etc. The disorganisation of labour therefore affects society on all levels.

A way out of this stalemate is within reach, but only when a generation emerges that collectively embraces the imperative of developing the society as a whole.

### ALIN

Samira opened the dialogue by referring to the economic organisation of the country. A solid starting point that can be enriched with the idea of freedom. Freedom is fulfilment, purposeful movement – the essence of life, which for human being is an awareness of our talents, towards the light – the gifts that are in us for others.

Professor Radu Baltasiu says that freedom is essentially social, meaning that it is not a state in itself, but a continuous movement (between God and the nation, as Țuțea would say) towards one another.

Isolation, emigration, unprecedented abortions represent a state of the overwhelmed man, unable to move (or act) geopolitically and chronospiritually.

It is almost Christmas Eve and no carolers are making their presence felt, with a few exceptions. Spiritually and relationally lonely, we have reached a point where sadness is seen through counter-actions. The more decorated the streets are, the lonelier our grandparents are for the holidays. The more crowded the malls, the more separated we are from each other, the more asocial. We seem to be in a prison in which the people around us are just “the gateway” to something else, a time in which our senses are numbed by “green”, “gender” and “trans-human” dreams. All we need is the iris scan to be in total prison. We are awoken from this nightmare by a gypsy on a tram that reminds us about „Deschide ușa, creștine” (*Open the door, Christian!*).

---

<sup>321</sup> „Scopul [elitelor] e [sau nu] națiunea, afirmarea conștiinței ei, sporirea puterii și independenței ei, întregirea ei într-un singur tot și dezvoltarea tuturor virtualităților cuprinse în uriașa personalitate colectivă pe care ea o formează.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 118.

<sup>322</sup> „Obligațiunile elitei nu sunt numai de a conserva, ci și de a ridica celelalte clase sociale.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 117.

<sup>323</sup> „(...) în România se muncește mult, dar se muncește rău și fără socoteală”, in Mihail Manoilescu, *Rostul și destinul burgheziei românești [The Romanian bourgeoisie's purpose and destiny]*, Bucharest, Cugetarea – G. Delafras, p. 123.

Therefore, let's open the door of joy to the whole world.

## NARCIS

Thank you to Samira for bringing in the Professor's presentation<sup>324</sup> for today's sharing. I will follow her example because I discovered many ideas there that I think are of great use to us.

In the professor's presentation, the sociological thinking of polarity, the great discovery of the classics of sociology (Durkheim, Weber, Pareto), shines through. The whole society moves on several polar axes, between two "mutually dependent" "extremes" (as Pareto would say), "extremes" as society of status – market society, mechanical and organic solidarity.

"The great achievement of the nineteenth century for sociology is polarities, bivalent social logics, the sociology of polarity. Everything in society is composed according to a logic of bipolarity. The entire sociology of the nineteenth century is deeply impregnated with the spirit of nuclear, fundamental polarities. Societies are conceived in a dualistic manner. The idea of polarity is the primordial core of any image on society"<sup>325</sup>.

I will highlight some of the polarities found in the presentation:

### **Individual and social life with the choice (freedom) that links them:**

"Individual life is social regardless, even if we choose to concern only ourselves. Choice is what makes individual life to be social as well (we choose between things that belong to others)"<sup>326</sup>.

### **The idealist and the egoist:**

"The egoist draws others into his own reality by using them"<sup>327</sup>.

"The idealist strives to elevate others to a reality that is beyond ego, perceiving himself as the messenger of an idea through which access to reality becomes possible"<sup>328</sup>.

---

<sup>324</sup> Radu Baltasiu: lecturer on "Family – the last redoubt in the face of the destructive offensive of neo-Marxism", at the Conservative Conferences organized by the Institute of Conservative Studies "Mihai Eminescu", in Suceava, on November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2023.

<sup>325</sup> „Marea cucerire a veacului al XIX-lea pentru sociologie sunt polaritățile, logicile sociale bivalente, sociologica polarității. Tot ceea ce există în societate se compune după o logică a bipolarității. Întreaga sociologie a secolului al XIX-lea este impregnată în profunzimi de spiritul polarităților nucleare, întemeietoare. Societățile sunt gândite în viziune dualistă. Ideea polarității este matca izvodală a oricărei imagini despre societate.”, in Ilie Bădescu, *Istoria Sociologiei. Perioada marilor sisteme [History of Sociology. The great systems period]*, Galați, Porto-Franco Publishing House, 1994, p. 10.

<sup>326</sup> „Viața individuală este oricum și socială, chiar dacă noi alegem să ne privească doar pe noi. alegerea este ceea ce face ca viața individuală să fie și socială (alegem dintre lucruri care sunt ale altora).”, in Radu Baltasiu: lecturer on "Family – the last redoubt in the face of the destructive offensive of neo-Marxism", at the Conservative Conferences organized by the Institute of Conservative Studies "Mihai Eminescu", in Suceava, on November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2023.

<sup>327</sup> „Egoistul îi atrage pe ceilalți în propria realitate, folosindu-se de ceilalți.”, in *Ibidem*.

<sup>328</sup> „Idealistul se străduiește să îi ridice pe ceilalți la o realitate care e dincolo de ego, el considerându-se purtător de cuvânt al unei idei prin care accesul la realitate devine posibil.”, in *Ibidem*.

### **Profession and politics:**

“Profession is the work pursued in accordance with the knowledge acquired by mankind in a field, through which we earn our bread by being useful to others, to the society that supports our education (the process by which we acquire knowledge). (...) *Politicianism* is the ability to use others in order to achieve our goals, often by usurping professional or official positions, including through plagiarism”<sup>329</sup>.

### **Between complacency and competent character:**

“The difference between complacency (*massified individual*) and genius is the ability to handle *will*. Whoever masters his will, emerges from mediocrity and, eventually, will have a word in the society. And the best environment [for the exercise of will] is the profession. Polar thinking presents us with a choice between two options ‘that exist regardless of what we may say about them’”<sup>330</sup>.

It’s up to us whether we choose light or darkness.

## **ANAND**

I’m thinking about what Alin brought up based on Samira’s words. We have the idea of *freedom as fulfilment*, followed by the idea that *isolation is the state of the overwhelmed man*, of the defeated man, who gives himself up to history, I would add. Therefore, we understand that isolation, which often includes *abdication from ideals* and *unwillingness to engage in communion* (*cuminecare*, Noica<sup>331</sup>), is in fact a rejection of freedom and consequently a violation of the Divine Naturalness.

Freedom – a continuous movement (meaningful, between God and the nation), generates an inner tension that is fecund in terms of creativity and gives concentration and commitment when it comes to intellectual work. This tension also has an ordering, guiding role. Once it goes into hibernation, chaos, disharmony and lack of direction arise, all of them overwhelming and counterproductive.

I then thought, seeing Narcis’ emphasized antinomy between *the egoist* and *the idealist*, that egoism is a consequence of pride and isolation, which I mentioned earlier, is a manifestation of it. Today, egoism is born unconsciously, from one’s earliest years, and it is a real challenge for the contemporary young man to free himself from the bad habits acquired in the family or society. The idealist moves meaningfully, lives that *tension*, and is, therefore, summoned to devote himself and to work in unison with others, as the *idea* comes above the individual, the *general* above the particular. The man who remains trapped in his own self and chases excuses, is wasting his time and energy, as he has no means of fulfilment.

---

<sup>329</sup> „Profesia este munca desfășurată în acord cu cunoștințele dobândite la un moment de omenire într-un domeniu, prin care ne câștigăm existența fiind folositori celorlalți, societății care ne susține educația (procesul prin care dobândim cunoștințe).”, in *Ibidem*.

<sup>330</sup> „Diferența dintre delăsare (persoana masificată) și geniu este capacitatea de gestiune a voinței. Cine își stăpânește voința iese din mediocritate, va avea un cuvânt de spus în cetate. Iar cea mai bună tribună este ... profesia”, in *Ibidem*.

<sup>331</sup> Constantin Noica, *Cuvânt împreună despre rostirea românească [A word together about Romanian pronunciation]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2020, pp. 277–282.

## JANUARY 26–28, 2024: DEMOCRACY BETWEEN THOUGHT AND ACTION

### ALIN

In your book [professor Radu Baltasiu], you give the following definition: “Democracy is the instrument through which individual interests are harmonized with the collective interest of the instrumental rationality of the market. Democracy limits political irrationality by limiting the power of the state official and his functions, on the one hand, and by widening access to state positions to all citizens, on the other; it facilitates the most accurate expression of individual interests and restricts the possibility of aberrant mutations in the sphere of political power”<sup>332</sup>.

In addition to the many perspectives that the definition above opens up, I will focus on one aspect: the 2021 elections in America.

Recently, an article appeared in the international press describing a seemingly forgotten aspect in the public opinion, brought back into discussion by the Attorney General of Texas. I reproduce an excerpt below:

“Tucker Carlson: They stopped counting votes on election night. Ken Paxton: ‘Because what they needed to figure out was how many real votes there were so they could figure out how many mail in ballots to apply to the election. That’s what they would have done in Texas, I’m convinced’”<sup>333</sup>.

Therefore, the conflict in Ukraine has secured funding for itself and so did the Biden clan and others close to him. At what cost? Putin says that every extra vote was bought for \$10. But the *price* of democracy, freedom, private property and a free economy is to be paid by all of us.

### ANAND

I was reading today Dimitrie Cantemir’s *Divan* („Divanul”), his first printed book, a valuable philosophical work, written when he was 25–26 years old, at the end of the seventeenth century. Throughout the reading, we are engaged in a (sometimes passionate) argument between *the Wise* and *the World*, symbols of *Reason* (the Soul, which includes divine revelation) and the *Body* (profoundly

---

<sup>332</sup> „Democrația este instrumentul prin care interesele individuale sunt armonizate cu interesul colectiv al raționalității instrumentale a pieței. Democrația limitează irraționalitatea politică prin restrângerea puterii oficialului și a funcției sale, pe de-o parte, iar pe de altă parte, prin lărgirea accesului la funcțiile în stat pentru toți cetățenii, permite exprimarea cât mai fidelă a intereselor individuale și restrângerea posibilității apariției unor mutații aberante în sfera puterii politice.”, in Radu Baltasiu, *Sociologie economică și teoria elitelor [Economic sociology and elite theory]*, 2003, p. 15.

<sup>333</sup> Jim Hoft, “I knew exactly what they were doing”: Texas AG explains how Dems stole 2020 election”, in *WND*, January 24, 2024, Available at: <https://www.wnd.com/2024/01/knew-exactly-texas-agexplainsdemsstole-2020-election/>, Accessed on: March 5, 2024.

mundane). As a matter of fact, the full title of the work is: *The Divan or the Quarrel of the Wise Man with the World or the Judgment Between the Soul and the Body*<sup>334</sup>.

The debate (in the form of a quarrel) consists of an exchange of ethical arguments, designed to engage the reader, to challenge him to think (to discern) and ultimately to make a choice.

At one time, *the World* was trying to convince *the Wise* that youth is worth living in pleasures and entertainment and that only after 50 years of living, man should concern himself with spiritual and moral values and respect the words of the Holy Scripture (Bible). *The Wise*, with *memento mori* in his mind, speaks about the imperative of a *permanent awareness*, of a vibrant conscience, full of tonicity, which takes care of the soul (with a constant thought toward the afterlife) in every place and at all times<sup>335</sup>; Worldly desires, i.e., sins, are life shortening<sup>336</sup>. An exhortation to repentance and work with the self, followed by an analogy about bees, which do not waste time with flowers that do not offer them good pollen:

“[the bee] searches through all flowers and all places, and where it finds sweetness it collects, but where it finds bitterness it leaves, so do I (...)”<sup>337</sup>.

I wanted to transcribe a few quotes in order to let us all enjoy the sweetness of the old Romanian language from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## NARCIS

I bring Nae Ionescu, one of the great wisemen of the interwar Romanian world, into the discussion initiated by Alin.

The US rigged elections and the use of judicial power in order to block another Trump candidacy for the White House are typical actions of a dictatorship. Any democratic country is basically on an axis: democracy at one end, dictatorship at the other. The US is swinging between these poles: *democracy – dictatorship* because it's natural for it to do so. Nae Ionescu demonstrates that the purpose of a political party is to eliminate its opponents in order to take power, but when it has accomplished that, it loses its very *raison d'être*. It is no longer *a part*, but *a whole*, the country itself. Therefore, we are no longer talking about democracy, but about *the dictatorship of a part that establishes itself as a whole*.

“Political parties are not – in the normal historical process – realities with perpetual existence, and that it is in the very nature of the political party that at some point it will disappear”<sup>338</sup>.

---

<sup>334</sup> Dimitrie Cantemir, *Opere. Volumul I: Divanul. Istoria ieroglifică. Hronicul vechimei a romano-moldo-vlahilor [Operas. Volume I: The Divan. Hieroglyphic history. The chronicle of the ancient Roman-Moldo-Vlachs]*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Encyclopedic Universe Publishing House, 2003.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>337</sup> „[albina] prin toate florile și prin toate locurile puindu-să, cearcă, și unde ari dulceață afla miiare strânge, iară unde amărăciune găsește iară acolo o lasă, așe dară și eu (...)”, in *Ibidem*, p. 162.

<sup>338</sup> „(...) partidele nu sunt – în procesul normal istoric – realități cu existență perpetuă, și că stă în însăș natura partidului politic ca la un moment dat el să dispară.”, in Nae Ionescu, *Roza Vânturilor [The Wind Rose]*, Bucharest, The Wind Rose Publishing House, 1990, p. 181.

“(…) Let us observe, nevertheless, that at the moment it is fulfilled, i.e., in the moment it has defeated its opposition, the political party has signed its own death sentence. For as soon as a political party is, in fact, a ‘dialectical reality’, it can only exist in opposition to another party; – therefore it ceases to be itself, the moment when, by victory, it has destroyed its opponent”<sup>339</sup>.

We should not think that the great Romanian is anti-democratic. In the same article from “The Wind Rose”, he mentions that the ruling party must allow internal differentiation, so that other parties can emerge from it. It must return to its status as a part. But this rarely happens. In the interwar period, writes Nae Ionescu, Stalin (by terror) and Mussolini (by force) demonstrated this.

Unfortunately, the US is following the footsteps of dictators. Perhaps the Texas border issue is a sign that Republicans do not want to give up: they either lose in a unitary US or win in a divided one.

### SAMIRA

I would like to share with you tonight some ideas about what Nichifor Crainic named *demophilia*. To remind ourselves, what we mean by demophilia:

“*Demophilia* demands that the rulers of a nation must be connected to those being ruled, to show love and identify with the problems of the people”<sup>340</sup>.

How does this idea relate to what my colleagues discussed earlier: it was about democracy as an instrument of harmonising individual interests under one ideal (which is eminently collective). Nevertheless, democracy has been perverted, which is why Crainic suggests replacing it with *ethnocracy*.

What is ethnocracy:

“We define ethnocracy as the political will of the indigenous race to establish the state as the expression of its properties and the organ of its mission in the world. If democracy displaced the centre of gravity of the state towards the periphery of the minority, ethnocracy is entitled to realign it with the national personality of the majority that created it”<sup>341</sup>.

The appropriate state form of ethnocracy is *ethnocratic corporatism*:

“i.e., a corporatism adjusted by the principle of numerical proportionality based on ethnical criteria. (...) Only the rationalisation of professions according to the numerical proportion of the country’s populations can restore our nation to the status of the royal race of this land”<sup>342</sup>.

---

<sup>339</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 179.

<sup>340</sup> „Demofilia cere conducătorilor unei națiuni să fie legați de cei conduși, să manifeste iubire și să se identifice cu necazurile poporului”, in Nichifor Crainic, *Ortodoxie și naționalism [Orthodoxy and nationalism]*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1997, p. XXIV.

<sup>341</sup> „Numim etnocrăție voința politică a rasei autohtone de a face din stat expresia proprietăților ei și organul misiunii ei în lume. Dacă democrația a deplasat centrul de gravitate al statului spre periferia minoritară, etnocrăția e îndreptățită să-l reazeze în personalitatea națională a majorității care l-a creat”, in *Ibidem*, p. XXVI.

<sup>342</sup> „adică un corporatism rectificat după principiul proporționalității numerice după criteriul etnic. (...) Singură raționalizarea profesiunilor după proporția numerică a populațiilor din țară poate să readucă națiunea noastră în situația de rasă regală a acestui pământ”, in *Ibidem*.

What precisely means the rationalisation of professions: “This rationalisation means, on the one hand, the Romanianisation of professions, and, on the other hand, admitting the numerical proportion, it becomes the true expression of equity towards heterogeneous populations”<sup>343</sup>.

### ANAND

I have two questions regarding what Samira said:

1. What does the “Romanianisation of professions” mean in practical terms?
2. Can demophilia and ethnocracy function simultaneously? How to avoid neglecting foreign, minoritarian nations?

### SAMIRA

We shall listen, once again, to Nichifor Crainic’s words:

Crainic writes about a totalitarian state, let’s remember that. The totalitarian state is

“the dynamic coordination of all the organic functions of the nation. Since its criterion is ethnicity, it requires the elimination of non-Romanians from the organic functions of the state and their distribution according to their numerical proportion in the organic functions of society. Today, in Romania, most of these functions are held by foreigners: finance, industry, commerce, trades, free professions, the press (...)”<sup>344</sup>.

We have learned in the previous times that demophilia

“means identifying yourself with the sorrows of the people in order to heal them”<sup>345</sup>.

It is totally opposed to democracy because it has

“falsified the consciousness of the ruler of our fatherland”<sup>346</sup>:

“We define ethnocracy as the political will of the indigenous race to establish the state as the expression of its properties and the organ of its mission in the world. If democracy displaced the centre of gravity of the state towards the periphery of the minority, ethnocracy is entitled to realign it with the national personality of the majority that created it”<sup>347</sup>.

Since we are talking about a totalitarian state, no one will be neglected, but the priority will be “our people”.

---

<sup>343</sup> „Această raționalizare înseamnă, pe de o parte, românizarea profesiunilor, iar, pe de altă parte, admitând proporția numerică, ea devine adevărata expresie a echității față de populațiile eterogene”, in *Ibidem*, pp. XXVI–XXVII.

<sup>344</sup> „coordonarea dinamică a tuturor funcțiilor organice ale națiunii. Întrucât criteriul lui este etnicul, acesta pretinde eliminarea neromânilor din funcțiile organice ale statului și repartizarea lor după proporția numerică în funcțiile organice ale societății. Cum astăzi în România cele mai multe din aceste funcțiuni sunt stăpânite de străini: finanțe, industrie, comerț, meserii, profesii libere, presa (...)”, in *Ibidem*, pp. 109–110.

<sup>345</sup> „înseamnă identificarea ta cu suferințele poporului pentru a le vindeca”, in *Ibidem*, p. XXIV.

<sup>346</sup> „falsificat conștiința de stăpână a patriei noastre”, in *Ibidem*.

<sup>347</sup> „Numim etnocrație voința politică a rasei autohtone de a face din stat expresia proprietăților ei și organul misiunii ei în lume. Dacă democrația a deplasat centrul de gravitate al statului spre periferia minoritară, etnocrația e îndreptățită să-l reazeze în personalitatea națională a majorității care l-a creat”, in *Ibidem*, p. XXVI.



**FEBRUARY 2<sup>ND</sup>-3<sup>RD</sup>, 2024:  
MAX WEBER AND CAPITAL ACCOUNTING**

**NARCIS**

Considering that we have to interact with countless enterprises on a daily basis, it would help us to understand the logic on which they are organised. In *Economy and Society*, Max Weber demonstrates that the entire activity of an enterprise, whether we call it a business, a company or a barbershop, is organised by the accounting of the capital.

“An economic ‘enterprise’ is autonomous action capable of orientation to capital accounting”<sup>348</sup>.

Any enterprise operates in order to gain profit from the opportunities provided by the market. It always has in mind that future assets (goods and money held) will be more valuable than they are today.

“Capital accounting is the valuation and verification of opportunities for profit and of the success of profit-making activity by means of a valuation of the total assets (goods and money) of the enterprise at the beginning of a profit-making venture, and the comparison of this with a similar valuation of the assets still present and newly acquired, at the end of the process; in the case of a profit-making organization operating continuously, the same is done for an accounting period. In either case a balance is drawn between the initial and final states of the assets”<sup>349</sup>.

**ALIN**

I could not understand why the “sense of us” you keep trying to create among some of us still does not stick with some. Yesterday I found out why, from Noica:

“However, egocentric all that is human and all that is alive is, the self is not felt as such until later in a more elevated time of Life. It is not ‘natural’, although it is deeply connected with nature (The plant is, after all, also egocentric since it draws everything to itself; but it is not an ‘I’). That is why man also becomes an ‘I’ quite late. Like the adverb, the first-person singular pronoun occurs only in a time of maturity and refinement of culture. One might say, then, that in the grammar of historical life the first-person plural pronoun arises at first, i.e., a kind of ‘we’, and only afterwards would the first-person singular arise. But without the experience of singularity of the individual, the first-person plural has no profundity, no spiritual significance, no meaning (without conscious individuals, the collective remains a mob). Only when the self-detaches as self can it truly engage in debate and composition with the ‘we’”<sup>350</sup>.

---

<sup>348</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and society. An outline of interpretative sociology*, California, University of California Press, 1978, p. 91.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>350</sup> „Oricât ar fi de egocentric tot ce e om și tot ce e viu, eul nu este resimțit ca atare decât într-un ceas mai ridicat al Vieții. El nu e «firesc», deși ține din plin de natură. (Egocentrică este, în definitiv, și planta, de vreme ce trage totul spre ea; dar nu e și un «eu».) De aceea și omul se desprinde târziu ca eu. Ca și adverbul, pronumele persoanei întâi singular apare abia într-un ceas de maturitate și de rafinament

In other words, we are witnessing the creation of a paradox: the creation of a false sense of “us”, when in reality it is only in the interest of the “I”. The apparent “umbrella” of the collective interest is only a derivation, the residue not rising above the personal level. Hence the lack of ideals, power of sacrifice and so many other minuses.

### SAMIRA

Based on Alin’s sharing, which refers to the generation destroyed by ego(ism) and having in mind the professor’s words about the generation to which Pan M. Vizirescu (a disciple of N. Crainic) belonged, I will concentrate this evening on an excerpt from Nichifor Crainic, which I believe can be a good example for understanding the profundity of self-sacrifice. Crainic refers, in his text, to the generation of the Great Union, whose soul “could no longer think selfishly”. Here’s why:

“What petty, self-serving calculations could fit into this year’s soul of sacred madness? In each young man lived, groaned, shrieked, and rose the entire nation. And those young men threw themselves into death, fascinated by the sublime vision of the enlarged fatherland. Who was to benefit from the sacrificial offering was of no interest to anyone, for, raised to heroic heights, the soul can no longer judge selfishly. The life of this generation was a tragedy; but through that tragedy was forged the most glorious destiny that our nation has experienced to this day”<sup>351</sup>.

### ANAND

Reading your sharings, I was thinking about the idea of overcoming, linked to the imperative of perseverance (about which the professor has often spoken) and I tried to understand what keeps us from overcoming, from transforming will into action and recklessness into wisdom (discernment, which introduces criteria and, as a consequence, establishes priorities); and this could be analysed both from a subjective, empirical (suffering from this “disease” myself) and theoretical perspective.

In searching for where this state of quasi-powerlessness originates from, I have come, amongst other things, to the *precarious self-knowledge*. Without self-consciousness there can be no collective consciousness, and without collective

---

al culturii. S-ar putea spune, atunci, că în gramatica vieții istorice se ivește la început pronumele persoanei întâi plural, adică un fel de «noi», iar abia după aceea s-ar naște și persoana întâi la singular. Numai că, fără experiența singularității insului, persoana întâi plural nu are adâncime, valoare spirituală, sens (fără indivizi conștienți, colectivul rămâne gloată). Doar atunci când eul se desprinde ca eu poate el cu-adevărat intra în dezbateri și compunere cu «noi»”, in Constantin Noica, *Despre demnitatea Europei [About Europe’s dignity]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2012, p. 134.

<sup>351</sup> „Ce calcule mărunte, de interes personal, mai puteau să încapă în sufletul de sacră nebunie al acestui an? În fiecare tânăr trăia, gemea, scrâșnea și se ridica neamul întreg. Și tinerii aceia s-au aruncat în moarte, fascinați de sublima vedenie a patriei mărite. Cine avea să beneficieze de ofranda sacrificiului nu interesa pe nimeni, fiindcă, ridicat la temperatură eroică, sufletul nu mai poate judeca egoist. Viața acestei generații a fost o tragedie; dar prin această tragedie s-a făurit cea mai glorioasă soartă pe care a trăit-o neamul nostru până azi”, in Nichifor Crainic, *quoted work*, p. 28.

consciousness there is no sense of responsibility in the way we want to cultivate it. As Alin showed us, with the help of Constantin Noica: without the “I”, there can be no “we”, but if the *detachment* does not take place, the “I” remains stuck in itself, unable to devote itself.

Dimitrie Cantemir also tells us about the importance of self-knowledge on the path of repentance:

“For this reason, knowing which sin you are closest to, you must be strong against that sin; and about this inner enemy, who is often at war with you, you must always think about how and in what ways you are to be beaten”<sup>352</sup>.

And that’s how I understood, in time, that the fact that I don’t do sports, for example, is a spiritual deficiency. Also, in the light of the Cantemirian texts, we should remember the following:

“man will be strong when with wisdom he will fulfill his weaknesses, and with these he will always think man, I am, and not God; and again: man, I am, but not animal. Because the worst part of man, which is flesh, to earthly things and to sins draws him, so that we must fight the war within [ourselves]”<sup>353</sup>.

Indeed, the work is not stress, because stress is related to laziness and the lack of an idea (ideal); I also talked about tension a few weeks ago and I think it is necessary in order to fulfil that idea. The young people a hundred years ago had to endure much greater sufferings than we do today, with our artificial melancholies (if they were genuine, they would germinate). Perhaps it is precisely the total lack of a formative and strengthening Calvary that we miss. Though I should be ashamed of myself for saying so, because again I am left with the impression that we are seeking help from outside for this... Eliade was not working because the outside was pushing him, but because his heart told him to do so. Why does our hearts let us toil?

## APRIL 19, 2024: THE “PRIVILEGED” STATUS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

### NARCIS

The popular opinion nowadays “encouraged” by people like those at the *Humanitas* publishing house is that the Orthodox Church enjoyed a privileged status during the interwar period. Nae Ionescu strongly argues against this view. The

---

<sup>352</sup> „Pentru aceasta, cunoscându-te la ce păcat să fii mai aproape, acelaia puternicește împotriva să-i stai, și cu acest dinlontru nepriiatin, carile cu tine ades războiu a bate obicinuit iaste, ades că-ți iaste cu dînsul a te bate să gîndești și cum și în ce feliu îți iaste a te lovi, în minte să-ți fie.”, in Dimitrie Cantemir, *quoted work*, p. 254.

<sup>353</sup> „omul preaputernic va fi cînd cu înțelepciunea neagiunsele lui va plini, și acestea pururea socotind să gîndiască: om sint, și nu Dumnădzău; și iarăși: om sint, iară nu dobitoc. Pentru căce pre om, partea lui cea mai rea, adecă carnea, cătră cele pemintești și cătră păcate îl trage, așa încît trebuie să ne războim cu războiul cel dinlontru”, in *Ibidem*.

reasons? The country's modern state wrongly regarded the Church, and the Christians did not react appropriately to the situation.

The relationship between the country's modern state and the Orthodox Church:

- The administration marginalized the Church, reducing it to the policeman-like status of the keeper of social order<sup>354</sup>;
- The budget allocated to the Church was minimal<sup>355</sup>.
- What was the attitude that the Orthodox Church lacked?
- To come up with initiatives<sup>356</sup>;
- To have a clear point of view on an issue<sup>357</sup>;
- To "assert itself as a disciplined body with a firm central authority"<sup>358</sup>;
- To resort to heroic and radical solutions, such as creating its own higher education system<sup>359</sup>.

The abovementioned led to a state of affairs where a significant Faculty of Orthodox Theology in the country was proud of "doing science", not of being the keeper of the dogma.

Today, when the Church is again under attack (the recent case of Father Tănase from Valea Plopului), Nae Ionescu's words are more than necessary.

#### ALIN

The problem raised by Narcis, that of the infiltration of the state into the affairs of the church in matters of education, is a sensitive one. I say this because today we have probably all read about the lynching of Father Tănase. Here we have two problems:

1. Indeed, the state is involved in the affairs of the church. One can observe Bănescu's vile reaction to this case.
2. I strongly disagree with the second point, that of an unequivocal point of view on an issue from the Church. Why? Precisely the aforementioned mentioned case shows that if the Church is unequivocal, it is still the people who say that it is exaggerating. Father Tănase made it very clear that he was referring to the Western law, where rape cases are judged not only based on actions, but also on the context. What people (mis)understood could be seen in all the newspapers.

We have reached this point because Romania has been and still is under an almost permanent siege against its culture. For example, in the book *The Holocaust of Romanian Culture*, we find a small testimony about the aggression with which the Romanian pseudo-elites have literally set fire to all the written sources and other

---

<sup>354</sup> Nae Ionescu „Tot despre Facultatea Chișinăului” [“All about the Chișinău Faculty”], in Nae Ionescu, *quoted work*, pp. 29–34.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>356</sup> Nae Ionescu, „Învățământul teologic” [“Theological education”], in *Ibidem*, pp. 19–21.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibidem*.

documents that have a fundamental role in preserving and solidifying the Romanian culture. For example:

“In his novel *The Intruder*, Marin Preda dwells on a representative illustration of the holocaust of Romanian culture after the war: ‘This friend’s father’, she continues, ‘was a historian, but he had also been a politician in his life, long ago, and had been part of a government, which had never even formed, because it had fallen. But its list had been published in the Official Gazette, and from the Gazette they took almost everyone from the governments after the First World War to the end of the Second World War. This historian when they arrested him, said he had a very important statement to make. ‘As a man who has studied history for so many years’, he said, ‘without comparing myself to Iorga, who had a tragic fate, I understand why the current regime is taking these decisions, but I have one request. In my archive, which has been taken from me, there are valuable documents, the results of a lifetime of research, not all of equal value, but some are so precious that their destruction cannot be matched by anything. I appeal to your patriotism not to destroy these documents’. And then, in response, an order was given right in front of him to burn this archive, with all its so-called precious documents. ‘You don’t make history, Minister’, they said, ‘we do’. Marin Preda picked up this incident from the oral history of Bucharest, told in whisper. Its victim – C. C. Giurescu. The extraordinary meticulousness of this historian was well known, as was his collection of records and documents, extremely precious for the history of Romanians. It is very likely that among the files that were burned by the occupation political regime were also the working files of Giurescu the Elder, the founder of the ‘dynasty’ of historians, files as precious as the others. The real victim of this ‘spontaneous’ holocaust was the history of the Romanians. It is known from the same oral traditions of Bucharest culture, recorded fleetingly somewhere, that Mihail Roller, the partisan historian of the Romanian Communist Party, in his historical research unscrupulously destroyed documents that contradicted his political theses about the Romanian history”<sup>360</sup>.

<sup>360</sup> „În romanul «Intrusul», Marin Preda se oprește asupra unui caz ilustrativ pentru holocaustul culturii române după război: «Tatăl prietenului ăsta, continuă ea, era istoric, dar făcuse și politică la viața lui, demult, și făcuse parte și dintr-un guvern, dar care nici măcar nu ajunsese să se convoace, că și căzuse. Lista lui însă fusese publicată în Monitorul Oficial și de pe Monitor i-a luat cam pe toți, din guvernele de după primul război mondial și până la sfârșitul celui de-al doilea. Istoricul ăsta, când l-au arestat, a spus că are de făcut o comunicare foarte importantă. Persoana mea nu contează, a zis el, ca om care a studiat atâția ani istoria, fără să mă compar cu Iorga, care a avut o soartă tragică, înțeleg de ce regimul actual ia aceste măsuri, dar am o singură rugămintă. În arhiva mea, care mi-a fost ridicată, sunt documente de preț, rodul unor cercetări de-o viață, nu toate de aceeași valoare, dar unele sunt atât de prețioase că distrugerea lor nu poate fi echivalată cu nimic. Fac apel la patriotismul dumneavoastră să nu distrugeți aceste documente. Și atunci, drept răspuns, s-a dat ordin chiar în fața lui să fie arsă această arhivă, cu toate documentele ei așa-zis prețioase. Istoria n-o mai faci dumneata, domnule ministru, cică i s-ar fi spus, o facem noi». Întâmplarea a fost, se pare, aievea, Marin Preda o culesese din istoria orală a Bucureștilor, spusă cu fereală, iar victima imediată – istoricul C. C. Giurescu. Era cunoscută meticulozitatea extraordinară a acestui istoric, ca și colecția lui de fișe și de documente extrem de prețioasă pentru istoria românilor. Este foarte probabil ca în fișele date pradă focului de energumenii regimului politic de ocupație să se fi aflat și fișele de lucru ale lui Giurescu-bătrânul, întemeietorul «dinastiei» de istorici, fișe la fel de inestimabile ca și celelalte. Victima adevărată a acestui holocaust ad-hoc a fost istoria românilor. (Se știe din aceleași tradiții orale ale culturii bucureștene, consemnate fugitiv undeva, că Mihail Roller, pontiful discreționar al Partidului Comunist din România în cercetarea istorică, distrugea fără scrupule documentele care-i contraziceau tezele politice despre întunericul istoriei românilor).”, in Mihail Ungheanu, *Holocaustul culturii române [The Holocaust of Romanian culture]*, Bucharest, D.B.H. Publishing House, 1999, p. 26.

## SAMIRA

What makes this aggressiveness possible is the loss of the concept of “nation”. This is what the state looks like from the perspective of a man who has not lost the meaning of this word, but on the contrary, has deepened it by living it:

“From his time working at the Ministry of Education, A.G. [Anton Golopenția] has taken away – as he says himself – ‘a positive experience’ and a ‘certainty’. The positive experience was that of ‘using monographic and statistical research in administration’. It led to the certainty that ‘the exploration of the realities of a nation at a given time is the necessary premise of the national state’. (Leipzig, 14 October 1935 – letter to D[imitrie].G[usti]). This certainty remained to be deepened in Germany. In any case, it would be the starting point of his work there<sup>361</sup>”.

## ANAND

I am particularly concerned by the points that Narcis mentioned about what the Church lacks. First of all, I am thinking about the idea of creating its own educational system, independent from the state (this would imply a curriculum free from the pressures of the Ministry of Education). How would such a system look like?

I think that ideally (and what could one do without a clear idea, without an ideal?), it would seek to forge a different kind of man, both humble and idealistic (in Noica’s meaning of the word). Humble in that he is always open *to receive*, curious enough to overcome the barriers of the self and devote himself to knowledge. Idealistic in such a way that he would utterly believe in an *Idea* and follow it restlessly. The two characteristics impose a hierarchy, introducing criteria into the consciousness, without which there would be no priorities and, of course, no work focused on precise goals. Just arbitrary. All at random...

## REFERENCES

- Bădescu Ilie, *Istoria Sociologiei. Perioada marilor sisteme [History of Sociology. The great systems period]*, Galați, Porto-Franco Publishing House, 1994.
- Baltasiu Radu, *Sociologie economică și teoria elitelor [Economic sociology and elite theory]*, 2003.
- Baltasiu Radu, *Anton Golopenția. Crestomație*, Bucharest, Oscar Print Publishing House, 2023.
- Baltasiu Radu: lecturer on “Family – the last redoubt in the face of the destructive offensive of neo-Marxism”, at the Conservative Conferences organized by the Institute of Conservative Studies “Mihai Eminescu”, in Suceava, on November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2023.
- Cantemir Dimitrie, *Opere. Volumul I: Divanul. Istoria ieroglifică. Hronicul vechimei a romano-moldo-vlahilor [Operas. Volume I: The Divan. Hieroglyphic history. The chronicle of the ancient*

---

<sup>361</sup> „Din timpul muncii la Ministerul Instrucției, A.G. s-a ales – așa cum spune el însuși – cu «o experiență pozitivă» și cu o «certitudine». Experiența pozitivă a fost cea a «utilizării cercetărilor monografice și statistice în administrație». Ea a condus la certitudinea că «explorarea realității de la un moment dat a unui neam e premisa necesară a Statului aceluia neam» (Leipzig, 14 octombrie 1935 – către D[imitrie].G[usti]). Această certitudine rămânea să și-o adâncească în Germania. În orice caz ea va constitui punctul de plecare al activității sale de acolo.”, in Radu Baltasiu, *Anton Golopenția. Crestomație*, Bucharest, Oscar Print Publishing House, 2023, p. 45.

- 
- Roman-Moldo-Vlachs*], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Encyclopedic Universe Publishing House, 2003.
- Crainic Nichifor, *Ortodoxie și naționalism [Orthodoxy and nationalism]*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1997.
- Hoft Jim, “‘I knew exactly what they were doing’: Texas AG explains how Dems stole 2020 election”, in *WND*, January 24, 2024, Available at: <https://www.wnd.com/2024/01/knew-exactly-texas-agexplainsdemsstole-2020-election/>, Accessed on: March 5, 2024.
- Ionescu Nae, *Roza Vânturilor [The Wind Rose]*, Bucharest, The Wind Rose Publishing House, 1990.
- Manoilescu Mihail, *Rostul și destinul burgheziei românești [The Romanian bourgeoisie’s purpose and destiny]*, Bucharest, Cugetarea – G. Delafras.
- Manoilescu Mihail, *Forțele naționale productive și comerțul exterior – Teoria protecționismului și a schimbului internațional [National productive forces and foreign trade – Theory of protectionism and International Trade]*, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1986.
- Noica Constantin, *Despre demnitatea Europei [About Europe’s dignity]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2012.
- Noica Constantin, *Cuvânt împreună despre rostirea românească [A word together about Romanian pronunciation]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2020.
- Ungheanu Mihail, *Holocaustul culturii române [The Holocaust of Romanian culture]*, Bucharest, D.B.H. Publishing House, 1999.
- Weber Max, *Economy and society. An outline of interpretative sociology*, California, University of California Press, 1978.

