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THESIS ABSTRACT

Ion I.C. Bratianu. Conception and political management

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## Introduction

With this new scientific approach we opt for a positivist history, but our work is not the sum of all facts and events of political life of Ion IC Bratianu, but rather complex puzzle of his political ideas and beliefs. If " the positivist law" by Leopold von Rank - establishes that the history debt is to explain how the facts, we tried to show why, material causality of the most important romanian politician, using us, recognize, of intuition. Revealing The *brătienistă idea*, I have one of the beliefs embodied of his beliefs, who said that "the idea is lighting, lead, support and ensure the fruitfulness of work." From this perspective, the concept of Ion IC Bratianu is not only *ordo-liberal* - in fact he was the founder of the liberal state organized in Romania, but a Christian-democratic.

Bratianu teaches us, and above all he wants to teach Romanian politicians, that really the beginning of any act (fact) is the word , that act and that pop up in the political word, and if the idea comes from the heart - how obsessive he insists - then political act to materialize and, most importantly, gain collective strength and recognition. Then, revealing the conception and professional management of the best Romanian politician has a utilitarian purpose thus providing a model compared to both the passionate history and the political practitioner. Our work is not hagiographic in nature and we have not wanted to build a political myth or history. Under no circumstances we did not intend to depict him with glory of the myth of Romanian politics, because it was not. It was simply a man, than it is the true, but a human being sins and his qualities, and our work has endeavored to provide, hopefully in the right position. *Sine ira et studio*.

In the chapters work we have presented the liberal politician defects, errors, failures and allegations which were made, especially the incredible cult of personality (which he has done and tolerated), worthy forerunner of those in communist times, how well, you'll find what has defined positive and housing. What we witness is the fact that I wanted to point out his role of the *father of the Romanian nation*.

### **Ch. I: Design and management aspects of domestic policy of Ion I.C. Brătianu**

The first chapter, the most important and consistent, both in terms of number of pages, informational content and footnotes - over 700 -, contains seven sub-chapters addressing specific issues of management and political conception of liberal leader.

- a) Ion I.C. Bratianu was a Realpolitiker,
- b) Ion Bratianu was an aristotelian, who believed that politics is a "noble duty"; whose purposes are the country's wellbeing and development by meeting national interests
- c) Greater Romanian politician always thought and acted in politics and in the State under a strategy, he believed that both the political construction and the state are: long, thoroughly, seriously and "with perseverance in times of trouble " Bratianu owe most thorough formulation of sound policies, applicable today. The paper shows how established their political goals, how be used and develop the means to act decisively to

meet its goals. In the sub-chapter: *The brătienist system* is given the power system developed by the great Romanian politician, who allowed him to dominate the Romanian political life for over a decade.

Ion IC Brătianu was the most prominent Romanian politician and statesman of interwar period in Romania not only because of his native qualities, origin and the system worked, but also because of his innovative quality policy. Thus, the paper reveals, in some sub-chapters, some of his inventions and patent policy:

- a) contracts for the transfer of governance through which its benefit has re-invented neo-rotating system of government in Romania during inter-wars period.
- b) two-headed weapon – the political fund - with which he conquered Transylvania
- c) *the gold language* that Brătianu used in Romanian political communication and propaganda
- d) he used the policy “stick and whip” to manage the serious problems and social tensions, as was the revolt of 1907 and the Bolshevik coup attempt of 13 December 1918
- e) use of "street power" to get the government, the first politician in Romania who organized a party congress in the street, which brought 40,000 delegates.

Obviously, in this chapter is also reflected the major policy failures and errors Liberal leader, of which the net post, the issue of liability for poor Romania's preparation for entry into the First World War and the death and destruction it has suffered as a result the country of this error. Also, failure is analyzed and the primary election at the first general elections held in Romania on the basis of universal suffrage introduced by him in 1919, with the resurgence of the ashes of electoral disasters in 1919 and 1920. ☒ And wanting to convince convinced that in politics "results are only an eloquent expression of the facts" , in a speech in the Senate on 15 May 1913, Ion I.C. Bratianu established "essential and permanent conditions of any good policy:

1. A specific goal,
2. A precise knowledge of the conditions under which you are to determine ways to implement ways of achieving result,
3. Resolute action to meet the goal.

Basically, by this definition, Brătianu reveals the secret of the sacred mysteries of initiation into politics and summarized the key steps, I said binding, a model of policy, applicable to both international relations and the Romanian foreign policy and domestic policy .

In the opening years in the training, as well as those of full political maturity of him, the aspect which characterized his political philosophy is the belief and action under the right reasons, inspired by great ideas of the time: "I'm not afraid the weakness of my means, he said, no superiority of my adversaries, because I trust in my qualities, but they defend justice causes. " The biggest idea that leading his most important political action of his life and earned the Romanian Country and was the biggest triumph of the national unity of the Romanians. The immediate goal of any political actor - the possession and control of power - has been defined by the Ion IC Bratianu, with enough arrogance to say, still in December 1910, just one year when he was chosen to manage party affairs and the nation: "the government can take others , but we remain with the power."

The promise made by Liberal Prime Minister called liberals who ended mandate and became *political creed brătienist* who inspired them all liberal supporters and activists in the next 17 years because they knew that with the Liberal Party and his boss will be increasingly increasingly to power and the opposition period will be short and easy to pass. What is very important to note in this chapter of political management is that the Liberal leader organized the political and a governmental power as a system engineered power, which had its own life, their own rules and admirable coordination, exercised either directly by Ion IC Brătianu and its representatives in the first, second and third circle of trusted collaborators.

So, the infrastructure and superstructure complex of political, economic, financial, diplomatic, administrative and bureaucratic form of propaganda, formed: the National Liberal Party, its affiliated organizations and institutions, banks, businesses, industrial and banking oligarchy liberal, elements in the body of senior civil servants, representative Romanian diplomatic and their top staff and liberal media), complex power managed by the “brătienist” know-how, which include: ideas, political views and actions of government, in order to satisfy the interests that led to this combination, with whole personal universe of ICBrătianu’s relations, is the mysterious system.

To gain an insight into vast brătienist system, we present, for example, a cell structure represented by the 1920 General Board of the Romanian Country Bank - a liberal banks - which I find as president of the council on C . Manolescu-Ramniceanu (who was also honorary president of Prime High Court of Cassation of Romania), Prince Barbu Stirbey, Victor Antonescu and Dr. I. Costinescu, IG Duca, all people in intimate circles of Ion IC Bratianu. Bratianu 's political contemporaries, many of them being competitors have tried to define this system in various forms, among which the most popular and used were "Bratianu dictatorship," "Dynasty Bratianu" or "tyranny Bratianu". Perhaps the most neutral political definition, Constantin Argetoianu gave: Bratianu was legal and political beneficial of the great forces in the Liberal Party, “brătienismul” (beneficial relationships and power system created by his father, Ion C. Bratianu, who gained independence during the War with the Turks, in 1878 and founded the National Bank of Romania.)

Brătianu’s primary power system which, to repeat his own admission - did not make it, but inherited from the founding fathers of modern state and national economy, has led to such an organization and efficiency that allowed him to liberal politician exercise control and domination of the Romanian political life for over a decade, between 1914 and 1927. Political system, in fact terrible and state political machine developed by Ion IC political engineer Bratianu function effectively to his advantage as a political leader of the organization and conduct, primarily on the basis of an excellent relationship with Crown. Nicolae Iorga observe, with envy, since the late summer of 1918 that King Ferdinand was subjected "to any will, any whim of his Bratianu". In addition to organizing and developing the system which ensured power, influence and control for over 13 years, between 1914 and 1927, Ion IC Bratianu has managed an extraordinary performance in the interwar Romanian politics. Simply organized accession to power of parties, using the format required by the government rotary. From this perspective, the most interesting and efficient patent policy was what we called 'the assignment of government contracts "for a limited period, which the Liberal leader has completed its competitors convenient for you, which assign governance special and complicated cases or when the Liberal party

felt the need to restore a break in the opposition. Liberal leader also concluded special contracts with General Averescu well as interim prime ministers, as they were generals Coanda, and Văitoianu and also, prince Știrbey Barbu.

The most important evidence supporting the existence of the transfer contract of the government for a fixed period between Bratianu and Averescu is the famous "telegram from Gurbanesti", sent September 22, 1920 to Ion I.C. Bratianu - leader of an opposition party stunned, not so?, at the last election was only the universal result of which seven members - by Al. Averescu, Romania's prime minister and leader of a party have an absolute majority of over two thirds of the total number of MPs elected through universal suffrage. Sent immediately after the "general providential" fired the first swath of land in the village Gurbanesti, which was the symbol of the great properties subject to land reform in Romania, the telegram was the task of determining the status of the two public consciousness: Bratianu - political suzerain, as the ceding of power over a specific period and Averescu with political vassal status and assignee of limited government.

In the history of political partnership between Averescu-Brătianu were moments in which "political vassal" Averescu tried both during the term of 1920-1921 and 1926-1927 to show at the touch of rebellion and failure to arrangements made with his political "suzerain". It is important to note that tolerance to slippages Bratianu Averescu's finish when the interest group built around attention to general economic and financial interests of the liberal oligarchy. Significantly, this is the episode Works Resita privatization. Every time Bratianu reacted harshly, leading eventually fall of the government Averescu. Another example of a temporary government concession contract is perfected with the general Coanda, in november 1919, who had laid down precise and limited its obligations. The mission had to be reduced to the following points: the annulment of the decree by the entire work of parliament Marghiloman; promulgated by decree-law of universal voting to be made as soon as new elections under the constitution amended in Iasi declaration of mobilization and resumption of arms with the Allies.

As further proof of the existence of this model of understanding policy, we present, for instance: the assignment contract with Prince Știrbey governance. Prince Barbu Știrbey and Bratianu agreed in early June 1927 to conclude an agreement governing the assignment of limited duration, with the following mandatory clauses: - Premier Știrbey not to deal with parties collaboration and a cartel, but ask the Liberal and National Peasant Party representatives in his government, which subsequently treat a true collaboration of parties based program of government and the cartel. The prince longer obliged to immediately dissolve the Legislative bodies, to set new elections as short term and resign in a timely manner, instead of letting his political suzerain. Știrbey also undertakes to persuade King Ferdinand to nominate Bratianu for the premiership.

In his political strategy, by setting a goal, two-stage analysis provided its own remedies, but also studying the conjuncture of political opponents. Before deciding on the political offensive, he believed that political actor must be held in cold blood reality to that provision means and making political act. *Reality* and *possibility* around which alerts were Ion I.C. Bratianu logistical and tactical design its strategic projects, it proved to be a cautious spirit, used to take decisions only after you have provided more complete information. Information about the political environment which was to carry out political action that was about the logistics and the human resources available on which to rely.

In his opinion, the intention and effort to resolve the political priority list involves using a certain type of media and political paths. Thus, the most effective means of political struggle that he had Ion IC Bratianu - in fact an invention exclusively liberal politics - was *two-headed weapon: liberal party finance*.

It was terrible political weapon, with which he conquered Transylvania policy, the province united with the motherland in 1918 and which was under Romanian National Party's political monopoly of Iuliu Maniu. The Bratianu's political fund, in fact liberal party and Liberal's banks, acting as a tandem of force, unique in the Romanian political space, where the rules of modern military strategy, which essentially serve liberal bank that it is a battleground action force of a heavy armored assault, assault started to open breaches in the enemy defense lines. Storming strobe Krieg "The banks always surprising to political opponents, and failed to establish formidable bridgeheads in political enemy-controlled territory, after his infantry organized political offensive, preceded by an artillery barrage of liberal propaganda. Transylvania being a *terra ostila* (hostile political land) to liberals after 1918, a true West distant, hostile and unknown, under the National Party's political monopoly of Maniu and Vaida, liberal bank has returned to Transylvania mission' heavy attack for the establishment of bridgeheads around which would crystallize first Liberal political core. In this regard it is significant that the action in Cluj (largest city in Transylvania), in mid-April 1920, a liberal largest bank headquartered in Bucharest, starting an advertising campaign in local media, especially newspaper Maniu's Party - *Motherland* - which announce its offer and that the bank has opened a branch in the capital of Transylvania. A normal commercial activities and no political relevance, and could tell at a glance. Yes, but the bank's advertising model, also included some information on key policy plan and political propaganda and organization in Cluj, a liberal political core.

Ad layout included the name of the bank's board members. Thus, as chairman of the board, Transylvanians discovers C. Manolescu-Ramniceanu (who was also honorary president of Prime High Court of Romania, which had established itself as premier, after Bratianu resigned in September 1919 ), Prince Barbu Stirbey - strong man from the Royal Palace, Victor Antonescu - ambassador to Paris and Bratianu's fiduciary, and Dr. I. Costinescu and I.G. Duca, all people in intimate circles of power Ion I.C. Bratianu. Action two-head weapon held in a context where political strategist Ion IC Bratianu and PNL didn't find formulas, resources, means and political means by which they can cross the Carpathians and the National Party refused stubbornly irrational and often typical of Maniu any proposed combination or collaboration with the Liberal Party

Another example of effective action in promoting the interests of liberal bank is refusing National Bank of Romania, which at that time was a private bank and was under control and family Bratianu liberals to grant a internal loan to government of General Averescu at the end of 1920, which is why he was recently forced to resign as premier.

In the context of its policy, Brătianu gave a great attention to national history and universal domain, where he extracted information was provided by past experience. For him, history was most useful and considered it useful to all those who know how to draw lessons from what happened once, using political and policy experience of other large European and U.S. leaders, but looking at and what history teaches us through the evolution companies. In fact, one of the postulates of his political past and foresee the

need to study: "Examine your past and the light of what has been you can easily see what needs to be."

Although Ion I.C. Bratianu considered useful to know the historical experience, he omitted to state that a politician should not forget that he is living now and not before. His love of history is witnessed by a delicate moment and touching to the politician and the liberal state. Thus, from insults to the Romanian nation, in the Senate, by Saxon Senator Arthur Polony, which in early March 1925, said that Romanians do not learn anything from history because they are a stupid people, Ion IC Bratianu occurred in the stands saying: "As much as I would blame myself, and all the people of our ignorance, I'm really in love with history. I know not only that of my nation and the general one, but I studied the passion that of neighboring nations, especially that of the nations who knew long ago that we are called to live in the same state. Caesar Borgia and Machiavelli, are other important historical figures, who offered great political lesson. Bratianu's trust of lessons of history is confirmed by the testimony of his sister, Sabina, who said he had a discussion with Romanian Prime Minister just before leaving government in retreat of Iasi, where the German offensive in the autumn of 1916, which led to Bucharest's fall. On that occasion Bratianu expressed his confidence in final victory, because history never told him that England was never defeated.

On the other hand, Bratianu was the first Romanian statesman who used his own history of political interest and serve the national interests and especially the Romanian official propaganda. In fact, he was the creator of the romanian historical-political official language; starting from him, will be used until today by state propaganda and the Romanian national historiography. Using history for political purposes in the interest of national Romanian unitary state is a patent of Ion I.C. Bratianu.

Since August 1916, when Romania entered the First World War to meet the best interests of national unity, appears the "golden language" of Bratianu's propaganda, which, after 1948 and especially under Ceausescu, will be much used by Communist propaganda. Key phrases and terms used by this language were then taken as the bourgeois propaganda and the Communist are: "union - the dream of centuries of people" and "economic independence", "freedom of the policy," "freedom of the economic "liberation brethren across the Carpathians." Using this language is noted in his speech that Bratianu, Prime Minister of Great Romania, keeps in the occasion of receiving the delegation of Transylvanians that brings the union act in Bucharest, when he uses national propaganda famous formula: "We expect a thousand years and have come to not ever separate us." On the other hand, it is necessary to mention that Ion IC Bratianu state has created a cult of history, good national propaganda, which was blended with the religious-Orthodox

Among the political means used by the liberal politician and ... was *time*. Time was always his best ally. In politics, as well as in private life, Bratianu liked to win time. Did not rush ever. On this precious ally to be used during neutrality. Then use the time to heal himself and his party politically, after the tragedies of 1919 and 1920 election.

His conception of the political means show that the most thoroughly political instrument of constitutional life, empowered to provide political and logistic operations only able to allow full solidarity between ideas and actions is a political party. "A party is a tool, not available to this or that person, but made available to the State", he said repeatedly since the first years of the twentieth century. The main condition for the existence of a party is

brătienistă view that "political party is born of great interest that he is meant to protect them and serve them." Then, the rationale of such a constitutional instrument was clearly defined as possible in his view, "to give that continuity of political life, for the life of the state that lasts ages and that human life not only endures years, is unable to give." Ion I.C. Brătianu believe that the political party can effectively capture and harmonize individual energies, transforming them into a creative energy, capable of promoting the general interests. "A political party, he said, is necessary to harmonize not only the individual energies, but to harmonize the interests of classes." In a speech in the Senate, on 22 April 1914, at the closing legislative bodies, Ion Brătianu have to specify the first condition necessary and mandatory for a party to exist, namely to show the public its bid with confidence and determination . Offer electoral politics and then seek to implement it.

Besides the fact that it was an excellent politician and statesman, Ion IC Brătianu was also a great man of P.R. (Public Relations ), he has created a strong brand identity and a solid organizational culture of the National Liberal Party. Party, the heritage value as a particularly active politically, that he knew to exploit it intensively and to cultivate among the public and to fix it in the national consciousness: *Liberals - Independence Party, Liberal Party - the party of the Great Reforms ; PNL - National Unity Party, Liberal Party - development and modernization of the Greater Romania Party*. Especially after the beginning of 1920 we can speak of a liberal propaganda machine, carefully controlled and inspired by Ion IC Brătianu, operating maintenance, finishing and public exposure of the Liberal Party's organizational culture. Brătianu institution through which control and activate all the liberal propaganda Liberal organizations in Greater Romania was the Central Propaganda Department, specializes party structure created in 1920.

Then, in his view, a party needs an experienced leader and authorized heard and respected by his policies. But more than anything, a leader needs the trust of those he leads. Aware of the challenges in its path but also have the enormous responsibility they have Brătianu was very careful to public precizeze mission and his responsibility as leader of the Liberal Party, immediately after taking office in 1909. "Unlike other parties, I feel a greater responsibility than others party leaders, because good and otherwise sense the party chief. Entrusted me to a party that we did not I, but the party capital with a rich history and therefore I can not risk their very existence as easily available to others. " On the other hand, at the opening Circle of Liberal Studies in Cluj, on June 19, 1921, Ion I. C Brătianu confess those earning at the banquet given on that occasion and which represented for him "stone of our organization," that for them is "not so much an ambition to become chief, as a teacher, a promoter of energy and faith."

Let's say that a liberal politician portrait of a particular feature was that he was *the skimpy romanian prime-minister*. Brătianu remaining in Romanian history as one of the rare prime ministers very careful in spending public money collected from taxpayers. In this respect, it is significant episode in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, when, following his protest against the abuses of the Great Powers suddenly left Paris in early July 1919 and refused to pay the salary of the Romanian delegation throughout months saying he was working for a month. In a letter sent to it by his sister, Sabina Cantacuzino, from Paris in early 1919, is disgusted by the decision of the General Romanian Army Staff to send to Paris on public money, a huge delegation of officers to attend unnecessary to some sports games. Brătianu revolt seems justified if we consider that the

removal of this delegation is made in a time of economic hardship and huge military risks for the Romanian state, when the country was involved in the war with communist Hungary and threatened war with Bolshevik Russia.

Summarizing his qualities and defects, Bratianu said that his only quality is faith.

He publicly confessed, in an emotional speech he delivered at a banquet given in his honor in Sibiu, on August 5, 1919, the Transylvanian Romanians who participated in the Country's leaders, with Basarabians leaders that has a unique quality. "I deserve one of my pride, faith. "More faith that I can not have someone else."

☒ In his opinion the *letter of recommendation* for the position of leader of a political party must contain accurate and verifiable claims on their experience, gained in sympathy and authority abroad.

At the same time Bratianu committed serious political mistakes in his career. The greatest political error that Ion Bratianu has committed throughout his career was his direct non-involvement and lack of attention to domestic preparedness for waging war of national reunification. "The big error Bratianu, (...) that history will not forgive him, was that Romania has not prepared for his fate, he had not banked on victory rather than a second and was concerned about the possibility of a defeat. Disasters in autumn 1916 and spring of 1917 fall entirely his responsibility.

In a logical and not hierarchical order, Bratianu believed that a party needs a program to be a synthesis of different views within the party. Referring to the critical importance of the program, Ion I.C. Bratianu specifies that a party is a program, the principles they represent and who is determined to achieve them. What is, however, very important (and Bratianu held to highlight this fact): a party program does not change with the change management team, but taking into account the needs of society and the movement of events. He said, in a speech in Cluj, in June 1921 that the principles on which the party program are permanent, and needs to which they appear. Under these principles, insisting Bratianu, "the state secret of our past, the program is the guarantee of Liberal accomplishments in the future."

Listing the conditions indispensable party to fulfill his mission in the state, Ion Bratianu thought that what provides the strength of a party is just his morale, because "with low morale can not make a healthier party organization."

Returning to his conception, Liberal leader stated that the tradition, the human element, morale and ideology must be accompanied by a good organization, who will order and focus all these forces follow the direction. To be effective, however, the organization "must be founded on discipline and unity of ideas", because opponents can't destroy a political party, but "only members can compromise the body making a one that feeds the state in the country. "

### **The Great Liberal congress on 27 November 1921. Premiere and innovation policy.**

Great Liberal congress, held in Bucharest on November 27, 1921, was, above all, a first in Romanian domestic politics, which has devoted another great invention of his - Street force in Romanian politics. This patent policy was successfully transformed into a powerful tool of pressure and political action to reach an opposition party. Novelty was the political capital of Greater Romania bringing together more than 40,000 demonstrators, mostly peasants, brought from all over the country, the first political event

of this magnitude held in the street by a Romanian opposition. Political aim of the congress organized by Ion IC Bratianu On Sunday, November 27, 1921 was to show the king, the other parties and public opinion strongly Liberal, organized, disciplined and liked by the public opinion. In particular he wanted to show the king, the Romanian political scene and the whole country a redesigned and strengthened PNL after two electoral failures. At the same time, Congress was a tool of political pressure on King to lead the government to expedite bringing liberals.

On the other hand, the organization and all the great congress liberal propaganda work around it has occasioned a cult of personality manifestation of Ion IC Bratianu by all organizations and expressing a stunning wooden language, worthy precursor events of this type of totalitarian communist regim. Then, the organization of great congress has a different patent policy successful inventions, which will be taken and abused the Ceausescu communist propaganda: *Telegram homage to the great ruler*. In its template established by the Central Propaganda Department of the Liberal Party, Congress began county organization, mandatory reading by the chairman of the telegram of homage to the supreme leader, Ion IC Bratianu ritual ceremony powerful organizations supervised by one or even two of the key liberal leaders, members of the inner circle of power brătienist ..

Mr. Ion I.C. Bratianu, Head of the National Liberal Party: *"In these solemn moments, when all conscious breath is with your Greater Romania, the national-liberal organizations such as citizens and county of Tulcea, the Congress met today November 13, with boundless love turning their thoughts towards you and admirațiunii expresiunea asks you to receive and our commitment unwavering, for your courage and patriotism-D, which will overcome any weight and you will accomplish for the good of the country and people, great work to strengthen the Greater Romania. "*

On the other hand, meditating on the fact that "politics are constituted evidence of what you know that man is capable of doing and the consequences of which they do", Ion I.C. Bratianu attention given to the human element within the structure party. He proved demanding in this sense, political analyst and public opinion that they could make a first (and often decisive) impression of a party's intentions and reliability by examining the quality of its leader's entourage. Moreover, he stated categorically that the first rule in politics requires the party leader to surround themselves with "people capable and worthy, able to advise him in the common effort to solve difficult situations in any political map.

Returning to his conception, point out that in terms of human potential of a political party, he given an important role to party ideologues, considering that they have "a very high" and "a great action to be achieved". Concrete: "after having worked on building the party's ideas and then embody them in our hearts and consciences of the masses". On the same level of importance in the structure of party, Bratianu placed the activists policies, that in his opinion were essential role to enliven the party and take political work in the Romanian society, to promote and explain the goals, design and political actions of the party, especially among the party out of government.

In his prestigious career was not only electoral or political whims. Conversely, there was a big electoral failure. If we were to conceptualize it, we can define it as "crucial failure" who led the Liberal politician and his party to re-invent, to crezee a political management system and to exempt him surprise and the terrible humiliation that he suffered after the

first elections organized in Romania based on universal suffrage, the reform which he had just imposed it. Please note that due to serious tactical and strategic errors, communication and political activity Terem his party lost parliamentary elections in 1919 while in 1920 has simply been destroyed, scoring only seven MPs.

Throughout his political career, Ion IC Bratianu is concerned with improving the Romanian mentalities Western spirit, gave special attention to very complex problems: the responsibility of the politician. He proceeded in solving this equation on the assumption that the "first responsibility, and the largest man wears his conscience", for all the consequences of his actions. "We have a responsibility too much to this nation and do not want to miss anything I should do", he said. Being aware of the backwardness of the Romanian political class mores, the pernicious influence of politics and corruption, Ion Bratianu believe that improving the situation could be done through national education, well-established principle that every human being has a duty to fulfill and not Pulling avail. In the opinion of Ion IC politician he is, as a duty of conscience, duty to register within the democratic political game, without resorting to artifice of political maneuvers and demagogic. In his public speech, Ion IC Bratianu constantly fought demagoguery as a means of political action in achieving the ultimate goal of seeking power through manipulation and deception of voters.

Ion I.C. Bratianu was the Romanian statesman who put a lot of heart in support of his political ideas and actions, especially those promoted in meeting major national interests. In politics, "situations are resolved with large and heavy heart," he told liberal majorities in the House and Senate, held after the elections in early July 1927. Same Faith, sent by his father, had expressed earlier, on November 20, 1926, at the grave of his closest political associate, Alexandru Constantinescu, when he said that "intelligence in political activity can not be accomplished if is not helped by a warm heart. " The main role of a politician and a man was in his opinion Romanian state to make the Romanian construction and lasting development. But he points out, "the statesman can not build lasting only works if you know to be expression of the great needs and great national aspiration."

Bratianu believe that any political action must be well thought out, not only to follow the light of electoral success. He also recommended that this should not be initiated hastily, in a spirit of false political or national solidarity, as a result of pressures coming from a particular interest group. Such action, warning the Liberal leader, is likely to be promoted as an unprofessional manner, as a political act unclear, and that would prove counterproductive both national interest and the party. Reserves in this direction is amplified while the political gesture was a formal touch. Moreover, he drew attention to the risks arising from such a situation, among which the most serious was that public opinion must rule the verdict of complicity of the ruling party to a disastrous political action.

In other news, his tactics of the deployment of a political offensive established that the efficiency is directly related to the movement of events, so, in a word, the situation, which must be paid. Political offensive, liberal politician insists, will rely primarily on their own forces and means. Moreover, *by ourselves* was the motto of an entire Bratianus and Romanian political lines that inspired this doctrine. For Ion IC Bratianu that policy formulation was reconciled with the idea of solidarity of the Romanian interests with those of the West, civilization and the structure in which he saw

the place and mission of Romania. "We must look to our domestic needs because of our strength depends on solving all problems," he said, in June 1921, in a speech to Timisoara and Romania's place in Europe is set in its view, domestic work, spirit of unity and trust in the European mission of the Romanian people. In his view, the hierarchy of principles at the core of political action there is no one to go before the national conservation. Associated with national conservation principle, as understood by Ion IC Bratianu was the principle of national unity because it "can not conceive healthy strengthening and governance interests of Greater Romania by isolated forces."

Confidence in his country's creative possibilities is another basic principle of design and political action. Faith in the power of the nation, he said, entering the political campaigner, is the strength of people who decide to represent their interests and who at one point it represents. On the other hand, Ion I.C. Bratianu, especially after the hard lessons had to learn by the electoral disaster of 1919 and 1920, but after he followed up on the realities of Russia, was aware of the immense role it has in the success of propaganda and political action of a party, in generally.

Where political opponents using certain processes unladylike, libelous, which would lead to an incidental and transient impairment of the public image of political actor, he recommended last trust in a trial, and ultimately the most relevant, that of history. For his part, he is not too attacks took any notice of his opponents, saying at one point: "I do not care what I throw stones in life, I care for a stone to be set on my grave."

## **Chapter II. Romanian foreign policy in the minds of Ion Bratianu**

The consistent exposure on the Romanian foreign policy, which makes the Parliament of Great Romania, on days 16 and December 17, 1919, Ion IC Bratianu reminded that since 1913, amid deepening the Balkan crisis, defined with good policies in international relations and the Romanian foreign policy. In front of over 450 MPs from the Greater Romania elected for the first time in the country according to universal suffrage, he reminded those circumstances, and these steps required to build any foreign policy strategy: "1 an exact goal,

2 - knowledge exact conditions under which you are to realize the ways of realization;  
3 - along paths determined, resolute action to reach (achieve nn) goal. " Bratianu show that to set a goal of foreign policy, "it is considered that the policy must be based on a directive, decisive and permanent prints its general orientation and on the other hand, the temporal circumstances that must be grant to achieve the aim. "

Romanian statesman draws attention to severe, over time, that is required for a part more than any of its activities, as in its relations with the outside world, to have any permanent rules, after which his policies lead to the middle daily fluctuations, so as not to lose the general direction. " Those who doubted the validity of his statement, he went to the Romanian Parliament the Great example of his favorite state, England, " that should be the consistency of admiration all leading foreign policy principles." Simply - Bratianu told lawmakers in Greater Romania Parliament, elected by universal suffrage - England in the world is increasing steadily due to the admirable principles and directives that followed its foreign policy. Thus, according to Ion I.C. Bratianu, the permanent Romanian foreign policy directions were as follows: "Romania can never be against France and England; against Germany can be neither. Romania is not powerful, it can not

interfere in disputes between great powers. ". One of the general and permanent directives of Romanian foreign policy, which has guided his attitude was that of national sovereignty, which flows from the principle of national conservation. This was the fundamental principle of foreign policy grown strongly in the statesman of political culture and Romanian citizenship and used mostly during the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919.

Then, another essential directive was the political realism. Accused during the Crown Council of August 14, 1916 that it would be Francophile, he said that, like his father, had no feelings of sympathy and antipathy towards any state, but Romanian sentiments, adding that he is not only both Romanian and that.

In his opinion, foreign policy, when the game is a supreme national interest, vigorous expression of national will, after all the remedies have been exhausted, it is war. If the country can not make war, then the best thing that the statesman must do is to act vigorously to maintain the status quo. Bratianu issue these value judgments when critical analysis Mairescu government action in regulating the Balkan issue. And most important: "We must show that, when Romanian interest in the game, our decision may not come from another". In foreign policy, he believed, when "you have clearly defined goal, not only do you have several ways to go, but before starting on a path, whose path of" certainty contest all factors that depends on its realization, is not only well, but before you need to have some other alternative solution. " Thus the existence of this alternative, states can impose interest on which your solution to meet your convenience. At the same time, there is a greater number of possibilities for human motion allows the Romanian state has an effective negotiating solutions that are agreeable to him, as compared with those who would have liked imposed by a third, possibly more powerful. "On the contrary - he points out - if on principle and at first you have reduced yourself to a single solution, you put through it, at the discretion of the person who you can refuse."

Referring to Romania's relations with its neighbors, he has voted consistently for an open collaboration and profitable. But the manifestation of mutual respect was essential. "We are ready to manifest the virtues and traits of respect for our neighbors," he said in October 20th, 1913, we are ready to manifest our respect and sympathy for all, with one condition, but the essential reason: to know in every situation, and above any sympathy, to impose respect for all of our state. "

Ion IC Brătianu was a cautious spirit, who calculate every move in foreign policy, the reason being that "a country like ours can not claim to give directions in world politics, but must clearly know the situation (International Ed) profiting as much and as well for its interests, the different circumstances. "

Facing the brutal reality and affect the spirit of force in international relations, Bratianu would constantly push at the declarative level but also that the internal strengthening of Romania, as the main factor in the strength of the Romanian state in foreign relations. Since exposure to high foreign policy issues, in December 1919 and then continuing steadily Utterance most public man of Romanian state has sought to establish this thesis in Romanian public consciousness. In a liberal meetings planned in Timisoara, on June 12, 1921, he declared firmly that "made the paper and treated desires, no ads, no violent words, no words can be harmful or humiliating subordination to establish our state in Europe and purpose in the world. The point is that they represent established powers and these powers are our faith and work. Joining us in a common

work in our unswerving belief in what constitutes the fulfillment of our mission throughout Latin in those parts of the world are the sources of our strength. Since they have gone past achievements, they give us safety achievements in the future. "Therefore, he said, at the same meeting, the Romanians and not other countries - represented by the European or international organizations - must take care of Romanian interests," Who designs relations with other countries to reclaim safety or conditions of existence of the state, on good will from the outside, or that outsiders could not be our friend, always a mistake and a crime in certain circumstances. "

"*Today I got to dictate the order in Eastern Europe*", proclaimed Ion IC Bratianu on 5 August 1919, the Country Hall gathered in Sibiu, confirming the brief hegemony over Central Europe Romanian and Romanian only manifestation of imperialism, of Michael the Brave now. Opportunity to say these so rare and precious words for the spirit and mentality of a nation that was forced from her birth, to live with his head bowed as the time, was the great Romanian military success in the summer of 1919, when the capital of Hungary was occupied by Romanian army, following a lightning counter-offensives . Support foreign policy of a State by its domestic politics, he see and review meaning of compulsory identity internal political forces in defining and meeting national targets, considering that 'feelings on this matter we can not separate

Also, Ion Bratianu conditional promotion of a successful growth strategy of foreign policy responsibilities of decision makers and institutions in charge of the destiny of the state. These, he says, must assume full responsibility for foreign policy decisions, and in case of failure of political maneuvers to attempt to transfer the share or prospective members of his political responsibility. According to the obligation of a government-backed opposition, is to defend the authority and strength in foreign rights, interests and dignity of the Romanian state and to protect and maintain national Romanian minority lives, outside the national borders. Romanian political elite, in its view, it was for a duty to agree on foreign policy strategies to help meet the historical mission of the Romanian people , designation conferred by the settlement's geographical origin, qualities and its energies. He believes that the main duty of the political elite is "to seek, above all, to ensure the fate of this nation, ensuring its integrity, independence, security and development.

In his view there are other fundamental principles that should guide the action of the Romanian foreign. Among them is an essential role of national conservation principle, but that does not harm the prestige of the state, but to enrich it. One of the major foreign policy principles brătienistă, that great statesman has been used consistently in reporting external action and Romania's attitude and demands great powers, especially, was the principle of intransigence. Under it, Ion Bratianu believed that "big questions, those who master the moral future of a nation's interests that are related to honor and nationality can not be haggling prices, there may be reasons opportunity, you descend into the realm of high principles and safe. Whatever the vicissitude of days and years, whatever the length of their time comes reward. "

The importance given to these principles was justified by Ion Bratianu in his famous impressions delivered in the House on 17 December 1919, they show that the Romanian state, "leaving the land means to give up principles because the principles themselves give us the international life compensation required in the majors. "

## **Ion IC Brătianu and Romania's European policy after 1918**

The main direction and at the same time the key principle under which Ion IC Brătianu addressed and promoted Romania's European policy was exposed by the great man of Romanian state in a speech that takes him from Cluj, on June 19, 1921, inauguration Circle liberal studies. In front of a selected assistance, consisting primarily of university professors from the University of Ferdinand, he stated that "working for a strengthening of Romanism, while working for a large European idea. I believe that it can make great European policy in Romania, strengthening of all our forces, the powers of this state and this nation and allowing it to develop its mission of civilization. Agreement, the partnership with Europe, expected him to be determined through the Romanian interests, which must be ensured at any cost. In his view, the integration in Western civilization was both scarce facilitated by the fact that "our origins, our geographical situation, Our mission in these regions of the world are between us and Western peoples, especially between November and Latin civilization, are permanent links, which in any normal time to find the equivalent in international relations of close friendship with those of the Western which normally must be paid to her policy. The conditions in which Romania was a state powerful enough to print a particular course of European policy, Brătianu believe that the main duty is imposed to Romanian institutions of decision was to not let it develop any European process Romanian interests should not be promoted and fulfilled. Another point of convergence and communication with the western Romanian interests it represented, in his opinion Ion IC destiny, historical mission at the mouth of the Danube in Romania and Central Europe. In the political discourse of the subject's Ion IC becomes obsessive, because "only those peoples live, and understand that mission and will fulfill its headquarters, as many hardships and dangers they would raise in the way." According to the Romanian state corresponds to a large concrete geopolitical and historical needs, ensuring security and freedom of Western civilization in the lower Danube in central Europe. When Congress Latin Press held in Bucharest, in October 1927, in one of his last public speeches, Ion IC Brătianu stated that Romania's political role in Central and Eastern Europe is not to give European policy directives, but is "determined by the characteristics of its breed and its geographic location." In any event, celebrating the national ideal conditions, fundamental option outside of the country remained a defensive, attacking the Romanian state manifested only by its economic and cultural functions, which were meant to contribute to the development and affirmation of Greater Romania in Europe and worldwide. He will accredit the luggage of another continental political philosophy definition of politician and European state. This definition stated that more than anything, "to be good Europeans must be good in Romanian". The powers that we know how to develop them, in order that we know to ensure this country will be the factor most fruitful to that Romania can contribute to the restoration of Europe. "

### **The Brătianu's Commercial antisemitism**

*Was the Liberal leader an anti-Semite or not?* We believe so. Brătianu, however, denied vehemently at the time that it would be antisemitic. In an interview he granted to Hungarian-language newspaper in Cluj - Ujkelet - he stated: "in Hebrew thing I was

accused of anti-semitism. Read all my statements, you report any act of mine, you will not find a word, no deed of mine, which will be directed against the Jews. I'm for full equality of Jews and precisely why they will blame the fact that even to distinguish the Romanian citizenship, when, as a minority, will take part in our political life as an independent national factor. The Hebrew Israelite religion we consider the Romanian political life and happy to welcome competition, but only within the framework of political parties. We do not recognize dual citizenship, which is Zionism. "(56) We believe, however, that anti-Semitism was alive and strong mood in his personality or attitude widespread among interwar Romanian political elite. But his anti-Semitism was not a barbaric, anti-racial or anti-religious. It was a particular anti-Semitism, which I'll call: commercial anti-semitism.

#### **CHAPTER IV. Policies and campaigns promoted by Bratianu**

In late January 1923 Bratianu stated purpose of the construction work on state policy and working in the following formula: " we want a strong state, with the broad democratic foundation. We want development of constitutional system, the full order and legality, a parliamentary political life. This implies strong and well-made games that can give life to an organic state policy. They paid dearly for those countries where parties have not fulfilled these conditions. Their fragmentation and degradation brought chaos and ill-functioning of the constitutional regime and led to upheavals strands always harmful and dangerous reaction. We ought also to beware of danger our country. " Long before Churchill to develop his famous speech in 1940, Ion I.C. Bratianu showed that democracy as a system of organization and functioning of the state is not perfect, but it can be perfected. "In general, he said in March 1923, would be an ideal government that has a good autocrat. But for that autocracy can not be ideal, humanity could not resign from autocratic government", preferring democracy. In January 1911, he wishes to emphasize that, as it claims to be a convinced supporter of a democratic life Romanian intense, much more ought to seek to ensure, in a spirit of lawfulness, the high authority of state institutions. In his view, the link between democracy and its fundamental institutions was a direct, in that, he said, "we see the possible development of respect for institutions of democracy, in harmony with the larger interests of the state." He saw in the normal functioning all constitutional institutions of the basic conditions that a Romanian state is obliged to respect the effort of development and modernization in the Western mind. Given such judgments, we can say that the great man of the Romanian state proposed building a rule of law in Romania, in an era when only the major Western democracies have promoted such a policy. Regarding the development of legislative power in Romania, he saw as linked to the need to achieve electoral reform he believed the eve of the outbreak of First World War. About his attitude of the Church, state and fundamental institution of the Romanian nation, he expressed his political lifetime unconditional respect and support, showing concern for the fate and organization in particular rite church that has been baptized, that the church Orthodox. The rationale of such a policy is explained very simply by its author: "In developing the enduring organization of our church institutions every enlightened man must see one of the essential conditions of our entire social development." In this context it is noteworthy and

important political gesture of Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu that in 1925, supports the establishment of the Romanian Patriarchy, the institution designed to emphasize the religious status and prestige of the Romanian Unitary National State.

Regarding his relationship with the press is simply gleaned from his speech at the opening press Congress Latin, held in Bucharest in October 1927, when he told European journalists present there the following: "The fear is that handling the power. Being influenced in the ever the upper hand which democracy assigns public opinion, therefore increasing your power. " He proposed that journalists should not be left blinded by such power and to lead daily in their quest for public information after rules of professionalism, objectivity and balance and proportion to be basics. In his view, expressed on that occasion, journalists are among the first called to help the progress of democracy and civilization beneficial, because they mediate the relationship between the daily and public official. At the same time, through this doctrine and policy "by ourselves", he had a terrible economic and political struggle for control of oil Romanian Oil standardized.

Ion I.C. Brătianu was the founder of Romanian liberal organized state and that during his rule in 1922, it was institutionalized as social and economic policy official in the Constitution of Romania, in 1923. Also, his work was noticed and creative political education and Romanian culture.. In 1927, as prime minister of Romania, he proposed an ambitious program of establishing the "Romanian Cultural state." Unfortunately, a dubious and premature death prevented him from completing this project, damage to Romania. He was and remains the most important political man who was in Romania.