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## Argument

Revista „East European Journal of Diplomatic History” este o inițiativă a unora dintre istoricii de la Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” și Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” (Academia Română, Filiala Iași) și a Asociației de Relații Internaționale Est-Democrația. Revista își propune lansarea în dezbatere științifică a unor teme aparținând istoriei diplomatice și istoriei relațiilor internaționale din spațiul Europei de Est. Deși primele numere vor fi consacrate, cu precădere, subiectelor care investighează aspecte ale politicii externe românești, ne propunem ca, treptat, să extindem aria de interes către celelalte state din regiune.

Revista va apărea anual, iar textele vor fi în limbile română sau engleză. În funcție de evenimentele/procese asupra cărora ne propunem să reflectăm, publicația va avea și un supliment, care va fi dedicat unei problematice speciale. Perioada acoperită de revistă este, în principiu, cea a ultimelor două secole. În acest sens, Congresul de la Viena (1815) și ordinea europeană post-napoleoniană se constituie în repere pentru stabilizarea unui anumit tip de relații diplomatice clasice în Europa. În plus, Europa de Est se „trezește” odată cu activarea mișcărilor naționale din secolul al XIX-lea și cu slăbirea celor trei mari imperii care dominau regiunea (Imperiul Austro-Ungar, Imperiul Rus și Imperiul Otoman). Pentru limita cronologică superioară, ne propunem să găzduim articole referitoare la Războiul Rece și chiar la evenimente recente din relațiile internaționale, mai ales când ele se referă la crize politice de amploare, conflicte din secolul al XXI-lea sau fenomene noi, cu impact asupra spațiului european sau mondial.

În primul rând, publicația se va concentra pe istoria diplomatică a statelor din Europa de Est, pe relațiile acestor țări cu lumea europeană occidentală sau cu lumea extra-europeană. Vor fi aduse în atenția specialiștilor politicile externe ale guvernelor, jocurile de culise din spatele echilibrului de putere regional, personalitățile implicate în evenimente de relații internaționale, detaliile politice ale războaielor derulate în Europa de Est sau opiniile conturate în zonă asupra tratatelor care stabileau ordinea generală pe continent. Ne vor interesa și teme mai complexe precum: influența ideologiei asupra politicii externe, mecanismele de adoptare a deciziilor, configurarea politicii externe a unui stat, relațiile internaționale văzute din perspectivă economică, culturală sau religioasă, imaginea reciprocă a națiunilor rivale etc.

Editorii intenționează publicarea unor studii și articole ce pot fi structurate pe unul din cele trei paliere de interes: statal/național, regional, european/mondial. Accentul va cădea pe relațiile dintre țările Europei de Est sau dintre acestea și Europa Occidentală. Dar suntem foarte interesați și de modul în care s-au structurat politicile externe naționale de la Marea Baltică la Peninsula Balcanică, de obiectivele pe termen mediu și lung ale guvernelor est-europene în relațiile internaționale și de modul în care vedeau acestea proiectarea intereselor naționale către vecinătatea apropiată sau către regiuni mai îndepărtate. Nu vom privi Europa de Est ca un actor unitar, ci vom urmări diferitele viziuni ale raporturilor internaționale venite dinspre capitalele regiunii: Praga, Varșovia, Budapesta, București, Belgrad, Sofia, Atena etc.

„East European Journal of Diplomatic History” va cuprinde următoarele secțiuni: Politica regională și de vecinătate în Europa de Est, Estul Europei în relațiile europene și mondiale, Politică externă și propagandă, Diplomați și oameni politici în relațiile internaționale, Politici statale/naționale în context european, Proiecte de organizare europeană, Alianțe și organizații internaționale, Teoria și practica războiului, Lumea post-Război Rece, Note bibliografice și recenzii, Dezbateri și manifestări științifice.

Revista este deschisă nu doar istoricilor, ci și politologilor, analiștilor de politică externă și chiar autorităților administrative regionale și locale care inițiază proiecte transfrontaliere îndrăznețe, în Noua Europă a secolului XXI. Publicația va propune subiecte de interes pentru specialiștii în istorie diplomatică și relații internaționale, pentru mediul universitar, jurnaliști, mediul politic, precum și pentru pasionații domeniului. Chiar dacă unele texte se vor referi la subiecte și controverse cunoscute doar între specialiști, vor exista și studii cu o abordare generală asupra relațiilor europene, accesibile tuturor celor interesați de istoria relațiilor internaționale.

*Colegiul de redacție*

## Argument

The “East European Journal of Diplomatic History” is the initiative of some of the historians of “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University and “A. D. Xenopol” Institute of History (the Romanian Academy – Iași Branch) and the “East-Democracy” Association of International Relations. The journal aims to contribute to the academic debate on topics of diplomatic history and the history of international relations in Eastern Europe. Although the first issues will mainly cover topics investigating aspects of Romanian foreign affairs, we aim at gradually expanding the area of interest towards the other states in the region.

The journal will be an annual publication, and the texts will be written in Romanian or in English. Depending on the events/processes we intend to approach, the journal will also have a supplement, which will cover special issues. The period tackled in the journal is, basically, that of the last two centuries. Thus, the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the European order in the wake of Napoleon are landmarks that lead to the set up of a certain type of classical diplomatic relations in Europe. In addition to this, Eastern Europe “woke up” along with the activation of the national movements in the nineteenth century and with the decline of the three great empires dominating the region (the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire). Closer to our times, we invite articles on the Cold War and even recent events in the international relations, especially when those are significant political crises, conflicts of the twenty first century or new phenomena with an impact upon Europe or the whole world.

Firstly, the publication will focus upon the diplomatic history of the East European states, on the relations of these countries with the West European world or with nations outside the European area. The specialists will look at the foreign affairs of the governments, the pulling of strings behind the regional balance of power, the personalities involved in international relations events, political details of the wars waged in Eastern Europe or the opinions in the area on the treaties that established the general order on the continent. We will also be interested in more complex issues of international relations: the influence of ideology upon the foreign affairs, the decision-making mechanisms, configuration of the foreign policy of a state, the international relations seen from an economic, cultural or religious perspective, the reciprocal image of the rival nations, etc.

The editors plan the publication of some studies and articles which may be structured on one of the three spheres of interest: the state/the nation, the region, Europe/the world. The stress will be on the relations between the East European countries or between those countries and Western Europe. We are also highly interested in the way in which national foreign affairs were structured from the Baltic Sea to the Balkan Peninsula, in the medium and long term international relations objectives of the East European governments, and in the way in which they saw the projection of national interests towards the immediate neighbourhood or towards more remote regions. We will not consider Eastern Europe as a unitary actor, but we will pursue the various views of international relations coming from the capitals of the region: Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Bucharest, Belgrade, Sofia, Athens, etc.

The “East European Journal of Diplomatic History” will comprise the following sections: Regional and Neighbourhood Policy in Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe in European and world relations, Foreign affairs and propaganda, Diplomats and politicians in international relations, State/national policies in European context, European organization projects, International alliances and organizations, the Theory and practice of war, the Post-Cold War World, Bibliographic notes and reviews, Debates and scientific events.

The journal invites papers not only from historians, but also from political analysts, foreign affairs analysts and even regional and local administrative authorities that initiate daring trans-border projects in the New Europe of the twenty first century. The publication will propose topics of interest for the specialists in diplomatic history and international relations, for the academia, journalists, politicians and policy makers as well as those keen on this field. Even if some texts may refer to topics and controversial issues known only by specialists, there will also be studies of more general approaches to European relations, accessible to all those who have developed a particular interest in international relations.

*Editorial Team*

## Considerations Regarding the Romanian Propaganda in Switzerland in the First Interwar Decade\*

Adrian Vițalaru\*\*

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**Abstract:** *The present study is aimed at analyzing the way in which Romania supported propaganda and counter-propaganda activities in Switzerland during the first interwar decade through its legation in Bern. By the use of propaganda (a concept which we use with the meaning it had at the time), the Romanian leaders sought to defend Romania's interests abroad, to improve the Romanian state's image and to respond to disparaging campaigns. From the Bucharest leaders' perspective, Switzerland was fertile ground for propaganda, bearing in mind the fact that the League of Nations headquarters were in Geneva and that information on Romania could be spread in the international press through certain Swiss press agencies. As a result, especially after 1922, Romania's legation in Bern received funds to foster connections with the Swiss press, to finance the publication of papers and the organization of exhibitions or to tighten connections with the Swiss intelligentsia. Although it is difficult to quantify the results of the propaganda, we can still notice an increase in the presence of positive information on Romania in the Swiss press, as well as the organization of certain high-profile events, such as the Romanian art exhibition from Geneva. After Lucian Blaga becomes press attaché to the Bern legation, in April 1928, one notices a new interest in Romanian propaganda through radio and in the promotion of Romanian art and literature in Switzerland. Such initiatives, launched and put into practice by Romanian diplomats (Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen, Iosif Șchiopul, Lucian Blaga, Vasile Boerescu), were limited by the reduced funds allocated to the Romanian authorities' strategy concerning propaganda abroad.*

**Keywords:** propaganda, diplomacy, Romania, Switzerland, Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen, Iosif Șchiopul, Lucian Blaga.

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\* This article is a shorter version of the study *Legăția României de la Berna și propaganda românească în Elveția, în primul deceniu interbelic*, in „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «A. D. Xenopol»”, tom L, 2013, p. 221-235. I have also approached the topic in the paper *Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen – diplomat*, Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2014, p. 115-139.

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## **Decision-making in Foreign Policy during Interwar Romania. Historical Outline of an Institutional Architecture**

**Alexandru-Murad Mironov\***

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***Abstract:** After the First World War, the political parties and the media outlets controlled by them began to influence the foreign policy. Moreover, even the diplomatic recruitment starts being influenced by political parties and people close to the Court of King Charles II. In some periods, Romanian diplomacy is subject to extreme personalization of the decisions (the case of Nicolae Titulescu). The first debates within public arena were developing, which was reflected in newspapers (like “Curentul”), but also in influential magazines. Various groups were seeking alternatives: European federalism, Latin Union, the Block of neutrals. Despite the general apathy towards the topic, informed and interested groups were opposed and came up with alternatives to the official policy of the State, albeit unsuccessfully. After 1938, the public was kept in the dark by the Royal dictatorship propaganda.*

***Keywords:** decision-making, Greater Romania, organizational culture, history of diplomacy, Nicolae Titulescu.*

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## The Romanian-Hungarian Border (1919-1920) – Divergent Scenarios

Lucian Leuștean \*

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**Abstract:** *During the turbulent months of 1919 and 1920, at the Paris Peace Conference, as well as in East-Central Europe, despite various endeavours made by the Romanian authorities, by the Hungarian leaders and also by the heads of the Great Powers, the line designed by the eight members of the Committee for the Study of Territorial Questions relating to Romania in March 1919 could not be altered; consequently it has been included within the Treaty of Trianon and it has remained almost unchanged, except for the period 1940-1944, to date. In their attempt to attain a more advantageous border, the Romanians and the Hungarians put pressure on the political and military representatives of the Great Powers, especially in the tensed context of military disputes between Béla Kun's government and Hungary's neighbours.*

**Keywords:** Romanian-Hungarian border, Paris Peace Conference, 1919-1920, Committee for the Study of Territorial Questions relating to Romania, Trianon.

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## Romania's Relations with the Communist Bloc under the Impact of Khrushchev's Reforms

Cezar Stanciu \*

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**Abstract:** *N. S. Khrushchev's reforms concerning Moscow's relations with its satellites after 1953 aimed at achieving functionality and viability to a bloc that was crushed by the social and economic pressures of the Stalinist industrialization and by the political pressures of the Cold War. These reforms were nonetheless characterized by contradiction: on one hand, there was a Soviet effort to rearrange relations on a more equitable base, while on the other Moscow still imposed ideological unity upon its satellites. Reconciliation with Yugoslavia as well as China's emergence as a revolutionary center in the Communist movement were also new factors the Soviet satellites had to deal with. This research explores Romania's relations with the communist bloc in this troubled context and follows certain examples that prove its basic thesis: Khrushchev's reforms altered the appearance of internationalist solidarity inside the bloc as more and more satellites chose to pursue their own particular interests at the detriment of internationalism. It was in this context that Romania's interests first clashed with the other 'fraternal countries' and Gheorghiu-Dej understood the necessity to pursue an independent course.*

**Keywords:** cold war, communist bloc, Khrushchev's reforms, Romania, COMECON.

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## Chronicles of a Visit: the Romanian Delegation to the USSR (3-11 September 1965)

Ștefania Dinu\*

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**Abstract:** For Romanian-Soviet diplomatic ties, the state visit of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the USSR, led by Nicolae Ceaușescu, stands as a milestone. It was Nicolae Ceaușescu's first visit to the Soviet Union as official state leader and was seen as a mandatory step for gaining recognition from CPSU.

The visit followed a meticulously ascribed schedule, for both the Romanians and the Soviet counterparts. During the talks initiated on September 4 1965, the Romanian delegation put forward a first set of issues of bilateral relations, among which the economic strategy for 1966-1970, uranium exports, military technology and, for the first time, the return of the Romanian national treasure. The political issues discussed referred to the modification of art. 20 in the Danube Convention, restitution of the illegal archive of the RCP and the case of dual nationality citizens. As a separate category, multilateral issues covered the Warsaw Pact and Romanian foreign relations with other countries in the Eastern bloc and with the international communist or parties worker's.

Between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of September, 1965, the Romanian delegation was on an official visit in the cities of Volgograd (former Stalingrad) and Leningrad, and in the afternoon of 9<sup>th</sup> of September and on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, negotiations were followed by the response of the Soviet delegation to the points raised.

**Keywords:** Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, party and negotiations delegation, treasure.

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## The Relationship between the Romanian Communist Party and the Greek Communist Party (1947-1950)

Mihaela Gheorghiu\*

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**Abstract:** *This work offers new information on Romania's foreign policy in regards to the Greek Civil War and presents the relationship between the Romanian Communist Party and the Greek Communist Party during the first years after the Second World War. The archives of the Romanian Communist Party proved very useful to our research and helped us in bringing to light important issues such as the Romanian help given to the guerilla movements of the Greek communists, both politically and economically. Within this context, the article also addresses the issues of Romania's alignment to the Eastern European communist foreign policy. With all the particular economic issues that Romania was experiencing after 1945, the communist regime in Bucharest mobilized and participated in the communist collective effort to help the Greek insurgents.*

**Keywords:** Communism, Greek Communist Party, Greek emigration, Greek Civil War, communist party support.

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## May 1968: Paris and Craiova in agitation

Mihai Ghițulescu\*

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**Abstract:** *The article May 1968: Paris and Craiova in agitation aims to advance an answer to the question: „Why Charles de Gaulle left France, during the riots, to visit Romania?”. To do this, we analyse his conception of international politics and the way he expressed it during the visit. The conclusion is that the pursuit of high ideals led him to ignore reality and thus to compromise even those ideals. At the same time, we are looking to determine if the Romanian communist leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu, gained something from the visit of his illustrious guest. Did Ceaușescu agree to enter into a partnership with de Gaulle to escape the influence of the Soviet Union?*

**Keywords:** 1968, riot, Charles de Gaulle, Nicolae Ceaușescu, communism, power.

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## The Rituals of Imperial Power: The Visit of Nicholas I to Bessarabia (1828)

Dionisie Liboni\*

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**Abstract:** Heads of states and governments used to attempt the symbolic legitimization of their own power. One of the forms of these political rituals was represented by initiatives to promote grandiloquent visits and trips. Unlike the heads of national states, the emperors transformed these actions into oversized inspections of the newly incorporated provinces.

The visit of the tsar Nicholas I to Bessarabia at the end of spring in 1828 had a double role: a legislative one by issuing a new permanent statute of the region from the official point of view and, one of a military nature, symbolized by some short inspections of the Bender Fortress and garrisons situated in proximity of the Danube river. Therefore, this visit differed from the similar action of his predecessor – Alexander I. The brother of Nicholas I proclaimed the new provisional statute of the Bessarabia region in 1818. We can definitely affirm that the following agenda of the Russian tsar in the Bessarabian context had an exclusively military character because the emperor Alexander II diffused a war proclamation to the Ottoman Empire in 1877.

**Keywords:** Occidental peripheries, New Russia (Novorossiia), empire, symbolic geography, itinerary.

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## **National Movements and European Context between the Revolution of the Year 1848 and Dualism. Foreign Policy Options, Reforms and Nationality Politics in the Austrian Empire**

**Loránd L. Mádly\***

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***Abstract:** The history and development of the Habsburg monarchy in this mentioned period depended not only on the inner circumstances, but was also largely conditioned by the foreign policy constellation. Many factors of the respective and specific interests of the Great Powers to the broader agenda of European politics were offset by the considerations of internal politics. The most controversial aspect of the inner policy of the Austrian government, namely the repression policy after 1848, was reflected in the foreign policy and the attitude of most European states; though Vienna conducted an internal policy with no consideration for the outer political conditions, but these were becoming major players in the next few years; the Italian wars, which set the latter the Bach regime to an end, and later the defeat at Königgrätz, were the major events in this sense. The developments of the period between the Revolution and the Dualism show just that it has not been possible to meet domestic political decisions, ignoring the signals of foreign policy and that participation in the foreign policy alliances and their internal dynamics of both domestic politics, as well as the society and the economy were greatly affected. Transylvania, as a peripheral crown land of the Habsburg monarchy can serve here as a case study at which the effect of these factors can be well observed.*

***Keywords:** International relationships, national movements, Habsburg Monarchy, Neoabsolutism, Transylvania.*

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## Mazzini's Vision on the European Cooperation. International Politics and the Relations between States\*

Remus Tanasă\*\*

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**Abstract:** *Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) is ranked among the most influential European public figures of the mid-nineteenth century. He proposed some important changes to, among other things, the role of the nation in politics, the normative and ethic dilemmas of military intervention and the possibility of a more just and peaceful international order. Today he is considered one of the founders of the Italian modern state, but his ideas grew strongly also in other regions of Europe and in other forms, his writings influenced politicians and statesmen worldwide.*

*Although he was concerned with the political context of nineteenth-century Europe, he conceptualized and tried to clear up some dilemmas that political theorists, international policymakers and ordinary citizens are still often confronting today: the relation between the nation-state and the democratic international order.*

**Keywords:** International Relations, Risorgimento, Principle of Nationalities, Non-intervention, Vienna Settlement.

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## Romania and the Balkan's Borders (1941)

Ionuț Nistor\*

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***Abstract:** The operations in Balkans, 1940-1941, and the reconfiguration of the borders were closely monitored in Bucharest, because the regions inhabited by Romanians changed their administration, even if temporarily. These regions were integrated or projected in new states configurations which caused disputes. The implication of Hungary and Bulgaria in the division of the territories along with the increase of their power and control over areas with Romanian population didn't leave the Romanian government without a response. But, besides the intervention from April 1941, Antonescu government didn't seem to have a clear long term strategy towards the situation in the near proximity. The implication in the problems of reestablishing the borders referred mostly to an immediate calculation, geostrategic, which was meant to maintain a balance of the forces in the region, and to limit the expansion of Hungary and Bulgaria.*

***Keywords:** Balkans, borders, diplomacy, Romania.*

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## **The UN Universality and Romania's Accession to the World Institution**

**Paul Nistor\***

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**Abstract:** *The Romanians looked up to the United Nations even since the institution was founded at the end of World War II. Although the country used to be Germany's ally and was considered to be a defeated state, Romania believed in a beautiful return to the international arena if granted accession in the UN. However, the new ideological rivalries soon infested the world institution, dividing it into rival groups. The hostility between the East and the West caused blockages in the organisms of the United Nations. Using Article 4 in the UN Charter, the United States delayed the accession of some of Moscow's allies into the United Nations, keeping the supremacy of the West in the Security Council. Although the idea of the universality of the world institution was accepted, the West considered that it could not apply automatically. They incriminated the political abuses committed by the communist states in Eastern Europe. Romania was discredited in the eyes of the international community through the discovery of human rights infringements. Thus, the nay of America and its allies kept Bucharest waiting at the gates of the UN between 1947-1955. It was only in December 1955, when the two super-powers shook hands, that Romania received en bloc membership, together with other countries, in the East and in the West.*

**Keywords:** United Nations, Cold War, Diplomacy, Communist Romania, United States.

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## **A Complicated Relationship: Romania and the CMEA (1949-1964)**

**Liviu Țăranu**\*

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**Abstract:** *CMEA was a tool used by the Soviets to maintain and strengthen control over the economies of the satellite countries. However, the Council was a necessary framework for the development of better trade policies from member countries and also obtaining favorable terms of trade in the purchase of raw materials from the Soviet Union. The Council has been established along with a forum for discussion and debate, between the representatives of member countries. The work carried out by the CMEA and the Romanian delegates at various meetings concerning the industrial and economic development plan, brought to light mutual information (obtained from the statistical bulletins of the Council) that helped the Romanians to gather information on the economic situation of other socialist countries, and to accurately support many of the economic and political decisions of the leaders in Bucharest.*

*The Romanian presence in the CMEA and its attempts to integrate into this structure can serve today as a precedent for other integration processes that have not only an economic component but also strong political and social implications.*

**Keywords:** CMEA, The Declaration of April 1964, economic collaboration, Romanian-Soviet relations, COMECON.

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## Romania's Attitude towards General and Complete Disarmament (1959-1961)

Alexandra Toader\*

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**Abstract:** *The present study discusses the attitude of communist Romania towards general and complete disarmament, in the period between 1959 and 1961. The aim is twofold. First, we will analyze the propagandistic veil built around the topic and second, we will evaluate the speeches of the Romanian delegates at the three sessions of the UN General Assembly conducted in this time.*

*We consider that a state's performance in the United Nations is a valid indicator of its foreign policy. Of course, one may not advance the idea of disobedience when analyzing Romania's foreign policy in this period. The members of the Romanian delegation at the UN supported unconditionally the Soviet plan of general and complete disarmament. However, Romania has been a member of the Ten Nations Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. Moreover, at the 15<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly, Gheorghiu-Dej himself went to New York, as chief of the Romanian delegation. Therefore, the main questions we will try to answer are the following: what was the reason why the Soviet plan of general and complete disarmament was awarded such great importance? Which were the internal consequences of the Romanian first secretary's attendance at the UN meeting in 1960? How could Romania's presence at the UN be evaluated in terms of its attitude towards an important issue on the General Assembly agenda?*

**Keywords:** United Nations, general and complete disarmament, Soviet bloc, propaganda, bloc voting, Romania.

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## The Empire Strikes Back. From the Commonwealth of Independent States to the Eurasian Union

Mircea-Cristian Ghenghea \*

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**Abstract:** *After 1991, when the Soviet Union became just another chapter in the history books, the political leaders in Moscow tried in various ways to maintain and if possible to regain the authority they had within the republics of the former union which had become independent states. The dissolution of the communist bloc, the slow but sure installation of the democratic regimes in Eastern Europe, and the American dominance in the global affairs during the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century forced the Russian Federation to make certain concessions and tactical withdrawals which had some repercussions for its prestige and the influence it once benefited from.*

*Following the rise to power of Vladimir Putin and his backers, the status and role of the Russian Federation within the international relations was rehashed, aiming at regaining, at least partially, the importance that Moscow once had. The plan of creating Eurasia, a gigantic supra-state union, announced and discussed for a while now, gained momentum in the last two years, when Russia made some actual and wide range efforts to actually implement this structure.*

**Keywords:** Soviet Union, Commonwealth of Independent States, Eurasianism, Eurasian Union, geopolitics.

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## **Strategic Perspectives of Iran in the Middle East: Old Interests, New Approaches**

**Mihai Sebastian Chihai** \*

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***Abstract:** This study aims to provide an overview over the rise of Iran as a regional power nowadays. After the acceleration of the nuclear program, the international community imposed further sanctions to the Iranian government which seemed to have stopped short of having any real impact. A real change took place in 2013 when the presidential seat was assumed by Hassan Rouhani and the period of reorientation to the West started, which was highlighted later on by a temporary agreement regarding the nuclear program (some parts of the program were frozen in exchange for the easing of some sanctions). The dilemma of these actions revolved around whether Iran will continue to reduce the nuclear program or it is just a strategy to fool the other countries and continue developing nuclear arsenal. The rise of the Islamic state presented itself as both a threat and an opportunity for Teheran and posed another question: Will the Iranian influence in the Middle East grow, thus reducing the great powers involvement in the region?*

***Keywords:** Middle East, strategy, Iran's leadership structure, regional security, Iran.*

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