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## Institutionalisation and Multilateralisation in the Warsaw Pact

Laurien Crump\*

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**Abstract:** *This article will examine the way in which the Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact (NSWP) members shaped the discussion on reforms, and thus contributed to the WP's professionalisation, multilateralisation, and institutionalisation. It will focus on the period from 1965-1967, in which the nature of the alliance was subject to vehement discussions, with particular emphasis on the Romanian members on the one hand, and the East German and Polish ones on the other, who represented both extremes in the ensuing debate. The period from 1965-1967 was indeed a period of "severe crisis" in the Warsaw Pact to the extent that its members failed to reach consensus on reforms of the organisation. In the course of the discussions on reforms the alliance was, however, not reformed de iure, but it was de facto. In this period the WP members went through a creative learning process, which triggered a more self-conscious attitude towards the alliance.*

**Keywords:** Warsaw Pact, Cold War, reforms, Communist Romania, Soviet Union.

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## Rațiuni „bismarckiene” asupra urgenței unui aliniament defensiv germano-austro-ungar, la 1879

Gh. Cliveti\*

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### **Bismarck's Reasons Regarding the Imperativeness of a German-Austrian-Hungarian Line of Defence in 1879**

*Abstract:* In 1879, pressed by the dynamics of the international relations, Bismarck was planning to carry out a “defensive system of alliances”. The main conclusion was that, for Germany and the “general peace of Europe”, Russia has come to represent “a very serious threat”. To this idea, in order to counter the “threat”, another idea emerged and was added: the one that made equivalence between that “first big step” and the German-Austro-Hungarian alliance. Each of the two conclusions served as a spindle for the accumulation of others. By force of circumstances, Bismarck resume, from the specific perspective of a “central power”, what was firstly approved by Napoleon Bonaparte, at the height given by his Empire to the hierarchical organization of peace in Europe, from 1804 to 1812, then the British, as an “insular power” from 1815 to 1841, and Napoleon III, with the idea of hegemonic setting of the Second Empire during 1854-1866: considering Russia a “great danger”, with a huge geostrategic pressure on the “overall balance of forces”.

**Keywords:** Bismarck, German Foreign Policy, The Russian Threat, The Dual Alliance, diplomacy.

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## The Romanians and the Second American Red Scare. The Case of “The American-Romanian” Newspaper

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**Abstract:** *The article aims to investigate the situation of “The American-Romanian” newspaper, a Detroit publication of a Romanian group with leftist political allegiances, which became a propaganda tool of communist Romania. The text looks into the identities of the newspapers’ owners, editors, and their publishing policy. Due to the close connections with the Legation of the Popular Republic of Romania, the editors of the publication caught the attention of the American authorities, who heard them on account of procommunist activities during the “witch hunt” times at the onset of the Cold War. “The American-Romanian” wanted to make communist Romania look good in the United States, they engaged in Marxist propaganda, insidiously penetrating the Romanian-American community, striking the democratic opponents of the governments of Bucharest, and doing their best to recruit more and more friends in America. The article focuses mainly on the relationships between the leaders of this publication and the diplomats of communist Romania in the United States.*

**Keywords:** “The American-Romanian” newspaper, Cold War, American-Romanian relations, American Red Scare, Communist Romania.

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## Propaganda românească împotriva „mitului Tito” (1948-1950)

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### **The Romanian Propaganda Against the “Tito Myth” (1948-1950)**

***Abstract:** The Yugoslav-Soviet Split has long been debated in historiography because it proved the heterogeneousness of the communist bloc. Moreover, the 1948 dispute between Tito and Stalin intensified in the years that followed and all the countries in Eastern Europe were involved in the propagandistic offensive against the Titoist “deviation”. In this context, the Romanian attitude was one of the most critical and many of the critiques focused on Tito’s cult. Furthermore, the most important communist leaders of the time condemned the Yugoslav politics. Gheorghiu-Dej, the General Secretary of the Romanian Workers’ Party, was one of them.*

*The present paper highlights the manner in which the Romanian propaganda tried to condemn and remove the “Tito myth”. The topic is as interesting as the critiques developed half a year later, after Tito’s visit in Romania, when he was perceived as a providential leader. However, after the Cominform meeting in June 1948, various terms were employed in order to criticize him and the politics developed in Yugoslavia. Tito was called, for instance, Hitler the Second, in order to emphasize the cult that gravitated around him. Given these facts, our study tries to find the reasons that stood behind the Romanian attitude against the “Tito Myth”, analyzing both the propagandistic rhetoric and the debates at the Party level between the power-holders of the time.*

***Keywords:** Tito, Gheorghiu-Dej, Cominform, personality cult, political myth, propaganda.*

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## Sub ochii Kremlinului: convorbirile româno-iugoslave de la Pișchia (22 iunie 1964)

Mihai Croitor<sup>\*</sup>, Sanda Borșa<sup>\*\*</sup>

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### Under the Eyes of Kremlin: The Romanian-Yugoslav Talks from Pișchia (22 June 1964)

*Abstract:* The visit paid by a delegation of the Romanian People's Republic in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in November 1963, led to an increase of the relations between the two countries. However, the rapprochement between the RPR and the SFRY became obvious only on June 22, 1964 during the bilateral meeting organized in the Romanian commune of Pișchia. Motivated by the increasing differences of opinion amongst the Romanian and the Soviet leaders, the meeting between Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Josip Broz Tito revealed the fundamental change that occurred in the Romanian-Yugoslav political and diplomatic relations. Drawing on documentary records from the Romanian archives, the present paper proposes to bring to light the main subjects discussed during the Romanian-Yugoslav talks of June 22, 1964.

*Keywords:* Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Josip Broz Tito, Nikita S. Krushchev, Romanian-Soviet differences, communism.

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## Aspecte ale relațiilor culturale româno-sovietice. Mihai Beniuc, diplomat la Moscova (1946-1948)

Mihaela Botnari\*

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### Aspects of the Romanian-Soviet Cultural Relations: Mihai Beniuc, Diplomat in Moscow (1946-1948)

*Abstract:* In the present study, we aim at analyzing the diplomatic activity of the writer Mihai Beniuc during his brief experience at the Romanian Embassy in Moscow (1946-1948). We will also follow how the Soviet-Romanian cultural relations have evolved, taking into consideration the activities initiated by Mihai Beniuc in this direction in his position as cultural counsellor at the Embassy. What were the diplomat's priorities? How were the Soviet-Romanian negotiations conducted in the field of culture? How did the Romanian institutions collaborate with similar Soviet organizations in the years following the Second World War? These are some questions that we are trying to answer using novel sources from the archive of The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and The National Archives of Romania. Between 1946 and 1948 some agreements and conventions were concluded, which regulated cultural and scientific exchanges between Romania and the USSR and several institutions of Soviet cultural propaganda were created in Romania: The Romanian-Russian Museum, The "Maxim Gorki" Institute, The Institute for Romanian-Soviet Studies, The "Stefan Gheorghiu" University, The "Russian Book" Publishing House and The House of Romanian-Soviet Friendship. Mihai Beniuc appreciated and helped creating these institutions and thereby supported the process of sovietization and stalinization in Romania.

**Keywords:** propaganda, cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, ARLUS, communism, Romanian writers.

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## Aspecte ale activității comuniștilor greci imigrați în România (1945-1968)

Silviu B. Moldovan<sup>\*</sup>

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### Aspects of the Activity of the Greek Communist Immigrants in Romania (1945-1968)

*Abstract:* The Greek Civil War entered the Romanian public opinion in 1946 being a precedent for the propagandistic confrontation that would unfold around the Korean War. Both Romanian communist Government and the representatives of anti-Soviet and anti-communist resistance in Romania used arguments inspired by the Greek Civil War in their attempt to draw additional external support. This fact resulted in the emigration to Romania of a large number of Greek citizens with their children, having communist affinities (11.500 emigrants, including 5.600 children) and the movement of the Greek Communist Party's headquarter (including its media) to Romania. The majority of these emigrants had gradually returned to better feelings towards their homeland and many of them repatriated themselves to Greece.

*Keywords:* Greek emigration, Greek Civil War, Greek Communist Party, resistance, partisan.

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## Mitul francez în politica externă a României, în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea

Liviu Brătescu\*

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### The French Myth in Romania's Foreign Policy in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

*Abstract:* The 19th century was rightfully called the century of liberalism, but many international relations specialists have also called it the century of realpolitik. The unification of Principalities, the installation of Carol I at the helm of the Romanian state and the eventual recognition of Independence were victories belonging to those who had understood very precisely the way European diplomacy operated and particularly the special dynamics that dominated the Europe. Given the spirit of the times, we notice that, beginning as early as the fifth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in various domestic and international contexts, the French state at times supports with all its force Romania's claims, while at other times it prefers to remain in a state of neutrality or even go as far as to adopt viewpoints that are completely different from those coming from the Romanian government or Carol I. Our suggestion for deciphering the events taking place starting as early as 1848 and going up to another important moment for Romania's history – the Congress of Berlin (1878) – is that of political realism. The fact that the French state shared the ethnic origins of the Romanian one did not always help the projects submitted by the Romanian decision-makers.

**Keywords:** realpolitik, France, Romanian foreign policy, Romanian-French relations, ethnic groups.

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## Intervențiile Marii Britanii în „problema evreiască” din România, cu accente pe răscoala țărănească de la 1907

Cătălin Trofin\*

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### Great Britain's Interventions in the “Hebrew Issue” from Romania, with Emphasis on the Peasant Revolt of 1907

*Abstract:* Until the end of the eighteenth century, when Bukovina was annexed by the Habsburg Empire, the Jews were a numerically insignificant minority in the Romanian Principalities. Migration from the neighbouring state gradually led to an increase of their number, thus stirring up a great part of the Romanian political class, who foreseen the shaping of a genuine problem in the economic rise of the newcomers. The “Hebrew issue” was going to become more serious after the nineteenth century, being a preferred ground for the Great Powers' intervention in Romania's internal affairs. The Great Britain, driven by the powerful Semitic organizations in London, grew to be one of the most vocal forces on the Continent in supporting minorities' rights, constantly tried to influence the Government in Bucharest in regards of the emancipation of the population of Mosaic religion. Great Britain's interventions, caused by the pressures of the Anglo-Semitic community, experienced an increase in the early years of the twentieth century and at the outbreak of the Peasant Revolt of 1907 the peak was reached. Anti-Semitism accusations that hung over the Revolt led the British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, to ask his minister in Bucharest clarification on the nature of the insurrection. The extensive reports of the Plenipotentiary Minister of Great Britain have left no shadow of doubt - the Peasant Revolt of 1907 didn't have an anti-Semitic character.

**Keywords:** Great Britain, peasant revolt, Hebrew issue, diplomacy, Romania.

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## Problema recunoașterii unirii Bucovinei cu România și a delimitării granițelor sale la Conferința păcii (1919-1920)

Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu \*

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### **Bukovina's Union Recognition Issue and the Demarcation of its Borders at the Peace Conference (1919-1920)**

*Abstract:* At the time of the collapse of Austria-Hungary in the fall of 1918, the Romanians from Bukovina have decided, on behalf of the right of peoples to self-determination, the union of Bukovina with the Kingdom of Romania. The decision taken by the Romanians from the former imperial province had to be recognized and confirmed at the conference summoned in 1919, at the end of the war, in the French capital, in order to establish peace and the new European and World order. Although at the end of the war Romania was on the side of the victorious powers, its representatives had great difficulty to impose to the Council of the four major allied powers the Romanian point of view regarding the Bukovina, at the signing of the peace treaty with Austria at Saint-Germaine-en-Laye. The fact that the Romanian requests were not recognized created tensions and led to repeated refusals of the Romanian delegation to sign it. The main issues concerned the transfer of sovereignty, the minorities and the borders of the province. The Romanian party's request to be granted the possession of the entire territory of Bukovina aroused numerous discussions in the Committee for the Study of Territorial Issues, given that American representative proposed the division of the province on ethnic criteria, between the Romanians and Ukrainians. At last, after the recognition of some of its requirements, Romania signed the treaty with Austria, and in return received international recognition of the union of Bukovina and the entire territory of the province.

**Keywords:** Bukovina, Austria-Hungary, First World War, borders, Kingdom of Romania.

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## Atitudinea unor partide comuniste din Europa față de Piața Comună, la începutul anilor '60\*

Alexandru Aioanei\*\*

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### **The Attitude of the Communist Parties in Europe towards the Common Market in the Early '60s**

***Abstract:** In an effort to focus more on the foreign policy towards the West, the Romanian Communists have shown increasing interest in the political life of the countries in Western Europe. Amid divisions in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the increased need for high technology in industrialization, Romanian Workers' Party (RWP) leaders have shown a growing interest in developing economic relations with the countries of Western Europe. The signing of the Treaty of Rome in March 1957 and the liberalization of trade between signatory states made Gheorghiu-Dej interested in how the communist parties in these countries pertained to new political movements. If, initially, the Western communists rejected in unanimity the idea of the Common Market, subsequently, their positions have changed. Depending on the level of development of each country, some communist parties have finally accepted the Common Market as a given against whom it was pointless to fight from an ideological point of view. RWP leaders analysed to what extent Western Communists have appropriated the same rhetoric in their attitude towards the Common Market and this has created the setting for a possible closeness of Romania to these countries.*

***Keywords:** Common Market, Western Communists, Belgian Communist Party, Italian Communist Party, French Communist Party.*

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## Fața „nefardată” a comunismului balcanic: ideologie și cultură de masă în Iugoslavia

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### Communism “Without Make-Up” in the Balkans: Ideology and Mass Culture in Yugoslavia

*Abstract:* We aim to highlight the emergence of a cultural mass phenomenon – popular music (Yugo-rock, Yugo-folk and Turbo-folk) – that has managed not only to become a “common” voice of most Yugoslavians during the Communist period, but also to survive it.

*The Yugo-rock of the 70s-90s was not rejected a priori by the regime, as it occurred in the other socialist states. The party leaders believed that it was harmless as long as they monitored it closely. Always oscillating between conformism and dissociation just shy of censorship by official canons, Yugo-rock – developed mainly in Croatia – evolved into autochthonous forms in Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia.*

*The outbreak of the civil war in 1991 coincided with the “cultural” debut of turbo-folk in Serbia. It was characterized, most of the times, as a suburban culture movement, “tasted” by uneducated supporters of Slobodan Milošević’s style and that abounds in elements of kitsch by promoting peripheral messages such as “war glamour”, “greedy is cool”, “get rich quickly”, able to fascinate a decomposing society – from the perspective of both politics and moral points of reference.*

*In the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the hostile historical context and the obvious loss of the “propaganda war” in favour of secessionist republics turned the Serbia of Slobodan Milošević into the victim of a predominant cultural “narcissism”, where certainties were eliminated and where the infallibility of the new leaders tended to become immanent.*

**Keywords:** Yugoslavia, Tito, Stalin, Milošević, Yugonostalgia, civil war, radio, television, Yugo-rock, Yugo-folk, Turbo-folk.

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## **Alcibiade Diamandi – principele fără țară. Sau despre proiectul statului aromân de la Pind**

**Ionuț Nistor\***

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### **Alcibiade Diamandi – The Prince without a Country. Or about the Project for the Aromanian State from the Pindus**

***Abstract:** Speculating moments of military confrontation and Aromanian strategic position (either in the front line, to conquer or maintain positions in the Pindus Mountains, or to the rear, for a resistance that would reduce opponent's resources) Aromanians leaders militated, in 1917 and 1941, for a maximal state project. Both initiatives were placed in the context in which the Italian armies controlled the region and both were local perspective at all or less resonant with the perspectives of the Romanian authorities. Both in 1917 and 24 years later, one of the artisans of the state project, with an important role in the Aromanians organization and representation was Alcibiade Diamandi. Beyond the legend, Alcibiade Diamandi was a personae anchored in the realities of his times, a representative of the Aromanian communities, a person with influence in Pindus, but also in Rome and Bucharest. He knew how to seize the political circumstances to use the autonomist project, identifying himself with the idea of Aromanian state, just as he knew how to draw economic benefits from its position. It is still difficult to settle the dispute over the real motives of his involvement in the negotiations for the creation of the statehood in Pindus.*

***Keywords:** statehood, Balkan, Aromanian, war, diplomacy.*

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## I. Kant, G. Mazzini, J.S. Mill – repere în gândirea de relații internaționale a epocii moderne

Remus Tanasă\*

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### I. Kant, G. Mazzini, J.S. Mill – Landmarks in the Thinking of International Relations in the Modern Era

*Abstract:* In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and around the half of the 19<sup>th</sup>, a number of thinkers have foreseen a series of connections between modern political phenomena, such as centralization/federalization, constitutionalism or the nationality principle and the foreign policy of the states. This observations allowed them to develop ideas and assertions about the relations among states in order to reach a more lawfully and justly international peace, not only for the governments, but also for the peoples or nations.

*This paper is focused on three thinkers which have stated some preconditions needed to eradicate the war as an instrument of solving the disagreements within the international community. In attempting this, Immanuel Kant, Giuseppe Mazzini and John Stuart Mill described the circumstances when the states should apply the foreign military intervention or when the right way of action would be non-intervention. Their approach, besides an etatist vision of the relations between the members of the diplomatic community, involved also a new and revolutionary element: the individual and collective dimension of the human being, that is the rights of men and the ones of the nations.*

**Keywords:** state, nation, self-determination, interventionism, humanitarianism.

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## **La route vers les camps français : le cas des groupes roumains des Brigades internationales d'Espagne (1936-1939)**

**Marian Hariuc\***

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### **The Road to the French Concentration Camps: the Case of the Romanian Groups from the International Brigades in Spain (1936-1939)**

***Abstract:** Among the volunteers present on the Spanish front, many of them were already under the attention of State Security for communist activity or had been convicted in absentia. The most favourable way to avoid serving the sentence was to leave the country to go to Spain. The illegal status of the communist movement in Romania during the '30s, the acts of oppression made by the authorities against the members of the Communist Party of Romania (PCdR) and the desire to keep alive the ideal of the fight against international fascism, all these aspects have contributed to the decision of joining the republican army of the Popular Front in Spain, partaker in the Civil War.*

*The presence of a political respondent of the PCdR assumed the Comintern's strategy to strengthen its organizational structures on the front, through which contacts were made between the combatants and the communist leaders in Paris. Information on the social background and biographies that allowed a better understanding of those coming from countries such as Romania or France to fight against the "fascist enemy" on the Spanish front, represented relevant sources for the structures of the Comintern.*

*After the opening of the French borders, the pullback of the volunteers on French territory had occurred at the same time with the tough battles fought by the Republican troops on their way to the north of Spain. The mood of the volunteers was the main concern of the policy makers commissioned by the Comintern. The meeting of prisoners coming from the camps of Saint-Cyprien and Argèles in a camp, Gurs, marked an important moment in the organization of the Romanian volunteers in one group.*

**Keywords:** Civil War, the Comintern, communist movement, concentration camp, Romanians.

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## ISIS – Another Threat in the Middle East\*

Mihai Sebastian Chihaiia\*\*

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**Abstract:** *The Iraqi state has been at the forefront of continuous conflict for the past 11 years. The American intervention toppled Saddam Hussein's government and the reconstruction process began afterwards. However, the insecurity and instability sphere that was created gave birth to an asymmetric conflict between several groups and the western coalition. This insurgency took a turn for the worse in 2011 when the coalition retreated from Iraq. This functioned as a catalyst to the growth of a different rebel organization: the Islamic State. After adopting the name ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in 2012, it raised the stakes by spreading to Syria and further on gaining power and strength leading to the proclamation of the Caliphate in June 2014.*

*On one hand, the paper aims to give an overview of the methods that can be used to counter ISIS. The goal is not to give a description of the organization and its history but to open a debate over the policies and instruments that can best be used to contain and eventually eliminate it without leaving fertile ground for the occurrence of other jihadist groups. On the other hand, the article tries to outline differences in the approaches some actors have over ISIS. At the same time, diverging interests stand out in the Middle East, a region always characterized by turmoil. The paper discusses several strategies to combat the insurgent group. Among them, there is special emphasis on cutting ISIS incomes (including its financial resources), reducing its mobility, eliminating the leadership of the organization, countering its influence on social media platforms and last but not least, stabilizing Iraq and Syria. The main questions that are left can be summarized as follows: what will happen next and is there any hope for stability in the Middle East?*

**Keywords:** *insurgency, regional security, terrorism, Middle East, ISIS.*

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\* Paper presented at the World Congress of the International Association for Political Science Students (IAPSS), London, April 2015.

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## Apelând la imaginea lui Potemkin: noile veleități politice ale Transnistriei în contextul practicii discursive a „Lumii rusești”

Dionisie Liboni\*

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### Appealing to the Image of Potemkin: New Political Velleities of the Government of Transdnier (Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic) in the Context of the Discursive Practice of the “Russian World”

*Abstract:* On 2010, The Movement of the Veterans of the Maritime Forces of The Russian Federation issued a letter to the President Putin. The initiators argued the necessity to install the sculpture of the biggest strategist of the Catherinian Era – Duke G. A. Potemkin – Tavrisheskiy (1739-1791) in Sevastopol. In accordance with the opinion of the authors, the necessity of this step is focused on the preservation of memory of the historical figure who dedicated the entire life for the purpose of Crimea’s and the Left Bank of Dniester incorporation in the Russian Empire. Moreover, the memory of the Kniaz’ Potemkin was exploited, in the equal measure, by the Govern and Opposition’s structure.

In fact, during the previous years, in the other borderland of the Novorossiia was initiated a veritable official program of assuming the memory of the Russian commander. The historical “reutilization” was seen by the elites as a good opportunity to show the abilities to develop an own foreign policy. From a practical point of view, the situation was an attempt to balance the commercial parity between Russian and EU markets in the statistical dimension of the Transnistrian exports.

In addition, the presentation is completed by the essential facts of the geostrategic thinking of the Counsellor of Catherine II concerning to Crimea.

**Keywords:** sculpture, G. Potemkin, A. Suvorov, politics of memory, Russian World (Russkii Mir).

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