

Contents

<i>Argument</i> (Editorial Team)	9
International Alliances and Organizations	
Cezar Stanciu, <i>The Epilogue of Proletarian Internationalism. Romania and the European Communist and Workers Parties' Conference in Berlin, 1976</i>	11
Laurien Crump, <i>Paving the Way to Peace in Europe. Pan-European Diplomacy in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1972-1990</i>	27
Marius Iulian Petraru, <i>The International Organizations for the Assistance of the Romanian Refugees (1948-1960) and the US Office of Special Operations in Romania</i>	47
Foreign Affairs and Propaganda	
Liviu Brătescu, <i>England, a Partner in Romania's Foreign Policy? (1876-1900)</i>	57
Paul Nistor, <i>Romanian-American Relations in 1959. Regarding the Activity of the Legation of the People's Republic of Romania to Washington</i>	85
Regional and Neighbourhood Policy in Eastern Europe	
Octavian Țicu, <i>Lithuania and Republic of Moldova: From Medieval Collaboration to European Integration</i>	105
Cătălin Trofin, <i>Romania, the United Kingdom and the "Macedonian Issue"</i> ...	129
Eastern Europe in European and World Relations	
Gheorghe Cliveti, <i>The Question of the Romania's Neutrality's Guarantee in the Context of the Oriental Crisis Worsening at 1876</i>	141
Eugen Tudor Sclifos, <i>The History of a Franco-Russian Treaty: March 1859</i> ..	169
European Organization Projects	
Remus Tanasă, <i>The place of the Romanians in Mazzini's international vision</i>	183

National/State Policies in European Context

Dionisie Liboni, <i>The Edification of the Administrative Projects of the Russian Empire in Bessarabia and the Kingdom of Poland in the Context of Governance of Viceroy Mikhail Vorontsov and Ivan Paskevich</i>	197
Alexandru D. Aioanei, <i>From the Undergrounds of Illegality Straight to the Diplomacy Salons. The Interwar Biographies of Several Communist Diplomats: Marin Florea Ionescu, Mihai Dalea, Ioan Rab and Mihail Roșianu</i>	209
Corneliu Ciucanu, <i>From the Activity of a Diplomat of the People's Republic of Romania in Paris. The Case of Mircea Bălănescu</i>	229

The Post-Cold War World

Mihai Sebastian Chihai, <i>The Increasing Role of Media in Politics</i>	251
Mircea-Cristian Ghenghea, <i>The Romanian State and the Romanians in Ukraine post-1997. From Abandonment to Indifference</i>	257

Bibliographic Notes and Reviews

Patryk Babiracki, <i>Soviet Soft Power in Poland: Culture and the Making of Stalin's New Empire, 1943-1957</i> , The New Cold War History Series, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015, 368 p. (Mihaela Botnari)	265
Alberto Basciani, <i>L'Illusione della modernità. Il Sud-est dell'Europa tra le due guerre mondiali</i> , Rubbettino Editore, 2016 (Remus Tanasă)	267
<i>L'entrée de la Roumanie dans la Grande Guerre. Documents diplomatiques français (1^{er} janvier – 9 septembre 1916)</i> , textes réunis, présentés et commentés par Gabriel Leanca, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2016, 404 p. (Claudiu-Lucian Topor)	270
Claudiu Lucian Topor, Alexander Rubel (eds.), <i>„The Unknown War” from Eastern Europe. Romania between Allies and Enemies (1916-1918)</i> , Iași/Konstanz, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2016, 318 p. (Gabriel Leanca)	277

The Epilogue of Proletarian Internationalism. Romania and the European Communist and Workers Parties' Conference in Berlin, 1976

Cezar Stanciu*

Abstract: *Following the events of 1956, Soviet control over international Communism continued to decrease and the trend was accelerated by the emergence of the Sino-Soviet dispute during the 1960s. Leonid Brezhnev tried to reverse this course and affirm Moscow's leadership of the world Communist movement under the ideological pretext of internationalist unity in front of the so-called Imperialist aggressions. At that time though, many Communist parties were unwilling to accept the consolidation of Moscow's role and the return to the practices of the Komintern. Brezhnev attempted on several occasions to bring the Communist parties of the world in an international conference as a sign of unity and subordination but his efforts were undermined by many. The Romanian Communist Party was among the most prominent opponents, along with the Yugoslavs and the West European Communists. PCR was trying to prevent Moscow from arranging a common denunciation of China and enlisting the other Communist parties on its side. The West European Communists, following their course towards Eurocommunism, also rejected Moscow's pretensions. This paper describes the last Soviet attempt to demonstrate the unity of international Communism under its leadership, the conference which took place in Berlin in 1976 and analyzes Romania's position in the process, the reasons and forms of opposition as well as the final outcome of Moscow's endeavour.*

Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, international Communism conference, Sino-Soviet split, Eurocommunism.

* Ph. D. Lecturer, University of Valahia Târgoviște.

Paving the Way to Peace in Europe. Pan-European Diplomacy in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1972-1990

Laurien Crump*

Abstract: *CSCE was an unprecedented platform for Pan-European diplomacy, which has received relatively little scholarly attention to date, and which will be central to this article. Although monographs, articles and chapters on the CSCE abound, the vast majority of them focus on the way in which the emphasis on human rights in the Helsinki Final Act proved instrumental in the achievements of Eastern European dissidents. This article aims to show that the CSCE paid an important contribution to 'perforating the Iron Curtain' and paving the way to peace in Europe in more ways than has generally been understood. The mere practice of multilateral diplomacy in itself seemed to contribute to modifying the course of the Cold War. The Soviet participants, too, considered the CSCE a 'unique school of multilateral diplomacy', likening its impact to the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15 or the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The fact that all European countries (except Albania), Canada and the US convened was, indeed, unprecedented. That by itself constituted a qualitative change in the Cold War, which was hugely important to the Soviet participants. Although it is hardly mentioned in the historiography, the Soviets main priority was not so much the recognition of its influence sphere in Eastern Europe as its sense of belonging to Europe as a whole. The 'Pan-European Process' became the Soviet synonym for the CSCE from its very start, and the Kremlin was prepared to huge concessions in order to continue participating in it.*

Keywords: CSCE, Cold War, Pan-European Diplomacy, Helsinki Final Act, Europe.

* Assistant Professor, History of International Relations University of Utrecht.

The International Organizations for the Assistance of the Romanian Refugees (1948-1960) and the US Office of Special Operations in Romania

Marius Iulian Petraru*

Abstract: *Although after 1989 historians tackled the issues of the Romanian exile, there has been no exhaustive study done so far analyzing the main periods of the Romanian political exodus that started in 1947 and how this was organized in the fight for the liberation of the country from the Soviet Communist Regime. Most studies dedicated to the exile preponderantly looked at aspects related to the Romanian cultural exile and the role of the Romanian intellectual diaspora in preserving and passing on the Romanian values unaltered by the Communist regime.*

This study will analyze the role and the activity of the Office of Strategic Services/Central Intelligence Agency of the United States in Romania between 1945 and 1947 and their involvement in helping the Romanian political class “escape” from the Soviet authoritarian regime imposed after 1947. Special attention has been given to the different refugees categories and to the main international organizations who were involved in supporting them. If there has been no study carried out so far about the plight of the emigrants from the concentration camps from Yugoslavia and Trieste, the author makes a detailed analysis of this situation and regarding the involvement of the American secret services and of the International Refugees Organization in assisting the refugees.

Keywords: Romania, Cold War, Organizations for Refugees, Soviet Union, United States.

* Associate Professor, Geography Department, California State University Sacramento, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Anglia, un partener în politica externă a României? (1876-1900)

Liviu Brătescu*

England, a Partner in Romania's Foreign Policy? (1876-1900)

Abstract: After the conditioned recognition of state independence at the Berlin Congress, Romania has understood that it had to urgently seek allies. Subsequent political projects, of which the proclamation of the Kingdom was certainly the most important, could no longer be implemented through an individual effort. Romania's rapprochement with Germany and Austria-Hungary has taken place almost naturally, without ruling out the contacts with other states such as England. England's reluctance to the Romanian space was justified since it focused its interest on other areas and since the British news press still supported the various steps taken by the government from Bucharest between 1878-1900. Without clear signals from the English government, about the willingness to conclude political agreements, the Romanian government, along with King Carol I, kept the same line of foreign policy adopted in 1883, waiting for favourable international contexts to look at other political horizons.

Keywords: Romania, England, Russia, Modern Europe, International Relations.

* CS II, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română – Filiala Iași.

Relații româno-americane în 1959. Din activitatea Legației Republicii Populare Române la Washington

Paul Nistor*

Romanian-American Relations in 1959. Regarding the Activity of the Legation of the People's Republic of Romania to Washington

***Abstract:** After the anti-communist revolution in Hungary (1956), Romania, in search of technologies for economic recovery and also wishing to promote a more human image of the regime through culture, initiated through Minister Silviu Brucan a policy of openness towards the United States. The actions of the RPR Legation in the United States have multiplied and diversified, especially since the USSR had decided a cooperative policy with the West. Political communication with the State Department and other American authorities seemed to be the most important and the most visible activity of the Legation. This in fact involved the gathering of information on US foreign and domestic policy, about politicians, business people and other American personalities. The surveillance of the Romanian colony in America and the East European emigration after 1945, as well as the infiltration of trustworthy people in these communities, was another first importance objective. The cultural section in the newspapers attempted to improve the image of communist Romania, but also the popularization of traditional and humanistic values, which should have softened the blood-thirsty country cliché, under Soviet domination. At the economic level, it was obvious Bucharest's desire to increase the volume of trade with the US, on the need for new technologies in industry and agriculture.*

***Keywords:** Romania, United States, Cold War, Communism, Diplomacy.*

* CS II, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română – Filiala Iași.

Lithuania and Republic of Moldova: From Medieval Collaboration to European Integration*

Octavian Țicu**

Abstract: *Although Lithuania and the Republic of Moldova left the Soviet empire at the same time as well as they entered there, the destinies of the two countries were different after. Lithuania, with a remarkable effort of democratization, soon became part of the Euro-Atlantic civilization through integration into NATO and the European Union, while Moldova has chosen Community of Independent States. Since old medieval times, when Lithuania and Moldova were neighbours, the two states had close and good relations, fought together in different wars, kept dynastic relations (either by marriages or alliances), and maintained intensive commercial and economic ties, to modern times of European Integration, when the Lithuanian authorities assist the Republic of Moldova to implement joint projects aimed at strengthening its institutional capacities and to path its way to European Union, a particular sense of unity could be attested in the destinies of the two countries. Unfaithful experiences within the Russian Empire, when Lithuania and Bessarabia were annexed approximately in the same time (Lithuania in 1792-1795 and Bessarabia in 1812), then within the Soviet Union, which occupied both entities in 1940 as result of Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and exposed them to the effects of the Soviet totalitarian regime that had profound and lasting effects on the ethnic composition and political identity of the republics, strengthened the perception of common destiny and sometimes common decision to fight for freedom and independence.*

Keywords: Lithuania, Republic of Moldova, European Integration, European collaboration.

* Special thanks to the former ambassador of Lithuania to Moldova, H. E. Violeta Motulaitė.

** Doctor, Researcher-Coordinator at Institute of History, Academy of Science of the Republic of Moldova.

România, Marea Britanie și „problema macedoneană”

Cătălin Trofin*

Romania, the United Kingdom and the “Macedonian Issue”

Abstract: The Treaty from San Stefano and the Tsarist project of creating a “Greater Bulgaria” that included the entire region bounded by the Šar Mountains, Rodopi and Pind Mountains have brought the “Macedonian issue” to the peak of the British diplomacy agenda. The government on Downing Street was aware that the formation of a greater Bulgarian state under Russian influence would pose a threat to the status quo in the Balkans and would have been an important step in the attempt to tear out the last European territories from the Turkish control. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire, the traditional protector, could not accept that the Tsarist plans could materialize, and therefore attempted to get involved in finding solutions to reconcile Austro-Hungarian and Russian interests in the region, but still to preserve Ottoman sovereignty over the region. This compromise state of affairs, once reached, did not produce the expected results but, on the contrary, inflamed the rivalries between the small states in the area, who saw in this new state of uncertainty an opportunity to banish the Turks out of Macedonia and to divide its territories. The strained situation at the south of the Danube was not indifferent to Romania, which understood the fact that a “Greater Bulgaria” would pose a direct threat to its security and a persistence of the conflicts in the area would threaten the small Aromanian population in the region. But, since in diplomacy every issue has to be seen as a new opportunity, the Bucharest authorities started negotiations with the Ottoman Empire, England and the other Great Powers to obtain a favorable legal settlement for the Macedonian Aromanian minority.

Keywords: Great Britain, Romania, Macedonia, Minorities, Ottoman Empire.

* Doctorand, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași.

„Chestiunea garanției speciale de neutralitate” a României în contextul agravării „crizei orientale” la 1876

Gheorghe Cliveti*

The Question of the Romania's Neutrality's Guarantee in the Context of the Oriental Crisis Worsening at 1876

Abstract: As it is well known by the historians, Romania adopted, in January 1876, a position of neutrality toward the oriental people's insurrections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, consecutively, in Bulgaria. As minister for the Foreign Affairs, Kogălniceanu emphasized the foundations of the Romania's neutrality. His successor, as Foreign Minister, Nicolae Ionescu, in a new Government, led by Ion Brătianu, tried to convince the Cabinets of the European Powers to be applied a special guarantee on the Romanian Principality. That kind of guarantee, concerning the territory of the Romanian State, had no chance to be agreed by the Great Powers, who assumed, in 1856, joint Guarantees, concerning, distinctively, the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian Principalities, even the Principality of Serbia. A new and special Guarantee, concerning the Romania's territorial neutrality, was understood by the Romanian Government as a diplomatic instrument, in state to assure the being of a small Principality, menaced by the Porte's claims as suzerain Court, and by the Russian plans of belligerent action toward the Balkans and Constantinople. Finally, in the year 1877, the Romanians proclaimed the Independence of their National State, which was already in the war against the Turks.

Keywords: Ion Brătianu, Romania, Ottoman Empire, Eastern Question, Russian Empire.

* Prof. univ. dr., director al Institutului de Istorie „A.D. Xenopol”, Academia Română – Filiala Iași.

„Istoria” unui tratat franco-rus: martie 1859

Eugen Tudor Sclifos*

The History of a Franco-Russian Treaty: March 1859

***Abstract:** After the Crimean War, Russia paradoxically becomes the partner of France, its enemy during the war. After the signing of peace in Paris on 30 March 1856, the relations between France and Russia improved. Thus, the new ambassador of France to Petersburg, Charles Auguste de Morny desired a French-Russian alliance. In 1858, Napoleon III was the initiator of an alliance with Russia. The French emperor sent Roncière le Noury to Petersburg to negotiate a Franco-Russian treaty. The two missions of Noury have failed, because no consensus has been reached. The reason for this misunderstanding was due to the fact that Russia wanted back the Southern Bessarabia. However, in March 1859, a French-Russian treaty was concluded.*

***Keywords:** France, Russia, Negotiation, Treaty, Diplomacy, Great Powers.*

* CS, Institutul de Istorie al Academiei de Științe a Moldovei; doctorand Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași.

Locul românilor în viziunea internațională a lui Mazzini

Remus Tanasă*

The place of the Romanians in Mazzini's international vision

Abstract: *The contact between Mazzini and some Romanian future political leaders would not have been possible without the revolution in Muntenia from 1848. The Italian would have never considered the Romanian nation without the effort of the Forty-Eighters during that historical moment. Suddenly, the Romanian ethnical group was not designed anymore to orbit around Hungary and they were not anymore a Slavic population.*

The events of 1848 that involved the Romanian Forty-Eighters convinced Mazzini to give more attention to the Romanians. If until this year Romanians were remember by Mazzini in his writings only sporadically and in a secondary position in his scheme for Eastern Europe, the Muntenia revolution and changed his perception about the potential role of the Romanians, but mostly, it made him conscious about the Romanians ability to be a nation. Or, in such circumstances, the principle of nationalities was a priority, and Mazzini has not denied it when he had to support the Romanian case entirety, before the Hungarian exile claims in Transylvania.

Keywords: Risorgimento, Europe, confederation, liberty, nation.

* Doctorand, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași.

Edificarea proiectelor administrative ale Imperiului Rus în Basarabia și Regatul Poloniei, în timpul guvernatorilor Mihail Voronțov și Ivan Paskievici

Dionisie Liboni*

The Edification of the Administrative Projects of the Russian Empire in Bessarabia and the Kingdom of Poland in the Context of Governance of Viceroys Mikhail Vorontsov and Ivan Paskevich

Abstract: In the first half of the 19th century, the trajectory of the Russian governance of the Western Borderlands has experienced spectacular changes. The events which had symbolised the changes were the decrees of appointments of viceroys: Mikhail Vorontsov in Bessarabia and Ivan Paskevich in the Kingdom of Poland. Despite the fact that the process of homogenization has been launched before, the decision was accompanied by partly justified hopes of the major functionaries of Saint Petersburg Imperial Court. It may be said that strong political relationships, rich administrative experience and belonging to the families with traditional social prestige were the factors which have boosted the potential of the both governors to promote a proactive policy in provinces. Additionally, the politics of Vorontsov and Paskevich have shown the lines of continuity vs. discontinuity between the last years of reign of Tsar Alexander I and first decade of governance of his successor – Nicholas I.

Keywords: Russian Empire, new order, borderland, intervention, ministry, laws.

* Doctorand, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași.

Din subteranele ilegalității în saloanele diplomației. Biografiile interbelice ale unor diplomați comuniști: Marin Florea Ionescu, Mihai Dalea, Ioan Rab și Mihail Roșianu

Alexandru D. Aioanei*

From the Undergrounds of Illegality Straight to the Diplomacy Salons. The Interwar Biographies of Several Communist Diplomats: Marin Florea Ionescu, Mihai Dalea, Ioan Rab and Mihail Roșianu

***Abstract:** The complete takeover of the political power by the communists after 1948 resulted in a massive purge of the bureaucratic apparatus within the central institutions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was strongly affected by this campaign, especially since at its leadership came in November 1947, Ana Pauker, one of the leading ruler of the Romanian Communist Party. The new foreign policy, adjusted after the Soviet requirements, could not be carried out with old school diplomats. Not only had they served under the past regimes but were, in most cases, in opposition with the new ideology and the new organization of the state. Thus, they were replaced by people who were faithful to the new regime, who had rich illegal activities, and their education and professional structure had nothing to do with the world of diplomacy. We find among the persons in charge of diplomatic missions after 1948 former carpenters, coppersmiths, printing workers, with some exceptions teachers. People whom through their faithfulness and obedience to the Party climbed from the underground of illegality to the salons of diplomacy. This article presents four defining inter-war biographies of diplomats promoted in positions during the first years of the Romanian People's Republic.*

***Keywords:** Cold War, Diplomacy, Communism, People's Republic of Romania, Romanian Communist Party.*

* ACS, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română – Filiala Iași.

Din activitatea unui diplomat al Republicii Populare Române la Paris. Cazul Mircea Bălănescu

Corneliu Ciucanu*

From the Activity of a Diplomat of the People's Republic of Romania in Paris. The Case of Mircea Bălănescu

***Abstract:** The entire evolution of Romania, after the inauguration of the government of dr. Petru Groza on March 6, 1946, was conducted under the imposition of communism and the Soviet model of organization of the state and of the entire Romanian society. The act of institutional destruction of the state apparatus also affected the Ministry of Foreign Affairs due to the necessity to align Romania's foreign policy with the Soviet coordinates. Having this purpose, the Romanian diplomacy had to be reformed in order to inoculate a "new spirit" and a "new dynamic" regarding the foreign policy of the new Romania, in order to respond promptly to the Soviet initiatives. Mircea Bălănescu was one of the persons promoted by Ana Pauker, the Foreign Minister of the Communist Romania. Without having the necessary training, he climbed on the diplomacy steps from being an observer sent by Romania at the UN General Assembly to the position of plenipotentiary minister in several European states. Everywhere he went, Mircea Bălănescu confirmed that he remained the same illegal communist, who saw the international relations only through ideology and who was ready to organize dark and dirty activities for the heads from Bucharest.*

***Keywords:** Diplomacy, Cold War, Communism, People's Republic of Romania, Mircea Bălănescu.*

* CS, dr., Centrul de Istorie și Civilizație Europeană, Academia Română – Filiala Iași.

The Increasing Role of Media in Politics

Mihai Sebastian Chihai^{*}

Abstract: *This article aims to provide an overall view over the developments of media in the recent decades and its strong connection with politics both at national and international level. Nowadays, the expansion of coverage together with the 24h news cycle has helped media yield a significant amount of power in global affairs both upon public opinion/citizens and governments. After presenting the recent advancements in the media sector and how this sector can have an impact on other fields especially politics, I will touch upon the link between media and foreign policy and how they influence each other. The relation between the media and the military is outlined in the last section of the paper, in the attempt to portray an important and specific aspect of the media-government realm.*

Keywords: politics, media, foreign policy, military.

^{*} PhD candidate at “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, Romania.

Statul român și românii din Ucraina după 1997: de la abandonare la indiferență

Mircea-Cristian Ghenghea *

The Romanian State and the Romanians in Ukraine post-1997. From Abandonment to Indifference

***Abstract:** Since 1997, when the unfortunate treaty with Ukraine was signed by the Romanian authorities in Bucharest, the situation of the Romanian minority living within the neighbouring state has become increasingly difficult. The numerous hardships it had to face from the Ukrainian authorities were doubled because of the incompetence, sufficiency, duplicity, and ignorance which were proven in many situations by the officials and various representatives of the Romanian governments. The present circumstances are only a logical consequence of the attitude that the Romanian state had during the previous two decades and confirm, if still necessary, the lack of a clear and strong strategy regarding not only the fate of the Romanian minority, but also the relations with the Ukrainian state itself.*

***Keywords:** Romania, Ukraine, Romanian minority, betrayal, idiocracy.*

* CS III, dr., Departamentul de Cercetare al Facultății de Istorie, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași.