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Times of Change. Rebuilding Postwar British-Romanian Relations

Cezar Stanciu *

Abstract: *In February 1966 Romanian vice prime-minister Alexandru Bârlădeanu visited London as head of a large governmental delegation. What appears as a rather ordinary event in bilateral relations represented much more at the time: the decision to overcome major burdens left by the early Cold War and reconstruct a complicated relationship on different bases. Romania nationalized numerous British companies in 1948 and had not paid any compensations, mutual trade was at its lowest while suspicion and enmity dominated British-Romanian relations from 1948 onwards. This article explores the significance of Bârlădeanu's visit in a context of transformation both in international and domestic politics of the two countries. The Labor government which came to power in 1964 was looking to redefine Britain's international position while the Communist regime in Romania was pursuing its own independent course in the Communist bloc. For both London and Bucharest, the visit was going to demonstrate whether or not cooperation could be pushed forward.*

Keywords: Britain, Romania, Cold War, foreign policy, bilateral relations.

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România și Imperiul Otoman (1876-1900). Confruntări militare și încercări de reconciliere

Liviu Brătescu*

Romania and the Ottoman Empire (1876-1900). Military Confrontations and Reconciliation Attempts

Abstract: Accustomed to look at Romania's relationship with the Ottoman Empire from the perspective of the participation of Romanians to the Russo-Turkish military conflict of the years 1876-1878, we tend to ignore some aspects that we consider important for understanding the dynamics of the Romanian-Ottoman relations in the second half of the 19th century. First of all, we have to remind one thing already accepted, namely that the relationship of suzerainty-vassal between the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian Principalities was interpreted by the Romanian diplomacy as one that assured the Romanian state a certain autonomy and also some freedom of movement in the international plan. The invocation of the old capitulations is a consistent element of the Romanian political discourse for much of the 19th century.

However, by understanding the way in which the international relations were structured, the Romanian diplomacy, beyond its objectives, among which was the one of a settlement on different bases of the Romanian-Ottoman relations, tried almost the impossible in order to avoid participating in a military conflict with an end that could not be perceived. The exhaustion of all diplomatic channels and a certain misunderstanding not only of the Ottoman diplomacy but also of the European diplomacy proved that the only way to regulate the relationship between Romania and the Ottoman Empire was only through war.

With sufficient shyness, the political actors from Bucharest tried after the Berlin Congress to normalize the relations with the Porte and to transform it if not in a supporter of its actions at least in an arbiter of political evolution in the Balkans. For this, it was necessary for a government like the Ottoman one to be convinced that Romania was preoccupied at the end of the 19th century to secure a certain stability in the area rather than to promote an adventurous policy in which the annexation of some territories was the primary objective.

The change of the liberal government in the spring of 1888 did not contribute to the change of the Bucharest perspective over the Romanian-Ottoman relations, the new conservative executive was equally concerned with the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire among the governments that looked with understanding at Romania's attempt to have a word in the geopolitics of the Balkans.

Keywords: Romania, Ottoman Empire, Balkans, foreign policy.

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Pacea ruso-otomană de la 1878 și nedreptățirea României*

Gheorghe Cliveti**

The Russian-Ottoman Peace of 1878 and the Injustice for the Romania

Abstract: *Within the literature concerning the “great oriental crisis”, the first step for the international recognition of the Romania’s Independence was put on the same of the Russian-Ottoman Peace, especially on that of the Treaty of San Stefano. At a more careful analysis of the documentary sources, we reached the state to conclude that the Russian-Ottoman Peace was, in fact, a very menacing one for the Romania. According to the convention of armistice and the Treaty of San Stefano, Russia imposed to the Porte that in exchange for a part of the war indemnisations, the Russian Empire to receive the small territory between the Low Danube and the Black Sea (a historic Romanian territory), as a compensation for the Southern Bessarabia. Beside that, the Russian troops were permitted to pass over, toward the Balkan Peninsula, the territory of the Romania’s Principality. There were, as a matter of fact, strong reasons for the Romanian Government to reject the clauses of the Russian-Ottoman Peace, touching the Romania’s vital interests.*

Keywords: Russian-Ottoman Peace, Romania’s Independence, convention of armistice Treaty of San Stefano.

* Din cartea *România modernă și „apogeul Europei”, 1815-1914*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2018, p. 553-588.

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Pactul Ribbentrop-Molotov și repercusiunile sale asupra Basarabiei, în documentele diplomatice americane

Mihai Țurcanu*

Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and its Repercussions on Bessarabia in US Diplomatic Papers

***Abstract:** In the very complicated international pre-World War II context, the US diplomats in Moscow found out almost immediately (and in very precise terms) both the details of the August 23 discussions between Stalin and Ribbentrop and the provisions of the secret Additional Protocol about the area of Soviet influence in which Bessarabia also entered. After the signing of the Soviet-Nazi agreement, for obvious reasons, the interest in the Bessarabian issue increased exponentially in the US press and diplomacy. Following the observations of the American diplomats from August 1939 to June 1940, especially those from Bucharest, but also from other parts, especially from Moscow, and even some of the American press material from this period, the Soviet intention to conquer Bessarabia was very clear. Parallel to the fact that Americans consistently signaled this intention, demonstrating that it would become reality in a very short time, given the numerous open-air aggression demonstrations of URSS in relation to Romania, they also found with consternation that the ruling circles of Romania were indulging in the very hard to explain conviction that the Bessarabian border was not threatened by any danger.*

***Keywords:** Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, World War II, Bessarabia, USA, Soviet Union.*

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De la propaganda războiului la războiul propagandistic. Jurnalism de bravadă în România Marelui Război (1914-1918)

Claudiu-Lucian Topor*

From the Propaganda of the War to the Propagandistic War. Bravado Journalism in Romania during the Great War (1914-1918)

Abstract: Even if Romania proclaimed its neutrality at the beginning of the war, it did not remain immune to the propaganda messages circulated through Europe of that time. In Bucharest the calling to arms was since the first day stronger than the mirage of peace. The Romanian publications, funded by some foreign subsidies, have worked intensively on the preparation of war spirits. The war propaganda left a place in the years of belligerence to a propagandistic war where the Germans (in the occupied territory) and the Romanians in Moldova were the main protagonists. About the subjects of this war, the means by which it propagates and its the immediately consequences will be analyzed in paragraphs of this text. A propaganda war I have associated with “bravado journalism”, the most popular press rhetoric in the glory days of nationalism.

Keywords: Propaganda, Germany, Romania, First World War, Journalism.

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Un ziar german din vremea ocupației militare: „Donau-Armee Zeitung” (Brăila, 1917)

Codrin Maxim*

A German Newspaper from the Time of the Military Occupation: “Donau-Armee Zeitung” (Brăila, 1917)

***Abstract:** The present paper is an approach of the history of the press and analyzes the efforts for media legitimacy of the German occupation administration during the year 1917. The article addresses the role of the publishing house in Bucharest in shaping consciousness and highlights the peculiarities of the Donau-Armee Zeitung. We follow the increase of the editorial capacities and the branches of the editorial policy according to the target audience. The article contains a comparative study between the German version and the one printed in Romanian, with variations being found on the basis of a common body of ideas. Corroborated with sources from the memoirs of the time, the analysis of the press discourse follows the interaction between the transmitter and the receiver, and highlights the effect of the occupant propaganda among the civilian population. Far from just being a simple rhetoric without echo, the present study clearly demonstrates that the administrative merits of the occupant in sanitation and prevention of epidemics have been partly recognized. However, the German propaganda failed lamentably in the effort to create the necessary cleavage between the civilian population of Brăila and the political elite that was sheltered in Iasi. Thus, the Romanian version was perceived by contemporaries as belonging to foreign interests.*

***Keywords:** Germany, Romania, World War I, Donau-Armee Zeitung, Brăila.*

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Neutralitatea României ca subiect de presă: jurnaliști și mari cotidiene

Florin Maga*

Romania's Neutrality as a Press Subject: The Journalists and the Most Important Daily Newspapers

***Abstract:** The outbreak of the First World War brought with it several significant changes in the Romanian space, and one of the fields in which they were the most easily noticeable was the press. The news of the situation on the front and the development of the war began to occupy a generous space in the pages of the publications, some of them newly emerging being exclusively devoted to the issue of war. After the agreement of neutrality, the journalistic scene was divided by the options that Romania had at that time: intervention in the war with the Central Powers, with the Entente Powers or permanent neutrality.*

Among the most vocal and active supporters of Entente, advocating for the release of the occupied territory by the Austro-Hungarian was Constantin Mille, director of the "Adevărul" newspaper, and Nicolae Iorga, whose opinion was heard through "Neamul Românesc" (and not only). The two were on the same line, but the approach was different. A significant number of political and cultural personalities were also found on the German side. Among them, the writer Ioan Slavici who was the director of the "Ziua" newspaper during this period, and the conservative leader P. P. Carp who founded with the help of the Germans the newspaper "Moldova". Very animated in this period was the dispute between the opposition and the government in the first line was "Viitorul", the newspaper of the liberals and "Epoca", the official newspaper of the Conservative opposition.

***Keywords:** newspaper, neutrality, belligerence, Ententeophiles, germanophiles.*

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Armata rusă pe frontul din nord-vestul Moldovei în anii Primului Război Mondial

Ionel Moldovan^{*}

Russian Army on the Northwestern Front of Moldova in the years of the First World War

***Abstract:** Between October 1916 and January 1918 the Romanian front of the Eastern Carpathians was supported by the Russian armies. This has been overlooked in historiography. The Romanian historians have mostly capitalized on the Romanian military actions in the summer of 1917. Our approach reconfirms some aspects of the presence of Russian troops on this front, starting from the testimonies of the priests in the villages where they were imprisoned. The priests provided information about the Russian soldiers' fights and graves as well as about their thefts, abuses and attitudes towards the Romanian population. The support of this front by the Russian army played an overwhelming role in the reorganization of the Romanian army and in the good conduct of the great fights of the summer of 1917.*

***Keywords:** Romania, Russian Army, front, priests, First World War.*

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US – British Relations in the Field of Nuclear Weapons (mid-1940th – late 1960th)

Viacheslav Masniy*

***Abstract:** The article deals with the problem of relations of the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain in the field of nuclear weapons in the beginning period of Cold War of 1940th-1960th. The original American-British cooperation in creating the first nuclear weapons – Manhattan Project – is enlightened. The US position on assisting Great Britain in creating nuclear weapons is described. Particular attention is paid to interconnection of global confrontation of Soviet Union and its satellites and Western Allies and American-British cooperation in developing strategic weapons. The place and the role of American-British military cooperation in relations of the USA with European allies are characterized. The contradictions between British strategy of nuclear independence and dependence of American technical support in producing and developing of nuclear weapon delivery facilities are enlightened. The final result of American and British policy in nuclear cooperation in the second half of 1960th is described.*

***Keywords:** USA, Great Britain, nuclear, weapon, cooperation, Cold War.*

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‘Enemies of Détente’? Eastern European Strategies in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Belgrade and Madrid, 1977-1983

Laurien Crump^{*}, Leon Grundmann^{}**

***Abstract:** This article will focus on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) from an Eastern European perspective, while concentrating on the CSCE at times of crisis during the meetings in Belgrade and Madrid (1977-83) rather than during détente in the first half of the 1970s. By doing so, we will also shift the focus from human rights – a Western priority – to European security in the traditional sense – an Eastern European preoccupation, and we will gauge what, if anything, the Warsaw Pact countries contributed to the latter. Apart from restoring the Eastern European perspective to a historiography that has so far been dominated by a Western bias, this article also aims to shed a new light on the mechanism of the CSCE at large, by assessing to what extent the Warsaw Pact participants, too, endeavoured to keep this unique Pan-European process going even throughout the tensest periods of the Cold War. Covering the period from the beginning of the Belgrade conference in 1977 up to the end of the Madrid conference in 1983 in depth, this article therefore attempts to examine the Eastern European role in the CSCE process, at a period of crises, and specifically analyses why and how the Warsaw Pact participants stayed on board of the process. At the same time, this article pays ample attention to historical context, since the CSCE operated by no means in a bubble. It also assesses whether the Eastern European emphasis on security contributed to a Cold War thaw, albeit in a very different manner than the Western emphasis on human rights. The Eastern European participants perceived their Western counterparts as the ‘enemies of détente’ and themselves as its facilitators, and it is worthwhile to evaluate the process from the Eastern European perspective to see what led them to believe this. The article concludes that the Eastern European contribution to the CSCE indeed also paved the way to the end of the Cold War. The dual emphasis on human rights on the one hand and disarmament on the other, which was confirmed in the concluding document of the final document in Madrid, seemed to be a winning formula in terms of peacefully concluding the Cold War. Whereas the Western emphasis on the human dimension empowered the Eastern European citizens to undermine their regimes, the Eastern European focus on military détente and disarmament facilitated progress in arms control, which was all the more remarkable after both SALT II and the MBFR negotiations were frustrated in 1979 and 1980. Using the CSCE as a multilateral framework to*

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institutionalise European security through proposals on disarmament, the Eastern European participants accordingly also contributed to a safer Europe. Moreover, the multilateral institutionalisation of European security through the CSCE adumbrated the end of the Cold War, by transcending the adversarial bipolarity.

Keywords: détente, European Security, Cold War, Eastern Europe, multilateralism, Pan-European Process.

Întrevederea suveranilor de la Osborne și Stuttgart (1857)

Eugen-Tudor Sclifos*

The Meeting of the Sovereigns from Osborne and Stuttgart (1857)

Abstract: The year of 1857 remains an important “landmark” in the evolution of the “Romanian problem”. In 1857, Emperor of the French, Napoleon III had a meeting at Osborne with queen Victoria, and with Alexander II at Stuttgart. At Osborne it was decided to cancel the results of the elections in the ad-hoc divan in Principality of Moldova. As a result the diplomatic relations were resumed with the Ottoman Empire. In the western historiography was stated the idea that Napoleon III gave up the idea of the unification of the Roumanian Principalities. This fact was not true. Napoleon III was the “supporter” of the principle of nationalities. The meeting in Stuttgart in the September of 1857 showed that the relations between the France and the Russian Empire was good. It was decided that France and Russia would act jointly in the question of the Roumanian Principalities. These meetings between sovereigns show the importance of the question of the reorganization of Roumanian Principalities.

Keywords: Osborne, Stuttgart, sovereigns, Roumanian Principalities, relations, concessions, diplomatic negotiations.

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Deschiderea controlată. Cetățeni americani în România lui Gheorghiu-Dej

Paul Nistor*

The Controlled Opening. American Citizens in Gheorghiu-Dej's Romania

Abstract: Starting with the year 1956, Moscow gave the signal of a controlled opening towards the West. With the need for Western technologies and commercial collaborations with the free world, PCUS's strategists allowed the Communist bloc's states to partially raise the Iron Curtain in the economic and cultural fields. The PCR leadership put a special emphasis on the exchange of specialists in an attempt to gain experience, economic and scientific information, and technologies from the American world. Sending Romanian young students to specialization studies in the US, as well as accepting good American professionals in agricultural, construction, medicine, etc. could bring real benefits for the communist regime. Gradually, with care and patience, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took care to organize visits of American citizens that could bring benefits to the Romanian state in the long run, and to cultivate relations with middle-class personalities in the American society. Not only once, they were overwhelmed with attentions and good will, pre-established routes in the country were set up for them and they knew only the embellished image of Communist Romania which was presented to them. The intention of Bucharest was, in most cases, to maintain an advantageous relationship with those American citizens who were gradually being asked for scientific or political favours for the Romanian state.

Keywords: Cold War, Romania, United States of America, American citizens, Romanian-American relations.

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Securitatea și exilul românesc anticomunist. Recrutarea lui Traian Boeru și misiunile sale

Corneliu Ciucanu *

The Romanian Anti-Communist Exile and the Securitate. The Recruitment of Traian Boeru and his Missions

Abstract: *In order to counteract the hostile activities of the anti-communist exile against the authorities in Bucharest, the Securitate handled the so-called “active measures” in the case of the Romanian emigration in order to “infiltrate the main organizations and governing bodies of the Romanian reactionary emigration with the aim of breaking them out”. Given the dissensions within the legionary emigration, the Securitate adopted a “plan of measures” for the recruitment of Traian Boeru. Due to his involvement in the assassination of the great historian Nicolae Iorga and the economist Virgil Madgearu, Boeru was frequently accused and later isolated by most of his former comrades and especially the Sima political wing. Hence, Traian Boeru showed his willingness to work with the Securitate, becoming a D.I.E. (Directorate for Foreign Intelligence) agent, with the primary mission of overseeing the legionary groups in the West, and to “undermine” any initiative to reconcile or reunify the legionary factions. In the Securitate files, we identify Traian Boeru with several conspiratorial names: “Iorgu”, “Pascu” and “Raul”.*

Keywords: *exile, emigration, anti-communism, Securitate, legionnaire, Horia Sima.*

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OCEMN: interesele Republicii Turcia în zona Mării Negre și Republica Moldova (1991-1995)

Mariana Bulmaga *

BSEC: The Republic of Turkey's interests in the Black Sea Region and the Republic of Moldova (1991-1995)

Abstract: With the collapse of the USSR and the disappearance of the bipolar world, the chance of asserting of regional powers has emerged. The Republic of Turkey, being located in a geopolitically critical area, but with strategic advantages in the region, has gradually managed to establish itself as a regional leader in the Black Sea region. The strategy of getting closer to the Black Sea states involved first the economic component of the cooperation. After numerous discussions and negotiations, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC) was launched in June 1992, a project that involved generous efforts from the Turkish political class and diplomats. The Republic of Moldova is among the member states of the organization. Besides the fact that this tribune offered the possibility to promote the political and economic interests of the Republic of Moldova, the BSEC factor also had a beneficial impact on the Moldovan-Turkish bilateral relations. In the first period of the organization's evolution, Moldovan-Turkish political and diplomatic dialogue was conditioned by the need to promote the project and the establishment of structures that would ensure its efficiency.

Keywords: Black Sea region, approach policy, regional organizations, cooperation, BSEC.

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Proiectul *Memorie, identitate și comunitate. Studii de istorie orală pe valea Prutului, în România și Republica Moldova*

Paul Nistor^{*}, Alexandru Aioanei^{}**

The Project *Memory, Identity, Community. Oral History Studies in the Prut Valley, in Romania and the Republic of Moldova*

Abstract: *In the history of mankind, the basins of the great rivers were not spaces that divided the communities, but especially axes that united people on both sides and formed unitary civilizations. The rivers have dynamized the economic life of some regions, inspired the cultural life and brought development. The Prut Valley has its importance in the history of the Carpatho-Danubian areas.*

Our project aims the public with the issue of the border as a cultural construct, to spot the resorts of identities and daily practices that have worked throughout the post-war period, counterbalancing an official, often aggressive and highly ideological discourse. Through oral history research, the project intends to bring to public a series of issues such as: building the image of the other along the border, the desires for closeness, developing the means of mutual knowledge in different historical periods, practical methods of collaboration, the role of ideologies and propaganda in the present imagination.

The deepening of these details will enable us to put on the public agenda the issues with which the Romanian communities along the border confront everyday and to identify the ways through which mutual understanding, proximity and collaboration can be stimulated.

Keywords: Romania, Moldova, identity, memory, Prut Valley, community.

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Le début de la mission médicale française en Roumanie (1916-1918) en quelques documents

Gabriel Leanca *

The beginning of the French Medical Mission in Romania (1916-1918) in Several Documents

***Abstract:** The purpose of publishing these documents is to open a wild field of reflection on the humanitarian aspects related to Romania's participation in World War I. The angle from which we address this issue is that of the Romanian-French medical relations. They supplement the already existing research on the military and diplomatic collaboration between France and Romania, which were rightfully privileged by specialized historiography.*

Even though a lot of information about the participation of French doctors and auxiliary personnel at the Romanian war effort are known, a perspective derived from analyzing the French diplomatic papers on this topic was attempted only in a sequential manner. In terms of the content, these documents address only the incipient phase of French medical aid in Romania. This assistance is both the result of the official request of the Romanian State and of the French side, which provided the allies with the experience already acquired in the field of war medicine.

***Keywords:** First World War, French Medical Mission, France, Romania.*

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Document: Ernst Dawyl, Dates and facts relating to my life, work and struggle as Representative of British firms in Rumania from 1930 to 1958

Alexandru Aioanei*

Document: Ernst Dawyl, Dates and facts relating to my life, work and struggle as Representative of British firms in Romania from 1930 to 1958

Abstract: *With the establishment of communism in Romania, the victims of the repressions were not only the Romanian citizens but also the foreigners. Among them was Ernst Dawyl, representative of some automotive companies in Romania before 1940, then a car dealer, and a member of the British Economic Mission in the Allied Control Commission. The document published here is a story of Ernst Dawyl about the years spent in Romania. He was a well-anchored character in the business world of Bucharest in the interwar years and thought that with the end of the war things would return to normality. After 1944 he made many efforts to resume the economic relations between Romania and the United Kingdom, but he was greatly affected by these attempts, being arrested by the Communist authorities and imprisoned. In the years 1944-1948 he had direct contacts with important political personalities such as Ion Gheorghe Maurer or Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. His accounts on the post-war political life are very important because there are not too many accounts of British political actors directly involved in the events of those years.*

Keywords: Romania, Great Britain, communism, Eastern Europe.

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Stenograma discuțiilor din 7 decembrie 1960, dintre Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Chivu Stoica, Petre Borilă, Mihail Florescu și Mircea Ocheană, privind vizita întreprinsă de o delegație românească în Danemarca, Finlanda și Suedia

Alexandru Aioanei*

The Stenographic Records of the Talks between Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Chivu Stoica, Petre Borilă, Mihail Florescu and Mircea Ocheană on 7 December 1960, Regarding the Visit of a Romanian Mission to Denmark, Finland and Sweden

Abstract: At the beginning of the 60s, the People's Republic of Romania sought to resume, even partially, the old economic contacts with the Western and Northern European countries. In this regard, several missions made up of PMR leaders traveled to various European capitals to sign economic agreements or conclude contracts with different industrial producers. The main purpose was to bring new technology to the country for the industry to develop as quickly as possible. Such a mission also made a visit to the Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland and Sweden.

The visit had primarily an economic aim. However, the Romanian officials wanted to offer him a strong political weight, being very happy when they were received by superior officials (ministers, members of parliament) and deeply disappointed when they were avoided by them. The published document is the transcript of the discussions between the Romanian mission which visited the northern countries in the autumn of 1960 and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Within the meeting, are presented the details of the visit, the contracts concluded, the meetings and the discussions with the political leaders and businessmen from Scandinavia. The document is important because it describes how the Romanian Communists understood this process of opening up to the West, what their purposes were, and through what means they wanted to achieve.

Keywords: Romania, communism, economy, communist economy, Northern countries.

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