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## Romania and the Guaranteeing Powers during the very tense years (1866-1868)

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***Abstract:** In the first years of the long reign of Carol I, the disputes between the liberal and conservative parties over the paths and rhythm of society development intensified. Among the parties asserting themselves in the arena of Romanian political life, the radical group was distinguished by a concept of governing that responded to the highest degree to the major commandments of the stage and perspectives of societal development. The appeal to the past, and, above all, the vast openness to the future conferred upon the attitude of the radicals a remarkable sense of the meaning of our historical evolution. As appreciated, the radical liberals came to power in exceptional circumstances. The aim of liberal governments was to keep pace with the rhythm of change in international life. At the same time, to act more decisively towards achieving the nation's major desires at a time when the most severe dangers threatened the fate of Romanians in the neighbouring empires of old Romania.*

*But a cold, almost hostile attitude towards Romania was gradually adopted by France, a power that still had high hopes in large circles of Romanian public opinion. Among the great powers, France made much ado about the behaviour of the radical government. To explain why all the guaranteeing powers adopted an attitude hostile to the radical government, we must also bear in mind that the second half of 1868 was marked by revolutionary attempts in Southeastern Europe and the centre and west of the continent. The demand for Bohemian autonomy (through a declaration by Czech deputies in the Vienna parliament on 22 August), and the unrest of the Galicians, Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, and Transylvanian Romanians were proving to be a threat to the conservative order status quo. The outbreak of the Spanish Revolution (September 1868) led the powers to consider it necessary to revive their status as "pillars of the existing order". In the opinion of the great powers, the greatest danger was the outbreak of large-scale revolutionary movements in Central and Southeastern Europe, as such an eventuality could provide Russia with a suitable opportunity to regain its traditional positions in these areas.*

***Keywords:** Romania, Guaranteeing Powers, I. C. Brătianu, Southeastern and Central Europe, Ottoman Empire.*

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## Relațiile internaționale ca motor al schimbărilor politice interne. I. I. C. Brătianu, Take Ionescu și războiul balcanic din 1913

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### International Relations as an Agent for Internal Political Change. I. I. C. Brătianu, Take Ionescu and the Balkan War of 1913

*Abstract:* This article discusses the evolution of Romania's domestic and foreign policy between 1912-1913, understood from the stance taken by two political leaders of the time, Ion Brătianu and Take Ionescu. From their position, one in the opposition and one in the governmental party, they used the temporary diplomatic and military crisis to promote their own views on their political group and on the evolution of the nation. The present study aims to analyze the impact of the political strategies used by Ion Brătianu and Take Ionescu in the course of events during the Balkan Wars, when the former politician relied on direct military involvement and increased popularity, and the later on active diplomacy with a personal touch. Thus, Take Ionescu's diplomatic activity between 1912-1913 contributed to Romania achieving its objectives in the international crisis south of the Danube, even if his vision did not really coincide with that of the monarch or the prime minister; he ultimately reaped the unofficial laurels of the Peace of Bucharest, in 1913. On the other hand, Ionel Brătianu, in the opposition – the Liberal Party – and during the internal struggle for the leadership of his own party, attempted to increase his popularity by participating in the Romanian army's well-known military campaign. This campaign sparked numerous controversies at the time, being used as a pretext for discrediting him, but also as an experience and reason for launching the internal campaign to reform the country.

**Keywords:** Balkan crisis, conservative government, Ion I. C. Brătianu, Take Ionescu, Romania.

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## Grigore Gafencu and Romania's Quest to Reach Compromise Deals with its Revisionist Neighbours

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***Abstract:** Following the Soviet invasion of Poland, Romania's diplomacy became intensely strategic, driven by threats from Soviet expansionism and territorial ambitions of its neighbours, Hungary and Bulgaria. Under Foreign Minister Grigore Gafencu, Romania sought international support in London and Paris, but met the Western reluctance to offer security guarantees without unrealistic preconditions. This led Romania to cautiously involve Germany, seeking an arrangement to deter Soviet advances. Gafencu proposed compromises with Hungary and Bulgaria, offering territorial concessions in exchange for neutrality or support against the Soviet threat, but these efforts were hindered by German strategic priorities and the constraints of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Romania's initial overtures to the Soviets were ignored by Germany, and after the Soviet setbacks in Finland, Romania abandoned this approach, attempting instead to negotiate with Hungary. However, Hungary's rejection of Romanian concessions further complicated Romania's diplomatic position. The influence of Western powers and threats from Germany and the Soviet Union shaped Balkan diplomatic strategies. Turkey aimed to consolidate regional ties to counter potential threats, highlighting complex interactions and territorial disputes, especially over Dobrogea. Romania's pursuit of national security required a delicate balance of alliances, concessions, and strategic realignments amid shifting international dynamics. By mid-1940, Romania's vulnerability and the limitations of international support mechanisms were evident, setting the stage for further geopolitical upheavals in the region.*

***Keywords:** Romania, Soviet expansionism, Hungary, Bulgaria, Grigore Gafencu, diplomatic initiatives, security guarantees, Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Balkan Entente.*

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## Views on the Russian Plans for the Eastern Black Sea Shore, as Seen in the Correspondence of the British Consul in Odessa (1839-1841)

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**Abstract:** *The aim of this study is to analyse Russian policy in Circassia during the time when Palmerston was attempting to organize the London Conference of 1840, followed by the Straits Convention of 1841. The study is based on James Yeames' correspondence. Yeames was British Consul General at the Black Sea, with his headquarters in Odessa, appointed by the Foreign Office in 1819, after the death of his father and predecessor, William Yeames.*

*Our main goal is to highlight Russia's inability to harmonize its policy between Europe and the Orient, as Mehmet Ali, the viceroy of Egypt, was on the brink of declaring his independence from the Sultan. Russia was committed to defending the Ottoman Empire under the Hünkâr İskelesi Treaty of 1833, and therefore, the fleet led by Nicholas I had two objectives: to be ready to depart for the Bosphorus in case of an emergency caused by Mehmet Ali and to maintain the blockade on the Circassian coast. At this point, the correspondence of James Yeames, British consul general in Odessa, was crucial for our analysis.*

*The methodological approach in this study is based on the classical study of international relations, specifically Russia's policy as reflected in diplomatic history. James Yeames' correspondence, held by the National Archives in Kew, London, helps us understand the political decisions taken by Nicholas I between 1839 and 1841, as Odessa was the capital of New Russia and Yeames was the closest British diplomat to observe the Russian approach to conducting foreign policy.*

**Keywords:** *James Yeames, consulate, Russia, Great Britain, Black Sea, Odessa, fleet.*

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## **Alexis Nour și „problema româno-ruteană”: chestiunea ucraineană, germanofilie și război de propagandă în perioada neutralității (1914-1916)**

**Andrei Cușco\***

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**Alexis Nour and the “Romanian-Ukrainian issue”: the Ukrainian question, German attachments, and propagandistic war during the neutral stance (1914-1916)**

*Abstract: At the start of the 20th century, Alexis Nour (1877-1940) was one of the best known Bessarabian publicists and, in the polemics carried out during the country’s neutrality, one of the loudest promoters of the anti-tsar agenda and pro-German line. Nour tried to bring on the table the “Ukrainian issue”, a topic previously overlooked. He underlined how important Ukraine was for the future development of the Romanian nation. Moreover, the Romanian-Ukrainian issue was to Alexis Nour an opportunity and a pretext to express his radical vision, one that meant rethinking national priorities and revising the hierarchies in the Romanian national project. Nour created a geopolitical project where Romania extended towards the East, to the River Bug, and his unprecedented and unequalled passion for this project remained unmatched at least up to the first years of the 1940s.*

*Keywords: Russian Empire, Ukraine, Bessarabia, World War I, Romania.*

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## Armenii otomani și națiunea armeană la finalul secolului al XIX-lea

Remus Tanasă\*

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### The Ottoman Armenians and the Armenian Nation at the Close of the Nineteenth Century

*Abstract:* The Ottoman government and dynasty, with its rigid approach concerning the integrity of the empire, had no regard to the demands of the Armenians and no flexibility in negotiating principles such as self-determination. Such concessions were seen as a loss of power to groups that, according to the official Ottoman standpoint, were not at the core of the empire.

Armenians, the largest non-Muslim ethno-religious group, hoped that Tanzimat would bring about the necessary changes so that all the Sultan's subjects would have a guarantee over life, property and dignity. As this did not happen, the Armenian leaders tried, through different means, actions, and a series of heterogeneous intellectual concepts, to improve their fate or to gain support from European diplomacy. The purpose of this approach was also that of fostering the idea of the Armenian nation, which, until the second part of the nineteenth century, was not ready to face the transformations brought by the modern era.

*Keywords:* Tanzimat, nationalism, revolution, massacres, Eastern Anatolia.

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# Minoritatea greacă<sup>1</sup> în spatele comandamentelor politice și ideologice. Organizarea comunității elene din Republica Populară Română în primii ani postbelici

Mihaela Gheorghiu\*

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## The Greek National Minorities behind Political and Ideological Commandments. The Organisation of the Hellenic Community in the People's Republic of Romania at the Beginning of the Post-War Period

*Abstract:* By the middle of 1948, the Romanian Workers' Party had set in place organisations all throughout the country and had eradicated a great deal of the opposition. In some cases, their method involved eradicating competition through absorption, and this is how the organizations of ethnic minorities were dealt with. Some smaller organisations were incorporated into Romanian organisations, others, like the Hellenic groups, reorganised themselves after the Romanian model. In reorganising the Hellenic community according to the new political agenda, the Greek Communist Party (which had a place in the People's Republic of Romania) played an essential role, by infiltrating its people in the remaining Hellenic cultural and political organisations. Thus, despite existing conflicts caused by the Greek resistance movements, especially since the Greeks were, for the most part, traders, they managed to reorganise and set up the new political agenda for the Greek organisations relatively quickly.

The structure of the Hellenic Union in Romania had the same organising principle as the parties in the soviet bloc. It consisted of a Central Committee that assigned the Secretariat and the Political Bureau. At the same time, according to existing notes and reports, the Union received instructions directly from the Central Committee/CC of PMR (the Romanian Workers' Party). The Hellenic Union dealt with political matters and at the same time coordinated social and cultural events within the organisation. In that context, the Hellenic Union was the main organ that controlled the Hellenic population in Romania.

The success of the Greek politicians in taking over Hellenic community and turning them into "democratic", "political/communal organisations" must be seen in the context of Romania's transformation into a "people's democracy". Without the support of the Romanian Workers' Party, the Greek communists would not have been able to take control over the Hellenic community.

**Keywords:** National minorities, Greek Civil War, Romanian Hellenic Union, Romanian Workers' Party, The Greek Communist Party.

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<sup>1</sup> Prin minoritate greacă ne referim atât la comunitatea formată din refugiații comuniști din timpul Războiului Civil, cât și la comunitățile autohtone/tradiționale de greci care se regăseau în România, în perioada respectivă.

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## Moldoveni vs români. Politicile lingvistice și crearea panteonului literar în RSS Moldovenească (1944-1989)

Octavian Țicu\*

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### Moldovans vs Romanians. Linguistic policies and the creation of the literary pantheon in the Moldovan SSR (1944-1989)

*Abstract: The annexation of Bessarabia in 1940/1944 and its transformation into a Soviet Republic on August 2, 1940 marked the beginning of an intense process of identity construction, with the purpose of converting the Romanians living in Bessarabia into Soviet “Moldovan” citizens. In this process, in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR) language and literature became key arenas for fierce ideological and identity-based confrontations, being, at the same time, a significant challenge for Soviet authorities, who sought to create a new language and literary pantheon, distinct – and often divergent – from the Romanian tradition.*

*However, in the early 1950s, confronted with issues of cultural and historical legitimacy, the Soviet leadership in the MSSR decided to publish a series of works by classic Romanian authors born in the Romanian part of Moldova (then part of socialist Romania). Added to this, several prominent figures of Romanian culture and literature – previously labelled as representatives of the “bourgeois Moldovan nation” – were rehabilitated.*

*This study examines various aspects of linguistic, literary, and cultural policies in the MSSR between 1944 and 1989, with a focus on the process of denationalization and Russification, strategies of cultural resistance and the construction of a “Moldovan” identity through the medium of the “Moldovan” language and literature.*

*Keywords: Bessarabia, Romania, Russia, Soviet Union, moldovenism.*

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## **Politics on the Danube. Romanian Challenges to Soviet influence on the Danube River, 1960-1972**

**Cezar Stanciu**\*

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***Abstract:** The Danube River is an important part of our continent as it crosses both Central Europe and the Balkans. The Ottoman Empire controlled the river up until mid-19th century when Tsarist Russia, in its expansionist drive towards the Bosphorus, challenged the Ottomans and tried to impose its control on the mouths of the river. In Petersburg, the Danube was regarded as a commercial and strategic pathway towards Europe. World War II destroyed the internationalized character of the river Danube and opened the way for the Soviet domination of the region. In order to exert control, Moscow devised a new Danube Commission which excluded non-riparian states and therefore allowed only Soviet satellites to stand in the new structure. In order to reassert its independence and limit Moscow's influence on the Danube, Romania chose to downplay the role of the Danube Commission, engaged in projects independent of Moscow, and practically invoked principles and legality as arguments against hegemony.*

***Keywords:** The Danube, Soviet Union, The Belgrad Convention 1948, Iron Gates project, Communist Romania.*

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## **Diplomația în timpul Războiului Rece – o meserie dificilă. Hărțuiri, intimidări și evenimente speciale în relațiile româno-americane**

**Paul Nistor\***

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### **Cold-War Diplomacy – a Challenging Task. Harassment, Threats and Special Incidents in Romanian-American Relations**

*Abstract: At the beginning of the Cold War, Romanian-American relations were influenced by tensions between the world superpowers and ideological disputes between the East and the West. Romania, a communist state totally subservient to the Soviet Union, without any international diplomatic experience, turned its allegiance to Moscow and internationalist communism. For this reason, the Romanian diplomats were not well-thought of by American institutions or the American community. Moreover, as communist Romania acted so as to intimidate and harass occidental diplomats, Washington responded in the same manner: they too harassed East-European diplomats, and even humiliated many of them. Most of the Romanian diplomats in charge with representing the new, communist Romania, though committed members of the Communist Party, had no diplomatic experience, and some of them couldn't speak any foreign languages, nor did they know how to behave in the complex American diplomatic environment. Because of this, they could easily lose face after getting into difficult, and sometimes even ridiculous, incidents.*

*Keywords: United States, Communist Romania, Cold War, diplomacy, Eastern Europe.*

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## Delimitarea frontierei în sudul Basarabiei în documente diplomatice rusești (1855-1856)

Eugen-Tudor Sclifos\*

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### Setting the Borderline in Southern Bessarabia, according to Russian Diplomatic Documents (1855-1856)

*Abstract:* After the defeat of the Russian Empire in the Crimean War, the issue of Bessarabia was reopened. At the end of 1855, the Austrian Foreign Minister Karl Buol requested that the restitution of Southern Bessarabia to the Principality of Moldavia be included in the peace preliminaries. The Petersburg cabinet, under pressure from the Great Powers, accepted the peace terms, including the restitution of Southern Bessarabia. Nevertheless, Russian diplomacy tried by various means to preserve this territory. A territorial exchange was proposed, the fortress of Kars for southern Bessarabia. The intention of this territorial restitution was to prevent Russia from having access to the Danube. The Great Powers had divergent views on the issue of Bessarabia, so a mixed commission was established in 1856 to demarcate the border in Bessarabia. On location, the European commissioners noted the existence of two localities with the name of Bolgrad. The three Russian documents identified in Western archives show the Russian Empire's attempts to preserve southern Bessarabia, especially the city of Bolgrad, which was the administrative centre of the Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia.

*Keywords:* Bessarabia, Russia, Negotiation, delimitation of frontier, Diplomacy, Great Powers.

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## **Armata rusă la Chișinău în relatările corespondenților francezi de război (1877)**

**Eugen-Tudor Sclifos\***

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### **The Russian Army in Chișinău, as seen by the French War Correspondents (1877)**

*Abstract:* During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, Romania proclaimed its independence, but lost southern Bessarabia. The War Declaration was read by Emperor Alexander II in Chișinău, in the spring of 1877. Due to the presence of the Russian army in Bessarabia, the city of Chișinău was visited by numerous war correspondents, who became acquainted with the territory between the Prut and the Dniester. In the present paper, we refer to a number of French correspondents who visited Bessarabia in 1877. In addition to describing the movements of the Russian army in Bessarabia, the French correspondents also described other elements, such as the condition of the roads and the living conditions in Bessarabian towns and villages.

*Keywords:* War Correspondents, Bessarabia, Russia, Russian army, Kischeneff.

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## Republica Populară Română și comerțul Est-Vest la începutul anilor '50

Alexandru D. Aioanei\*

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### The Romanian People's Republic and East-West Trade in the Early 1950s

*Abstract:* With Romania's entry into the Soviet sphere of influence, the country redirected its trade flows towards the nations behind the Iron Curtain. However, this did not mean a complete cessation of economic exchanges with Western countries. Romania was unable to meet its technological needs solely through communist states and sought to maintain contacts with Western Europe. During this period, the United Kingdom was one of the Romanian People's Republic's key economic partners. For this reason, British diplomats in Bucharest closely monitored Romania's economic activities and regularly reported back to London. The documents published in this article provide an overview of the economic exchanges between Romania and Western European states. They were produced through the collaboration of the commercial attachés accredited in Bucharest and offer a detailed perspective not only on the value of trade exchanges but also on their nature.

*Keywords:* Foreign Trade, Romanian People's Republic, Great Britain, Iron Curtain, Board of Trade.

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