

East European Journal of Diplomatic History

No 11 / 2024

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași

Editată sub egida Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” (Academia Română, Filiala Iași) și a Asociației de Relații Internaționale „Est-Democrația”.

Acest număr a fost publicat cu sprijinul financiar al companiei **Hospice Seniorum SRL**.

Redactor-șef:

Gheorghe Cliveti (Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” al Academiei Române, Filiala Iași)

Secretar de redacție/Editorial Secretary:

Alexandru D. Aioanei (Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” al Academiei Române, Filiala Iași)

Colegiul de redacție/Editorial Board:

Claudiu-Lucian Topor (Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași)

Remus Tanasă (Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” al Academiei Române, Filiala Iași)

Cosmin Mihuț (Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași)

Paul Octavian Nistor (Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” al Academiei Române, Filiala Iași)

Liviu Brătescu (Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” al Academiei Române, Filiala Iași)

Consiliul științific/Scientific Board:

Alberto Basciani (Università degli Studi Roma Tre)

Katrin Boehk (Ludwig-Maximilians University, München)

Christopher Brennan (London School of Economics, Londra)

Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu (Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” al Academiei Române, Filiala Iași)

Adrian Cioroianu (Universitatea din București)

Laurien Crump (Utrecht University)

Sorin Damean (Universitatea din Craiova)

Michael Jonas (Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg)

István Majoros (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Silviu Miloiu (Universitatea „Valahia” din Târgoviște)

Emanuel Plopeanu (Universitatea „Ovidius” din Constanța)

Spiridon Sfetas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Aleksandr Stikalın (Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences)

Octavian Țăcu (Institutul de Istorie al Academiei de Științe a Moldovei)

Virgiliu Țărău (Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca)

Bertrand Vayssière (Université de Toulouse Jean Jaurès)

DTP: Mihaela Răducă

Adresa redacției: Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” (Academia Română, Filiala Iași), Strada
Codrescu 6, Pavilion C, 700479 – Iași, România, OP 6, CP 1313.

e-mail: eejdh.2014@gmail.com

web: <https://eejdh.com/>

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași

ISSN 2393-0764

ISSN-L 2393-0764

Sumar

Estul Europei în relațiile europene și internaționale

Cosmin Mihuț, <i>Observing the Ottoman Periphery: A Few British Consular Reports from Bucharest, 1833</i>	7
Eusebiu Diaconu, <i>A Perspective on Russian Plans for the Eastern Shore of the Black Sea as Reflected in the Correspondence of British Consul in Odessa (1839-1841)</i>	29
Remus Tanasă, „Chestiunea armeană” și istoriografia din România. <i>Note preliminare</i>	41

România și Marile Puteri

Gheorghe Cliveti, <i>Romania and the Guaranteeing Powers during the very tense years (1866-1868)</i>	55
Marian I. Hariuc, <i>En quête de la ratification du traité de Bessarabie (1920-1924): quelques impressions diplomatiques françaises sur les actions de la Roumanie</i>	113
Paul Nistor, <i>Construirea noilor relații româno-americe la mijlocul Războiului Rece. Vizite ale unor înalți demnitari români în SUA (1960-1964)</i>	131

Ideologie și politică externă

Antonio Messina, <i>Preliminary Notes on the Study of Ideology in Fascist Foreign Policy: A Comparison of Theories and Interpretations</i>	151
Flavius Solomon, <i>Diaspora academică rusă din Occident între „patriile adoptive” și „mama Rusie”. Cazul Viacheslav Morozov</i>	165

Politică externă și exil

Alexandru D. Aioanei, „Între seceră și coroană”: destinul Regelui Mihai în documentele și presa britanică (1944-1954)	181
Corneliu Ciucanu, <i>Vintilă Horia și „măsurile active” ale Securității. De la „compromitere și izolare” la „influențare pozitivă” (I)</i>	207

Recenzii

Marc David Baer, <i>Otomanii: hani, cezari și califi</i> , traducere din limba engleză de Monica Mărgărint, București, Editura Humanitas, 2023, 560 p. (Remus Tanasă)	231
Ryan Gingeras, <i>Ultimele zile ale Imperiului Otoman (1918-1922)</i> , traducere de Ovidiu Cristea și Ramona Neacșa, Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2023, 376 p. (Andrei Grigoraș)	235
Gavriil Preda (coord.), <i>23 august 1944. 80 de ani de la evenimente</i> , București, Editura Corint, 2024, 610 p. (Alexandru D. Aioanei)	238
Lucian Vasile, <i>Războiul spionilor: acțiunile secrete ale exilului românesc la începutul comunismului</i> , București, Editura Corint, 2022, 784 p. (Paul Nistor)	242

Contents

Eastern Europe in European and International Relations

Cosmin Mihut, <i>Observing the Ottoman Periphery: A Few British Consular Reports from Bucharest, 1833</i>	7
Eusebiu Diaconu, <i>A Perspective on Russian Plans for the Eastern Shore of the Black Sea as Reflected in the Correspondence of British Consul in Odessa (1839-1841)</i>	29
Remus Tanasă, <i>“The Armenian Question” and Historiography in Romania. Preliminary Notes</i>	41

Romania and the Great Powers

Gheorghe Cliveti, <i>Romania and the Guaranteeing Powers during the very tense years (1866-1868)</i>	55
Marian I. Hariuc, <i>In Search of the Ratification of the Bessarabia Treaty (1920-1924): Some French Diplomatic Impressions on Romanian Actions</i>	113
Paul Nistor, <i>Building the New Romanian-American Relations in the Middle of the Cold War: Visits of High-Ranking Romanian Officials to the United States (1960-1964)</i>	131

Ideology and Foreign Policy

Antonio Messina, <i>Preliminary Notes on the Study of Ideology in Fascist Foreign Policy: A Comparison of Theories and Interpretations</i>	151
Flavius Solomon, <i>The Russian Academic Diaspora in the West Between “Adoptive Homelands” and “Mother Russia”: The Case of Viacheslav Morozov</i>	165

Foreign Policy and Exile

Alexandru D. Aioanei, <i>“Between the Sickle and the Crown”: The Fate of King Michael in British Documents and Press (1944-1954)</i>	181
Corneliu Ciucanu, <i>Vintilă Horia and the Securitate’s “active measures.” From “compromise and isolation” to “positive influence” (I)</i>	207

Reviews

Marc David Baer, <i>Otomanii: hani, cezari și califi</i> , traducere din limba engleză de Monica Mărgărint, București, Editura Humanitas, 2023, 560 p. (Remus Tanasă)	231
Ryan Gingeras, <i>Ultimele zile ale Imperiului Otoman (1918-1922)</i> , traducere de Ovidiu Cristea și Ramona Neacșa, Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2023, 376 p. (Andrei Grigoraș)	235
Gavriil Preda (coord.), <i>23 august 1944. 80 de ani de la evenimente</i> , București, Editura Corint, 2024, 610 p. (Alexandru D. Aioanei)	238
Lucian Vasile, <i>Războiul spionilor: acțiunile secrete ale exilului românesc la începutul comunismului</i> , București, Editura Corint, 2022, 784 p. (Paul Nistor)	242

Observing the Ottoman Periphery: A Few British Consular Reports from Bucharest, 1833

Cosmin Mihuț*

***Abstract:** This article examines a series of British consular dispatches sent from Bucharest in 1833 by E. L. Blutte, consul in Wallachia, during the Egyptian-Ottoman crisis and in the broader context of Russo-Ottoman relations. Preserved in the Foreign Office records at The National Archives, Kew (FO 195/98), the reports provide insight into political and military developments in the Romanian Principalities under military occupation. The dispatches refer to Russian troop movements, the functioning of the administration under General Pavel Kiselev, and the reactions of local elites in Wallachia and Moldavia. They also illustrate how consular officials gathered information and reported on regional developments while attending to the interests of their subjects. Taken together, these documents help clarify how political information circulated along the Ottoman frontier during a period of regional tension.*

***Keywords:** Eastern Question, Romanian Principalities, British consular reports, Egyptian-Ottoman crisis, Russian administration, diplomatic intelligence.*

* PhD Lecturer, Faculty of History, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, Romania; e-mail: mihut.cosmin@yahoo.com.

A Perspective on Russian Plans for the Eastern Shore of the Black Sea as Reflected in the Correspondence of British Consul in Odessa (1839-1841)

Eusebiu Diaconu*

***Abstract:** The aim of this study is to analyze 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. We rely on the correspondence of James Yeames, British consul general at the Black Sea, with his headquarters in Odessa. He was appointed in 1819 by the Foreign Office after the death of his predecessor, William Yeames, his late father.*

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 of 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, became crucial for our study.

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

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

* PhD Student, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, Romania; e-mail: eusebiu_diaconu95@yahoo.com.

„Chestiunea armeană” și istoriografia din România.

Note preliminare

Remus Tanasă*

“The Armenian Question” and Historiography in Romania. Preliminary Notes

Abstract: “The Armenian Question” is a topic that is both complex and difficult to address. Not only does it require knowledge from various fields of history, but it also demands specialized linguistic knowledge (Armenian, Ottoman). The challenge of the subject lies in the fact that historical memory is contested by the main protagonists: the Armenians and the Turks, with the former demanding accountability from the guilty party and the latter categorically rejecting any accusations. The historical background of the “Armenian Question” led to one of the key legislative instruments of international humanitarian law, namely the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted in 1948 by the United Nations. It is true that the Armenian genocide is not the equivalent of the “Armenian question,” but rather the tragic consequence of the diplomatic internationalization of the “question” following the Congress of Berlin. Bearing these details in mind, one can explain to some extent why Romanian historiography has not paid attention to the “Armenian Question”; up to now, it is still not possible to point to any work that deals with the subject. There are works, predominantly translations from other languages, that cover the genocide; however, the “Armenian Question” in itself is given a more or less generous space of a few chapters.

Keywords: historiography, Ottoman Armenians, Anatolia, nationalism, diplomacy.

* Asistent cercetare științifică, doctor, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română, Filiala Iași; e-mail: remus_tanasa@yahoo.com.

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

Gheorghe Cliveti*

Abstract: *This paper examines the tumultuous political landscape of early Carol I's reign in Romanian Principalities, focusing on the tensions between the Great Powers and the linkage with liberal and conservative factions that aroused the establishment of the constitutional monarchy. The accession of a foreign prince symbolized the realization of the national political aspirations endorsed by the Romanian political elite. However, this development catalysed an intensification of disputes characterized by more than mere faction interests. The analysis highlights the emergence of passionate diplomatic practices and a contentious atmosphere fuelled by the widespread antagonism between the guaranteeing powers, which included polemics and pressure on Romanian government policy and composition, significantly shaping the internal and external politics of the time.*

Keywords: *Romanian Principalities, liberal-radicals, diplomacy, guaranteeing powers, Prince Carol.*

* Scientific researcher I, "A. D. Xenopol" Institute of History, Romanian Academy, Iasi Branch; Corresponding member of the Romanian Academy; e-mail: cliveti.gheorghe@xenopol.acadiasi.ro.

En quête de la ratification du traité de Bessarabie (1920-1924) : quelques impressions diplomatiques françaises sur les actions de la Roumanie*

Marian I. Hariuc**

In Search of the Ratification of the Bessarabia Treaty (1920-1924): Some French Diplomatic Impressions on Romanian Actions

***Abstract:** This study examines how the diplomatic envoys of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Quai d'Orsay) in certain capitals of Central and Southeastern European states perceived Romania's efforts to secure firm support to counter the Russian threat against the backdrop of tensions arising from the Bessarabia issue. The analysis focuses on the constant attempts to find the most favorable terms for resuming negotiations with the Soviets, culminating in the preparation of the Romanian-Soviet conference in Vienna. Furthermore, this study seeks to explain the French perspective on Romania's foreign policy practices regarding the Bessarabia issue. This research is based on an analysis of French diplomatic sources that refer to the decisions and reactions of the Romanian political leadership.*

***Keywords:** Bessarabia, Soviets, Vienna, diplomatic envoys, Quai d'Orsay.*

* Recherche réalisée dans le cadre d'un stage postdoctoral à l'INALCO (Paris, France, octobre-novembre 2023), Bourse du Gouvernement français, de l'Ambassade de France en Roumanie et de l'Institut français de Roumanie.

** Chercheur scientifique, Institut d'Histoire « A. D. Xenopol », Académie Roumaine, Iași ; e-mail : m.hariuc89@yahoo.com.

Construirea noilor relații româno-americane la mijlocul Războiului Rece. Vizite ale unor înalți demnitari români în SUA (1960-1964)

Paul Nistor*

Building the New Romanian-American Relations in the Middle of the Cold War: Visits of High-Ranking Romanian Officials to the United States (1960-1964)

***Abstract:** The spectacular improvement of Romanian-American relations beginning in 1960 had multiple causes, connected both to decisions made by the leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party and to political fluctuations in the international environment. As early as the time of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej strongly signaled his desire to develop relations with the United States. For a while this was ignored, but gradually Romania became a special case in Eastern Europe – one worth taking seriously.*

Over time, the United States came to understand that the Romanians' desire to build a special relationship between Bucharest and Washington, D.C. was also to their advantage. It offered the possibility of creating breaches in the wall formed by Moscow's satellite states. The steps that followed led to high-level meetings between Romanian and American officials. Political meetings, cultural exchanges, and economic contacts gradually built trust between the former rivals, opening possibilities for cooperation beyond their membership in different political blocs. Alongside the stakes of possible political and economic gains, personal relationships – beyond ideology – truly managed to build East-West bridges, just as Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson had hoped.

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

* Cercetător științific gradul II, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română, Filiala Iași; e-mail: paulnistor3@yahoo.com.

Preliminary Notes on the Study of Ideology in Fascist Foreign Policy: A Comparison of Theories and Interpretations

Antonio Messina*

***Abstract:** The text examines how different theories of Fascism shape interpretations of Fascist foreign policy. It compares Marxist, De Felice's distinction between Fascism as a movement and Fascism as a regime, totalitarian, generic fascism, developmentalist, and neo-Marxist approaches, showing that each explains differently the relationship between ideology, pragmatism, and imperial ambition in Mussolini's regime. The study argues that developmentalist theory is the most convincing because it best connects Fascist ideology with Italy's geopolitical insecurity, national ambitions, and foreign policy choices.*

***Keywords:** Fascism, Italian Foreign Policy, Fascist Ideology, Imperialism, Developmentalism.*

* Università degli Studi di Catania; e-mail: antoniomessina@outlook.it.

Diaspora academică rusă din Occident între „patriile adoptive” și „mama Rusie”. Cazul Viacheslav Morozov*

Flavius Solomon *

The Russian Academic Diaspora in the West Between “Adoptive Homelands” and “Mother Russia”: The Case of Viacheslav Morozov

Abstract: The article discusses the case of the Russian political scientist Viacheslav Morozov, affiliated with the University of Tartu, who was arrested and convicted in 2024 in Estonia for espionage activities on behalf of the Russian secret services. Analysing the fraught relations between the Russian intelligentsia and political authorities from a long-term perspective, this article argues that a significant degree of historical continuity is discernible in this respect. Therefore, the Morozov case should also be interpreted through the lens of certain recurring patterns concerning the relations and connections between the Russian state (regardless of the period under discussion) and Russia’s intellectual milieu.

Keywords: power and intellectuals in Russia’s contemporary and recent history; Russian intellectual emigration; secret services and Russian intellectuals abroad; Viacheslav Morozov.

* Acest articol reprezintă comunicarea cu același titlu susținută pe data de 25 ianuarie 2024 la Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” al Academiei Române, Filiala Iași.

* Cercetător științific gradul I, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română, Filiala Iași; e-mail: flavius.solomon@xenopol.acadiasi.ro.

„Între seceră și coroană”: destinul Regelui Mihai în documentele și presa britanică (1944-1954)

Alexandru D. Aioanei*

“Between the Sickle and the Crown”: The Fate of King Michael in British Documents and Press (1944-1954)

Abstract: This study examines the complex political and personal trajectory of King Michael I of Romania during the critical years of 1944-1947 and throughout his subsequent exile. Drawing on diplomatic correspondence, memoirs, and contemporary press accounts, the narrative highlights the king's persistent efforts to navigate the pressures of both Soviet influence and the emerging communist regime while maintaining the legitimacy of the Romanian monarchy. Special attention is given to King Michael's interactions with Anglo-American officials, including members of the British Military Mission and key diplomats, whose guidance and restrained support shaped his strategic decisions during the post-war political crisis, particularly regarding the appointment of Petru Groza as prime minister and the eventual forced abdication. The study also traces the early years of King Michael's exile in Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States, exploring how he sought to preserve the royal prerogatives, maintain international contacts, and manage both personal and dynastic matters, including his engagement to Princess Anne of Bourbon-Parma. The king's exilic period is portrayed as a delicate balancing act between public diplomacy, private survival, and opposition to the communist regime in Romania, emphasizing his resilience, prudence, and the nuanced role of Anglo-American influence in shaping the fate of the Romanian monarchy in the early Cold War context.

Keywords: King Michael I of Romania; Romanian exile; Anglo-Romanian relations; Forced abdication (1947); Early Cold War diplomacy.

* Cercetător științific, doctor, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română, Filiala Iași; e-mail: aioaneial@gmail.com.

Vintilă Horia și „măsurile active” ale Securității. De la „compromitere și izolare” la „influențare pozitivă” (I)

Corneliu Ciucanu *

Vintilă Horia and the Securitate’s “active measures.” From “compromise and isolation” to “positive influence”

Abstract: Vintilă Horia, a prominent figure of the Romanian postwar exile, had already established himself as a journalist and writer since the 1930s. His association with right-wing intellectual circles and his connection to Nichifor Crainic drew the attention of the Antonescu regime’s intelligence services. Later, he was sentenced in absentia by the People’s Tribunal in the Trial of the Journalists, which led him to remain in exile. His subsequent cultural activity in Italy, Argentina, France, and Spain, combined with his firm anti-communist stance and refusal to collaborate with the authorities in Bucharest, made him a constant target of the Securitate. This was particularly evident after he was awarded the Prix Goncourt for *God Was Born in Exile*. Initially, the Securitate sought to discredit and isolate him, contributing to his decision to refuse the prize. However, as his international prestige grew, the institution shifted its strategy toward attempts at “positive influence,” aiming to attract him to more favorable positions. Despite extensive efforts involving numerous collaborators, these attempts ultimately failed.

Keywords: anti-communism, exile, emigration, resistance, intransigence, culture, journalism, Securitate.

* Cercetător științific, doctor, Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Academia Română, Filiala Iași; e-mail: corneliu.ciucanu@yahoo.com.