

***Scientific report***  
***with regard to the implementing of research project***  
**Utopia versus realism in Romania's foreign policy. From World War I to 1975**  
***PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-1056***  
***2011-2013***

Abstract

The research project "Utopia versus realism in Romania's foreign policy. From World War I to 1975" has proposed hitherto to achieve the following objectives:

A) Assigning the tasks and establishing the research sub-themes of each member / research teams, defining research methodology and concepts and undertaking the steps for the acquisition of research infrastructure necessary to optimally perform the project objectives;

B) Analyzing and debating at meetings the international scientific literature project on the already long controversy between "idealism" (or international liberalism) and "realism" in international relations; analyzing and debating at meetings the scientific literature on discourse analysis and application of this method in the research of history of international relations;

C) A platform EndNote database created with this project;

D) Carrying out archival and library research;

E) Participation in international conferences to disseminate the project results;

F) Publication of articles and book chapters;

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**A) The research tasks assigned to each member/team are as follows:**

No.	Theme	Responsible member	Team Members
1.	Accomplisher idealism versus realism in Romanian foreign policy (1930-1944): actors, institutions, issues, patterns of change	Assoc. Prof.dr. Silviu Miloiu, Project Director	Costel Coroban
2.	Ideology as Instrument in Foreign Policy. The Case of Romania 1948-1968	Dr. Cezar Stanciu	Alexandru Grigoriu
3.	Postwar Romanian foreign policy approaches: between realism and idealism	Elena Dragomir	
4.	The analyses of the Romanian envoys accredited to Scandinavian countries regarding the Nordic collective and regional security discourses during the interwar period	Ana-Maria Despa	Assoc. Prof.dr. Silviu Miloiu
5.	The Romanian foreign policy discourse of human rights and minority rights (1945-1975)	Magdalena Ionescu	

6.	Romania and the League of Nations: Romanian discourses on the collective security	Daniela-Elena Nica	
7.	Idealists in a realist world? The analyses of the Romanian envoys accredited to Fascist Italy regarding the Italian foreign policy discourses (1922-1940)	Florina Sorescu	

**B) Analyzing and debating at meetings the international scientific literature project on the already long controversy between "idealism" (or international liberalism) and "realism" in international relations; analyzing and debating at meetings the scientific literature on discourse analysis and application of this method in the research of history of international relations**

Forty-four books and articles were identified approaching the idealist versus realist debate and 17 dealing with discourse analysis and its application in history of international relations, which were discussed in research meetings.

### **C) A platform EndNote database created with this project**

The aim of the database is to facilitate research and referencing. 250 entries were added to this database, 115 being already acquired in electronic form.

### **D) Carrying out archival and library research**

We have conducted researches in archives and libraries, especially in the archives and libraries of Romania (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Central Historical Archives, Library of Romanian Academy, university libraries, Italian-Romanian Library of Cluj-Napoca etc.) and the British archives. These studies have revealed a number of books and unpublished documents, allowed the reinterpretation of archival documents, their correlation with the documents already entered the scientific circuit.

We have used for documentation the following databases: ProQuest Central, SAGE, Taylor & Francis Online, CEEOL, EBSCO, JSTOR, SpringerLink

### **E) Participation in international conferences to disseminate the project results**

No.	Title	Organizers	Dates	Presentation title	Researcher
1.	Itämeren itälaidalla III : vallankäyttö Suomen ja Baltian historiassa = On the eastern edge of the Baltic Sea III : exercise of power in the history of Finland and the Baltic countries	Universitatea din Oulu, Finlanda	1-2 decembrie 2011	The language conflict in inter-war Finland through Romanian lenses	Silviu-Marian Miloiu
2.	IARCEES Annual Conference	University College Cork, Irlanda	4-5.05.2012	Romanian policy towards the Soviet Union at a crossroads (1932-1936) and	Silviu-Marian Miloiu

	Russian-East European Relations: From Tsarism to Gazprom			Foreign Minister Nicolae Titulescu's concept of accomplished idealism	
3.				The Advent of National Interest: Romanian Opposition to Soviet Plans for Communist Bloc Reform (1960-1964)	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu
4.				Balancing with China against the USSR. Romania's opposition to CMEA integration, 1962-1963	Elena Dragomir
5.	Third International Conference on Nordic and Baltic Studies in Romania <i>European networks: the Balkans, Scandinavia and the Baltic world in a time of economic and ideological crisis</i>	Asociația Română pentru Studii Baltice & Universitatea „Valahia” Târgoviște	25-27.05.2012	The failure of Nordic interwar right-wing movements from the perspective of Romanian diplomacy	Silviu-Marian Miloiu
6.				The improvement of the Romanian-Finnish relations in the early 1960s as seen from Bucharest	Elena Dragomir
7.	Scrambling for Power: War and Political Transformation in the BALKANS in the 1940s	University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki & Network for the Study of Civil Wars, Grecia	31.05-3.06.2012	The Romanian Discourse on Hungarian Minority from Romania in the Relationships between the People's Republic of Romania and Hungarian People's Republic (1945-1956)	Magdalena Ionescu
8.				Constructing Romania's Pro-Soviet State Security Strategy, 1944-1947	Elena Dragomir
9.	East-West Cultural Exchanges and the Cold War	University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finlanda	14-16 iunie 2012	Cultural Instruments in the Policy of Autonomy	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu
10.	The 2012 RAAS – Fulbright Conference, Remapping Urban Spaces – American Challenges	Asociația de Studii Americane din Romania & Universitatea „Ovidius” Constanța	4-6.10.2012	Washington-London-Bucharest Relations during World War 2. Idealism vs. realism	Costel Coroban

11.	From War to Eternal Peace. Good Neighbourhood Relations in the Balkans	Universitatea Hacettepe si Presedintia Republicii Turcia, Turcia	4-7.10.2012	Good Friends in Bad Times. Romania and Yugoslavia challenging the Soviet domination of the Balkans and Eastern Europe 1966-1970	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu
12.	Empires and Nations from the 18th to the 20th century	Sapienza University of Rome, Italie	20-22.06. 2013	The relationships between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United Nations Organization from the perspective of minority rights	Magdalena Ionescu
13.	Empires and Nations from the 18th to the 20th century	Sapienza University of Rome, Italie	20-22.06. 2013	The Italian ratification of the Treaty of Bessarabia on 28 October 1920 / 7 march 1927	Florina Sorescu
14.	„Politică. Diplomatie. Cultură 0.1”	Universitatea din Craiova, România	10-13 aprilie 2013	Socialist Unity Redefined: Ceaușescu and Tito versus Brezhnev	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu
15.	„Politică. Diplomatie. Cultură 0.1”	Universitatea din Craiova, România	10-13 aprilie 2013	<i>The Eastern Policy of Romania at crossroads: 1932-1934. Attitudes and dilemmas</i>	Silviu-Marian Miloiu
16.	„Empire-Building and Region-Building in the Baltic, North and Black Sea Areas”	Universitatea Ovidius din Constanța și Asociația Română de Studii Nordice și Baltice	24-26 mai 2013	World Communism and Party Autonomy. Romanian and Scandinavian Communists in Search for Reform	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu
17.	„Empire-Building and Region-Building in the Baltic, North and Black Sea Areas”	Universitatea Ovidius din Constanța și Asociația Română de Studii Nordice și Baltice	24-26 mai 2013	Romania, the Border States and the Soviet proposals of Non-Aggression Pacts at the start of 1930s	Silviu-Marian Miloiu
18.	„European Union and Black Sea Regions”	Universitatea Creștină Dimitrie Cantemir	6-8 iunie 2013	Ideological and International Factors in the Development of a Romanian Discourse on European Security (1966-1969)	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu

19.	„European Union and Black Sea Regions”	Universitatea Creștină Dimitrie Cantemir	6-8 iunie 2013	Visits and Consequences. The Moscow Reactions towards the Romanian-American Opening from May-June 1964 and August 1969	Alexandru Grigoriu
20.	„Stalinizare și destalinizare. Evoluții instituționale și impact social”	Fundația Culturală „Negru-Vodă” și Institutul de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului și Memoria Exilului Românesc, Sâmbăta de Sus	4-7 iulie 2013	Reconstrucția diplomației românești în contextul destalinizării	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu
21.	The Second International Conference ‘Re-Inventing Eastern Europe’	Euroacademia, Prague	15-16 noiembrie 2013	Imagining post-World War II East-Central Europe from the perspective of Romanian diplomacy	Silviu-Marian Miloiu
22.	The Second International Conference ‘Re-Inventing Eastern Europe’	Euroacademia, Prague	15-16 noiembrie 2013	Communism and Social-Democracy in Search for a Common Vision of Europe	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu

#### F) Publication of articles and book chapters

No.	Author	Volume or journal title	Category
1.	Silviu-Marian Miloiu	„The language conflict in inter-war Finland through Romanian lenses”, in Kari Alenius (ed.), <i>Itämeren itälaidalla III : vallankäyttö Suomen ja Baltian historiassa = On the eastern edge of the Baltic Sea III : exercise of power in the history of Finland and the Baltic countries</i> , Studia Historica Septentrionalia 67. Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, Rovaniemi 2012, pp. 65-79	Chapter ISBN: 9789529888498
2.	Silviu-Marian Miloiu	„Diplomatic history/history of diplomacy versus history of international relations? A comparative analysis of the Romanian and Finnish historiographical traditions”, in Gh. Cliveti, Adrian Bogdan Ceobanu, Adrian Vițalariu, Ionuț Nistor (eds.), <i>Romanian and European Diplomacy. From Cabinet Diplomacy to the 21st Century Challenges</i> , Beit Casa Editrice, Trieste, 2012, pp. 23-42.	Chapter ISBN 978-889-532-449-4

3.	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu	„Crisis Management in the Communist Bloc: Romania’s Policy towards the USSR in the aftermath of the Prague Spring”, <i>Cold War History</i> , vol. 13, no. 3, 2013, pp. 353–372 DOI 10.1080/14682745.2012.746955	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 1468-2745
4.	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu	„Fragile Equilibrium. Romania and the Vietnam War in the Context of the Sino-Soviet Split, 1966”, în <i>Journal of Cold War Studies</i> , vol. 15, no. 4, 2013, accept final de publicare	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 1520-3972
5.	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu	„Communist Regimes and Historical Legitimacy. Polemics regarding the role of the Red Army in Romania at the end of World War II”, în <i>European Review of History: Revue europeenne d'histoire</i> , vol. 20, no. 3, 2013, pp. 445-462. DOI: <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/135074">http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/135074</a>	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 1350-7486
6.	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu	„A Rebirth of Diplomacy. The Foreign Policy of Communist Romania between Subordination and Autonomy (1948-1962)”, în <i>Diplomacy &amp; Statecraft</i> , vol. 24, no. 2, 2013, pp. 253-272 DOI 10.1080/09592296.2013.789770	ERIH INT 2 ISSN 0959-2296
7.	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu	„Romania and the Six Day War,” <i>Middle Eastern Studies</i> , vol. 49, nr. 6, 2013, Factor de impact 0,211, Scor relativ de influență 0,499, accept final de publicare	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 0026-3206
8.	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu	„Brezhnev, Ceaușescu and the World Communist Movement”, <i>Contemporary European History</i> , vol. 23, 2014, accept final de publicare	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 0960-7773
9.	Cezar-Ionuț Stanciu	The End of Liberalization in Communist Romania, <i>The Historical Journal</i> , vol. 56, nr. 4, 2013, pp. 1-23, accept final de publicare DOI 10.1017/S0018246X13000228	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 0018-246X
10.	Elena Dragomir	„Romania’s participation in the Agricultural Conference in Moscow, 2-3 February 1960”, în <i>Cold War History</i> , vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 331-351 DOI 10.1080/14682745.2013.768068	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 1468-2745
11.	Elena Dragomir	„The Formation of the Soviet Bloc’s Council for Mutual Economic Assistance”, în <i>Journal of Cold War Studies</i> , Vol. 14, No. 1, Winter 2012, pp. 34–47	ISI, Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 1520-3972, Factor de impact 0,231
12.	Elena Dragomir	„The creation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as seen from the Romanian Archives,” <i>Historical Research</i> , vol. 86, nr. 234, accept final de publicare	Arts and Humanities Citation Index ISSN 0950-3471
13.	Costel Coroban	„Playboy King? The Political Thought of Carol II of Romania between Idealism and Realism before World War II”, în <i>Revista istorică</i> , t. XXIII, 2012, nr. 3-4, pp. 355–373	ERIH INT 2 ISSN 1018-0443

14.	Costel Coroban	„The Wartime struggle of Grigore Gafencu: Idealism vs. Realism”, <i>SLOVANSKÝ PŘEHLED / SLAVONIC REVIEW. Review for the History of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe</i> , vol. 99, nr. 3-4, 2013	ERIH INT 2, ISSN 0037-6922
15.	Florina Sorescu	„Blocul Balcanic al Neutrilor, un proiect de securitate realist sau utopic?”, <i>Revista Istorică</i> , vol. XXIV, nr. 1-2, 2013.	ERIH INT 2 ISSN 1018-0443

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