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**ROMANIA`S IMAGE IN THE U.S.A. 1964-1971  
POLICY AND CULTURE**

*(SUMMARY)*

PHD THESIS

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## KEY WORDS

- **The Romanian-American relations**
- **The Soviet Union**
- **The Romanian communist regime**
- **The Cold War**
- **Nicolae Ceausescu**
- **Lyndon Johnson**
- **Richard Nixon**
- **Henry Kissinger**
- **Cultural propaganda**
- **Security**
- **The Anti-Exile**

## INTRODUCTION

There is a dispute in the Romanian historiography of ideas, perhaps not so obvious, about a certain period in the recent history of Romania, which covers the second part of the 60s and early 70s. It is the period in which they speak about a political and cultural liberalization of the communist regime and about an „independent” foreign policy that was projected by leaders from Bucharest. On the one hand the controversy’s objectives were the authenticity, depth and intensity of liberalization in those years, and on the other hand, the sincerity and the independence of Romania in the Soviet-dominated Communist bloc. The thought to settle the dispute never caused troubles, we could say that all we are trying to do is complicating more the debate by presenting the image that the United States had it about that period of Romania. The research introduces impressions and perceptions, analysis and predictions, on the one hand unknown, detached in Romania, and on the other hand contemporary with the events in question. In other words, the presentation and the enrichment of the Romanian historiography dedicated to the theme of the Romanian image in the United States during 1964-1971, helped us in our approach. As the exhaustive approach claim of a topic is difficult to do in a historical research, we focused on two dimensions, at the same time and resources, that shaped and propagated the image of Romania in the United States. The Foreign policy of the regime in Bucharest was the first one. Washington was directly interested in it inside of the more complex relations with U.S.S.R and the Soviet bloc, while the second represents the cultural policy.

The history of the communist Romania has seen a period (1965-1975), mainly characterized by attempts to highlight itself through a separate foreign policy. There were years in which Romania had an honorable place in the White House as a socialist dissident country. We are talking about that „maverick” able to play the intermediate between the two camps. It originally combined the dogmatic rigor in internal affairs, with unique and surprising positions in external affairs, thus contributing to the improvement in self-image.

Our research on the image of Romania in the United States between 1964-1971 required the study of works with a more general theme, and also works with special topics such as critical analysis of memoirs, diaries of politicians or cultural people, the inventory of some Romanian and American newspapers, the use of some collections of published documents, and last but not least, the research of Romanian and foreign archival documents.

The research of archival documents also refers to the analysis of some documents belonging to Central Historical National Archives, more precisely, from the Fund Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Orderly room<sup>1</sup> and Foreign relations<sup>2</sup> sections. They were highly useful in revealing the debates that the Romanian leaders had, in different occasions, with American politicians such as Dean Rusk, Averell Harriman, Henry Kissinger and even with the president Richard Nixon. Other documents talk about meetings with the Soviet leader Leonid Brejnev, and even with Chinese people, Zhou Enlai and Mao. These archival sources represent an advantage for the researcher because they offer details. We must mention that for now, we don't have access to the documents of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, that is the telegrams sent to the Central by the Romanian Embassy from Washington, because of the legal deadline for commissioning research documents.

We used more extensively the available documents, including those in digital format, from the Open Society Archives in Budapest, near the Central European University. The documents that are taken from the „Situation Reports”<sup>3</sup> are weekly reports elaborated by the Radio Europa Libera’s specialists regarding the various aspects of the daily communist Romania. These „situational reports” referred to various Romanian political, economical, social, cultural events. Other reports related to the Romanian foreign policy and to the visits abroad or hosted in Romania. As many of these reports were written by American who analyzed Europa Libera, we can say that they portrayed the image of Romania across the Ocean. All the documents are available on-line for researchers.

Speaking of archival documents, due to the „Freedom of Information Act”, the law which offers the access to the public information and documents of the American federal government, CIA declassified and made available to the researchers, documents from the 60s. Elaborated during the Cold War, these analysis, interpretations of the American community and also predictions, are dedicated to the Soviet Union and socialist countries. For example, for our research, the CIA analysis were useful in learning the opinions of the American Security Information regarding the Romanian independent foreign policy.<sup>4</sup> These documents are also available online.

Other documents that we used were published in special collections. For example, for the Romanian-American relations in the second half of the XIX century, Keith Hitchins and Miodrag Milin<sup>5</sup> published diplomatic resources from the American National Archive about reports of the American Legation in Bucharest transmitted to Washington until 1901. The documents about the Romanian-Chinese relations published by the ambassador Romulus Budura were extremely useful for the subchapter about the Romanian mediation between Washington and Beijing. These documents belong to the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the Archive of the Central Committee of RWP and RCP.<sup>6</sup> Another important source is „Nae Ionescu și discipolii săi în arhiva Securității. Volumul II: Mircea Eliade”<sup>7</sup>, the volume of documents protected by Dora Mezdrea, which helped us write an entire chapter of this thesis about the regime’s attempts from Bucharest to „positively influence” the historian of religions and to bring him back in Romania. The collection of Dora Mezdrea

<sup>1</sup> Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale (în continuare ANIC), Fond CC al PCR – Secția Cancelarie.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, Fond CC al PCR – Secția Relații Externe.

<sup>3</sup> Open Society Archives Budapest (în continuare OSA), Radio Free Europe Research, *Situation Report Rumania*, 1964-1972.

<sup>4</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *Office of National Estimates; Office of Current Intelligence; Board of National Estimates*.

<sup>5</sup> Keith Hitchins, Miodrag Milin, *Relații româno-americane 1959-1901. Documente diplomatice și consulare*, București, Redacția Publicațiilor pentru Străinătate, 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Romulus Ioan Budura (coord.), *Relațiile româno-chineze 1880-1971. Documente*, București, Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, Arhivele Naționale, 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Dora Mezdrea, *Nae Ionescu și discipolii săi în arhiva Securității. Volumul II: Mircea Eliade*, București, Ed. „Mica Valahie”, 2008.

contains the documents related to the tracking information about Mircea Eliade. We also used the documents that Florian Banu and Liviu Taranu made available in the volume „Aprilie 1964 – «Primăvara de la Bucureşti» in order to find the stages of the „Declaration” publication. How was adopted the Romanian «Independence Declaration»?<sup>8</sup>Other documents that proved to be useful were related to the Brancusi's trial with the United States in 1927<sup>9</sup>, to the truce between Romania and United Nations in 1944<sup>10</sup> or to the Warsaw Treaty<sup>11</sup>. We also introduced statements, interviews, press conferences and speeches of Nicolae Ceausescu from the meetings or deliberations of the party. Published in collection<sup>12</sup>, or separately<sup>13</sup>, they offer vision samples of political, economical or cultural of the Romanian leader.

Moving to a different type of sources that we have used extensively, we could mention the Romanian and the American press. We considered a great newspaper, „The New York Times”, perhaps the most prestigious overseas, from which we tried to capture the way in which events related to Romania were presented and reflected and the analysis made by the columnists. We also used analysis from the weekly „Time”. Thus, the American press contributed a little in our attempt to outline the image of Romania in the U.S. But we've also used the Romanian press, for example the Party official newspaper „Scînteia”. A special mention should be made for the weekly Foreign Policy „The World”, certainly a unique newspaper in the Romanian press due to the external appearance of the journal and the layout which were made by Western standards. More importantly, the quality of published materials was better than of those that appeared in „Scînteia” or „România liberă”; the foreign news, which occupied a large part in each number, were presented indiscriminately, including those in Western countries and the United States. Under these conditions, the materials of this magazine were very useful in our research.

Specialized newspapers and magazines that appeared in Romania of those years were of a great help for the chapters in which we referred to cultural aspects. We list some of them indicating the year and the city: „Amfiteatru”, a literary magazine published by the Union of Students in Romania (Bucharest, 1966); „Contemporanul”, a weekly political, social and cultural newspaper published by the State Committee for Culture and Art (Bucharest, 1946); „Cronica”, a weekly political, social and cultural newspaper (Iaşi, 1966); „Familia” (the 5<sup>th</sup> series, Oradea, 1966); „Luceafărul”, a weekly newspaper of the Writers Union (Bucharest, 1958); „România literară”, a weekly newspaper published by the Writers Union that was named „Gazeta literară” between 1954-1968; „Secolul 20”, a literature magazine published by the Writers' Union (Bucharest, 1957); „Steaua”, a monthly magazine of the Writers' Union (Cluj-Napoca, 1949); „Tomis”, a monthly political, social, cultural magazine published by the Committee for Culture and Art Constanta (Constanţa, 1965); „Tribuna”, a weekly cultural newspaper (Cluj-Napoca, 1957).

A category of sources that are always a pleasant reading and useful to researchers is that of the memoirs and diaries. There are opinions that place these writings somewhere on the border between

<sup>8</sup>Florian Banu, Liviu Tăranu, *Aprilie 1964 – „Primăvara de la Bucureşti”*. Cum s-a adoptat „Declarația de independență” a României?, Bucureşti, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2004.

<sup>9</sup>\*\*\*, *Arta care învinge legea. Procesul Brâncuşi în S.U.A.*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 2001.

<sup>10</sup>Marin Radu Mocanu, *România și Armistițiul cu Națiunile Unite. Documente*, vol. II, Bucureşti, Arhivele Statului din România, 1995.

<sup>11</sup>\*\*\*, *Tratatul de la Varşovia. 1955-1980. Culegere de documente*, Bucureşti, Ed. Politică, 1981.

<sup>12</sup> Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Opere alese. Vol I 1965-1970*, Bucureşti, Ed. Politică, 1982; Idem, *Interviuri, declarații și conferințe de presă*, vol. I-III, Bucureşti, Ed. Politică, 1985; Idem, *România pe drumul desăvârșirii construcției socialiste. Rapoarte, cuvântări, articole. Volumul 3. Ianuarie 1968 – martie 1969*, Bucureşti, Ed. Politică, 1969.

<sup>13</sup> Idem, *Cuvântarea la adunarea generală a scriitorilor, 16 noiembrie 1968*, Bucureşti, Ed. Politică, 1968; Idem, *Propuneri de măsuri pentru îmbunătățirea activității politico-ideologice, de educare marxist-leninistă a membrilor de partid, a tuturor oamenilor muncii*, Bucureşti, Ed. Politică, 1971; Idem, *Expunere cu privire la îmbunătățirea organizării și îndrumării activității de cercetare științifică. 20-22 decembrie 1965*, Bucureşti, Ed. Politică, 1965.

literature and historical documents. Many authors practiced their talent in the pages written for the readers. It was more important for us the confession of those who had the chance to live such overwhelming historical moments because they were able to give details. We have used a great number in documentaries, though we have to make some special mentions for some of them. Being known as one of the American Foreign Policy artisans during the Nixon Administration, Henry Kissinger was the protagonist and the witness of major events of the 60s-70s. He published about all of these in his volume of memoirs entitled „White House Years”<sup>14</sup>, in 1979. The book is extremely valuable due to the information and details. The author started with the moment he knew Nixon and concluded with the end of the war from Vietnam, the entire period representing the most difficult years of American diplomacy during the Cold War. There are lot of references to Romania and Nicolae Ceausescu in the thesis that we tried to capitalize. In Romania, the most memoirs were written by Romanian communist leaders that were directly involved in the events, such as Corneliu Mănescu<sup>15</sup>, George Macovescu<sup>16</sup>, Mihail Hașeganu<sup>17</sup>, Dumitru Popescu<sup>18</sup>, and even Silviu Brucan<sup>19</sup>, Paul Niculescu Mizil<sup>20</sup> or Ștefan Andrei.<sup>21</sup> Because they are nomenclature members, the major problem is the credibility of the statements, the concordance between memories and analysis, and the objectivity, thus the validity of interpretations and analysis proposed by authors. We do not mention the flaws, the errors caused by the passage of time and oblivion. In addition, some of these memorialists have the attempt, on one hand, to write in a self-justifying manner, and on the other hand, to exaggerate and even idealize the Romanian foreign policy actions and achievements from the second half of the 60s. In these circumstances, it is imperative to use these sources critically and check them through documents or press.

Another category of sources, the travel journals, belong to Romanian culture people who had the opportunity to reach the United States and then write their impressions on paper. Many of them have been in the United States to participate to conferences or courses, as it was the case of Nicolae Iorga<sup>22</sup>, Constantin C. Giurescu<sup>23</sup>, Petru Comarnescu<sup>24</sup>, or with scholarship as Romulus Rusan<sup>25</sup> and Constanța Buzea<sup>26</sup>, thus, their journals are important for the Romanian-American cultural relations. Finally, two journals<sup>27</sup>, the memoirs<sup>28</sup> and volumes of correspondence<sup>29</sup> written by Mircea Eliade, were very useful because they offered us important details about the exile from France and the United States.

<sup>14</sup>Henry Kissinger, *White House Years*, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1979.

<sup>15</sup>Lavinia Betea, *Convoiri neterminate. Corneliu Mănescu în dialog cu Lavinia Betea*, Iași, Ed. Polirom, 2001.

<sup>16</sup>George Macovescu, *Jurnal. Vol. I (1952-1982)*, București, Ed. Domino, 2006.

<sup>17</sup>Mihail Hașeganu, *Din culisele diplomației. Memorile unui diplomat*, București, Casa Editorială și de Presă –Viața Românească, f. a.

<sup>18</sup>Dumitru Popescu, *Memorii transfigurate. Elefanții de porțelan. Scene și personajii în umbra Cortinei de Fier*, București, Ed. Match, f. a.

<sup>19</sup>Silviu Brucan, *Generația irosită. Memorii*, București, Ed. Univers&Calistrat Hogaș, 1992; Idem, *O biografie între două revoluții: de la capitalism la socialism și retrur*, București, Ed. Nemira, 1998.

<sup>20</sup>Paul Niculescu Mizil, *O istorie trăită*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 1997.

<sup>21</sup>Lavinia Betea, *Stăpânul secretelor lui Ceaușescu. I se spunea Machiavelli. Ștefan Andrei în dialog cu Lavinia Betea*, București, Adevarul Holding, 2011.

<sup>22</sup>Nicolae Iorga, *America și România din America. Note de drum și conferințe*, Vălenii de Munte, Așezământul tipografic „Datina românească”, 1930; Idem, *My American Lectures*, Bucharest, State Printing Office, 1932.

<sup>23</sup>Constantin C. Giurescu, *Jurnal de călătorie. Impresii din Statele Unite, Paris și Londra*, București, Ed. Cartea românească, 1971.

<sup>24</sup>Petru Comarnescu, *Chipurile și priveliștile Americii*, București, Ed. Eminescu, 1974.

<sup>25</sup>Romulus Rusan, *America ogărului cenușiu*, București, Ed. Humanitas, 2000.

<sup>26</sup>Constanța Buzea, *Creștetul ghețarului. Jurnal 1969-1971*, București, Ed. Humanitas, 2009.

<sup>27</sup>Mircea Eliade, *Jurnal 1941-1969*, București, Ed. Humanitas, 2003; Idem, *Jurnal, volumul II 1970-1985*, București, Ed. Humanitas, 1993.

<sup>28</sup>Idem, *Memorii (1907-1960)*, București, Ed. Humanitas, 1997.

<sup>29</sup>Idem, *Europa, Asia, America...Corespondență*, volumele I-III, București, Ed. Humanitas, 1999-2004.

In addition, for the chapter related to Mircea Eliade, there are many published documents by Mircea Handoca<sup>30</sup>, one of the most important interpreters of Eliade's writing.

We also must mention in the bibliography, some papers and scientifical magazines<sup>31</sup> from the British and American historiography that we used in presenting the American foreign policy during the Cold War and the relations with the Soviet bloc and Romania. Some of these deserve a few lines, that of John Stoessinger<sup>32</sup>, on the years when Henry Kissinger was the one who built and directed the foreign policy of the United States; H. W. Brands<sup>33</sup>, the author of a paper about the limits of the American global policy of the 60s, when Johnson was president; William P. Bundy<sup>34</sup>, whose paper deals with American diplomacy during the Nixon administration.

Regarding the scientific journals, we managed to identify some studies and articles that matched our theme of research. These journals are: „American Journal of Political Science”, „CWIHP Bulletin”, „International Affairs”, „International Organization”, „International Security”, „International Studies Quarterly”, „Journal of Contemporary History”, „Journal of Palestinian Studies”, „Middle East Report”, „Political Science Quarterly”, „Russian Review” and „World Politics”.

## I. THE ROMANIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS. HISTORICAL LANDMARKS

The contacts between Romania and North-America long preceded not only the establishment of bilateral diplomatic relations, but also the emergence of Romania and the United States as entities. News and information about the discovery of America and North America have arrived in Romania in different ways since the sixteenth century, either through contacts that some Romanian rulers had with the sovereigns of the new territories, or by correspondence that some Romanian humanists had with their fellows from Western Europe. Also, columnists like Radu Popescu, Miron Costin and Dimitrie Cantemir made references to America in their writings. Later, from the eighteenth century, translations of some Western works of geography and history started to circulate in Romania, delivering new information and details about the discovery of the new continent, America. Finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the press from the Danubian Principalities contributed to informing the readers about what the new republic of the United States of America had become. Conversely, information that came to America about Romanians date back to the seventeenth century. The first were contained in works of fiction describing military bravery or political pamphlets, but then, more precise details were provided by the travel diaries of Americans that arrived in the Danubian area in the nineteenth century. Obviously, other direct contacts were made by some Romanians in America or simply by crossing on U.S. soil, as was the case of Samuilă Damian, a friend of Benjamin Franklin.

<sup>30</sup> Mircea Handoca, *Convergiri cu și despre Mircea Eliade*, București, Criterion Publishing, 2006; Idem, *Pe urmele lui Mircea Eliade*, Târgu-Mureș, Ed. Petru Maior, 1996; Idem, *Mircea Eliade și contemporanii săi*, București, Ed. Lider, 2009; Idem, *Viața lui Mircea Eliade*, ediția a III-a, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Dacia, 2002; Idem, „*Dosarul” Mircea Eliade, volumul VI (1944-1967) Nief!*”, București, Ed. Curtea Veche, 2002; Idem, „*Dosarul” Mircea Eliade, volumul VII (24 august 1944-31 august 1967) Nief!*”, București, Ed. Curtea Veche, 2003; „*Dosarul” Mircea Eliade, volumul VIII (1967-1970) Reabilitare provizorie*”, București, Ed. Curtea Veche, 2003.

<sup>31</sup> Robert David Johnson, *Congress and the Cold War*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006; Fredrik Logevall, Andrew Preston, *Nixon in the World. American Foreign Relations, 1969-1977*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008.; Asaf Siniver, *Nixon, Kissinger, and US Foreign Policy Making. The Machinery of Crisis*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2008.

<sup>32</sup> John G. Stoessinger, *Henry Kissinger: The Anguish of Power*, New York, Norton, 1976.

<sup>33</sup> H. W. Brands, *The Wages of Globalism. Lyndon Johnson and the Limits of American Power*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1995.

<sup>34</sup> William P. Bundy, *A Tangled Web: The Making of Foreign Policy in the Nixon Presidency*, New York, Hill and Wang, 1998.

These first contacts contributed to the discovery and mutual understanding of the two spaces, Romanian and American, being a necessary preamble to establish further relations of economic, diplomatic and cultural policies. Guided primarily, if not exclusively, by economic considerations, the United States has opened its first consulate in Galati since 1850. Anton Negroponte, the jobholder, was preoccupied with defending the American commercial interests at the Danube and expanding business opportunities in this part of Europe. U.S. consuls in Galati and Bucharest have tried to facilitate and promote a profitable trade for both parties for thirty years. However, until 1878, when the independence of Romania was recognized, almost all the American diplomats had issues with their accreditation, because the documents were addressed to the sultan and not to Al. I. Cuza or Carol, fact that displeased the Romanians who wanted to limit the interference with the Gate in their internal affairs. Even so, in 1880, constant diplomatic relations were established through the opening of the American Legation, led by Eugène Schuyler, in Bucharest.

The United States were very interested in the increase of trade opportunities for the export of U.S. products in Romania during the entire nineteenth century. Until World War I, the level of trade between the two countries has grown steadily, however, as it was easy to predict, most part of it was represented by U.S. exports, especially in the agricultural cars and oilfields equipment. On the other hand, the Romanian products export in the United States was so insignificant that it wasn't registered. One of the causes is the coincidence of the agricultural and food products that the two countries were selling. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the next one, the American trust „Standard Oil, has entered into force in the Romanian oil sector, through its subsidiary „Româno-americana”.

The Romanian-American relations were materialized through the translations of some Americans' works, such as Benjamin Franklin, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain, Edgar A. Poe, that Romanian readers have greatly appreciated. In addition, the science progress and technology of the United States was carefully followed in Romania. A proof would be the interest of the scientific journals in the inventions of Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas Edison.

The end of the nineteenth century also marked the establishment of a great number of Romanians in America, especially Transylvanians who were attracted overseas by the need of manpower in the American industry and forced to leave their homeland because of unfavorable socio-economic and political conditions. Most of them peasants, had to adapt as industrial metal workers or American cars, trying at the same time to retain their ethno-cultural specificity by setting up mutual aid or cultural societies, churches with Romanian priests, schools and newspapers.

The years of the World War I marked new developments of the Romanian-American relations, many of them imposed by conflicts, and then the peace organization. First of all, aware of the fact that America was very important on the international stage, Romanian politicians have realized the need to initiate a diplomatic representation of Romania in Washington. Thus, on January 15, 1917, Constantin Angelescu presented his accreditation letters to president Wilson, as the Minister of Romania. Although, he had a short term, he succeeded to contribute to the Romanian propaganda in the United States, making known overseas the Romanians' desire of national unity. A Romanian national mission led by Vasile Lucaciu and also Vasile Stoica, who was totally dedicated to organizing public events, meetings with U.S. officials, publishing newspaper articles and pamphlets of propaganda, was sent in the United States in April 1917. Among the achievements of the Romania propaganda, there were the establishment of a Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in America, under the canonical authority of the Metropolitan from Bucharest, but also the collaboration with the representatives of other nationalities

oppressed by the Austro-Hungarian empire. However, they couldn't establish a Romanian military legion assigned to the U.S. Army to fight in Europe.

The Romanian-American relations during the World War I and immediately after this, had involved a material, humanitarian support that Romania needed to survive the military conflagration and to be able to overcome the difficulties that occurred. Thus, Romania enjoyed the assistance of the American Red Cross, and, especially, the grants and contributions of the „American Relief Administration” (ARA), led by Herbert Hoover.

From a political point of view, at the Peace Conference, the Romanian-American relations were tensed because of Ion I.C. Brătianu's claims to respect the provisions of the secret treaty between Romania and the Entente, in 1916. Other tensed moments were caused by the Romanian military intervention against the Bolshevik regime and by the Romania's denial to sign a Peace treaty with Austria due to the minorities' treaty. Even so, Romania has achieved recognition of its new borders, the treaties being signed by American representatives, but at a much lower level of representation after President Wilson's decision to withdraw from the Conference.

The interwar period has not begun under very good auspices for the relations between the two countries. For a time, Romania's diplomatic representation in the United States was inconsistent and, sometimes, just formal. When governments in Bucharest began to send ministers to Washington, they had to deal with Romanian propaganda in the U.S. to counter the hostile revisionist propaganda and that of the Hebrew circles, which was very active and noisy on Romania anti-semitic outbursts. In addition, the political relations between the two were marked by the America's denial to ratify the peace treaties at the end of the war. On the other hand, the diplomat representatives of the U.S. in Romania continued to be interested in defending the American economic interests, but also in the Romanian socio-political developments.

Although, the economic relations between Romania and the U.S. amplified during the period between the two world wars, they have experienced a few moments of tension, even crisis. They were affected by the debts that Romania had to pay for the help America offered and for some American companies that delivered products, such as „Baldwin Locomotive Works.” When this problem have been solved through debt rescheduling, the situation that most affected the bilateral relations was the interest in the Romanian oil and the right of exploiting it. Trying to shape a more coherent oil policy with more benefits for Romania, the liberal government of Ion I.C. Brătianu talked about the possibility of nationalization of subsoil resources, both through the Constitution of 1923 and the Mining Law of 1924. These provisions severely attacked the oil interests of the „Standard Oil” trust, so that, the American ministers in Romania have made many pressures for the new Constitution or the mining law should be adopted as the government proposed. The tensions were so intense, that the American minister, Peter A. Jay, was again invited to Washington. Only after the new National-Peasant Government received the power, it showed more attention to the U.S. economic interests in Romania. Even so, except the economic crisis, the trade between Romania and the United States have increased, but still the trade balance was extremely unbalanced in favor of the U.S.

Also in the interwar period, there was an intense flux of cultural contacts encouraged by the establishment of companies such as „Friends of Romania”, in the U.S.A. or „Friends of the United States” in Romania. In addition, exchanges of students and teachers have become more frequent, the same happens with the literary translations, the music, movies or exhibitions. By way of example, the interwar years were those in which the American public began to know and appreciate George Enescu and Constantin Brancusi. Finally, the visits of Queen Mary in 1926 and Nicolae Iorga in 1930, in the

United States cannot be overlooked. These were widely publicized and were highly beneficial for strengthening the relations between the two countries in many plans.

The World War II placed Romania and the United States in opposite sides, their relations ceasing by autumn 1944. After this date, the geopolitical circumstances have led Romania to remain in the Soviet sphere. Even so, the United States insisted, including at the Yalta Conference in 1945, to respect some democratic principles, visible in refusing to recognize the government Groza of communist orientation, until it has been completed with representatives of the democratic party. Preparing the peace treaty, the U.S.A. insisted on some essential things: the border from Transylvania, the human's rights, the Soviet troops retreat, the civil aviation and economic problem.

The first two postwar decades enshrined the removal between Romania and the United States. Showing a strict obedience to Moscow, Romania has restricted the contacts with the U.S., both political and diplomatic and economic because of American commercial basis legislation, very strict about the trade with the communist countries. Only at the beginning of the 60s, the Romanian initiatives to resume especially the economic links with the United States, were increased.

## **II. ROMANIA'S IMAGE IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH ACTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY**

Since the mid 60s, Romania has been seen in many West European countries and in the United States as having an independent foreign policy or at least not as obedient as other socialist countries. It is accepted that the document which marked the beginning of the course, was „The Declaration” of the Romanian Workers’ Central Committee Party in April 1964, known as the „Declaration of Independence” of Romania. It was occasioned by the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute between the two communist parties. Romania made efforts to stop it considering that it seriously affects the unity of the international communist regime. What caused the document to be called „declaration of independence” were the few anti-Soviet accents and statements concerning the refusal of Romania to accept the economic integration plans that would have sentenced it as the status of agricultural land. They were also concerned about the inconsistency in asking strict adherence to principles such as national independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. These principles should govern relations between the parties and socialist countries.

„The Declaration” from April 1964 was the beginning of Romania's image in the United States as „independent”, having many disagreements with the Soviet Union. But the American perceptions of the Romanian independent policy's degree of sincerity and authenticity, were not always flattering for the leaders in Bucharest. The American community of information, more than the White House, had serious doubts related to this fact. The Romania's independency, the disputes with the Soviet Union regarding the economic integration in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the operation of the Warsaw Pact, were not convincing for the American security of information or for the Department State, that considered that everything was done with the blessing of Moscow. The major fear of the United States was the suspicion that Romania would be a Trojan horse of Moscow. The American prejudices have gradually decreased since the mid 60s, when the synthesis and analysis of CIA documents recognized the authenticity of the independent Romanian foreign policy, presenting in detail the causes and the events that have marked this course. Then, similar analysis were offered by historians, American political scientists and economists of the 60s-70s, and the American press. For Romania, the arena, the space provided by ONU, was the perfect setting to achieve several objectives

pertaining to their own image. First, the place was perfect to portray itself in the West, the U.S.A. in particular, as a country that sincerely wanted peace, security and international cooperation, including through a moderate rhetoric against the ideological „imperialists enemies”. On the other hand, ONU was used by Romania to show its independence towards Moscow, at least in foreign policy initiatives. Thus, the leaders from Bucharest tried to improve the image of the country by showing a contrary attitude to the Soviet Union and the „brotherly” members. This effort explains the contrary votes that the Romanian delegation gave the Soviet Union at different times and problems. The reward and the favorable image came in the fall of 1967, when, Corneliu Manescu, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was elected president of the twenty second session of the General Assembly. Romania’s intentions to create a favorable image in the west, especially in the U.S.A., were immediately noticed and argued by the most competent journalists and politicians. Thus, through the initiatives, Romania has managed to create the image of a country defending peace, international security, a country totally dedicated to the principles of ONU regarding the relations between states. Therefore, Romania’s speech was often considered dull, endlessly repeating the same phrases and the same requests about the disarmament, abolition of military blocs, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other states, the ending of the war in Vietnam, and especially, the obsession of the regime in Bucharest, the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. It was an irritating speech because the themes addressed were repeated, but at the same time, the Romanian leaders promoted the relations with other states, insisting on respecting clear rules to create the image of a country that always act in a „principled” manner. At the same time, though, Romania understood that its image in the U.S.A., in West, at ONU, depended on its degree of autonomy in the initiatives and directions of the Soviet foreign policy. Thus, on several occasions, it took advantage and has taken an opposing position towards the Soviet Union and the socialist states, boycotting certain initiatives or opposing others. The most enlightening example was the denial to vote the declaration of Israel as an aggressor state, in 1967.

„The six days War” from June 5-10, 1967, between Israel and a coalition of Egypt, Jordan and Syria, was another opportunity for Romania to show and maintain a contrary position to the Soviet and socialist states, and closer to West and the U.S.A. It was another opportunity for leadership in Bucharest to practice a moderate language, that did not seek to blame, but find solutions for lasting peace. Besides the desire for peace, testimony offered over the years have shown that Romania’s attitude was calculated, deliberate, looking for prestige and a good image. Before, during the war, the Romania’s attitude and efforts were concentrated on the peace, without giving responsibilities or indicating one of the camps as guilty. Only that an attitude like this involved the opposition towards Soviets both in the meetings from Moscow, and the extraordinary session of ONU, when Romania refused to declare Israel as an aggressor state. The position and the efforts of Romania were analyzed by America, appreciated by the president Lyndon Johnson in the meeting with the Romanian Minister, Ion Gheorghe Maurer, on June 26, 1967. Winning image in the U.S. was quasitotal when, Maurer explained the Soviet Union that it was guilty of the recent violent outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is why Romania was forced to adopt a special attitude.

China represented one of the most important foreign policy files of the Nixon administration. At the end of the 60s, though, the improvement of the sino-American relations had become a part of the strategy regarding the Soviet Union in the United States, that is the triangular Diplomacy of Nixon and his adviser on national security, Henry Kissinger.

The privileged relationship that Romania had with China, the support offered to the latter in the Sino-Soviet ideological conflict that shook and split the communist world in the first part of the 60s, and the refusal to condemn China, all have led Romania to present a possible intermediate Nixon's triangular diplomacy. The success of Ceausescu in his independent policy, the support offered to China in the conflict with the Soviet Union were seen as sufficient evidence for the credibility of Romanian leadership, so that they can be assigned a number of messages needed to reach this way to Beijing. Since 1965, Romania has tried to facilitate the dialogue between Washington and Beijing, so almost all the meetings between Romanian and Chinese people, Romanian and American respectively, have been centered on the improvement of the relations between the United States and China, adding the Romanian party's insistence that Beijing receive its rightful place at the United Nations.

No doubt, the most important meetings were those of Ceausescu and Nixon, both in Bucharest in August 1969 and in Washington in October 1970. On both occasions, the two presidents have spent significant time on the relations between the United States and China, each time Nixon wanted to transmit, through Romanian people, the availability of the U.S. administration to improve relations with the Chinese.

Flattered by the role that had been reserved for him, Ceausescu undertook this mission. Immediately after the meetings that the two had, a Romanian delegation, led by the premier Ion Gheorghe Maurer, in 1969, respectively Gheorghe Radulescu, in 1970, went to Beijing to present to the Chinese leaders, the American intentions of rapprochement. Ion Gheorghe Maurer put a lot of energy in convincing Zhou Enlai of the honest intentions of the Americans. Initially, Chinese leaders were hardly to convince, always insisting on the unsolved issue of Taiwan, but later they agreed even a visit of President Nixon. Therefore, Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon went to Beijing to formally resume the relations with Communist China. Of course, the Romania's contribution to the restoration of relations between the U.S. and China cannot be overstated, especially since the president of Pakistan, Yahya Khan had a similar role. However, the overall effort to improve its image in the West and the United States, the Romanian efforts in the Washington-Beijing relationship were welcomed and highly appreciated.

### **III. SHAPING THE COUNTRY'S IMAGE THROUGH OFFICIAL VISITS OF HIGH-LEVEL**

By the second half of the 70s, Romania and Ceausescu had a favorable press in the West. Ceausescu's ambitions to create a world-class foreign policy, trying to intermediate a series of contacts between Washington and Beijing, between the U.S. and Vietnam, to help solve the conflict between Israel and the Arab states, made him receive the visit of the most important world leaders. Among them were the French President of Gaulle, two American presidents who arrived in Bucharest just a few years away, in 1969 Nixon and Gerald Ford in 1975, and also George Bush in 1983, only as the Vice President. In turn, Ceausescu is received in the most important capitals in the world. He makes three official visits in the U.S.A. in 1970, 1975 and 1979, plus an informal one when he was returning from a South American tour. The image that remained in the memory of all is that of Ceausescu in London, 1978, in the carriage with Elizabeth II. Such meetings were sought because the official visits of high-level of the Americans in Romania were used for renewal and then strengthening of Romania's image as a country, its political regime and its foreign policy. This strategy was successful if we refer only to

two visits, that of Nixon in Bucharest, in August 1969, and that of Ceausescu in Washington, in October 1970. Both have been real successes for Romania's and Ceausescu's image.

Among these official meetings in Bucharest, that of President Richard Nixon contributed the most to the improvement of Romania's image. Although, this official visit of the American in Bucharest, on August 2-3, 1969, was seen as an opportunity to conclude some formal agreements about the raise of the economic exchanges between the two countries, it caused the increase of the international prestige of the country and its leader. It was a result that Romania's communist leaders were looking forward to reaching it. The documentary sources, and especially the press state that the visit was a great success for Ceausescu's image, the Romanian Communist leader. The visit was successful due to the formal discussions, regarding the Romanian-American bilateral relations, but, especially, regarding the Vietnamese issue and the U.S. relations with China. In both cases, Nixon asked Ceausescu support to facilitate the dialogues. The U.S. president was deeply impressed by the extremely warm reception in Bucharest.

One year later, in October 1970, Nicoale Ceausescu spent time in the U.S. to make himself known in the international arena. His first visit in the United States happened between 13-27 October 1970 and it was very special because it was for the first time when Ceausescu visited the American land, and when a Romanian President visited the White House. Finally, it was the longest of the four visits that Ceausescu made in the U.S.

The visit was occasioned by the participation of the leader from Bucharest to the jubilee session of the General Assembly. The Ceausescu's speech was speech in October 19 was very important and it caused favorable reactions. A second phase of Ceausescu's visit was the tour in California, which included stops in Los Angeles and San Francisco, as well as in other smaller centers on the west coast of the U.S. The tour offered the Romanian leader the opportunity to meet various politicians and business people and to visit several American companies. The few days spent in California were relaxing for Ceausescu because he also visited Disneyland and Hollywood. To strengthen the trade, Ceausescu visited „Ford” factories in Detroit and attended a dinner offered by David Rockefeller, the chairman of the bank „Chase Manhattan”. There were also meetings with the U.S. Secretary of Commerce and Agriculture. Ceausescu aimed a significant increase in the Romanian-American trade. In addition, Ceausescu took the opportunity to insist on granting „The most favored nation clause” for Romanian products.

Finally, but probably the most expected moment of the visit in the U.S.A. was his meeting with president Richard Nixon, on October 26, as an answer to the visit from the last year in Bucharest. Even the themes of the discussions weren't made public then, most analysts inferred that Nixon appealed to the good offices of Nicolae Ceausescu to establish a communication channel with China, fact that placed the Romanian leader at the center of the most important diplomatic efforts of the Nixon administration. On the other hand, through his behavior, Ceausescu offered the image of a peace-loving Romania, bringing into question bold proposals like the one of dismantling the military pacts. The private visit that Ceausescu did in the U.S., especially on the West Coast, showed a different kind of communist leader, maybe less rigid, standing testimony the hours spent at Disneyland. He was more willingly to recognize the achievements of capitalism in industry, agriculture and consumerism.

#### **IV. ROMANIA'S IMAGE IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH CULTURE**

But the image of a country, especially as Romania was communist, was not limited to external, although for some realistic as Nixon and Kissinger were, it was important. Romania's image in the United States was also outlined by the cultural climate of those years in Romania. The American observers didn't remain insensitive to the cultural liberalization manifested in various forms and fields towards a stricter compliance of the freedom of creation and expression and, not least, the acceptance of the cultural imports from the United States, that other times were cursed. On the other hand, the image of an independent Romania should include an internal dimension to show that its leaders could manage on their own the cultural sphere, without Moscow's interfering. They could draw directions and develop cultural strategies according to their own visions. So, for a short period, this vision meant a cultural liberalization carefully monitored, the acceptance of some Western cultural influences, including American influences, and the design of their own production in this field in the United States.

The cultural liberalization in Romania brought changes in the institutional supra-structure, including the promotion of some young party activists less attached to the cultural Stalinism than Leonte Rautu and some professionals, so that the emphasis should be placed on the artistic value of cultural creation and not on the ideological side, even if it was not totally circumvented. Secondly, the cultural relaxation meant the establishment of new magazines, including provincial journals, in which young writers can express their creative freedom and their voice is more present than in the editorial activity.

Also, there were years when people preoccupied by culture were „rehabilitated”. Their works were reprinted and those who were still alive after years of imprisonment, repressed the right to the signature. Finally, cultural contacts with the West, with the United States have increased in the most diverse forms, from scholarships and participation to international congresses to tournaments and movies in cinemas and broadcast on television. All this cultural movement was an impetus for signing many Romanian-American cultural agreements throughout the 60s. Since 1960, they predicted cultural, educational, scientific exchanges, being permanently expanded to cover as many years. Basically there was no year since 1960, without approaching the problem of cultural relations, without signing an agreement or even extending the previous ones. The image changed enormously over the years in which Romania practiced a cultural acute autarchy, particularly in relation to the United States.

Wishing to present overseas what Romania could produce in terms of culture, art and intellect, Americans had the chance to listen to the popular music, see traditional dances and also to hear Romanian singers or conductors interpreting works of reference to the symphonic repertoire. Art was presented to the United States through exhibitions of painting, sculpture, graphics, and conferences to familiarize the American public with the achievements, reasons and sources of inspiration of the Romanian artists. The books of some Romanian authors or the books about Romania have been translated and published in the U.S., and the Library from New York contributed to their spread. Romanian students, but also young writers managed to reach the American universities through scholarship programmes. They popularized the cultural activity from Romania and made a good impression, for example the participants at the „International Writing Programme.” It was a cultural offensive by all rules intended to present the achievements, the value and the originality of Romanian production, but also to erase the image of a deeply ideological culture and a questionable quality.

The openness to cultural imports from the United States that Romania has practiced for a short time, was equally important in showing and presenting the new trends in culture. Romanian leaders considered important to show the American partners that any American influence in this field was severely condemned to be „cosmopolitan” and „decadent”. The new line developed by the cultural

leaders of the party found it appropriate to take from the influences what could be adapted to the local. The American Embassy, and then the State Department would be surprised and impressed by the way in which Romanians appreciated the American music – especially jazz-, the movie, the photography, but also the recent achievements of the American technology, especially in the aerospace. On the other hand, it was natural that Romanians wanted everything that could be imported overseas in culture after more than a decade of proletpcultism, but the degree to which the access to American influence was allowed, was at least surprising, but very appreciated by Americans.

## **V. „THE RECOVERY” OF MIRCEA ELIADE AS PART OF ROMANIA’S IMAGE STRATEGY IN THE U.S.**

Finally, the communist authorities in Bucharest have guessed correctly the impact more than favorable that would have had the image of the country and of the regime, on the one hand the rehabilitation of cultural figures of exile, sometimes cursed, and on the other hand the recovery and reintegration into the whole national culture. As these personalities were more known in the U.S. and more appreciated overseas, as the intellectual prestige was more widely recognized, therefore Romanian efforts to recover them were more intense. A valuable case is that of Mircea Eliade, the most appreciated historian of religions of those times, who enjoyed an unanimous appreciation in the United States, where he was a professor(Chicago).

Eliade had become a very important subject for the Securitate (The communist secret police) in the sixties, therefore significant human resources were dislocated: officers that were charged specifically with his case; informants who were paid and recruited from academia; cultural personalities that were sent in America or Europe in order to meet Eliade; Embassy officials from Washington who were charged with his approach; national intellectuals that were supposed to correspond with him. Not to mention the financial burden that was involved in these operations.

Eliade left Romania in 1940 as a cultural attaché in London, then Lisbon, and he didn't come back after 1945. Living in France for a period, then in U.S.A from 1956, he continued to write and to do his scientific research, becoming the most important specialist in the fascinating history of religions. In Romania, on the contrary, he hasn't received any recognition or appreciation for over twenty years. The communist regime which had just received the power, chose to eliminate the other day intellectuals who weren't reliable by applying an obvious tactic of the Soviet communists which aimed at consolidating the new regime on new grounds, and eliminating, sometimes physically, any connection to the previous ordering. Thus, Eliade became the target of the new potentates from Bucharest, being exposed for its legionary political affinities, accused of participating together with other members of the reactionary exile in activities that were hostile to the regime of popular democracy and what was more painful for the historian of religions, he was prohibited as a writer. His works were out of libraries and antiques, his name was dishonored in various publications and he became the target of the most disgusting attacks.

The situation changed after the Securitate organs and the party leaders found out and realized the immense prestige that Eliade enjoyed in U.S. They understood that externally, it was more useful the redeeming of Eliade to improve Romania's image than ignoring him. Thus they developed a plan in this respect that provided the following: the reintegration and the reconsideration of the writer in the Romanian literature, the granting of various degrees, the establishment of contacts with him in the U.S.

through intellectuals sent from Romania or Embassy members, taking interviews, and as a result of these efforts, his attraction to Romania seen as an image success.

The strategy was applied just like the plan, but the results weren't so successful. Eliade had always considered that the degree in which he was reintegrated in the Romanian culture was quite small, being made in a slow pace with periods when he didn't even exist in the literary news. He was always unhappy with the difficulty with which his works were published in Romania and with the ideological barriers that always hindered these publications. We think that it is equally important the fact that Eliade was aware of the real situation regarding the culture in Romania, still affected by ideological constraints, regarding the Securitate practices, crimes and horrors in prisons, and which, eventually, determined him not to accept any of the invitations to return not even for a short visit.

## CONCLUSIONS

Objectively speaking, Romania has always occupied a peripheral position on the map of the strategic interests, political, economic of the United States of America. Over the centuries, the U.S. priorities in different areas have eluded most often Romania, focusing on geographical areas more suitable to satisfy the global ambitions of a great power. There were many causes, starting from the geographical distance, seemingly insuperable in the first centuries of bilateral contacts, experiencing the isolationist attitude that marked the American foreign policy for a long time, and reaching to the Romania's breaking with the Western relations during the ideological, political and economic Soviet empire. This gave a special feature to the contacts between America and Romania and their bilateral relations. During the centuries except the communist period, Romania was the most keen to strengthen these relations. A little country with modest resources and economic achievements, Romania sought the U.S. company. This perennial reality offered the U.S. the active and dominant position in the bilateral relations, made it possible for them to accept or not the Romanian advances, to establish contacts, to impose their rhythm and to dictate the intensity, the terms and the nature of the bilateral relations.

Since the diplomatic relations were established, in 1880, they had some defining characteristics over the time. Until the World War I, for example, Romania, as a young and independent country, was interested in the policy of these relations, although it did not manage to establish a legation in Washington. On the other side, the United States preferred to concentrate on economic aspects, being registered an industrial major step that made America the first great power in the world from this point of view. America started to be interested in the Romanian oil by introducing on the Romanian market the company „Standard Oil” and its subsidiary „Romano-American.” The years of the first conflagration convinced Romania of the America's great power and determined it to open in 1917, a legation in Washington. The precise mission was to help the Romanian national propaganda in the United States, to convince the American public about the justice of the Romanian national clause. Moreover, the relations between the two delegations at the Peace Conference were circumscribed to the Romanian same effort. Interwar years witnessed the intensification of the American oil interests in Romania, interests that have created a series of political tensions and even diplomatic in Bucharest and Washington, when adopting such documents as the Constitution of 1923 and the Mining Law of 1924. In the two temporary decades of peace, the cultural Romanian-American exchanges intensified. However, the progress did not prevent the separation of Romania and the United States in opposite camps during the World War II. Romania was crushed by the Soviet roller remaining in the Moscow's

sphere of influence. In the next two decades of rupture and serious deterioration of the image of Romania, everything seemed very difficult to reverse.

How did Romania manage to recover its image as a country? In the years 1964-1971, actions were driven in several directions. The first one was that of the foreign policy, where Romania succeeded to shape its image as a member state in the communist bloc, but it manifested some deviations from the Soviet Union's rules. Therefore, everybody spoke about an „independent” Romania in those years. A second direction focused on improving the internal cultural realities, taking into account the liberalization of the culture, promoting the local cultural creation in the United States. All these actions and efforts have been successful to a point, Romania being considered one of the most common countries of the socialist bloc.

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