

FORMATION AND EVOLUTION OF THE BORDERS OF GREATER ROMANIA (1918-1940)*

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Rezumat: Constituirea și evoluția frontierelor României Mari (1918-1940)

Frontierele României Mari sunt rezultatul direct al Primului Război Mondial. Datorită efortului de război făcut de partea Antantei, România și-a alipit vechile provincii istorice românești Bucovina și Transilvania (incluzând Banat, Crișana, Maramureș și Satu Mare) și județele Durostor și Caliacra din sudul Dobrogei. Ca urmare a izbucnirii Revoluției Socialiste din octombrie 1917 și a demantelării Imperiului Rus, România a reușit să alipească provincia istorică românească Basarabia, anexată de Imperiul Rus în 1812.

Evoluția propriu-zisă a frontierelor Regatului Român în perioada 1918-1940 a fost influențată de contextul politic, diplomatic și militar internațional. După recunoașterea noilor frontiere ale României în cadrul Conferinței de Pace de la Paris (1919-1920), Regatul Român a cultivat relații politice, diplomatice și militare bune cu Polonia, Cehoslovacia și Iugoslavia, în cazul unui atac neprovocat venit din partea Uniunii Sovietice (alianța cu Polonia) sau a Ungariei (Mica Înțelegeră, alianță creată în 1923 împreună cu Iugoslavia și Cehoslovacia).

Frontiera cu Bulgaria era apărată diplomatic și, la nevoie, militar de către statul român prin intermediul Înțelegerii Balcanice, formate în 1934 cu participarea României, Iugoslaviei, Greciei și Turciei.

În perioada interbelică, frontierele României Mari erau amenințate de trei revizionisme: revizionismul sovietic (de departe cel mai periculos), revizionismul maghiar și revizionismul bulgar. Beneficiind de un context internațional extrem de favorabil, generat de politica de conciliatorism a Angliei și Franței față de Germania, Italia și URSS, coroborat cu pactul de neagresiune germano-sovietic din 23 august 1939, Uniunea Sovietică, Ungaria și Bulgaria au modificat frontierele României Mari în 1940. Atunci România a cedat în favoarea URSS-ului Basarabia și nordul Bucovinei, nord-vestul Transilvaniei în favoarea Ungariei, județele Durostor și Caliacra în favoarea Bulgariei.

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Abstract: *The borders of the Greater Romania are the direct result of the First World War. Due to the war effort made on the side of the Entente, Romania has reunited the old Romanian historical provinces Bucovina and Transylvania (including Banat, Crișana, Maramureș and Satu Mare), and the counties of Durostor (Dorostolon) and Kaliakra of Southern Dobrogea. Following the outbreak of the Socialist Revolution of October 1917, and the unraveling of the Russian Empire, Romania managed to incorporate the Romanian historical province of Bessarabia, annexed by the Russian Empire in 1812.*

The properly evolution of the Romanian Kingdom's borders in the years between 1918 and 1940 was influenced by the political, diplomatic and military international context. After recognizing the new borders of Romania at the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920), the Kingdom of Romanian cultivated good political, diplomatic and military relations with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, in case of an unprovoked attack by the Soviet Union (the alliance with Poland) or by Hungary (The Little Entente, the alliance formed in 1923 together with Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia).

The border with Bulgaria was defended diplomatic and, if necessary, military by the Romanian State, through the Balkan Entente, formed in 1934 with the participation of Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

In the interwar period, the borders of the Greater Romania were threatened by three revisionist attitudes: the Soviet revisionism (by far the most dangerous), the Hungarian revisionism and the Bulgarian revisionism. In 1940, with a highly favorable international context, generated by the policy of appeasement followed by Britain and France towards Germany, Italy and the USSR, in conjunction with the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 23 August 1939, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Bulgaria have changed the borders of the Greater Romania. In addition, Romania has ceded Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina to the USSR, the Northwestern Transylvania to Hungary, and the counties of Durostor (Dorostolon) and Kaliakra to Bulgaria.

Résumé: La constitution et l'évolution des frontières de la Roumanie Grande (1918-1940)

Les frontières de la Roumanie Grande sont le résultat direct de la Première Guerre Mondiale. Grâce à l'effort de guerre que l'Entente fit, la Roumanie réunit les anciennes provinces historiques roumaines la Bucovine et la Transylvanie (y inclus Banat, Crișana, Maramureș et Satu Mare), ainsi que les départements Durostor (Dorostolon) et Caliacra du sud de Dobroudja. Par conséquent de l'éclatement de la Révolution Socialiste d'octobre 1917 et de la désorganisation de l'Empire Russe, la Roumanie réussit à relier la province historique roumaine la Bessarabie que l'Empire Russe annexa en 1812.

Le contexte politique, diplomatique et militaire international influença l'évolution proprement-dite des frontières du Royaume Roumain dans la période 1918-1940. Après avoir reconnu les nouvelles frontières de la Roumanie dans le cadre de la Conférence de paix de Paris (1919-1920), le Royaume Roumain cultiva de bonnes relations politiques, diplomatiques et militaires avec la Pologne, la Tchécoslovaquie et l'Yougoslavie, le cas d'une attaque pas provoquée de la partie de l'Union Soviétique (l'alliance avec la Pologne)

ou de l'Hongrie (la Petite Entente, alliance créée en 1923 ensemble à l'Yougoslavie et la Tchécoslovaquie).

L'Etat roumain a défendu la frontière avec la Bulgarie diplomatiquement et, si nécessaire militairement, à l'intermédiaire de l'Entente Balkanique, formée en 1934 avec la participation de la Roumanie, l'Yougoslavie, la Grèce et la Turquie.

Pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, trois attitudes révisionnistes menacèrent les frontières de la Roumanie Grande: le révisionnisme soviétique (de loin de plus dangereux), le révisionnisme hongrois et le révisionnisme bulgare. Tout en bénéficiant d'un contexte international extrêmement favorable, généré par la politique conciliatoire de l'Angleterre et de la France envers l'Allemagne, l'Italie et l'URSS, corroboré avec le pacte de non agression allemand-soviétique de 23 août 1939, l'Union Soviétique, l'Hongrie et la Bulgarie modifièrent en 1940 les frontières de la Roumanie Grande. De plus, la Roumanie céda en faveur de l'URSS la Bessarabie et le nord de la Bucovine, le nord-ouest de la Transylvanie en faveur de l'Hongrie, les départements Durostor et Kaliakra en faveur de la Bulgarie.

Keywords: Greater Romania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Soviet Union

Introduction

Kingdom of Romania or Greater Romania (Rom. „Romania Mare”) was placed in 1920 to sixth place in Europe in terms of area (295,641 km square) and population (19,084,000 people)¹. In terms of borders, the new Romanian state faces a dual problem: embedded Romanian historical provinces that had been part of other states; become neighbor with new states.

Thus, Bessarabia had been part of The Russian Empire; Bukovina and Transylvania (in which the regions Banat, Crişana, Maramureş and Satu Mare were included) had been parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The mentality and way of living of the population, economic and social legislation and the organization of these provinces were completely different from those of the former kingdom of Romania (Rom. „România Mică”², i.e. Little Romania). In addition, customs and frontier guards' services organization here was totally different compared to that of the Little Romania. Also, in 1919 Greater Romania

¹ „Grănicerul. Publicație lunară pentru educarea soldatului grănicer” [Border Guard. Monthly periodical for education of the border guard soldier], Bucharest, 4th Frontier Guard Brigade, II, 1st of March, 1933.

² This expression is usually used in the Romanian historiography to designate the Romanian state between 1859-1918.

had international borders with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary and the Soviet Union; these countries did not exist before 1918.

In this context, the Romanian authorities had to solve two problems: fixing borders with neighbors and accommodating legislation concerning its borders to the international context and realities. This article, based on unpublished sources and the most representative Romanian bibliography, has the following structure:

1. The importance of borders in history
2. Genesis and evolution of state borders of Greater Romania
3. Under revisionist pressure. The end of Greater Romania

The importance of borders in history

The concept of border was not practically known from the genesis of the ancient states. Typically, in Antiquity, between two states or two tribes, or between a state and a union of tribes, an uninhabited area was kept, in order to avoid possible conflicts. According to Roman point of view, border was reduced to famous fortified *limes*, with troops encamped in *castra* and *castella*, in order to create a military protective device (most known examples in the ancient Dacia: *limes Alutanus* (Alutus = Olt river in nowadays Romania), *limes Transalutanus*). At the end of the 9th century a.Chr., **border concept** is taking shape thanks to the division of territories – after some treaties were concluded. In this respect, the best known example is the Treaty of Verdun (843), which defines the future medieval Germany, France and Lotharingia (i.e. Alsace and Lorraine, the object of century-old quarrel between Germany and France).

Since the 9th century meaning of the ancient Roman term *limes*, with meanings mainly related to military protection has changed, leading to contemporary signification.

Thus, the meaning of the word *boundary* is defined as real or imaginary line demarcating the territories of two states or the territory of a state and the high seas. Border delimits also, vertically, airspace and subsoil of a state. In most cases, borders between states are established by treaties, while maritime borders are delimited, usually, by the national legislation of the littoral states.³

Borders have played an important role in international relations, their establishment being in history the subject of endless conflicts. According to the

³ Aurel Neagu, Dumitru Popescu, Anton Găgiu, *Monografia frontierei de stat a României* [Monograph of the state border of Romania], Bucharest, CNI Coresi Publishing House, 2003, p. 22.

general opinion of specialists, 85% of international conflicts start from border or territorial disputes.

Closely related to the concept of border is the notion "territory". Roughly speaking, we can say that the territory of the state is stable because it is inhabited by a permanent social community (people or nation), and specifically limited by borders that delimit it from other countries, the seas and cosmic space. State borders are basically – except wars, inviolable. There is between state and its borders a close interdependence, an indestructible unity: the territory is enclosed between borders and boundaries delimited territory.

Demarcation of the border territories was considered since ancient times a sacred duty of the state. This duty was and it is put into practice by protecting citizens and enhancing the territory, as a place of building and future development of peoples/nations. Currently, the border is considered as a pledge of national security, its violations constituting an act of extreme gravity, sanctioned by both, national and international laws.

Presently, the notion of border is indisputably linked to the notion of state⁴. Evolution of a State border is very closely linked to the historical development of the State⁵. Nowadays, there is no territory in the world without a clear and precise delimitation of its frontiers⁶.

Romanian borders were thus logically very closely related to the metamorphosis of the Romanian state, to its various conflicts and wars. Accordingly, Romania's territorial boundaries have changed many times⁷.

Besides this definition somewhat "static" of the border (i.e. limit of territorial expansion of a state) there is a "dynamic" definition, introduced after 1990 in Romania especially by the sociologist Ilie Bădescu, who borrowed it from the Anglo-Saxon sociology.

According to analyzes made by Ilie Bădescu, followed by Dan Dungaci, border is a phenomenon of expansion of a people, civilization, ideology. We offer to the reader two quoting, significant in this respect.

"Border phenomenon is the opportunity of a people to check the power of conservation its identity. Today, people no longer relate to each other, but each separately and all together, at one and the same phenomenon: the European

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Marcela Nedeia, *Ținuturile istorice românești. Evoluție, structură, tensiuni* [Romanian historical realms. Evolution, structure, tensions], in "Geopolitica". Revistă de Geografie, GeoPolitică și Geostrategie) [Geopolitics. Journal of Geography, geopolitics and geostrategy], Bucharest, III, no. 11/2005, p. 93.

⁶ Aurel Neagu, Dumitru Popescu, Anton Gagi, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷ Petre Deică, *Frontierele statale ale României* [State borders of Romania], in "Geopolitica", IV, no. 20/2006, p. 13.

frontier. Europe is a universal phenomenon frontier. This means that every nation on the planet confronted itself in the modern era, with European frontier phenomenon. In this sense, every people is working on solving the same problems raised by the European expansion. Although universal in nature, the European frontier manifests itself every time, as a set of economic, social, political, gnosiological, cultural and psychological processes absolutely specific, unmistakable, from a nation to another”⁸.

In Greater Romania (Romania Mare) has amplified the phenomenon of adaptation of the country to the European frontier. This process started in the 19th century when, after 1821, attempts of recovery of around three centuries of economic, social, cultural, military, technological etc underdevelopment were made. These good or bad attempts (see famous Titu Maiorescu’s famous “theory of forms without substance”, Rom. *forme fără fond*) were made by all Romanian elites, who have taken and adapted more or less happy, Western institutions to the Romanian space.

Romanian elites from interwar period have taken Western notions of international law related to the delimitation of boundaries and adapted them to the Romanian state.

Genesis and evolution of state borders of Greater Romania

Establishing of borders between neighboring countries is legally made by treaties (agreements) which describing the route of the border line. On a map annexed to these treaties, the borderline is graphically represented. To enter into force, these agreements must be ratified by the legal institution of each state. After their ratification, these agreements (treaties) become part of the law and can be applied only by this. Obviously, there are internal laws of each State which governing borders’ regime. International law and specialty literature emphasis the fact that the legal rules governing relations between neighboring states designate a legal regime of neighborhood.

Greater Romania was created after the First World War. Ionel I.C. Brătianu, the premier of Romania, delayed two years his country’s enter into the war, either the Central Powers, or the (Triple) Entente. It decided in 1916 that Romania will enter into the war on the (Triple) Entente side. Then it was already obvious that the Central Powers cannot use endless their military advantages (better officers and troops) and will be surely defeated in this conflict of attrition

⁸ Ilie Bădescu, Dan Dungaciu, *Sociologia și geopolitica frontierei* [Sociology and geopolitics of frontiers], vol. 1, Bucharest: Floare Albastră [i.e. Blue Flower] Publishing House, 1995, p. 2.

by the Entente (Britain, France, Russia, Italy), with far greater economic and demographic resources. Romania's entry into the war was decided by secret treaty of alliance of 4/17 August 1916, signed by Romania, Russia, France, England and Italy.

This treaty specifies that:

I. Russia, France, England and Italy guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Romania in the whole extent of its current borders.

II. Romania is obliged to declare war and attack Austria-Hungary as determined by the military convention; Romania is also obligated to cease since the declaration of war any commercial ties and economic exchange with all enemies of the allies.

III. Russia, France, England and Italy recognize Romania's right to annex the territories of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy provided in Article IV.

IV. Limits of territories from the past article (i.e. art. III) are determined as follows:

The borderline will start from the Prut from a point of nowadays borders between Russia and Romania near Novosulitza (Rom. Noua Suliță = New Spear) and will go up the river to the border of Galicia, where Prut meets with Ceremuș. That will follow the border between Galicia and Hungary until point Stog, altitude 1655. Farther will follow the line of separation between waters of the Tisza and Vizo in order to reach the Tisza, to the village Trebuza, above where it (i.e. Tisza) joins with Vizo..."⁹.

The Happy End of WWI for Romania, in the camp of winners, led to radical changes of borders in its favor.

The Peace Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria signed at Saint Germain en Laye on 10 September 1919 recognized the union of the Romanian historical province Bukovina with its Motherland. We mention that Bukovina was kidnapped from Moldavia by the Austrian Empire in 1774-1775.

Article 59 of this treaty stipulated the following: "Austria gives up, in favor of Romania, all rights and titles to the part of the former Duchy of Bukovina so will be established later by the main Allied and Associated powers"¹⁰.

⁹ Sever Neagoe, *Teritoriul și frontierele în istoria românilor* [The territory and borders in the history of Romanians], Bucharest, Interior Ministry Publishing House, 1995, p. 187.

¹⁰ The treaty was published in a separate edition in Bucharest, the State Printing Hous, 1920, pp. 16-17. *Apud* Sever Neagoe, *Teritoriul și frontierele în istoria românilor*, pp. 193-194.

Borders of the Romanian Kingdom with the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom (i.e. Yugoslavia since 1929), Czechoslovakia and Poland have been established and recognized (diplomatically and legally) by the Treaty which the Allied and Associated Powers have signed with these countries at Sèvres on 10 August 1920. We mention that this treaty is known in the historical literature as “the treaty of borders”¹¹.

The border between Romania and the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian state was established by the article 2 of this treaty, which stipulated the following: “With the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian State, the following line: from here (i.e. Beba Veche, our note) to southeast up to a point chosen on the Nera, about 1 km east of the road between Kusiscs (Cusici) and Neroaranyos (Zalticsa) (...) hence to southeast towards downstream up to the confluence of the Nera with the Danube, the channel of Nera; hence towards south-east up to the confluence of Timok with the Danube: the main fairway of the Danube. This confluence is the common point of the three boundaries of Bulgaria, Romania and Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian State”¹².

Romania’s relations with the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian State were good in the interwar period; both countries have built the Little Entente (1921 – together with Czechoslovakia) and the Balkan Entente (1934), which also included Greece and Turkey.

Romania’s border with Czechoslovakia and Poland, secured by the above-mentioned Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920) was established on the following alignments:

“With the Czechoslovakian state, from the meeting point of the boundaries of Romania with the boundaries of the Czechoslovakian state and Hungary, towards northeast up to the river Tisza and then on this river up to the confluence of the river Noritza with the river Tisza; here eastward up to the Mount Stog; (...) common point of the three boundaries of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

¹¹ Dan Lazăr, *România și Iugoslavia în primul deceniu interbelic. Relații politico-diplomatice (1919-1929)* [Romania and Yugoslavia in the first interwar decade. Political and Diplomatic Relations (1919-1929)], Iași, University Al. I. Cuza Publishing House, 2009, pp. 23-29.

¹² *** *Culegere de tratate, acorduri, convenții și acte normative interne privind marea teritorială și trupele interne ale Republicii Socialiste România* [Collection of treaties, agreements, conventions and internal law documents concerning the territorial sea and internal troops of the Socialist Republic of Romania], Bucharest, Headquarters of Border Guards, 1979, pp. 70-71.

With Poland, from the mount Stog up to the source of the Ceremuș river, then to the northeast on this river up to its confluence with the Prut river, then to the northeast on the Dniester river 10 kilometers upstream from the locality Zalescic and further towards east on the Dniester river to Hotin”¹³.

In the frame of the Romanian-Czechoslovakian border delimitation process, the Protocol of Prague was signed on the 4th of May 1921. This protocol stipulated that “Czechoslovakia gives to Romania eight communes and an area of 175 square km with a population of 10,800 persons, which 7093 are Romanians and Romania gives to Czechoslovakia three communes with an area of 60 square kilometers with a population of 3112 inhabitants, which 6 are Romanians”¹⁴. We again emphasize that the relations between Romania and Czechoslovakia were very good in the interwar period.

Romanian-Polish border, agreed in principle at the end of WWI¹⁵ and legally and diplomatic recognized during the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920)¹⁶, kept the attention of authorities in both countries at the highest level.

According to a study made by the Romanian demographer Sabin Manuilă, “the Polish border is of 346.6 kilometers, of which 271.7 km natural border. Even here, a mathematical delimitation (ethnically speaking) could not be carried out”¹⁷.

On the 3rd of March 1921, Romania and Poland signed a defensive alliance Convention, accompanied by a military convention – in fact, a mutual guarantee of their Eastern borders against of an unprovoked attack made by the Soviet Union (“neighbor to the east”, in the text).

Establishing of the Romanian-Hungarian border was not only a laborious but a controversial activity. This was achieved by the peace treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers with Hungary signed on June 4, 1920 at Trianon. In Part II, art. 27, paragraph 3, the Romanian-Hungarian border route was very attentively demarcated¹⁸.

¹³ Sever Neagoe, *Teritoriul și frontierele în istoria românilor*, p. 194.

¹⁴ Aurel Neagu, Victor Aelenei, *Istoria Frontierei României* [History of Romania’s Border], Bucharest, Pro Transylvania Publishing House, 2003, p. 182.

¹⁵ Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale [Central Historical National Archives], further ANIC), fond Casa Regală [Royal House Fund], file 81/1919, f. 1-10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Royal House Fund, file 42/1919, f. 1-20; *Ibid.*, Royal House Fund, file 49/1919, f. 1-2. Letter signed “Dutasta”; *Ibid.*, Royal House Fund, file 2/1920, f. 1-5.

¹⁷ Sabin Manuilă, *Studiu etnografic asupra populației României* [Ethnographic study on the population of Romania], Bucharest, Central Institute of Statistics Publishing House, 1940, p. 13.

¹⁸ Aurel Neagu, Victor Aelenei, *Istoria Frontierei României*, p. 133. Treaty of Trianon was published in Romania in “Monitorul Oficial” [Official Monitor], no. 36 of

Hungarian governments from the interwar period led by Miklos Horthy (former admiral of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) never accepted this border. Getting willingness of Germany and Italy, Hungary obtained northwest of the Romanian historical province Transylvania by the Vienna Diktat of 30 August 1940. Hungary failed to keep this region, officially returned to Romania at the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947, which established the borders of Europe after the Second World War.

Romanian-Bulgarian border was established by the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine, in 20 September 1920. This treaty reconfirmed Romanian-Bulgarian border, as it was set by the Peace Treaty of Bucharest (10 August 1913), at the end of the Second Balkan War. Article 27, paragraph 5 of the Treaty of 1920 provided that borders of Bulgaria with Romania are established as follows: "From the Black Sea to the Danube: similar border that existed on August 1, 1914; from there to the confluence of Timok with the Danube; the main fairway of the Danube upstream"¹⁹.

Neither Bulgaria was not satisfied with these borders, which is why he went into the camp of the revisionist powers. Speculating difficult international position of Romania, Bulgaria has taken from Romania (after official talks in Craiova, 7th of September 1940) the southern part of Dobroudja (i.e. Durostor (Dorostolon) and Kaliakra counties).

Under revisionist pressure. The end of Greater Romania

In the interwar period, Romanian diplomacy manifested in favor of collective security system – in the spirit of historical traditions of Romanian foreign policy²⁰, acting for a climate of security in the region and promoting good relations with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Relations with Hungary, Bulgaria and the USSR were cold.

Romanian kingdom pursued constantly, without hesitation, regardless of political composition of its governments, borders' defense against revisionist actions manifested by Hungary, Bulgaria and the USSR. The revisionist pressure became greater, especially from the 30s and had the peak in the summer of 1940.

September 21, 1920.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 151. This treaty was published in "Monitorul Oficial", no. 135 of September 20, 1920.

²⁰ Gheorghe Buzatu, *România și Marile Puteri 1939/1947* [Romania and the Great Powers 1939/1947], Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2003, p. 2.

German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August 23, 1939 gave virtually free hand for the USSR in southeastern Europe, the situation of Bessarabia and north of Bukovina becoming very difficult. We present to the reader the essence of the four articles of the secret protocol, adjacent to the non-aggression pact.

The first article provided that, if a politico-territorial transformation (Germ. *Umgestaataltung*) occurred in the Baltic region, the northern boundary of Lithuania will represent the limit of the German sphere of influence. Finland, Estonia and Latvia had to belong to the sphere of interests of the Soviet Union and Lithuania (with Wilno) to that of Germany²¹.

The second article stated that in case of a "territorial-political transformations", the line of dividing Poland between spheres of interests of two countries will pass on watercourses Narew, Vistula and San²².

The third article interests Romania particularly: "As regards South-Eastern Europe, the Soviet side emphasis its interest for Bessarabia. The German side declares total political disinterest for these regions"²³.

The fourth article contained the agreement of both sides to keep strictly secret this protocol²⁴.

On the base of the 3rd article of this German-Soviet pact, borders of the Romanian Kingdom were arbitrarily changed in the summer of 1940 by the territorial concessions to Soviet Union (28 July 1940), Hungary (30 August 1940) and Bulgaria (6 September 1940)²⁵.

It should be noted that Soviet-Romanian relations in the interwar period, unfriendly or cold, followed by Romania's participation (allied with Germany) in the war against the Soviet Union (1941-1944) generated territorial changes

²¹ Domas Krivickas, *The Molotov - Ribbentrop Pact of 1939: Legal and Political Consequences*, in „Lituanus. Lithuanian Quarterly Journal Of Arts and Sciences”, volume 34, No. 2, Summer 1989, Vilnius, <http://www.lituanus.org/>. Accessed in 24.05.2015.

²² Ion Șișcanu, Vitalie Văratîc, *Pactul Molotov - Ribbentrop. Culegere de documente* [Molotov - Ribbentrop Pact. Collection of documents], Kishinev, Universitas Publishing House, 1991, doc. no. 2, p. 7.

²³ Vitalie Văratîc, *Preliminarii la raptul Basarabiei și a Nordului Bucovinei, 1938 - 1940* [Preliminaries at kidnapping of Bessarabia and North of Bukovina, 1938 - 1940], Bucharest, Libra Press Publishing House, 2000, p. 231; Vătămănuț, Dan, *România în relațiile internaționale (1939-1947)* [Romania in international relations (1939-1947)], vol. 1, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, 2009, p. 59.

²⁴ Florin Zamfir, Jean Banciu, *1939. Ultimul an de pace, întâiul an de război* [1939. Last year of peace, the first year of war], Bucharest, Oscar Print Publishing House, 2000, pp. 265-266.

²⁵ Grigore Stamate, *Frontiera de stat a României* [State border of Romania], Bucharest, Military Publishing House, 1997, p. 143.

unfavorable for Romania. These changes persisted until nowadays. However, we must mention that the blame does not belong in any case only for Romania. Constantly, the Soviet Union maintained and developed various secret military projects to invade the territories of Bukovina and Bessarabia²⁶, supporting irredentist actions of some groups in these provinces. These actions were in the permanent attention of the Secret Services of the Romanian state²⁷. In this respect, anti-Soviet policy of interwar Romanian governments was legally justified. Borders of Bukovina were forcibly and illegally modified in 1940 after the unjust ultimatum of 26th of June addressed by the Soviet Union to Romanian Kingdom.

After this ultimatum, in the northern part of Bukovina and in the Hertza region, Romanian legislation was replaced in 1940-1941 with Soviet legislation²⁸. In the period 1941-1944 we have in these regions, again, a Romanian legislation. Meanwhile, Romanian kingdom was divided in the time of the King Carol II in realms/lands (Rom. „ținuturi”)²⁹. Later, during Ion Antonescu’s regime (1940-1944), the so-called Governance of Bukovina (Rom. „Guvernământul Bucovinei”) was created. All these changes were reflected in the organization of the management of borders³⁰.

In 1945-1947 the south of Bukovina was under Soviet occupation. Later, after the end of World War II, Romania’s borders were established at the Peace Conference from Paris (1947). In the case of northern part of Bukovina and Bessarabia, under pressure of the Soviet Union, was respected the border

²⁶ Octavian Țăcu, *Problema Basarabiei și a relațiilor sovieto-române în perioada interbelică (1919-1939)* [Problem of Bessarabia and Soviet-Romanian relations in the interwar period (1919-1939)], Kishinev, Prut International Publishing House, 2004, p. 206.

²⁷ Ludmila Rotari, *Mișcarea subversivă din Basarabia în anii 1918-1924* [The subversive movement in Bessarabia in the years 1918-1924], Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 2004, p. 79ff.

²⁸ ANIC, fond Direcția Generală a Poliției [General Directorate of Police Fund, further DGP], file 457/1939, f. 1-229. A number of issues concerning Germany’s preparations for the invasion of Poland (1st of September 1939) are mentioned. Also, pieces of information concerning increasing border crossings from Galicia (then in Poland, our note) to Romania and preparations made by the ethnic Germans of Romania to repatriate themselves in the Third Reich are in this file mentioned; *Ibid.* DGP Fund, file 45/1940, f. 167, 234.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Fond Inspectoratele Regionale de Poliție [Regional Inspectorates of Police, further IRP], file 280, f. 164.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Fond Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei [General Inspectorate of Gendarmerie fund, further IGJ], file 63/1940, f. 11 .

established by Romanian-Soviet Agreement of 28th of June 1940³¹.

Entered in the Soviet sphere of influence and without a real support from the Great Western democracies (practically since 1937!)³², Romania was forced to accept the loss of territories which were a legal part of his national state³³.

Conclusions

In the Greater Romania (1919-1940) was manifested itself a major process of institutional, social-economic, political and cultural adaptation to the European realities.

Evolution of the borders of the Romanian Kingdom in the period 1918-1947 was closely linked to how evolved the political, diplomatic and military international situation. After the recognition of Romania's borders at the Peace Conference from Paris (1919-1920), Romania developed good political, diplomatic and military relations with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, in order to defend their common borders.

The border with Bulgaria was defended diplomatic and, if necessary, military, by the Balkan Entente, formed in 1934 with the participation of Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

In the interwar period, the borders of the Greater Romania were threatened by three revisionist attitudes: the Soviet revisionism (by far the most dangerous), the Hungarian revisionism and the Bulgarian revisionism.

Romanian borders, as they were recognized at the above mentioned Peace Conference, experienced serious changes in 1940, with Romania's territorial cessions in favor of the USSR (Bessarabia and northern part of Bukovina), Hungary (a north-western part of Transylvania) and Bulgaria (Durostor/Dorostolon and Kaliakra counties).

³¹ Petrache C. Cojocă, *Istoria unui tratat controversat. Tratat de parteneriat privilegiat și cooperare între România și Republica Moldova* [History of a controversial treaty. Privileged Partnership and Cooperation Treaty between Romania and Republic of Moldova], foreword by Oleg Serebrian, Kishinev, Zamolxe Publishing House, 2000, pp. 155-163.

³² ANIC, DGP Fund, file 225/1937, f. 37-52 – essay headed *Problema granițelor României* [Problem of Romania's borders]. The authors of this material emphasized that in 1937 Romania was already in diplomatic isolation amid platonic support of the West and the strong and dangerous revisionism practiced by Germany, Italy (and their allies, Hungary and Bulgaria) and, of course, by the Soviet Union.

³³ Liviu Vălenaș, *În culisele negocierilor cu Uniunea Sovietică 1934-1947. Convorbiri cu Alexandru Danielopol* [Inside negotiations with the Soviet Union 1934-1947. Conversations with Alexander Danielopol], Bucharest, Vremea [i.e. Weather] Publishing House, 2001, p. 25.

On 22nd of June 1941 Romania entered the war against USSR, on the German side, especially in order to recover Bessarabia and the north of Bukovina. The fate of this war was not favorable to Germany and Romania. As in the World War I, Germany's economic and demographic resources were far inferior to those of his opponents.

After the end of World War II, the north of Bukovina was integrated into the Soviet Union and the south of this province was kept by Romania. Bessarabia became the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, north-east and east borders of Greater Romania were deeply reconfigured and changed by using practically the "law of force". These new territorial realities were consecrated by the Peace Conference from Paris (1947), when Romania has recovered northwestern Transylvania, but has not recovered the southern part of Dobroudja (Durostor/Dorostolon and Kaliakra counties).