

## THE TREATY OF TRIANON

Colonel (ret.) Professor Gheorghe BOARU, PhD\*

Rareş - Gabriel BERCARU\*\*

***Abstract:** The fulfilment of the national ideal was a constant concern for the Romanians. The proclamation of the Great Union can be considered a dream come true for many generations who gave their lives for the creation of the modern unitary national state. From the Paris Peace Conference, the Treaty of Trianon occupies a significant role in our history because it represents the final step of the territorial diplomatic guarantee for the goal achieved in 1918.*

*Until the date of 4th June 1920, which represents the day when the diplomatic act was signed, on the battlefield and at the table of the negotiations, the Romanians showed astonishing strength by managing to protect the national desideratum from external interests.*

*The provisions of the Act are relevant in relation to historical truth. A people of nations cannot survive against the feeling of patriotism. The reassignment of the territories represented the Romanian state's reward for the internationally supported determination.*

*Once the diplomatic guarantee was obtained, together with the political and military guarantees, it led to the triumph of the existence of a nation with a heavily disputed territory.*

***Keywords:** the national ideal, the proclamation of the Great Union, the Paris Peace Conference, the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, diplomatic guarantee, the principality of nationalities.*

### **I**ntrouction

The national history of a state illustrates its entire existence - it is an oasis of inspiration embedded in the national consciousness. This should not be neglected because "*those who forget the past are doomed to repeat it*"<sup>1</sup>.

---

\* Tenured member of the Academy of Romanian Sciences; Tenured member of the Academy of National Security, E-mail: [boarugheorghe@yahoo.com](mailto:boarugheorghe@yahoo.com).

\*\* "Carol I" National Defense University, Bucharest; E-mail: [bercaru\\_rares@yahoo.com](mailto:bercaru_rares@yahoo.com).

Thus, in order to develop the readers' appetite for knowledge and to pay tribute to the country's soldiers, we will fix our repertoire on a series of events that happened about a hundred years ago, in a time of new diplomatic challenges and ambition for accreditation of the Romanian unitary national state at an international level.

*"The participation of Romania in the First World War to reach its fundamental objective pursued for centuries - national unity - materialized through the campaigns of 1916, 1917 and 1918-1919, characterized by great patriotism and a spirit of sacrifice of the Romanians, extending, logically, even after the official conclusion of the first global conflagration of the 20th century, by achieving the Great Union and defending national unity"*<sup>2</sup>.

For the Romanian state, the First World War (1914-1918) represented an opportune setting for the fulfilment of the ideal of national unity, as stated by the Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu, in the Crown Council, meeting on August 14/27, 1916: *"In the turmoil of the current war, in which the map of the world is changing, a country like ours, a country with national aspirations, cannot remain neutral until the end, without permanently compromising its future. Therefore, it is necessary to leave neutrality. On the other hand, having the national unity as an ideal, we are obliged to follow its achievement, because who knows if over the centuries we will find an opportunity as good as today's. That is why we can only go with the Allies and against the Central Powers"*<sup>3</sup>.

The political and military context of our country's entering the First World War and the system of political-military alliances are presented in more detail in another article from which we quote: *"In this historical stage, from the fierce race for supremacy, generated by conflicting interests and*

---

<sup>1</sup>George Santayana (1863-1952)—quote about history

(<http://www.citatepedia.ro/index.php?id=9241>, accessed on October 10th, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Gl.bg. (r.) prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Toma, Col. (r.) prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Boaru, *Planurile de campanie și gândirea strategică românească în primul Război Mondial. Concluzii și învățăminte pentru arta militară românească*, în *Revista Academiei de Științe ale Securității Naționale*, nr. 2/2018, Editura Academia de Științe ale Securității Naționale, București. 2018. p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Constantin Antip, *Mărăști-Mărășești-Oituz. O epopee a istoriei naționale și universale*, în *Magazin Istoric*, anul XXI, nr. 8(245) august 1987, pp. 2-3.

*economic, political, territorial and military goals, the two political and military alliances were created: the Triple Alliance or the Central Powers (Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy) constituted on May 20, 1882 and the Triple Entente (England, France and Tsarist Russia) established on August 31, 1907, both imperialist sides preparing intensely for war*"<sup>4</sup>.

Over the course of the following years, the configuration of the two alliances changed, as follows: *"The Triple Alliance was subsequently joined by Turkey (1914) and Bulgaria (1915). Italy was part of the alliance until 1915. Later, during the war, the Triple Entente was joined by Japan and Belgium (1914), Italy (1915), Romania (1916), the USA and Greece (1917)"*<sup>5</sup>. Marshal Constantin Prezan "was not only exceptional commander of the Romanian Army during the first world conflagration, but also «one of the greatest strategists of the First World War, the marshal to whom the Triple Entente and Romania are in debt too much», as French marshal Ferdinand Foch praised him."<sup>6</sup>

For the Romanian state, the entry into this first world conflagration on the side of the Entente, in 1916, was the beginning of a difficult road marked by much bloodshed of the national military elite. The supreme sacrifice of the more than 800,000 people removed from the battle was commemorated at the "Great Union" from Alba Iulia of December 1, 1918. At a diplomatic level, under the reign of King Ferdinand I "The Unifier", the peace treaties concluded with Austria (1919), Bulgaria (1919), Hungary (1920), and the Treaty of Paris (1920) will lead to the formation of Greater Romania.

In writing this article, our focus falls on the events of the Peace Treaty concluded with Hungary at Trianon, a diplomatic work of remarkable significance both internationally and for the Romanian people.

---

<sup>4</sup> Col. (r.) prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Boaru, *Contextul politico-militar al intrării României în Primul Război Mondial*, în Revista Academiei de Științe ale Securității Naționale, nr. 2/2018, Editura Academia de Științe ale Securității Naționale, București. 2018. p.33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>6</sup> Tucă F., Gheorghe C., Siteanu E., Monumente și însemne memoriale dedicate eroilor români din Marele Război de Reîntregire Națională. Dicționar, Editura Academiei Oamenilor de Știință din România, București, 2018, pagina 246.

### **The political-military context of the signing of the Trianon Treaty**

The final moment of the First World War can be brought to light by signing the armistice at Compiègne<sup>7</sup> on October 29 / November 11, 1918 by Germany, the only representative of the Central Powers remaining militarily active on the war. Thus, by this approach, the largest conflagration encountered until then on the surface of the planet ends, having a powerful destructive role for both military and civilian forces.

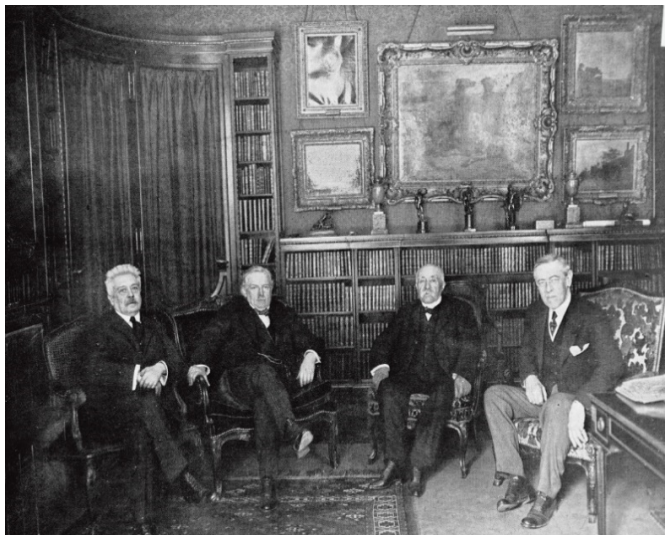


Figure 1. "The big four" during Paris Peace Conference<sup>8</sup>

Among the main representatives of the actors we can remind "The Big Four"<sup>9</sup> of the Allied Power side. After a long series of agreements, the

Externally, for a longer period, the peace treaties were carried out, which had essential consequences for each of the 27 participating countries, among which Romania also becomes visible. Peace talks were set up in Paris, as well as in several localities near the capital of France.

---

<sup>7</sup> The signing of the armistice treaty took place on November 11, 1918, when the German Empire and the Allied Powers ended the First World War on the Western Front. The treaty was signed in a train carriage in the forest of Compiègne. The main signatories were Marshal Ferdinand Foch, the commander of the Allied Power, and Matthias Erzberger from Germany.

<sup>8</sup> -photo: <http://altmarius.ning.com/profiles/blogs/problema-transilvaniei-la-conferinta-de-pace-de-la-paris-1>, accessed on October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2019.

liberal ideas of American representative Woodrow Wilson, who "*initiated and supported a new approach to international relations*"<sup>10</sup> were adopted.

Among others we can list: reducing the armaments, respecting the aspirations of the people, forming some national states as well as creating a multinational society that aimed at promoting peace.

Due to the lack of cohesion of the allies, the peace treaties were elaborated with delay. One by one the defeated powers adjusted their diplomatic relations with the powers in the winning side. Thus, on June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919, a peace treaty with Germany was concluded in Versailles, in the Hall of Mirrors. Also, in the same year, peace treaties were signed with Austria at Saint Germain and with Bulgaria at Neuilly. In 1920 the treaties regulating the relations with Hungary and Turkey were signed.

Internally, the period immediately following the end of the First World War was marked by a visible will to fight for the fulfilment of the national ideal, which remained embedded in the national consciousness becoming a constant issue despite the passage of time. Having considerable implications through armed struggle, the desire for unity was fulfilled through the demonstration of solidarity shown by Romanians from everywhere, culminating with the events from December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918, when the Union Resolution was adopted. Read by Vasile Goldiș, it decreed "*the union of all Romanians from Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian country ... with Romania*"<sup>11</sup>.

The consequences of this process, through which all the historic provinces inhabited by the Romanians were united within the same national state, can be easily deduced. By logical extrapolation, the Union had to be protected by interpretation of the external factor, which was surprised by the events ruled during the ceremony from Alba Iulia. Thus, the situation can be

---

<sup>9</sup> Entitled "The Big Four", David Loyd GEORGE (Prime Minister of England during the Paris Peace Conference), Vittorio ORLANDO (Prime Minister of Italy during the Paris Peace Conference), Georges CLÉMENCEAU (President of the Council of Ministers from France during the Paris Peace Conference), Woodrow WILSON (US President during the Paris Peace Conference) led the elaboration of the peace treaties following the war.

<sup>10</sup> Colonel prof. univ. dr. Dorel Bușe, *Centre și raporturi de putere în relațiile internaționale în epoca post Război Rece - sinteză*, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare „Carol I”, București, 2012, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Bogdan Murgescu (coord.), „*Istoria României în texte*”, Editura Corint, București, 2001, p. 283.

viewed on two levels, the central object of analysis being in general the diplomatic activity realized in Romania on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918 and in particular the problem of Transylvania.

We can underline the relations between Romania and the Paris International Peace Forum. Romania sent its delegation to take part in international discussions between 1918 and 1920. It was represented by two of the emblematic personalities of the Romanian nation. Holding an executive role in the country, Ion I.C. Brătianu, as well as Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, were the important figures that represented Romania's interests internationally, defending the integrity of the Romanian national state. Even if the approach to the problem was specific to each of them, their international policy was highly appreciated especially from the point of view of the assumed diplomatic character. Essentially, their action was materialized through a diplomatic battle against Hungary for Transylvania and mainly for fixing the common border.

Ion I.C. Brătianu expressed a "policy of resistance"<sup>12</sup>, fighting for the national purpose with a firm determination. He refused any proposal to draw the common border despite the Treaty of Alliance signed by the Romania and the Triple Entente in 1916. He was finally forced to accept a final version brought to the notice of the Bucharest government on the date October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1919, which was in line with the ethnic principle. He expressed regret during his international activity, claiming that "the establishment of our border was done without our participation".

Upon the change of the Brătianu government, the new chief executive, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, entitled as the first delegate of Romania to the Peace Conference on January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1920, changed the approach to the international problem and pleaded for an open way in negotiation. From the diplomatic point of view, he fought against the accusations offered by Count Albert Appónyi<sup>13</sup>, being in the winning part of the case.

---

<sup>12</sup> V.F. Dobrinescu, *România și sistemul tratatelor de pace de la Paris (1919-1923)*, Iași, Institutul European, 1993, p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> Albert *Appónyi*, Count of Nagyaappony, (b. May 29, 1846, Vienna - d. February 7, 1933 Geneva), was a Hungarian politician, writer, memorialist, Minister of Education in the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1910 he was a member of the Kossuthist faction, and from 1914 he became the leader of this party. From June 15, 1917 to May 8, 1918 he again held the

Last but not least, the relationship between Romania and Hungary proved to be troubled not only by international diplomatic disputes.

On the military side, the armed struggle that led to the liberation of occupied Transylvania is highlighted. *"A cover formation was commissioned, ordered by General Gheorghe Mărdărescu, composed of two sectors. The Northern coverage sector, defended by the Northern Group commanded by General Nicolae Mihăescu, which had an opening of 150 km and the Southern sector, with an opening of 150 km, defended by the Southern Group commanded by General Stefan Holban. The general reserve was concentrated in the Carei-Oradea-Debrecen region"*<sup>14</sup>.

The main aim of the Romanian-Hungarian war was to remove the Hungarian administration and troops from the Romanian state. This fact was determined by the attitude of the Hungarians who arrested and persecuted the members of the delegations from the west of the Romania who participated in the Great Assembly in Alba Iulia. As a result, *"the Romanian army started fighting in west part, in December 1918, reaching the phase line: Satu Mare, Salaj, Bihor, Arad. With the approval of the Inter-Allied Supreme Military Council in Paris, the Romanian army expelled the Hungarian administration and the Hungarian troops, in April 1919, to Tisza. Among the localities released in the west of the country was the city of Oradea, on April 20, 1919"*<sup>15</sup>.

Under the command of General Gheorghe Mărdărescu, the Romanian troops fought with particular strength and determination, succeeding in ensuring that in April 1919 the front line would be represented by the bank of the Tisza river. Under this reality, the initial purpose of the armed confrontation was achieved. However, the surprising counter-offensive of the Hungarian army led to resuming the military struggle and finally the political-military leadership of Romania represented by Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu *"made the decision to cross the Tisza*

---

position of Minister of Education. After the First World War he was the head of the Hungarian peace delegation in Paris.

<sup>14</sup> Colonel (r.) prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Boaru, *Contribuția armatei române la apărarea Marii Uniri, după 1 decembrie 1918*, în *Revista de Științe Militare* nr.1/2019, Editura Secția de Științe Militare a Academiei Oamenilor de Știință din România, București, 2019, p. 96.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p.95.

river to destroy the Hungarian army and complete the victory"<sup>16</sup>. The event is even more significant by the presence on the front of King Ferdinand I and Queen Mary. By the notoriety they assumed, the sovereigns amplified the sense of struggle for the homeland and stimulated the potential of soldiers in a mission described as having strong national importance.

The entry of the Romanian army into Budapest is a historical fact that remains emblematic. The Romanian troops occupied the Hungarian capital and attributed the victory to a special symbol: an opanak of a Wallachian sergeant placed on the Parliament building at the head of the opponent's flag. Afterwards, the army withdrew on September 3<sup>rd</sup> following the decision of the Inter-Military Supreme Council in Paris. Thus, the day of August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1919 really remains a landmark of the relational history between the Romanian and the Hungarian state. Within a period of nine months, the Romanian-Hungarian war of 1919 had a clear destructive character: "*the Romanians lost 188 officers and 11,478 soldiers, of which 69 officers and 3,601 soldiers considered dead*"<sup>17</sup>.

We can admire the efforts of the military institution. It strictly followed the political objectives of the Romanian state and, struggling with determination, it managed to defend the national ideal.

Both externally and internally, the period prior to the signing of the Trianon Treaty can be characterized by particular dynamics strongly felt by the Romanian unitary national state placed in a continuous emancipation. As the Romanian historian Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu states, the factors that prolonged the moment of signing the Trianon Treaty are: "*creating a neutral zone, sending emissaries to Budapest, delaying the setting of the Romanian-Hungarian border, attitude of the Kun government, Hungarian propaganda in Paris (as in the other capitals of the Great Powers), focussed on changing the decision of the Great National Assembly from Alba Iulia*"<sup>18</sup>.

---

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p.96.

<sup>17</sup> Colonel (r.) prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Boaru, *Contribuția armatei române la apărarea Marii Uniri, după 1 decembrie 1918*, în *Revista de Științe Militare* nr.1/2019, Editura Secția de Științe Militare a Academiei Oamenilor de Știință din România, București, 2019, p. 100.

<sup>18</sup> V.F. Dobrinescu, „*România și Ungaria de la Trianon la Paris (1920-1947)*”, Editura Viitorul Românesc, București, 1996, p. 29.



### **Content of the Treaty of Trianon**

The signing of the Trianon Treaty is an international event that took place on June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1920 in the Versailles Complex. It had the role of regulating the relations between the victorious Allied Powers in the First World War and Hungary, the successor state of Austro-Hungarian dualism part of the defeated powers.

Thus, as part of this diplomatic process chaired by French President Alexandre Millerand, we can find 17 signatory countries from the victorious side: France, United States of America, United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, Belgium, China, Cuba, Greece, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Serb-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, Thailand, Czechoslovakia, and on the part of the Central Powers: Hungary.

The main responsibility for the drafting of the treaty was to fix the borders of the defeated state. In calculating its borders, the experts referred

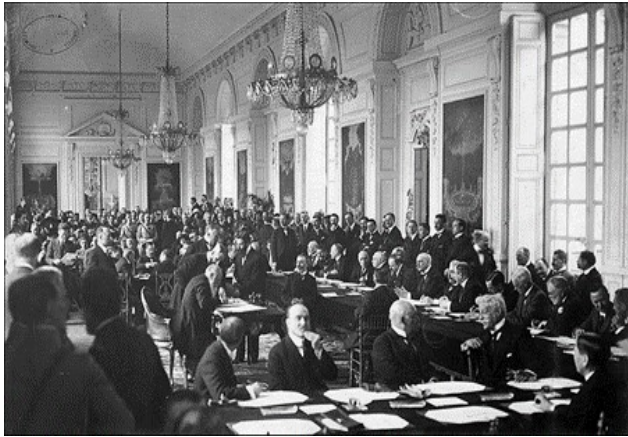


Figure 2. Signing of the Trianon Treaty<sup>19</sup>

to the *principle of nationalities*, with all ethnic majority foreign territories declaring themselves independent of the Hungarian state and the Habsburg monarchy immediately after the end of the first world conflagration

The diplomatic work is of an appreciated complexity being composed of a preamble and 364 articles delimited by 14 parts.

---

<sup>19</sup> - foto: <http://romaniancentenary.org/winning-the-peace-1919-1920/>, accessed on December 20, 2019.

From the beginning of the diplomatic provision, a brief reference is made to the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian duality, a new state called "Hungary" appearing on the map of the European continent<sup>20</sup>. As for its relationship with its neighbors, the new state has renounced the rights and titles held in the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which have been assigned and recognized to certain countries in the winning camp.

As a result of hiring the representatives of the participating states to sign the treaty, Hungary is forced to cede a significant part of its territory. Transylvania, Fiume, Banat and Subcarpathian Ruthenia regions are ceded, according to the particular case of, to Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The surrender of these territories created a state of revolt for the Hungarian people, strongly affected by its territorial losses. The president of the Hungarian peace delegation, Count Appónyi, often emphasized that the principle of nations had not been applied in a correct way, in fact this is contradicted by the historical reality. "Millenarian" Hungary can be categorized as a mosaic, polyglot, a nation of nations, unfit for a unitary national state<sup>21</sup>.

In addition to these important provisions, Hungary is required to take educational, military, foreign policy, and financial provisions. Regarding the military objective, Hungary is forced to maintain an army of only 35,000 soldiers, and even this under the pretext of demobilization. Also, it did not gain the right to own military aviation, tanks, heavy artillery, war fleet.

The authority of Budapest often denied the legitimacy of this treaty, considered in Hungarian history as a *Diktat*. The diplomatic act had a strong impact on the territorial and demographic configuration of the state marked by the defeat in the war. At the time of pre-1914, the population of the Kingdom of Hungary was about 20 million inhabitants, located on a territory of about 425,000 sq. km. The Hungarian population was in minority as compared to other ethnicities, which approves the fact that the Hungarian state can be likened to a state of different nationalities. The demographic and territorial elements changed after the Trianon Treaty was

---

<sup>20</sup> Romulus Seîşeanu, *Principiul Naționalităților*, Editura Albatros, București, 1996, p. 302.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 305.

signed. The territory of the new state covered 93,000 sq. km. with a population of about 8 million, mostly of Hungarian ethnicity.

### **The importance of the Trianon Treaty for the Romanian state**

The signing of the Trianon treaty represents a historic event with strong significance, being considered a Romanian national historical landmark. The high degree of significance is strongly visible at a brief comparison of the period preceding and following the signing of the diplomatic act.

Romania, being part of the victorious camp in the World War I, enjoyed the provisions of the Trianon Treaty, completing by this act the unitary integrity and the statehood. Also, we should recall the request of the national delegation represented by Nicolae Titulescu and Dr. Ioan Cantacuzino who had been fighting for the national interest until the last moment.

According to Article 45 of Part III of the Treaty: "*Hungary renounces, so far as it is concerned, in favour of Romania all rights and title over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Hungary as laid down in Article 27, Part II (Frontiers of Hungary) and recognised by the present Treaty, or by any Treaties concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement, as forming part of Romania.*"<sup>22</sup>

This diplomatic provision is very important for the Romanian unity because, after the long conflicts based on this topic, both Transylvania and Banat are legitimated as being part of the Romanian territory.

As Frederich Ratzel pointed out, the border is an area, not a limit<sup>23</sup>. The dispute of the border between the Romanian state and the Hungarian state had been debated by many English, American, French, Italian, Romanian, Serbian experts. The border was fixed by the provisions of Articles 27 to 35 of the Treaty.

The border established at Trianon is according to the modern conception<sup>24</sup>. We can admit this assertion by observing the principle of

---

<sup>22</sup> [https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty\\_of\\_Trianon](https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Trianon), accessed on December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Romulus Seîșeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 233, *apud*, Frederich Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, p. 538.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*.

nationalities and by observing the principle of the free determination of the peoples, the decision being objective. Also, by means of the treaty, in particular by Article 74, the recognition by Hungary of the established allowances is declared.



By signing the Trianon Treaty, the self-determination act of December 1st, 1918 was imposed on international public opinion as an inalienable historical right of the Romanian nation. As Nicolae Titulescu also pointed out: *"The Trianon treaty appears to all Romanians and especially those from Transylvania, as an acknowledgment of an order of law much lower than that which centuries of coexistence and common suffering have dug up in the historical consciousness."*<sup>25</sup>

Figure 3. **Proposals for territorial delimitation between Romania and Hungary** (number 9 represents the border established at Trianon)<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Gheorghe Buzatu, Marusia Cârstea, *Europa în Balanța Forțelor (1919-1939)*, Editura Mica Valahie, București, 2011, p. 25.

<sup>26</sup>-photo:[https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Figura-2-Variante-pentru-trasarea-frontierei-romano-maghiare-propuse-la-Trianon-1920\\_fig1\\_282286012](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Figura-2-Variante-pentru-trasarea-frontierei-romano-maghiare-propuse-la-Trianon-1920_fig1_282286012), Accessed on December 20, 2019.

"The terms/conditions of the Great War helped us (romanians) to achieve/fulfill the secular dream of romanians. The former generations have proved/demonstrated their patriotism in word and deed, not only in word like present politicians, and today generation is invited (asked) to continue what their formerly generations had builded up, and to defend Romanian Homeland."<sup>27</sup>

### Conclusions

We will never be able to separate the great Romanian political-diplomatic victory obtained by the Trianon Treaty, from the contribution of the Romanian army to the same victory. *"The operations of the Romanian army from the end of 1918, from the year 1919 to the beginning of 1920, are part of the war of liberation and integration of the nation led by our people during the period 1916-1920. Although on the European fronts the war ended on November 11th, 1918, when the armistice of Compiègne was signed, the Romanian people and their army had to fight hard for more than a year to defend their national and territorial unity."*<sup>28</sup>.

In the period following 1920, a constant issue in the politics of the Hungarian state could be considered the revisionist desire. This was satisfied during the period 1938 - 1941, when through the Second Vienna Award, the problem of Transylvania was again brought back internationally on August 30, 1941.

The historical event held in Versailles on June 4, 1920, remains in the national identity an invaluable landmark of history. Millions of Romanians regarded the diplomatic act as a powerful moral victory felt by a deep state of pleasure. By establishing the territorial integrity of Transylvania and the Eastern Banat, the Trianon Treaty, supplemented by the diplomatic provisions of Saint-Germain and Neuilly, provides the favorable context for the expression of the patriotic spirit born on the first day of December in the memorable year 1918.

Certainly, the national interest can be categorized as a heroic gesture for all Romanian diplomats who participated in the Paris Peace Conference.

---

<sup>27</sup> Tucă F., Siteanu E., „Regele Ferdinand Întâiul, părintele patriei”, Revista de Științe Militare nr. 1/2017, pagina 139.

<sup>28</sup> Colonel (r.) prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Boaru, *Contribuția armatei române la apărarea Marii Uniri, după 1 decembrie 1918*, în *Revista de Științe Militare* nr.1/2019, Editura Academiei Oamenilor de Știință din România, București, 2019, p. 100.

For Romania, the diplomatic act signed in the Versailles Complex represents the most significant tribute to the symbol of national unity. Since 1920, this spiritual mission can be considered accomplished.

**The day of June 4th** remains in the hearts and minds of the Romanians as being of greatest importance and can be considered as **a real national celebration**.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANTIP, C., *Mărăști-Mărășești-Oituz. O epopee a istoriei naționale și universale*, în *Magazin Istoric*, anul XXI, nr. 8(245) august 1987.
- BOARU, G., *Contribuția armatei române la apărarea Marii Uniri, după 1 decembrie 1918*, în *Revista de Științe Militare nr.1/2019*, Ed. Secția de Științe Militare a Academiei Oamenilor de Știință din România, București, 2019.
- BOARU, G., *Contextul politico-militar al intrării României în Primul Război Mondial*, *Revista Academiei de Științe ale Securității Naționale*, nr. 2/2018, Editura Academia de Științe ale Securității Naționale, București. 2018.
- BUȘE, D., *Centre și raporturi de putere în relațiile internaționale în epoca post Război Rece - sinteză*, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare „Carol I”, București, 2012.
- BUZATU, G. , CÂRSTEA, M., *Europa în Balanța Forțelor (1919-1939)*, Editura Mica Valahie, București, 2011.
- DOBRINESCU, V. F., *România și sistemul tratatelor de pace de la Paris (1919-1923)*, Iași, Institutul European, 1993.
- DOBRINESCU, V. F., *România și Ungaria de la Trianon la Paris (1920-1947)*, Editura Viitorul Românesc, București, 1996.
- MURGESCU, B., *Istoria României în texte*, Editura Corint, București, 2001.
- SEIȘEANU, R., *Principiul Naționalităților*, Editura Albatros, București, 1996.

- TOMA, G., BOARU G., *Planurile de campanie și gândirea strategică românească în primul Război Mondial. Concluzii și învățăminte pentru arta militară românească*, în Revista Academiei de Științe ale Securității Naționale, nr. 2/2018, Ed. Academia de Științe ale Securității Naționale, București. 2018.
- TUCĂ F., GHEORGHE C., SITEANU E., *Monumente și însemne memoriale dedicate eroilor români din Marele Război de Reîntregire Națională. Dicționar*, Editura Academiei Oamenilor de Știință din România, București, 2018.
- TUCĂ F., SITEANU E., „Regele Ferdinand Întâiul, părintele patriei”, *Revista de Științe Militare* nr. 1/2017, București, 2017.
- <http://www.citatepedia.ro/index.php?id=9241>.
- <http://altmarius.ning.com/profiles/blogs/problema-transilvaniei-la-conferinta-de-pace-de-la-paris-1>.
- [https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty\\_of\\_Trianon](https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Trianon).
- <http://romaniacentenary.org/winning-the-peace-1919-1920/>.
- [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Figura-2-Variante-pentru-trasarea-frontierei-romano-maghiare-propuse-la-Trianon-1920\\_fig1\\_282286012](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Figura-2-Variante-pentru-trasarea-frontierei-romano-maghiare-propuse-la-Trianon-1920_fig1_282286012)

