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**Establishment and Activity of the Romanian Exile in
France (1949 - 1989)**

- abstract -

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Key-words

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Introduction

The Romanian exile does not have, with rare exceptions, a very long history in time, as Romanians are best known as a people deeply rooted in their homeland, their place of origin („people of the land”). Amongst those that left their country, a few will be mere adventurers. The majority of them had hard times turning their backs to their country and their decision was mainly based on political and economic grounds.

Taking the hard path of exile, Romanians had to embrace the rigors of the free and democratic world. However, the organizations that they founded in their countries of residence eased their struggle and helped them act out the love and the interest toward the problems that the people back home had to face, fighting for the abolishment of the Communist regime enforced by the Soviet occupant.

Concealed for almost fifty years, the reality of the Romanian exile* began to stir the interest of historians after 1990. These attempts have been, however, shy and, as such, the valuable documentary material made available by the exile “archive” has not by far been sufficiently exploited.

Under such circumstances, the elaboration of a thesis that tackles the issue of the Romanian exile in France within a certain time span of its existence (1949-1989) represents a historiographical necessity.

The thesis *The Establishment and Activity of the Romanian Exile in France (1949-1989)* represents an original approach (from the perspective of the initiated topic: organizations, involvement of Securitatea, mass-media in exile etc.) and a scientific initiative dealing with a still insufficiently known topic related to a part of the national

* In all documents of Securitatea, for political and propagandistic reasons, the term emigration is used, including also the notion of exile.

history of the exiled Romanians, a topic concealed during the Communist regime. We shall approach the Romanian exile in France and refer to its organization, its activities, accomplishments and challenges as well as to the renowned figures involved in this process.

We mention that this paper is scientifically substantiated on the research of some documentary funds from the following archives: the archives of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, the archives of the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile, the diplomatic archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The resources from the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist party – the Foreign Affairs Section are also of utmost importance.

The documentary material imposed the structuring of this thesis on five chapters, in the attempt of encompassing the complex process of the Romanian exile phenomenon in one of the countries with a robust democratic tradition in Europe.

We highlight that we have analyzed and capitalized some innovative archive landmarks, aiming at introducing in the historiographic circuit some relevant information on the activity of the Romanian emigration in France. The documents presented in the annexes hereto, such as: the Report of the Romanian Legation in Paris, from March 14th 1951, comprising data on the “Romanian reaction in France” (**ANNEX 1**), the synthesis on the Association “Romania” from January 15th 1975 (**ANNEX 4**) drafted within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the paper entitled *Romanian Emigration in France* (**ANNEX 5**), also drawn up with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1978 – selected from the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France fund, matters 201 and 202, depict, once again, the dimension of the Romanian diaspora in this Western country.

We pinpoint that no historiographic approach focused on the analysis of the Romanian emigration in France took into account the

extensive and in-depth valorization of the archival sources within the sphere of the diplomatic relations and perspectives.

The approach of the topic related to the establishment and the activity of the Romanian exile organizations in France also entails a thorough assessment both of the existing bibliographic titles as well as of the research of the available archival sources.

Certain contributions caught our attention:

In order to gain a broader perspective on our topic, with precise references to the Romanian exile organizations in France, from their very beginning, a very useful source has been the volume published by Ion Calafeteanu *Politics and Exile. From the History of the Romanian Exile, 1946-1950*, Enciclopedică press, Bucharest, 2000, 386 pp., comprising a number of 98 documents selected from the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Grigore Gafencu fund and from the Hoover Institution Archives (Stanford University, California). The author starts the presentation of the French exile by emphasizing that “if the main political center of the Romanian exile was located in the United States of America, it is beyond doubt that France and particularly Paris ranked second”¹. It is worth mentioning that, from the very beginning, a feature of the Parisian Romanian exile is the “existence of a plurality of political, cultural and scientific societies, associations, circles, organizations etc.”, which highlights the “vitality and the force of the Romanian exile” on the one side and its “faction” on the other side².

The early stages of the Romanian exile, with relevant data on its organization in France, are best depicted in the volume *French Documents on the beginning of the Romanian exile organization*, editors: Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu and Ion Pătroiu, Vremea Press, Bucharest,

¹ Ion Calafeteanu, *Politics and Exile. From the History of the Romanian Exile (1946-1950)*, Enciclopedică Press, Bucharest, 2000, p. 38. The author continued the incursion in the past of the exile through the paper *Romanian Exile. Erosion of hope. Documents (1951-1975)*, Enciclopedică Press, Bucharest, 2003, 493 pp. The volume reproduces a number of 157 documents selected from the funds of the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest and the ones kept by the Hoover Institution Archives (Stanford University, California).

² Ion Calafeteanu, *Politics and Exile ...*, p. 41.

2003. This volume is highly valuable in spite of its small dimensions of only 128 pages. The 32 documents published in this volume are selected from the Diplomatic Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and from the Center of the Diplomatic Archives of Nantes. The authors emphasize that the rivalries between the Romanian exile groups in France were first and foremost due to Grigore Niculescu-Buzău, his disappearance in 1949 blurring to a certain extent these dissents³.

The volume signed by Dumitru Dobre, *A Dated History of the Romanian Exile and Emigration (1949-1989)*, Militară Press, Bucharest, 2013, 340 pp. enriched the special bibliography related to the topic of the Romanian exile and emigration, the chronological synthesis proposed by the author covering the entire period of the Communist regime decades, passing in review organizations, leaders and initiatives of the Romanian exile from no less than 28 states, starting, chronologically, with Great Britain and ending with Venezuela*. Obviously, for reasons stemming from the editorial sphere and from the extent of research, as stated in the *Notes on the edition*, the paper “albeit not exhaustive, represents an attempt of bringing to the fore some significant events in the history of those Romanians who, for various reasons – political, economic etc. – chose the hard path of exile and emigration’ (p. 11).

The final part of the volume is supplemented with two annexes: *Organizations of the Romanian exile and emigration* (Annex 1), pp. 279-291 and *Mass-media of the Romanian exile and emigration* (Annex 2), pp. 292-303.

It is worth mentioning that the special bibliography has been recently enriched with an important monography of an organization of Romanian exiles, namely the work signed by Delia Roxana Cornea,

³ *French documents regarding the beginning of the organization of the Romanian exile*, editors: Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu and Ion Pătroiu, Vremea Press, Bucharest, 2003, p. 18.

* The 28 states indicated by the author, within which a Romanian emigration activated are: Great Britain, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand, Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Spain, USA, Sweden, Turkey, Hungary, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Historical Recoveries. Association of the Former Political Prisoners from Paris, National Institute for the Memory of the Romanian Exile, Bucharest, 2010, 320 pp.

Another relevant volume useful for our research belongs to Dinu Zamfirescu, *We too condemned Communism. From the Parisian Exile*, Paidea Press, Bucharest, 2008, comprising selections of articles, interviews and opinions of the author that he wrote and published in the written media of the exile within the period 1975 – December 1989, period within which the author was in exile. The materials have been systematized per domains and in their chronological order. The core idea of this title is that the Romanians abroad have been guided by the belief that *the exile must serve the country and not the other way around*.

The 12 chapters of the volume reflect a significant part of the Romanian exile history. It comprises personal beliefs and opinions of the author which, at that time, had to be communicated to the other exiled compatriots as well as to the compatriots in Romania, to whom they were sent by various means, escaping the vigilant eye of the Securitate agents.

Dumitru Dobre, expert in this issue, also signed the title *Figures of the Romanian Military Exile* [National Institute for the Memory of the Romanian Exile], Militară Press, Bucharest, 2008, 243 pp.

The paper, based on the research of some archival funds within the Romanian Military Archives and the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, comprises the biographies of 17 exiled Romanian generals and officers who, according to the author, are “representative for all the officers in this situation through everything they did by word of mouth, in writing and in action for the removal of Romania from under the oppression of Moscow and the terror of the Communist regime” (p. 14).

The above-mentioned officers⁴, landmarks of the Romanian military exile, are just a few of the long series of 7.000 military

⁴ Generals Gh. Băgulescu, Platon Chirnoagă, Ion Gheorghe, Mihail Negrucci, Dumitru Petrescu, Nicolae Rădescu, Colonels Dumitru Alexandrescu, Dan Ivanovici, Dumitru Neferu, Ion Tomoroveanu, Capitan -commanders Mihail Oprean, Mircea Pătru, Majors

professionals destroyed by the new political class in Bucharest, between August 1944 and December 1947, based on some political and professional criteria. It is worth noting that the majority of them have been involved in the activities unfolded by some organizations of the Romanian exile⁵.

From the sphere of the memorialist literature, we note the title signed by Monica Lovinescu, *Water Vavilon*, Humanitas Press, Bucharest, 2008, which conveys the most comprehensive image of the French exile and, implicitly, of the organizations founded in this country. The author arrived in France, Paris, in September 1947, as holder of a French scholarship and at the beginning of 1948 she required political exile. Initially, she was member of various theater groups, then she contributed with articles and studies on the Romanian literature and Communist ideology in numerous publications such as: "East Europe", „Kontinent", „La Cahier de L'Est", „La France Catholique" and so on. Within the period 1951-1975 she conducted literary and musical shows at the French Radio station. In 1962 she began her collaboration at the "Free Europe" with reverberating shows such as: *Theses and Antitheses in Paris* and *Romanian Cultural Actuality*. In this quality, she managed to encompass and assess significant aspects of the Parisian exile activities.

Also within the sphere of the memorialist literature, we note the papers of Aurel Sergiu Marinescu published in the series *A Contribution to the Romanian Exile History* (vol. I-VIII), published within the period 1999-2009, especially volume II, author's edition, Bucharest, 2002 and volume VIII, *Times*, Bucharest, 2008. In spite of the subjectivity conveyed by the author, he highlighted in all reason that "the history of Exile is a Romanian history"⁶. It is beyond doubt that the ample documentation that

Adrian Chintescu, Bazil Rațiu, Captains Ion Valeriu Emilian, Constantin Stoicănescu and lieutenant Mircea Carp.

⁵ *Condemned Without an Army. Romanian Military Exile - 1939-1972*, edition by Dumitru Dobre, Veronica Nanu and Mihaela Toader, Pro Historia Press, Bucharest 2005, pp. 13-18.

⁶ Aurel Sergiu Marinescu, *A Contribution to the History of the Romanian Exile* (vol. I-VIII), vol. VIII, Vremea Press, Bucharest, 2008, Cover IV.

substantiated this paper led to the emphasis of “new horizons”⁷ in terms of the richness of the information made available, for the overall understanding of the exile.

Returning to the archival sources, we mention, in particular, the archive of the National Council for the Study of Securitatea Archives, which offers a fertile documentary horizon. I refer here to the following collections for the proposed research:

- The *Informative fund* – a source of information for the understanding of the Romanian exile phenomenon in France, as it follows, obviously in a subjective manner, from the informative notes of the intelligence agents, either under cover or of influence, recruited both in Romania and in France. In this latter case, we pinpoint the activity carried out, as influence agent, by Virgil Veniamin, Eftimie Gherman, Gustav Pordea and Camil Ring;

- The *documentary fund* – of utmost importance for the documentaries conducted by Securitatea on countries and organizations of the exile. Such documentaries, seen through critical lens, corroborated with other sources, may form a useful and significant documentary source for the radiography of the exile in France;

- The *Network Fund* – of interest particularly for the emphasis put on the biography of some exiles as well as their relations with other exiles or with individuals in Romania;

- The *Criminal fund* – comprises references to Romanian exiles, against whom legal action has been taken by the Communist courts of law, either individually or in groups.

- The *Foreign Intelligence Service fund* – an important source of information as a result of the fact certain structures thereof dealt with the study, infiltration, compromise, counteraction of the Exile activity and/or the attraction of loyal positions of some organizations or Romanian exiles.

Furthermore, the Central Historical National Archives, with the following funds:

⁷ From *Foreword*, signed by Barbu Cioculescu. *Ibidem*, p. 6.

- The *Chancellery fund* – comprises verbatim reports of the meetings of the Executive political office of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party related to exile and emigration. Enclosed thereto are other supporting documents on exile (reports, situations etc.).

- Foreign Affairs Section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party – the structure among whose responsibilities was the study of the situation of the Romanians abroad, working, for this purpose, in close relation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France fund – is a significant source of information due to the reports drafted on an annual basis by the Embassy of Soviet Republic of Romania in Paris regarding the exile and its struggles to attract Romanians living in France to collaborate with the country.

The Archive of the Institute for the Investigation of the Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile, which holds archive funds structured by Romanian exiles in France (Sanda Stolojan, Monica Lovinescu, Dan Culcer, George Zăgănescu, Dinu Zamfirescu) as well as the funds of the World Union of Free Romanians are of utmost importance thanks to the mass-media materials made available and to the documents reflecting the activity of these exiled Romanians in France.

An important role in the performance of this scientific approach was played by the mass-media materials of the Romanian exile in France. The magazines and the newspapers founded and managed by leaders who stood out in the political and cultural life in Romania and chose the path of exile, have been particularly suitable, enabling us to define the organization of the exile and, in particular, the promotion of the Romanian cultural values in the Western world. The most relevant information has been offered by the following publications: „La Nation Roumaine”, „The Information Bulletin for the Romanians in exile”, „Le Courier Roumaine”, „Seasons”, „The Calling”, „Ethos”, „Romanian being”, „Limits”, „The Fight”, „The Working Romania” and „Signs”.

As regards the structure of this paper, we aim to encompass the entire sphere of the activity of the Romanian exile in France.

The paper is divided in five chapters: I. Historical conditions of the Romanian exile in France; II. Organizations of the Romanian exile in France; III. Measures taken by Securitate for influencing and attracting on positions favorable the Romanian exile in France; IV. Mass-media of the Romanian exile in France; V. Figures of the Romanian exile in France, plus the conclusions, the documentary annexes and the bibliographic references.

The first chapter, *Historical conditions of the Romanian exile in France*, deals with the context in which the Romanian exile took shape in the country of the “human fundamental liberties”, underlining here what the leader of the Bucharest regime Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej himself stated in 1955 that “Romania is one of the countries with the most numerous emigration”, especially in France.

The second chapter, *Organizations of the Romanian exile in France*, deals with the organized groups of the exile, reflecting the activity and the leaders thereof throughout the decades and identifying the nature and the problematics of each of them.

The third chapter, *Measures taken by Securitatea for influencing and attracting on positions favorable the Romanian exile in France* deals with a delicate issue of the exile's activity, disclosing the persuading power of Romanian Securitatea of infiltrating among the representatives of the exile organizations, as well as other relevant aspects for our approach.

The forth chapter, *Mass-media of the Romanian exile in France*, highlights the great number of titles and publications that shaped, to a large extent, the cultural profile of the Western Romanian exile.

The last chapter, *Figures of the Romanian exile in France*, is dedicated to some names that marked the French exile community, such as Grigore Gafencu, Emil Cioran or Eugen Ionescu.

Last but not least, the selected annexes outline the image on the Romanian exile in France as seen by the Bucharest authorities

throughout the four decades of activity carried out by the Romanian emigration within the *Cold War* period.

In all these chapters, we analyzed the overall context of the Romanian exile and of the construction of the Romanian exile in France, the political, cultural and professional organizations of the emigration, the measures initiated by Securitatea in order to counteract and attract on loyal positions the Romanian exile, agents and influence agents, the mass-media of the political exile and the cultural mass-media, figures of the exile.

Taking into account the archive sources used, we want our approach to be an important step for a better understanding of the essential aspects related to the construction and evolution of the Romanian exile in France and of the organizations thereof (political, cultural, professional).

Chapter I

Historical conditions of the Romanian exile in France

The phenomenon of the mass emigration of Romanian in other countries dates back from the second half of the 19th century, when, given that the Austro-Hungarian domination had tighten up, a large number of Romanian from Transylvania left to the New World – the United States of America or Canada. In the first decades of the 20th century this number boosted, exceeding 140.000⁸.

⁸ *Romanians in Exile, Emigration and Diaspora*, an edition supervised by de Dumitru Dobre, Ph.D and Dan Taloş, Pro Historia Press, Bucharest, 2006, p. 9.

Starting with the 40's, particularly after the burst of the Second World War, of the territorial dismemberment of Romania to the East, West and South, as well as the instauration of the Antonescu-Legionary regime, other Romanians, especially those that honored the official missions abroad (diplomats, the personnel of the embassies, economic representatives etc.) opted to remain in those countries.

It is very difficult to assess the number of Romanian exiles in the Western world, in the first years after the war. This is due, first and foremost, to the lack of precise data, the information that we possess regarding the main countries that received Romanian exiles being scarce and uncertain. This lack of information can be accounted for, having in view that the two Romanian establishments authorized to conduct such evaluations – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Intelligence service, then Securitatea – have been “cleansed” of the professionals of the former regime and the new-comers were far from complying with the requirements for the work abroad. In addition to that, the reserve and even the hostility with which the representatives of the Popular Republic of Romania were received abroad were not fitted for a high-quality intelligence work. Secondly, this difficulty stems from that fact that, more often than not, the documents fail to distinguish between the exiles and the emigrants, the latter – even from the wave of emigrants from the beginning of the century – being often taken for exiles. It is true, however, that many emigrant Romanians, especially those who left on the eve of the Second World War and before it, engaged in the activities directed against the Communist regime in Romania, thus performing a political activity characteristic to the exile⁹.

Settled in France, the exiled Romanians had to adapt to the new conditions, seeking and managing to organize themselves and to act, through writing and by word of mouth, for the preservation of the democratic and cultural values, lost in their homeland under the oppression of the Communist regime.

⁹ Ion Calafeteanu, *Politics and Exile...*, p. 27.

In a synthesis note of the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania from August 1st 1984 regarding the situation of the Romanian exile and emigration in France, it was appreciated that the number of those settled in this country was approx. 45.000-50.000 individuals, representing the following categories:

- *Romanians, residents, holders of Romanian passports (4.000);*
- *Political refugees (4.799);*
- *Individuals with double citizenship (French and Romanian);*
- *Individuals without citizenship, subsequently settled in France;*
- *French citizens of Romanian origin (the great majority);*
- *Descendants for the above-mentioned¹⁰.*

In a nutshell, we consider that the Romanian political exile in France took shape in an international context that marked the European continent along with the end of the Second World War and the ideological division of the post-war world. Those claiming exile never ceased to hope that they will return to the world they fled from. As years went by and this world became more and more polarized, they became disappointed with this Western world too weak to fight against the Soviet colossus.

Chapter II

Organizations of the Romanian exile in France

Similar to other countries, where Romanians found refuge, the Romanian political parties were closely related to the organizations that were meant to be union factors of the Romanian exile, desideratum

¹⁰ Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *France* collection, matter 202/1984, p. 83.

which, unfortunately, has never been accomplished. Such organizations, founded in the United States of America and in Europe, have been;

- *Romanian National Committee*¹¹;
- *Free Romanians League* and
- *The Legionary Movement* (which subsequently became the *Freedom Front*).

Each representative of such organizations, Constantin Vișoianu, Nicolae Rădescu and Horia Sima, tried to gain the support of as many affiliates as possible of the parties and of the tens of organizations, larger or smaller, existing in USA and Europe.

In France, the **National Peasants' Party** continued its activities as of 1948, with a changed form and under different conditions. According to some incomplete data, the number of its members was approx. 60, mainly leaders of the party.

The Romanian **social-democrats** in France were divided into three groups:

- a group led by Iancu Zissu, forming the Independent Social-Democrat Party, which considered itself to be the exiled aftermath leaders following the direction outlined by Constantin Titel Petrescu¹²;
- another group was led by *Eftimie Gherman*, with a small number of members.

The **National Liberal Party**, at least in France, was poorly represented, being strongly influenced by the National Peasants' Party, through George Assan and Mihai Fărcășanu, residing in the USA¹³.

The National Peasants' Party, the National Liberal Party and the Independent Social-Democrat Party laid the foundation of the *Democratic Parties Council*, recognized by King Mihai in 1948. The Council was led by the representatives of the three parties, i.e. Virgil Veniamin (National Peasants' Party), Augustin Popa (National Peasants' Party), Emil

¹¹ According to King MIHAI I, himself in exile, "The National Committee meant the Romanian government in exile", Mircea Ciobanu, *Conversations with King Mihai I of Romania*, Humanitas press, Bucharest, 1997, p. 235.

¹² Vasile C. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

¹³ *Ibidem*, f. 50.

Ghilezan (National Peasants' Party), Naum Neagoe (National Liberal Party) and Virgil Stoicoiu (Independent Social-Democrat Party)¹⁴.

Although not registered as political party in France, the **Legionary Movement**, split into the groups led by Horia Sima (Simists) and those led by Horațiu Comănciu (Anti-Simists) ardently struggled to gain influence in some organizations of the Romanian exile in France.

With reference to the cultural organizations, whose main concern revolved around the maintenance, preservation and fostering of the Romanian cultural traditions in France, we note the establishment in Paris, in June 1949, of the *Franco-Romanian Musical Association*, which aimed to promote the Romanian and French musical values.

For the year 1975, the following associations of the Romanians in France were known:

- „Alpes-Carpates” Association – French-Romanian friendship association;
- “France-Romanian Friendship Association” (see **annexes 2 and 3** for more details on its activity);
- France-Romanian Friendship Association within the Vaucluse Department, headquartered in Avignon;
- Cultural Association of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate for Western Europe (led by Teofil Ionescu)¹⁵.

The Romanian intellectual “aristocracy” after the Second World War has been sidelined in the emerging new society, being at first put on the shelf and then literally and metaphorically decimated by the alleged “representatives” of the working class. Dissatisfied with and in opposition to the new regime, the majority of these intellectuals claimed exile. As such, a flow of “Romanian intelligence” has been handed to the Western world on a plate. The groups of the Romanian intellectuals and the activity thereof in France prove the consistency of the Romanian cultural exile.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 51.

¹⁵ Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *France* collection, *matter 202*, f. 1 (see ANNEX 2).

Chapter III

Measures taken by Securitatea for influencing and attracting on positions favorable the Romanian exile in France

By virtue of decree no. 221 of the Great National Assembly of the Popular Republic of Romania dated August 28th 1948, the General Directorate of the People's Security has been founded within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Its attributions were, among others, the "defense of the democratic conquests and the assurance of the security of the Popular Republic of Romania against the counterplots of the internal and external enemies"¹⁶.

As such, the responsibility of the new structure, apart from the mission of fighting against the activity of the elements deemed inimical to the Communist regime, from the inside, was to annihilate any hostile manifestations from the outside, including of the Romanian exile.

From its very beginnings, Securitatea conducted a radiography of the Romanian exile, drafting documentaries on the organizations and its mass-media materials. A first documentary, dated September 10th 1949, refers to the Legionary Movement¹⁷, presenting the evolution of the Legionary trend from its establishment until the drafting date of the paper, without actual referrals to the activity of the Legionaries in exile.

Securitatea offers sporadic information on the founding of the Romanian National Committee and the first schism within it, in 1951, following the creation of the Free Romanians League¹⁸.

Gradually, the data collected on the Romanian exile become more and more consistent. As such, in a synthesis on the exile mass-media, dated January 23rd 1953, Securitatea appreciates that it represents the "main

¹⁶ „Official Journal”, no. 200 of August 30th 1948, pp. 7245-7246. National Council for the Study of the Securitatea Archive, *Securitatea. Structures - Personnel, Objectives and Methods*, vol. I (1948-1967), coordinator: Florica Dobre, editors: Florian Banu, Theodor Bărbulescu, Camelia Ivan Duică, Liviu Țăranu, Enciclopedică Press, Bucharest, 2006.

¹⁷ Archive of the National Council for the Study of the Securitatea Archive, Documentary fund, file no. 7494, pp. 1-23.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, file no. 55, vol. 53, pp. 1-5.

means of propaganda of emigration”¹⁹, through the contribution made (sic!) in favor of the Capitalist groups for the maintenance of the war psychosis, media which was financially supported by Capitalists for this purpose”²⁰.

Referring to the media of the Romanian exile in France, the documents bring to the fore the newspapers and magazines *La Nation Roumaine*, *The Future Romania*, the *Information Bulletin for the Romanians in Exile*, *The Romanian Scientific Bulletin*, *The Calling* and *Luceafărul*. We have found relevant data on the magazine *La Nation Roumaine*. After presenting the founding members and the funding scheme, the document tendentiously indicates that “Although named *La Nation Roumaine* (Romanian Nation) and, therefore, a newspaper of the Romanian political emigrants in exile, it is written in French, as a sign of the editors’ cosmopolitanism and of the servility of its management body toward the French authorities”²¹.

Amongst the sources of the highest rank of Securitatea, frequently used in order to penetrate in the Romanian exile community in France and other countries, the agents of influence have a major importance. As a matter of course, Securitatea tried, through specific methods, to recruit persons that managed to assert themselves in the exile world, well-acquainted with the relations in their country of residence. In order to attract them and to persuade them to collaborate, no measure has been neglected, but the awakening of the patriotic feelings, the discrediting, the speculation of the misunderstandings between the exiles, the family reunion and, last but not least, the remuneration with significant amounts of money have been of high priority.

In France, Securitatea managed to attract on its side two renowned figures of the Romanian exile, leaders of organizations and magazines with an important political and cultural impact in France and in

¹⁹ In all documents of Securitatea, for political and propagandistic reasons, the term emigration is used, including also the notion of exile.

²⁰Archive of the National Council for the Study of the Securitatea Archive, Foreign Intelligence Service fund, file no. 109, pp. 28-30.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

other Western countries. Judging by the current status of research, we mention the still insufficiently documented cases of Virgil Veniamin and Eftimie Gherman. There are many documents drawn up by Securitatea attesting the ways and means which led to their recruitment and the information they offered.

In conclusion, we may appreciate that, for various reasons, i.e. economic, political, consciousness or family-related, there have been in the Romanian exile in France and other countries individuals who gave under the pressure of Securitatea accepting, if not the role of intelligence agents, at least that of agents of influence. Some of them have been persuaded by the Communist propaganda which hailed the full independence of Romania toward Moscow, others, the large majority, made this step since they wanted to reunite with their families.

Accepting to collaborate, they have partially discharged themselves from the entrusted “missions”, offering Securitatea data on the organization and actions of the exile or making lobby meant to promote the “achievements” of the Bucharest regime. Once the recruiters grew discontent with them, such collaborators have been abandoned.

Chapter IV

Mass-media of the Romanian exile in France

Far from their homeland and the Romanian realities, the exiles were, nevertheless, aware of the danger of the totalitarian, oppressive regime installed in Romania. This responsibility derived from their feelings of attachment to their country. Naturally, the Romanian exiles in France as well as in other countries set up associations or other types of organizations meant to defend their rights.

The measures initiated by the Romanian Communist Party to counterpoise the activity of the newspapers and magazines of the exile, often called “reactionary leaflets” were unsuccessful in spite of the more

or less veiled threats which often materialized in the interdiction of their publication, kidnapping and assaults on editors deemed undesirable.

The Romanian political parties, which continued their activity outside Romanian Communist borders, as well as other organizations established on political criteria in France, created their own mass-media bodies in order to promote their interests, becoming veritable fighting arenas for the defense of the democratic values.

Observing the criterion of importance and longevity, we mention the publication, in August 1945, of the first issue of the newspaper „La Nation Roumaine”, entitled „Buletin d’informations du Conseil des partis politiques de roumains: National Paysan-National Liberal-Social-Democrate independent”.

Funded by Alexandru Cretzianu, the director of the Romanian National Fund, the newspaper is published in France, Paris, until May 1973 (issue no. 260) in French, twice a month until the end of 1954, monthly until the end of 1957, monthly and twice a month until December 1961, and irregularly until May 1973²². The management of the newspaper is ensured by Constantin Arsene, V. Boulet, Aristide Burileanu and Virgil Veniamin.

The Romanian cultural exile has been, beyond doubt, the best represented in France compared to other countries. Figures such as Virgil Ierunca, Monica Lovinescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Constantin Marinescu, Emil Turdeanu, Titus Bărbulescu, Paul Goma and others did credit to the Romanian culture which thus became known at global scale. They were also constant collaborators of the magazines published in France.

In terms of their periodicity, we mention the publication „Revue des études roumaines”, sub-entitled the academic magazine of Carol I Academic Institute and of Carol I Academic Royal Foundation.

Radio Free Europe phenomenon

²² Archive of the National Council for the Study of the Securitatea Archive, Foreign Intelligence Service fund, file no. 132/2, p. 452.

The political reality in the Eastern Europe brought to the fore a series of clandestine operations of psychological war and political fight, including radio shows broadcast in the space of the Soviet colossus and of its satellites. These shows aimed to supplement the official information programs for abroad conducted by Washington. Under these circumstances, members of the American government, of the Congress and representatives of the American corporate world began to cooperate, in a confidential manner, in view of broadcasting news and information to the population from the area of the “*captive nations*”²³. This was possible through radio Free Europe, an international radio station.

Among the publications most frequently used by Free Europe we mention: ‘The Eastern Notebooks’, a quarterly magazine, created and led by Radio Free Europe, publishing literary materials from the Socialist countries, promoting, in particular, the nonconformist and dissident authors; the “Limits” magazine, published on the initiative of the radio station, whose editors appreciated and hierarchized the Romanian cultural values and its representatives in Romania. The purpose was to discredit the individuals attached to the party and state-related cultural policy, to highlight the works of those animated by a nonconformist and remonstrant attitude and to harvest dissensions between the men of culture and art in Romania. Last but not least, an important role was played by the literary magazine „Irodalmi Ujság”, the magazine of the Hungarian emigration circles which published irredentist materials. The “Information Bulletin for the Romanians in Exile” was another publication whose content expressed points of view of the Romanian exiles.

Chapter V

²³ Richard H. Cummings, *Securitatea against Radio Free Europe*, Adevărul Holding press, Bucharest, 2011, p. 13.

Representative figures of the Romanian exile in France

France represents, by all means, the cradle of the existence and creation of some renowned figures of the Romanian political, diplomatic, cultural, scientific and military life, compelled, in those hard times, to choose self-exile. Their remarkable activity in the above-mentioned domains crossed not only the borders of their country of origin, but also those of the adoption country, in our case, France.

Without the intention of emphasizing the virtue of some of the Romanian exiles and of doting others, similarly attached to the democratic and cultural values lost in Romania, an injustice, we deemed necessary to draw the attention on a limited number of political and cultural figures, that we appreciated as representatives for the Romanian exile in France, with ample reverberations at international scale.

Grigore Gafencu, significant figure of the political exile

The Romanian political and diplomatic democratic values of the fourth and fifth decades of the 20th century have been underlined, promoted and defended beyond Romanian borders by the politician, diplomat, writer and visionary Grigore Gafencu who, after the exile in Switzerland and USA, chose in 1952 France as country of residence. Here, in January 30th 1957, she died, ending a glorious activity of diplomat and promoter of the European Union.

Conclusions

Established under certain historical conditions, in particular during the instauration of the totalitarian regimes in the country, the Romanian exile, spread all around the countries with a solid democratic tradition, represented the continuation of the authentic political, spiritual and moral values, unfortunately abroad, where they found shelter, understanding, compassion toward their status of outcasts.

France, as well as USA and Germany, represented one of the countries in which many Romanians found refuge. Especially in Paris, but also in other French cities, Romanians settled within the period we refer to herein, belonging to different social categories, from politicians and diplomats to militaries, scientists and men of culture, artists and workers, each of them choosing exile or emigration depending on the motivation of this choice, be it political, economic or otherwise.

Far from their homeland, many of them separated from their families, the Romanian exiles had to face the vicissitudes of life in a foreign country which hasn't always welcomed them with open arms. Due to various reasons, they were determined to establish associations meant to defend their interests and to represent an arena of asserting the Romanian cultural, scientific and moral values which they used to embrace before the exile.

The organizations created by the Romanians in France had different objectives: political, cultural, professional, humanitarian etc. Some of them, such as the political, cultural or humanitarian ones, stood up to defend the rights and liberties of the exiles and of the Romanians who struggled hard to withstand the Communist regime in Romania. For this purpose, they did everything in their power: they wrote memoirs, letters, messages, protests, calls and protested on the streets. The cultural associations took a continuous stand in order to promote, maintain and foster our cultural traditions and values, being the most active organizations of the Romanian exiles, through their manifestations dedicated to the events with a strong Romanian historical resonance, as

well as to the great representatives of the authentic Romanian culture, science and art. The same trend was followed by some organizations for the human rights defense, such as the Association of the Former Political Prisoners in Romania and the Human Rights Defense League.

As we emphasized above, not all the organizations of the Romanian exiles in France engaged in activities that could account for their existence. This category comprises, first of all, the professional associations, regarding which there are little data and the existing ones refer only to the elections for the condemnation committees.

A special role was played by those organizations founded by Romanians, emigrants or, more precisely, infiltrated individuals, with the support and under the guidance of Securitatea which played into its hands, being an important factor of influence in exile, due to the apologia they made to the “achievements” of the Communist regime in Romania.

It is worth mentioning that the majority of the organizations of the Romanian exile in France, itself marked by the diversity of political options of its representatives, had an ephemeral existence, full of difficulties.

An authentic overview of the activities carried out by the Romanian organizations in the French exile shall take shape along with the access to new sources of documentation of which the mass-media and the archive of these organizations shall have a crucial contribution.

The mass-media of the Romanian exile in France highlights the diversity of the cultural and political concerns of the emigration circle. At the same time, analyzing the mass-media of the exile, we pass in review the biographies of the emigration figures, revealing their involvement in the support of the Romanian cause.

It is worth stating that the Mass-media of the political exile identifies significant aspects of the continuation of the activity unfolded by the Romanian parties forbidden in Romania.

For the first time in the approach on the political and cultural life of the Romanian exile in France, we pinpoint the titles and the topics tackled in the mass-media of the exile.

We emphasize that the novelty of our approach consists in the in-depth valorization of some novel archive landmarks, pursuing the introduction in the historiographic circuit of some relevant nuances regarding the activity of the Romanian emigration in France.

The documents presented in the annexes hereto, such as: the Report of the Romanian Legation in Paris, from March 14th 1951, comprising data on the “Romanian reaction in France”, the synthesis on the Association “Romania” from January 15th 1975 drafted within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the paper entitled *Romanian Emigration in France* also drawn up with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1978 – selected from the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France collection, issues/matters 201 and 202, depict, once again, the dimension of the Romanian diaspora in this Western country.

We pinpoint that no historiographic approach focused on the analysis of the Romanian emigration in France took into account the extensive and in-depth valorization of the archival sources within the sphere of the diplomatic relations and perspectives.

We mention that in our research we also used the documentary fund within the Archive of the National Council for the Study of the Security Archives, as well as information from the fund of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party – Foreign Affairs Section found in the National Romanian Archives.

We thus consider that we made a significant step forward in the process of understanding certain aspects related to the establishment and evolution of the Romanian exile in France and of its organizations (political, cultural, professional).

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