

George G. Potra, *Nicolae Titulescu. Arhive pierdute. Dosarul unei recuperări*, Centrul Cultural "Lucian Blaga" – Sebeş, Fundația Culturală "Lucian Blaga" – Sebeş, 2015, 600 p. + 209 ilustrații

The archives are some of the main repositories of information we appeal to as individuals, as a community or people.

They represent a form of memory we go to for long term research or for immediate interests.

We check almost on a daily basis their role and importance in society.

Taking the risk of a reproof for exaggerating, I state that in any historical evocation, in any contemporary evaluation and in any future project, we cannot ignore data and ideas kept in archives as premises of any material or spiritual construction.

As an institution, the archives in Romania identify their act of birth 170 years ago. The explanation for this tardive reality is to be found in both objective and subjective factors, which have been rigorously identified and analyzed by the historians of the Romanian archives.

I am in a rush to underline that, despite all legal regulations, of the stage corrections, administrative, economic and financial measures to consolidate their structures and functionality, under the sign of organicity and efficiency, the institution of the archives has recorded in Romania serious dysfunctions and grave accidents (during war or calamities).

With each of these, the informational content of Romanian archives has been affected.

The subsequent efforts – no matter how consistent or well-intended – could only reconstruct and restore in a fragmentary and uncertain manner the segments of local and even national history – economic, ethnic, confessional, cultural a.s.o.

The Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania – just as in the case of other central institutions – has not been shaded from the effects of the two world wars, of occupations (the Austrian-German-Hungarian one from 1916–1918 and the Soviet one from 1944–1958), of the transfer of archives and of other valuables abroad, of confiscations and actual criminal destructions.

The changes in the political regime – in 1944 and 1989 – have had repercussions on Romanian politics and diplomacy, on all the structures of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, thus on its archives as well.

To be exact, I should mention the fact that Romanian diplomatic archives were, to a lesser or greater extent, ordered by the essential acts and documents regarding the institutional organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs adopted in the periods 1859–1919; 1920–1947; 1948–1989.

Just as exact is the fact that the regulations, measures and projects regarding this domain have not kept up with necessities and have lagged behind expectations.

There are very few of those who acknowledged and accused this reality.

I do not intend to make the observation of this state of affairs into a political attitude.

There still remains the strict reality that, in the over 150 year history of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, one can count on the fingers of a hand the names of the Foreign Affairs ministers who have descended in the archives of the Romanian diplomatic chancellery.

These things must be known and said.

We do not have a serious, comprehensive history, above any political pressures and ideological compromises, of the Romanian foreign policy and diplomacy, just as we do not have monographs for most of the Foreign Affairs ministers of Romania.

Nicolae Titulescu is an exception. Far from me to say that everything is known and that everything about him has been said and written.

Regarding all the Foreign Affairs ministers in the period between the wars, to which I deliberately limit myself – be it Ion I.C. Brătianu, Take Ionescu, Ion Gh. Duca, Ion Mitilineu, Gheorghe Gh. Mironescu, Dimitrie I. Ghika, Victor Antonescu, Istrate Micescu, Nicolae Petrescu-Comnen, Grigore Gafencu, Mihail Manoilescu, Mihail Sturdza, Constantin Vișoianu, Gheorghe Tătărescu, to remember just some of them – the question arises: where are the archives related to their mandates as Foreign Affairs Ministers? How much, what and how was kept? Is the information processed in archives and, finally, which parts are outside the country, in private collections, or in archives of foundations? Such questions are not precious gratuities, as they suggest new potential approaches in the attempt to reconstruct other parts of the national patrimony affected through destruction or alienation.

In the present work, we have attempted to answer questions regarding those documents in the archives of Nicolae Titulescu scattered and lost in the world for decades.

Nicolae Titulescu kept on his person, along with strictly personal notes, many oficial documents regarding the foreign policy of the Romanian state, elaborated both before, but especially during his mandates as Foreign Affairs minister (1927–1928; 1932–1936).

The Romanian diplomat justified such a measure – much discussed in Bucharest, approved of by some and condemned by others – through the necessity of disposing promptly, in his numerous travels and meetings abroad, of essential acts of Romanian Foreign Affairs policy.

Regarding official documents, Nicolae Titulescu kept originals (fewer) or copies (more numerous).

As far as the originals are concerned, I shall remark the fact that their value is given, in each case, by their very substance (historical, political, diplomatic, a.s.o.); as for the copies, I think that their value might be as big as the originals', in case the latter were lost (stolen, destroyed, a.s.o.).

Whatever the case may be, Nicolae Titulescu carried with him around Europe part of this archive, official or personal, in especially designed chests, the rest being temporarily deposited in one or several bank safes or at foreign embassies, relatives and close collaborators.

His dismissal from the Romanian government (on the 29th August 1936) found him with these archives on his person – most of it being a personal archive – and there are no testimonies that he had tried – much less succeeded – to give them over (personally or through intermediaries) to the Romanian government. Not even when he returned to the country, in November-December 1937, for a short while, did Nicolae Titulescu have discussions to this end with the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The government in Bucharest was in a rush to get rid, as quickly and determinedly as possible, of the former Romanian diplomat and statesman.

Nicolae Titulescu's opponents have constantly attacked him on this subject as well, both during his mandates as Foreign Affairs Minister and, especially, after his being removed from the Sturdza Palace.

His intention to publish, in the country, in Romanian, and abroad, in French and English, his book, *Romania's foreign policy (1937)*, which criticized the orientation and the political and diplomatic approaches following his dismissal, irritated to the maximum the Romanian government, as they thought it undermined the major interests of Romania.

Hiding the real discontents of Carol the 2nd, who considered himself targeted by this book, condottieres of the king attacked Nicolae Titulescu shamelessly, accusing him of illegal keeping and abusive use of secret state documents, associated with treason.

Through a decree-law, Octavian Goga, prime-minister, proceeded to the modification of an article in the Penal code, introducing the crime of publishing secret state documents.

The fact that this modification was aimed firstly at Nicolae Titulescu did not go unnoticed by both politicians and journalists, who knew that he had been threatened with being taken Romanian citizenship, through the formal invocation of possession and use of secret state documents.

The archives of Nicolae Titulescu have been scattered around the world for several decades.

This state of affairs was configured even during his public activity, being gradually emphasized with the increase and diversification of his commitments, of shorter or longer duration, in London, Geneva, Hague, Paris, Washington, New York. The tension felt by our conational, during his tenure in public offices, was doubled through psychological pressure, through subversive acts and assassination attempts from his adversaries and enemies in the country or abroad. Under these circumstances, Nicolae Titulescu appealed to special security measures, both for himself and for some personal or family valuables. To the decisions to deposit documents and other goods in personal safes (where he worked) or in bank or grand hotels' safety boxes, was added the decision taken following his consultation with some close collaborators, to trust with some of these inscriptions relatives or highly reliable collaborators.

With each year that passed after his death (17 March 1941), in the public conscience, in that of his collaborators alienated on various meridians, but also in the conscience of those in Romania, the fear grew that the tracks of the archives will be lost forever or, worse, that pages of the archives will be destroyed.

In the Cold War period, Nicolae Titulescu's successors (his wife, other relatives abroad) ceased any relations with Romanian officials (legations, embassies, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Romanian government), refusing to give their approval for bringing Nicolae Titulescu's remains in the country, as well as for the return of the things he left (archives, various other personal things).

The laborious activity at the basis of this personal and original work has involved for me research in archives and libraries abroad (France, Switzerland, the United States of America), approaches to identify and bring to Romania an important number of valuable Nicolae Titulescu documents.

I had an actual role, as the designated representative, in the negotiation of some regulations with personalities or institutions abroad, in possession of Nicolae Titulescu archives, and as the operative factor in taking them and bringing them to Bucharest.

The work starts from the premise that the regaining of valuable political and diplomatic documents of Nicolae Titulescu, essential for the deepening of the knowledge on his thought, work and action, has the value of landmark and symbol, together with similar ones, for the exigency of reconstituting, conserving and turning to account, through specific actions and measures, the national cultural patrimony.

We have presented successively the objective and subjective factors of the scattering in time and space of the Nicolae Titulescu documents, the internal and international circumstances which aggravated this process, on the one hand, and the difficulty in identifying and recovering them, on the other hand.

The research undertaken in time has allowed for the enriching and confrontation of information, which lets us state today, with a significant degree of certainty, to whom and when Nicolae Titulescu documents were entrusted for safekeeping, what was their regime of conservation (the place and quality of the storage, what determined the change of the temporary owner, the transfer conditions), how they came to be given away, different stages and modalities (in the country: searches, arrests, confiscations; abroad: subtilization among relatives; thefts, sales/purchases to institutions in Romania and the United States of America).

Based on documents, we have subjected to analysis viewpoints and contradictory versions regarding the Nicolae Titulescu documents abroad, A.F. Frangulis's exaggerations, when he stated the transfer of an alleged wagon of documents through Spain to Lisbon and the phantasms of Jacques de Launay, speculating on an imaginary confiscation by the soviets, in Vienna, of a bag of essential Nicolae Titulescu documents.

I have not hidden anything from the reader of what I learnt regarding the Nicolae Titulescu documents, deposited two times in London; about the documents sent through his nephew, Gheorghe Nenişor, as an escort, to Portugal and deposited at the British Embassy in Lisbon; about the dubious manipulation of Titulescu's documents in the capital of Portugal, the fragmentary passing, on two occasions, from the British Embassy to the Romanian Legation in Lusitania's capital; about the missing parts from that large volume of documents which should have come, in Madrid, in the possession of Catherine Titulescu; about what got, in dubious circumstances, in the hands of some relatives, in France (Marys Nenişor, the first wife of Gheorghe Nenişor), but also in Spain (to Gheorghe and Marie Yvonne Antoniade); about Nicolae Titulescu documents stolen by the Germans from the French archives in 1940 and captured by the soviets when they occupied a large part of Germany; about the part that arrived, by being sold/purchased in Palo Alto, in the Hoover Archives.

In the pages of the book, the reader shall find pressing questions from Washington and in-depth answers from Lisbon, confusions, comebacks, rectifications; arrests, data about travels with uncertain goals and finality. I have "opened" chests and suitcases, I have revealed incorrect additions and subtractions on new counting. The readers find out for the first time about some thefts, about

negotiations and transactions treated like bargaining, about money, poverty, generous donations and canceled donations, about lonely widows and cheated on husbands, about the secret of Swiss safe deposit boxes.

In the journey of the Nicolae Titulescu archives, both Romanian officials, former collaborators of Nicolae Titulescu, were involved (Constantin Vișoianu, George Anastasiu, Nicolae Raicoviceanu, Alexandru Totescu), but also relatives (Catherine Titulescu, Ion Burcă, Gheorghe Nenișor, Marys Nenișor, Gheorghe Antoniade, Marie Yvonne Antoniade, Vlad Antoniade a.s.o.).

An important role is played in the volume by the demarches taken after the 2^{nd} World War for bringing to Romania the Nicolae Titulescu archives: from France, in 1968 (in the possession of Marys Nenişor); from Switzerland, in 1995 and 2002 (in the possession of the doctor Gilbert Monney Câmpeanu, through donation from George Anastasiu); from Switzerland, in 2002 (in the possession of the Swiss financier of Romanian origin Vlad Antoniade, the son of Gheorghe Antoniade and of Marie Yvonne (Voni) Antoniade, the executor of the will of Catherine Titulescu); from the United States of America, in 2003 (in the possession of the Hoover Archives).

We cannot list in this Foreword all the investigations, demarches, successes, all the names, all the dates. I shall mention the fact that: in 1967 the conferences held by Nicolae Titulescu in Great Britain in the summer of 1937 were recovered, pieces of a great ideational and political value, considered lost for 30 years, as well as the English edition of *Romania's Foreign Policy (1937)*; in 1995, we were given as a donation the French edition of the paper *Romania's Foreign Policy (1937)*, which was published a year later; in 2002 we obtained, through double donation, 2,000 original Nicolae Titulescu documents; at the same time, the European Foundation Nicolae Titulescu registered nine *Daily notes* agendas (from the years 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930); in 2003 I brought to Bucharest 12,000 Nicolae Titulescu documents, in copy, in electronic form.

I have evoked and revealed the role played, after the 2nd World War (in the years 1967–1968, 1982, 1995, 2002, 2003), in the discovery and bringing of these documents to Romania, by some politicians-diplomats, researchers-archivists, directors and actors of the demarche followed from Bucharest (George Macovescu, Victor Dimitriu, Dumitru Aninoiu, Constantin I. Turcu, Teodor Huc, Gheorghe Buzatu, Adrian Năstase, George G. Potra).

Of a real help in getting to know what I called 'The Marys Operation' was the information provided 40 years ago by my colleague and friend Constantin I. Turcu, an accomplished archivist, a modest person, who has not claimed vainly the role of main (or at least one of them) negotiator in the bringing of the Nicolae Titulescu documents from Paris and was content with the fact that he lived this joy, as all those who loved and still love the "Patron" lived it. With him, but not only, I followed the efforts of archivist processing of the Nicolae Titulescu documents from the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The re-founding of the Titulescu House, in 2002, coincided with the relaunch of the demarches of the Titulescu European Foundation for bringing from abroad some archives of the great Romanian statesman and politician.

By evoking this fact, I took cautions so as not to underestimate the role of those who, in emigration, saved these archives, had them in personal custody, even though afterwards, due to economic and financial constraints and in complex political circumstances, did not give them back to the Romanian state, but trusted them (for a fee) to foreign archives.

Any evocation of the personalities without whom a part of the Nicolae Titulescu archives wouldn't have been safe, even though not in Romania, for decades, cannot ignore the names of George I. Duca and of Elena S. Danielson, to whom we owe our homages.

I have never stopped pleading for the right Romania has to have these documents in some manner, or at least to be able to consult them without any hindrances.

In another important segment of my paper, the reader can know the Process of putting to use the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, rigorously reviewing intentions, projects and actions, especially those occurring after 1990, until today, and the Restitution of the scientific, political and diplomatic work of Nicolae Titulescu – between ambitions and reality. Both syntheses are texts rich in ideas and facts, projecting indispensable parts of Nicolae Titulescu's posthumous image.

We have assigned to the Annex the role of being the resonance chamber of publishing in Romania of the documents collections and of works rich in documentary base dedicated to Nicolae Titulescu, published over 50 years (forewords, speeches at book launches organized as real cultural events, reviews and commentaries in specialized journals or magazines).

The reviews were uneven to these editions of documents. Over the years, there were tens of prefaces, forewords, notes, reviews, commentaries on these works. I identified and filed some. In the case of other volumes, I do not know if they were remarked or ignored by critics, if I did not miss their reactions on the publishing or afterwards.

I have chosen for this Annex a limited number of such reactions, signed or pronounced by historians, jurists, sociologists, political scientists, diplomats, writers, journalists, important names, academics, ministers, ambassadors, masters of Romanian writing.

To all those who granted us, editors of these editions of Nicolae Titulescu documents, attention, by saluting and appreciating our demarche, I would like to thank on my behalf, and on behalf of all those who have been associated in time with this pro-Titulescu demarche.

I added a rich iconography, vintage photographs and contemporary history ones, reproductions of relevant archive documents.

I did this to indirectly save them, but also to present them to the interested parties, specialists or not.

I laid down in front of the reader what was recovered. I sadly signaled some of what was (definitely) irremediably lost from the archives of personalities, collaborators or relatives tied to Nicolae Titulescu.

It is beyond doubt that in the Romanian space, a lot of the Romanian politicians and diplomats of the pre-war period were deprived, on their arrest, in the terrible years of Stalinism, of a large part of their documents and photographs – often even completely –, and the unfortunate families (quite a few of them) proceeded to destroy what was left, so as not to serve as incriminating evidence in the processes they were staged. The information I was given to this end by Mariella Nenişor-Emanoil, Irina Raicoviceanu, Gheorghe Nenişor, Savel Rădulescu has only confirmed with new arguments this powerful blow given to the Romanian culture.

It would be pretentious – and maybe even inexact – to say that I am offering readers a permanently closed file. I formulated a big question mark regarding a Nicolae Titulescu deposit in Switzerland, whose destiny remained unknown and which specialized institutions of the Romanian state (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Romanian Academy, the Titulescu European Foundation, the National Bank of Romania) should try to clarify – which is not easy after 75 years – but it should still not be abandoned.

The posthumous existence of Nicolae Titulescu calls for a new potential demarche more than a couple of institutions or individuals.

The work *Titulescu*. After 50 years Home again, printed in 2013, finds its fortunate continuation in the book *Nicolae Titulescu*. Lost archives. The file of a recovery.

If the former speaks about the death of our great compatriot, about his reunion with his people, in 1992, in the heart of Transylvania, the latter is an evocation and a plea for the salvation and perpetuation in eternity of the scientific, political and diplomatic work of Nicolae Titulescu, an appeal to a collective commitment in the fight for the survival of his thoughts and deeds.

Nicolae Titulescu. Lost archives. The file of a recovery is not simply a challenge, is not an act of personal pride, but a necessary restitution of a page of cultural history, thoroughly documented. The present book has all the data of a scientific work, but also of an adventure novel, in which rigour does not give way to the facile, certainty leaves room for the imagination, the reader becomes a co-

author, the tension, the rhythm, the suspense accompanying him to the very last page.

I have done this research passionately, but I stayed clear of fiery judgments.

When it comes to our great national values, to the work of salvation and perpetuation, to our honour as people and for the benefit of the future generation, we have the duty to be and find ourselves in solidarity.

The intellectual 'adventure' goes on. And even if pieces will not be found to overthrow what I make known today, we are still confronted with the thousands of novel pages of Nicolae Titulescu which still await being published.

If a young man, as I did 50 years ago, assumed the role to serve Nicolae Titulescu, to make the moral and intellectual commitment to continue the effort of restitution of his political and diplomatic work, I would be pleased.

In 1945, in Cluj, in the hall of the Academic College, Lucian Blaga made a fascinating posthumous speech dedicated to Nicolae Titulescu.

I am touched to evoke the fact that, after in 2013, under Lucian Blaga's light – that is, through the care of the "Lucian Blaga" Cultural Foundation – Sebeş –, the work *Titulescu. After 50 years Home again* was published, now, in 2014, *Nicolae Titulescu. Lost archives. The file of a recovery* is published under the same auspices.

Beyond coincidences, the symbol of a great friendship stays and is imposed.

In Sebeş, after years of painful waiting, Lucian Blaga welcomes Nicolae Titulescu again, with deference.

George G. Potra