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THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE DIPLOMATIC STAFF UNDER
THE SURVEILLANCE OF THE SECRET POLICE ("THE SECURITATE") (1948-
1989)

-ABSTRACT-

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This paper aims to present an overview of the operative interest shown by the Romanian Secret Police (the Securitate) during the entire communist era in one of the fundamental institutions of the Romanian state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This thesis is structured into three chapters.

The first chapter, titled “The place of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs within the Institutional System of Romania (1948-1989)” describes the institutions involved in promoting the country's foreign policy at a time when, as the 1965 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania stipulated, the Romanian Communist Party was the “ruling political force of the entire society”: the Great National Assembly (the legislative forum), the State Council and, starting with 1974, the President of the Republic, as the bodies vested with the state political power, the Council of Ministers (the supreme body of state administration) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). The second part of the first chapter contains a brief description of the evolution of the institutional organization of the ministry, taking into account the main laws that were regulating its operation, enacted in 1959, 1969, 1971 and in 1980, respectively.

The second chapter of this paper, “The Profile of the MFA Employee and the Involvement of the Secret Police in the Ministry’s Recruitment Policy”(1948-1989)", contains a first sub-chapter, which deals with the profile of the new Diplomatic Corps of the state after the year 1947, based on the “anti-fascist” activity of the past and on the social origin of its representatives, highlighting and exemplifying the fact that, unlike in the previous period, many women were admitted to the diplomacy of the Romanian People's Republic, along with medical doctors, engineers etc., professionals who had generally not been eligible for recruitment before (years later, in 1969, many engineers were to be transferred from the ministry and replaced, preferentially, by lawyers and, by and large, by graduates of humanities) or by representatives of national minorities (especially Jews). That tendency was visible primarily amongst people occupying high positions, who were in the entourage of Ana Pauker, the minister of Foreign Affairs in the period 1947–1952, such as Ana Toma (mathematician), Gheorghe Brătescu, Nicolae Melinescu, Bazil Șerban, Mircea Bălănescu, Nicolae Gonda, Eduard Mezincescu, Ștefan Cleja (medical doctors, pharmacists), Corneliu Bogdan or Radu Comșa (polytechnic studies). Of course, many people without higher education were also assigned important diplomatic missions, a fact regarded

as a penalty after 1958 for the diplomats registered in this way with the Ministry's Personnel Directorate. Many of these officials would later enter a form or another of higher education, which was a condition for taking up a diplomatic career, by attending the courses of the Institute of International Relations in Bucharest (which, in the year 1948, was providing six-month training courses, later extended to two years and then to five years). In the 1950s, there were cases of diplomats graduating from international relations institutes from other socialist countries. After 1962, amid the relaxation of the international situation, there were Romanian diplomats who (in addition to the two-year postgraduate courses organized by the MFA) graduated (including doctorates) from prestigious Western institutions in the field of diplomatic studies. Following the "staff rotation policy", applied in particular after the period 1975-1978, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, alike many other state institutions, hired many activists of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) and secret police officers.

The second sub-chapter deals with the involvement of the Securitate in the recruitment policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focusing on the cases where the Securitate arranged for the withdrawal from their posts abroad of some of the Romanian diplomats, preventing, for example, their return to their diplomatic offices after their annual leave in Romania, or transferring MFA employees to other institutions, as it appears from the documents we have examined. This kind of arrangement evolved in different stages during the communist period, reaching its peak firstly in the years 1960-1963, when a "national-communist" policy started to take shape (we have identified in the MFA's archives dozens of employees from the A. Pauker era, who were transferred from the ministry at that time, with surveillance files opened for high-rank diplomats), as well as later on, in the period 1978-1986. Sergiu Celac, Minister of Foreign Affairs between December 1989 and June 1990, mentioned in an interview, in February 1990, that in the last 15 years of the communist regime, 73.8% of career diplomats had been transferred from the MFA, many of whom were hired back by the Ministry in the months following the Revolution.

The third chapter, which is the main part of this thesis, is conceived in the form of a dictionary, summarizing more than 170 diplomats, identified during our checks in the CNSAS Archives (mainly SIE and Informative fund, but also Network, Criminal, Documentary, Ministry of National Defense), from the

Diplomatic and Consular Yearbook published by the MFA in 1991, 1992 and 1994, respectively (where we identified 52 diplomats who were surveilled by the secret police), from Gheorghe Crișan's book *Piramida puterii* (The Power Pyramid) (two volumes; Ed. Pro Historia, 2004), presenting ambassadors, plenipotentiary ministers, general consuls, of which 89 diplomats were found to have had surveillance files made by the secret police, from the book *Diplomați ai României* (Diplomats of Romania) published in two editions in 2007 by the Association of Ambassadors and Career Diplomats in Romania (where we identified five other diplomats with files in the CNSAS Archive), and also from the examination of the surveillance files (30 cases).

This paper ends with an Appendix containing a document dating back in 1981, dealing with 36 Romanian diplomats (the document was found in the file that was concocted by CIE to General Mihai Pacepa), a fragment of the “Decision” of the leadership of the Romanian Workers’ Party (PMR) (October 1955) regarding external collaboration between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE), the Ministry of Foreign Trade (MCE), the Ministry of Armed Forces (MFA) and Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI) (adding also a summary of a similar document, dated March 1969), over 100 photos of diplomats from the CNSAS Archive and several photos found in the National Archives (in the case of George Elian, Ion Roșianu and General Mihai Caraman, the latter was the head of external counterintelligence, DIE, in the 70s). Moreover, at the Central National Historical Archives (ANIC) we examined several Securitate files, generally from the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (CC of PCR).

Naturally, in Chapter III, which is the core of this thesis, we concentrated exclusively on the persons who were kept under close operative observation by the secret police services during the period in which they were employed with the MFA. We have briefly introduced the diplomats, in alphabetical order, stating their personal data (adding, where information was available, their so called 'social origin', which the communists used to establish by the profession of one’s father), their education and some key career information, then briefly describing how the surveillance (or, in some cases, the collaboration) took place and the reasons for opening the Securitate files, ending with information (where applicable) about the diplomats’ activity after 1989.

Less represented are the Ministry of Foreign Trade (five cases from the Economic Agencies abroad) and the “Gheorghiu-Dej era” (15 people). In the case of ambassadors, we found it useful to include in the summary only the ambassadors who occupied positions in the MFA before or after their diplomatic missions, with a few exceptions (Gheorghe Apostol, Octavian Groza, Iulian Văcărel, Pretor Popa).

The chapter does not deal with DSS (State Security Department) staff (although seven of them were DSS officers at some point, in the 70s, and one was a DIA officer) from the diplomatic offices, although, according to the head of the French intelligence service from the period 1970-1981, Alexandre de Marenches, in any embassy from Eastern Europe, half or a third of the personnel were special service officers, with intelligence agents from within embassies, consulates and import-export companies representing “an enormous percentage”, in contrast to what happened in Western countries.

Virtually, most of the files were drawn up by the 3rd Counterintelligence Directorate (coded UM 0625 in the years 1972-1989), usually based on UM 0195 reports (Foreign counter-intelligence), which was present in diplomatic offices, or by the Directorate of Foreign Intelligence (the case of 91 diplomats, only about 10% being from the intelligence network). Note should be made that Foreign Intelligence was the prerogative of the Special Intelligence Service (SSI), dissolved on 30.03.1951 and converted into Directorate “A” of the DGSS, aka Directorate I (Military Unit 0123/I) in the period 1953-1963, the General Foreign Intelligence Directorate (DGIE) in the period 1963-1972 (coded UM 0123/I in the years 1953-1963 and UM 0755 in the years 1967-1972), later called DIE, coded UM 0920 (in 1972-1978). The Foreign Intelligence Headquarters from the period 1978-1989 (CIE) was coded UM 0544, having subunits specific to the activity or the geographical area where they operated. Regarding the activity of the Counterintelligence Directorate, which also belonged to the Special Intelligence Service in the early years of the Romanian People's Republic (until 1950), known by the code name of UM 0123/U in the years 1953-1967 (Directorate II) and UM 0738 (Directorate III) in the years 1967-1972, we considered as relevant a report of the State Security Department (DSS), which we have included in this paper, stating that “out of the 4,891,360 foreigners who visited our country in 1977 and in the first quarter of 1978, a number of 6,453 foreigners (...) were identified and included in the operative data base of the Securitate bodies

(...), of which 375 had files opened and processed through informative surveillance files. From the Romanian citizens identified as connections of foreigners, 5,549 suspects were selected and were placed under file processing procedures, of which 642 through informative surveillance files and 4,907 by object-oriented files (...) Priority was given to conducting a more effective control over the 176 espionage officers and agents who were identified as acting against the interests of Romania in 1977, of which 123 were carrying out their activity under diplomatic cover (...) By the actions taken, 12 diplomats and foreign representatives were recalled from their posts before the end of their missions.”

Regarding the foreign policy of the communist Romania, the *Final Report* drawn up in 2006 by the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania states that our country had “a foreign policy that was fully subordinated to Moscow during the period 1948-1963. The autonomy of the Romanian foreign policy after 1964 was not the expression of an affirmation of the patriotic spirit, but it served the ruling class (the entourage of Gheorghie Gheorghiu-Dej at first and of Nicolae Ceaușescu later on) to maintain its unaltered its power”. Fact is that, through its initiatives, Romania imposed itself on an international level in the years 1967-1973. What is relevant for the development of the country's international relations, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, is the fact that, while at 31.12.1947 Romania had, officially, diplomatic relations with 25 countries (of which five at embassy level) and economic relations with 25 countries, at the end of the year 1965 it maintained diplomatic relations with 67 states (59 at embassy level) and economic relations with 120 states. In 1983, Romania had diplomatic affairs with 137 states (136 at embassy level) and economic affairs with 150 countries.

There was obviously a need for employees trained for a diplomatic career, especially at the beginning of the communist regime, if we take into account the fact that, in the span of a very short period, i.e. from September 1 to December 1, 1947, a total of 493 employees were removed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, following the Decisions of the Ministerial Commission for Economic Recovery and Monetary Stabilization of 12.08.1947 and 14.11.1947, respectively.

Regarding their education, 13 diplomats from those mentioned in the summary in Chapter III of this paper graduated the day courses of the

Institute of International Relations (IRI) in Bucharest (graduated until 1959), 19 graduated from the IRI in Moscow, 5 from IRI Kyiv, 3 from IRI Leipzig, plus diplomats with philological studies in China (5), in Japan (2), in Baghdad (2), in Pyongyang (2), in Warsaw (1) and in Havana (1). Besides, 35 diplomats out of those mentioned in the summary were graduates of the two-year international relations postgraduate courses (organized in 1962-1969 at the initiative of M. Malița, deputy minister of foreign affairs in the period 1962-1970), and five graduated the ten-month international relations courses at the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy in the period 1976-1979. It is a known fact that for the first series of the two-year course (1962-1964), out of the more than 300 applicants, 103 participants were selected and then assigned, usually, to MFA and to the Ministry of Foreign Trade (MCE). It should be noted that in 1964 MFA Headquarters had over 1,500 employees, of which 40-45% were members of the diplomatic staff, and in 1986 there were only 312 employees at the Ministry's Headquarters, of which again 40-45% were members of the diplomatic staff. Ambassador Valentin Lipatti recalled that in 1972 the MFA had “a large diplomatic and administrative apparatus, a rich car pool, its own cafeteria and medical center and many other facilities”. Ambassador Constantin Ene believed that “Romanian diplomats have only begun to operate as a Diplomatic Corps in the diplomatic world as late as in the second half of the 60s of the last century and in particular in the 70s”.

From the presentation of all the cases of diplomats in the summary of the last chapter, one can see how strict the control of the Securitate was over the diplomatic personnel, a control exercised through the intelligence network, through intricate surveillance devices planted in the diplomat's homes, as well as in office rooms, in restaurants etc. (interception of telephone conversations, of the correspondence, ambient recordings, video taping etc), surveillances techniques such as stakeouts (zonal, continuous, random), searching of diplomats' place of domicile, investigating the diplomats' county of origin, informative combinations or even direct contact with the diplomats initiated by DSS officers. All these methods of checking suspicions through counter-espionage were usually reflected in the so called “Action Plans”, containing fixed deadlines, some of them with 21 objectives (see the Iosif Petre case of 1973) and bulky transcripts of the interceptions (see the Constantin Vasiliu case of 1987-1989). Surveillance of the diplomats under consideration evolved from “strictly discreet investigations” (mentioned as such in the Securitate files of Constantin Măgureanu in 1949

and of Teodor Huc in 1960) to the conclusion of some diplomats saying that “you, the Securitate officers, make all kind of arrangements and poke your nose into everyone’s business” (Ioan Tănase, 1979) or that they worked “overtly” (Petre Săndulescu, 1985). The recollections of some of the diplomats, mentioned in these pages (e.g.: Ion Floroiu, Marcel Dinu), come to ascertain these findings.

We have found that the secret police units did not only give positive or negative opinions, depending on the case, regarding the execution of the diplomatic missions abroad (whether temporary or permanent), the permission to access classified documents or to carry a gun, but they even influenced the decision to exclude and transfer diplomats from the MFA, the DSS intervention being decisive in this regard. The transfers of diplomats from the Ministry reached its peak in the period 1981-1986. For example, Gheorghe Țârlescu, Iuliu Dobroiu and Gheorghe Vișinescu were transferred to Loto-Pronoport, Gheorghe Brad, Petre Anghel and Tudor Mircea, to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, Mircea Mitran was transferred to the Ministry of Steel Industry etc.

Some diplomats drew up reports to clarify the suspicions hanging over them (it is the case of Iosif Dolezal, Constantin Stănescu, Ovidiu Dianu and Ion Floroiu) or requested to meet with and be heard by the leaders of the Securitate and by the state rulers (see the cases of George Elian, Alexandru Petrescu, Pompiliu Celan and Ovidiu Dianu). The documents we have examined have revealed that such meetings did indeed take place during surveillance (for example the meeting between diplomat Corneliu Bogdan and general Nicolae Doicaru), during which the diplomats were urged to behave as true employees of the ministry of the year 1950 (“honest, verified comrades, aware of their class-affiliation, disciplined, immune to Western propaganda, displaying partisan spirit and revolutionary vigilance, combative, modest, loyal to their country and family, with no relatives in capitalist countries, married and perfectly moral”). Reports drawn by the Securitate officers about diplomats’ displaying “bourgeois reminiscences in their mindset and their thinking” (the Dumitru Trancă case) or a behavior that is “visibly marked” by the influence of Western propaganda” (the case of Gheorghe Dolgu) existed even after 1975.

As for the periods when the Securitate files were drafted, we have found that about 20 surveillance files date back to the period 1949-1964,

around 50 files were drawn up in the period 1965-1977 and about 100 files were processed in the period 1978-1989. We have also noticed that the reports drafted upon the closure of the surveillance files often mentioned that the suspicions were not confirmed or that “measures of an operational interest” were taken against the diplomats, meaning that they had been recruited by the Securitate. There were also cases when the recommendations of the Securitate units regarding the recall of diplomats from their missions or their removal from the MFA were disregarded (see the cases of Edwin Glaser, Corneliu Bogdan, Petre Anghel, Radu Mateescu etc.), with veiled threats to DSS undercover officers from the diplomatic offices (the case of Ambassadors Corneliu Mănescu and Teodor Marinescu), exhortations like “let's not get too formal” (the case of Gheorghe Apostol) or lack of coordination regarding the approvals (the cases of Marin Ghețu and Valeriu Dinică).

Regarding the operational collaboration between MFA staff and the representatives of the Securitate, one can see that their network files (which normally include the annex folders with their informative notes) actually cover the 60s (in 1973, an order was issued by the Minister of the Interior to destroy the network files of the party members), but evidence of their collaboration with the DSS also exist in their surveillance files or in the files of other diplomats. This activity was reflected in the characterization notes, saying, for example: “an intense activity of gathering information and operative reporting” (the Ioan Cordoș case) or “between August 1986 and June 1987, he provided us with 42 information notes on economic issues and the operative situation in the area ...) and in the period June 1987 - June 1988 he provided us with 45 informative notes” (the Valeriu Simion case) or “in the period January 1984 - July 1985 he provided 54 informative notes” (the Alexandru Gheorghiu case). Some of the characterization notes stated, for example, that: “for two years we have been confiding in this rascal, assigning him tasks, revealing him our plans, and he keeps calling us names” (the Ladislau Szekely case) or “on 16.01.1965, he received instructions from the secretary of the Party Committee of the MFA to stop performing tasks assigned from outside the institution, without the approval of MFA management” (the Iosif Petre case); some other notes are stating that “the subject says he does not want to waste his precious free time to meet with us” (the Dorin Rusu case, mentioned in the footnotes) or “he refused to collaborate with our bodies, justifying his position with ridiculous arguments”

(Eugen Popa case, classified as “not recommended for recruitment”). There are also cases of refusal to carry out tasks, as in the case of Iacob Măgură's refusal to cooperate with illegal agents. Others diplomats said to Securitate recruiters that they would collaborate, though not willingly (the case of Arthur Weissman); other “subjects” simply refused to collaborate, considering that the collaboration is “hampering” their careers (the case of Nicolae Mănoiu). There were cases where diplomats were recruited and asked to allow the Securitate to use their homes as conspiratorial houses while they were abroad on duty, but even in those cases the recruiters met with opposition from different members of the diplomats' families (the cases of Ionel Stănculescu and Androne Nae).

A special situation is that of the diplomats who defected during their mission abroad (Teodor Andreescu, mentioned in the footnotes, Gheorghe Jucu, Gheorghe Arsenie, Radu Niculescu, Alexandru Gheorghiu) and of the ambassadors who defected upon end of their mission (Victor Dimitriu), including the cases of several MFA employees who attempted to defect (minister plenipotentiary Mihail Dragomirescu, Gabriela Tănase); international officials were retained in the country at the intervention of the Securitate (Liviu Bota, Dumitru Maziliu and Sorin Dumitrescu, mentioned in the footnotes). An exceptional case was the imprisonment for espionage (the case of deputy director Mircea Răceanu). There were also cases of imprisonment for tax evasion (ambassador Tiberiu Petrescu) and of prosecution for possession of foreign currency, a crime that was punished by the laws of that time (Gheorghe Vişinescu, Nicolae Turturea).

Regarding the date of birth of the diplomats listed in this summary, we have found that: 56 diplomats were born in the period 1893-1929, another 99 were born in the period 1930-1941, and 19 were born in the period 1942-1952. Out of the approximately 90 diplomats mentioned in the footnotes, about 30 diplomats were born in the period 1930-1941. Summarizing in figures, without figures overlapping, 100 of the diplomats presented in this paper worked with MFA after the Revolution, 100 were born in the period 1930-1941, 100 were surveilled in the period 1978-1989.

Insofar as this paper is not intended to be exhaustive (in fact, an overarching paper would be impossible to prepare, all the more so if we think that, during the communist regime, only one Diplomatic Yearbook was published, dated 1962, containing minimal identity data and referring only to

the personnel from the offices abroad), we believe that the CNSAS Archives (which did not take over the object file of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, processed by the Securitate from the 60s through the 80s, carrying the active file number - 001010, according to archival indications) contain many other files of diplomats who were genuinely dedicated to promoting the Romanian foreign policy. We believe that the subject matter of this paper, not yet addressed by the Romanian historiography, which is based on the examination of an important amount of documents of the Securitate, is also relevant for the specific Romanian epoch this paper deals with.

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