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OCT 27 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: Letter of ~~Rumanian~~ ^{Rumanian} National Committee to King Mihai, dated 14 October 1950
File RFD-20. (See serials No. 10000)
Rumanian National Committee - Rumanian National Committee

1. Reference is made to our SO DB-30125, relative to the meetings of the Rumanian National Committee held on 9 and 11 October 1950.
2. We enclose herewith a translation of the letter sent by the Committee to King Mihai on 14 October 1950, together with an excerpt from the minutes of the Committee meetings of 9 and 11 October and two annexes to these minutes.
3. We have no information relative to the Committee meeting of 13 October mentioned in paragraph 1 of the letter to the King, and believe that it was a session designed to complete the report to the King that was despatched on the following day.

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Assistant Director
Special Operations

SO DB-30133

Encl: 1 letter
1 excerpt from the minutes
2 annexes

TRH/na
19 October 1950

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Washington, D.C.
October 14, 1930

To His Majesty
King Mihai I.

Sire:

We, the undersigned members of the Rumanian National Committee, meeting on October 9, 11 and 13, 1930, have examined the situation created by the withdrawal from the National Committee of General N. Sandescu and Messrs. Nicolae Ciurcil, Mihail Furcuscus, and Grigore Gafencu, according to the enclosed "Conclusions" signed by them and dated September 14, 1930. We have also taken cognizance of the resolution of the Council of Political Parties, dated October 12.

We see with regret that the attempts of Your Majesty to ensure a proper and harmonious functioning to the leading organism of Rumanian action abroad has thus been encumbered by a negative attitude on the part of some members of the Committee. This attempt to disrupt Rumanian solidarity is all the more painful as the growing tension of the international situation requires a showing of unity, in view of an increased activity for which presently new possibilities are open.

The thoroughly unjustified act of the former President and of the other three members can in no way stop our national action. We take cognizance of their withdrawal, which will have no influence whatsoever upon our decision to carry on, without faltering, the action of the Committee.

Following the findings and conclusions in the enclosed extract from the minutes of meetings of the Rumanian National Committee, of October 9, 11 and 13, 1930, and in the interest of the normal functioning of the Committee, we have the honor to submit to Your Majesty our unanimous proposal that Mr. Constantin Viscianu be appointed President of the Rumanian National Committee.

We are, Sire, etc. etc.

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G. Bism, Al. Grotzianu,
A. Popa, I. Zissu, C. Viscianu

Emb/

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Report from the Minutes of the meeting of the Humanian National Committee, of October 9 and 11, 1950.

Taking note of the "Conclusion" signed by General Nicolas Radescu and Neacsu, Nicolae Garmatzil, Mihail Parascanu, and Georgez Gafencu, dated September 14, 1950, and sent "special delivery" to the members of the Committee on October 4, 1950, the Humanian National Committee finds the following:

1. The National Committee was constituted in May 1949, with authority and encouragement from His Majesty the King, in order to be the authorized spokesman of the martyred people of Humania, and to lead the action for the restoration of the usurped rights of their country.

In order to be able to speak on behalf of the Nation, the Committee had to be politically representative, an authorized organ of the national will. That will, according to the rules of democratic life and to the constitutional order of Humania, is expressed through two factors: the King and the political parties. The second between the King and the political parties, whose representatives abroad, in order to make more evident the unity of feelings and thoughts of the Humanian people, united for a common struggle and action in forming the "Council of Humanian Political Parties," constitutes the political base of the present National Committee: the natural necessary base, and the only conceivable one, for any eventual modification or substitution.

2. Unfortunately, General H. Radescu - who was appointed President of the Committee by His Majesty the King, at the proposal of the Council of Political Parties, in view of his venerable age and of his capacity as former President of the Council of Ministers - has peculiar opinions concerning the purpose of the National Committee and his own personal mission. From the very first moment, he expressed his dissatisfaction at the composition of the Committee, and, beginning the very first day, embarked upon an action to undermine the organ he had agreed to head as its President. General Radescu's flight - as intense as it is impetuous - was carried on, not only in the competent Humanian quarters, but also among the ranks of refugee Humanians, whose understandable state of spirit made them particularly sensitive to agitations of this nature. More than this, General Radescu sought to secure for himself the assistance of certain foreign factors and authorities, with which the National Committee should have collaborated in full harmony, and before which it should moreover have preserved its independence and dignity, in the very interests of the common cause.

Falling in this manner, too, to assure for himself dictatorial powers over the Committee, the majority of which remained faithful to the principles and methods of democracy, General Radescu resorted to the surrounding gesture of no longer calling together the Committee, while nonetheless continuing to represent himself as its President. Doing even further, he declared that the activities of the Committee would cease, so long as he would fail to obtain satisfaction of his wishes, notably with regard to a transformation of the Committee's composition in accordance with his own desire.

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3. Every attempt to convince General Radescu to change his attitude, so absurd and so deleterious to the national interests, met with failure. It became necessary for the King himself to intervene, His Majesty having the constitutional duty to watch over the proper functioning of the organ of leadership of the Rumanian action.

On the basis of information received from the members of the National Committee, both verbal and written, the King indicated a solution that could assure, on the one hand, the desired continuity, while, on the other hand, it permitted the renewal of the Committee's activities, imperiously required by the growing tension of the international crisis.

4. The "Conclusion" mentioned above embodies the reply of General N. Radescu and of Messrs. N. Caranfil, M. Farcasanu, and Gr. Gafencu, concerning the solution indicated by the King for the renewal and systematic distribution of the Committee's activities. Deaf to the call from high quarters, that bespoke the very sufferings of our people, the President and three members of the Committee withdrew from their duties in the most trying moments of the struggle that must be carried on unfalteringly, in perfect harmony and unity.

More and worse than that, these gentlemen are not content with merely withdrawing from the National Committee - an unquestionable right for each; they attempt to pull down the very house they have elected to leave. Such an undertaking is manifestly beyond their powers.

The superficial pettifoggery whereby they attempt to justify their action and to undermine the institution so badly needed by the Rumanian cause stands self-convicted. It does not even deserve to be taken into consideration. In exchange however, the attempt to carry to its ultimate conclusion the action of scuttling the National Committee must be condemned with the utmost severity.

5. This attempt to disrupt Rumanian solidarity comes at a time of exceptional international torment, which allows and demands from the National Committees of the countries behind the Iron Curtain as active and as sustained a presence as possible. The sight of division, the spectacle of misunderstandings, created in such a climate, can be but harmful to national interests, because it tends to weaken the authority of the leading organism of Rumanian action in the eyes of the world, sowing confusion in the ranks of our exiles, and pouring still more bitterness in the cup of sufferings of our brothers at home.

6. The gesture of General N. Radescu and of Messrs. N. Caranfil, M. Farcasanu, and Gr. Gafencu is all the more reprehensible, as the motives brought forward to justify it are proven to be unfounded and trifling. Indeed, the "Conclusion" mentioned above, in spite of the tortuous theories whereby it seeks to conceal reality, is itself the best evidence on behalf of two essential truths:

a) It does not allege - for it could not do so - any divergence of opinions among the members of the National Committee, or any differences of principles or conceptions regarding the national action;

b) The three "causes" of the differences of views and of the misunderstandings, to wit, the respect due to the

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President, the increase of the number of members, and the placing at the Committee's disposal of all available financial means, are all problems of an administrative nature. The solution to these problems could easily have been found in a Committee functioning normally, with respect for democratic rules; problems of this kind cannot be made to serve as pretexts to bring to a stop the Russian action on the international plane, or to disrupt national solidarity at such an ominous moment as the present.

It must be observed, in fact, that the "causes of misunderstandings" were already very close to a solution. The Council of the Political Parties officially took the initiative with a view to completing and enlarging the National Committee. As for the "funds" the Committee takes cognizance of the statement by Mr. Alexander Cretzianu, forming an annex of the present minutes, which is sufficiently eloquent. While with regard to the third alleged "cause of misunderstanding," the National Committee observes that the respect owed to any person whatsoever is not a national issue; nor can it form the object of formal regulations. Respect is accorded spontaneously, primarily as a result of the respect evidenced by the individual involved toward his own duties.

Based on the above considerations:

1. The National Committee takes note of the withdrawal, of their own free will, of General N. Radescu and Messrs. N. Caruofil, M. Farosanu, and Gr. Gafencu from that Committee.
2. The National Committee unanimously proposes to H. M. the King the appointment of Mr. Constantin Visoianu as President of that Committee, in the place left vacant through the withdrawal of General Radescu.
3. The National Committee reserves subsequent proposals for the completion of that Committee.

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Statement by Mr. Gretianu, made at the Session of October 9, 1950, of the Romanian National Committee.

In view of the diversion attempted at #3 of the Conclusions signed by General Radescu and Messrs. Caramfil, Farcasaru, and Gafencu, I wish to recall the text of the letters I addressed to the President of the National Committee, on January 24 and February 27, 1950, which read as follows:

General N. Radescu
President of the Romanian National Committee

January 24, 1950

"Mr. President:

"In the letter of January 9, 1950, of the National Committee for a Free Europe, are mentioned, among other matters, the funds that I administer, and that have been entrusted to my care on the basis of the Law for the Defense of Higher State Interests, as follows:

'It would be helpful to the National Committee for a Free Europe in estimating the amount which should be made available for effective operation, to know at suitable intervals, the status of the funds in question and the purposes for which they are employed.'

"In the interests of a close cooperation between the National Committee for a Free Europe and the Romanian National Committee, of which I am a member, I declare once again that I agree to give account, at suitable intervals, to the National Committee for a Free Europe, of 'the status of the funds in question and the purposes for which they are employed'. Seeing that these are 'secret funds', I shall give that information through the intermediary of the Financial Commission of the National Committee, and this Commission will, thereupon, transmit this information to the National Committee, taking every precaution to secure the confidential nature of the information.

"I have the honor to be, Mr. President, very truly yours,

ss. Al. Gretianu."

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February 27, 1950

***General N. Radescu
President of the Rumanian National Committee**

***Mr. President:**

"In continuation to my letter of January 24, 1950, I have the honor to inform you that I have provided Mr. N. Caranfil, my colleague on the Financial Commission of the National Committee, with full information concerning the situation of the funds administered by me, and with the budget of expenditures for 1950, in accordance with the destination of those funds.

"All this information has been consigned in a memorandum that will be placed in the confidential archive of the Financial Commission.

"Each member of the Rumanian National Committee may take cognizance of this memorandum upon request. It is hardly necessary to insist again upon the strictly confidential nature of such information.

"I take this opportunity to draw once more your attention to the fact that the greater part of the expenditure budget may be used directly on behalf of the action of the Rumanian National Committee. Thus, from the sum earmarked for 'publications', it will be possible to cover the expenses occasioned by printing the brochures and books published by the National Committee.

"Similarly, the sums destined for the newspaper 'La Nation Roumaine' are available to the National Committee, in the event it wishes to publish a French-language newspaper under its direct control.

"Likewise, the Study and Information Bureaus that have been functioning for some years in Paris, London, and Geneva may become organs of the National Committee, if the Committee so desires.

"I have the honor to be, Mr. President, very truly yours,

ss. Al. Cretzianu."

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As evidenced by the above letters, my own attitude is clear and positive. Also clear, though negative, is the attitude of General Radescu, who has shown that he has no intention of revising his statement, made before the Rumanian National Committee in the session of June 24, 1949, a statement which, at his own request, forms an integral part of the minutes of that session, and which I annex hereto in copy.

In that statement, General Radescu admits that he is receiving important monthly subventions from a former Rumanian industrialist, for various purposes, either as relief funds, or as political funds (the upkeep of his own newspapers, his travels in Europe, relief for certain "prominent fighters of the resistance").

At the same time, General Radescu admitted that he had accepted the sine qua non condition, required by his benefactor, to the effect that these sums shall not pass through the National Committee. On the other hand, General Radescu has constantly refused to say what sums he is receiving from that former Rumanian industrialist, and to identify the "leaders" whom he is "assisting" with these sums.

I wish to add that in no case can I recognize the moral authority of General Radescu, Mr. N. Caranfil, and Gr. Gafencu to discuss the matter of the sums that I am administering. Upon request of the National Committee, I am prepared to produce documents that will provide evidence to justify the above assertion.

I observe, at the same time, that had the sums administered by myself been paid to the account of the National Committee, it would have meant that these sums would no longer be available today - admitting the theory put forward by General Radescu and Messrs. Caranfil, Gafencu, and Farcasaru to the effect that a minority may put an end to the existence of the National Committee. In view of the fact that their gesture is not based solely on the issue of the "funds", and that they pursue primarily the appointment of a Committee of persons to be designated by themselves, it is obvious enough that they could very well have attempted to impose the dictatorial will of a minority, under threat of freezing the funds available to the National Committee. Obviously, too, in such an event, there would have remained no possibility to utilize those funds in accordance with their destination. Among other things, it would no longer have been possible "to proceed with certain special activities in defense of Rumanian demands."

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Statement by General Bogdan
Made before the Rumanian National Committee, in its session of June 24, 1949.

Mr. H. Caramfil brought up yesterday for discussion by the Committee the matter of the fund held by Messrs. Visoianu and Cretzianu. The latter, upon being asked whether they intend to hand over this fund to be administered by the Committee, declared that, before giving any information, they wish to ask me certain questions with regard to the sums placed at my disposal by Mr. Nicolae Malaxa.

In order to save them the trouble of putting these queries, I anticipate their reply, and shall read aloud the outline of a memoir, hastily put together, that is to be completed and then given publicity in the form of a brochure. The memoir will also make known, on the basis of documents, the entire history of the negotiations carried on in view of the constitution of the Committee.

* * *

Mr. H. Caramfil, in a letter addressed to me, puts the question of the financial means the Committee will have to procure in order to supply its needs, also touching the matter of the fund that was got out of Rumania and is being held by certain of the members of the Committee.

I brought the matter to your attention today, requesting Messrs. Visoianu and Cretzianu, who hold this fund, to inform us about it and to say whether they are decided to place it at the disposal of the Committee.

Messrs. Visoianu and Cretzianu replied that this is a matter that concerns them personally. The fund, they said, has a special destination, regarding which they do not mean to give any explanation. They added that in any case they have no intention to furnish any explanation before I myself give account of the sums placed at my disposal by Mr. Malaxa, with the purpose of assisting Rumanians in exile.

The account was to be given in the form of replies to certain questions these gentlemen would put to me in writing.

Mr. Cretzianu further stressed the fact that I have burdened my conscience with a heavy responsibility in accepting assistance from someone who made money doing business with the Communists and who is suspected of being a Communist.

Here is my answer:

Although there is no connection between the fund taken out of Rumania and the sums spent, in the name of Mr. Malaxa, for assisting our refugees, and although I am under no obligation to give any information, seeing that this is a matter of moneys that have been placed at my disposal by a private person, in a strictly personal manner, I shall nevertheless accede to the request of Messrs. Visoianu and Cretzianu.

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I consider it ~~advised~~ ^{U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY} in the first place, to show what I know concerning the Commission imputed to Mr. Malaxa. Following my dismissal from the government by Vishinsky, Mr. Malaxa insisted on informing me that, if I intended to undertake a movement against the regime imposed in Rumania by the Bolsheviks, he was ready to give me all the financial support I might need. I thanked him but pointed out that it was impossible to undertake anything inside the country at that time, in view of the persecution that had begun against the opposition. One year later I succeeded in fleeing the country and shortly thereafter I came to the United States, where Mr. Malaxa was too. Not long after I arrived, Mr. George Palade came to see me and told me the following:

"I am sent by Mr. Malaxa to inform you that, as he had stated in Rumania, he is at your disposal to support you in the struggle you have begun against the Communist government at home, in such form as you might consider most useful today."

I got in touch with Mr. Malaxa, and the following were agreed upon: That Mr. Malaxa would, in the measure of his means, place at my disposal sums to be used by me on behalf of the Rumanian cause, in the way that I would consider most suitable. He added however, "I wish you to know that I mean to entrust whatever I may be able to give, to you alone. In no case could I agree to give anything to a Committee of which Messrs. Visoianu, Cretzianu, and Grigore Niculescu-Busesti might be members, inasmuch as I have evidence that these gentlemen, together with Mr. Max Ausnit, are making efforts to have me expelled from the United States."

On the basis of this understanding, I was able, beginning in March 1948, to distribute aid, as shall be shown hereafter.

In view of the persecution begun at home against the leading strata, whose liquidation was intended, I thought that one of the foremost concerns of those who led the fight abroad should be to save at any price the few intellectuals who have succeeded in fleeing the country - the sole reserve available to Rumania one day.

Guided by this idea, here is how the monthly sums of which I disposed were used:

1. I created, through the "Student Association in Paris", at first twenty scholarships, later forty, and finally thirty.
2. The debts of the Rumanian government for the Rumanian Institute of the Sorbonne were paid, and the sums needed for its functioning continue to be paid.
3. A number of intellectuals who were suffering great hardships were helped, through permanent or periodic subventions. This help continues.
4. The magazine "Luceafarul" is being published, with contributions from the most distinguished writers abroad, thus allowing Rumanian culture to manifest itself.
5. The newspaper "Unirea" is being kept up, which is read everywhere abroad by our exiles.

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6. "Caracul", under the leadership of Mr. Caracul, has been helped.
7. Important sums have been sent to Austria, in an attempt to maintain ties with home and to help our intellectuals.
8. Certain financial assistance has been sent to Rumania.
9. Lesser sums have been sent to Turkey, Germany, Argentina, etc.
10. The Rumanian Orthodox church in Paris has been helped.
11. Food packages have been sent to various places.
12. Certain leaders of the resistance fighters have been assisted.
13. I was able personally to travel several times to Europe, to report to His Majesty the King and to maintain contact with refugee Rumanians.

Such, in broad outline, was the use made of the help received from Mr. Malaxa, with the indication of its source from the very first moment.

Mr. Cretzianu has also accused me of having intervened with the American authorities for the extension of Mr. Malaxa's visa.

This is true. I have insisted to the best of my ability to do so, because Mr. Malaxa proved to me that his adversaries spare no means to cause him to be sent out of the United States. In making the necessary interventions, I showed the (American) authorities the reasons why I solicit the extension of his visa. I showed, that is, that Mr. Malaxa is of the most real use to the Rumanian cause, inasmuch as he is the only wealthy Rumanian on whose support I can count.

The accusation brought against me by Mr. Cretzianu I submit not only to the judgment of the Committee, but also of all Rumanians. I have no objection to its public airing, should it be found to be supported by evidence.

As for myself, and independently of any other issues, I express thanks to Mr. Malaxa for everything he has done and is doing, expressing at the same time the regret that there are not found others to imitate him.

In conclusion, I wish to stress that the request for explanations presented to me has arisen only as a consequence of the revelations made at the Coplan trial. This evidences an attempt to compromise (me). When the day comes, I assure those involved that I shall not be at a loss.

Having thus answered with anticipation the queries that were to be put to me by Messrs. Vicianu and Cretzianu, I await their own explanations.

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Gen. Nicolae Radeanu OCT 24 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: Reported Plan of General Nicolae Radeanu to Visit Paris

1. A usually reliable source in Paris states that, according to reports in Rumanian emigre circles, General Nicolae Radeanu plans to visit that city in the near future. Some Rumanian emigres state that Mr. Maynard Barnes will also return to Paris.

2. We shall appreciate receiving any information available to you concerning plans of General Radeanu to visit Paris and other European centers in the near future, and the scope of his activities in Europe if such a journey is undertaken.

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Assistant Director
Special Operations

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TRH/jd
18 October 1950

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