

•
ANALELE ȘTIINȚIFICE
ALE
UNIVERSITĂȚII „ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA”
DIN IAȘI
(SERIE NOUĂ)

ISTORIE

TOM LXVIII
2022

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași

COLEGIUL DE REDACȚIE:

Nelu Zugravu (Iași), Neculai Bolohan (Iași), Alexandru-Florin Platon (Iași),
Petronel Zahariuc (Iași), Ștefan S. Gorovei (Iași), Maria Magdalena Székely
(Iași), Cristian Ploscaru (Iași), Claudiu Topor (Iași), Gabriel Leanca (Iași),
Gheorghe Iacob (Iași), Ovidiu Buruiană (Iași), Victor Spinei, membru al
Academiei Române (Iași), Ioan Aurel Pop, președintele Academiei Române
(Cluj-Napoca), Ovidiu Cristea (București), Antal Lukács (București), Ion
Eremia (Chișinău), Ion Varta (Chișinău), Dennis Deletant (Londra),
Carol Iancu (Montpellier), Hans-Christian Maner (Mainz).

COMITETUL DE REDACȚIE:

Laurențiu Rădvan (redactor șef),
Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Ionuț Nistor, Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu,
Adrian Vițalariu (secretar de redacție),
Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu (secretar de redacție).

Responsabilitatea pentru opiniile exprimate în textele publicate revine în
exclusivitate autorilor.

Manuscrisele, cărțile și revistele propuse pentru schimb,
ca și orice corespondență se vor trimite redacției:

Laurențiu Rădvan

Facultatea de Istorie
Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași
B-dul Carol I 11,
700506, Iași, România
Tel.: 40-(0)232-20.12.74
e-mail: radvan@uaic.ro



CUPRINS

Romanian-Serbian relations in the 20th century

Zoran Janjetović, <i>Romanian national minority in the Yugoslav Banat 1918-1948</i>	11
Adrian Vițalaru, <i>In the capital of the allied state. Romanian diplomats in Belgrade (1919-1941)</i>	25
Alexandru D. Aioanei, <i>Yugoslavia and Britain's clandestine actions in Romania during the Second World War</i>	39
Olivera Dragišić, <i>Italian precedent for the armistice negotiations with Romania in 1944</i> ..	51
Vladimir Lj. Cvetković, <i>Yugoslavia and the crisis of Petru Groza government (August 1945 – January 1946)</i>	65
Ionuț Nistor, <i>A marriage of convenience. The Romanian Workers' Party and the Yugoslav emigration in the early 1950s</i>	79
Petar Dragišić, <i>Serbian press and Romanian Revolution in 1989</i>	89

Iulia Dumitrache, <i>Despre potențialul halieutic pontic la Ovidius</i>	101
Ionuț Acrudoae, <i>Cohortes I-VIII Breucorum în secolul I p.Chr. Locuri și oameni</i>	119
Nelu Zugravu, <i>Vasile Pârvan e Marco Aurelio</i>	145
Claudiu-Costel Luca, <i>Ciclurile monarhiei imperiale în Liber de Caesaribus – o abordare istoriografică</i>	159

Alexandru Ștefan, <i>Tentația falsului diplomatic. Cazul lui Ștefan de Sânger, notarul conventului benedictin de la Cluj-Mănăștur</i>	169
Ștefan S. Gorovei, <i>Falsuri și falsificatori pentru istoria românească</i>	185
Radu Cărciumaru, <i>Greci la Târgoviște în veacul al XVII-lea. Interferențe istorico-arheologice</i>	197
Celestin Ignat, <i>Logofeția Țării Moldovei în cea de-a treia domnie a lui Gheorghe Duca (1678-1683)</i>	211
Mihai-Bogdan Atanasiu, <i>Documente inedite ale familiei Goia (I). Ramura lui Sandu Goia</i>	225
Gheorghe Lazăr, <i>Ajutoarele românești în favoarea așezămintelor athonite Karacalu și Marea Lavră. Noi mărturii documentare (sec. al XVIII-lea)</i>	261
Mihai Anatolii Ciobanu, <i>Două planuri rusești ale ansamblului Episcopiei Buzăului</i> ..	287
Laurențiu Rădvan, Mihai Anatolii Ciobanu, <i>Planul satului Lăzăreni (Iași) și surprizele sale: reședința lui Rumeanțev și schitul de la Stânca Jijiei</i>	303
Georgiana Mădălina Mihai, <i>Ținutul Romanului în cadrul organizării administrative a Moldovei în secolul XVIII – prima jumătate a secolului XIX</i>	321

Cuprins

Laurențiu Rădvan, <i>Noi contribuții privitoare la originea și activitatea arhitectului Johann Freywald</i>	337
Alexandru-Florin Platon, „ <i>La Révolution de la Grèce n'est qu'accidentelle...</i> ”: o versiune inedită a relației prințului Gheorghe Cantacuzino despre acțiunea Eteriei în Principatele Române la 1821	355
Cristian Ploscaru, <i>O piesă de teatru și afacerea „idarelelor calpe”. Secvențe din istoria domniilor pămâtenne</i>	413
Maria Rados, <i>Întâia reformă a școlilor din Moldova?</i>	429
Simion Câlția, <i>Decorațiile, instrument de guvernare în timpul domniei lui Carol I</i>	457
Claudiu-Lucian Topor, <i>Romania's Royal Legation in Germany before 1914</i>	473
Mihai Tudosă, <i>Orthodoxy and Orthopraxy Among Romanians During the Great War</i> ..	497
Ovidiu Buruiană, <i>The German military occupation in Romania (1916-1918) and its representation</i>	515
Liviu Brătescu, <i>Centenarul nașterii lui I. C. Brătianu (1921). Memorie socială și legitimare politică</i>	543

<i>In memoriam: Ion Toderășcu</i>	559	
<i>Recenzii și note bibliografice</i>	561	
Sextus Aurelius Victor, <i>Liber de Caesaribus. Carte despre împărați, editio bilinguis</i> /ediție bilingvă, ediția a II-a revizuită și adăugită, traducere, considerații privind limba și stilul și notă asupra ediției de Mihaela Paraschiv, ediție îngrijită, abrevieri, studiu introductiv, ediții de izvoare folosite, notă asupra ediției, note și comentarii, apendice și indice de Nelu Zugravu, Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, 2022, 734 p. (<i>Thesaurus Classicus III</i>) (Cozmin-Valerian Broșteanu); Lactanțiu, <i>Instituțiile divine. Epitoma</i> , traducere și note Petru Pistol, București, Editura Sophia, 2019, 286 p. (Nelu Zugravu); Giovanni Filoramo, <i>Crucea și puterea. Creștinii, de la martiri la persecutori</i> , traducere din italiană de Dionisie Constantin Pîrvuloiu, București, Editura Humanitas, 2022, 486 p. (Nelu Zugravu); <i>The Dacians in the Roman Empire. Provincial Constructions</i> , edited by Sorin Nemeti, Dan Dana, Irina Nemeti, Eugenia Beu-Dachin, Luciana Nedelea and Timea Varga, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2019, 443 p. (<i>Casian Gămănuț</i>); <i>The Roman Provinces. Mechanisms of Integration</i> , edited by Sorin Nemeti, Eugenia Beu-Dachin, Irina Nemeti, Dan Dana, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2019, 368 p. (<i>Casian Gămănuț</i>); Yann Le Bohec, <i>Războiul în lumea romană 58 a.Chr.–235 p.Chr.</i> , Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2021, 348 p. (Alex-Marian Cornea); <i>Scris, scriitură, text în Țările Române (secolele XV-XVIII)</i> , volum îngrijit de Monica Dejan cu un cuvânt înainte de Maria Magdalena Székely, Suceava, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, 2020, 288 p. (Alexandru Gorea); Mihail K. Qaramah, <i>O istorie a Molitfelnicului românesc. Evoluția formularelor Sfințelor Taine (sec. XVI-XVII)</i> , Alba Iulia, Editura Reîntregirea, 2022, 307 p. (Celestin Ignat); <i>Doi călători elvețieni și lumea românească la începuturile modernității (1808-1811): Léonard Revilliod și Charles René Pictet de Rochemont. Mărturii inedite</i> , editat		

Cuprins

de Alexandru-Florin Platon, Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2021, 398 p. (*Adrian-Ionuț Gilea*); Gheorghe-Florin Știrbăț, *Alexandru Enacovici. Din activitatea politică*, Iași, Editura PIM, 2019, 343 p. (*Andrei Bordeianu*); Radu Mârza, *Călători și pacienți români la Karlsbad. O istorie culturală a mersului la băi pe la 1900*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2022, 504 p. (*Renata-Gabriela Buzău*); Sonya Orfalian, *Mărturii ale copiilor armeni 1915-1922*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2022, 218 p. (*Bogdan Iuțiș*).

Abrevieri

597

A marriage of convenience. The Romanian Workers' Party and the Yugoslav emigration in the early 1950s

The 1948 Soviet-Yugoslav schism triggered a chain reaction that affected many levels, not only politically and diplomatically. For various reasons, Romanian and Yugoslav citizens chose to cross the border, at all costs. Some had families across the border, from whom they seemed irretrievably separated by the new “iron curtain” in the eastern bloc; others had been convicted or had come into conflict with this new regime in their country and the only chance for survival was to seek refuge. A significant part of those who left the country based their decision on the competing propaganda speeches, which idealized the political and especially economic realities on the other side of the Danube. Last but not least, there was a small minority of Romanian and Yugoslav citizens, recruited by the secret police services, who crossed the border under false identity and invoked political refuge in order to infiltrate themselves in the state security structures of the “others”.

The investigation on the subject is complex, involving several intertwining levels of analysis. The first is the relationship between the fugitive and the state of origin, which can reveal the reason of departure. But, usually, the speculative level of the deposition or the document presenting the reasons for crossing the border is high, given the fact that the militia, the security and the party structures invariably categorize emigrants as “traitors” and they can only invoke the political refuge, so as not to risk criminal charges. The second level is the ambivalent relationship between the immigrant and the state granting residence, from the perspective of mutual relations and representations, social inclusion or exclusion, control and verification (including commissions of verification and espionage), legal measures regarding either granting rights or considered a felon. The third level mixes the historical analysis with the sociological one: the number of emigrants, their profile, their professions and professional conversion, the social environment and insertion, coagulations and internal splits, cultural organizations, newspapers, leisure. Last but not least, the comparative dimension between the phenomena in the Romanian People's Republic (RPR) and the other popular democratic states is essential in order to understand the particularities and steadiness of the process. Also, the

* PhD in History, associate professor, Faculty of History, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, Romania; inistor2001@gmail.com.

migration to Yugoslavia from neighboring countries complete the complex situation of the 1948-1953 “exchanges”.

The aim of this research is to explore one aspect of the relationship between the Romanian state and Yugoslav emigrants: the objectives and political strategies of the Romanian Workers’ Party (RWP) in relation to the Yugoslav emigration, its political organization and its response to party control and inclusion.

The first illegal border crossings from Yugoslavia to Romania, attributed to the political persecution, took place in the autumn of 1948. The Romanian authorities were taken by surprise by the new reality, but the initial hesitations were quickly replaced by coherent measures, both in terms of border guarding, investigation and pursuit of fugitives¹. The first waves of emigrants were investigated by the General Directorate of People’s Security at its headquarters in Bucharest. Then, because their number increased and the waiting time was extended, the investigations took place in headquarters outside Bucharest².

In terms of border control, the authorities adapted along the way. On November 8, 1948, the Ministry of Internal Affairs requested the Commander of the Border Guard Troops the enhancement of traffic surveillance in the southwestern border area and near the Danube³. On November 22, 1948, a Special Regional Committee for Order, Security and Border Guard ordered the control of the entire population in the border area, the evacuation of all “doubtful persons” and the establishment of the population control system⁴. On the first days of January 1949, the Ministry of the Internal Affairs decided to divide the border area into two: the first, of 5-7 km, was secured by the border guards, the second, of 7-25 km, was secured by the secret police. The measures also involved the control of the population in the area so that the evacuation of “foreign elements who could not justify their presence” would be done⁵. The check was made through the visa of the identity card. And as the measures could only be fully effective with the support of the locals, the Ministry of Internal Affairs decided that each inhabitant would announce the new arrivals in the area. The area up to 25 km was controlled by the Security Troops Command, a mission for which 24 platoons were unblocked. The institution coordinating the border surveillance activity was a Special Regional

¹ An interesting and very useful analysis of the verification mechanisms, the investigation pattern and the goals of the secret service is found in the study. „*Război ideologic*” în *Balcani: imaginea Jugoslaviei titoiste în anchetele Securității (1948-1951)*. Documente, Dan Lazăr ed., Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2016.

² Archive of the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives (hereinafter: ACNSAS), fund Informativ, I 160772, vol. 105, p. 397 (Note, February 1st 1951).

³ Constantin Hlihor, *România: relațiile cu vecinii în perioada războiului rece. Relațiile cu Jugoslavia*, București, Editura Academiei Tehnice Militare, 2015, p. 116.

⁴ Timiș County Service of the National Archives (hereinafter: SJTAN), fund Prefectura Județului Timiș, file 5, 1949, p. 4 (Meeting minutes of the Special Regional Commandment for order, security and border guarding, November, 22th 1948).

⁵ Constantin Hlihor, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

Committee, composed of representatives of the Militia (Police), Security (Secret Police), Prefecture and Border Guard⁶.

On January 24, 1949, the Special Regional Committee took real measures in order to prevent the clandestine crossing of the Yugoslavian border. Decisions included: banning access to the border area, stopping all persons not residing in Caraş-Severin or Timiș-Torontal counties who were travelling to the border regions, strengthening control over the railways and roads⁷, accepting in the area only the persons on business with travel documents.

In terms of rules establishing the relationship between the Romanian state and the Yugoslav emigrants, the most important decisions, taken few months after the arrival of the first Yugoslavians in the Romanian People's Republic for political reasons, were those of 1949. On March, 11th, at the meeting of the Central Committee Secretariat, it was decided to grant political asylum to all those "fleeing Yugoslavia" and on the second half of April 1949, the same political forum decided to draw up the legal framework of Yugoslavian emigration. At the same time, it was decided to publish the Yugoslav emigration newspaper "Under the banner of internationalism", with Dușco Novacov as editor-in-chief⁸.

Not all Yugoslavs who arrived in Romania were considered political emigrants. That is the reason why the government investigations and the statements of those involved were very important. It was hard to establish the difference between a runaway crossing the border for personal and economic reasons and the political emigrant, given the fact that the statements couldn't be proven in the absence of documents and a personal history. But, after the first waves of immigrants, the Romanian government set up verification organizations, made up of "trusted Yugoslavs" who were in fact double agents whose role was to infiltrate themselves within the groups.

The state control system has been improved in stages. If at first it was not clear which institutions were responsible for the issue of Yugoslav emigrants, in 1950 and 1951 things became clearer. The March 1951 Regulation stipulated that the detention of a clandestine person was carried out by the border guards, responsible for the first investigations. If, at this first level of investigation, the detainee was considered a political, cultural, military "personality"⁹, he was to be handed over to the police security services. If more complex investigations were necessary, the case was taken over by Section 1 of the Regional Security and the Yugoslavs were detained and sent to Bucharest to a specially organized prison for those passing illegally from Yugoslavia. The names of the detainees were entered in the general register of records and known only to the prison commander.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 132.

⁷ "Those coming from other areas of the country, especially larger cities, will be get off the train", and sent back on the first train – see SJTAN, fund Prefectura Județului Timiș, file 5, 1949, p. 17 (Address of the Regional Commandment to the Timiș County Commandment Torontal, January 25th 1949).

⁸ Constantin Hlihor, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁹ It is not clear what this meant. The mentioned term increased the ambiguity in the investigation.

In March 1950, the statistics of the Foreign Control Service included 174 Yugoslav political emigrants¹⁰. By May 1952, the Romanian People's Republic had granted asylum to 243 Yugoslavs, of whom 206 were recognized as political emigrants, and 37 – without a specific status – were allowed to remain¹¹.

However, the total number of Yugoslavs entering Romania during this period was higher and the categories more numerous. Between 1948 and 1955, 409 Yugoslav citizens joined the Romanian People's Republic. 60 of them were placed under house arrest, 166 were convicted and imprisoned while others with unknown background, were either under investigation, or had been executed¹² or had fled to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria¹³.

Political immigrants were organized into centers, whose number and composition varied in time. In March 1949, the Romanian People's Republic leadership decided to place the emigrants into two state farms, in Copăceni and Spanțov, which were located 80 km away from Bucharest. But many immigrants of the first wave did not pass the checks and investigations carried out by the Romanian security. They were charged with espionage and imprisoned.

As other Yugoslavs joined the RPR and received political asylum, new groups were formed. The largest number was established in Bucharest, comprising, in August 1952, 91 people¹⁴. The group in the capital was mainly made up of the elite of Yugoslav emigration, people with secondary and higher education, employed in political positions or in fields that exploited their knowledge and potential, but at the same time could be useful to RWP propaganda and control of other emigrants.

Another group of immigrants was formed in Piatra Neamț. In February 1952, the colony consisted of 23 people¹⁵. The third colony in terms of number of emigrants was at the State Agricultural Farm in Peris. It was set up as a result of the decision of the Central Committee of the Romanian People's Republic, in February 8th, 1951. The number of emigrants in Peris varied between 10 and 14 people¹⁶. The fourth colony was created at Crevedia. Between 1950 and 1952, 6 to 11 Yugoslavs lived there, all of whom were employed on the local farm¹⁷.

¹⁰ ACNSAS, fund Informativ, I 160772, vol. 8, p. 232 (The Yugoslav espionage in RPR).

¹¹ Ibidem, vol. 105, p. 18 (Report on Yugoslav emigration in RPR, May 10th 1952).

¹² Branco Morarevici, who came to RPR in 1951 and was executed in 1953, Dragoliub Popovici, arrived in RPR in 1952 and executed in 1953, Mihail Somaghi with the same situation and Vitomir Straineve, who came in 1949 and was executed in 1953 – see Ibidem, vol. 7, p. 80 (Note, June 14, 1955).

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ ACNSAS, fund Informativ, I 160772, vol. 105, p. 26 (Situation regarding Yugoslav emigration from RPR, August 11th 1952).

¹⁵ Ibidem, vol. 105, p. 76 (Synthesis regarding the informative work of the emigrant group in Piatra Neamț, DGSS Bacău Region to DGSS, June 9th 1952).

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 326 (Note, March 13, 1951).

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 55 (Synthesis with the results of the informative surveillance carried out on the two groups of Yugoslav refugees on the farms in Periş and Crevedia from February to March 1952, 27th March 1952).

In April 1949, the Central Committee Secretariat of the Romanian People's Republic decided to publish the Yugoslav emigration newspaper "Under the banner of internationalism", with Dușco Novacov as editor-in-chief. The party publishing house provided the newspaper with print media and paper. The newspaper appeared twice a month, was broadcast in Yugoslavia, with the political responsibility coming from the Central Committee of RWP led by Iosif Chisinevschi¹⁸. Under the guise of serious press, requested by emigration as a political and linguistic necessity, "Under the banner of internationalism" was in fact one of the means of government control and propaganda in Bucharest. It was a form of political literacy, but also a demonstration of the success of the Soviet model among Romanian emigrants. And the newspaper was not the only tool by which the Central Committee of RWP wanted to control the community of Yugoslav political emigrants, few but important both as a source of direct information on the political, economic and social realities of Yugoslavia and as a factor of pressure on the Titoist government.

Emigrants were regularly checked by secret police forces and colleagues turned by the General Department of Secret Service into espionage agents. Information was sought on both their past in Yugoslavia and their work in the Romanian People's Republic. The fears were mainly related to the possible enlistment of emigrants among the UDB, which, thus, could have undercover agents in Romania, but also to the possible turmoil they could provoke among the Yugoslavs.

Those who passed the first selection test upon joining the RPR continued to be monitored and subjected to extensive scrutiny during 1951. The trial took place between October 6 and November 5, involved 226 people and was carried out by the Party Organization of Yugoslav Emigrants, under the leadership of persons appointed by the Central Committee of the Romanian People's Republic. Starting with May 1951, the organization requested a detailed autobiography from each emigrant, to which they added a standardized questionnaire. The questions were drafted by a committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian People's Republic and the First Directorate of the General Department of Secret Service. On a minute basis, following the discussions with each emigrant, the commission drew up written conclusions and proposed measures¹⁹.

These conclusions provided the image of Yugoslavs' reasons mentioned to the secret police concerning the crossing of the border: 66 people declared that they took refuge in Romania because they were being pursued by the Yugoslav authorities for their implication in the Resolution of the Information Bureau, 35 of them were already PMR members; 39 fled because of "fascist terror" in the neighboring state,

¹⁸ He had to produce periodic informative reports on the newspaper's activity and submit for approval the draft budget to the CC Secretariat – see Constantin Hlihor, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁹ The entire procedure is described in ACNSAS, fund Informativ, I 160772, vol. 106.

and they graduated party and union schools²⁰; 11 people took refuge as a result of committing crimes under common law in Yugoslavia or as a result of being sentenced for collaboration with pro-fascist organizations during the occupation (they were to be removed from the group of emigrants); 96 emigrants had to be re-investigated by the GDPS (General Directorate of People's Security) because, following the discussions, they failed to clarify some confusing issues from the personal files and from the initial statements given upon entering the country²¹; 14 of those checked, should, in the opinion of the Commission, be arrested and re-investigated by the GDPS because they turned out to be UDB spies²².

Most of the people who were verified fulfilled the criteria set for "Yugoslav political emigration", while others followed other secret police investigations. "Internal" checks continued in the following years, with Yugoslav activity closely monitored and new statements on the past and relationship with the Yugoslav authorities were compared to the original ones. The verification commission did not have the same composition throughout the process and for all emigrants. Among the members with the most frequent attendances were: Alexandru Opoievlici, Slavko Dobrosavliev, Milorad Sakota and Svetislav Markushev. The commission had real power in relation to emigrants and was invested with confidence by the political authorities in Bucharest. Its findings, based on comparative investigations, were taken into account by the Romanian intelligence agencies, and the classification of emigrants or espionage suspects was the basis for selection among emigrants. However, the "sentences" of the commission and the internal audit did not exclude and did not replace the procedures performed by the General Department of Secret Service, but it played a supporting role.

In order to control emigration, the secret police used infiltrated agents, mostly recruited from among the Yugoslavs who arrived in Romania after 1948. In 1951, the B132 Cover-up Organization made up of Yugoslav emigrants, included 17 people²³. The number of informants fluctuated. At the beginning of 1953, the GDPS had 21 informants and only 15 at the end of the same year. During 1953, three meeting houses were created for agents from the Yugoslav colonies²⁴.

Some conclusions emerge from the data analysis regarding the 16 Yugoslav informants working for the secret police in 1951: they were young

²⁰ ACNSAS, fund Informativ, I 160772, vol. 106, p. 144 (Report regarding the verification of Yugoslav revolutionary emigrants in RPR, September 5th – November 5th 1951).

²¹ The commission found that they had connections with the UDB, some had volunteered in Germany, and after the resolution of the Information Bureau they denounced several people to the Belgrade authorities for anti-Tito views – see *ibidem*, p. 144.

²² Veselimonic Momir, Puletic Svetolic, Radosavlievici Branko, Titici Radisav, Sava Juvanici, Mucibabici Gheorghe, Popovici Veselin, Valgoni Alois, Rozbacher Giuro, Miloradovici Liubodrag, Kevat Marian, Ciabarcapa Radomir, Dericichi Gh., Miloevici Iovan, Felix Milorad, Tudorovici Miriana, Barkici Steva, Dobrasimovici Ivan, Tarculici Branco, Koraci Dimitar – see *ibidem*, p. 110 (Report, November 20, 1951).

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 262 (Note, January 8, 1954).

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

people, between the ages of 22 and 33, with practical professional training skills or a low level of education. The “voluntary” regimentation as informers, unanimously invoked in personal files, can be explained by the complicity of interests: that of the secret police that used to infiltrate people that were credible in the eyes of the community, people with language skills and docile, and also that of the occasional agents, who could exceed their simple condition and thus escaped even the criminal consequences of the activity in Yugoslavia, or the accusation of collaboration with the UDB, hidden from their own statements and then invoked by the secret police²⁵.

The control of Yugoslav political emigration was not based solely on information notes and coercive actions. Starting with the autumn of 1949, the Central Committee Secretariat of the Romanian People’s Republic took measures for the political organization of emigration. The mechanisms of ideological processing and transmission of “politically correct” messages were set up, an emigration management structure, composed of the editorial staff of the newspaper “Under the flag of internationalism”²⁶, was organized, the association’s headquarters, a library and the editorial office were also arranged²⁷. The Central Committee of RWP provided the emigrants with a four-month political school, then an eight-month course, modelled on the party high school curriculum, which discussed “documents to expose the Titoists in Belgrade”²⁸. The basic organization of the RWP among emigrants was formed. It consisted of nine people, led by Slavco Dobrosavliev, Alexandru Opoevlici and Voislav Coiovici. The distribution of emigration in the territory was done on political and opportunity criteria. Emigrants with a relatively clear situation were kept in Bucharest, with the prospect of being directly involved in the “political work” of emigration or studying. Four free Yugoslavs were employed at Radio România Liberă. They had to prepare the “anti-Titoist material of the show”, completing the activity of the other four who worked on the Yugoslav emigration programs.

The distribution of Yugoslav emigrants in the RPR by field of activity was not accidental, as it was based on the professional structure and reflected the level of education and type of training of each individual.

The emigration of Yugoslavs to Romania was not an isolated process. Most European states in the communist bloc have received such groups, their organization being similar, which proves the existence of a large-scale action orchestrated by Moscow. Everywhere, the organizations of the emigrants received

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Dușco Novacov was the chief-editor for a long time. From March 1952, following elections in editorial teams, Vrteli George became the responsible editor, Constantin Gruici the deputy responsible editor, Slavco Dobrosavliev editorial secretary and Miloș Vrteli “the responsible for working with the masses and correspondents”, – see *ibidem*, vol. 105, p. 62 (Informative summary on Yugoslav political emigration in RPR, January 1st – April 10th 1952).

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 113 (Synthesis report on the problem of Yugoslav emigration).

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 115.

the support of the political power, for joining the communist parties, for publishing their own newspapers²⁹ and for setting up radio stations.

Gradually, after 1953, when Stalin's death paved the way for the normalization of relations between Moscow and Belgrade, emigrant organizations were disbanded and their activity was reduced. A long and difficult process of bringing these people back to Yugoslavia followed, with the Titoist regime making legislative and diplomatic efforts in this regard. Thus, by 1957, 1,026 emigrants had returned to Yugoslavia, and by 1964 other 1,336 persons³⁰. Comparing the general data of the Yugoslav emigration in the Central and Eastern European states with those referring to the Romanian People's Republic³¹, we find that the number of emigrants arriving in Romania is relatively low, compared to the total number of people having the same situation. One of the explanations would be that Romania was often seen as a transit country to the Soviet Union, where most Yugoslav emigrants arrived. On the other hand, summary data on emigration from Bulgaria offer, by comparison, an interesting perspective on the socio-professional structure of emigration from Romania. A statement by a group of Yugoslavs who arrived at Sofia in May 1949, taken over by "Scântea", is interesting not by its standardized content (accusations against Tito, taken from Stalinist propaganda), but by its signatories: Radomir Ilici-Miko – the Deputy Chief of the Regional Directorate of State Security in Zaječar (Zaječar), Todor Todorovic – the Deputy Minister of Finance of the Popular Republic of Serbia, Iovan Tocovic – the political secretary of the County Committee of the Communist Party in Bor, Ostoia Rokic – director of the mines in Zaječar³². There were, therefore, people with important positions in the Yugoslav party and state institutions. In Romania, only Dusco Novacov could be considered a notable presence, but not of the same importance. Dusco Novacov, born in 1918, graduated from the Belgrade Faculty of Agronomy. In 1940, he was arrested for working for the Yugoslav Communist Youth Union, and in 1943 he fought among Tito's supporters. In 1945 he was elected a member of the Union Parliament, in 1946 a Member of the Alibunar County in the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia and in 1947 a Member of Parliament for Vojvodina. After expressing his support for the Resolution of the Information Bureau, he moved to Romania in January 1949, where he was appointed head of the newspaper "Under the banner of internationalism". In 1950, he was appointed the party secretary and head of the Yugoslav emigration to the RPR until September 1951, when he

²⁹ In Bulgaria, for example, starting from June 1949, "Napred", a newspaper of the Yugoslav emigrants was published – see "Scântea", no. 1450, June 12, 1949, p. 3.

³⁰ Momcilo Mitrovic, Slobodan Selinic, *Jugoslovenska Informbiroovska emigracija y istočnoevropski zemljama*, in "Currents of History", no. 1-2, Beograd, 2009, p. 54.

³¹ We lack, at the moment, sufficient data for similar processes that took place in all European communist states.

³² "Scântea", no. 1437, May 28, 1949, p. 5.

became a member of the Yugoslav emigration steering committee and sent to Moscow³³.

The relationship between the Romanian state and the Yugoslav citizens who joined the Romanian People's Republic was not uniform and not always one of the best. There was mutual suspicion, sometimes fuelling, under the influence of emigration agitators, the dissatisfaction of some Yugoslavs with the restrictive and discriminatory treatment applied by the Romanian authorities. Security did not trust the statements of the immigrants, resuming the verification procedures, even after some of them proved their loyalty to the regime and denounced those who had "issues in the file". Emigrants, on the other hand, did not have full confidence in the Romanian state, in many cases avoiding the truth about their own past, out of an understandable fear, of retaliation and legal consequences. At the same time, a justifiable and complicit mutual interest relationship was established. The security needed information about the emigrants and the political, social and economic system of Yugoslavia, while the emigrants needed training and professional growth in the country that had adopted them. Thus, taking advantage of the previous level of education, the social origin and the intellectual potential, the Romanian state organized short-term schools for emigrants, offering them political instruction and promoting them in the party. Others, especially among the workers, were used as infiltrating informants among the emigrants, thus having the opportunity to overcome their condition and become trustworthy persons in the eye of the security.

A marriage of convenience. The Romanian Workers' Party and the Yugoslav emigration in the early 1950s

Abstract

The emigration of Yugoslavs in the early 50s was a complex process, resulted from the ideological and propaganda conflict waged by Belgrade and Moscow alike. Approximately 200 out of 4,000 Yugoslavs, who crossed the border in order to escape the psychological pressure and pursuit of the secret surveillance authorities, according to their own statements, arrived in Romania. Coming in waves of migration between 1948 and 1953, the Yugoslav emigrants were placed by the Romanian state in several labor colonies, of which the largest was in Bucharest. The secret service surveillance included turning some emigrants into espionage agents as well as other political measures to control the new arrivals. The relationship between the Romanian state and these defectors was not linear. The secret police and party organs did not trust the emigrants' statements; the verification procedures were repeated several times, even after some proved their loyalty to the regime. The Yugoslavs, on the other hand, did not fully trust the Romanian state; in many cases,

³³ ACNSAS, fund Informativ, I 160772, vol. 40, p. 23-24 (Note regarding the situation of the emigrant Dușco Novacov, 15th of December 1953).

they avoided to tell the truth about their own past, out of an understandable fear of reprisals and legal consequences. At the same time, a justifiable and complicit mutually interested relationship was established. The secret police needed information about the emigrants, about the political, social and economic system in Yugoslavia, while the emigrants needed training and professional advancement.

Keywords: Yugoslav emigration; Resolution of the Information Bureau; Romanian-Yugoslav communication; Tito.

ABREVIERI

<i>AARMSI</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice
<i>AARMSL</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Literare
<i>AARPAD</i>	= „Analele Academiei Române”, seria II, București, 1879-1916
<i>AA.SS.</i>	= <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. Bollandisti, III ^a edițiune, Parigi 1863-1870
<i>AB</i>	= Arhivele Basarabiei
<i>ACNSAS</i>	= Arhivele Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității
<i>AE</i>	= L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
<i>AIR</i>	= Arhiva Istorică a României
<i>AIAC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj
<i>AIIAI</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>AIIC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj
<i>AIINC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională, Cluj
<i>AIIX</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>ALIL</i>	= Anuarul de Lingvistică și Istorie Literară, Iași
<i>ALMA</i>	= <i>Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi</i> . Genève.
<i>AM</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
<i>AMAE</i>	= Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe
<i>AmAnthr</i>	= American Anthropologist, New Series, Published by Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association
<i>AMM</i>	= Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Vaslui
<i>AMMB</i>	= Arhiva Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, Iași
<i>AMN</i>	= Acta Musei Napocensis
<i>AMR</i>	= Arhivele Militare Române
<i>AMS</i>	= Anuarul Muzeului din Suceava
<i>ANB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, București
<i>ANC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Cluj
<i>ANDMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Direcția Municipiului București
<i>ANG</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Galați
<i>ANI</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Iași
<i>ANIC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale
<i>ANR-Cluj</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ANR-Sibiu</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Sibiu
<i>ANRM</i>	= Arhivele Naționale ale Republicii Moldova, Chișinău
<i>ANRW</i>	= Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin-New York
<i>ANSMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Municipiului București
<i>ANV</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Vaslui
<i>AO</i>	= Arhivele Olteniei
<i>AP</i>	= Analele Putnei
<i>APH</i>	= Acta Poloniae Historica, Varșovia
<i>AqLeg</i>	= <i>Aquila Legionis. Cuadernos de Estudios sobre el Ejército Romano</i> , Salamanca
<i>AR</i>	= Arhiva Românească
<i>ArchM</i>	= Arhiva Moldaviae, Iași
<i>ArhGen</i>	= Arhiva Genealogică
„Arhiva”	= „Arhiva”. Organul Societății Științifice și Literare, Iași
<i>ArhMold</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei
<i>ASRR</i>	= Arhiva Societății Române de Radiodifuziune
<i>AȘUI</i>	= Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași

- ATS = Ancient Textile Series, Oxbow Books, Oxford și Oakville
 AUAIC = Arhiva Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași
 AUB = Analele Universității „București”
 BA = *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice
 BAR = Biblioteca Academiei Române
 BArchB = Bundesarchiv Berlin
 BAR int. ser. = British Archaeological Reports, International Series
 BBRF = Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg
 BCIR = Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României
 BCMI = Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice
 BCU-Iași = Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, Iași
 BE = Bulletin Epigraphique
 BF = Byzantinische Forschungen, Amsterdam
 BJ = Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn
 BMI = Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice
 BMIM = București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie
 BNB = Biblioteca Națională București
 BNJ = Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
 BOR = Biserica Ortodoxă Română
 BS = Balkan Studies
 BSNR = Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române
 ByzSlav = Byzantinoslavica
 CA = Cercetări arheologice
 CAI = Caiete de Antropologie Istorică
 CartNova = *La ciudad de Carthago Nova 3: La documentación epigráfica*, Murcia
 CB = Cahiers balkaniques
 CC = Codrul Cosminului, Suceava (ambele serii)
 CCAR = Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, CIMEC, București
 CCh = *Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout
 CChSG = *Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*
 CCSL = *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, Turnhout, Brepols
 CDM = *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhivele Centrale de Stat*, București, vol. I-V; supl. I.
 CDȚR = *Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești din Arhivele Statului*, București, vol. II-VIII, 1974-2006
 Chiron = Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1971
 CI = Cercetări istorice (ambele serii)
 CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
 CL = Cercetări literare
 CLRE = *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, eds. R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, Atlanta, 1987
 CN = Cercetări Numismatice
 CNA = Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, București
 CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain
 CSEA = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Aquileiensis*, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice
 CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien, De Gruyter
 CSPAMI = Centrul de Studii și Păstrare a Arhivelor Militare Centrale, Pitești
 CT = Columna lui Traian, București
 CTh = *Codex Theodosianus*. Theodosiani, Libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis, I, edidit adsumpto apparatu P. Kruegeri, Th. Mommsen, Hildesheim, 1970-1971
 Cv.L = Convorbiri literare (ambele serii)

„Dacia”, N.S.	= Dacia. Nouvelle Série, Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
DANIC	= Direcția Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale
DGAS	= Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului
DI	= Diplomatarium Italicum
DIR	= <i>Documente privind istoria României</i>
DIRRI	= <i>Documente privind Istoria României. Războiul pentru Independență</i>
DOP	= Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DTN	= <i>Din trecutul nostru</i> , Chișinău
DRH	= <i>Documenta Romaniae Historica</i>
EB	= Études Balkaniques
EBPB	= Études byzantines et post-byzantines
EDCS	= <i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby</i> (http://www.manfredclauss.de/)
EDR	= <i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> (http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php)
EpigrAnat	= Epigraphica Anatolica, Münster
ERAsturias	= F. Diego Santos, <i>Epigrafiya Romana de Asturias</i> , Oviedo, 1959.
Gerión	= Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua, Madrid
GB	= Glasul Bisericii
GCS	= <i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller</i> , Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897-1969
GLK	= <i>Grammatici Latini Keil</i>
HEp	= <i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> , Madrid
„Hierasus”	= <i>Hierasus</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Județean Botoșani, Botoșani
HM	= Heraldica Moldaviae, Chișinău
HU	= Historia Urbana, Sibiu
HUI	= Historia Universitatis Iassiensis, Iași
IDR	= <i>Inscripțiile din Dacia romană</i> , Bucurști-Paris
IDRE	= <i>Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, Bucarest, 1996, 2000
IGLN	= Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae, Bordeaux
IGLR	= <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România</i> , București, 1976
ILLPecs	= Instrumenta Inscripta Latina. <i>Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften</i> , Pecs, 1991
ILAlg	= <i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> , Paris
ILB	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae. Inscriptiones inter Oescum et Iatrum repertae</i> , Sofia, 1989
ILD	= <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , București
ILN	= <i>Inscriptions latines de Novae</i> , Poznan
ILLPRON	= <i>Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin, 1986
ILS	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 1892
IMS	= <i>Inscriptiones Moesiae Superioris</i> , Belgrad
IN	= „Ioan Neculce”. Buletinul Muzeului Municipal Iași
ISM	= <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , București, vol. I-III, 1983-1999
JGO	= Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas
JL	= Junimea literară
JRS	= The Journal of Roman studies, London
LR	= Limba română
MA	= Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț
MCA	= Materiale și cercetări arheologice
MEF	= <i>Moldova în epoca feudalismului</i> , vol. I-XII, 1961-2012, Chișinău
MEFRA	= <i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité</i> , Roma

- MGH** = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum auspiciis societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum medii aevi*, Berlin 1877-
MI = Magazin istoric, București
MIM = Materiale de istorie și muzeografie
MM = Mitropolia Moldovei
MMS = Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei
MN = Muzeul Național, București
MO = Mitropolia Olteniei
MOF = Monitorul Oficial al României
Navarro = M. Navarro Caballero, *Perfectissima femina. Femmes de l'elite dans l'Hispanie romaine*, Bordeaux, 2017.
NBA = *Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana*, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum
NDPAC = *Nuovo Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, I, A-E, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2006; III, P-Z, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2008
NEH = *Nouvelles études d'histoire*
OI = Opțiuni istoriografice, Iași
OPEL = *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum*, vol. I-IV, Budapesta-Viena, 1994-2002
PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1886-1912
PIR = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I.II.III*, editio altera, Berlin.
PLRE = *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vol., eds. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, Cambridge, 1971-1992
RA = Revista arhivelor
RBAR = Revista Bibliotecii Academiei Române, București
RC = Revista catolică
RdI = Revista de istorie
REByz = *Revue des Études Byzantines*
RER = *Revue des études roumaines*
RESEE = *Revue des études Sud-Est européennes*
RHP = *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften*, Viena
RHSEE = *Revue historique de Sud-Est européen*
RI = Revista istorică (ambele serii)
RIAF = Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie
RIB = *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Londra
RIM = Revista de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
RIR = Revista istorică română, București
RIS = Revista de istorie socială, Iași
RITL = Revista de istorie și teorie literară
RIU = *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapesta
RJMH = *The Romanian Journal of Modern History*, Iași
RM = Revista muzeelor
RMD = *Roman Military Diplomas*, Londra
RMM = *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz
RMM-MIA = Revista muzeelor și monumentelor, seria Monumente istorice și de artă
RMR = Revista Medicală Română
RRH = *Revue roumaine d'histoire*
RRHA = *Revue roumaine de l'histoire de l'art*
RRHA-BA = *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux Arts*
RSIAB = Revista Societății istorice și arheologice bisericești, Chișinău
Rsl = Romanoslavica

<i>SAHIR</i>	= Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae, București
<i>SAI</i>	= Studii și Articole de Istorie
<i>SCB</i>	= Studii și cercetări de bibliologie
<i>Sch</i>	= <i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Paris
<i>SCIA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istoria artei
<i>SCIM</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie medie
<i>SCIV/SCIVA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)
<i>SCN</i>	= Studii și Cercetări Numismatice, București
<i>SCȘI</i>	= Studii și cercetări științifice, Istorie
<i>SEER</i>	= The Slavonic and East European Review
<i>SHA</i>	= <i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
<i>SJAN</i>	= Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale
<i>SMIC</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană, București
<i>SMIM</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie medie, București
<i>SMIMod</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie modernă, București
<i>SOF</i>	= Südost-Forschungen, München
<i>ST</i>	= Studii Teologice, București
<i>StAntArh</i>	= Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>T&MBYZ</i>	= <i>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines</i>
<i>ThD</i>	= Thraco-Dacica, București
<i>TR</i>	= Transylvanian Review, Cluj-Napoca
<i>TV</i>	= Teologie și viața, Iași
<i>ZPE</i>	= Zeitschrift für Papyralogie und Epigraphik
<i>ZSL</i>	= Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde