

ROMANIAN DIASPORA – PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

KING CAROL II AND THE ROMANIAN EMIGRATION IN AMERICA DURING WORLD WAR II

FLORIAN BANU

The history of monarchy in Romania extends over eighty-one years, during which interval four kings succeeded one another. Undoubtedly, each had his share of praise and contempt. However, the most controversial figure was that of Carol II. The personality of the first king of Romania born on Romanian soil¹ was extremely complex, as reflected in his activity. Labeled by most of his critics a forerunner of fascism² and a traitor of the democratic potential of Romania, Carol was pictured by his advocates as a man of his time, who, short of solving the issues and challenges of the thirties, at least faced them with a solid sense of reality.³

Rightfully named king, dictator, Maecenas or playboy, Carol was what his grandfather King Carol I termed, “an authentic Romanian: he swears and makes debts,”⁴ or, such as noted by Ioan Scurtu, with the objectiveness given by historical perspective, “a product of Romanian society.”⁵ It is quite natural that historiography should reflect at great length this fascinating character that played an important role in the history of Romania. Many historians focused on his activity before⁶ and, mostly, after his accession to throne,⁷ given the profound transformations undergone by the Romanian society in this period.

A solution for the Moment: The Exile

The present study deals with a period less known in Carol’s life, namely his activity after his forced departure from Romania in September 1940. The

¹ According to the archive documents, the birth of Prince Carol of Hohenzolem was recorded at the town hall of Sinaia on 16 October 1893. C. Neagu, D. Marinescu, *Fapte din umbră*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1980, p. 19.

² Al.Gh. Savu, *Dictatura regală (1938-1940)*, Bucharest, 1970, passim.

³ Stephen Fischer-Galați, *România în secolul al XX-lea*, Iași, 1998, p. 64.

⁴ *Apud* Florin Constantiniu, *Carol al II-lea sau despre împământinirea dinastiei*, in “Dosarele istoriei”, 5/2000, p. 8.

⁵ Ioan Scurtu, *Carol al II-lea, conducător politic*, in “Dosarele istoriei”, 3/1999, p. 29.

⁶ *Idem*, *Criza dinastică din România (1925-1930)*, Bucharest, 1996.

⁷ Neagu Cosma, *În culisele palatului regal. Un aventurier pe tron: Carol al II-lea (1930-1940)*, Bucharest, 1990; Paul of Romania, *Carol al II-lea rege al României*, Bucharest, 1991; Barbara Cartland, *The Scandalous Life of King Carol*, New York, 1957; Paul D. Quinlan, *Carol al II-lea – regele playboy*, Bucharest, 2001.

unfavorable international background and the profound internal crisis in Romania determined⁸ Carol to choose the exile as a temporary solution.⁹

Accompanied by Elena Lupescu and Ernest Urdăreanu, Carol left Romania, crossed over into Yugoslavia, and then headed for Spain. He was met here with hostility by the phalanxes, and he is reported to have been within an ace from being arrested by the Spanish government.¹⁰ He crossed over into Portugal and, after a short stay, headed for Cuba. The American authorities denied him an entry visa, so on 28 July 1941 he left for Mexico. He settled down at Coyoacan,¹¹ where he bought an estate.¹²

Once established on Mexican soil, without hesitating much, Carol embarked on a project to gather around him the Romanian emigration in North and South America. By placing himself at the head of the movement against the Antonescu regime and the Axis, Carol was hoping to gain the support of the triumphant United Nations, and prepare a comeback on the Romanian throne.

The idea was not new. Some of the leaders of the Romanian emigration had already taken steps for the creation of associations of the Romanians in exile. The most actives among them included the former minister of Romania to London V.V. Tilea and the former minister of Romania to Washington Carol Davila.¹³ In 1941, there were two organizations in the United States acting for the change of the political regime in Romania, as well as for the detachment of Romania from the Axis. One of them, "The Romanian–American Alliance for Democracy" had been founded on 26 October 1941 in Cleveland, by Romanian citizens of American origin. The leader of this organization was journalist Paul Deac.¹⁴ The second one had been founded by Carol Davila, who had also made contact with the Romanian groups in Great Britain and obtained their support. The organization was called the "National Free Romanian Council Abroad".

⁸ For the circumstances in which Carol was forced to leave the throne, Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *România după Marea Unire*, vol. II, part II, Bucharest, 1988, pp. 1325-1337; Ioan Scurtu, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX*, Bucharest, 1999, pp. 360-361.

⁹ The diary of Carol notes, "I solved this question by giving in and, without answering Antonescu, who did not have the courage to show up in person, I wrote a proclamation devolving upon Mihăiță the duties of the kingdom, and requesting the country to assist him in this difficult task. I only wrote a delegation, without abdicating formally. This formula was suggested by Ernest, who was rightfully against the term of abdication"; *apud* Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *op. cit.*, p. 1327.

¹⁰ Regele Carol al II-lea, *În zodia Satanei*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 152.

¹¹ Marcel D. Ciucă, *Carol al II-lea și „pâinea amară” a exilului*, in "Dosarele istoriei", 5/2000, p. 61.

¹² Neagu Cosma, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

¹³ Carol Davila made an appeal to the Romanians living in the USA so that they should help their native country exclusively as American citizens. This attitude was appreciated by the American authorities, especially as many prominent figures of the emigration of various nationalities made appeal to their co-nationals as if they were still citizens of their countries of origin; *Carol Davila Holds Hope for Democracy*, in "The Highlander Parker", 22 December 1941.

¹⁴ Paul Deac was also head of the "Americans All" organization of Detroit, which gathered together various national groups.

On 21 October 1941, Carol II sent a memoir to the State Secretary of the Foreign Office, requesting the assistance of the British Government to the creation of a so-termed "National Council of Free Romania". The British government showed little enthusiasm. There were two major reasons for this : the lack of prominent Romanian figures able to lead such an organization efficiently, and the fact that, in the opinion of the British, it would have been imperative for such a movement to enjoy full assistance from Iuliu Maniu. The latter, as leader of the Peasants' National Party was regarded as the only possible promoter of a credible movement of resistance against the Antonescu Regime.¹⁵

The British Government believed that Carol met neither of the conditions. Moreover, he was considered, "the best hated man in Romania." Any movement associated to his name would have been suspected of working towards his comeback to the throne, and would have elicited the hatred not only of the Peasants' National Party, but of the Romanian people in its whole. The answer to Carol's request noted that, without support from Maniu and the PNP, the goals mentioned in the memoir could not be attained.

Anthony Eden shared the point of view of the British, and the State Department of the USA contemplated adopting a common stand in any similar approaches Carol would make. The American officials analyzed the British offer and worked out a specific approach in the issue, an approach very similar with the British one.

Advices were sent to the American Embassy in Mexico as to the answer to be given to Carol's proposals. The American Ambassador was to inform Carol that the American Government had high regards for the feelings of the Romanians in exile, and for their wish to organize themselves in order to collaborate with the allied governments. At the same time, an official recognition of the so-termed "free movements" was not being taken under consideration for the time being, but it was hoped that these movements would not lead to a transplantation on American soil of the political disputes in the countries of origin. Carol was also being informed that the Government could not provide support to any "free movement" he would organize or be involved in.

Carol's efforts to set afoot a movement of the free Romanians under his direct control raised concern among the leaders of the Romanians living in the USA. In his letter of 4 November 1941 to the Head of the European Division of the State Department, Carol Davila expressed his fears that the former king Carol II would not give up his political activities, as promised, since "he never kept his word."

The trip made by Irimescu and Leon Fischer, who counted among Carol's sympathizers in the USA, to Mexico City, and their press statements made to "New York Times" and "New York Sun" confirmed the opinion that the former king was far from having adjusted to his new status. In fact, Irimescu declared to the "New

¹⁵ ANIC, USA Microfilms Fund, reel no. 630, frames 92-93.

York Times” reporter that he was Carol’s “legal representative” in New York, and he appeared in the press article as “the prime minister in exile of the former king Carol II.”¹⁶

The announcement by Irimescu and Fischer of an imminent visit of Carol to the United States made Carol Davila address on 31 December 1941 a letter to the State Department, in which he was pointing out to the dubious character of the two individuals, and to the fact that Carol’s arrival on American soil would generate unpleasant polemics among the American Romanians and destroy their unity in action.¹⁷ Davila also noted that a possible support from the American Government to Carol would create confusion among the Romanians at home, and among the emigration, and would discourage all the Romanians who “believe in the democratic principles and are ready to make a sacrifice for the triumph of liberty and dignity.”

In the first days of January 1942, Carol had a meeting with the American ambassador to Mexico. During the talks, he explained to the ambassador that he had been approached by representatives of the “free Romanians” of the USA, who had set up their headquarters in Dearborn, Michigan, and had been invited to take the leadership of this organization. Carol insisted that the ambassador should inform the President of the United States of this situation, and of the fact that he was requesting permission to visit the United States in order to join and organize the “Movement of the Free Romanians.”¹⁸

A telegram of the State Department dated 5 January 1942 informed the American Embassy in Mexico that, under the given circumstances, a visit by Carol to the United States was considered inappropriate. Carol was to be notified in this respect.¹⁹

It is quite interesting to note that Carol’s intentions to assume the position of leader of the Romanian emigration were looked upon with hostility not only by the Romanian exile but also by the American authorities. The Mexican press itself had no words of praise for the former king.

The editorial of the Mexican newspaper “El Popular” of 12 January 1942, entitled *Carol de Rumania y El Mundo futuro*, noted the following in relation to the acts of the former king: “Now that the wind has started to blow from the East, directly on the puppet regimes of Nazism, and when Romania and all the countries enslaved by Hitler will be soon set free, it is undoubtedly very convenient to set afoot a pseudo-movement of liberation, the leader of which assumes no risk and can dream about a comeback to the throne. But this idea, as convenient as it may seem, can hardly be considered natural in nowadays world (...) Highly reputed newspapers in London, such as ‘News Chronicle’ and ‘The London Evening

¹⁶ The issue of 24 December 1941 of “New York Times” published information on Carol’s intentions to come back on the throne and organize a government in exile on the territory of Canada.

¹⁷ ANIC, USA Microfilms Fund, reel no. 630, frame 89.

¹⁸ Ibidem, frame 115.

¹⁹ Ibidem, frame 78.

Standard', censored severely Carol's ambitions. According to the latter, which can hardly be considered of left orientation, the future destinies of the world will no longer be decided by princes, but rather by labor and peoples."

The Activity of the Romanian Emigration

While Carol's attempts to take over the leadership of a movement of the free Romanians bore no fruits, things stood quite differently with Carol Davila. The State Department notified on 11 March 1942 the American Embassy in London about the complete success of Davila in gathering together the Romanians living in the United States. Davila's activity was supported by the "Romanian American Alliance for Democracy", representing over 250 organizations throughout the United States. In early 1942, Carol Davila was elected president of this powerful organization, which contributed to a better cohesion of the Romanian community. In the meantime, Carol's supporters in the USA, priest Glicherie Moraru and Leon Fischer, were only representing themselves, even if trying to promote the idea that many Romanians were sympathizers of the former king.

Carol Davila also sought to coagulate the efforts of the Romanians living in England. Although in the autumn of 1941 the scales of balance seemed to be tilting in his favor, his attempt eventually failed, owing to the acute rivalry among the members of the Romanian community.

Three rival groups had taken shape in early 1942: one led by V.V. Tilea, another one by Cornea, and a third one without a prominent leaders, but in opposition to the former two. One should note that they all held an element in common: they were all completely opposed to Carol taking the leadership of any "Movement of the Free Romanian". One should also note that their activity was not being looked upon with sympathy by the British authorities.²⁰

In London, V.V. Tilea fell short of obtaining support and recognition from the British Government. At the interpellation of a member of the House of Commons, on 10 February 1943, the Secretary of State of the Foreign Office made a concise statement expressing his disapproval of the activity of the "Free Romania" Movement in London: "Her Majesty's Government does not recognize a so-termed 'Movement of the Free Romanians' in London or in any other parts, and does not approve of the activity of its London department. From the information at hand, it is not representative either for the public opinion in Romania, or for the opinion of the Romanians in our country. The government of Her Majesty appreciates the wish of the Romanians living in this country to make a contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. They have the possibility to contact an officer, whose task is to provide all the necessary assistance and guidance."²¹ Indeed, at the suggestion of the Foreign Office, a so-called "Bureau for the

²⁰ The Foreign Office believed that none of these groups had considerable moral or numerical support in Romania. It was also considered that these groups could do little to diminish the contribution of Romania to the triumph of the Axis. *Ibidem*, c. 124.

²¹ *Ibidem*, c. 231.

Romanian Affairs” had been set up in London, with the purpose to coordinate the activity of the Romanians in support to the war effort. The independent activities of Tilea were not regarded upon with sympathy by the officials of this Bureau.

Faced with the opposition of the authorities in the United States and Great Britain, Carol turned his attention to the Romanian emigration in Latin America. On 13 May 1942, Lyon, Second secretary of the American Embassy in Santiago de Chile, informed the Department of State about a discussion with Henry Helfant, former commercial attaché to the Romanian Legation in Madrid. Helfant had told him that he had been contacted by Carol and offered the position of leader of the Free Romanians Movement for the west coast of America. During his conversation with Lyon, Helfant appeared somewhat embarrassed by Carol’s proposal, since, despite his fidelity towards the former king, he did not consider him suitable for the position of leader of such a movement, given the fact that his activity could have been interpreted as motivated by the wish to recover the throne. The situation was all the more difficult, from Helfant’s point of view, as he had received a similar request from Carol Davila. Helfant declared that he had written to request an audience, and was hoping, given the romantic nature and genuine patriotism of Carol, to persuade him to join in the struggle of the Free Romanians as a mere soldier.²²

Helfant believed that neither the former king nor Davila were suitable as leaders, and that only Grigore Gafencu would have been able to assume such a position. According to his information, there were around 2,000 Romanians in Chile and around 5,000 on the west coast, over whom he thought would have been able to exert influence, but he was still hesitating as to which movement to join.

Similar approaches had been reported to the State Department by the American Embassy in Peru. The American diplomats had been contacted by Ervin Lisca, a character introducing himself as ”the representative of the Government of Free Romania in Peru.” He seemed to have been entrusted by Carol with the task to organize the Romanian community living in Peru into a movement of the Free Romanians. Lisca believed that there were 1,000 Romanians living in Peru (the official records mentioned 771: 443 males and 328 females). He also informed the American Embassy that approximately 40 percent came from Bessarabia and were of Jewish origin. Many were hostile to Carol, a fair number of them were pro-German, some were anti-communists and anti-Soviet, without being pro-German for that matter, and several other hundreds of them simply wished to become Peruvian, and showed no further interest in the European issues.²³

In a first stage, Ervin Lisca assumed the difficult task of organizing a pro-Carol movement, but on 11 September he handed in his ”resignation” in a letter to Manuel Bergher, the so-called ”representative of the government of Free Romania for South America.” Lisca had been strengthened in his decision during his conversation with a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Peru,

²² Ibidem, frame 139.

²³ Ibidem, frame 146.

who had assured him that the Peru Government would show no sympathy to an organization supporting Carol. Another negative signal had come from an official of the Union of the Jews of Peru, whose members came in proportion of 80 percent from Bucovina and Bessarabia. They were as opposed to Carol as they were opposed to Hitler. According to his investigations, Lisca believed that one could not find more than 10-15 Romanians living in Peru who would be willing to join in a movement under Carol's leadership.²⁴

Two other persons contacted by Carol in order to organize the Romanians living in South America were Manuel Bergher and Benjamin Cohn. The latter had been appointed "General Secretary of the Committee for South America of the Government of Free Romania." At the beginning of September 1942, the two were busy setting up a network of branches for Carol's organization, but most of their words were pure concoction. On 9 September, Manuel Bergher wrote to the President of the Jewish Society of La Paz, Bolivia, requesting him to indicate a reliable person for the organization of a "Consular Office of the government of Free Romania." He was also informing him that such consular offices had been organized in Ecuador, Peru, Columbia, and Argentina, and were under way in Venezuela, Uruguay, and Chile.²⁵ The same kind of information was conveyed, also by letter, to the Plenipotentiary Minister of Brazil in Quito. The latter was informed that "His Majesty King Carol II, currently in exile in Mexico, has organized a Government of Free Romania with its headquarters in Detroit, Michigan, USA, for the purpose to cooperate with the allied powers in the struggle against totalitarianism, for the triumph of liberty, democracy and universal justice."²⁶

Carol made contacts with the Romanians of Jewish origin living in South America, who promised to offer him assistance. Therefore, he contacted Jacob Rosenschtek and Joachim Pine in Columbia, Dr. I. Croitoru (also of Jewish origin) in Ecuador, Manuel Bergher, Benjamin Cohn, Samuel Hazins, Isac Ritycher, Abraham Schneider, and Rueben Schuster. However, many of them had no real preoccupation with a "Movement of the Free Romanians", but were rather attracted by the possibility of some ready money. Therefore, the report by the American Embassy in Bogota on Dr. I. Croitoru noted: "despite his pro United Nations attitude, he seems much more interested in making money."²⁷

Things stood no differently for Carol's representatives in the United States. Priests Moraru and Stephan Opreanu, as well as journalist George Zamfir, turned to good account Carol's generosity in allotting funds for the setting up of the movement he was to lead. Priest Moraru visited Carol twice in Mexico and received 30,000 USD.

Carol also came under the focus of the American interlope world. In the autumn of 1941, he was visited by a Clyde Austin, claiming to be the unofficial representative of the State Department of the United States, with the purpose to

²⁴ Ibidem, frame 156.

²⁵ Ibidem, frame 160.

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ Ibidem, frame 208.

discuss the way and terms under which the State Department could assist Carol in his project to set up a government in exile. Given the reserves of Carol and of Ernest Urdăreanu as to the authenticity of his mission, Austin quoted from the reports of Ambassador Messersmith to Washington and from the correspondence between Carol and various persons living in the USA, which seemed to indicate that he was in contact with higher USA officials. Persuaded by Austins's "arguments", Carol handed the American, at the request of the latter, a letter to be used in the United States in Carol's name. On 16 December 1942, Carol was informed by George Stanfill, one of his lawyers in the USA, that Austin had made personal use of the letter in order to obtain 100,000 USD from Stanfill. The incident opened Carol's eyes. By a telegram of 22 December 1942, he withdrew the Power of Attorney from Austin and demanded that the letter in question should be returned to him.²⁸

Strategic Options

In the autumn of 1942, another blow was dealt to the precarious position held by Carol in the American world. Priests Glicherie Moraru and Ștefan Opreanu, as well as journalist George Zamfir, were arrested by the American authorities under the charge of being "spies in the service of a power with which the USA is at war."²⁹ The three were in fact the main supporters and promoters of the "Free Romania for the Triumph of Democracy" organization the former king was planning to set afoot.

Carol's approaches in 1943 were equally unsuccessful. A report by the "Military Intelligence Division" of 27 March 1943 on the Romanians living in Argentina noted the precarious position held by Carol in this South American country. According to the report, around 12,000 and 14,000 Romanians lived in Argentina, especially in the areas of Buenos Aires and Rosario. Their leader was Constantin Văllimarescu, a prominent figure in Romanian diplomacy, a close collaborator of Nicolae Titulescu, former Minister of Romania to Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Văllimarescu had organized in January 1942 a movement called "For a Free and Democratic Romania", gathering most of the Romanians living in Argentina, with branches in Montevideo (Uruguay) and Santiago (Chile). Văllimarescu's movement was in close relations with the activities of Carol Davila, and completely opposed to Carol.³⁰

At the same time, neither was Davila's activity looked upon with sympathy by the government of the United States, even if it still enjoyed the support of the American Romanians. The American authorities had exposed the double game played by Carol Davila, who was trying to obtain official recognition from the British and American governments by assuring one that the other was on the point

²⁸ Ibidem, frame 188.

²⁹ Ibidem, frame 165.

³⁰ Ibidem, frames 254-256.

of acknowledging the movement he was leading, as a representative of the Romanian nation.

Carol II was bitterly disappointed at the unwillingness of the American and British governments to offer any assistance to him. He noted, "Committees of free Austrians and Romanians have been formed to show the democratic world the true feelings of their peoples. Owing to the unexplainable shortsightedness of the Anglo-Saxon governments, they not only received no support, but were prevented from working efficiently and persecuted as well. The British government has this illusory theory that a liberation movement should be set up within and not without the country, as if these wretched populations could stir a move under the strong domination of the occupation armies, the 'Quinsling' governments and the Gestapo, with no support whatsoever from abroad. The Government of the United States came up with another theory, that it cannot interfere with or support the internal political struggle of a country. In fact, this position was suggested by elements opposed to the respective countries, with influence among the members of the governments in question."³¹

The relations between Carol and the most prominent members of the Romanian emigration to the two Americas continued to be tense. There was no possible reconciliation, especially as the Romanians overseas believed that the disaster suffered by Greater Romania was entirely attributable to Carol.

To begin with 1944, with his extraordinary political insight, Carol understood that the Soviets would have the final word in Romania and turned his attention away from the Romanian emigration. His representative, Ernest Urdăreanu, contacted on 6 May 1944 the Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, Konstantin Umanski, and informed him about the willingness of the former king to cooperate for the detachment of Romania from the Axis.³² The negotiations seem to have focused on preserving the territorial integrity of Romania and reintegrating Transylvania.³³ Carol's opportunism and propensity for an authoritarian regime were regarded by the Soviets as extremely important for the establishment in Romania of a puppet regime under the leadership of the former king.

The Soviet party considered the issue in all earnestness, such as indicated in the report received by Stalin on 24 May 1944, which noted, "On 22 May a discussion took place with the Romanian generals, prisoners of war, Mazarini, Lascăr, Dimitriu, Nedelea, and Brătescu, as to their attitude toward the former Romanian king now in exile, and the attitude of the various political and military circles in Romania. On the whole, the detained Romanian generals who attended the talks think well of the former king Carol, and showed willingness to collaborate with him, undoubtedly with some reserves."³⁴

³¹ King Carol II, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Carol II, *Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice*, vols. III-V, Bucharest, 1999-2001.

³² Mircea Tomșa, *A vrut Stalin să-l restaureze pe Carol al II-lea?*, in "Dosarele Istoriei", no 5/2000, p. 63.

³³ Paul of Romania, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

³⁴ *Apud* Tatiana A. Pokivailova, *Arhivele rusești despre monarhia din România*, in "Magazin istoric", 11/1997, p. 18.

There is little doubt that the Soviets considered for a time being the possibility to employ Carol to their purposes. A telegram sent by the American Embassy in Stockholm on 10 August 1944 was notifying the State Department that the Romanian Minister to Helsinki had sent some information according to which the Soviet propaganda among the Romanian troops on battle field was indicating Carol II as the possible leader of the future government of Romania. According to the Romanian diplomat, this possibility was due either to a lack of information in Moscow about Carol's popularity in the country, or to an attempt to create discord among the Romanians. The State Department had also received this information from the Foreign Office.³⁵

The possibility of Carol's restoration alarmed the State Department, as seen in Cordell Hull's telegram to the American Embassy in Moscow of 17 August 1944, in which he was requesting that any new information about the Soviets' intentions to support the restoration of Carol should be conveyed with all due promptitude.³⁶

The events of 23 August 1944 triggered a change of backdrop, but the speculations around Carol's restoration gained momentum after his departure in the autumn of 1944 to Brazil, and further on to Portugal. A report of the American Embassy in Moscow of 11 November 1944 notified the State Department that the Soviet government had denied giving any assistance to Carol.³⁷

The opposition put up by King Mihai to Moscow's intentions to communize Romania brought Carol into the focus of the Soviets, as an alternative. In June 1945, M. Ionnițiu, King Mihai's secretary, notified the military representative of the USA in the (Soviet) Allied Commission of Control in Romania that, according to his knowledge, a car "accident" may be set up for King Mihai. On 12 June 1945 Schuyler noted in his diary: "Undoubtedly, such an 'accident' would be extremely convenient to the Communist Party. It would eliminated from the political stage a leader of the nation, well anchored in the hearts of the people, and naturally opposed to many of the political orientations of the Communist government. It would also pave the way for the return of the former king Carol to Romania, who would be more than happy to serve as an instrument in the hands of the communists. I have even heard from various sources this idea that King Carol will eventually become the first president of the Soviet Republic of Romania."³⁸ Carol's return continued to be a topic of discussion in Romania throughout the year 1945,³⁹ and not without reason.⁴⁰

³⁵ ANIC, USA Microfils Fund, reel no. 630, frames 598-599.

³⁶ Ibidem, frame 600.

³⁷ Ibidem, frame 601.

³⁸ C.V.R. Schuyler, *Misiune dificilă. Jurnal (28 ianuarie 1945-20 septembrie 1946)*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 132.

³⁹ Burton Berry, the political representative of the USA in the (Soviet) Allied Commission of Control, mentions in his diary a genuine campaign for the restoration of Carol; Burton Y Berry, *Diaries. 1944-1947*, Iași-Oxford-Portland, 2000, p. 131.

⁴⁰ In his diary, Carol noted on 21 September 1945 that several newspapers in the West "tell a lot of truth about me. They advocate the idea that I did not abdicate, that Mihăiță is not actually the king, because he was not acknowledged as such in Parliament, and that I may withdraw the delegation I gave him at any moment. An interesting point of view, and a correct one, legally speaking."

The truth is that the Anglo-Americans remained constantly opposed to the return of Carol, whom they considered to be a new danger to democracy in Romania, while the Soviets abandoned the idea of having Carol restored, in favor of some solutions more in keeping with the ideology and tactics of the "proletarian revolution".

The opening of Carol's personal archives will undoubtedly clear many aspects of his activity during his "exile", and throw a light into his real intentions in relation to the Romanian emigration. The object of the present study is to merely bring the issue into focus, and disclose the huge appetite for power hidden under Carol II's "patriotic concerns". It is a clear fact that Carol's political image cannot be fully understood without taking under consideration his activity during his exile.

APPENDIX

Memoir forwarded by Carol II to the Foreign Office

Strictelement Confidential

La Roumanie a été asservie et engagé a coté de l'Allemagne contre la volonté et les sentiments de son peuple et contre ses entérêts futurs.

La Roumanie est gouvernée aujourd'hui par un homme et quelques accolytes, qui étant a la disposition totale de l'Allemagne, conduisent le pays selon les intérêts exclusifs de cette dernière et contre les intérêts permanents de la Roumanie et de la Nation Roumaine.

Le Roi Michel ne peut être rendu responsable de cette situation étant prisonnier du conducteur effectif du pays et des allemands, qui-sont les maitres réels de la Roumanie.

Vu que, l'intérêt vital de la Roumanie est victoire des Alliés et de leurs principes. Vu que, il faut rallier toutes les forces et les bonnes volontés pour le but commun, vu les nombreux appels que les patriotes roumains m'ont adressé du pays et de l'étranger: Le devoir m'impose d'élever le drapeau de la Roumanie libre a cote des Alliés.

Pour que la presence de la Roumanie soit effective, j'envisage la constitution du Conseil National de la Roumanie libre qui luttera à coté des Alliés pour la victoire et pour les intérêts permanents de la nation roumaine.

Les points principaux de son programme seront:

Elibération de la Roumanie du joug allemand.

Aider le Roi Michael à être remis dans la situation compatible avec la dignité de la Couronne conformément aux traditions constitutionnelles du peuple roumain.

Préparation d'une Roumanie reconstituée et libre dans le cadre des 8 points de la déclaration Roosevelt – Churchill du 14 Aout 1941.

Les moyens utilisés au commencement de l'action seraient:

Ralliement des roumains se trouvant à l'étranger pour coopérer à la victoire de la cause commune.

Encourager, aider, organiser et diriger l'oeuvre de résistance contre l'invasisseur sur le territoire roumain.

Pour la réalisation de ce programme je demande l'appui et la collaboration du Gouvernement Britannique et du Gouvernement des Etats – Unis.

Mexico, le 21 Oct. 1941

(ANIC, USA Microfilms Fund, reel no. 630, frame 95)