UNIVERSITY "ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA", IAŞI FACULTY OF HISTORY DOCTORAL SCHOOL

VICTOR CĂDERE - THE DIPLOMAT (1919-1944)

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Victor Cădere – The Diplomat (1919-1944)

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As we can see from the title, *Victor Cădere – The Diplomat (1919-1944)*, we have dedicated our efforts to unveil aspects of the diplomatic activities of the Romanian counsel. Victor Cădere was a key name in the Romanian foreign policy, and we believe he has yet to be recognized as such. The limited acknowledgement of his extraordinary careers not only due to an unfortunate series of dramatic events such as the imprisonment ordered by the Communists for alleged charges of espionage, but also to the different focus that Romanian historiography has concentrated on some other issues. Thus, we believed that initiating a more complex study regarding his entire diplomatic stage was a natural step.

Based on the fact that there is no other paper concerning Victor Cădere, the diplomat, we have tried to research facts on his diplomatic activity following several sources. Thus, edited sources can offer additional clarifications and also certify the herein research. Firstly, we analysed collections of papers regarding Romanian diplomacy between the two World Wars and during the Second World War. Some of which are: Corneliu Mihai Lungu, Ioana Alexandra Negreanu, *România în jocul Marilor Puteri (1939-1940). Documente;* Dumitru Preda (coord.), *România-Polonia. Relații diplomatice (1919-1939).*

We can also add to the upper-mentioned titles a series of papers that we have accrued from in terms of historiography. Therefore, when explaining the operations of Victor Cădere during the repatriation of the Romanian prisoners and volunteers from Siberia we can mention titles such as; Marian Stănescu, Alexandru Roz, *Prizonieri şi voluntari români din primul război mondial şi Marea Unire din 1918*; *Stări de spirit şi mentalități în timpul marelui război, (coord.)* Ion Agrigoroaiei, Dumitru Ivănescu, Sorin Ivănescu, Silviu Văcaru. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Poland. Subsequently, we studied papers such as: Nicolae Dascălu, *Relații româno-polone în perioada interbelică (1919-1939)*; Daniel Hrenciuc, *România şi Polonia. Relații politice și diplomatice.* As for the Yugoslavian stage in his career, we researched with the help of titles such as; Valeriu Râmneanțu, *Istoria relațiilor româno-iugoslave în perioada interbelică*; Milan Vanku, *Mica Înțelegere și politica externă a Iugoslaviei, 1920-1938*. Romanian-Portuguese relations during World War II are, unfortunately, yet to be amply debated in any paper, as far as we could discern. However, papers such as Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses'

Investigating Portugal, Salazar and the New State: the Work of the Irish Legation in Lisbon, 1942-1945; Roger R. Reginbogin, Detlev F.Vagts, Faces of Neutrality: A Comparative Analysis of the Neutrality of Switzerland and Other Neutral Nations During World War II, bring on significant additions regarding Portugal's status during World War II.

Since most of the above-mentioned papers were only approached only as guide lines due to the fact that they were only partially relevant, we have subsequently focused on researching specific records, such as the *Victor Cădere* section at The Department of National Historical Records in Iasi, The *Victor Cădere Archive* at the "Mihai Eminescu" Central Universitary Library in Iași, as well as on Victor Cădere's pseudo biographical paper, *O epopee românească în Extremul Orient*, donated to the Department of Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All the above are certainly precious sources of research in which our subject is concerned, allowing us to get a firm grasp on events regarding Romanian prisoners and volunteers on the Russian territories during both the Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent civil war, and making us understand more about the activities of the Romanian Military Mission in Siberia that was in charge of the repatriation of the Romanian prisoners and volunteers. In addition, the aforementioned sources indicate a whole deal on Victor Cădere's modus operandi. We gained significant pieces of information on the repatriation issue from a record found under the name: *Fond Problema71/1914 E.2.Prizonieri 11b*.

Given the fact that Victor Cădere was appointed as Romania's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Warsaw (1932-1935), Belgrade (1936-1941) and Lisbon (1942-1944), researching the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was paramount. Coming up, we are going to list some archivistic records of a vital importance: *Fond 71- Dosare special*, where we focused on Victor Cădere's arbitrations as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Romania. Then, *Fond 71/ Polonia*, *Fond 71/Iugoslavia*, *Fond 71/Portugalia*, *Fond/71 România* also were some extremely useful resources. We assessed diplomatic affairs, memos and his participation in various political, economic and cultural issues.

The National Historical Records provided important resources in our research, some of which being: Fond Preşedinţia Consiliului de Miniştrii/ Cabinet Mihai Antonescu, comprising a series of reports, decrees, memos, telegrams that added significantly to the above-mentioned titles. Fond Casa Regală offered a substantial aid regarding information about Victor Cădere's diplomatic activity as he was constantly sending to the King various memos, reports, press cuts

with the purpose of providing quality information. *Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale*, with the three sections: Information, Foreign Press and Propaganda are also an important factor in understanding the way in which the Romanian state tackled planning and managing propagandistic activity.

To continue with, we will also refer to an important source of documentation. We are talking about the record kept at the Romanian Academy's Library – The Manuscript Cabinet Arhiva A-2495 (a-e) – Rapoarte, cuvântări, corespondență, materiale imprimate aparținând lui Victor Cădere și Al. Vaida-Voevod, comprising a significant number of capital pieces of data, both personal and professional. For instance, we found an entire file dedicated to Victor Cădere's activity as chairman of F.I.D.A.C., as well as reports and telegrams from the period in which he was appointed as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Belgrade. Additionally, if we take into consideration the fact that Victor Cădere himself underwent a personal trauma, being imprisoned in the communist cells, what we found at the National Council for the Study of Secret-Police Files helps us fill the blanks in which concerns Victor Cădere's personal life, as well as his professional course after 1945.

We would also like to acknowledge a series of documents from The League of Nations' records regarding the repatriation of the Romanian prisoners on the Russian territory. Thus, we recall Box C 1112(8)- Nansen Office for Refugees (1929-1922), R1707/ File 6639- Repatriation of Prisoners of War. Finance Romanian Allocation, R1709/ File 1759 Administration of Prisoners of War. Repatriation Found.

This paper's Introduction is followed by the first chapter which focused on the personal features of Victor Cădere. Consequently, we tried to conclude a small-sized biography of the diplomat concerning his family, the schools he graduated and his activities in the National Romanian Party as a member of the latter, as of 1926 of the National Peasant's Party, as well as a deputy in the Romanian Parliament. Additionally, we studied other positions he held in the higher administrative ranks and the oppressions experienced by his family in the communist era. We were also interested in Cădere's collaboration with the F.I.D.A.C., both as Chairman and a member. Actuall, his appointment as Chairman of F.I.D.A.C. between 1933-1934 highlighted another proof of the fact that he was highly appreciated in the ranks of the old combatants as well as the opportunity arised for the Romanian state to assert itself internationally speaking.

The second chapter is dedicated to Victor Cădere's activity as head of the Romanian Military Mission in Siberia (1919-1921). In this chapter, we dealt with the outcome of the volunteer corps who fought on Russia's territory for the Allies' cause, operating the Romanian Military Mission and the activity of the Nansen Commission, which conducted an action with the purpose of repatriating prisoners within the Russian boundaries.

Although the idea of rallying up the Romanian soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian Army in a volunteers corps in order to fight for the Romanian cause first appeared in 1914, the corps was not defined up until August 1916. Consequently, the First Romanian Volunteer Corps was set up at Darniţa, near Kiev, at the initiative of the Romanians outside the borders and partly thanks to their desire of contributing to the Romanian state's victory, with the final purpose of annexing Transylvania and Bukovina to Romania. Volunteers were sent from Darniţa to fight on Romanian territories, but the 1918 events led to the disband of the recruitment base. The remaining volunteers on the Russian territories reorganized themselves, thus assembling the second Romanian Volunteer Corps. These volunteers waged the waragainst Bolshevik troops and they have also held rear guard for the Czechoslovakian troops that were retreating towards Vladivostok.

Just around the date when the Romanian volunteers reached the destination, Victor Cădere was sent by the Romanian state with a mission to take charge of the faith of all the Romanians, be they prisoners or volunteers. Victor Cădere's task seemed extremely difficult if we think that the entire Russian territory was under a general state of mayhem, confusion and anarchy, evidently without any ruling of a nationwide recognized authority. While the repatriation of the Romanian volunteers who waged war on the Siberian territory siding Allies' troops was performed pursuing the provisions of the Supreme Allied Council, on British ships, the repatriation of the Romanian prisoners that came from the Austro-Hungarian Army turned out to be an incredible challenge for Victor Cădere, who had to come up with a solution on his own for their sustenance and eventually, the actual repatriation. Despite the numerous obstacles he had to face, the Romanian Government's delegate proved indeed to be highly skilled in negotiating the other missions arrived in Siberia as well as in managing the prisoners' status, eventually succeeding in repatriating the entire body of prisoners who reported to the Romanian headquarters at Vtoria-Recica. Thus, Victor Cădere's mission ceased to perform as of the 11th of

May, 1921, managing toretrieve approximately 5.000 individuals, to which he could also add19.188 Romanian prisoners freed by the Nansen Commission.

The third chapter treated Victor Cădere's activity during his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Poland's capital (1932-1935). Warsaw was a key target for the Romanian security system, which gave us the opportunity to closely follow Romania's rapport with Poland in the aforementioned period, as well as the course of action in which both the internal and foreign Polish policies evolved towards. Furthermore, the Polish gateway allowed the conduct of negotiations with the purpose of reassuming diplomatic liaisons with the Soviet Union, and Victor Cădere was one of the main elements in the course of these negotiations. Jozef Beck's appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs brought on several profound changes. On one hand, Poland brought the general situation to a sort of lull resorting to bilateral pacts with her powerful neighbours, on the other hand, Poland tried to impose itself as a leading power that would be capable of handling the ideological German-Soviet conflict. The downside of this approach was the fact that it led to a certain degree of laxity towards relationships with its traditional allies and to a considerable deviation from the ideas that were promoted at that time by the League of Nations.

The fourth chapter deals with the period of time in which he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Romania at Belgrade (1936-1938), followed by the appointment in the position of Ambassador between 1939 and 1940. This chapter gave us the opportunity of getting an insight into bilateral relations with a neighbouring state, as well as the opportunity of analysing the changes in vision which came about in the foreign approach of the two states around World War II and during the same war. We also took into consideration the various changes in the internal politics as well as the faith of the Romanian minority in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was undergoing some important modifications, which made it possible for the minister to carefully examine the changes that supervened both internally and on the foreign plan. Although Romania and Yugoslavia were traditionally in good terms, both due to dynastic liaisons and to the presence of both states in two regional alliances designed to preserve peace in the area, the second interwar decade brought, however, major modifications in which concerned their foreign approach. Thus, Yugoslavia tried to maintain its territorial integrity by appealing to a series of bilateral pacts with Bulgaria and Italy, to a visible tendency towards following German policies and by shifting its alliance with France on a second place.

The internal situation in Yugoslavia has also undergone a series of important modifications towards the end of the interwar period, and Victor Cădere, from his position of Minister Plenipotentiary, was able to observe the evolution of the issues that affected the state's internal stability. At first, the Concordat issue separated the public opinion, and since the Government went under a strong wave of pressure, the ratification was soon abandoned. Although the political opposition was clearly inferior to the likes of the ruling party, the former tried to criticize the various actions enterprised under the Stojadinović governing and, in order to succeed, they united with the Croatian faction rallied under Vladko Macek. Plus, Zagreb has exerted immense amounts of pressure on the Belgrade rulers throughout the interwar period in order to gain the highly desired autonomy. Additionally, if we take into consideration the position that Victor Cădere held at the time, he could not ignore the Romanian issues in Yugoslavia and consequently, he endeavoured to obtain a series of improved rights for the Romanians located on Yugoslavian territories. After all, the Romanians' issue cannot be analysed on an overall scale. On one hand, after numerous discussions and meetings, Romanians in the Yugoslavian part of Banat, gained the right to the possibility of studying in their native language. However, despite all the efforts that the Romanian authorities have failed to reach to an agreement regarding the Romanian churches' status. On the other hand, contrary to all the efforts done by the Romanian Legation in Belgrade, the Aromanians' situation in Macedonia was extremely delicate. The Romanian state did not succeed in obtaining the recognition of its rights over the real estate that it had previously built and financed in the interwar period, and the Romanian minority was not entitled to fund neither schools, nor churches, thus increasing the risk of denationalisation and encouraging its annexation to the Slavic mass.

For the final chapter, our desire was to outline Victor Cădere's most important actions in Portugal's capital (1942-1944), during the ongoing World War II. Lisbon was an important crossroad from several points of view, on one side, Portugal was neutral, but with an authoritarian right-wing ruling, and, on the other side, it was one of the important gateways for Romania's negotiations with the Allies. Although Victor Cădere was gratified by a very good relation with Great Britain's delegates in Lisbon, he only had preliminary meetings and failed to obtain concrete negotiations with the purpose of signing an agreement, all this because of the instructions that came from Bucharest, instructions that would often trigger a reserved and hesitating attitude.

Rapport with Portugal was not a zero priority in the foreign policies during the interbelic era, however things have changed essentially during World War II. Just like the other states that were involved in the conflict, Romania deduced the important role that Portugal held in the war issue and thus tried to take advantage of all the opportunities that were brought on by an active presence in this area from an economic, political and propagandistic point of view. If we take into consideration the fact that all the countries that were involved in World War II have deployed important efforts of propaganda in Lisbon, we can understand why Romania has aligned to this policy. Thus, Victor Cădere's period as a minister resulted in a significant magnification of the Romanian-Portuguese cultural thanks to an active presence of several Romanian public persons in Portugal's academic and journalistic societies, to the translation in Portuguese of some important Romanian works, and to the foundation of a Romanian lectureship at the University of Lisbon.

Even though there were no significant commercial exchanges between Romania and Portugal up until the end of World War II, things have changed after the aforementioned event. If we think that the Portuguese market exported important resources for war instruments, resources such as wolfram or tin, we can understand why the Romanian state wanted to take its share, a fact that also led to a strengthening of the Romanian-Portuguese commercial rapport. There rapport culminated with the signing of an Economic Agreement in 1942, however, one could observe a series of difficulties that both Victor Cădere, Minister Plenipotentiary in Lisbon at the time, and other economic operators have outlined. They were referring to the fierce competition between the influential powers at that time, a competition for the monopole over exports and the smaller states' difficulty arised in the issue of taking advantage of the goods traded on the Portuguese market, then, they were referring to the often contradicting orders that came from Romania, which would hinder the Legation's members, as well as to the economic operators who would often negotiate for the same raw materials, creating a bad impression on Romania. This last chapter is followed by *Conclusions* and a *Bibliography*.