



# A SPECIAL CATEGORY OF MIGRANTS: THE ROMANIAN EXILE DURING THE COMMUNIST PERIOD

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**Iuliu-Marius MORARIU**

Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca  
Pretoria University, South Africa

Personal e-mail: morariu\_iuliumarius@yahoo.com

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**Abstract:** The Romanian exile, an important category of political opponents to the Romanian Communist regime, constituted a social and intellectual category which has been investigated by researchers who edited their diaries, memoirs, or letters and published studies regarding their works and lives. Nonetheless, there are some aspects still to be revealed regarding this social-political category of individuals and their work. Thus, we will try to fit the exile within the category of migrants - and examine how the Romanian Securitate regarded them from this perspective. We will therefore resort to their works, studies, and articles, and also to documents found in the Securitate Archives, in an attempt to present their perception by the repressive political body which forced them into migration/exile.

**Keywords:** Romanian exile under communism, exile as political migration, Virgil Gheorghiu, Andre Scrima, Radio Free Europe, political assassination, Securitate.

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## Introduction

Recent documents published both in the Orthodox<sup>1</sup> and Catholic areas<sup>2</sup> speak about migrants and their relevance from the theological point of view; the ecumenical area also provides interesting and complex approaches on this topic.<sup>3</sup> The problems of Eastern Europe will challenge both Church authorities<sup>4</sup> and geopolitics, as they will all have to find solutions and gain a deeper understanding of the subject; the contemporary crisis of Afghanistan, for example, will clearly contribute to the re-definition of the future.

Moreover, there are extremely important aspects which have to do with the deeper understanding of migration causes, as well as with the potential outcomes of the history of migration and its past. Therefore, we will focus on an important episode from Romania's past and on the role its representatives played. The Romanian exile under the Communist period is an important part of our recent history which can prove quite relevant to the present. Thus, with the help of historical inquiry and by analyzing the already existent sources, we will try to investigate the exile, to identify the

tools its representatives used in order to defend their rights or to raise awareness regarding the abuses perpetrated by the Communist authorities. At the same time, we will speak about the category of the exiled, often regarded as "invisible migrants"<sup>5</sup>, to see how they were perceived by the Romanian Communist authorities, and the pastoral challenges in the Romanian Orthodox Communities of the United States and France.

## A Special Category of Migrants – the Romanian Exile under the Communist Period

As we have already mentioned, the Romanian exile under the Communism period is a subject which has often been approached in Romanian historiography, especially after 1989. Various authors investigated aspects related to its history and role, spoke about its personalities or published exchanges of letters dedicated to this category<sup>6</sup>, studying the methods and procedures through which the Securitate tried to reduce to silence or to hold captive some of its representative voices<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, the contemporary researcher of this sensitive topic

surely benefits from a rich literature. However, there are some important elements which could still be newly identified in the investigations regarding the role played by the exiled and their relevance.

### **Radio Free Europe and its Role as a Voice of the Romanian Exile**

Among the tools used by the Romanian exiles to denounce the abuses made by Communist Romania, Radio Free Europe is beyond any doubts the most important. This also explains the rich literature published on this topic<sup>8</sup>. The publication of broadcasts made by Nicolae Stroescu-Stânișoară, Monica Lovinescu, or Virgil Ierunca has received much attention, while the activity of Noel Bernard (1925-1981), the head of the Munich station, has been investigated in various books and monographs. The intimidation attempts made by the Communist Securitate, such as the 1977 attempt on Monica Lovinescu's life which almost killed her, is one of the topics tackled both in the studies and in the diaries published by writers from the Romanian area. What is important to mention is that Radio Free Europe often protested against the imprisonment of various people for political reasons in Romania and published letters from people who were suffering for unjust reasons. Thanks to the work of this institution, people such as Fr. Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa or Fr. Dumitru Stăniloae<sup>9</sup> could avoid being killed in prison; some other managed to escape Romania (e.g.: Paul Goma). Thanks to Radio Free Europe, their ideas became well-known in the West, while in Romania this radio station constituted an important tool which kept almost everyone informed about the realities of the time and the perception of their country in the West. At the same time, for writers such as Virgil Gheorghiu<sup>10</sup> and many others, Free Europe Radio was a place where they had the opportunity to disseminate their ideas. The institution was also important from a spiritual point of view. Every feast and every Sunday, the liturgical service reached the homes of people from all over the world due to the Radio. In addition, meditations and lectures from books such as Fr. Stăniloae's *Dogmatics*<sup>11</sup> were read at the microphone, keeping Western society informed about the valuable theological works published in Romania. Radio Free Europe was therefore an important tool which often gave a voice to Romanians in the West. The fact that its speakers denounced abuses and read letters from people persecuted for political reasons, such as Doina Cornea<sup>12</sup>, strengthens its role in supporting Romanians over the Communist decades.

### **The Securitate and the Romanian Exile – A Case Study of Two Romanian Priests from France**

It is already notorious that the Romanian Securitate services had a considerable interest in surveilling those who were part of the Romanian exile in various places all over the world. For instance, Monica Lovinescu's file contains a rich series of characterizations<sup>13</sup> written by various agents sent by the

institution to find more about her life, activity, and the impact of her work in France. There was an average of 8 to 10 people who offered information about each important personality. This explains why the Archive of the Former Securitate contains more than one dossier for almost all of the important voices of the exiles.

Given the richness of the topic and the huge amount of available information, we will obviously not be able to offer an exhaustive presentation of the subject. Moreover, cases such as those of the writers Virgil Tănase and Paul Goma, who were both subjects of attempted murder<sup>14</sup>, have already been investigated and are also the subject of memorial works,<sup>15</sup> which render a future approach of the subject unnecessary.

We will focus on the way in which the Securitate perceived two important clergymen who represented the Romanians in France, namely Fr. Andre Scrima and Fr. Virgil Gheorghiu. The latter has four surveillance files.<sup>16</sup> These files show that the Securitate was not only interested in his activity as a notorious writer (he was already translated at that time in 33 languages and one of his works was made into a film starring Anthony Quinn as main character), but also in his friends and relatives (including those who remained in Romania), as well as in his relationships with the important representatives of cultural and ecumenical areas.<sup>17</sup> As expected, his correspondence with his parents<sup>18</sup> or with Patriarch Justinian Marina<sup>19</sup> was also intercepted. The Securitate was convinced, until the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that the writer lived under a fake identity in Romania: they could not explain how he could be so well informed without living in Romania and, therefore, they reached this conclusion. The conflicts that the author had, such as the one with Monica Lovinescu<sup>20</sup>, were also the topic of certain informative notes. They are present both in Gheorghiu's files and in those of the other Romanian writer.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, in the 7<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, attempts were made to determine the writer, who, at that time, became the parish priest of the Romanian community in Paris, to visit his native country. His fear that he could be killed, poisoned or imprisoned if he went to Romania made him decline all the offers and end all negotiations.

As a general consideration, we could say that the Romanian surveillance tools perceived him as a migrant, though not a classical one; he was seen rather as a dangerous exponent of this category. His political views, namely the fact that Fr. Gheorghiu always regarded the Communist regime as oppressive and, just like other cultural personalities from the end of the War, refused to go back to his country of birth<sup>22</sup> after August 23 1944, turned him into an important exile, who was always under the eyes of the regime. At the same time, given that the Securitate also tried to kill him, as he confessed in one of his autobiographic writings,<sup>23</sup> the Romanian priest was always aware of the intentions the government in Bucharest had; therefore, he always tried to inform about the abuses made and denounce them.

Similar practices were also used in the case of Fr. Andre Scrima. He left to Benares in 1956, with a scholarship offered by the vice-president of India,<sup>24</sup> and he refused to return



to Romania. Getting close to the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras, he later became his personal delegate to the Second Vatican Council<sup>25</sup> and a person with international visibility. As a professor in Benares, Le Saulchoir and in other centres<sup>26</sup>, as a writer and publisher and as an active part of the ecumenical field,<sup>27</sup> he became an important target for the Romanian Securitate. Therefore, his correspondence with Patriarch Justinian was intercepted<sup>28</sup>, as well as all some other forms of correspondence, with father Benedict Ghiuș<sup>29</sup> and with other friends. Likewise, the surveillance institution had clear and fresh information about his past,<sup>30</sup> about what he asked from those who stayed in the country after he left and about his academic work. For instance, a note from the 60s shows:

“He asked for four volumes of the Philatelia (*read Filocalia, our note*) translated by priest Stăniloae Dumitru. Priest Stăniloae Dumitru brought this collection of the Philokalia from Sibiu, where he had them stored. The Patriarch would have wanted Stăniloae Dumitru to make twenty copies available to him, but Stăniloae Dumitru informed him that he had none left, which was not true. Scrima Andrei arrived abroad, he gave interviews which were similar to the one from the French magazine *La reforme* and other English, and German, magazines, etc.”<sup>31</sup>

His attitude regarding aspects of international relevance was also taken into consideration, as well as his attitudes towards international matters. The information source emphasised that, in the early 70s, the Romanian archimandrite had a personal attitude regarding the Palestinian issue, underlining the following:

“ANDREI SCRIMA spoke with great spirit and passion against Israel, saying that he would even be able to join these Arab organisations, which he supports morally and materially, if he could. / The aforementioned people said they were surprised by ANDREI SCRIMA’s attitude towards Israel./ The source also reports that, in 1967, ANDREI SCRIMA was in Israel. On this occasion, he contacted several Israeli

personalities and, at that time, he publicly vilified the Israeli occupation and sympathised with the Arab countries and population suffering from the 1967 war and, at that time, Israeli personalities were dissatisfied with the statements made by ANDREI SCRIMA./ Given the situation created, ANDREI SCRIMA refuses to go to Israel. He stated that he would however go when Patriarch Justinian would go to Jerusalem for the consecration of the Romanian church.”<sup>32</sup>

Most likely, he should have been chastened for this attitude; the fact did not happen, due to a certain general context. The Securitate was therefore aware of where he traveled and whom he met, of his discourse, of his attitude towards Romania and its delegates from the ecumenical area, etc.

### Conclusions

As we have tried to prove, the Romanian exile under the Communist period was clearly an important category of special migrants. Forced by the advent of dictatorship to flee their home country, they went to countries such as Spain (Vintilă Horea), France (Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca, Virgil Gheorghiu, and many others), the United States of America, Germany, etc. Once arrived there, they tried to become the voice of their oppressed compatriots and denounce the Communist crimes perpetrated in their country; they aimed at doing so by using tools such as *Radio Free Europe* as well as by writing books, studies, and articles dedicated to the phenomenon of repression<sup>33</sup>. In the case of those who survived Communist prison, some tried to testify about their own experiences. The Securitate was aware of the force the exiled writers had and of what their work could mean for the image of Romania abroad. Therefore, the Securitate always tried to keep informed regarding their activities, to intimidate or compromise them, to divide the exiled and their communities. By putting the writers and the priests under surveillance and by creating fake contexts of debate, the Securitate tried to make their voice lose impact. When deemed necessary, the Securitate even tried to assassinate some of the most visible exiles.

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### Notes:

1. Like “For the life of the World” document released by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 2020. See: <https://www.goarch.org/social-ethos>, accessed on January 6, 2021. See also: Iuliu-Marius Morariu “Towards the social doctrine of the Orthodox Church: The document ‘For the Life of the World’ of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (2020),” *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, no. 4 (2021): 1–6.
2. Cf. Papa Francesco, *Fratellitutti. Enciclica sulla fraternità e l’amicizia sociale* (Milano: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 2020); Papa Francesco, *Encyclical Letter Laudato Si’ of the Holy Father Francis on Care for our Common Home*, (Vatican: Casa Editrice Vaticana, 2015).
3. Joseph Keum (ed.), *Together towards life. Mission and Evangelism in Changing Landscapes – With a practical guide*, (Geneva: World Council of Churches Publications, 2013).
4. Cf. Silviu Nate, Daniel Buda, Eastern European Geopolitics and Ecclesial Autocephaly for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church: A Hard Way for Ukraine,” *Teologia*, no. 3 (2019): 11–38.
5. Iuliu-Marius Morariu, „A special case of invisible migrant workers: exiles in France during the communist period. A socio-historical approach”, in Inocent-Mária V. Szaniszló OP (ed.), *Invisible migrant workers and visible human rights*, (Rome, Angelicum University Press,

- 2021), 323.
6. See for example: Florin Țurcanu, *Mircea Eliade – prizonierul istoriei* [Mircea Eliade the prisoner of the history] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2007); Lucian Boz, *Scrisori din exil: Lucian Boz în corespondență cu Ștefan Baciu, Emil Cioran, Anton Dumitriu, Mircea Eliade, Eugen Ionescu, Constantin Noica și Nicolae Steinhardt* [Letters from Exile: Lucian Boz in correspondence with Ștefan Baciu, Emil Cioran, Anton Dumitriu, Mircea Eliade, Eugen Ionescu, Constantin Noica, and Nicolae Steinhardt] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 2001); Mihaela-Nicoleta Burlacu, *Monica Lovinescu, o voce a exilului românesc* [Monica Lovinescu, a voice of the Romanian Exile] (Iasi: European Institute, 2014); Vasile Gogea, *Voci în vacarm – un dialog cu Monica Lovinescu și Virgil Ierunca* [Voices in noise – a dialogue with Monica Lovinescu and Virgil Ierunca] (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2010); Marin Diaconu, “Despre corespondența lui Emil Cioran” [On Emil Cioran’s correspondence], *Studii de Istorie a Filosofiei Românești*, no. 7 (2011): 80-87; Alexandra Mănescu, *Exercițiu anamnezic – Virgil Ierunca* [An an-amnesiac exercise – Virgil Ierunca] (Târgu Jiu: Academica Brâncuși, 2012); Anarela Meseșan Chiș, *Exilul românesc din perioada comunistă, reflectat în fondul bibliotecii de la Paris a familiei Monica Lovinescu – Virgil Ierunca* [The Romanian exile from the communist period reflected in the fund of the Paris library of the family Monica Lovinescu – Virgil Ierunca] (Cluj-Napoca: Centre for Transylvanian Studies, 2015); Thierry Gillyboeuf, *Virgil Gheorghiu – scriitorul calomniat* [Virgil Gheorghiu – the slandered writer] (Bucharest: Sophia, 2019).
  7. Such as: Virgil Tănase, *Leapșa pe murite – document polițist și literar* [To play tig on dying – a literary and police document] (Bucharest: AdevăruL, 2011); LiviuTofan, *A patra ipoteză – anchetă despre o uluitoare afacere de spionaj* [The 4<sup>th</sup> hypothesis – investigation about an amazing espionage affair] (Iasi: Polirom, 2012).
  8. See for example: Robert Theodore Holt, *Radio Free Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); René Alecu de Flers, *Radio Europa Liberă și exilul românesc: o istorie încă nescrisă* [Radio Free Europe and the Romanian exile: a still unwritten history] (Bucharest: Criterion, 2004); Noel Bernard, *Aici e Europa Liberă* [This is Free Europe] (Bucharest: Observator, 1990); Ioana Măgură Bernard, *Directorul postului nostru de radio* [The head of our radio station] (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2007); Sergiu Musteață, *Anul 1918 în emisiunile Europei Libere (1955-1991)* [1918 in the Radio Free Europe broadcasts] (Chișinău: Arc, 2018); Mihai Pelin, *Operațiunile Melița și Eterul: istoria Europei Libere prin documente de Securitate* [The Operations Windbag and On the Air – history of Radio Free Europe thorough the Securitate Documents] (Bucharest: Compania, 2007); Cătălin Dragu Popian, *Lumina libertății: predici, cuvântări, mesaje prin Radio Europa Liberă: 1976-1994* [The light of the freedom: preaches, homilies, messages through Radio Free Europe: 1976-1994] (Oradea: Logos '94, 1995); Marius Silveșan, *Culte neoprotestante și drepturile omului: un strigăt la Radio Europa Liberă (aprilie 1977)* [The Protestant cults and the human rights: a call at Radio Free Europe (April 1977)] (Cluj-Napoca: Risoprint, 2014); Nicolae Stroescu-Stînișoară, *Povestea Europei Libere: Nicolae Stroescu-Stînișoară răspunde la întrebările jurnalistului Andrei Crăciun* [The story of Radio Free Europe: Nicolae Stroescu-Stînișoară answers the questions of Andrei Crăciun] (Bucharest: Vremea, 2015); Iosif Țon, *Mesaje transmise la Radio BBC și Radio Europa Liberă* [Messages sent to Radio BBC and Radio Free Europe] (Oradea, Christian Book Press, 2005).
  9. Iuliu-Marius Morariu, “Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae în viziunea Monicăi Lovinescu” [Fr. Dumitru Stăniloae seen by Monica Lovinescu], *Symposium*, no. 24, (2017): 49-58.
  10. Virgil Gheorghiu, *La vingt-cinquième heure*, traduit en français par Monique Saint-Come (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1949).
  11. Dumitru Stăniloae, *Téologia dogmatică ortodoxă* [The Orthodox Dogmatic Theology], vol. 1, 5th edition, (Bucharest: Basilica, 2018); Dumitru Stăniloae, *Téologia dogmatică ortodoxă* [The Orthodox Dogmatic Theology] 2nd volume, 5th edition (Bucharest: Basilica, 2018); Dumitru Stăniloae, *Téologia dogmatică ortodoxă* [The Orthodox Dogmatic Theology] 3rd volume (Bucharest: Basilica, 2018). The princeps edition was released in 1978. The treatise reached its 5th edition in 2018.
  12. For more information about her activity and its impact, see also: Doina Cornea, *Liberté? Entretiens avec Michel Combes* (Paris: Les Editions Criterion, 1990); Doina Cornea, *La face cachée des choses: 1990-1999: dialogue avec Rodica Palade* (Paris: Les Éditions du Félin, 2000).
  13. See for example: A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Serviciul de Informații Externe (S.I.E)*, dossier no. 349, p. 195-197.
  14. Tănase, *Leapșa pe murite – document polițist și literar* [To play tig on dying – a literary and police document]; Tofan, *A patra ipoteză – anchetă despre o uluitoare afacere de spionaj* [The 4<sup>th</sup> hypothesis – investigation about an amazing espionage affair].
  15. For the Goma case, see: Paul Goma, *Țurnal, vol. 1 – Țurnal pe sărite* [Diary – First volume – Diary by leaps] (Bucharest: Nemira, 1997); Paul Goma, *Țurnal, vol. 2 – Țurnal de căldură mare* [Diary – Second volume – „Hot times diary] (Bucharest: Nemira, 1997); Paul Goma, *Țurnal, vol. 3 – Țurnal de noapte lungă* [Diary – 3rd volume – Long night diary] (Bucharest: Nemira, 1997); Paul Goma, *Țurnal, vol. 4 – Alte jurnale* [Diary – 4<sup>th</sup> volume – Other diaries] (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1998); Paul Goma, *Țurnal, vol. 5 – Țurnalul unui jurnal* [Diary – 5<sup>th</sup> volume – The diary of a diary], (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1998); Paul Goma, *Țurnal, vol. 6 – Țurnal de apocrif* [Diary – 6<sup>th</sup> volume – Apocryphal diary], (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1999); Paul Goma, *Țurnal – 2007* [Diary – 2007] (Târgu Lăpuș: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2010).
  16. Namely: A.C.N.S.A.S., *M.F.I./Neamț*, rola 356; A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Serviciul de Informații Externe (S.I.E)*, dossier no. 4408/2; A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Informativ*, cota I -234624, Dossier Gheorghiu Virgil, 644 f; A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Serviciul de Informații Externe (S.I.E)*, dosiers no. 4408; A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Informativ*, cota I -185086, Dossier Gheorghiu Virgil. Cf. Iuliu-Marius Morariu, “Omul din spatele Orei 25. Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu în dosarele Securității,” *Sargetia – Acta Musei Devensis*, no. VIII (XLIV), (2017): 373-381; Iuliu-Marius Morariu, “Virgil Gheorghiu’s Literary Activity Reflected in Securitate Archives,” *Astra Salvensis*, no. 12 (2018): 149-155.
  17. A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Informativ*, cota I -234624, Dosar Gheorghiu Virgil, f. 18-25.
  18. Cf. Maxim Morariu, “Corespondența lui Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu cu părinții săi, reflectată în documentele Securității,” *Tabor*, no. 3 (2018): 72-76.
  19. A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Romanian Service of External Information (S. I. E)*, dossier no. 4408, f. 76-109.



20. For more information, see: Iuliu-Marius Morariu, "Conflictul dintre Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu și Monica Lovinescu, reflectat în memorialistica exilului parizian," *Crisia*, no. 47 (2017): 183-188; Iuliu-Marius Morariu, "A special case of invisible migrant workers," 329-332.
21. See for example: A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond Serviciul de Informații Externe (S.I.E)*, dossier nr. 349, p. 195-197.
22. Such an example can be also considered the writer Vintilă Horia, as the Securitate was conscious about his Legionary sympathies from the interwar period. For more information about his life and activity, see also: Daniel Florin Predoiu, *S'initier à l'errance en la racontant: l'exil, l'identité et la mémoire dans les journaux intimes de trois intellectuels roumains* (Saarbrücken: Éditions Universitaires Européennes, 2011); Georgeta Orian, *Vintilă Horia – un scriitor contra timpului său* [Vintilă Horia – a writer against his times] (Cluj-Napoca: Limes, 2008); Georgeta Orian, *Vintilă Horia – privire monografică* [Vintilă Horia – A Monograph] (Alba-Iulia: Bălgrad, 2000); Cristian Bădiliță, Basarab Nicolescu (eds.) *În căutarea „Omului total”. Moștenirea literară și spirituală a lui Vintilă Horia* [Seeking "the total man." The literary and spiritual heritage of Vintilă Horia] (Bucharest: Vremea, 2016); Vintilă Horia, *Memoriile unui fost Săgetător* [The memoirs of a former Sagitarius] ed. Cristian Bădiliță and Silvia Colfescu (Bucharest: Vremea, 2015); Vintilă Horia, *Scrisori din exil* [Letters from the exile] vol. 1-2, ed. Maria-Pia Castaing (Bucharest: Memoria, 2011); Cecilia Latiș, *Arhitecturi paralele: Marguerite Yourcenar – Vintilă Horia* [Parallel Architectures: Marguerite Yourcenar – Vintilă Horia] (Suceava: Suceava University Press, 2003); Pompiliu Crăciunescu, *Vintilă Horia – transliteratură și realitate* [Vintilă Horia – transliterature and reality] (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2011); Gheorghina Adina Lemian, *Vintilă Horia – nefericitul fericit* [Vintilă Horia – the unhappy happy man] (Oradea: Didactica Militans, 2009).
23. Virgil Gheorghiu, *L'Espionne – Roman*. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1971).
24. Andrei Pleșu, „Prefață [Foreword]”, in Andrei Scrima, *Tîmpul Rugului aprins* [Time of the burning bush] (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1996), 9.
25. Jean Puyo, *Une vie pour la vérité, Jean Puyo interroge le Père Congar* (Paris: Editions du Centurion, 1975), 144-148.
26. Andre Scrima, "L'avenement philocalique dans l'Orthodoxie roumaine," *Istina*, no. 3, (1958): 295-398; Andre Scrima, "L'avenement philocalique dans l'Orthodoxie roumaine," *Istina*, no. 1 (1958): 493-416; Andre Scrima, "L'avenement philocalique dans l'Orthodoxie roumaine," *Istina*, no. 4 (1958): 443-474.
27. For more information about this aspect, see also: Nicu Dumitrașcu, "Andre Scrima and the Power of Spiritual Ecumenism," *The Ecumenical Review*, no. 2-3 (2016): 272-281.
28. See: Maxim Morariu, "Corespondența părintelui Andrei Scrima cu Patriarhul Justinian reflectată în arhivele Securității," *Tabor*, no. 10 (2020): 79-85.
29. See: A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond informativ*, dossier nr. 0005468, vol. I, p. 353-364.
30. Therefore, a characterization made by an important agent of the time will note previously to his departure to India the fact that: "Andrei Scrima (not yet a monastic brother since he has not yet received his tonsure) has made a request to the Theological Institute to take the qualifying exams very quickly and without too much preparation, in order to obtain the degree in theology as soon as possible. It is known that he has a degree in philosophy and was an assistant at the old Faculty of Philosophy, but so far, he has not obtained his degree in theology. He obtained approval from the Patriarch to take, without frequency and internship exemption, all theology and license exams. So far, Scrima has not hurried, but now he is hurrying. Fărtățescu (chief of cadres) said that 'soon Scrima will go to India, sent by the Patriarch for studies'. Fărtățescu added: 'Last year, an Indian dignitary came to visit the patriarchal palace and through him Scrima arranged to receive an official invitation to move to India as soon as possible. Now Scrima has received that invitation and the patriarch is preparing his departure. Before leaving, Scrima also wants to finish with theology exams.'" A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond informativ*, file no. 0005468, vol. I, 160. For more information about this topic, see also: Iuliu-Marius Morariu, "Ecumenism and Communism in the Romanian Context: Fr. Andre Scrima in the Archives of the Securitate," *Religions*, no. 9 (2021): 719. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12090719>; Iuliu-Marius Morariu, "Elements of Father Andrei Scrima's Ecumenical Activity as Reflected in File No. 0005468 from the 'Securitate' Archives", *Review of Ecumenical Studies*, no. 3, (2020): 497-511.
31. A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond informativ*, file no. 0005468, vol. I, 105.
32. A.C.N.S.A.S., *Fond informativ*, file no. 0005468, vol. II, 5-6.
33. Such an example can be considered Virgil Ierunca with his book on *Pitești* (Paris: Les Editions Limite, 1981).

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