

**EMIGRANT COMPOSERS IN THE C.N.S.A.S. ARCHIVES.  
CASE STUDY: THE UNKNOWN STORY OF MARIUS  
CONSTANT'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA**

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**ЕМИГРАНТСКИ КОМПОЗИТОРИ У НАЦИОНАЛНОМ САВЕТУ  
ЗА ПРОУЧАВАЊЕ АРХИВА СЕКУРИТАТЕЕ (C.N.S.A.S.).  
СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА: НЕПОЗНАТА ПРИЧА  
О ЗВАНИЧНОЈ ПОСЕТИ МАРИЈУСА КОНСТАНА  
КОМУНИСТИЧКОЈ РУМУНИЈИ**

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**ABSTRACT**

The present study is part of a larger research, which focused on Romanian emigrant composers in France and their relationship with their homeland in the second half of the twentieth century, based on documents from the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives. An analysis of the numerous notes and reports of the Securitate documenting composer Marius Constant's official visit to Romania in 1985 sheds some light on how the authorities in communist Romania dealt with the diaspora, the ideological clichés, and on the high degree of control and manipulation that governed the country's cultural policy.

**KEYWORDS:** Romanian diaspora, censorship, music and politics, communist regime, French-Romanian composer, cultural trauma.

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## АПСТРАКТ

Ова студија део је обимнијег истраживања, које се фокусира на румунске емигрантске композиторе у Француској и њихов однос с домовином у другој половини XX века. Истраживање је засновано на документима из Националног савета за проучавање архива Секуритатее. Анализа бројних бележака и извештаја Секуритатее, који документују званичну посету композитора Маријуса Констана Румунији 1985. године, осветљава како су власти у комунистичкој Румунији поступале с дијаспором, идеолошким клишеима и високим степеном контроле и манипулације, који су владали културном политиком земље.

Кључне речи: румунска дијаспора, цензура, музика и политика, комунистички режим, француско-румунски композитор, културна траума.

## RESEARCH PREMISES

*What does accreditation as a C.N.S.A.S. researcher entail? What is the document organization system and how do we manage to navigate between categories of files and information? How do we position ourselves in relation to the findings in the files as young researchers born after the communist period so that we are able to discern the fine line between ethical, circumstantial, and immoral? These are just a few of the questions that I have found necessary to reflect on before bringing to the public's attention the documents with strong circumstantial connotations, which I am presenting and commenting on for the first time, no less than 35 years after the end of the communist regime in Romania.*

At the end of 1999, Consiliul Național pentru Studiarea Arhivelor Securității [The National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives] (C.N.S.A.S.) was set up in Romania. The establishment of this institution followed similar initiatives that had already been successfully implemented in other former communist countries (such as the Stasi Records Archive in the former GDR or the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland). While the founding Law (Legea nr. 187/1999 n.d.) provides that “to establish the historical truth, the Council shall make available to researchers accredited for this purpose by the Collegium of the Council comprehensive documents and information on the structure, methods and activities of the Securitate organs” (Art. 19), later Emergency Ordinance (Ordonanța de urgență nr. 24/2008 n.d.) prescribes that “accredited researchers are obliged to respect and protect the family and private lives of those who were persecuted by the communist

political police” (Art. 28). Applications for accreditation – accompanied by supporting documents for the research topic – are subject to the approval by the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium – and may request information on a maximum of 15 persons/request from the following three categories of C.N.S.A.S. funds: problem/objective files – in regards to either an institution as an objective, or an event / group of people / social phenomenon as a possible “problem” for the official regime; documents relating to personalities who played a role in the history of the country (in the period 1945–1989); documents relating to workers, collaborators of the Securitate and other people assimilated to these categories. The general thematic areas approved by the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium for researchers include, among others, “Romanian exile between 1945–1989,” “Romanian intellectuals under communism,” and “Art, culture, education, sport in communist Romania” (Studiul documentelor din arhiva C.N.S.A.S. n.d.). In addition to the nominal files of the personalities of interest for the research topic, documents from the Library Fund (former Securitate Library) and the Documentary Fund, which includes problem or objective files, may be consulted without additional approval from the Collegium, provided that they are related to the research topic for which the accreditation was obtained.

On the occasion of a research project coordinated by Prof. Nicolae Gheorghiuță at the National University of Music Bucharest (UNMB) – *Music control. Effects and consequences of the institution of censorship on education and musical culture in Romania during the three dictatorships of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Carlist, Antonescian and Communist* – in 2022, together with my colleagues Desiela Ion and Benedicta Pavel, I went through the accreditation stages, benefiting from the generous guidance of violinist Ladislau Csendes – a member of the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium and professor at the National University of Music Bucharest. We obtained accreditation to complete our doctoral research with information from the C.N.S.A.S. Archive, which, in my case, meant following in the footsteps of the generation of Romanian avant-garde composers who emigrated to France from the 1960s to the 1980s (Diaconu 2023). After the first contact with the selection of documentary files grouped by the themes “artistic creation”, “art-culture,” and “higher education,” which the Research Service of the institution has proposed to us and which was common for all three, I could make certain observations. Although these files may be common to two or more institutions,<sup>1</sup> and the chain of documents may be very heterogeneous,

<sup>1</sup> For example, C.N.S.A.S., File no. 10965, vol. 38, *Documentation on Artistic Creation: [...] notes on the Union of Composers and the George Enescu Philharmonic*, and File no. 11155, vol. 61, *Union of Composers – Brief History. Lists of members, documentary material concerning the “George Enescu” Conservatory (1981)*.

they are not to be neglected as they can reveal very valuable information and connections for the research topic. There is no guarantee that all the relevant information about a personality can be found in the file opened in his/her name, in cases where it exists, be it an information / a pursue file or a network file (in case of persons who collaborated with the Securitate). I think that these *objective* files – which concerned certain institutions that were important for the cultural life or ideological issues of interest to the political authorities – most clearly show the level of control that the state – through the political police – exercised over the Romanian musical life. Parts of the very extensive and well-infiltrated networks of informers in the ranks of each musical institution are indicated; criteria considered when recruiting; records and lists of personnel – with family origins and political affiliations; reports on the degree of implementation of political desiderata at the level of each institution. Of course, any connection of the musicians with Western countries had to pass through filters at all levels, supervised by the Securitate organs.

Before starting my research through the thousands of files in the documentary files,<sup>2</sup> I decided to first learn about the previous musical research that had been undertaken in investigations of the C.N.S.A.S. files. One of the most brutal triggers of cultural trauma is the change of fundamental institutions or regimes (Sztompka 2004, 163). During the communist regime in Romania, free cultural and artistic thinking was quite abruptly replaced by censorship and ideologized artistic desiderata issued under political influence, and free international movement was stopped in favour of nationalist containment. An important part of the acceptance and understanding of cultural trauma can be discovered by looking at its manifestation or appearance in the arts – music, literature, visual arts. Sometimes, the mere submission of artists to the doctrines of a totalitarian regime can be one of the most obvious signs of trauma. But more often, we are looking for protest, disobedience, the subservience of art to the regime, followed by the regime's response to such manifestations. As will be seen from the analysed archival documents, this response is rarely linked to musical stylistics per se, often remaining confined to the superficial area of clichés linked to social origin or ideological convictions. On the other hand, cultural traumas are considered defined not when they occur, but rather when they are, with the help of the public discourse of influential voices,

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<sup>2</sup> Besides those related to the Union of Composers, Bucharest Philharmonic, National Opera and Conservatory that I had at my disposal, there are more than 40 volumes in the C.N.S.A.S. Archive related to the activity of the ARIA – Romanian Agency of Artistic Impresariat, which intermediated all the visits of Romanian musicians abroad and all the concerts of foreign artists in Romania.

understood, made public and accepted as collective traumas by the general public (Eyerman 2019, 42). Hence, it became essential to know what was written on the subject in post-communist Romania, an analysis that could easily be a case study for another kind of cultural trauma, represented by the sudden return to democracy and the supposed absolute freedom of expression.

At the beginning of my research, I already knew the valuable achievements of two authors – both violinists and professors at the Music University in Bucharest – Ladislau Csendes and Ioana Raluca Voicu Arnăuțoiu. In 2011, Ladislau Csendes – a member of the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium and its president from 2007 to 2009 – stirred up a wave of controversy in the music world with the publication of *George Enescu, a supervised exile?* (Csendes 2011). The book brought to light previously unknown details about the great composer's connection to Romania in the last years of his life; among others, a report with a proposal to bring George Enescu into the country, signed by the head of the Securitate, Vasile Vilcu, in July 1954 (Csendes 2011, 232–235), and a chapter about “(non)friends” who turned out to be some of the composer's closest collaborators who worked in the Securitate network: Corneliu Bedițeanu and Romeo Drăghici (Csendes 2011, 137–197). In 2019, Ladislau Csendes returned with new musical accounts from the C.N.S.A.S. Archives, in an extensive study published in the volume *Panorama comunismului în România* [Panorama of Communism in Romania], coordinated by Liliana Corobca, in which he discusses recruitment and resistance, blackmail, and the disagreeable position in which many famous musicians found themselves in their dealings with the political police:

The limits of power and the power of limits in this constant confrontation of musicians with the political police seem most dramatic and offer the most interesting insights. Some were, it seems, less vulnerable. These musicians, as well as luck, had a presence of mind that allowed them to position themselves advantageously in the unequal battle they waged with the Securitate emissaries (agents provocateurs, agents of influence, etc.). However, it was very difficult to escape without injury from the (in)visible but extremely dangerous web of political police (Csendes 2020, 783).

The second musician who took significant steps in the process of rewriting the history of Romanian music in light of the political background information revealed by the C.N.S.A.S. was Raluca Voicu Arnăuțoiu, who has been involved in the reconstruction of the destinies of musicians from George Enescu's generation and the one immediately following, some of them ousted from the country for good by the recurrent persecutions of the political police: George Enescu, Mihail Jora, Paul Constantinescu, Alfred Alessandrescu,

George Georgescu (Voicu-Arnăuțoiu 2011); Constantin Silvestri, Antonin Ciolan, Sergiu Celibidache, Florica Musicescu, Mîndru Katz and Richard Oschanitzky (Voicu-Arnăuțoiu 2012; 2013; 2021).

The list of researchers accredited to the C.N.S.A.S. from 2002 to 2022 (Cereri aprobate n.d.) – in which we were also officially included in 2022 – contains 2,962 names. I went through it in search of musicians' names and discovered, together with Ladislau Csendes and Raluca Voicu, composer Thomas Beigel (with the topic "Music and life of the composer Myriam Marbé in the Romanian and European political context"), pianist Sanda Hîrlav-Maistorovici, and priest Stelian Ionașcu, both researching Paul Constantinescu ("Composer Paul Constantinescu – monographic study"), as well as Maria Lucia Beatrice Lupu, musician and television personality, researching "The Union of Romanian Composers between 1950 and 1989." Based on a generous theme spanning almost 40 years and with many possible ramifications, Beatrice Lupu has published 5 articles in the journal *Muzica* (issues 3/2004 and 1–4/2005 respectively), which focused on just a few files from the C.N.S.A.S. archive: *The verification file on the Dumitrescu Ion and Vasilescu Ion group*, Informative File no. 3102, motivated by "diversion in the ideological sector" (Lupu 2004; Lupu 2005a; Lupu 2005b); Informative File no. 715 – Mihail Jora; Informative File no. 717 – Paul Constantinescu (Lupu 2005c) and Informative File 5020 – Elenescu Emanoil "Dirijorul" [The Conductor] (Lupu 2005d). Being the first attempt to reconsider events in the history of Romanian music based on documents from the C.N.S.A.S. Archive, at a time when it contained far fewer documents,<sup>3</sup> Beatrice Lupu's studies display a moderate approach, with certain reservations:

When I started this work, I was well aware of the problems C.N.S.A.S. was facing in obtaining the archive, I knew that I could not decide which files I would search and the order in which I would search them. This is a source of disappointment, both for the researcher and for those who have their own vision of the subjects that should be tackled as a priority. Of

<sup>3</sup> The aforementioned Law (Legea nr. 187/1999) stipulated that the Romanian Intelligence Service, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Ministry of Administration and Interior, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Archives, and any other public or private institutions, as well as individuals holding documents, files, registers, photo, video, audio and computer records, databases, including the files of Securitate officers identified as having engaged in political police activity during the communist regime, are obliged to ensure the right of access provided by the Law and to hand them over to the Council (Art. 20). More than 20 years later, although the current C.N.S.A.S. fund comprises almost 30 linear kilometres of archives, the transfer process has still not been completed.

course, it would have been better if I had started with the 1950s, but I hope that, whatever the order in which the files come up for research, it will be possible to cover the entire period proposed, 1950–1989. Otherwise, the approach is bound to disappoint (Lupu 2005a, 88).

To me it is not particularly important who is behind the code names. What matters is the atmosphere of those years, the way the Securitate intervened between friends, in work relationships, the way people were disposed of. Those who signed the pledge always had the date and time of their next meeting fixed. They were asked about certain subjects. If the tone was too mild, they were seriously warned (Lupu 2005a, 109).

The bureau' or officers' notes generally leave the impression of useless work. Everything floats in the vague "let the note be as concrete as possible," the meetings with agents as often as possible. Does it ever come to a conclusion? (Lupu 2005b, 111)

I was particularly struck by the editor's note, conspicuously framed on the border at the beginning of the last article in the series (see Figure 1):

Once again, it should be stressed that the name of the informant was conspiratorial, as such, other than the real one. Unfortunately, some of the names of the informants coincide with the names of prominent musicians in the Union, which is likely to create confusion and cast a veil of suspicion over personalities of integrity and far from any involvement in this direction (Lupu 2005d, 89).

It also seems to exude a sense of postscript censorship.

The first conclusion I came to after launching my first research project at the C.N.S.A.S. Archive is that it is good to have flexible expectations. For a more concrete view of the phenomenon, I present below the statistics of my research topic. Within the theme *Diaspora of Romanian composers in France in the second half of the 20th century*, I followed in parallel the destinies of several avant-garde composers who emigrated to France in the period 1960–1980. Given the obvious relationship with the occidental world and their illegal settlement in France, my expectation was that all of them (or almost all of them) have had their files opened, at least in the SIE (Foreign Intelligence Service) Fund. In the accreditation application, I requested information on eleven personalities relevant to the context of the research: Horațiu Rădulescu, Costin Miereanu, Costin Cazaban, Mihai Mitrea-Celarianu, Horia Șurianu, Vladimir Cosma, Edgar Cosma, Theodor Cosma, Marius Constant, Radu Stan and Mica Salabert (the latter two, although not composers, were heavily involved in the work of the French publishing house Salabert, which functioned as an

invaluable launching platform for Romanian musicians who settled in Paris). The answer included six archival units identified for only four of the musicians mentioned in the request: two files from the Information Fund, two from the Network Fund and two from the SIE Fund. I cannot help but wonder how many of the files have been destroyed, how many pages have been torn out or moved to other files (the clue to this is given by multiple cuts in the opening indexes and renumbering of pages; see Figures 2 and 3), how many have not yet been transferred to the C.N.S.A.S. funds, and how many related documents are in the *problem* or *objective* files. Therefore, it was necessary to adjust my expectations, to accept that the result of my request was complex material, that the circumstances are nuanced from case to case, and that interpreting and corroborating them will require a great dose of diligence and responsibility on my part for objective historical reflection.

#### AN UNCOMMON PERSPECTIVE – THE APPARENT INTENTION TO RECOVER WESTERN MUSICAL VALUES

##### *Marius Constant (Braunstein) – The First Dossier*

Marius Constant (1925–2004) was a French composer and conductor, born in Romania – this is how some biographies present him (Rae 2005; *Whos's Who* n.d.), and even one of the very rare texts dedicated to him in Romanian publications chooses the same approach: “We cannot assimilate Marius Constant to Romanian culture, but neither can we overlook his origins and his early formative period which left their deep mark on the artist’s later development” (Arzoiu 1995: 40). He graduated from the Bucharest Conservatory in 1943, and in 1946, after winning the Enescu Prize, he emigrated to Paris thanks to a scholarship offered by the French government, where he had the opportunity to study with Olivier Messiaen, Nadia Boulanger, Jean Fourmet, and Arthur Honegger. He composed five operas, over ten ballet scores (by virtue of his marriage to a ballerina, also originating from Romania), arranged and reorchestrated many famous scores from the French repertoire (including Georges Bizet’s *Carmen* and Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande*), and composed in a wide variety of styles, from *musique concrète* and aleatoric to neoclassical/neo-romantic works. Paradoxically or not, his greatest notoriety as a composer came from a fragment of only a few bars that was used in the credits of the famous American science fiction series *The Twilight Zone*. Since the late 1950s, when he gained greater international visibility with the presentation of his *24 Preludes for Orchestra* under Leonard Bernstein, Marius Constant has become an increasingly prominent figure in French music. He

has been musical director of the *Ballets de Paris* (a series founded by Roland Petit) since 1958 and music director of the Paris Opera Ballet since 1973. He was one of the founders of the radio station France-Musique, a professor at the Paris Conservatoire since 1978, and since 1963, he has been the founder and conductor of the *Ars Nova* contemporary music ensemble affiliated to the French national radio. In this position, Marius Constant made an essential contribution to the international promotion of Romanian avant-garde creations, including the disc *Jeune musique roumaine*, recorded in 1970 with works by Tiberiu Olah, Ștefan Niculescu, Anatol Vieru, Costin Miereanu, and Mihai Mitrea-Celarianu.

I thought it appropriate to sketch this short biographical introduction to outline the well-established status of Marius Constant on the international scene – as a versatile composer, conductor, professor, and cultural manager – and the total autonomy from his country of origin that he acquired during his decades of prolific activity after the emigration. I chose him for a case study in the Securitate files because, on one hand, he is a part of the Romanian musical diaspora in France not only by origin, but also by his own choice to associate with and support his younger compatriots since the 1960s, while on the other, he embodies a completely different perspective from the situations of the younger Romanian musicians who were struggling to emigrate and were then completely disowned by their country. Although he emigrated to France at a time when the Department of State Security did not yet officially exist,<sup>4</sup> a “File against the Foreigners” was opened for him, with the oldest document in it dating back to 1949, and is currently contained in the SIE file no. 6423. On only seven pages of this early file opened in the name of the musician,<sup>5</sup> certain personal and family information from his life is emphasized and interpreted in connection with his departure from the country: the composer was born in Bucharest, and by the age of 22 he had been orphaned by both parents (his mother, Sofia Braunstein, died in 1936, and his father, Iosif Braunstein, in 1947); he changed his name in 1946 – from Marius Braunstein he became Theodor Marius Constant; he married ballerina Sonia Millian, daughter of a wealthy Jewish family in Bucharest, who had handed over their property to the People’s Council in order to “remain without means of subsistence and to obtain a visa to go to Israel” – a version of the official discourse used by

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<sup>4</sup> It was established by Decree no. 221 of 28 August 1948 of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian People’s Republic (R.P.R.).

<sup>5</sup> To which are added another twelve pages erroneously attached to the file, due to a coincidence of names, dealing with the issue of emigration of the Jewish population in the Galați county region and the practice of bribery for the issuance of passports for Israel.

the regime to mask the forced dispossession of people.<sup>6</sup> He left Romania in December 1946 with a valid passport, and was then granted an extension of his visa to stay in France until February 1949, when the Ministry of Arts and Information did not give him a permission for further extension. A note written on 30 May 1949 shows that Marius and Sonia Constant were helped by Miron Grindea<sup>7</sup> to travel to London and that, at the same time, “Marius, the poor and talented husband, supported by his wife’s very rich family, was influenced by Sonia Millian’s horror of returning to the country. She influenced him to leave for London for good all the more as Marius was making plans to work if he came back to the R.P.R.”<sup>8</sup> Before 1980, the file records only one other document dated 3 September 1956, notifying the Securitate agents that Sonia Constant had entered the country to visit her father.<sup>9</sup> She was identified as the wife of Marius Constant, “a renowned composer who works for the French Radio, has many connections in emigration and artistic circles and for a time acted against the R.P.R. as a music critic.”<sup>10</sup> During her visit to Romania, Sonia Constant’s activity and “behaviour” were monitored by the Securitate agents.

*The “Karajan” Dossier.*

*About a Visit to Romania That Went Unheeded*

The decision to open a personal file under the flattering codename “Karajan” (see Figure 4) comes in the third year of successive attempts by the regime in Bucharest to organise an official visit to Romania by Marius Constant. The thread of the initiative to invite Constant to the country can be traced in the file from May 1983, when a source in Paris – “Vornicu” – wrote a note describing the Romanian musician’s remarkable successes, which culminated in 1982 with the invitations he received to realise a new version of *Carmen* in collaboration with one of the most appreciated directors of the time – a Briton Peter Brook.<sup>11</sup> The source states that, although he was aware of the previous

<sup>6</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Miron Grindea (1909–1995) was a literary journalist, based in London at the beginning of the WWII, who supported the cultural diaspora in Romania, and the Jewish diaspora, his entire life.

<sup>8</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> However, according to the Securitate file on another composer – Mihail Andricu – it appears that the couple also visited Romania in 1967, in the context of the period of a certain cultural liberalization, on the occasion of the George Enescu International Festival; A.C.N.S.A.S., Informative Fund, File I 203438, vol. 8, p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> *La tragédie de Carmen* premiered in Paris in 1981 and by 1990 it had already been performed over 800 times worldwide (Booklet in Kaltenbach 1990). Dedicated to a reduced instrumental

invitations from the Philharmonic's director to conduct in Bucharest, these did not materialise, and he "convinced him that it would be useful to accept an invitation to his native country, in order to make contact with the musical movement and to study on the spot what possibilities existed for making these contacts fruitful."<sup>12</sup> The discussions that followed were carefully directed by the Securitate through collaborators in Paris. Another agent, "Mirel," was instructed to take over further negotiations and find out what Marius Constant's expectations would be for his visit to "Ceahlău."<sup>13</sup> This time, the source called "Popescu," informs from "Panciu" that the guest is willing to come to Romania after 15 September 1983:

He said that he did not want the visit to be official and that he would like to have friendly consultations with members of the Union of Composers, representatives of theatre and artistic life in Ceahlău. He would like to see performances "that would facilitate his reconnecting with the spiritual life of the city," with whom he has only had some consultations through composers and musicians such as T. Brediceanu, T. Olah, Șt. Niculescu. M. Constant asks for confirmation that the international transport and the stay will be paid by the Ceahlău side by 1 August at the latest.<sup>14</sup>

On 20 July 1983, the Military Unit 544 – Foreign Intelligence Centre – drafted, in a single top-secret copy, the "report with the proposal to bring the composer Marius Constant from France to the country, within the framework of the *Orpheus* action." I am reproducing the full content of this report, which I consider relevant from several points of view. The following emerge from it: the motivation for the choice of this particular musician – an influential person at the peak of his international career; the purpose of organising the visit – to check off of apparent French-Romanian cultural relations and the propaganda of the communist regime abroad, and, last but not least, the "operational" approach to the visit, with several agents prepared for all the necessary contexts:

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ensemble, with a focus on only four main characters and a minimalist setting, *La tragédie de Carmen* was one of the few viable options for the period of the COVID-19 pandemic, and was revived by several opera houses.

<sup>12</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 24–25.

<sup>13</sup> In communication with representatives outside the country, the Securitate agents used code names (originally of Romanian towns and villages) to designate cities and countries. In the Marius Constant file, I deciphered the following legend: "Ceahlău" = Romania; "Panciu" = Paris; "Negoiu", where *La tragédie de Carmen* was to be performed = New York, "Vadu" = Washington, and "Buşteni" = Bucharest.

<sup>14</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 27.

In accordance with the provisions of the plan of measures and the table of personalities approved to be brought to the country within the framework of the “Sena-82” action, action was taken to create the conditions for inviting the composer Marius Constant to Romania.

Marius Constant, aged 58, born in Romania, of Jewish nationality and French citizenship, is a composer and professor at the Paris Conservatory and is considered one of the most representative composers of modern symphonic music. He has given concerts with his works in Paris, London, New York, Copenhagen, Brussels, Rome, Berlin, Chicago, etc. He has won several international prizes, the last of which (the prize of the President of the French Republic) he was awarded in 1981 for his works recorded on discs, considered to be an original contribution to the development of the French musical school.

Marius Constant is an influential figure in French cultural life, with important connections in Jewish and political-economic circles. He is a close relation of our source “Vornicu,” who influenced him to accept a visit to Romania despite a recommendation to the contrary from the French authorities.

The purpose of inviting him to the country is to use him in the development of French-Romanian cultural relations and the possibilities he has in other French environments to act on behalf of Romania.

During his visit to the country, contacts will be organised at the CCES (The Socialist Culture and Education Council), the Union of Composers, the Romanian Philharmonic, the Romania Association, and an appropriate tourist programme. For the official part of the programme, he will be accompanied by the source “Vladimir,” and outside the programme by “Vornicu,” with the aim of influencing him permanently to work for the development of cultural relations between France and Romania in the parameters preferred by the Romanian side, as well as to make positive statements to the French press and radio and television.

In the country, statements and interviews will be taken from him, which will be broadcast both in our publications and in France, in order to counteract hostile propaganda. Since the invitation of Marius Constant is made at our initiative through the C.C.S., we propose to approve the sum of 25000 lei, necessary for the cost of the plane tickets and hotel and travel expenses.<sup>15</sup>

On 9 September 1983, just six days before the scheduled visit, a telegram was received from Paris announcing the impossibility of Marius Constant to visit Romania that year, proposing to postpone the visit to early 1984.<sup>16</sup> He used several musical engagements in the period to come as a pretext. Further analysis

<sup>15</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 29–30.

<sup>16</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 35.

of the file would show that, in fact, those responsible for organising the visit did not take any steps in this direction, and the musician was thus forced to give up. Discussions were resumed in 1984, also without any result<sup>17</sup> (see Figure 5), and to the musician's surprise, after two years of fruitless discussions, he received an invitation and plane tickets for 26 September to 3 October 1985.<sup>18</sup>

In preparation for the visit, which was still based on the considerations of the 1983 Report on the visit to the country,<sup>19</sup> two letters were sent containing some additional "operational" measures. Firstly, the accommodation of the musician had to be offered in a room with operational technical means at Hotel *București*, in order to record and verify his attitude towards the regime in Romania.<sup>20</sup> The second letter required the activation of existing Securitate sources in the Philharmonic and at the Union of Composers – where Constant was to have meetings, among others, with Mihai Brediceanu and Radu Gheciu from the Philharmonic, and with the secretary of the Union, Vasile Tomescu – in order to "positively influence" the composer, on one hand, and to accumulate background material on the musician and his family members, on the other.<sup>21</sup>

On 4 October 1985, a report "on the fulfilment of the tasks concerning the revitalization of relations with France by the visit of the French composer and conductor of Romanian origin *Karajan*, together with his wife, Secretary General of the International Dance Council at UNESCO"<sup>22</sup> was quickly prepared. Beyond the "positive influences and reactions" obtained with great success by the military units 0225, 0800 and 0625, involved in the "smooth running" of the visit, the concrete musical objectives that the hosts have assumed at the proposal and together with Marius Constant are interesting:

- Facilitating contracts with the French cultural space to make recordings with the Radio Orchestra or the Bucharest Philharmonic, to be purchased with foreign currency;
- Organisation of an anniversary performance by the George Enescu Philharmonic conducted by Mihai Brediceanu in Paris in 1986, 50 years after the world premiere of the *Oedipe* opera by Enescu in the same city;
- Facilitation and presentation by Marius Constant of radio broadcasts about George Enescu and the confluences of the Romanian and French schools of

<sup>17</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 39–40.

<sup>18</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 42.

<sup>19</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 29–30.

<sup>20</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 56.

<sup>22</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE fonds, File 6423, p. 58–59.

composition, to be broadcast during 1986 on France-Musique and France Culture;

- Organisation of a “Romanian Music Week” in Paris, as part of the Romanian-French cultural program, with the participation of several Romanian conductors, performers, and repertoires;
- Exerting influence on several personalities of alleged interest to the Romanian authorities. This objective has not been discussed with the musician directly, but the sources in Paris had to remain in close contact with Constant to convince him to influence the following important individuals: Minister of Culture Jack Lang, so that he would support the proposed actions of Romanian-French collaboration; Nelly Boufathal, president and general manager of Salabert Publishing House, with whom they had hoped to reach an agreement whereby Electrecord would be able to record the complete works of Enescu without having to make payments to the copyright holders – namely, the Salabert Publishing House; the writer Emil Cioran, with a view of inviting him to Romania; and the writer Eugen Ionesco, whom they had hoped to persuade to stop supporting the actions of the reactionary émigrés in France.

Last but not least, the Securitate agents aimed to stimulate Marius Constant by inviting his son – the sports journalist Alain Constant – to visit Romania and to publish articles, of course, favourable to the country, in French specialised journals.

The success and “efficiency of the visit” are also confirmed by the informative notes signed by the representatives of the Philharmonic and the source “Vornicu,” who accompanied Marius Constant during the trip. Back in Paris, Constant made arrangements to obtain free use of the Opera Hall for the *Oedipe* concerts, but official confirmation from the Bucharest Philharmonic was late to arrive. Also in 1986, Marius Constant expressed his disappointment in the fact that, following meetings with representatives of the Bucharest Philharmonic, the discussions did not result in any concrete invitation for him to conduct in Bucharest, and he did not receive any response from the Romanian Radio regarding the quality of the recordings. At the same time, Sonia Constant took the necessary steps for Romania’s inclusion in the International Dance Council (of UNESCO) without any financial contribution, but she, too, received no response from the responsible Romanian authorities.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the “efficient organization” and the pretentious and very carefully planned programme by the officials before the composer’s arrival in

<sup>23</sup> A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 78–86. Informative note from source “Vornicu” – Conversation with composer Marius Constant and his wife, Sonia Millian Constant, 30 October 1986.

Romania,<sup>24</sup> it is quite clear from later documents that the opening towards the West and the desire to reconsolidate relations with the French world were only a part of the superficial propaganda message of the Bucharest regime. From my research so far, I have not found any evidence of Marius Constant's visit to Romania in 1985 in the press, except for a small piece for flute and vibraphone composed by him that seems to have been played at that year's edition of the Enescu Festival, performed by musicians from the Ars Nova Ensemble, before he arrived in Bucharest (Hoffman 1985; Popovici 1985). The reasons for this secrecy are difficult to grasp and may have stemmed from a later decision, especially given that the programme drawn up in advance of the visit included several meetings with media representatives. Being only a checkmark on a list of personalities to be brought into the country as part of an action, on 25 April 1988, as a result of "the limited possibilities of the Paris operative group," as well as the "age" and Constant's stepping down from several of the positions he had held, it was proposed to remove "Karajan" from the Securitate's concerns and to terminate his file at the Military Unit 0503 (subunit of the Foreign Intelligence Centre). Following what seems to have been an underwhelming experience for the musician in 1985, I have found no information about any subsequent visit of Marius Constant to Romania before 1990.<sup>25</sup>

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It is said that our generation, those of us born after 1990, who studied entirely in a democracy, sheltered from the impact and ordeals of communism, have been completely spared from the atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, and also the disappointments of the transition period and the post-communist cultural trauma (Sztompka 2004, 193). However, in the 25 years since the inauguration of the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives, there have been many musicians' files that have not yet been researched, and there are many questions that remain answered in the non-chronologically ordered files. For several generations of émigré musicians who have been virulently erased from the history and the conscience of Romanian music for more than four decades, we have only recently begun to become truly aware of their cultural trauma and to begin to document it systematically and as objectively as possible, with a view of a much desired, yet probably impossible "healing."

<sup>24</sup> The programme of the visit to Romania of the composer Marius Constant and his wife can be seen in full in Table 1.

<sup>25</sup> Testimonies indicate that Marius Constant only came back to Bucharest once, in 1991, on the occasion of the first edition of the International Week of New Music festival, organised by the Union of Romanian Composers.

**Table 1.** Programme of Marius Constant's visit to Romania, 26 September – 3 October 1985. Source: A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 53–54, Secret, Sole copy.

No. 006423/33/8.08.1985	
<i>PROGRAMME</i> The visit of the composer and conductor MARIUS CONSTANT to Romania during the period 26 September – 3 October 1985	
Thursday, 26 September	- 8.25 PM – Arrival at Otopeni Airport; check-in at the hotel “București”.
Friday, 27 September	- 10.00 AM – Reception at the “ROMANIA” Association, discussions with its management. - 12.00 PM – Reception and discussions at the Culture-Press Directorate of the M.A.E. (Ministry of External Affairs). - 1.30 PM – Official lunch. - 7.00 PM – Participation in the closing concert at the “George Enescu” International Festival.
Saturday, 28 September	- 10.00 AM – Meeting and discussion with the management of the George Enescu Philharmonic. - 11.30 AM – Round table at the Union of Composers, with the participation of Romanian composers, conductors and performers. - 7.30 PM – Official dinner.
Sunday, 29 September	- 9.30 AM – Departure to Snagov, visiting the resort. - 1.00 PM – Lunch at “MUNTENIA” restaurant, return to Bucharest. - 7.30 PM – Theatre.
Monday, 30 September	- 10.00 AM – Reception and discussions at the C.C.E.S. (Socialist Culture and Education Council) management. - 1.00 PM – Official lunch. - 5.00 PM – Visit of some monuments and places of historical interest in Bucharest.
Tuesday, 1 October	- Discussions (interview) with journalists from the journals “Muzica” and “România Literară” (time to be agreed with M. CONSTANT). - 3.00 PM – Visits to the Art Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Museum of Art Collections.
Wednesday, 2 October	- Discussions starting at: 10.30 AM – “ROMANIA” Association. 12.00 PM – Philharmonic and Union of Composers. - 4.00 PM – Radio interview – Foreign broadcast.
Thursday, 3 October	- 12.00 PM – Departure to Paris from Otopeni Airport.



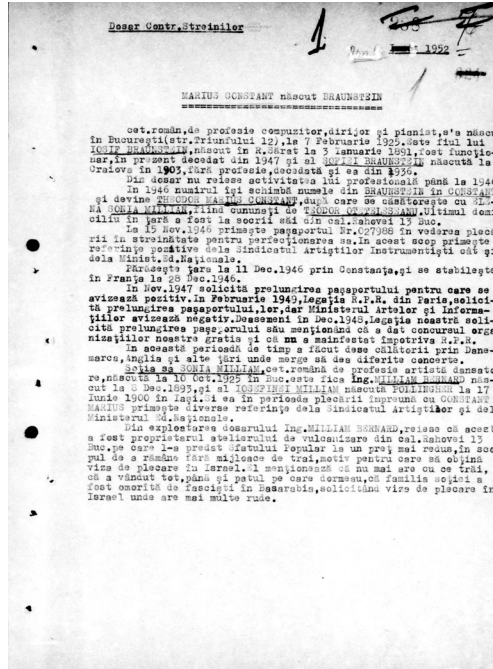


Figure 3. First page (after multiple renumberings) in Marius Constant's Securitate file (A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File no. 6423, p. 1).

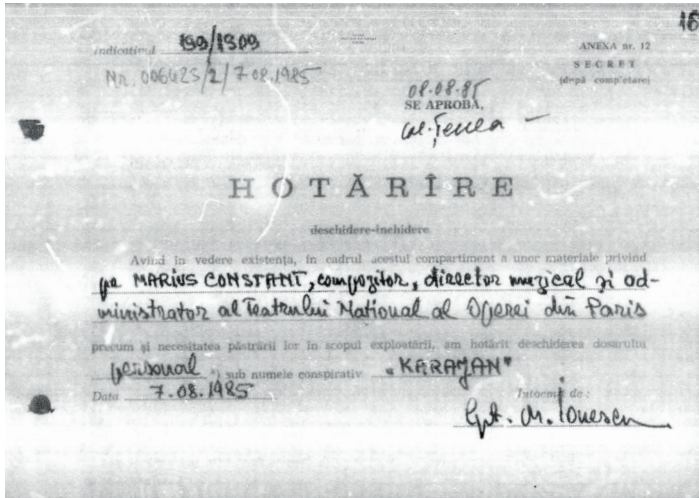


Figure 4. Decision to open the personal file of the composer Marius Constant, under the conspiratorial name "Karajan," dated 7 August 1985 (A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 16).

## ANA DIACONU

EMIGRANT COMPOSERS IN THE C.N.S.A.S. ARCHIVES. CASE STUDY:  
THE UNKNOWN STORY OF MARIUS CONSTANT'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA

118. 6423 / 30 / 25 / 03 / 1984  
18, RUE DES FOSSÉS SAINT-JACQUES  
75005 PARIS

Monsieur Virgil CÂNDEA  
Président de l'Association ROMANIE.

Paris, le 23 mars 1984.

Monsieur le Président,

Suite à votre aimable invitation et, sur les conseils de Monsieur Christian-Edouard GEORGESCOU de l'Ambassade de Roumanie à Paris, Je vous envoie ces quelques précisions concernant ma visite chez vous: la meilleure période pour moi serait celle du 17 au 24 septembre 1984. Dans la mesure des possibilités, j'aimerais rencontrer des compositeurs, éventuellement des solistes et chefs d'orchestre, les dirigeants de la Philharmonie et assister à un concert et/ou à un spectacle d'opéra. Je souhaite la présence de mon épouse, le chorégraphe SOFIA KILLIAS, qui, de son côté, aimerait avoir des contacts avec le monde de la danse. Si, en dehors de ces rencontres professionnelles et artistiques, une cérémonie plus officielle devrait avoir lieu, je vous signale, pour des raisons protocolaires, (et ceci ne figure pas dans ma biographie) que j'ai le grade d'Officier dans l'Ordre de la Légion d'Honneur et de Commandeur dans l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres.

En attendant votre réponse, Je vous prie, Monsieur le Président, d'agréer l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs,

Marius CONSTANT.

**Figure 5.** Letter addressed by Marius Constant to the President of the Romania Association, Virgil Căndea, on 23 March 1984. It is written in French and reiterates, for the second time, the wishes for the programme of the visit to Romania (C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 40).

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## АНА ДЈАКОНУ

### ЕМИГРАНТСКИ КОМПОЗИТОРИ У НАЦИОНАЛНОМ САВЕТУ ЗА ПРОУЧАВАЊЕ АРХИВА СЕКУРИТАТЕЕ (С.Н.С.А.С.). СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА: НЕПОЗНАТА ПРИЧА О ЗВАНИЧНОЈ ПОСЕТИ МАРИЈУСА КОНСТАНА КОМУНИСТИЧКОЈ РУМУНИЈИ

#### (РЕЗИМЕ)

Национални савет за проучавање архива Секуритатее, познат по румунском акрониму С.Н.С.А.С., основан је у Румунији након проглашења Закона бр. 187/1999 о приступу личним досијеима и откривању Сигуритатее као политичке полиције. Од раних двехиљадитих година, неколико музичара попут Јоане Ралуке Војку-Арнауцоју и Ладислава Чендеша, као и историчара Влада Александрескуа, успешно су започели преиспитивање историје музике на основу јавно доступних докумената Секуритатее, откривајући велове цензуре и различите аспекте културне трауме коју је комунистички режим нанео музици.

Била сам део групе која је истраживала „музички” архив у Националном савету за проучавање архива Сигуритатее, пратећи трагове генерација румунских авангардних композитора који су емигрирали у Француску крајем шездесетих година прошлог века. У овом раду анализирао сам случај композитора и диригента Маријуса Констана (1925–2004).

Иако Констан припада генерацији нешто старијој од оне којом сам се углавном бавила, његов пример сведочи о једном од аспеката преокупације Секуритатее: овде није реч о уобичајеним тешкоћама емиграције, већ о очигледним покушајима власти да успостави „пријатељске” односе с најзначајнијим представницима румунске дијаспоре. Будући да власт није имала начин да такве појединце силом задржи у земљи, настојала је да с њима изгради привид пријатељства, с циљем да спречи уочавање било какве форме неуспеха у управљању културним механизмима државе. У свом истраживању посебно сам се усмерила на конкретан однос према музици, који су успостављали званични органи као представници воље партије и државе у датом историјском периоду. Резултати су били разочаравајући, али предвидљиви. Музика је сама по себи била схваћена и приказана веома површно, слично као и друге уметности, с тим што је била теже разумљива. Када језик музике није могао бити схваћен, константно се посезало за фиксацијама на тему социјалног порекла музичара, њихових веза с иностранством, те идеолошке субверзивности и религијских опредељења. То је представљало клише који су обележавали целокупну активност Секуритатее.