For the artist, see Gheorghe Tattarescu.

Gheorghe I. T?t?rescu (also known as Gu?? T?t?rescu , with a slightly antiquated pet form of his given name ; 2 November 1886 ? 28 March 1957) was a Romanian politician who served twice as Prime Minister of Romania (1934 ? 1937 ; 1939 ? 1940) , three times as Minister of Foreign Affairs (interim in 1934 and 1938 ; appointed to the office in 1945 @-@ 1947) , and once as Minister of War (1934) . Representing the " young liberals " faction inside the National Liberal Party (PNL) , T?t?rescu began his political career as a collaborator of Ion G. Duca , becoming noted for his anti @-@ Communism and , in time , for his conflicts with the PNL 's leader Dinu Br?tianu and the Foreign Minister Nicolae Titulescu . During his first time in office , he moved closer to King Carol II , leading an ambivalent policy toward the fascist Iron Guard and ultimately becoming instrumental in establishing the authoritarian and corporatist regime around the National Renaissance Front . In 1940 , he accepted the cession of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union , and consequently had to resign .

After the start of World War II , Gheorghe T?t?rescu initiated a move to rally political forces in opposition to Ion Antonescu 's dictatorship , and sought an alliance with the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) . He was twice expelled from the PNL , in 1938 and 1944 , creating instead his own group , the National Liberal Party @-@ T?t?rescu , and representing it inside the Communist @-@ endorsed Petru Groza cabinet . In 1946 @-@ 1947 , he was also the President of the Romanian Delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris . After that moment , relations between T?t?rescu and the PCR began to sour , and he was replaced from the leadership of both his own party and the Foreign Ministry when his name was implicated in the T?m?d?u Affair . Following the Communist takeover , he was arrested and held as a political prisoner , while being called to testify in the trial of Lucre?iu P?tr??canu . He died soon after his release from prison .

Elected an honorary member of the Romanian Academy in 1937, he was removed from his seat by the Communist authorities in 1948. One of his brothers, Colonel ?tefan T?t?rescu, was at some point the leader of a minor Nazi group, the National Socialist Party.

= = Early life and politics = =

Born in Târgu Jiu, T?t?rescu studied at Carol I High School in Craiova. He later went to France, where he was awarded a doctorate from the University of Paris in 1912, with a thesis on the Romanian parliamentary system (Le régime électoral et parlementaire en Roumanie). He subsequently worked as a lawyer in Bucharest. He fathered a son, Tudor, and a daughter, Sanda (married to the lawyer Ulise Negropontes in 1940).

After joining the National Liberal Party (PNL), he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies for the first time in November 1919, representing Gorj County. Among his first notable actions as a politician was an initiative to interpellate Nicolae L. Lupu, the Minister of Interior Affairs Ministry in the Romanian National Party @-@ Peasants 'Party cabinet, in answer to concerns that the executive was tolerating socialist agitation in the countryside.

He stood among the PNL 's " young liberals " faction (as they were colloquially known), supporting free trade and a more authoritarian rule over the country around King Carol II, and opposing both the older generation of leaders (who tended to advocate protectionism and a liberal democracy) and the dissident group of Gheorghe I. Br?tianu (see National Liberal Party @-@ Br?tianu).

Undersecretary in the Interior Affairs Ministry under several PNL cabinets (beginning with that of Ion I. C. Br?tianu in 1922 @-@ 1926), he first became noted as a collaborator of Ion G. Duca. In 1924 @-@ 1936, in contrast to his post @-@ World War II agenda, T?t?rescu was a noted anti @-@ communist, and reacted vehemently against the Romanian Communist Party (PCdR, later PCR)? recommending and obtaining its outlawing, based on Communist adversity to the concept of Greater Romania, and notably arguing that the Comintern @-@ supported Tatarbunary Uprising was evidence of " imperialist communism ".

= = = Context = =

T?t?rescu became leader of the cabinet in January 1934 , as the fascist Iron Guard had assassinated Prime Minister Duca on 30 December 1933 (the five @-@ day premiership of Constantin Anghelescu ensured transition between the two governments) . His was the second PNL cabinet formed during Carol 's reign , and the latter 's failure to draw support from the mainstream group led to a tight connection being established between Carol and the young liberals , with T?t?rescu backing the process leading to the creation of a royal dictatorship . One of T?t?rescu 's first measures was a decisive move to end the conflict between the National Liberal executive and the Mayor of Bucharest , Dem I. Dobrescu (who was backed by the National Peasants ' Party) ? making use of his prerogative , he removed Dobrescu from office on 18 January .

The brief period constituted a reference point in Romanian economy , as the emergence from the Great Depression , although marked by endemic problems , saw prosperity more widespread than ever before . This was , in part , the contribution of new economic relations which T?t?rescu defended and encouraged : the state transformed itself into the main agent of economic activities , allowing for prosperous businesses to benefit from its demands , and , in time , leading to the creation of a camarilla dominated by the figures of industrialists such as Aristide Blank , Nicolae Malaxa , and Max Auschnitt . In this context , T?t?rescu 's allegedly subservient position in front of Carol was a frequent topic of ridicule at the time . According to a hostile account of the socialist Petre Pandrea :

" T?t?rescu was ceremonious in order to cover his menial nature . When he was leaving audiences [with the King] , he pressed forward on the small of his back and returned facing backwards from the desk to the door , not daring to show his back . [...] Watching over the scene [...] , Carol II exclaimed to his intimate assistants :

? I don 't have a big enough tooshie for all the politicians to kiss!"

Among other services rendered, he intervened in the conflict between Carol and his brother, Prince Nicholas, asking the latter to renounce either his marriage to Ioana Dumitrescu @-@ Doletti? considered a misalliance by Carol, it had not been recognized by Romanian authorities? or his princely prerogatives. Nicholas chose the latter alternative in 1937.

Inside his party, T?t?rescu lost ground to Dinu Br?tianu, elected by the traditional Liberal elite as a compromise in order to ensure unity; upon his election in 1934, the latter stated:

" This time as well , I would have gladly conceded , if I were to believe that anyone else in the party could gather voter unanimity . "

The issue remained debated for the following two years. The party congress of July 1936 eventually elected T?t?rescu to the second position in the party, that of general secretary.

= = = European politics = = =

In his foreign policy, Prime Minister T?t?rescu balanced two different priorities, attempting to strengthen the traditional military alliance with Poland which was aimed at the Soviet Union, and reacting against the growing regional influence of Nazi Germany by maintaining the relevancy of the Little Entente and establishing further contacts with the Soviets.

In August 1936, he removed Nicolae Titulescu from the office of Foreign Minister, replacing him with Victor Antonescu. This caused an uproar, with most of Romania 's diplomatic corps voicing their dissatisfaction. Over the following months, virtually all of Titulescu 's supporters were themselves recalled (including, among others, Constantin Vi?oianu, the ambassador to Poland, Constantin Antoniade, Romania 's representative to the League of Nations, Dimitrie Ghyka, the ambassador to Belgium, and Caius Brediceanu, the ambassador to Austria) while Titulescu 's adversaries, such as Antoine Bibesco, were returned to office. Bibesco subsequently campaigned

in France and the United Kingdom, in an attempt to reassure Romania 's main allies that the move did not signify a change in Romania 's priorities. T?t?rescu was later blamed by his own party for having renounced the diplomatic course on which Romania had engaged.

In early 1937, T?t?rescu rejected the proposal of Józef Beck, Poland 's Minister of Foreign Affairs, to withdraw Romania 's support for Czechoslovakia and attempt a reconciliation with Hungary (the following year, Romania withdrew its support for the former, indicating, just before the Munich Agreement, that it was not in a position to guarantee Czechoslovakia 's frontiers). This was accompanied by Czechoslovak initiatives to establish close contacts between the Little Entente and the Soviets: a scandal erupted in the same year, when the country 's ambassador to Romania, Jan ?eba, published a volume calling for Soviet @-@ Entente military cooperation (despite the Soviet @-@ Romanian conflict over Bessarabia) and expressing the hope that the Soviet state would extend its borders into West Belarus and Ukraine. Kamil Krofta, Czechoslovakia 's Foreign Minister, received criticism for having prefaced the book, and, after T?t?rescu paid a visit to Czechoslovak Prime Minister Milan Hod?a, ?eba was recalled to Prague.

= = = Facing the Iron Guard = = =

In combating the Iron Guard, T?t?rescu chose to relax virtually all pressures on the latter (while mimicking some of its messages), and instead concentrated again on curbing the activities of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) and outlawing its Popular Front @-@ type organizations (see Amicii URSS).

In April 1936, he and the Minister of the Interior Ion Incule? allowed the a youth congress to gather in Târgu Mure?, aware of the fact that it was masking a fascist gathering; delegates to the congress, traveling in a special train commissioned by the government, vandalized Ion Duca 's memorial plate in Sinaia train station, and, upon their arrival in Târgu Mure?, made public their violent anti @-@ Semitic agenda. It was probably there that death squads were designated and assigned missions, leading to the murder of Mihai Stelescu, a former associate, in June of the next year.

In February 1937, an intense publicity campaign by the Guard, begun with the ostentatious funerals of Ion Mo?a and Vasile Marin (killed in the Spanish Civil War) and culminating in the physical assaulting of Traian Bratu, rector of the University of Ia?i, by Guardist students, provoked the premier 's order to close down universities throughout the country.

Later in that year , the collaboration between monarch and premier , coupled with the fact that T?t?rescu had successfully attracted nationalist votes from the Iron Guard , led to the signing of an electoral agreement between the latter , the National Peasants ' Party (the main democratic opposition group) , and the National Liberal Party @-@ Br?tianu ? the pact was meant to prevent all attempt by Carol to manipulate the votes in elections . (A secondary and unexpected development was that the illegal PCR , which had decided to back the National Peasants ' Party prior to the elections , eventually supported the electoral pact .) T?t?rescu 's own alliance policy rose the anger of his opponents inside the PNL , as he signed collaboration agreements with the fascist Romanian Front and German Party .

The 1937 elections led to an unprecedented situation: although the PNL and T?t?rescu had gained the largest percentage of the vote (almost 36 %), they fell short of being awarded majority bonus (granted at 40 % of the vote). As the far right had gathered momentum (the Guard , running under the name of " Everything for the Fatherland Party " , had obtained 15 @ .@ 6 % of the vote) , Carol was faced with the threat of an Iron Guard government , which would have been one deeply opposed to all of his political principles: he called on a third party , Octavian Goga 's National Christian Party (coming from the anti @-@ Semitic far right but deeply opposed to the Guard) to form a new cabinet in December of that year .

Consequently, T?t?rescu renounced his offices inside the party, and, while keeping his office of general secretary, he was surpassed by the readmitted Gheorghe I. Br?tianu? who was elected to the new office of PNL vice president on 10 January 1938. After the failure of Goga 's policies to curb the rise of their competitors, the king, backed by T?t?rescu, resorted to dissolving all political

parties on 30 May 1938, creating instead the National Renaissance Front.

= = Second cabinet = =

In this context , T?t?rescu chose to back the regime , as the PNL , like the National Peasants ' Party , remained active in nominal clandestinity (as the law banning it had never been enforced any further) . Having personally signed the document banning opposition parties , he was expelled from the PNL in April 1938 , and contested the legitimacy of the action for the following years . Allegedly , his ousting was recommended by Iuliu Maniu , leader of the National Peasants ' Party 's and , for the following years , the closest of Dinu Br?tianu 's political allies .

Soon after his second arrival to power, T?t?rescu became noted for the enthusiastic support he gave to the modernist sculptor Constantin Brâncu?i, and directed state funds to finance the building of Brâncu?i 's The Endless Column complex in Târgu Jiu (completed in October 1938).

Alongside Alexandru Vaida @-@ Voevod and Constantin Argetoianu (whom he succeeded as Premier) , T?t?rescu became a dominant figure in the group of maverick pro @-@ Carol politicians . After a bloody crackdown on the Iron Guard , the Front attempted to reunite political forces in a national government that was to back Carol 's foreign policies in view of increasing threats on Romania 's borders after the outbreak of World War II . In 1945 , T?t?rescu stressed his belief that authoritarianism benefited Romania , and supported the view that Carol had meant to keep Romania out of the war . T?t?rescu 's second cabinet was meant to reflect the latter policies , but it did not draw any support from traditional parties , and , in April 1940 , Carol , assisted by Ernest Urd?reanu and Mihail Ghelmegeanu , began talks with the (by then much weaker) Iron Guard .

T?t?rescu remained in office throughout the rest of the Phony War , until the fall of France , and his cabinet signed an economic agreement with Nazi Germany (through which virtually all Romanian exports were directed towards the latter country) and saw the crumbling of Romania 's alliance with the United Kingdom and France . The cabinet was brought down by the cession of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union (effects of the Molotov @-@ Ribbentrop Pact) , as well as by Carol 's attempt to appease German hostility by dissolving it , replacing T?t?rescu with Ion Gigurtu , and recreating the Front as the totalitarian Party of the Nation .

= = World War = =

After the Second Vienna Award (when Northern Transylvania was lost to Hungary) , confirming Carol 's failure to preserve both the country 's neutrality and its territorial integrity , Romania was taken over by an Iron Guard dictatorial government (the National Legionary State) . Speaking five years later , Dinu Br?tianu placed the blame for the serious developments on T?t?rescu 's own actions , addressing him directly :

" I remind you : [...] you have contributed directly , in 1940 , in steering the country towards a foreign policy that , as one could tell even then , was to prove ill @-@ fated and which led us to the loathsome Vienna settlement , one which you have supported inside the Crown Council [...] . "

On 26 November 1940 , the Iron Guard began a bloody retaliation against various political figures who had served under Carol (following a late investigation into the 1938 killing of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu , the movement 's founder and early leader , by Carol 's authorities) . T?t?rescu and Constantin Argetoianu were among the second wave of captured politicians (on 27 November) , and were destined for arbitrary execution; they were , however , saved by the intervention of regular police forces , most of whom had grown hostile to the Guardist militias .

Retired from political life during the war , he was initially sympathetic to Ion Antonescu 's pro @-@ German dictatorship (see Romania during World War II) ? Dinu Br?tianu , who remained in opposition to the Antonescu regime , made mention an official visit to Bessarabia , recovered after the start of Operation Barbarossa , when T?t?rescu had accompanied Antonescu , " thus making common cause with his warmongering action " . At the time , his daughter Sandra T?t?rescu Negropontes worked as an ambulance driver for the Romanian Red Cross .

In the end, T?t?rescu became involved in negotiations aimed at withdrawing Romania from the

conflict , and , while beginning talks with the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) , tried to build foreign connections to support Romania 's cause following the inevitable defeat ; he thus corresponded with Edvard Bene? , leader of the Czechoslovak government in exile in England . Bene? , who had already been discussing matters involving Romania with Richard Franasovici and Grigore Gafencu , and had agreed to support the Romanian cause , informed the Allied governments of T?t?rescu 's designs .

T?t?rescu later contrasted his diplomatic approach with the strategy of Barbu ?tirbey (who had only attempted an agreement with the Western Allies in Cairo , instead of opening relations with the Soviets) . Initially meeting with the refusal of Iuliu Maniu and Dinu Br?tianu (who decided to invest their trust in ?tirbey) , he was relatively successful after the Cairo initiative proved fruitless : the two traditional parties accepted collaboration with the bloc formed by the PCR , the Romanian Social Democratic Party , the Ploughmen 's Front , and the Socialist Peasants ' Party , leading to the formation of the short @-@ lived and unstable National Democratic Bloc (BND) in June 1944 . It overthrew Antonescu in August , by means of the successful King Michael Coup .

= = Alliance with the Communists = =

T?t?rescu returned to the PNL later in 1944? after the Soviet Red Army had entered Romania and the country had become an Allied state, political parties were again allowed to register. Nevertheless, T?t?rescu was again opposed to the party leaders Dinu and Gheorghe I. Br?tianu, and split to form his own group in June? July 1945. Dinu Br?tianu convened the PNL leadership and formally excluded T?t?rescu and his partisans, citing their support for dictatorial regimes.

As the PCR , which was growing more influential (with the backing of Soviet occupation) while generally lacking popular appeal , sought to form alliances with various forces in order to increase its backing , T?t?rescu declared his group to be left @-@ wing and Social liberal , while attempting to preserve a middle course in the new political setting , by pleading for close relations to be maintained with both the Soviet Union and the Western Allies . N. D. Cocea , a prominent socialist who had joined the PNL , represented the faction in talks for an alliance with the Communists . The agreement , favored by Ana Pauker , was vehemently opposed by another member of the Communist leadership , Lucre?iu P?tr??canu , who argued in favor of " making a distinction inside the bourgeoisie " , and collaborating with the main PNL , while calling T?t?rescu 's faction " a gang of con artists , blackmailers , and well @-@ known bribers " .

T?t?rescu became Foreign Minister and vice president of the government in the cabinet of Petru Groza when the latter came into office after Soviet pressures in 1945; his faction had been awarded leadership of four other ministries? Finance, with three successive office @-@ holders (of whom the last was Alexandru Alexandrini), Public Works, with Gheorghe Vântu, Industry (with Petre N. Bejan), and Religious Affairs, with Radu Ro?cule?. He indirectly helped the PCR carry out an electoral fraud during the general election in 1946 by failing to reply to American proposals for organizing fair elections. At the Paris Conference, where he was accompanied by the PCR leaders Gheorghe Gheorghiu @-@ Dej and P?tr??canu, he acknowledged the dissolution of Greater Romania under the provisions of the new Treaty (1947).

= = 1947 and after = =

Tensions between his group with the PCR occurred when the former founded itself as a party under the name of National @-@ Liberal Party (commonly known as the National Liberal Party @-@ T?t?rescu), and, in June? July 1945, proclaimed its goal to be the preservation of property and a middle class under a new regime. Of himself and his principles, T?t?rescu stated:

" I am not a communist . Taking in view my attitudes towards mankind , society , property , I am not a communist . Thus , the new orientation in external politics which I demand for my country cannot be accused of being determined by affinities or sympathies of doctrine . "

Speaking in retrospect, Gheorghiu @-@ Dej indicated the actual relation between his party and T?t?rescu 's: " we have had to tolerate by our side a capitalist @-@ gentry political group,

T?t?rescu 's group ".

T?t?rescu himself continued to show his support for several PCR policies: in the summer of 1947, he condemned the United States for having protested against the repression of forces in the opposition. Nevertheless, at around the same time, he issued his own critique of the Groza government, becoming the target of violent attacks initiated by Miron Constantinescu in the PCR press. Consequently, he was singled out for negligence in office when, during the kangaroo trial of Iuliu Maniu (see T?m?d?u Affair), it was alleged that several employees of his ministry had conspired against the government. Scînteia, the official voice of the PCR, wrote of all National Liberal Party @-@ T?t?rescu offices in the government: "The rot is all @-@ encompassing! It has to be removed!".

T?t?rescu resigned his office on 6 November 1947, and was replaced by the Communist Ana Pauker. For the following two months, he was sidelined in his own party by PCR pressures, and removed from its leadership in January 1948 (being replaced with Petre N. Bejan? the party was subsequently known as National Liberal Party @-@ Petre N. Bejan). One of his last actions as cabinet member had been to sign the document officially rejecting the Marshall Plan.

After the proclamation of the People 's Republic of Romania on 30 December 1947, the existence of all parties other than the PCR had become purely formal, and, after the elections of 28 March the one @-@ party state was confirmed by legislation. He was arrested on 5 May 1950, and held in the notorious Sighet prison (alongside three of his brothers ? ?tefan T?t?rescu included ? and his former collaborator Bejan). His son Tudor, who was living in Paris, suffered from schizophrenia after 1950, and had to be committed to an institution (where he died in 1955). Sandra T?t?rescu Negropontes was also imprisoned in 1950, and released three years later, upon the death of Joseph Stalin .

One of Gheorghe T?t?rescu 's last appearances in public was his stand as one of the prosecution 's witnesses in the 1954 trial of Lucre?iu P?tr??canu , when he claimed that the defendant had been infiltrated into the PCR during the time when he had been premier (P?tr??canu was posthumously cleared of all charges) . Released in 1955 , T?t?rescu died in Bucharest , less than two years later . According to Sanda T?t?rescu Negropontes , this came as a result of tuberculosis contracted while in detention .