

**A REVIEW OF THE ROMANIANS WHO WERE
PERSECUTED, EXILED OR DEPORTED FOR
ETHNICAL REASONS**

PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945

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EVENTS FROM THE LIFE OF THE REFUGEES'
ASSOCIATION „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945” AND
AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM „MILLENNIUM III”
BROADCAST BY RADIO CLUJ – 27.11.2003

(Abstract from No. 1/2004, pp. 79-90)

CONSTANTIN MUSTAȚĂ: Dear listeners and distinguished guests, I hope that till 10 p.m., when our transmissions comes to an end, we'll be able to build up an interesting discussion about a former troubled epoch, an epoch that brought about a lot of sufferings to the people who lived in Transylvania. For a start, I'd ask my guests here to introduce themselves to the listeners:

A.B. – Alexandru Benea, Chairman of the Refugees' Association in district Cluj;

B.B – Barbu Bălan, Vice-Chairman of the Refugees' Association in district Cluj
(Now Executive Chairman of F.N.R.P.E., n.r.).

I.C. – Ioan Cîmpeanu, Vice-Chairman of the same Association.

C.M.: In the following minutes, we'll try to evoke times that passed, times that can be forgiven, but never forgotten.

Professor Cîmpeanu, I begin with you because, besides other activities, you also write books. You lived those times being closer to them, your hair is whiter than ours .This is why I wish you from the very beginning « Many Happy Returns of the Day! »

I.C.: Thank you very much.

C.M.: How did you perceive the moment of the Vienna Diktat?

I.C.: That moment was rather difficult for the Romanian people. First, I was a child of 11-12 years then and I just couldn't realize the importance of the events my parents, my neighbours, the people I knew were talking about, the international events as well as their turn in 1940. I couldn't conceive, because of the way I was brought up in school, that Romania could lose a part of her territory, or that we could lose Cluj, to be thrown in the streets, to take refuge because of some people we hadn't known, and especially because of their rough behaviour.

When I was a child, I had both Hungarian and Romanian friends; we used to play together, we worked together. Still, the news about the diktat came like a flash of lightening, in August 30, 1940. As I heard my parents commenting upon the official statement on the radio, I didn't realize what would happen. I did it 2 or 3 days later, when some Hungarians had already come to Cluj from Hungary, and the Hungarian children who were outdoors no longer knew me. Both my friends and my neighbours wouldn't play with me. They were not aggressive, but told the others to be, forcing us, the Romanians, not to leave the yard any longer. Our parents lost their jobs immediately. Under these circumstances, having neither passports and means of transport nor a place where to go, we resorted to some relatives in the former district

Someș, today district Bistrița-Năsăud, where from one of my uncles came to take us by cart. From all that we had gathered in our life, we piled on that cart what we could; we piled some crowded suitcases next to us (my father, mother, my sister and I). The other things were left in our house and they were lost. Thus, we withdrew to our native village, Negrilești, district Bistrița-Năsăud.

Two or three months later, my father, as a former public office worker, being permanently checked up and searched for by Hungarian gendarmes, felt he was in danger. One night he vanished and after about a year so did I with my mother and my sister. We went to Brașov where my father got a job.

The refuge could not take place in the usual way as we hadn't got passports, we were followed and treated with hatred by the gendarmes, so that we left illegally, and in hard conditions we reached Turda and then Brașov where we joined the Romanian society in 1942.

C.M.: I should like to ask you whether your family was the only one supposed to leave Negrilești

I.C.: About three families left Negrilești at that moment. They had worked in town and hadn't got on well with the authorities. There also were some persons who were supposed to join the Hungarian army. These too passed the frontiers to Romania illegally!

C.M.: Only 22 years had passed. Not even 22 years from the Great Union!?

I.C.: Yes, yes, we couldn't even imagine something like that. It was only later that we realized the tragedy of those times; when I grew up rising above the sufferings of my family, I began to know the sufferings of my nation as well.

C.M.: Mr. Alexandru Benea, you experienced these moments not so severely as Professor Cîmpeanu, being younger at that moment. However, what was the drama of your family?

A.B.: We lived in Satu Mare. After the Hungarian troops had entered and occupied this territory, the local authorities arrested my father. He worked as a master mechanic at the Power Station. He was carried through the center of the town flanked by two *csendori*; then they warned him to leave the country in 48 hours. Well, then I was a child, I was only four years old, and I cannot remember too many things; all I know is what my parents and my relatives told me, all sorts of happenings from which I drew the conclusion that there actually was a dramatic situation. Some of the occupants' deeds as well as those of the natives of the same nationality with them were barbarian and inhumane.

In order to properly understand the very atmosphere that characterized the Romanian refugees and those who, under those circumstances, were fighting by the side of the Hungarian army, let me quote what a veteran said in the autumn of 1942: «...I had the possibility to verify and listen for thousands of times the finding that each and every soldier, even the most fearful one, would have fought against the Horthyste Hungary open-heartedly and with double courage. He would go singing to fight for the liberation of Transylvania, and that, undoubtedly, a reparation of the Western borders was necessary. One is astonished listening to the unanimity of the

voices that confess the wish to fight there. The injured, the old ones, even those who were punished, all the Romanians urged by one and the same impulse, would have started fighting!»

C.M.: Well! Let us come back to the family. Go on telling us about the drama of your family. How did those years pass? What about returning to Satu Mare?

A.B.: We also took refuge in Braşov, where we were welcome by our Romanian brothers. My father, as a mechanic, got a job at a factory in the industrial area of Braşov. We lived in the « Colony » of the factory, in rather poor conditions, until the war came to an end. In 1945, after the completion of the Transylvanian territory, we returned to Satu Mare.

C.M.: What was left there? Did your house still exist? Was anybody there while you were away?

A.B.: (...) We learnt that there were damages in the country-side; farms and houses were destroyed. We succeeded in rebuilding our home. My father got his former job, a mechanic at the power station, and we, the children, went to school.

C.M.: Dear Professor Barbu Bălan Ph.D., the same route...the same reasons... Your family had to leave a village in Bistriţa-Năsăud district, hadn't they?

B.B.: Yes, it's about the place called Poiana Ilvei. It was there where I spent my first years. I was even younger. I was only four years and a half when I had to take refuge with my mother. I had no father. My mother worked as a nurse in an orphanage; she worked with sucklings. She was forced to take refuge because she was told to speak Hungarian in 48 hours lest she had lost her job. That was an absurd condition without any justification and any possibility of being fulfilled. Why was it necessary for the sucklings, who were just prattling, to listen to my mother speaking Hungarian?! The truth was that the Romanians had to be determined, in a way or another, to leave their jobs and Transylvania at that. My mother got into touch with two brothers of hers. One of them (Ursa Anton) was a teacher in Sângeorz – Băi, and the other one (Ursa Augustin) was a skinner in Ilva Mare. Together with them and their families we had to leave Transylvania illegally, led by a native, avoiding the border-guard pickets through woods and over mountains by night, only with a suitcase with some articles of daily necessity taken in a hurry. At dawn, we arrived at Vatra Dornei where we went to Vlădică family who also were refugees from Ilva Mare. Tired because of the way, we were fast asleep, across the beds that man had in his home, but also on the floor. After having regained strength and found out the possibilities of getting a job, the three families got apart taking various ways (Stulpicani, Sebeşul de Jos, Bucureşti). From the Guidance of Refugees Committee in Bucharest, my mother was sent as a nurse for mentally defective children in Ineu, Arad district. This institution was in a sort of an old castle, surrounded by high walls, where we felt as if we were in prison. We lived in a wretched damp little room. There I fell ill. I suffered from pleuresy. This is why I went to hospital in Arad. The medical treatment had lasted more than a month and the doctors wondered about my being cured, as well as about the future evolution of my health. But it seems that my body that had grown up in the country-side, in the open air, resisted and was eventually

cured. I still have some consequences concerning the resistance to colds and influenza. Whenever the family doctors listen to my lungs, she says she can hardly hear the right one. To cheer up the atmosphere, I tell her it has completely been flooded by youth... Towards the end of the war the three families were re-united at Ineu where from we left for our home. To Bitrița we took a lorry, and then we went by cart.

It was our destiny to defeat the calvary of the refuge and come back because we had always lived with this wish and this hope in our souls. Although I was a child, in one of the first grades, I remember how passionately I sang one of the Transylvanian refugees' songs, a song I've never forgotten and which I am humming even today: « If we left you Transylvania/ It's not our fault, we'll be back/ We aren't defeated, and won't be even tomorrow/ When the moment of victory comes.// We love you because you belonged to us/ We would have laid down our lives for you/ But by the disgraceful and monstrous Diktat/ The Horthysts succeeded in stealing you.»

These were the feelings of the refugees from Transylvania.

C.M.: Three destinies, three different destinies but all seem to be one and the same: pains, so many Romanian pains.

Dear Professor Ioan Cîmpeanu, how many might these pains have been? We might not give figures now as we are not prepared for it, but give us only a general view upon what had happened when the Vienna Diktat came...

I.C.: It's hard to say. As I was growing up and mature I felt this pain stronger and stronger. It was a material pain, yes; but also a spiritual one. I confess that I was a school-boy in the high-school "Meșotă", in Brașov, and when the Romanian troops began to liberate North Transylvania some troops of volunteers also announced themselves. I was too young, but if I had had the necessary age, I might not have been absent in those troops no matter how they were qualified. And this was not only about our pain, our families' and acquaintances', but also that of the people who were crippled, beaten and had to suffer and whose whole life had been changed or destroyed.

Having returned to Cluj, in 1945, the atmosphere was rather « heavy » and close. We know whom the communist regime recruited as leaders. The Romanians were still not taken into consideration. In the Party body, the majority were Hungarians and Jews. I succeeded in graduating high-school, retrieving the two lost years. I graduated only four forms, which I accomplished in two years, in high-school «G. Bairiki». After the school-leaving examination and during my faculty years I still felt this kind of oppression, of course caused by the communists.

C.M.: Dear Professor Cîmpeanu, we'll come upon these aspects again and again. Dear friends of the broadcast «MILLENNIUM III», we thank you for having received us in your homes today. We say that we laid before you three destinies. The destiny of Engineer Alexandru Benea's family, that of Engineer Barbu I. Bălan's, Professor at the Polytechnic Faculty, and the family of Professor Ioan Cîmpeanu, who has just talked to you. But let us find out some of the Transylvanian refugees' dramas as they are seen by Vasile Lechința. He knows by heart the Archives in Cluj;

he comes daily into contact with people who come to find conclusive papers in order to get the rights established by the Romanian State.

«Good evening, Mr. Lechințan!»

V.L.: «Good evening, Mr. Mustață!»

C.M.: *We are very sorry for not being able to find you when we called you up for the first time...For those who are attending now «MILLENIUM II» we said that we are trying to find out from you, who are actually living in the place where people took refuge from Transylvania during the Vienna Diktat, and come to look for the papers they need in order to get the refugees' rights, how do you see from there, from the National Archives, these moments?*

V.L.: I have never imagined that there will be so many people involved. Reading history, all we come to know are figures. This time everything is more exciting, more awful, when one can see man in flesh and blood. Most of those who have asked for help, for their papers for almost three years are old people now and are telling us all their past sufferings. **All this should be certainly put down on paper so that we may remember such a painful reality as our past one was.**

C.M.: *What kind of people does more frequently come? What was it that affected you most of all these meetings with people who suffered?*

V.L.: The most terrible situation was for me that of a woman from a village in Transylvania Lowland, who showed us an old refugee license on which she – a little girl at that time – was standing next to her mother, hardly dressed, with a scared look. It seemed that she was sending forth the deep pain of a remote age...I myself should like to publish a couple of findings belonging to these refugees in a volume on whose cover this picture may be placed to be left as an image of such a painful past for us.

C.M.: *Do the National Archives keep all these people's documents? Have their sufferings been transposed on paper in the archives or not?*

V.L.: We created a «gold fund» for these documents in which we gathered all we could and we helped very many people. All this includes very many findings of these Romanians with the sufferings and adventures they experienced while passing the border and what else happened at that time. These are tremendous testimonies of an epoch...I said that many of those who come to us are ill and elder people. They could have sent a nephew or a son of theirs, but they'd rather come personally to persuade us about the authenticity of their statements. It's a pity that many have got lost. And, at the same time with them, some important declarations have got lost as well.

C.M.: *Are people still coming to look for their papers in order to get the refugees' rights?*

V.L.: They are still coming in waves upon waves but I think, by hearsay, that they can do this only till December 31, which is the deadline for laying down their documents. (a term later on extended at the intercession of refugees' associations n.r.)

C.M.: *Then are the National Archives at anybody's disposal at any time?*

V.L.: Well, yes, at any time for anybody. We have no restrictions. Even after having reached the deadline for laying down papers at the «Pension House», we are

at the disposal of all those who want to see their declarations again, or those belonging to their parents, or for other papers they are interested in concerning their refuge. We don't have time barriers.

C.M.: I have a reporter's curiosity, if you want, something that might be of some interest for those who are listening now to «MILLENIUM III». Where do these documents come from? How did they come to be kept in the archives? This might be a strange question as long as you also have Michael the Brave's signatures from the time when he was in Cluj

V.L.: It's true. We have a lot. It's good that you remembered this just now close to the celebration of the Great Union (December 1st 1918)... But, let's not beat about the bush.. These documents come from the Prefect's Office in district Cluj – Turda. The Romanians kept Cluj in the title as it was painful to leave Cluj to Hungary. There was a Refugees' Office where we also found a lot. Also from the ex-Prefect's Office in Cluj (Hungarian), where papers were found regarding the refugees and the expelled. We got documents from all these funds, and your question isn't strange at all; it is welcome.

C.M.: I thank you so much Mr. Vasile Lechințan for what you told us and I wish you a « nice evening! »

V.L.: A nice evening to you and your guests as well!

C.M.: Let us go on with the discussion we began here, in our studio, and let us present briefly the latest decisions taken by the Romanian Govern and Parliament.. Laws have been introduced which try to rectify the wrongs done to the refugees, who were compelled to leave their native villages and homes in Transylvania, Basarabia, Bucovina and the Quadrilater (two districts in the southern part of the country) to settle down in some other places temporarily or for good . As far as I know, in Cluj or in other towns in the country some refugees' associations have come into being. What could you tell us, in a couple of words, about all this Mr. Alexandru Benea?...

A.B.: It's true that there are several laws which license some rights for refugees, restoring laws if I may say so, moral laws which try to improve and diminish the sufferings of that period. It's Law 189/2000 and the governmental decision 127, February 2002 (later on completed by Law 2047/2007 n.r.)

In some districts, that is to say Satu Mare, Cluj, Maramureș, etc. refugees' associations came into being. A group of brave people took care when such an association was founded in Cluj. Some of those people are here today, and some others did their best so that the association might become legal and gather around it all those who are still alive. The association in Satu Mare has over 5.000 members. Ours has less taking into consideration that it achieved juridical personality only in November 2003. We hope that the number of its members should be rapidly increased, and we will be able to get what we have in view. Our association should become the strongest as it is situated in the centre of Transylvania. The number of members being increased, we shall found some affiliations in the towns Gherla, Dej, Huedin, and Turda. We might also want a National Union including all these associations (this has already been done).

C.M.: What rights does the present legislation bestow on those who have refugee licenses?

A.B.: Some major rights have been conferred. Thus, a money compensation was given directly proportional to the period of refuge, some facilities, such as: six free journeys by train (with class 1), by means of urban transport, car or fluvial ones, exemption from local taxation, subscriptions to Radio, TV, telephone, changeless medicine, etc.

C.M.: That means some small reparations.

A.B.: Small indeed, but still important for a pensioner's everyday life.

C.M.: Dear Professor Barbu Bălan, together with the initiative group you certainly worked and wrote the Refugees' Association Regulations in district Cluj, that was consequently handed over to those justified to approve of the enlisting the association among those with juridical personality, and that you have also taken part in all this. What has the association in view?

B.B.: First and foremost, our members want to defend the rights we have got by Law. Unfortunately, we've found out that not all of them are abided by. Let's think of changeless medicine, for instance. People are forced to stand in a huge queue for it. They can do this only for a few hours, in the first days of the month; then, the chemists say that they topped the approved money and many persons are left without the necessary medicine. Although this right has been legislated, it is applied at random. I talked to Mrs. Emilia Groza, head manager of the House of Social Assurance Cluj who couldn't find any other solution but admit that the institution she was leading was guilty and could be summoned in court; she also said that there was nothing left for her as money is limited by her superiors. She engaged herself to do her best in order to get some further sums of money, and hoped that by 2004 things would change for the better (today, things have changed to a certain extent).

C.M.; So, in essence, the association defends these rights, don't they?

B.B.: On the one hand. On the other hand, we have in view the publishing memoirs of those who took refuge. We intend to do this in a magazine belonging to the association, in a volume or only parts of the texts, as Mr. Vasile Lechințan already mentioned during his previous phone call.

C.M.: Do you have you any idea how many persons who possess a refugee's license, who were moved from their former places or deported for ethnical reasons are still alive in district Cluj?

B.B.: In a note we received from RATUC (the office where season tickets are delivered), they say there are about 3.500 persons in Cluj, in the town. In another note received from the «Pension House», we find out that there are over 12.000 persons in district Cluj. Certainly, not all of them took season tickets or laid down their documents at the «Pension House». Some others are no longer alive.

C.M.: Sixty years have passed since then, haven't they?

B.B.: Yes...Unfortunately, we are less and less, day by day. I should like to give some further details regarding the association's aims. We intend to organize various actions that are supposed to make clear to the young people what happened in

Transylvania during the Vienna Diktat. **We haven't the slightest idea of inciting them against Hungary or against Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin, and we say it without any thoughts of revenge.** We want to do all this so that such facts may not happen again in the history of Romania. I daresay that only those who had invaded us at that time are guilty for all what happened then. They certainly are guilty and also responsible for the barbarian acts done during that period. It is also true that the Romanian Government surrendered too easily to the pressure; and last but not least, I wonder whether the King and the Government had the right to surrender and consent to the foreign diktats which tore our country's body.

C.M.: Unfortunately, everything is but rhetorical.

B.B.: Yes, unfortunately (...)

C.M.: I am so sorry, but we have to put an end to our transmission here. Only a few seconds have been left.. What else could we say off-hand?

I.C.: Tomorrow, at our meeting, we'll also celebrate 85 years from the Great Union, in 1918. We kindly invite all the members of our association as well as your listeners.

C.M.: I thank you all who have been here, in the studio, and those who have listened to us, and we wait for you next week.

Constantin MUSTAȚĂ

THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ETHNIC PERSECUTED ROMANIANS' FEDERATION „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945”

In Cluj-Napoca, in the Big Hall of the Townhouse, August 30, 2006, from 4 p. m. to 9 p. m.. there took place The First National Conference of the Refugees, Displaced, Expelled, and Deported from Northern Transylvania, Basarabia, Northern Bucovina, Herța Province, and Quadrilater, after the loathsome communist-nazi-fascist- horthyste diktats in 1940 and of those who were driven away from districts Harghita, Covasna, and Mureș after 1989.



At the conference there were delegates of the refugees' associations from districts: Alba, Bihor, Bucharest, Cluj, Mureș, Maramureș, Satu Mare, Sălaj, and Timiș, as well as guests from state institutions, churches (orthodox and Greek-Catholic), mass-media, arts and culture institutions in district Cluj.

During the first part of the conference, that lasted for about three hours, the sufferings of the ethnic persecuted Romanians were paid homage to, by allocutions made by Professor Ioan Corneanu Ph.D. from Satu Mare, Professor Ioan Pușcaș Ph.D. from Șimleul Silvaniei, Professor Vasile Ciubăncan Ph.D. from Cluj-Napoca, papal prelate Professor Ioan M. Bota Ph.D. from Cluj-Napoca, Dr. Zeno Milea from Aiud, Professor Valeriu Vodă from Tg. Mureș, Professor Vasile Ilinca from Oradea, and Professor Ioan Coja Ph.D. from Bucharest. There were also read patriotic poems by Ing. Marius Mălai and Professor Barbu I. Bălan Ph.D., accompanied with leaf by the celebrated Cluj rhapsodist Eugen Pandrea.



At the same time, the title of HONORARY MEMBER of the Cluj Refugees' District Association was conferred to Professor Ioan Pușcaș Ph.D. – Chairman of the Former Political Prisoners' Association, Sălaj, Professor Ioan Coja Ph.D. – Chairman of Vatra Românească Union – Bucharest, Professor Ioan Corneanu Ph.D. – Chairman of the Refugees' Association, Satu Mare, Dr. Mihai Meșter – head manager of the Ethnographic and History Museum, Gherla, and Mr. Ovidiu Drăgan Giurgean – Mayor of Gherla, for the support given to the actions of this Association, as well as for special merits in his permanent social, cultural, and patriotic activity.

The first part of the conference ended by adopting the **DECISION** that the position of HONORARY CHAIRMAN of the Ethnic Persecuted Romanians' National Federation – „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945” be offered to the poet and senator ADRIAN PĂUNESCU (applauses).

After a break, when the exhibition „PRO-MEMORIA 1940-1945” could be visited, as well as the shelves with magazines and books published by the Refugees' Association in Cluj or by some other authors, the second part of the Conference began. Some of the refugees' present issues were discussed by the Reader Lecturer Alexandru Stănescu, the writer Vasile I. Bunea, Ing. Mircea Popa, and reserve colonel economist Nicolae Grosu.

Then, the CONSTITUTIVE ACT was read, followed by the STATUTE of the NATIONAL FEDERATION OF THE ETHNIC PERSECUTED ROMANIANS – „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945”. Both the discussions and the agreement upon all the chapters took place at the headquarters of The Refugees’ Association in Cluj, during the morning hours of August 30, 2006 and among all the delegates who participated in the Conference. Therefore, no further discussions were necessary, and the Statute was adopted unanimously.

The choosing of the EXECUTIVE BUREAU of F.N.R.P.E. and of the AUDITING COMMISSION followed next. The members of the Conference also approved of the fact that, besides the members of the Executive Bureau, to also accept some of the members who would be chosen in the General Meetings of the Associations affiliated to the Federation and of subsidiaries (without juridical personality), proportional to the number of members belonging to those structures.

The **MESSAGE OF THE CONFERENCE**, addressed to **TRAIAN BĂSESCU** – President of Romania, **NICOLAE VĂCĂROIU** – Chairman of the Senate, **BOGDAN OLTEANU** – Chairman of the Deputies’ Chamber and **CĂLIN POPESCU-TĂRICEANU** – Prime Minister of Romania, is then read:

„The representatives of the refugees, of the displaced, expelled, and deported from Northern Transylvania, Basarabia, Northern Bucovina, Province Herța, and Quadrilater, as a result of the communist-nazi-fascist-horthyste diktats in 1940, and of those driven away from districts Harghita, Covasna and Mureș, after December 21, 1989, gathered today, in the Big Hall of the Townhouse in Cluj-Napoca, August 30, 2006, in order to commemorate the tragic events which marked their lives, and in order to set up the National Federation of the Ethnic Persecuted Romanians – „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945”, addresses to the Romanian Parliament, to the Presidency, to the Govern and to the other state institutions the following

MESSAGE:

1. The revisionist-separatist propaganda and the inter-ethnic hatred, which both caused the atrocities of World War II, still continue poisoning the spirits nowadays both outside and inside the borders of Romania. Various manifestations having a hostile and inimical character on Romania and the Romanian people have been repeatedly pointed out and condemned by mass-media, but there have never been taken any constitutional and diplomatic measures for enclosing or punishing those who have done these dangerous deeds. We, the participants in this Conference, who lived and bore the effects of inter-ethnic hatred and who were forced to tolerate many deprivations and savage nesses which are unknown or not understood today, feel forced to draw the attention of all those who are responsible with the national security and peace of the country that they cannot treat either indulgently or with indifference such manifestations. They should not be left to proliferate without being punished, no matter who initiates or organizes them. Their control should not be left only to members of society, for this is what gives

birth to inter-ethnic rivalry and grave anti-social acts. In a democratic regime those who must defend LAW and ORDER are the state institutions. This is why we imperiously ask them to do it.

2. We cannot accept that the laws voted in the Parliament and promulgated by the President of Romania, laws which establish compensations or rights for former damages to be applied to some ministers or to some other officials' liking.. We require the immediate intercession of the Parliament, Presidency and Romanian Government in order to stop such abuses and the laws be properly applied. Concrete situations when laws were broken have been brought to the knowledge of those justified to solve them, but, unfortunately, the answer has been a crass indifference. Justice itself rejected us (in Cluj). Therefore, we ask the emission of a decision in this respect.

3. We suggest that in the „Reconciliation Park” in Arad, a Monument should be raised in memory of the Romanian martyrs in 1940-1945.

4. We require that the school syllabus may assure the study of the sufferings and humiliations of the Romanian people during the period 1940-1945, in the same way in which students study with good reason the Holocaust.

5. We require that the Federation we have founded legally today, should get a proper residence in Cluj-Napoca; the same with the associations and subsidiaries in all the districts in the country. This aspect should be respectfully taken into consideration according to the law and complete understanding towards the complex activity these associations of social, cultural and patriotic interest carry on.

6. Our objective is: „Union of ideas, feelings and good deeds of the Romanians from all over the world for the cohesion, solidarity, dignity and prosperity of the Romanian nation, of our country peacefully and in friendship with all national minorities. This all is for achieving the national interest, for getting the right place to implement real, necessary reforms, for getting rid of poverty. We are permanently led by Emiescu's motto: „WORK, EQUITY, TRUTH”, as being the surest ways for Romania to become part of U.E.”

The members of the Conference unanimously approve of the contents of the document.

As a conclusion, Professor Barbu I. Bălan Ph.D., Executive Chairman of the Federation, thanks all participants for their efforts and all delegates for being present. In order to better know each other, all the guests are invited to an agape organized by the Refugees' Association, Cluj.

Abstract from the Minutes taken during the Conference

*by **Doina RETEȘAN, Maria-Livia TOMUȚA, Corina JECAN***

FOR THE IMMORTALITY OF THE MARTYRS AND HEROES OF THE ROMANIAN NATION

(Selections from materials published in the magazine)

Prayer:

„Sift God the silence of forgetting,
Over our endless suffering,
Sow wide fields of faithfulness just letting
Bear the dew of understanding.

Transplant love and the lily
In the field overgrown with hate,
And let fall over mountains of dross
Silence, forgiveness, before it's too late!”

(Corneliu COPOSU)

Pilgrimage to Ip and Treznea

(Abstract from No.3, 2004, pp. 5-11)

The Refugees' Associations from districts Bihor, Cluj, Maramureș, Satu Mare, Sălaj and Timiș organized on August 18, 2004 (as usually) a pilgrimage in order to commemorate the martyrs at Ip and Treznea. The first halt took place at Ip where we were received by the mayor of the village, Mr. Salanki Șandor, and by Professor Ioan Pușcaș Ph.D. After being welcome, we all made for the martyrs' cemetery, there where 64 years ago 157 of the citizens of the village were thrown into a common grave. They had been killed in the night of 13-14 September, 1940, for the only guilt of having been born Romanians.



By the martyrs' common grave at Ip

Out of the participants' breasts and hearts an „Our Father” rose to heaven for the forgiveness of our sins. With our eyes full of tears, we listened to the „Heroes’

Hymn”, while flower garlands were put on the martyrs’ grave; martyrs who had been killed by the bullets and bayonets of the last barbarians of the previous century.

The mayor **Salanki Șandor**, obviously ill at ease and affected by the



*Survivor Butcovan Gavril
reading his confession*

situation he was experiencing as a Hungarian, said that the events in 1940 were regrettable, but it was worth mentioning that even in those days there also were some Hungarian citizens who, although not capable of opposing facts, had the courage to save Romanian families. It was the case of his grandfather, who saved a family with 5 children.

Further on the history teacher **Silviu Junjan** stated some facts which were highly appreciated by the audience.

Mr. **Gavril Butcovan**’s speech was an extremely exciting moment. These are some of his own words: *“He who talks to you is the only survivor, witness of the events. That very night I lost my parents, 3 sisters and 2 brothers; I was left injured, and my shirt riddled with bullets. A couple of persons, although being shot, but not deadly, (...) were shot again the other day, as corpses were gathered. There wasn’t any doctor who could have seen whether those who were taken to the cemetery were actually dead. Some were thrown into the grave alive, and earth was thrown over them. (...) It was an awful massacre. Crișan Filip was deadly stricken on his head; To others they cut the arms, pulled out their eyes, or were beaten to death. Children were chopped and killed with bayonets; from pregnant women they squeezed out fetuses with bayonets (Buboiu Ana, and Lontea Gheoghe’s wife); some women’s breasts were cut (...). The corpses of those 157 men, women and children killed at Ip (...) are a supreme warning born out of the humility and insult Romanians were put to. It is true that there also were well-meaning Hungarian citizens, such as Borza și Ioan, Datz Paul and Salanki Șandor who protected their Romanian neighbours (...) To them and to all those who have come to commemorate the massacre at Ip, I wish to bring my sincere thanks and gratitude...”*

Professor **Ioan Corneanu** Ph.D., Chairman of the Refugees’ Association, Satu Mare, spoke on the guests’ part. Among other things, he said: *“... the respects we paid to the martyrs at Ip represent a duty the soul and consciousness of each and every Romanian has (...). We all who participate in this pilgrimage have put a handful of dust and flower garlands on the common grave of those who were killed and will take with us images and memoirs which we will never forget.”*

Excited by what has been seen and heard, we drove to the other Martyr Village in district Sălaj.



By the martyrs' funeral plaque at Treznea



In front of the monument in the middle of the village Ip

At Treznea, we were welcome by the mayor and vice-mayor who accompanied us to the grave of those 86 victims of Horthyste hatred and revenge. Here, after having brought garlands and listened to „Heroes’ Hymn”, a balance of the atrocities made in Northern Transylvania was stricken. The manifestations went on in the hall of the Club at Treznea, where the well-known teacher and musicologist **Viorel Cosma**, the former teachers’ son, teachers who were killed September 9, 1940, told us about the day that *“filled with grief for ever, not only a village, but history itself.”*

In the end, Professor **Ioan Pușcaș** Ph.D. took the floor as a honorary citizen of the village. He said: *„Let’s all thank God for having helped us today to meet here, at our home, we who were born here, as well as our guests who have come to us to do homage to our martyrs. As far as the people at Trezenea are concerned, settled here at the foot of Meseș, they honourably guarded the Western borders of our nation, resisted with dignity to all adversities with its endless chain of oppressions (...).*

In the middle of the previous century, the province Sălaj became the scene of some bloody deeds done by Horthysts. Trezenea is in the very core of Sălaj with those 86 Romanians and 6 Jews killed by those hateful criminals in September 1940, with the complicity of the Hungarian count Bay Ferencz. It is he who wanted to rule over the whole ground of our village once the Romanians have been killed. It is unconceivable to be killed by day, when you were quiet in your home, or were watching peacefully how the new authorities were installed in the village (...).

The result of the massacre in district Sălaj, in September 1940, may also include thousands of Romanian churches which were violated, 2035 Romanians who were arrested and imprisoned in camps at Püspöklödany and Lokoshaza, among which 43 priests. There took refuge from Sălaj 29730 Romanians, 4220 were expelled, and 2314 Romanians were forced to become converted to Hungarian religions (...).

*Related to the tragic events at Ip and Treznea, as well as those in some other 30 places in our district, in September 1940, we may say to Europe today: **We forgive, but do not forget!** (...)*

We also pay our homage to and thank all who are here today, no matter what their political or religious beliefs are. We are grateful for the honouring they brought to our martyrs...” (...)

On our way back to Cluj-Napoca, while we were driving up the winding road to Meseș, to what is called the „Romanians’ Halting Place”, we were looking at the villages in Sălaj and thinking of how much grief and how many passions the people here have borne in time, and especially during the Horthyste-fascist occupation in 1940-1944. But it seems that God has eventually made justice punishing all those who were authors of the Vienna Diktat. Hitler, Mussolini, Horthy, Ribbentrop, Ciano, Teleky a.s.o. had each a tragically end proportional to their crimes on guiltless people. If only it were a lesson taught to the future history of humanity, and for all those who despise other nations.

At Alba Iulia and Țebea

(Abstract from No.3/2004, pp. 11-18)

October 16, 2004, we arrived in the town Alba Iulia, wishing to share the cultural and historical treasure housed by the Union Museum, History Museum, the Reunifying Cathedral and all the other monuments. Although we were in a hurry, our final aim being Țebea, we stopped at all these ancient monuments, proofs of the existence of the Romanian nation. In the lines below, we are going to describe the direction of our journey and also some impressions we got, impressions which are still in our memory, beginning with the Union Museum.

Dacia being occupied by Romans, on the place where Alba Iulia stands today, two urban settlements came into being successively. They were named **Apulum**, after the Dacian **Apoulon**: *municipium Aurelianum Apulense* și *municipium Septimium Apulense*, which surpassed all the other towns in Dacia as far as the number of citizens was concerned. Here was the Roman camp of legion 13, Gemina. Apulum played a very important part in spreading the Roman world, but also in Christianization the Dacian-Roman population in Southern Transylvania. Under the Roman- Catholic Cathedral, a church from 9th-10th century was discovered. This is considered the oldest stone monument belonging to the native Romanians and was surrounded by the future principality from Bălgrad. The sarcophagus of hospodar Iancu of Hunedoara, and of his family: his brother Ioan and his son Ladislau are to be found here too.

In 1541, when Hungary had already been occupied by the Turks, Alba Iulia became the capital city of the autonomous principality of Transylvania. On November 1, 1599, after the victory upon Andrei Bathory's army, at Șelimbăr, Michael the Brave came to Alba Iulia triumphantly, and settled there his residence. After one year only (1600), he conquered Moldavia and entitled himself: „**By God's mercy, I hospodar Michael and ruler over all Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia**” – achieving for the first time the most precious of Romanians' aims: **their being unified under a single political leadership** (...).

After one hundred years of foreign influence, in 1701, part of the Romanians in Transylvania were converted to the Union with Rome. The metropolitan church in Alba Iulia was abolished. Its buildings, the two churches and the houses of the Romanians that surrounded them had been pulled down. This all in order to make place to the Habsburg walled city of a Vauban-type, built up during 1714-1738 with the help of Romanian bondsmen. This town became a strong device of Austrian supremacy over Transylvania. Here were sent to prison the three leaders of the Peasants' Uprising in 1784. At that time, Crișan committed suicide, and Horea and Cloșca were killed by pulling them on the wheel, on the Pitchforks' Hill, in front of very many people who had been brought there by force in order to see what happens and be intimidated.

The Great National Assembly of the Romanians living in Transylvania took place at Alba Iulia. On December 1, 1918, the participants in the Assembly solemnly

proclaimed „**The everlasting Union of Transylvania with Romania**”, in the presence of more than 100.000 people who had come from all over Transylvania, spread over Pitchforks’ Hill and the Roman Plateau. They enthusiastically approved of the act decided upon by 1228 official delegates, peasants, workers, intellectuals, among which 5 bishops and 143 priests. The document was signed in the famous building of the former Military Casino, the Union Hall and a museum today.

The Reunifying Cathedral and the episcopal residence in Alba Iulia, built next to the Union Museum, had been accomplished between 1921 and 1922 and are a beautiful example of influences of Romanian architecture.

Having lit a candle in the memory of those who passed away and having bought pictures and other memoirs with what we had seen and heard in Alba Iulia, we continued our way. We stopped for a short while at Şibot, where we had lunch and drank a glass of beer.



View from the Great National Assembly in Alba Iulia, December 1st, 1918

Then we went on again admiring the beautiful and multi-coloured autumn landscape. In order to create a proper raising atmosphere, as we made for Țebea, we listened to a literary-musical montage entitled „Iancu’s Lay”. The montage had been prepared and recorded at Radio Cluj by Professor Barbu I. Bălan Ph.D., being also helped by the musical director Gelu Furdui. The high artistic level of the montage was also due to the interpretation of some well-known singers, such as: Dumitru Fărcaș, Veta Biriș, Sava Negrean Brudașcu, the sisters Pușcaș and poems recited by the late Gelu Bogdan Ivașcu.

Within the Memorial Centre Țebea we were accompanied, but also deeply impressed by a young girl’s words. She was our guide, came from the region of the Apuseni Mountains, from village Crișan, one of our historical villages in Zarand Country. Full of piety, admiration and national pride, we marked our regret by standing silently for many moments in front of Avram Iancu’s tomb sided by two cannons from World War I, which had been put there out of respect for the great

military leader in the Revolution of 1848. We wondered at the marks left on the trunk of Horea's evergreen oak tree. This tree probably is the only natural monument in the country. There, in its shade, Horea and later on Iancu had made their plans for the battles they led and were of such an importance for the Romanian Nation.



Te Union Room in Alba Iulia, where the historical act of unification between Transylvania and Romania was signed



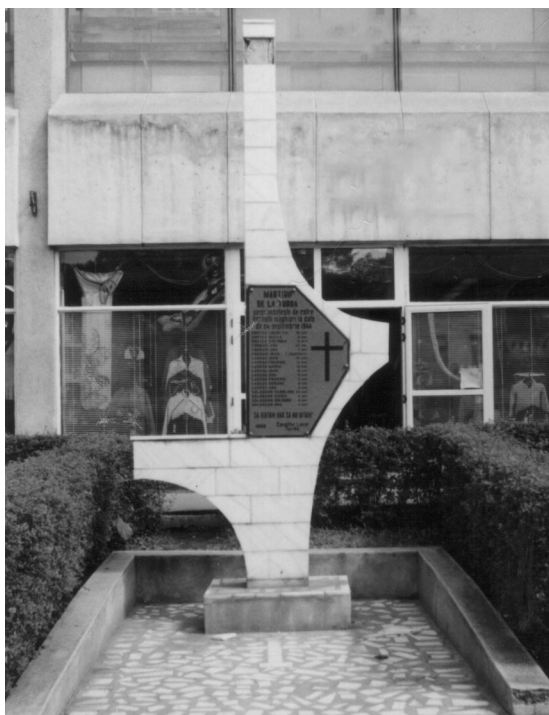
Te architectural centre of the Reunifying Cathedral

The flashes of cameras immortalized the most important moments in our pilgrimage to Țebea, feelings and images which some of us experienced and saw for the first time. We bought pictures and folders, rosettes with the Romanian tricolour and the medallion of the „Crăișor” how Horea was named. Time and space do not allow us to tell you further experiences, but they are all kept in our hearts, in the memory of our Great National hero – Avram Iancu.

We left Țebea at sunset with the regret that the day had been too short. We came back through Brad, Abrud, Câmpeni, Baia de Arieș, Buru, Turda, Cluj. We arrived on top of Feleacu Hill at 9 p. m. From here, above the city, we could admire the panorama of Cluj with millions of lights, relaxing after a 13 hour-journey, without feeling tiredness, filled with history, remembrances and beautiful sights.

Requiem for the Never to Be Forgotten Martyrs in Turda

(Abstract from No. 3, 2004, pp. 21-22)



*Monument raised in memory
of those killed in the middle of the town Turda*

On Sunday, October 10, 2004, as we do each year, we had in Turda, in the Orthodox Romanian Cathedral, the requiem in memory of those 18 persons – children

and their parents – killed by the Royal Hungarian Army led by Horthy Miklós, on September 24, 1944. The divine service was performed by a group of priests, while answers were given by the girl- choir SYMBOL of the Romanian Orthodox Cathedral in Turda, conducted by Professor Petre Potârniche. Let us see how events took place:

After the loathsome Vienna Diktat, on August 30, 1940, the Hungarian-fascist army, led by Horthy Miklos, occupied part of our Romanian Transylvania, when unforgettable crimes took place. The crimes committed were prompted by Dúcső Csabo „*Nincs Kegyelem*” (without pity). These words are to be found in a booklet printed in Budapest, in 1938. It says: „There might be no pity for the Romanians’ deaths”. After September 5, 1944, having occupied Turda and other villages around it, the Hungarian army started persecuting the Romanian population without any reason at all. In the hamlet Hărcani, Petrilaca, next to Turda, the peasants were forced by Horthysts to go away wherever they might choose lest they be shot. A couple of Romanians between the age of 7 weeks and 36 years, had no place where to go. They took shelter under a bridge, next to the railway Câmpia Turzii – Cluj. On Sunday September 24, 1944, at about 8–9 o’clock in the morning, three Hungarian soldiers appeared in front of the bridge. One of them spoke Romanian quite well. He told them to come out, and doing so, they were shot at once. A soldier trusted the bayonet in the breast of a small child, who was in his mother’s arms, and she was riddled with bullets. Another victim shouted: „*Alas, my poor children, they will be left in the streets!*” Having shot all those who were under the bridge, the criminals gathered the 18 corpses, among which those of many children, and threw them in the pit of a blown up shell. They also put hay on them, poured gasoline and set fire to them. Some of the victims were not dead and kept burning for days on end. The Horthysts were content when they left the place.

After October 9, 1944, when the Romanian Army set free Turda, the relatives of those who died gathered their bones – what was left from „Attila’s hell” – and buried them in the cemetery across the railway. It is there that they sleep their eternal sleep waiting for the day when they will find their real quietness, a quietness they may find only through us, who have the Christian duty to raise on their tomb splashed with blood a monument for never to be forgotten. May they rest in peace!

Here are the names of the martyrs of Turda, killed by the Horthysts, on September 24, 1944: 1. Lucreția Costea (36 years), 2. Vasile Costea (6 years), 3. Victoria Costea (5 years), 4. Ana Forgaci (22 years), 5. Ana Forgaci (3 years), 6. Ioan Forgaci (7 weeks), 7. Ioan Lascău (35 years), 8. Frăsina Lascău (31 years), 9. Maria Lascău (18 years), 10. Ioan Lascău (10 years), 11. Ana Lascău (9 years), 12. Frăsina Lascău (7 years), 13. Susana Lascău (5 years), 14. Ana Lascău (2 years), 15. Carolina Sălăgean (33 years), 16. Maria Sălăgean (8 years), 17. Grigore Sălăgean (5 years), 18. Ana Sălăgean (3 years).

In the picture, one may see the monument raised by the Local Council Turda in the memory of the martyrs killed by Horthyst criminals at Hărcani Bridge. Here, the Refugees’ Subsidiary Turda, places a flower garland with tricolour ribbon in memory of the killed ones.

The Memorial House and Martyrs' Monument at Moisei

(Abstract from No. 6, 2005, pp. 11-15)

On June 11, 2005, at noon, we arrived at Moisei together with other 50 members of the Refugees' Association in district Cluj. There, we were waited for and accompanied by Professor Gheorghe Coman. Retired now, he is a man unusually fond of his native places, and a passionate writer of historical events which took place here. We climbed with him the 44 steps (symbolizing the year 1944) in order to get on the plateau where the sculptor Vida Gheza had carved 12 oak statues, which are replaced today by others made of granite (see photo). The monument has a symbolical significance. No matter what the sculptor's feelings were, the monument reminds the followers the crime that had been committed against some Romanians who were unguilty. Then we descended to the Memorial House, one of the houses in which the massacre at Moisei took place.



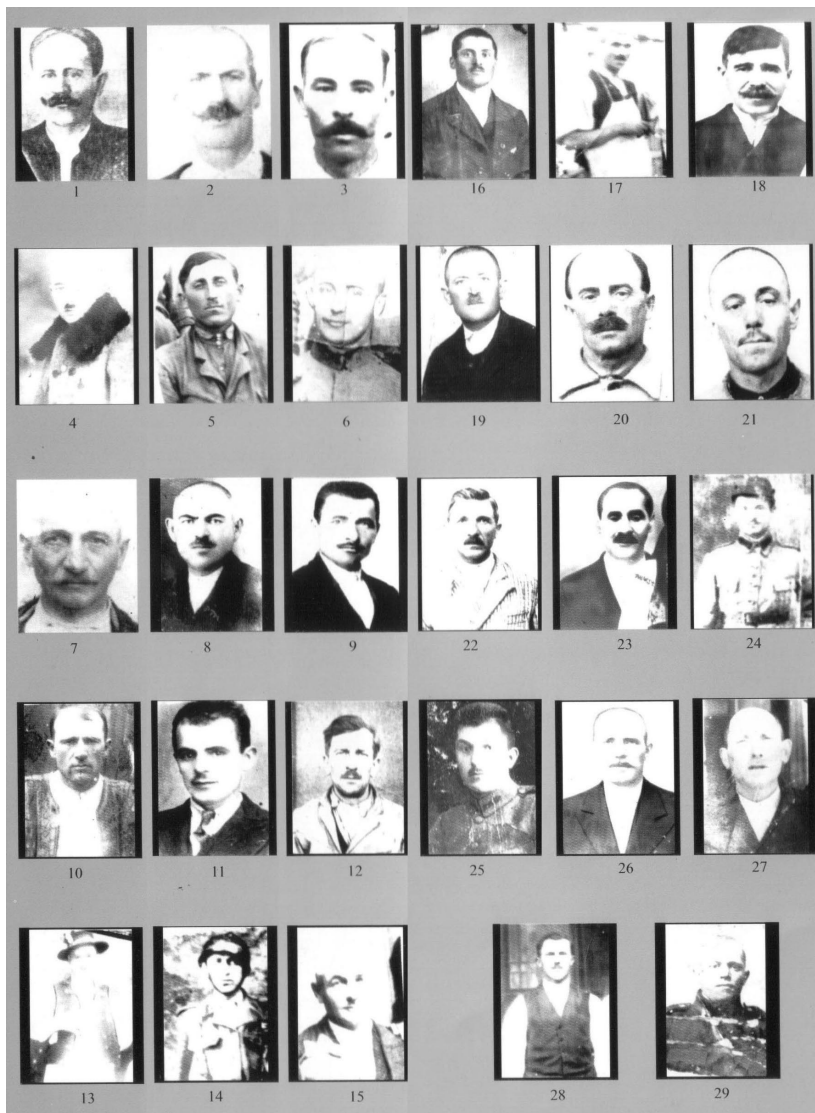
The museum's guide-book says: „*The massacre at Moisei, on October 14, 1944, was committed in two houses at the outskirts of the village, on the main road that leads to Borșa. Subsequently, 31 victims were identified, among whom 2 survivors. Most of those killed at Moisei were shot at the Hungarian authorities' disposal, being accused with desertion from a military unit at the time of war. The corpses, already in putrefaction, were finally buried two weeks after the massacre, when the natives, evacuated by the authorities, came back to their homes. Above the common grave, a wooden roadside cross was raised, later on being replaced by a*

stone obelisk (...) Through Professor Gheorghe Coman's efforts followed by those of Vasile T. Suciu și Gh. I. Bodea's (historians), the events were reconstituted. Most of those who were shot at Moisei were part of a **unit of forced labour** in Maramureș mountains, close to the place Leordina, where they did some sapper's works. As the allied military forces advanced, many of the workers ran away, trying to pass over the battle-front line and return to their homes. Some of them succeeded in doing so, some others, like those killed at Moisei, were captured by gendarmes and enclosed in an improvised camp that was the house of a Jew, who had been deported to the extermination camps.

At the beginning of 1944, as the survivor Vasile Peteanu declares, the number of those imprisoned in the camp at Vișeu rose to over 40. Out of the 31 victims at Moisei, 24 were originary from Mureș, 3 from district Cluj, and 4 from district Maramureș (...) On Saturday, October 14, 1944, the prisoners in the Camp at Vișeu de Sus were put in a lorry, transported to Moisei and shot through the windows and doors of the two houses (...). Here is the table of the Martyrs at Moisei:

1. ANDREICA IOAN-VIVAT was born in the village Vișeu de Mijloc February 21, 1893;
2. BEJAN PETRU was born in the village Fărăgău, district Mureș, July 1898;
3. BLAGA TOADER was born in the village Fărăgău, district Mureș, Ar 27, 1889;
4. BOIERIU MIHAI was born in village Voievodeni, district Mureș, May 3, 1889;
5. BUJA LAZĂR was born in the village Sângiorgiu de Mureș, January 2, 1900;
6. CURTICĂPEANU T. VASILE was born in the village Fărăgău, district Mureș, July 16, 1897;
7. CURTICĂPEANU V.VASILE was born in the village Fărăgău, district Mureș, February 5, 1898;
8. Ghibuțiu AUGUSTIN was born in the village Voiniceni, Ceașul de Câmpie, district Maramureș, July 20, 1897;
9. GOREA SIMION was born in the village Milășel, Crăiești, district Mureș, August 28, 1898;
10. GRAD GHEORGHE was born in Săcel, district Maramureș, May 6, 1908;
11. HOSSU VASILE was born in the village Nima, Riciu, district Mureș, July 2, 1898;
12. JUDECAN VASILE was born in village Nima, Riciu, district Mureș, July 2, 1898;
13. OLTEANU VASILE was born in the village Berghia, Pănet, district Mureș, January 1, 1897;
14. OȘORHEAN IOAN was born in village Fizeșul Gherlei, district Cluj, November 26, 1900;
15. POP IOAN was born in the village Voievodeni, district Mureș, March 6, 1900;
16. PELEA IACOB was born in the village Sântana de Mureș, April 1, 1899;
17. PELEA ȘTEFAN was born in the village Bărdești, district Mureș, October 5, 1898;
18. POP SIMION was born in the village Fărăgău, May 3, 1898;
19. PUNI VASILE was born in the village Sântana de Mureș, January 26, 1899;
20. RADU R. MIHAI was born in the village Voievodeni, district Mureș, March 25, 1899;
21. RADU M. MIHAI was born in the village Voievodeni, district Mureș, November 27, 1899;
22. RAICA ALEXANDRU was born in the village Hărtău, Pănet, district Mureș, December 20, 1897;
23. SABĂU IOAN was born in the village Fărăgău, district Mureș, August 10, 1898;
24. SABĂU SIMION was born in the village Fărăgău, district Mureș, February 4, 1898;
25. SAVINA VASILE was born in the village Voievodeni, district Mureș, 1899;
26. STRETE IOAN was born in the village Sântmărtinul de Câmpie, district Mureș, August 10, 1897;
27. SĂCUI

NICOLAE was born in the village Fizeșul Gherlei, district Cluj, August 3, 1898; 28. ȘTEFAN GHEORGHE was born in the village Șincai, district Mureș, October 15, 1899; 29. TOMOIOAGĂ ȘTEFAN-ȘLICĂ was born in the village Moisei, district Mureș, 1901.



The two survivors didn't know anything about each other as they were in different houses during the massacre. Vasile Ivaşcu Drăgan was in the smaller house on the left on the road to Borşa; Vasile Peteanu was on the right of the road in a house that no longer exists today. As the witnesses declared, in the first house died 11 persons, and 18 in the other one. The common grave was made by Dumitru Bâlbă, close to the house on the left of the road to Borşa, a Memorial House today.

Professor Coman made an expedition with a group of school-children and then with a TV team. They analyzed facts going up to the native places of those who had been killed, gathering information about them, personal objects, images, declarations, which were eventually displayed in the Heroes' Memorial House. The data stand at the basis of a documentary film (...).

After a 30 minutes' break, during which we collected ourselves with difficulty and had lunch, we offered to our guide in Moisei a set of the first 4 numbers of the magazine „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945” and then continued our way through the legendary Maramureş county.

The Romanian Army's Day

(Abstract from No. 7, 2005, p. 29)



On October 25, 2005, two commemorative events took place in Cluj-Napoca as well. The members of the Refugees' Association took part in them together with the representatives of other organizations and institutions in Cluj. It was about celebrating 61 years from the liberation of the North-West Transylvania from under the Horthyst – fascist occupation, and the Romanian Army's Day.

The military ceremonial, organized by the Territorial Body of Troops 4, took place next to the monument entitled "Glory to the Romanian Soldier" and began with singing „Wake up Romanian!" The divine service was performed by a group of priests led by I.P.S. Bartolomeu Anania, orthodox archbishop of Vad, Feleac and Cluj (our future bishop n.r.) and Mihai Todea, general locum tenens of the Greek-Catholic diocese of Cluj-Gherla. During the service, everybody had a lit candle with tricolour ribbon, offered by the Romanian Foundation of Social Protection, Cluj. They thought of the sacrifices and crimes committed upon the civil population.: „*The sacrifice of the Romanian Army for the complete liberation of the country consisted of 58.330 dead people, injured and missing ones. Some other 108.000 Romanian soldiers died while fighting by May 12, 1945, for the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria*" Cosmin Pruniș says in an article published in the newspaper „Adevărul de Cluj" in October 16, 2005, p. 1.

The festivity continued laying flower garlands at the foot of the monument. Among those who did it with piety there also was the Refugees' Association Cluj, led by personalities, such as Professor Crișan Mircioiu Ph.D: – Honorary Citizen of Cluj-Napoca and Honorary Member of our Association; Professor Eng. Barbu I. Bălan, Chairman of A.J.C.R. as well as the vice-chairmen Col. (r) Grațian Albuș, Eng. Marius Mălai, juridical adviser Liviu Racolța, secretary Radu Silviu, Maria-Livia Tomuța, Mariana Marinescu, Ana Mălai, etc. (see photo).

The audience enormously enjoyed the parade of the sub-units of the guard of honour, the flag and the brass band, bringing tears into the people's eyes...

Commemorative Activities at Sfântu Gheorghe

(Abstract from No.11/2006, p. 42-45)

The Prefect's Office in district Covasna, the Military Garrison Sfântu Gheorghe, the Romanians' Civic Forum in Harghita and Covasna, the orthodox parishes in Dobolii de Jos and Vâlcele organized a series of manifestations in order to celebrate 62 years from the liberation of the town Sfântu Gheorghe and the neighbouring villages from under foreign occupation. The Prefect's Office in district Covasna, the Military Garrison Sfântu Gheorghe, the Romanians' Civic Forum in Harghita and Covasna, the orthodox parishes in Dobolii de Jos and Vâlcele organized a series of manifestations in order to celebrate 62 years from the liberation of the town Sfântu Gheorghe and the neighbouring villages from under foreign occupation. These were organized and also supported by the Military Circle Sfântu Gheorghe, District Management Covasna, The National Archives, the National Foundation „The Romanian Nation" (branch office Covasna), The War Veterans' National Association, Covasna, and the „Heroes' Worship" Brașov and Covasna, priests and orthodox believers in Sfântu Gheorghe, Dobolii de Jos, Vâlcele, Araci, Ariujd, Hăghig and other neighbouring places. The manifestations had the following **PROGRAM:**

Thursday, September 7, 2006: Hour 2 p. m., at the Military Circle Sfântu Gheorghe, the debate entitled *From Sfântu Gheorghe to Carei. Fragments from the*

Romanian Battle for the Liberation of North-West Transylvania, September 8-October 25, 1944, adviser: Ioan Lăcătușu Ph.D.

Friday, September 8, 2006: Hour 10 a.m. – in the Orthodox Cathedral in Sfântu Gheorghe, *taking part in the Divine Service to celebrate the Birth of Virgin Mary*; Hour 12 a.m. – at the Townhouse of Sfântu Gheorghe, *A Religious Military Ceremonial*; with the participation of: the Military Garrison Sfântu Gheorghe, The High Command of Gendarmes Covasna, The Association of War Veterans, The „Heroes’ Worship”, Braşov and Covasna, the National Union of the Body of Reserve and Retreat Officers, political parties and civic associations; Hour 2 p. m. – at the Orthodox Church in Aita Seacă, *Laying down flower garlands on the Romanian soldiers’ tomb, who died in Aita Seacă, September 1944*; at Arcuş, at the Road-cross raised in the memory of Grl. Grigore Bălan: *laying down flower garlands and discussions*.



Saturday, September 9, 2006: Hour 11.30 a.m. – at the Heroes’ Cemetery at Dobolii de Jos, *Divine service to commemorate the soldiers of the Romanian Army who died for the liberation of North-West Transylvania. Laying down flower garlands and historical evocation.***Sunday, September 10, 2006:** Hour 10 a.m. – at the Orthodox Church at Vâlcele, *Divine Service performed by P.S. Ioan Selejean, Bishop of Covasna and Harghita and by priests from the neighbouring parishes*; Hour 12 – the Orthodox Cemetery at Vâlcele: *the uncovering of **The Deported and Refugees’ Monument** (see photo).*

The writer Constantin Mustață transmitted the salutation of F:N:R:P:E: „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945”.

In the lines below, you may see the table with expelled persons and refugees from the village Vâlcele, in the period 1940 and 1944, during the Horthyst regime:

Taken over night and EXPELLED: Bucșa Alexandru – psalm reader, Bucșa Gheorghe – forester, Cașas Gheorghe (Ghiță al Marinii) – householder, Cașas Nicolae Grecu – tradesman, Pigui Petru (sot. Casas) – householder, Rauca Ioan – priest. **REFUGEES:** Ancu Alexandru (baronașu) – worker, Ancu Gheorghe (a lui Kisghirău) – mason, Ancu Gheorghe (al lui Toader) – householder, Ancu Gheorghe (al lui Laii) – tailor, Ancu Ileana (baronașu) – housewife, Ancu Ioan (Ion al lui Toader) – mason, Ancu Marius (baronașu) – worker, Ancu Nicolae – householder, Ancu Petre (Zavaidoc) – hairdresser, Ancu Rozalia (a lu Potcoavă) – housewife, Ancu Vasile (al lui Laii) – householder, Axente Nicolae (cula maja) – householder, Axente Valer (perceptorul) – fiscal agent, Bicicoi Constantin (al Sofii) – worker, Bicicoi Natalia (a lui Cula) – worker, Brânză Alexandru (a lui Plescan) – car driver, Brânză Ioan (a lui poștașu) – worker, Bucuraș Ilarion (Ilar al Bucurășoaii) – worker, Bucuraș Ion (Hopa Bucuraș) – worker, Bucuraș Maria (a lui Bucuraș) – worker, Bucșa Alexandru (al lui Ilie) – blacksmith, Bucșa Ana (Alexandru’ wife) – worker, Bucșa Elena (Lina Bucși with family) – housewife, Bucșa Ioana (Ionica) – tradeswoman, Bucșa Iosif (Sivu a lui Dobran) – householder, Bucșa Gheorghe (secretaru) – clerk, Bucșa Valer (al lui Ilie) – carpenter, Bucuraș Maria (a lui Bucuraș) – worker, Cașas Iosif (Hadi a lui Bogdănel) – worker, Cățean Elisabeta – worker, Cățean Veta (Veta Oanisii) – worker, Ciucășel Aurel (Rica pasăre) – worker, Cosma Iosif (Jozsika) – clerk, Cucu Alexandru (al croitorului) – office worker, Cucu Constantin (Cocorica) – office worker, Cucu Eliza (a lui Ghiță Popa) – worker, Cucu Gheorghe – actor, Cucu Magdalena – office worker, Cucu Silvia – office worker, Cucu Valeria (a lui Ghiță Popa) – worker, Dan Pavel – worker, Dan Petru – officer, Gabor Gheorghe (al Imrii) – officer, Glăjar Iosif – worker, Goga Constantin – office worker, Goga Elena (gogoaiie) – housewife, Goga Vasile – worker, Iancu Mămăligoi Valeria (a lui Gusti) – housewife, Mămăligoi Floarea – housewife, Mămăligoi Dumitru (Mitică) – artisan, Moldovan Gheorghe – worker, Moldovan Ioan (Niță) – householder, Moldovan Maria – housewife, Moldovan Nicolae – teacher, Nema Aurel – teacher, Nema Gheorghe (a lui Nistor) – worker, Nema Ioan (a lui Trachiuca) – office worker, Nema Nicolae (a lui Nistor) – worker, Nema Pavel (a lui Nistor) – worker, Nema Virgil (a lui Nistor) – worker, Păun Jeana – school pupil, Păun Maria (pupița) – housewife, Păstina Ilie – priest, Petrea Gheorghe (Ghiță a lui Petrescu) – worker, Petrescu Iancu – householder, Popescu Horea – worker, Potcoava Cornel – worker, Potcoava Valentin – officer, Potcoava Vergil – tailor, Rauca Gheorghe – carpenter, Rauca Miron – psalm reader, Rujoi Nicolae – worker, Sas David – shoemaker, Sas Ioan (a lui Martin) – householder, Savu Gheorghe – hairdresser, Scurtu Ion – worker, Sidon Constantin – householder, Sidon Gheorghe – artisan, Țifrea Pavel – worker, Țifrea Ștefan – policeman, Tohăneanu Alexe – householder, Toma Constantin – engine mechanic,

Toma Iosif – worker, Toma Nicolae – worker, Vancea Pavel – householder, Vlădărean Alexandru (a lui Dengel) – policeman, Vlădărean Alexandru (a lui Ciorogan) – worker, Vlădărean Florea – shoemaker, Vlădărean Mircea – householder.

This list has been made by Nicolae Moldovan and Ioan Brânză, former refugees. They did their best to remember facts and names. There might be some other persons as well, who were not included here. During those sad days, one could hear only whispers about who was expelled, driven away, left the day before, etc. The readers of our magazine can accomplish this list so that the truth might come to life objectively.

The Commemorative Show „Glory to the Heroes and Martyrs of the Romanian Nation” in Cluj-Napoca

(Abstract from No.3 (18)/2008, pp. 8-13)



Choir of the University members in Cluj

Saturday, August 30, 2008, in the Big Hall of the Students' House of Culture, in Cluj-Napoca, in the presence of over 650 participants, a commemorative performance took place entitled **„Glory to the Heroes and Martyrs of the Romanian Nation”**. The performance began with greetings and thanks to the participants also including those from districts Timiș, and Satu Mare, as well as the local authorities.

A musical-literary montage followed, being entitled **„REQUIEM FOR AVRAM IANCU”** prepared by Professor Barbu I. Bălan – Executive Chairman of F.N.R.P.E. and recorded on a CD by Radio Cluj. In order to celebrate 160 years from the 1848 Revolution, we were helped by the management of the History and Arts Museum – Zalău, who exhibited in the hall documents and pictures especially prepared for the event.

This event was also caused by the celebration of 68 years from the loathsome Vienna Diktat, August 30, 1940, by means of which Hitler and Musollini, as it is not right to say Germany and Italy, satisfied Horthy's requirements, of his guardsmen and indoctrinated army with chauvinist and irredentist ideas. The Hungarians committed then the most awful crimes against the peaceful population of Northern Transylvania, killing old people, women and children in cold blood, driving over the temporary border a part of the Romanian population, profaning churches, sending to extermination camps Jews and to forced labour camps Romanians, Serbians, Croatians, Slovaks and many others, a fact for which they never apologized. See photo: singer Tatiana Stepa and actor Dorel Vişan).

Related to this sad anniversary, the film "ONCE UPON A TIME IN TRANSYLVANIA" was released. This film was made by Manuela Morar, who had just graduated from HIPPERION University, in Bucharest. She was financially supported by the Refugees' Associations in Cluj, Sălaj, Satu Mare and Timiș. The film brought about proofs for the barbarian acts of the autumn 1940 at Ip and Trezenea, offered in the survivors' declarations.



Tatiana Stepa

The film had a strong impact upon all the participants, many of them having their eyes full of tears of compassion for those who were killed for the only guilt that they were Romanians.

As a corollary of this moment was the book „Terror in Transylvania” by the well-known and appreciated writer Constantin Mustață, whose book was praised in nice words spoken by GELU NEAMȚU, MIRCEA POPA Ph.D. and col. (r). VASILE TUTULA Ph.D. They received Participation Diplomas. The author of the book received an ANNIVERSARY DIPLOMA and gave autographs to the readers, who proved to be much more than the available books. In the show there also took part some other well-known personalities, such as the actor DOREL VIȘAN and the singer TATIANA STEPA, who succeeded in raising its standards and who received Excellency Diplomas. The Choir of the members of the University in Cluj, whose manager is Alexandru Stănescu Ph.D., and which is conducted by Professor Doina Miclea, sang some songs which were well received by the audience.

In order that this cultural manifestation might take place there were many other members of the Federation who helped the organizers. There also were donations made by: MARIA VANA, ALEXANDRU POP ARUNCUTEANU, HÉLÈNE MĂLAI, LIVIU TUȘA, CRISTIAN OCTAVIAN FEURDEAN.



Dorel Vişan

Grateful thanks are due to the Students' House of Culture in Cluj-Napoca (host of this meeting); the History and Arts Museum, Zalău (with the exhibition „The Year 1848”) and the Refugees' Association in Cluj (AJCR) who paid most of the expenses.

Particular thanks go to all the former refugees who are members of various associations and who regularly pay their subscriptions, as well as those who offered sums of money to the associations. We hope their number will increase in the future.

Maybe it is worth knowing that these associations always need help, for various actions organized by them, such as: performances, symposiums, laying down of flower garlands, building up roadside crosses, exhibitions, etc., all in order to commemorate the martyrs and heroes of our country. Part of the money is also given to those who suffered from natural calamities or to the poor.



The Exhibition in the Entrance Hall of the House of Culture

It goes without saying that we would like to have much more money than that we have now, for the printing of a greater number of copies of our magazine „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”. We'd like to print each year a selective number of this magazine, translated in one of the languages that might be understood all over the world. We intend to offer these copies to various foreign embassies and European members of the Parliament who have frequently been told lies about the Romanians' history and deeds, while the Hungarian separatists and irredentists are praised without any real reason, the former crimes and provocative actions being forgotten (...).

We'd like you to know that the Refugees' Associations and the Federation that unites them are not financed by the State or Local Organs, as some other structures are. Unfortunately, those frequently do an ill turn to many people and this still happens not only in our country, but all over the world, breaking the law, the Constitution and common sense. We haven't even received a residence from the Local Council yet. We suppose they wait for us to pass away.

But we won't give in. We are still enough and strive to follow the example given by Crișan Mircioiu Ph.D., a Honorary Member of our Federation, who is over 95 years old. We congratulate him again on his birthday with all our hearts (...).

Sequences from articles signed by:

Barbu I. BĂLAN, Marius MĂLAI, Ion TĂMAȘ, Eugen VESCAN

IN MEMORY OF THE COLLECTIVE CRIMES AT MUREȘENII DE CÂMPIE

(Abstract from No. 3 (14)/2007, pp. 21-27)

Precisely 67 years ago, after the application of the loathsome Vienna Diktat by means of which the greatest part of historical Transylvania was stolen, here, at Mureșenii de Câmpie, a place documentary certified in 1230, a village belonging now to Palatca, district Cluj, during the horrible night of September 23/24, 1940, the Horthyste-Hungarian occupation troops committed a real massacre among the Romanian population.



In front of the roadside cross at Țaga

Let us remember the facts!

It was still daytime, when the Hungarian border guards had already arrested civil persons in the village at Count Wass Albert from Sucutard's disposal. These persons were taken to priest Bojor Andrei's home. The priest had gone to Cluj to solve some problems for his parish, but also to let know the new Hungarian management of the inhuman and scornful behaviour of the Horthysts against the Romanians in villages Imbuz, (now: Mureșenii de Câmpie), Sava, Băgaciu, Petea, Palatca, Chirișul Român, Legii, Lacu, Sucutard etc., at the disposal, but also practiced by Count Wass Albert himself.

Towards evening, at priest Bojor's arrival from Cluj, he was stopped just at the outskirts of the neighbouring village Sava by lieutenant Csardás Gherghely of Regiment 19 Nyiregyhaza-Hugary, arrested and accompanied to his home, where some other 10 unguilty persons had been arrested before.

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In the meantime, other Hungarian gendarme patrols and border guards had transmitted the order that nobody was allowed to leave the house, till the other day. Had they not obeyed the order, they would have been shot without challenge.

Here is the list of those who were shot that terrible night: BOJOR ANDREI, Greek-Catholic priest, (53 years old); BOJOR LUCREȚIA – his wife (48); BOJOR LUCIA – daughter, a graduate of Law Faculty in Cluj (24); BOJOR MARIA – daughter, a student, attending the Faculty of Letters in Cluj (22); BOJOR VICTOR – school-boy at „Papiu Ilarian” highschool in Tg. Mureș (18); PETREA NATALIA – teacher, three months’ pregnant (24); PETREA RODICA – her daughter (5); MIRON ANA – the teacher’s mother (54); GURZĂU IOAN – psalm reader (29); GURZĂU VALERIA – the psalm reader’s wife, nine months’ pregnant (20); IUHOȘ SAROLTA – Hungarian, helping in housekeeping in the priest’s home, original from Palatca, (18).

At dawn, their corpses were all thrown heaps upon heaps in a stinging nettle cavity, behind the priest’s house, The gendarmes and guards left for other activities, on Count Wass Albert’s disposal again, as the Count had a list with those who had to be killed. The peasants knew that very night the atrocity of the night when that collective crime took place.

The second and third day after, the corpses were exhumed, at the Hungarian mayor’s „goodwill”. The families could take their dead. They made coffins from the boards of the fence and buried the dead without a religious service. It is worth mentioning that Gurzău Valeria’s baby had a foot out of her belly, as if in sorrow for its mother’s death.

The terrible fact in Mureșeni had a sinister impact upon the whole area, together with the news about the crime against those at Sucutard, shot at Țaga, on the shore of the lake. A climax of terror had been reached. The Horthysts jubilated, and so did Count Wass Albert and his father!

Time passed! As Christians, we forgive, but do not forget!!!

In Memory of the Martyrs

As far back as the period when I was a teacher in village Sava, in 1962, I badly wanted to raise a monument in memory of these martyrs of the Romanian nation, at Sucutard and Mireșii de Câmpie!

Well, by means of a straight contribution from the Leading Staff of the National Federation of the Ethnic Persecuted Romanians – „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”, priests and mayors of these places, on October 26, 2005, we organized a requiem in memory of those killed by Horthysts. During the Great Popular Assembly it was decided that those killed should receive *post mortem* the title of **NATIONAL MARTYRS OF THE ROMANIAN NATION**. On this occasion, it

was also decided that together with the local authorities and with the help of the Orthodox parish a monument be raised at Mireșenii de Câmpie, in priest Bojor's yard, and his house, a ruin now, be rebuilt and transformed into a MUSEUM. Having finished our rather difficult negotiations with the authorities, we succeeded in finishing the **Monument of the Martyrs of the Romanian Nation**, here, at Mireșenii de Câmpie, where in the future, in 2008, we hope to organize the **Museum Mireșenii de Câmpie**. The museum will include the monument as such, a wooden church and a refugees' museum.

It was Senator Adrian Păunescu who had manifested a special interest in doing this since March. The Senator is a Honorary Member of the National Federation of the Ethnic Persecuted Romanians, and has repeatedly asked about our work. This might be the best opportunity to thank him for his moral support. We felt him close to us, and his pure, patriotic thinking, specific to his family which was thrown away from Basarabia, in 1944 helped us a lot.

As the ground was inherited by the heirs of Bojor family, they donated the necessary place for our project. Thus, we will be able to give back to the National History of Romania an important paragraph of local history, re-written on the basis of documents, testimonies of the sufferings of the Romanian population exclusively made by the Hothyst-Hungarian occupation.

A Day of Great Satisfaction

In the morning of September 2, 2007, at 9.30 a.m. a column of cars having in front of it Adrian Păunescu's one, followed by two touring buses with tricolour flags, with some of the members of the Executive Bureau of the National Federation of Ethnic Persecuted Romanians from Gherla and other members, accompanied by police cars, left for Mureșenii de Câmpie in order to take part in the commemorative festivity and uncovering of the monument dedicated to the martyrs. On our way, a halt was made at Țaga, at the roadside cross near the lake, where flower garlands were laid down and stood silently for a minute in memory of the killed (see photo 1).

The next halt was made to participate in the inauguration of the Archeological site at Țaga (see photo 2,3). Here, two cabins could be seen, re-built after the tracks found there, as well as other proofs of our ancestors' existence in this area. The necessary explanations were given by Mihai Meșter Ph.D., director of the History Museum in Gherla and the researcher Zoe Maxim from the History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj. The poet Adrian Păunescu was particularly interested in the importance of the discoveries made here for our nation, in the difficulties which may arise for those who are working here. One of the participants offered a small icon to Adrian Păunescu with the very text of one of his poems

published in the 70s. It happens that the poet had forgotten about it, and consequently read it possessed by emotions (see photo 4).

Then the column moved towards Sucutard, where, in front of the monument raised in memory of the martyrs (2006), flower garlands were laid down and stood silently for a minute. The poet Adrian Păunescu read his poem entitled „Always To Transylvania”, a poem he dictated a day before, while in the car, on his way from Bucharest to Gherla (see photo 5).

The column moves then towards Mureşenii de Câmpie, on a newly arranged with the help of the District Road Section, that had worked with 30 equipments. We thank Mr. Tudor, the chief of this section. We attend the second half of the Divine Service at Mureşenii de Câmpie, where from together with all the people gathered here, we go to the place of the monument raised in memory of the martyrs. Here, under the warm rays of the sun, a group of priests led by P.P. Jeleru, authorized by I.P.S. Metropolitan Bishop Bartolomeu Anania, accompanied by the Orthodox Church Choir in Cluj-Napoca performed the Divine Service in memory of the 12 martyrs and hallowed the monument raised in their memory. On the part of the Federation „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”, Adrian Păunescu – Honorary Chairman – and Vasile I.Bunea – General Secretary of the Federation – uncovered the monument being applauded by everybody being there (see photo 6,7,8).

Allocutions full of high patriotic feelings and Christian morals were made by P.P. Ioan Jeleru, the mayor Ioan Hulduşan, dr. Ovidiu Bojor – member of the Romanian Academy of Medical Sciences (nephew of the priest killed by Horthysts) şi Senator Adrian Păunescu. Flower garlands were laid down by representatives of the Federation „Pro Memoria 1940-1945” and its subsidiary from Gherla, led by Adrian Păunescu, Executive Chairman Barbu Bălan, General Secretary Vasile Bunea and vice-chairmen Graţian Albuş, Alexandru Benea, Nicolae Grosu; the Conservatory Party, Cluj, led by deputy Petru Călian and counsellor Hélène Mălai; the Democrat Party, Cluj, the Local Council and Townhouse of the village Palatca, the Orthodox parish Sava, the Reservists Association of the Minister of Internal Affairs – subsidiary Gherla, and representatives of Bojor family.

Ing. Barbu I. Bălan thanked everybody for being there and handed over decorations to those who made efforts to organize this beautiful event.

During lunch, over 120 of invited persons took the floor prasing the event: Col. (r) Nicolae Grosu read a Message sent by the Association of Refugees, the Driven Away, Expelled and Deported from Basarabia, North Bucovina, Herţa and Quadrilater. Professor Vasile Sfârlea spoke about „the cult of heroes and martyrs”.

As a conclusion to all this, thanks are sent to all who participated in and helped to organize this event, the Federation being deeply indebted to them all.

Vasile I. BUNEA

IN MEMORY OF THE POET IUSTIN ILIEȘIU (1900-1976)
THE POET OF „TRANSYLVANIAN BLEEDINGS”
(Abstract from No.11/2006, pp. 33-37)



Motto:

To sing a song from where I've come
 I sometimes feel a longing deep,
 A song I heard in olden times,
 The village with the flocks of sheep.

„Oh, Lord, will freedom be again
 And joy in our village then?

(From the poem Longing by Iustin Ilieșiu)

With the care of the Local Council Maieru, Townhouse Maieru, Astra from Năsăud – the Circle Maieru, the „Gregoriu Hangea” Cultural House, Maieru, „Liviu Rebreanu” school group, Maieru, „Dreams' Nest” Museum, Maieru, Anieș general school, and last but not least the efforts and care of the well-known man of culture, Professor SEVER URSA, director of the museum and magazine „Dreams' Nest”, and that of the mayor VASILE BORȘ, the second edition of „DAYS OF MAIERU” took place October 21-22, 2006. On this occasion, the following activities took place: the General Assembly, ASTRA, Năsăud; a session of dissertations entitled „Măiereni Personalities”; sale of the volume „Poems” by Iustin Ilieșiu (Anthology and Foreword by Sever Ursa); uncovering of I. Ilieșiu's bust in front of the Maieru general school; meeting the Sons of the Village at the lunch offered by the Townhouse and Local Council.

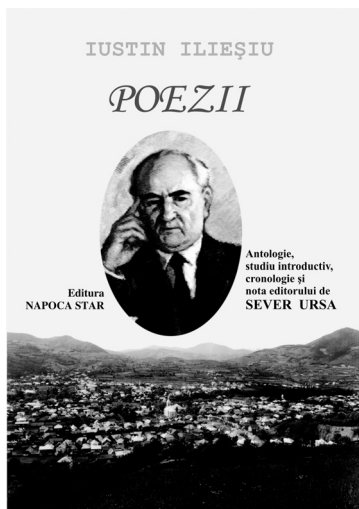
I participated in all these activities together with my wife, my cousins Corneliu Ursa and Maria Ursa from Sângeorz-Băi, Ofilat Varvari from Poiana Ilvei, a numerous group of intellectuals from Cluj, Năsăud and from other parts, such as: Ioan Mititean – publicist, Silvia Pop – Chairman at Astra, Blaj, Ioan Seni – Chairman Astra, Năsăud, Professor Dumitru Protase Ph.D., Valer Petrerhuș, Head Manager of the Post Office, Năsăud; Mayor Vasile Borș, Teodor Tanco – writer; Professor Romulus Berceni, Dr.Traian Dascălu – a Mecena of the Someș valley, Col.dr. Vasile Tutula – Chairman of „*Virtus Romana Rediviva*” Cluj-Napoca, and many others.

As I said in my speech at the symposium organized in the Conference Hall of the Museum „Dreams' Nest”, I have more than one reason to sincerely enjoy my taking part in this festivity. First, because I was born here, over the hill, in Poiana Ilvei. My ancestor is Niculai, one of the seven URSA sons in Maieru. He was put in

possession of land in Poeni for services rendered to the Royal Army. At least from a genealogical viewpoint I feel bound to this ancient Paradise that keeps filling our souls with dear remembrances. Second, I am glad I have the possibility to express my deepest feelings for all those who have kept and worked hard in order to preserve



these important institutions of traditional culture, as the Museum and the Magazine „*Dreams' Nest*” are. These springs of Romanian essence take further on the heroic tradition of the so-called „*black soldiers*” in the frontier guards’ units and of the militant Transylvanian writing in the newspaper „*Plaiuri Nășăudene*”, who, prasing the Country and native places, wrote on their frontispiece the stimulative advice „*Virtus Romana Rediviva*”. Third, I am extremely glad to be able to lay down a flower garland with tricolour ribbon in memory of Iustin Ilieșiu, poet of the refugees and of „*Transylvanian Bleedings*”. Sever Urșă with good reason tells us in the Foreword to the Anthology that he was „*a celebrated poet, an unusual journalist, a distinguished teacher, a passionate folklorist, translator from other literatures and, last but not least, a brave fighter and a Transylvanian tribune, who had always been at the very core of some hot and unforgettable events in the history of Romania*”. Fourth, I am glad I can break news to all participants, namely that in memory of former refugees, expelled ones, driven



away or deported, the *National Federation of the Ethnic Persecuted Romanians – „PRO MEMORIA 1940-1945”* finally came into being, having its central residence in Cluj-Napoca.



On behalf of the leadership of the Federation I sent congratulations to all those who organized the festivity „Măieru Days – 2006” and warmly congratulated the peasants for the way in which they took part in the very life of their community. As a sign of appreciation for what he had done both for the magazine „Pro Memoria 1940-1945” and for the Foreword he wrote to the Anthology of Iustin Ilieșiu’s poems, I handed over to SEVER URSA a rewarding HONORARY DIPLOMMA. Similar diplomas were received by: Dr. TRAIAN DASCĂLU – who donated Iustin Ilieșiu’s bust and the sculptor VLAD PRUNĂ, VASILE BORȘ – mayor of the place and by vice-mayor VASILE DUMITRU.

We believe that one of the former refugees’ duties – as long as we are alive – is that to support the actions of the National Federation and of the magazine „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”. They ought to write about our historical past, about the Romanians’ sufferings while some territories were occupied so that our followers might know the true history and not forget it. Following Iustin Ilieșiu’s example, to try to do our best so that the barbarian acts committed then by Hungarian soldiers, by those Hungarians living in Transylvania, or by the „brave” liberating Russian soldiers could never happen again.

Such an attitude is even more necessary today, as more representatives of the Hungarian revisionism are plotting against the Romanian Constitution frankly admitting they want territorial autonomy on ethnic criteria, the official language be

Hungarian both in public schools and universities in which only Hungarian should be taught to members of police, law and parliament. That means more than the former “Autonomous Hungarian Region” in Stalin’s time. What they want now is a Small Hungary within Great Romania, a state within a state where chauvinistic and vindictive Hungarians be able to despise, turn into Hungarians, persecute and drive away Romanians without being bothered by the Romanian State and Laws!



Cultural-patriotic festivities, similar to those in Maieru, at 30 years from Iustin Ilieșiu's death, are a good example of how we can reply to our enemies and still keep alive the memory of those who fought and sacrificed themselves in order to defend the ancestors' land. Once again warm and sincere congratulations to all those who made this moment possible.

Barbu I. BĂLAN

HUMANITARIAN CALL

The members of the National Federation of the Ethnic Persecuted Romanians „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”, as well as all the other beneficiaries of the rights to be found in Law 189/ 2000, are kindly invited to support both local and national actions organized to help victims of disasters. We are positive that those who had suffered from being driven away, being expelled or deported from their native places understand the importance of such a gesture. For further information ask at the Federation’s residence in Cluj-Napoca, B-dul Eroilor nr.2.

Executive Bureau of F.N.R.P.E. „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”

LETTER OF PROTEST

To their Excellencies:

President of Romania – TRAIAN BĂSESCU,
Prime-Minister – CĂLIN POPESCU TĂRICEANU,
President of the Senate – DORU TĂRĂCILĂ,
President of the Chamber of Deputies – BOGDAN OLTEANU

The Executive Bureau of the National Federation of the Ethnical Persecuted Romanians „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”, gathered today October 19, 2008, at Timișoara, on the occasion of the Symposium „Transylvania Romanian Ground” addresses to the Parliament, President and Romanian Government the following

PROTEST

Against the lack of response from the Romanian State institutions to temper the U.D.M.R. representatives and those of districts Harghita, Covasna and Mureș dominated by the Hungarian minority, regarding their provocative, illegal and anticonstitutional actions against the Romanians, for:

- 1. Organizing the referendum concerning the autonomy of the so-called „Szeckler land”;*
- 2. Organizing some commemorative and public rehabilitation of those who committed crimes against Romanians and Jews, such as Wass Albert and others;*
- 3. Their claim that the Romanians be forced to speak Hungarian in their own country and not vice versa.*

The weakness or indifference of the Romanian State institutions regarding the observance of laws and Romanian Constitution is worrying us in respect to the security of our members and of all Romanians. The members of our Federation as well as all those who experienced the horrors of occupation in North Transylvania, Basarabia, North Bucovina, Herța County and Quadrilateral may understand better what lies behind the words „human rights”, „democratic” or „European”. We know very well what was the effect of such weakness before World War II and do not want that Romanian citizens should re-live such experiences.

Hoping that our PROTEST will be well-understood and all necessary measures will be taken in order to stop such provocations and impudence no matter on whose behalf, we assure you of all our support and best of intentions.

Timișoara, October 19, 2008

Executive Bureau of F.N.R.P.E. „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”

PORTRAITS AND INSETS

AT ONISIFOR GHIBU'S SIDE, AGAINST CONCERNING OF TRANSYLVANIA

*(Fragments from the speech when receiving the HONORARY DIPLOMMA
of the Refugees' Association)*

Ladies and Gentlemen, former refugees, I thank you from all my heart for the honour of offering me this important distinction, by means of which an ordinary refugee after the Vienna Diktat, as I actually am, have become a «distinguished» refugee, a title each of us should aim at. But, above all, I would thank you, not forgetting to congratulate you first for organizing the «Cluj Association of the Romanians Ethnic Persecuted, Expelled or Deported as a result of the Vienna Diktat August 30, 1940» as a public, non-political, non-governmental organization, without a lucrative or patrimonial aim, with juridical personality, having its residence in Cluj-Napoca.

In 1940, we did not leave only to find a shelter, leaving our shelter in Cluj. We left because the ground we were living on was taken away from us and we left without knowing whether we would come back. We arrived at Sibiu. There, we were welcome. We and our families received accommodation with our relatives, who helped us to go on with our lives. I myself took part in the war, 3 of 5 years in Russia, at Novorosisk, on the remote shore of the Black Sea... and still, somewhere in my heart there was a question: Would we be ever back to Cluj? Please, God!

I ought to say that at Sibiu, Professor Iuliu Hațieganu, also Rector of the University there, had a very important aim during his leadership, namely that of making his students not forget the place they came from, and wish to go back to Cluj.

A «refugee» is not only a word like any other, it's a state of mind whose gravity lies in the feeling of losing one's country, the place where you were born, were brought up, were educated, married and especially your lacking the certainty of being able to go back...

We had this luck and to a certain extent our Association, which brought us together and makes us remember this. So as to see that I am right, let me read a fragment from my work: «*Onisifor Ghibu and Giving Up North Transylvania*», which always lives in my heart:

«It was the day when I found out about the conceding of Transylvania, of Cluj, within the arbitration from Vienna. In the hospital, they talked about what had to be done and where to go, but nothing was sure.

Manifestations began in the streets. We were following each other, trying to find out what had happened, what we were to do, each seeming to avoid the possibility of leaving known-places and belonging to us, and where we were living. It was August 30, 1940.

In the afternoon, I went with my wife (Onisifor Ghibu's daughter) – I was 27 by then – to a store (on Matei Corvinu Street) where we bought wrapping materials in case of a painful departure. In fact, each person we met admitted it as being possible and even very soon..

At a certain moment, Onisifor Ghibu (our father) appeared in the store coming from the countryside, where he lived during summer and, greeting us, he wanted to know whether the news was right, also asking our own opinions. My wife told him that Budapest communicated the result of the arbitration in Vienna, losing North Transylvania and Cluj.

We came out from the store accompanied by Onisifor Ghibu. Usually so quiet (he was 57 then) he had suddenly become restless, seemingly consumed by an inner storm, pale, watching the people in the street carefully, stopping when meeting known persons to find out something more.

From Piața Unirii, the centre of the town, we heard kind of a rumour, illegible shouts, as if from a manifestation.

Arriving on Memorandum street a column of people passed by making for the Prefect's Office. Without waiting any longer, Onisifor Ghibu took my hand said good-bye to my wife in a hurry and joining the column, began to sing: «Wake up, you Romanian», «On Our Flag», «Three Colours», and others; in the background the words could be heard: «We don't give up Transylvania! Long Live the Romanian Transylvania! Better war than giving up! No to Vienna Diktat! Better war!» and many others.

It was a crowd, many young people, maybe students, but also workers, peasants, in a terrible unrest, making you feel and sing with those people undergoing great suffering, ready to do everything to solve it.

Onisifor Ghibu strove to arrive in front of the rows and pushing me, I felt he had become one with the crowd like one who had similar feelings. We arrived at the Prefect's Office, in front of which there was an official car, and next to it a colonel tried to put things in order.

We reached the front part where we could see some of the organizers: Grigore Popa, Nicolae Buta, Dr. Vidican and others and who successively got into the car, talking against the Vienna Diktat and about making the people keep our land. When noticing Onisifor Ghibu, the colonel asked him to do something so that order might be kept. But he, becoming a tribune all of a sudden, got into a car and, with a louder voice than I had ever heard him, he addressed the crowd telling them that then, no matter the age, we were all Romanians and had to, even with the sacrifice of our own lives, defend Transylvania, that had always been Romanian. The crowd that had listened to him carefully, was all of a sudden filled with enthusiasm; Onisifor Ghibu, like a blue-eyed archangel, was gazing in the distance, receiving force from our ancestors.

We went on shouting in one voice: „We don't give up Transylvania” and made for Piața Unirii, in the centre of the town, where the statue of the „She-wolf” was at that time, just in front of Matei Corvinu statue. When we arrived, speeches

were heard again. Some of the speakers suggested that we went to the National Theatre. But Onisifor Ghibu climbed on the socle of the « She-wolf » statue and said that we should not go to the National Theatre, but to the Post Office, on Ferdinand street, to call up the Royal Palace and, talking to the King, to tell him that people in Transylvania do not obey the Vienna Diktat and were ready to defend Transylvania till their death.

The maddening crowd began to shout: «To the Post Office! To the Post Office! Let's talk to the King! We want to fight!». They carried Onisifor Ghibu on their arms and, having taken him to the front of the Townhouse, he suddenly broke free and walked towards the Post Office in front of the crowd.

He looked pale, as if made stubborn by a kind of shaking, and his blue eyes showed an inflexible will that seemed to rule over the crowd. During those difficult moments, Onisifor Ghibu proved to be once more the leader people needed to turn to facts...And I, lost, keeping my eyes upon him, was feeling that we all were one being only.

On our way, we met Dr. Ilie Zafar, a Romanian from Transnistrea, who had studied medicine in Cluj and was an orthopaedist in Cluj. They embraced each other and wept together thinking of Basarabia, given away some months ago, and, thinking of the troubles that followed, they took each other's arm. The others, including me, ran down to the Post Office, flowing like the impetuous waters of a disturbed river.

At the Post Office, guarded by soldiers, Onisifor Ghibu, with part of those who accompanied him, surpassed all the obstacles arriving at the postmaster, who received him, his eyes full of tears, and accompanied him to the Hughes Apparatus Section, where from he had to ring up the King. It seems to me that I can actually see the image: in front of us, Onisifor Ghibu, tall, upright, dominating the room, and the postmaster, somewhat plumper, wearing glasses, and then after, thin, with sunken cheeks like a saint; a sub-lieutenant, who had initially hindered us from passing, with Grigore Popa, also looking like a saint, N. Buta, Dr. Vidican, and others...

In the apparatus hall, it is decided that two telegrams were to be written in order to address the King. One to be written by Onisifor Ghibu, and the other one by the others and then the best text had to be chosen.

Onisifor Ghibu quickly wrote his telegram, which is chosen to be sent: ***"To His Majesty the King. Bucharest. Entire Transylvania, through thousands of its sons, spontaneously gathered in its capital city of Cluj, are sending this way the expression of their unshakeable will to those who momentarily decide the destiny of the country. We reject, as a last decision, the Vienna Diktat that intends to concede Transylvania to the Hungarians. We are not going to accept any decision that does not take into consideration the saint inheritance of our ancestors, no matter where it came from. We are going to defend Transylvania with our last energy. We ask for war and consider as responsible those who preside over the events in Bucharest now. The authors of the crime in Vienna should be pushed away and a national resistance government come in front of the country; a government that might take***

revenge for our saint land”. On behalf of the Romanians in Transylvania, Professor Onisifor Ghibu and all the people of Transylvania.

After many efforts, it already was 10 p. m., the postmaster succeeded in sending the telegram, letting those in the Palace know that the crowd required the telegram be instantly given to the King and an immediate answer was waited for. Several attempts to enter and communicate were made, but, eventually, nobody answered.

We patiently waited for it, past midnight maybe, Onisifor Ghibu probably being the most insistent one in his wish to receive an answer.

At last we went away, but getting out we noticed that the crowd (Onisifor Ghibu having come out and communicated the text of the telegram and having announced that we were in contact with the Palace), had dissipated and we found out that it made for the Orthodox Cathedral. We took the same way, being thoughtful, especially Onisifor Ghibu, who could not imagine the King not answering such a telegram regarding Transylvania's fate.

At the Cathedral, vigils will be vigils: people, candles, bells, and, on the steps, the same speeches made by the same Grigore Popa, N. Buta and others, tireless in their wish to keep the people awake to be able to take the great decision. But many of them had begun to leave, especially when they learnt that Onisifor Ghibu was back without an answer from the Palace. Onisifor Ghibu was hoarse and mainly worried, but, like always, with the hope of succeeding. We returned home. It might have been 2 or 3 p. m.. We drank a cup of tea and went to bed, but didn't sleep, didn't sleep...

But, the next day, Onisifor Ghibu was restless again. Accompanied by a delegation, he went to General Cornicioiu, the Army Commander in Cluj: **«I've come, General, in the name of Transylvania to tell you that in these tragic moments the army has a single aim: to take vengeance on the Vienna crime. I've come to say that particularly you have a duty: to stand in front of the army and take it to war. To victory or death!»** A pathetic dialogue followed that ended with the general's lamentable answer regarding those tragic moments: «discipline, superiors, telegram, faith.

Facing the inertia of the authorities, an action committee was chosen, whose president, in his absence, was Iuliu Maniu, vice-presidents being Onisifor Ghibu and N. Vasiliu. Onisifor Ghibu was political instructor – the president being prevented from coming – who was worried trying to mobilize the people for a possible military action, everything ending in, alas, the giving up, leaving. He still had time to pack his archives in order to save them.

Onisifor Ghibu took part in a last meeting of the University College in Cluj, where, in his wish not to leave Transylvania, suggested that the University should remain in Cluj. **«Let's see what are the Hungarians going to do: to dismiss us? – Never mind! Let them do it! Will they expel us? – Here we are! Will they shoot us? – Never mind! But let's stay still! And no other office worker should leave his place».** A colleague of his interrupted him: **«Even you suggest something like that? You will be the first Hungarians are going to shoot!».** **«And so what»** he answered: **what has won or lost the Romanian cause with it!»**

The next day, Iuliu Maniu came to Cluj. Onisifor Ghibu told him what had happened. Iuliu Maniu accepted the presidency, but sent O. Ghibu to represent him, he being forced by circumstances to leave for Bădăcin. We can do nothing about resistance now, Maniu said. The army has received retreat order and the withdrawal already began...

The following day, O. Ghibu also left Cluj regretfully. He was going to settle at Sibiu, where other activities waited for him, other fights, other sufferings, – never discouraged and always with worries, love, faith and hope for his nation.»

It seemed necessary to me to tell you all these things, in order to find out from me, as one who is over 90 years old, and has undergone these events, how difficult it is to be a refugee, especially when you don't know what the future brings and feel, once more, the certainty of love, which is also given to us by the quality of having been a refugee and especially a member of the Refugees' Association in Cluj. We all ought to join this Association.

I thank you for this distinction . I am on your side. *God help us!*

Crișan MIRCIOIU

HARRY MAIOROVICI

(Abstract from No.10/ 2006, pp. 93-96)

Harry Maiorovici was born September 6, 1918, at Sighetu Marmăției, in a family of poor peasants. He attended high-school and the school of music in Sighet, Vienna and Cluj. He acted for the first time in Vienna, writing the music for a performance at Wiener Ring Spiel Theater. He was a vigorous man, full of talent, proud of being a Jew and he survived the nazi and Horthyste terror. He was in the famous camp in Baia Mare. During the war, in the autumn of 1942, he was sent to Zsongor, Yugoslavia, where he worked at an airport built in the rocks. He worked in the operation of unmaning in Poland and Ucraina. He was deported in Austria. He was „citizen” of the famous camp Meidling (1944). He was freed in 1945, when he returned to Cluj and worked for „Transylvania Tribune” signing under pseudonym. He died August 22, 2000. These data are taken from the dictionary “*20th Century People Living in Cluj*”, Edited by Casa Cărții de Știință, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, p. 187.

Among his writings in „Tribune”..., with a lot of poetic talent and not only, one may find the parable “**The idiot shepherd**” with broad hints at the „beloved leader” and the communist „securitate”.

Since 1948 he had written music for the theatre. He composed the scores for the plays „*Jeremiah Prophet*” by Șt. Zweig and „*The Flood*” by A. Berger, performed at the Jewish Theatre „*Concordia*” in Cluj. He is author of the cantata *Kaddish* about the tragedy of the holocaust, with lines recited by Eva Katona. He acted for the first time with stage music at the National Theatre in Cluj. Since 1955, he had closely co-operated with cinematography, composing music for films, documentaries, short-reel films, feature films, etc. Of his creations with a world-wide notoriety is the music in “*Doe's Death*”. It was written after the poet Nicolae Labiș' poem; the music for the

film-poem „*The Field's Principle*”, the music to „*Last Night of Childhood*”, and others about which the novelist Cezar Petrescu, from the first meeting with Maioresvici, had intuited that „*his music has something of celestial height, where God is foreseen floating...*” Nothing to say about his exciting *Lieds on Biblical Themes* or *Requiem for the Living*”, also named Requiem for the Great Hope.

In an article published in the magazine „Jewish Reality” – No.29 (829), June 1-15, 1996, entitled WHAT DOES MAN FORGIVE – *Re-discovering Harry Maioresvici*, the journalist Dorel Dorian writes:

„Once, a journalist had asked Maioresvici: „How were those years?” (the 30's, and especially 1937 when he had performed for the first time in Vienna with the music for Michael Patron's film „*The Emigrants*”). To this question Harry Maioresvici would have answered: „When I left for Vienna, on foot, I was 13-14 years old (that was about 1931-1932). I was the son of a peasant from Maramureş, and a Jew. I left with half a loaf and some change, but, at the same time, with a fantastic belief in God. That was all my fortune. (and talent, of course, unless the talent should have met his faith in divinity in a miracle – D.D”). And Maioresvici goes on telling us:

„I had walked for almost a year... In autumn, I arrived at Bratislava. Then, after getting rid of pneumonia, I went over the border towards Austria. Having arrived in Vienna, I was received at Neues Wiener Konservatorium. In 1937, I actually performed for the first time with the music for the film „*The Emigrants*”. I myself was a kind of emigrant. I also wrote music for Wiener Ring Spiel Theater...but the Anschluss was made. I had become unwanted...I was in prison (with Freud and a Rothschild), for a short time and then I was expelled...I came back to my country...and what followed!? The invasion of Poland, in 1939, The Diktat, in August 1940...and by 1942, after having performed a concert at Alexandru Tiban's home, I was arrested by the Horthyste police...They asked me then whether I had boots and a blanket...I hadn't boots. They took me to the police, where I stayed for one day. Then I was sent to Baia Mare, to a forced-labour camp. The calvary began: Slatinski Doli – in Ucraina, Zimbi in Yugoslavia, Stanislaw Stri – in Poland, and then, in 1943, they handed me over to the Germans.

I was deported to Hegyeshalom, a little town at the borders between Austria and Hungary. From there they took me to the camps in Oberlandsberg-Oberlandendorf and then to Meidling, where I stayed till 1945. In the meanwhile, my parents died at Auschwitz. When I came back, after the liberation, I was suffering from a terrible neurosis and had 38 kilos. But it's not that what I wanted to say...Before being arrested, in 1942, the bishop Iuliu Hossu had wanted to save me – although I was a Jew – at the Theological Seminar he was leading. I would have been sheltered there, remaining a Jew, until fascism was over. My being taken to prison annulled everything. ...After the liberation and after having recovered from my psychical break down, the first thing that almost obsessed me was bishop Hossu's fate, he who had wanted to save me...He had a forced domicile at Căldăruşani and I went to see him. The joy of seeing him again, following my meeting Eva and marrying her, meant the real end of the war for me, the actual liberation, not from outside to

inside, but vice versa, and also my return towards art. Then, I needed again the sound of music..."

In the same article, Dorel Dorian characterizes the project of a scenario written by Harry Maiorovici in „The Tribune”, to „*Remembrances from a Fascist Camp*”, as being: “*a weird text, a mixture of poetry and philosophical meditation, obsessive, a requiem for the living...*”, *preys to fascism..., those who faced it and might face it again..., a moving confession of a man who has just escaped from a camp, alive and dead at the same time and forever, a disturbing shout of pain, but also a work of art in itself, with subtle variations in the composing a tragic inner life...*”

Harry Maiorovici participated in internal and international festivals and was rewarded with many and important prizes. Since 1981, he had been a member of the International Cultural Academy in Rome. He was awarded the title of Honorary Citizen of Cluj-Napoca and was officially acknowledged both culturally and socially many times.

Our duty, of those who are still alive, is that of praising this man’s memory and, at the same time with him, the memory of all refugees, expelled, deported, despised and shot during the Horthyste-fascist period. We ought not to forget what some beasts called men committed to other human beings, for the only reason that these had not been born Hungarians.

We regret that while writing about Harry Maiorovici, the great, universal musician, born a Jew, we haven’t got more biographical materials and bibliography at hand. However, he had been a model of loyalty towards Romania and its citizens next to whom he had lived in the spirit of human love and goodness. His entire work is an example of these feelings which had governed him throughout his life.

After a material handed over to the editorial staff

by **Aurel COLTOR**

WHEN RAOUL ȘORBAN, PATRIARCH OF CULTURE, PASSED AWAY

(Abstract from No.2 (13), 2007, pp. 33-38)

At Dej, in the summer of 2005, in the Parc «Guilelm Șorban», Raoul Șorban was experiencing moments of bliss. His old dream of organizing a festivity during which his father, the great Transylvanian composer, Guilelm Șorban, be brought again to people’s minds, came to life. Guilelm Șorban passed away when his son, Raoul, was only 11 years old... It was his first and last presence at the Festival « Guilelm Șorban », in whose reality he strongly believed. The event took place under the care of the Townhouse in Dej and its mayor Ing. Ioan Ungur (on the right). A great joy also was Adrian Păunescu’s presence, his good friend. And, in less than a year, the life of he who was called by Israel to be « right among peoples » was broken, being buried next to his father.

Friday, July 21, 2006, at about noon, the last columns crossed themselves in front of the great Patriarch of Culture and Kindness' coffin. That was Professor Raoul Șorban Ph.D., also declared to be « straight among nations ». Tears, remembrances, moments of meditation...The Hall of the Townhouse was a friend of his. There, he had met many times his readers, remembered passages of his life; there, he was celebrated and awarded the title of Honorary citizen, and it was also there that he took part in the first **International Festival “Guilelm Șorban”**. It was a holiday of which time had come for him to talk about to his father, he who gave birth to him: the composer and piano player Guilelm Șorban. A meeting after 83 years.

The Divine service, performed in the Greek-Catholic Church, by a group of priests and two Transylvanian bishops, had turned into a festivity of homage during which people spoke about the good things he did and the traces he left behind him in a life of 94 years.



Among those who evoked his personality, we mention poet Adrian Păunescu, through a moving letter, Senator Gheorghe Funar, writer Mircea Vaida-Voevod, Senator Corina Crețu, Rodica Matei, deputy-manager of the National Art Museum in Bucharest, Virgil Bercea, Greek-Catholic bishop in Bihor. Among those who hadn't forgotten he was his friend Niceto Blazquet from Spain, although he had just been operated on. There also were speeches on the part of all the places where he was awarded the title of Honorary Citizen, a representative of the University Oradea, where he was awarded the title of Doctor Honoris Causa, and where he had been an adviser for Doctoral papers till the last day of his life.

Constantin Durgheu, Lecturer cdd, Dean of the Faculty of Plastic Arts, Oradea University: „He loved his nation up to sacrifice!”

«Professor Raoul Șorban is the descendant of an old Romanian family in Transylvania. He was a unique personality, overwhelming in the cluster of stars of the Romanian culture. His life is a living chronicle of the history of our nation. His destiny was the living fire of songs, a binder over ages. He loved culture; he loved his

nation up to sacrifice; he was fair-minded and councilating in troubled times.

An academic personality, elegantly coming to an end at Oradea University. Sincerity was the unwritten law of the Professor-Demiurge. He also was a point of reference: aesthetician, historian, critic of arts, painter, philosopher, a refined musician and publicist by vocation. He was manager, reformer, rector and a university founder. A just man. A humanist full of self-denial, a learned man with a huge historical and artistical culture, materialized in dozens of books and monographs.

We will miss him, but we will take further on his creed. This is the oath of allegiance of the group that must have passed the examination for a doctor's degree advised by Professor Raoul Șorban.

«Rest in peace, Dear Professor!»

Ionel Vitoc, architect: „He was European!”

«He was a personality of European standards, whose place might have been among the eternal Romanians. Living in Transylvania and having old Romanian roots, he correctly understood the Romanians' anxiety, and whose rights he had fought all his life for, without doing injustice to others. He wasn't anybody's enemy. He was a man of culture, always faultless and even-tempered. (...)

By his way of thinking, he was truly European. By means of what he left, I believe that authorities in Dej, Gherla, Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, or Bucharest will adopt decisions to honour his memory! He was an important scientist and school-founder...»

Corina Crețu, Senator: „He was like a father to me, and Cristina, his daughter, is my best friend”

– «You can't help weeping...»

– «Professor Raoul Șorban was like a father to me, especially after my father's death. I met him in the 90's and we had been good friends ever since. Cristina, his daughter, is my best friend...These are soul and family links, beyond what this patriarch of culture meant for Romania. We traveled together; I had the opportunity to take part in his unique parties at his lordly house in Stoiana. That is close to the Fortified town of my childhood, on Someș river, Stoiana... We have many remembrances. It's a great loss...

– «Is the Romanian society aware of it»

– «Unfortunately, people do not seem to be very moved! Professor Raoul Șorban was a great Man, who knew how to cultivate the identity of this nation. We will miss him, and they will eventually understand this terrible truth by which they passed indifferently: the phenomenon «Raoul Șorban». Such a personality is born once in many ages...»

Rodica Matei, vice-manager of the National Arts Museum, Bucharest: „He was the parent of our profession”

– «Who are you?»

– «I am one of Professor Șorban's former students; in the first series of students at the Plastic Arts Institute «Nicolae Grigorescu», in Bucharest. I owe him my vocation and, obviously, my career. It really is a great loss, but his spirit should be cultivated. It also is my engagement, resumed here, at Dej, close to the place he had chosen for eternity, next to his father, the famous composer Guilelm Șorban.

– «In what circumstances did you begin to admire the teacher?»

– «During a summer practice...I admired the warmth of his dialogue, his kindness, the power to give and communicate his huge encyclopedic knowledge, gathered in great European universities. He gave us all we needed and was useful for us in the world we chose. He had always been the teacher and father of our profession even after having graduated...

– «What did he mostly impress you by?»

– «For instance, the fact that he wanted to see our books, at home, and come to know our parents, to understand where we had come from. How many teachers do this? I am not alone here to accompany my great and dear Professor on his last terrestrial way. I myself am accompanied by another student of his, Mrs. **Doina Pungă...**

– «What do you remember?»

– «I remember a teacher who was very close to his students. Whenever we returned from our sessions of practice, he would spend with us a pleasant evening; he was playing the piano...I hadn't known he played the piano so beautifully. These were moments of «opening». He was talking to us about the beauty of the world we tried to conquer. He wanted to know our destinies and tried to support us with all his might, even if he had his own troubles of which he had never talked.

– «What is lost by his leaving?»

– «A lot! A man-encyclopedia left, but also part of our youth. Something belonging to our beings is broken. We believed in him and trusted him. We wanted him eternal. A hope left. A true Romanian. A Man who was straight among nations.»

Mihai Ungheanu, Senator

– «What hurts most at this leaving?»

– «The separation! We won't see him any longer. We won't listen to Raoul Șorban, this extraordinary Man. For my generation, his re-appearance was a true miracle...

– «Re-appearance?»

– «Yes, because, unfortunately, he spent many years in prison, but also being prevented from doing things by a regime that had a lot of shortcomings. He was a model of an intellectual, cultural, humanist existence. A tactful man, with sensibility in taking decisions, with steadiness, especially in painful matters. Without him, many

answers wouldn't have been given, and many problems wouldn't have been updated. It is a painful separation. May God rest him in peace! We'll never forget him...»

Priest Alexandru Nicula, High Papal Prelate:

«He loved his nation, but did not hate others!»

– **«You are of the same age with the dear departed, aren't you?»**

– «... Five months younger! He was born September 4, 1912, and I February 13, 1913. We have known each other for a life-time; each of us with his own way. I admired him later, when his deeds proved he had actually become a great Man, leaving apart the mistakes of his youth, but also having the power to admit them...

– **«Which are the «forte» points, leading you to consider him a friend in thoughts?»**

– «His intelligence, kindness, and correctness. He saved people in difficulty at the cost of his life. I don't think he could harm anybody! He was a wise man, who could pass over the imposed difficulties. I have carefully read his autobiographical book **«Invasion of Ghosts»**. It is about his life as it was. I know an episode from the time when, working in the secretariat of the Greek-Catholic diocese in Cluj, during the Vienna Diktat, he was directly involved in saving Jews. I also knew the way in which he saved the life of the Rabbi Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger of Cluj, whom I also met.

– **«What was the last meeting with him like?»**

– «That was a couple of years ago...He would come to Dej often and feel very well in the town of his childhood and adolescence. He called on me, and we remembered together many past events. It was a meeting during which I had the possibility to admire the quickness of his mind again, a mind that had remained as I always had known it. But I also admired his equilibrium. Raoul Șorban was a wise nationalist. He loved his nation, but did not hate others. Still, he blamed excesses, rasism, xenophobia. His book **«Invasion of Ghosts»** remains a testamentary evidence. I beg Mighty God to take care of this great man, who honestly achieved his life purposes.

Mircea Vaida-Voevod: «The last king united with utopia (...). A traveler coming from another world!»

The name of the great scholar from Stoiana will always be a point of reference in the History of Art not only in Romania, but also in Europe. He is an absolute authority, admitted as such both by Romanian researchers and men of letters, and by those abroad: a teacher and a builder of souls, worshipped by his students. Having old Romanian roots in Transylvania, he had imprinted a very reliable blazon in his heart.

I have about Raoul recollections brought forth from remote times, a world to which our ancestors were always close, defending the Romanian nation. Among the rocks on Badiu Peak, chief of hills, where, in 1437, Romanian blood was shed, hidden

among groves, there is a cave carved by the waters of Dâmb. In that very place, Guilelm Șorban, Raoul's father, and my grandfather, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod used to meet when they were young. There they scratched their names. It was an oath the two teenagers carved in eternal life, in order to last. The friendship between Alexandru Vaida-Voevod and Guilelm Șorban, between he who read in the Parliament in Budapest „**The Declaration of Self-Determination of the Romanians in Transylvania and Banat**” and the author of some everlasting musical compositions, such as: „**I have one longing left**”, „**By the odd poplars**” and so many others, proved to possess the pure strength of life. Later on, after Guilelm Șorban's early death, the spiritual tutor of the Șorban brothers was my grandfather, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod. All his life, Raoul Șorban had served with words and deeds the truth of the Romanians in Transylvania .

All his life he proved to be a defender of man's liberty. In the years following the Vienna Diktat he saved thousands of Jews, who otherwise would have been sent to extermination camps, arrested by Horthyste authorities and sent to battle-fronts, in disarming battalions. He survived! Arrested by the communists in 1945, later on kept in the forced-labour camp in Bicaz, after being dismissed from his position as a rector at the Academy of Music in Cluj, and forced to work as a house painter.

He remained the same European intellectual, belonging to an idealist left-wing and, above all, a tribune of the Romanians.

For me, Raoul Șorban remains a respectable unparalleled teller of people and their deeds. In my mind, he remains the last king united with utopia, with illusion. For his courage and his creed he often paid with disappointments and woe. Matei Caragiale would have said: «**That which wasn't plotted against him!?**» He seemed to be a traveler coming from another world. A beehive of wisdom, of fears and impulse, of deep worries and hope, for the existence of the Romanian nation.

He passed away, but he did not leave us. History, our nation, our ancestors are talking through him. I saw him on his death-bed a short time ago, when he almost whispered to me: «**I wanted to see you once more as you are my last link with the past**». I felt like a frail bridge on which Raoul's soul was travelling reminding of the old princes, towards my grandfather's year 1918, of his father's, of an outstanding generation, that accomplished the Great Union . Raoul remains the very model of a great fighter for the Romanian idea, a Man of Justice among peoples, who, fighting, saved thousands of Jews from the horror of holocaust. A historian of arts, a teacher, publicist, a witness and chronicler of his age.

Sleep in peace, venerable Raoul Șorban. May God rest you in peace!

Constantin MUSTĂȚĂ

**DR. IOAN PUȘCAȘ –
A PROFESSIONAL OF MEDICAL RESEARCH
AT... «THE PROFESSIONALS»**

Saturday, January 27, 10.55 p. m., on TVR1, Eugenia Vodă had as a guest at «The Professionals» Professor Ioan Pușcaș Ph.D., chairman of The Refugees and Deported Association, district Sălaj, and vice-chairman of the National Federation of the Romanians Who Were Persecuted for Ethnical Reasons «Pro Memoria 1940-1945». We offer below some lines in which the Professor's personality is celebrated in the local newspapers.



It is useless to remember that doctor Ioan Pușcaș is one of the most famous doctors in Sălaj and one of the best known personalities as well. A GP, a University Professor, Doctor Honoris Causa, a member of the Academy of Sciences in U.S.A., are only some of his titles which honour both him and his country.

It is enough to quote what the chairman of the Romanian Academy said about him: **«The activity of Professor Ioan Pușcaș is outstanding, and offers a model worth following»**. The rectors of the Universities in Arad, Timișoara, Oradea, praising the same person said that he is **«the Romanian Professor with most publications in important magazines, as well as the Romanian author mostly cited»**.

The first Honorary Citizen of the town Șimleul Silvaniei, a town where from he has become known all over the world, of Gheorghe Pop de Băsești's village, and of his native one, Treznea, doctor Ioan Pușcaș has created a real school of scientific research. The persons he has worked with are all Ph.Ds.

To these, 31 persons working in order to get a doctoral paper can be added. They are preparing their papers at the Centre of Research and Medical Assistance at Șimleul Silvaniei.

It is worth mentioning that only during 2002-2007 Ioan Pușcaș and those around him have published 67 papers both in Romania and abroad. The derivatives of «Ulcossilvan» are used today as one of the best therapies against ulcer all over the world. The discovery of the ways in which vascular, secretive and digestive substances are working are important achievements. «*Rapid Diagnosis to Cancer*», done by using a very small quantity of blood, a method that has been patented in 89 countries, still is one of the greatest achievements, and research in this field goes on, more than 40.000 patients having been studied up to now.

As a result of his entire professional and scientific activity for people's health Ioan Pușcaș is recognized as one of the most important personalities in our country.

Good luck, Doctor Ioan Pușcaș!

January 25, 2007

Staff of the Newspaper «Graiul Sălajului»

CRIȘAN MIRCIOIU AT 95

The celebration of 95 years of exquisite and brilliant life and activity of distinguished Professor dr.doc. Crișan Mircioiu, Doctor Honoris Causa of more than one university, chairman of Subsidiaries of the Academy of Medical Sciences and of the Union „Vatra Românească”, Rector of the People's University in Cluj, **the eldest and most passionate of the members of the District Cluj Association of Refugees, Expelled and Deported after the Vienna Diktat in 1940**, started by writing a couple of honorary articles published in newspapers at Cluj and continued with many festivities in various places in our town. All these actions went on till October, culminating with a great performance at the National Opera House in Cluj. All the festivities dedicated to Crișan Mircioiu at 95 years old are each and every proper occasions to remember what he has done and a practice in educating the young generation by offering a good example which they might follow.



I particularly noticed the article published in the newspaper „Făclia”, written by **Dr. Alexandru Rotaru Ph.D.** from the Hospital of Cranio-Maxillo-Facial Surgery, entitled „*Homage to My Professor*” in which, after having run over his prodigious activity, calls it: „*worthy of the great spirits of our nation*” and remarks the fact that it „*brought him the recognition of being both a full and honorary member of numerous national and international societies. At the same time, he was recognized as such by receiving many diplomas, orders and medals, more than 14 in number. He was appointed HONORARY CITIZEN of Cluj, Câmpina, Săliște and Sibiu...*”. Another laudatory article was written by the well-known **Professor Onufrie Vințeler Ph.D.**, who calls him: „*HOMO UNUS*

NAPOCENSIS CIVITAS SYMBOLUM". As a motto to it the words of **I.P.S. Bartolomeu of Cluj** were used. He said: ***„Professor Crișan Mircioiu is a MAN, a phenomenon, an institution, a universe in motion, a miracle”***. Stimulative and full of life was Editor Michaela Bocu's call (in the newspaper „Făclia”) who, Tuesday, July 22, under the heading ***„People of the Nation, People of the Town”*** tell us that: ***„Today's festivity is for the people of Cluj one of those beautiful and precious moments which make our life richer and enlighten the sky of our town, as we all feel, all who know and praise our honorary citizen, Professor Crișan Mircioiu Ph.D., the Master who on Sunday, July 20, reached the age of 95. Today, July 22, when the clock will strike the middle of the day, come to the Glass Hall in the Townhouse to celebrate The Man, Doctor, Citizen CRIȘAN MIRCIOIU, our contemporary, a model for our town.”***

There were so many people there that the festivity was moved to the Great Hall. The festivity lasted for more than two hours, while several speeches were listened to and applauded: **The Mayor Emil Boc**, followed by handing over a **Honorary Diploma** to Professor Mircioiu on behalf of the Townhouse and Local Council; **Professor Constantin Ciuce Ph.D.**, Rector of „Iuliu Hațieganu” University of Medicine, who spoke about ***„Professor Mircioiu as a symbol of long life and youth of the Medical School in Cluj”***; **Professor Maria Florescu**, manager of the House of Culture in Cluj-Napoca, who told us interesting facts about: ***„Crișan Mircioiu – a Transdisciplinary Portrait”***; **Professor Mircea Grigorescu Ph.D.** about ***„Crișan Mircioiu at the Academy of Medical Sciences”***; **Virgil Bulat**, writer, about: ***„Professor Mircioiu – an Effigy of Transylvanian Culture”***; **Professor Gicu Ionescu Ph.D. – I am Professor Mircioiu's Follower”**; **Professor Maria Dulcă** about ***Professor Mircioiu – A Model in Time”***; **Ion Cristofor**, writer, about: ***„Crișan Mircioiu – A Conscience of the Town”***; **Professor Leon Sorin Muntean Ph.D. – „Colleagues at The Men of Science Academy”**; **Professor Augustin Pop Ph.D.** on behalf of „Vatra Românească” Union – ***„A MAN among Men”***; **Professor Onufrie Vințeler Ph.D.** about ***„the volume of homage Crișan Mircioiu”*** ready to be published; **Professor Aurel Bulzan Ph.D.** about ***„Crișan Mircioiu – a Great Senior of the Town”*** and **P.S. Vasile Someșanu**, bishop locum tenens, about ***„Crișan Mircioiu – Man of God”***.

Many others would have liked to speak, but our time was up, so everything ended with **Professor Mircioiu's** speech thanking for what had been done for him. He reviewed the most significant events in his life, some memories from the beginning of his medical career, his way in profession, but also in the social-cultural life. **At the end of his speech, the audience had applauded for minutes on end and sang „He is a jolly good fellow...” and drank his health together with the celebrated person.**

Among those who organized laudatory festivities for Professor Crișan Mircioiu there also were his colleagues from „Vatra Românească” Union together with the members of the Executive Bureau of the National Federation of the Romanians who were Persecuted for Ethnical Reasons „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”.

The festivity took place at their residence, B-dl Eroilor Nr.2, July 17. On this very occasion there were some speeches made by **Ing. Ioan Traian Balotă** – vice-chairman of UVR Cluj District who remembered various things in Professor Mircioiu's life and handed him a volume of paintings by Nicolae Grigorescu, on which everybody signed.

Then **Professor Barbu Bălan Ph.D.** spoke as executive chairman of F.N.R.P.E., about „*Professor Mircioiu's youth without old age – a permanent stimulative example for all the members AJCR.*” He handed to Professor Mircioiu the **EXCELENCY DIPLOMA** and that of **HONORARY MEMBER** awarded by the Executive Bureau of the Federation for his prodigious scientific and socio-cultural activity, for his support given to the Federation, accompanied by the lines: *In the end I wanted to/ Wish, because we are together/ With my colleagues, happiness/ And for you to live forever!*” The celebrated one got a **DIPLOMA OF APPRECIATION** on behalf of the Publishing House **NAPOCA STAR**. There were some other speeches made by **Professor Dumitru Protase Ph.D.** and by **Professor Ioan Cîmpeanu**, secretary of „Vatra Românească” Union, wishing him a long life full of successes and strength for future activities.

Cluj-Napoca, July 25, 2008

Staff of the Magazine „PRO MEMORIA”

IN THE MEMORY OF THE REFUGEE MARIA POPESCU-POP



Maria Popescu, was born Pop, June 17, 1921, in the village Iclod, near Gherla. Her parents were Gheorghe and Susana. Maria was a bookkeeper at the Finance Department in Zalău and lived in Str. Crișan, No.2. Terrified by what had happened in the neighbourhood, at Ip and Treznea, she was forced to leave her home together with her parents. They went by cart to Crișeni, where from they got on a goods train and arrived after nine days at Deva. They had only some clothes and that little they could take with them. They underwent all the refugee experiences including the lack of a home, of a job, of food, clothes and perspective regarding the following day. She often told us about all this and she said she regretted not having time to put everything down on paper to be published in our magazine.

While in refuge, she married officer Gheorghe Popescu, who was in the Romanian army. Their first daughter Doina Maria Atena was born then. She followed her husband to many places, such as Reșița, Oțelu Roșu and Câmpia Turzii. Their second daughter, Georgeta was born. At the same time, she was extremely worried, as

her brother was injured on the front and died in the hospital in spite of all the attempts made by doctors to keep him alive.

In 1956 the Popescu family moved to Cluj, where Maria was secretary at the Folk School of Art, where from she also retired being appreciated both by her colleagues and students. Her talent urged her to study Visual Arts – graphical arts and painting – which she graduated with the highest mark. She received more than one official work to do and did some works of art highly appreciated by critics.

Devoted to her parents, she took good care of them till the end of their lives.

Maria Popescu was among the first who enlisted among the members of the Refugees Association Cluj. The Association was linked to the National Federation of the Romanians Persecuted for Ethnical Reasons „Pro Memoria 1940-1945”. She was an active member there, regularly paid her fees, even when in hospital. She also supported with money the magazine „Pro Memoria...”, in which poems and pictures from the refugee period were published. She bore witness in the documentary film „Once Upon a Time in Transylvania” by Manuela Morar.

By passing away, at the age of 87, the refugees lost a faithful soul, somebody who had never forgotten the troubles of the refuge, and who constantly fought so that the woes of the Romanians be never repeated again.

Rest in peace! We promise to remember you as long as we still are travelers on this earth. As a sign of respect, we lay a flower garland with tricolour ribbon at your head.



Cluj-Napoca, July 26, 2008

Marius MĂLAI

INVESTIGATIONS AND DOCUMENTS

SĂRMAȘ – ONE OF THE MOST HORRIBLE FASCIST CRIMES (1)

*(Fragments from the volume with the same title by Matatias Carp,
Ed. SOCEC, Bucharest, 1945, p. 9 sq.)*

In 1244, the Tatar invasion having devastated the land ruled by the Hungarian king Bella IV, he invited the Jews from everywhere to come and settle down on his land, attracting them with important privileges, some of them being even greater than those of his noble men. After 700 years, during a new disaster prepared by himself, the Horthy regime started the most devastating action, attempting to exterminate the whole Jewish community including almost $\frac{3}{4}$ million people. Between the two epochs, the Jews in Hungary registered numerous pages of oppression, plunder and crimes, committed with the same cruelty both in the lights of the 20th century and the darkness of the Middle Ages.

It was maybe only natural that, on the sickly social and political basis of Hungary, a retrograde and chauvinistic breath was settled, a breath that could have opened wide the country's gates to let in the fascist insanity.

A selfish, lazy, and greedy ruling class that had sprung from the most horrible feudal species kept the spirit of intolerance, xenophobia, and anti-semit hate for centuries because this was the only possible way to preserve its domains, privileges, traditions, and strivings. This class of knights, barons, princes, etc., used as much as it could the Jews' skills and fortunes. And it was the same class that eventually initiated and carried on their destruction at the right moment.

The disease broke out from the very traditions of this class, and the circumstances of social oppression maintained its catching power, making of all the Hungarians an ever hostile collectivity that took care that none of the following generation should be safe from destructive strikes.

But what magnates and the Hungarian people had not been able to succeed in for almost a millennium, was done by magnates, soldiers and part of the Hungarian people in only a few months of that cursed year, the 1944th from the birth of the apostle who preached love for one's fellow man.

It is very difficult for a pen, no matter how skilful it could be, to enumerate all what Hungarian cruelty – accompanied by Teuton bestiality – imagined and did as far as the extermination of Jews in Hungary was concerned. Tortures, rapes, plunders, drivings away, ghettos, crimes and all that had been displayed as persecution by the horrible history of all the peoples and of all times, was applied without any mercy to these unfortunate people. There is no vocabulary that includes the right word able to describe the cruelties and monstrosities that had taken place there. We usually use the term beast in order to characterize some lost people of this kind. This word is but too mild and cannot define those who gave birth to those horrible things at Budapest, Debrețin, Kosice, Auschwitz, Oradea, Sighet, Cluj or Sărmaș.

In the long chain of Hungarian crimes, the massacre of Jews in Sărmaş is a prominent episode similar – not as far as the number of victims is concerned, but by intensity – to the terrible slaughter at Krasnodar, Katyn, Kiev, Maidanek, Auschwitz etc. [...]

In the village Sărmaş, at 9 o'clock a.m., there entered Hungarian troops. Among them an old acquaintance of the people here also crept along – the former native Iosif Biró – dressed in the smart uniform of a Hungarian lieutenant. The following day a group of gendarmes came led by lieutenant Balasz, who immediately enthroned Biro as county chief. Although he had done this job for only 3 days, he found the necessary time to accomplish all preparations for the horrible action that was going to take place in the following 10 days.

The making of the so-called “national Hungarian guards” in the very first day is due to him. These were the thief-gangs which all the Hungarians in the village, almost without any exception, from old men to children of 15, joined joyfully.

By means of a sugary proclamation, he lured the Jews who were hidden either in the village or in the neighbourhood, to come back to their homes without fear, assuring that nothing bad might happen to them.

Instigated by the Hungarian Szentes Márton, he sent soldiers to pick up the girls Reiza and Etuş Fischer, who might have been saved from the massacre otherwise.

With him did terror and plunder begin. In the three days when Biro was county chief, houses were robbed, the houses which belonged to the Romanians who fled from their villages and were caught and sent to the so called camp: Archbishop Dr. Stupineanu, priest Micu, Mr. Emil Mora, lawyer Banu, notary Mornăilă etc. It also was the period when woes came upon the Jews in Sărmaş, which would only end in the hollows on the Sascut hill. Biro's subjects tortured Grosz Iosif, so that they could rob his lesather and soles warehouse and another brute, Szutő Pista, shot Weiss Mauriciu because, wanting to rob him, they found nothing in his house.

Until Saturday, all preparations were ready. The guards were organized and armed, the Jews had all returned to their houses and could easily be spied not to flee away, brutish desires and instincts were awakened and ready to be released. Iosif Biró's task was fulfilled.

The decisive day for the Jews in Sărmaş was Sunday. No one knows where the initiative had come from, but it is known that they gathered that day in the chemist's house, at Varga Iuliu's, the Hungarians' leaders in Sărmaş, together with Hungarian magnates from the neighbourhood. They arrived on horse-back, in their best clothes, embroidered in gold, furs and feathers, the princes from Cămăraş, Balda, Silivaş, Tăcşor and others. They celebrated their victory with shouts, not seeing how frail it was. During wild songs and Bacchic libations, they decided to sacrifice something to their pagan beliefs, namely the Jews in Sărmaş. This is how the killing sentence was given for 126 old people, women and children.

The execution was started at once. It was handed over to the gendarmes company, to whose leadership was brought a new chief, captain Lancz László, and “the Hungarian national guards”, led by an experimented chief, the peasant Székely Márton.

Monday morning, the village drummer was furiously beating his stove drum. The Jews were announced to put in front of their houses, big and visible, “David’s star” in the following hours. The people, terrified, obeyed. For those who didn’t hurry, things were solved by the members of the national guards.

Towards evening, gendarmes and peasants started from all corners checking each Jewish house, taking out all Jews they forced them to take with them whatever they had more valuable and threw them into a shed, which they called camp.

Nothing bad took place in the next two days. On the contrary! They sent them back to their houses to take some more things and let Romanians to give them some food.

From the third day, they started to torment them. They all were taken to hard works, children and old people, they were kept without food and a place where to rest, crowded in a much too little space for them, they were beaten and tortured without pity. The old people, some of them were over 80, were taken out in three yard in the morning and were forced to dance in a circle or make funny jumps. The girls were taken out in the garden in the evening and tortured all night long, to satisfy the soldiers’ and guards’ wild desires.

While the Jews were still breathing in the camp, the mayor and vice-mayor gathered all the Hungarians in the village and gave them the task to rob houses. There was no Jewish home left without being taken even the last chair, last pillow, piece of clothes, nor was there any Hungarian house that had not got something to treat themselves.

Then, the great day of the Hungarian in Sărmaş arrived. Saturday morning (September 16), our Lord’s Day. The Jews had just started their prayers to get divine blessing, when gendarmes broke into the camp and chose 20 strong men, who received pick axes, spades and hoes and were sent out of the village to Sărmaşel.

Towards evening, about 14 carts gathered in front of the camp. The 126 Jews and their luggage were piled on them and also started towards Sărmaşel.

Then, there was quiet in the village. For 4 weeks, while the Hungarian troops had been still in the village nobody said a single word about the Jews in Sărmaş. Everybody knew that Saturday night they were taken on Sascut hill, at the buffalos’ bathing place. That the 20 men were sent in advance to prepare hollows. It was also known that shots had been heard all night long awakening the people, everybody being scared and taken by surprise. Lastly, it was known that all Jews had been killed in a fierce slaughter and all were thrown in two hollows covered by earth. All this was well known, but it was only whispered with horror and fear by a few Romanians left in the village. A beastly satisfaction from the Hungarians’ part. *(to be continued).*

Matatias CARP

NOTES ON ROMANIANS' CALVARY IN COVASNA DURING HORTHYTE OCCUPATION, AUTUMN 1940 (1)

The passing of time spreads forgiveness over Romanians' sufferings during Horthy occupation in North Transylvania. Now, when the supporters of territorial autonomy on ethnical criteria of the so-called Szeckler land, go on trying to achieve the fulfillment of an anachronic and anti-Romanian project, it is worth putting public opinion on guard again, by means of archive documents, some pages concerning the Romanians' calvary in Covasna. What we show now are only bits of the „genocide” the Romanians in North Transylvania derived „advantage” from, during the Horthy occupation, in the following years, inclusively during the „Autonomous Hungarian District”, but they are convincing arguments which are at the basis of Romanians' decision in that area and in the whole country, not to accept in any way the autonomy on ethnic criteria suggested by Hungarian leaders.

A few papers written on this theme and published before 1989 and after are signed by some distinguished researchers, among whom: Mihai Fătu, Mircea Mușat, I.P.S. Nicolae, Corneanu, Mihai Racovițan, Ioan Ciolan, Gheorghe Bodea, Vasile T Suci, Ilie I. Pușcaș, Raoul Șorban, Constantin Voicu, Vasile Lechințan, Petre Țurlea, Virgil Teodorescu. (Also see the *Bibliography* of the volume *Românii din Covasna și Harghita. Istorie. Biserică. Școală. Cultură*, by Ioan Lăcătușu, Vasile Lechințan and Violeta Pătrunjel, Grai Românesc Publishing House, Miercurea-Ciuc, 2003), reflected only partially – as much as documentary research allowed at that time – the whole drama of the Romanians in North Transylvania, conceded to Horthy Hungary by the Vienna Diktat.

This is why in the lines below we offer some of the documents which talk about concrete aspects of the Romanians' calvary in Covasna, Zăbala, Zagon, Valea Mare, a.o., in autumn 1940 and about the intolerance and inter-ethnic hate, shown towards Romanians during those years and which, unfortunately, still breaks out today in some representatives of the Hungarian population. Because many of those who were authors of those deeds are still alive and are capable of similar deeds, we have given only the initial letters of their names not to cause troubles.

*

„We (here come the names of 12 persons), ex-inhabitants of village Covasna, district Treiscaune, declare that November 15, 1940, in the morning, were summoned by gendarmes without being given notice to go to the Covasna district townhall in order to be expelled and taken over the border. Even in the night of November 15, 1940, we were crossed the border through Zagon forest. We were not allowed to take with us any kind of things, except some clothes and food for two days, and our families were forced to stay put. During the entire period when we were under foreign occupation we were wildly persecuted. The Romanians in our village

and from the neighbourhood had to suffer the rude behaviour of Hungarian gendarmes who took to their post peaceful Romanians who were then beaten.

We had to bear the rudeness of Hungarian inhabitants, who, organized in groups with stones and clubs attacked Romanian houses at night, breaking doors and windows. In all this time we were forced to spend the night outdoors, in forests. Some of us were charged with espionage, and Mr.V.N. was accused of having transported grenades and a truck with weapons which he gave to the Romanians – in order to prevent the advance of the Hungarian army, spying, at the same time. For all this he had been taken to gendarmes post repeatedly and then, a plot was made against him, N.L. from village Boroşneul Mare being chosen to kill him.

At the Hungarian troupes' arrival, a Romanian delegation led by priest Irimie Ticuşan met it, being hooted after by the people without the interference of the army in order to help us. Hungarians are free to express any kind of claim, and we had to accomplish all their claims they being supported by authorities and gendarmes without any justification.

They claimed that our shepherds had let their sheep graze on their harvest for 22 years, asking for a compensation of 20-50 thousand lei. Romanian village look awfully: houses with broken doors and windows, broken walls by the clubs of the groups of Hungarian children, students or intellectuals.

Even today the Romanians' windows are closed with boards, not to be exposed again to night attacks. Former clerks are made responsible and forced to pay compensations to Hungarian inhabitants for the fees they paid to the Romanian state, or for any other sums paid by Hungarians. A confessional school was not allowed in Covasna district. Everything is taught in Hungarian, and our children who, at praying are crossing are beaten over their fingers being obliged to pray only in Hungarian. The families of those who remained there are expelled now without any kind of fortune. This is why we said it (signatures follow) Întorsura Buzăului la 16 Noiembrie 1940¹

*

„We, the inhabitants of village Zăbala, District Trei-scaune/ North Transylvania given up to the Hungarian State/ declare: November 17, 1940, at about 4 o'clock a.m. Hungarian gendarmes came to our door and told us to be ready at once to leave together with wives and children, to take no more than necessary, as they had to take us to the Military Command in order to make statements. We had to be ready in a few moments and were taken to the townhall. Those who were against this challenge were beaten. At the townhall, we were put in some carts and sent to village Zagon, where we had to get off the carts and walk to the border that is about 4 kilometers (...)

We go on saying that all our fortune was left there, we having only some clothes with us. Our houses were left with everything inside them. Stables were left with nobody to take care of the animals. Right after the occupation, the Hungarians in

the village gave 240 weapons and 2 machine guns to the army. The Hungarian youth got armed and started destroying our houses and furniture shooting at night. Then, house searches began under the pretext of us also having weapons. And if we could not give them the weapons, we had been beaten for weeks on end. Countess Armin Micheș, from Zăbala, who has today a brother-in-law in village Budila, district Brașov, Prince Micheș, when the groups returned from the massacre in the village, asked them how many Romanians they had shot. At their answer that there was no one, spitted on them and told them to take their weapons again and shoot until no Romanian is left alive. During our way from the village to the borders, while accompanied, we were constantly hooted and spitted by the Hungarian inhabitants. This is our declaration we sign Barcani, November 18, 1940 by: teacher Gh. Fediuc, Notary I. Pașcan, Declarers: (14 holograph signatures follow).¹

*

„We (...) all from village Zagon, district Trei-Scaune, declare: November 20, while we were all at home, at about 10 o'clock p. m., Hungarian soldiers and civilians came to our place starting torturing us, telling us that we were to leave till morning, to cross the border to Romania, otherwise being shot without any exception. We were forced to leave our homes the same night taking with us what we could. We chose to stay in the neighbouring woods not to be tortured. November 21, in the morning, we went again to our homes to take some more things but found nothing: our houses had been robbed and left with empty walls, they took even the windows, so that we could leave only with a few things. They also took our cattle. In the morning, we found only the Hungarian guards who did not let us go to the centre of the village, not even to our houses.

Seeing this terrible situation, we left November 21, going to the border at Barcani, district Brașov. Arriving, we were received in the homes of our Romanian brothers. This is our declaration which we sign Vama-Buzăului, 12 November 12, 1940. Mayor C-tin Burcus, Secretary V. Șerban”³. (to be continued)

Ioan LĂCĂTUȘU

NOTES: 1. National Archives Covasna, Store Prefect's Office Plășii Buzăului Ardelean, File nr. 661, p. 225; 2. Ibidem. File 662, p. 8; 3. Ibidem. File 662, p. 17.

AN APPEAL TO ALL INHABITANTS OF TRANSYLVANIA AND BANATE

The magazine «Tribuna» in Cluj, led by the writer Ion Agârbiceanu is responsive to the political problems of the year 1938-1939 and writes about the struggle among great powers with a view to revisionist matters. The first step against Romania was the ultimatum delivered by Russia in order to occupy by force

Bucovina, Basarabia, and the Herța county. Many refugees from these Romanian parts took their luggage and ran towards cut-short Romania. The lawyer Dr. Vasile Vlasi, a native from Turda, former chairman of Turda Bar, was deeply touched by Romania losing these territories in 1940. After two days from the Russian ultimatum, he sent a letter to the magazine in Cluj asking his brothers in Transylvania and Banate to help the refugees offering them a shelter and food. Vasile Vlasi's appeal, who returned at the same time with the refugees from Bucovina, is a stimulus towards brotherhood and unity with those Golgota-sufferings, the withdrawal in front of the Russian Red Army.

For the beauty of these lines, for the warmth with which he asked for help, the article is worth being entirely rendered:

«Dear Sir,

In the whirl of terrible attempts our country and people are subject to, in these days of historical decisive moments, as one who had just come from Bucovina, as one who had seen the exode and sufferings of our brothers from Bucovina and Basarabia, but faithful and full of virtue, I think of our unhappy brothers, left without a home on their Calvary road.

I am troubled by a thought, the thought of finding help for the refugees from our beautiful provinces taken away by force. The thought of digging into the conscience of our beloved Romanian Transylvania to symbolically help these persons, thus strengthening, in these difficult, great hours, our indestructible national solidarity.

The help from Transylvania should have in front of it great personalities who had fought in some previous battles and who are fighting again, from Transylvania, personalities who can do their best for helping their brothers tortured by pitiless circumstances.

This help, whatever it is, would symbolize even more the power as a brother and the pain for having lost North Bucovina, and Basarabia, both foundations of our great princes, setting up the country, laws and traditions. Let's prove solidarity and brotherhood in what we do now. This help, material, spontaneous and effective, could smooth a bit of the sufferings of those whom my tortured soul now and as long as I may live cannot foresee or enumerate.

*In the spring of 1917, when with the first battalion with people from Transylvania and Banate was coming from communist Russia to Moldavia in order to offer a supreme sacrifice on the altar of victory, battalion that came through Chișinău, conceded today, we were received by our brothers from Basarabia led by the hero, major Murafa, and the poet Mateevici, beastly killed by communists. In Chișinău, at the station, a nice Romanian town, major Murafa gave us a little icon with Virgin Mary and a tricoloured flag telling us: **«Promise, my brothers from Transylvania and Bucovina, to take this protective icon and this beautiful tricoloured flag and put them in Alba Iulia Cathedral, to the brave prince Mihai»**. At that moment, the genius of fighting Transylvanians, Mr. Deleu, who is no longer*

alive, replied: *«We swear to take this holly icon to the Cathedral in Alba Iulia, fighting under this beautiful tricoloured flag or die wrapped in its folds!»*

That gift given us by our brothers from Basarabia through major Murafa symbolized the indestructible link among people from Transylvania and Bucovina and the desire to warm ourselves at the bosom of our united country.

God helped us, our dream came true, but today we undergo a new and painful loss, broken from the body of our beloved country.

This is why our help ought to be a symbol meant to strengthen even more our common pain and common hope in the destiny and future of our nation.

Let's promise that all that means Romanian consciousness will come together under this tricoloured flag, that we will strengthen our minds and arms, clean the body of our nation of all the pest and surrounding the King with united forces, we will bear our temporary Calvary. But we will come to a new life again, that will either be or we shall die under the folds of the tricoloured flag! So may God help us! Turda, 3.VIII.1940.»

Dr.Vasile Vlasi's appeal meant getting from all over Transylvania whatever was necessary for the refugees. The echo of that appeal came to life in Transylvanians' hearts, helping our brothers in need.

Valentin VIȘINESCU, Eugen VESCAN

REFUGEES CROSSING THE BORDER AT COȘNA

(On an unpublished document found in D.J.A.N Suceava Archives)

By means of Mr. Ioan Drăgan Ph.D., director of D.J.A.N. Cluj and Mr. Ioan Scripcariuc, director D.J.A.N. Suceava, we got hold of a Table including the Romanian refugees from Transylvania, given up to Hungary, who crossed the border and were recorded at Coșna, district Câmpu-Lung, from October 20 1940 to December 28 1940. The document is useful to all those who have no official proof regarding this moment and who intend to hand over their files to get the quality of a refugee and the consequent rights, by virtue of Law 189/ 2000. The following data are included in the Table: **First Name, Last Name, profession, members of the family accompanying the refugee, place where he took refugee and the address where he said he would go.** A copy of the original Table can be seen at the Refugees' Association residence in Cluj-Napoca, B-dul Eroilor nr. 2.. The necessary receipt are given by D.J.A.N. Cluj.

In the lines below, we insert the first name, last name, number of accompanying persons (in brackets), their homes, according to the original Table:

Năsăud: Nacu Maria (2), Coman Gheorghe, Neamțu Laura, Ludojan Verginia, Găzdac Ioan, Nistor Constanța, Floroae Vasile, Cleja Grigore, Bighigean

Iulian, Ciot Florica, Ceuca Traian, Onigoaie Simion, Lușcan Vasile, Vaju Ilie, Maftei Vasile, Galeci Macedon, Drugă Radu, Mureșan Gheorghe, Sângeorghean Ștefan, Preja Aurel, Maftei Ștefania, Dr. Sotel Carol Ion, Bulean Neculae, Bighigean Ioan, Găurean Florian, Goriță Timoftei, Filip Victor, Mocodean Florica, Secheli Gheorghe, Bodea Ioan, Pop Neculae, Damian Vasile, Mizgan Grigore, Nașcu Alexandru, Spătaru Gheorghe, ...loi Iacob (3), Moldovan Ioan (3), Iluța Ioan (3), Chindeniuc Dumitru, Rognean Veronica, Istrate Dumitru, Damian Iacob (1), Ureche Ioan, Morar Chirilă (1), Seni Dumitru, Coman Leonte (6), Dari Teofil, Cicedea Ioan, Struțan Gheorghe, Șoancă Aurel, Jula Anton, Lăzăroi Petru, Născuț Neculae, Ionașcu Ioan, Anton Marius, Istrate Iulian, Sârbu Petru, Mureșan Maria (1), Bodescu Emil, Onigoaie Gheorghe, Urâte Gheorghe, Onigoaie Anuța (2), Săucea Carolina, Bighigean Elena (1), Groza Toma (1), Blaga Ioan, Săucea Adrian, Bighigean Iacob, Prăhase Mihai, Muthi Neculae, Prăhase Dumitru, Rusneac Aneta, Petriș Dumitru (4), Chindriși Dumitru, Oșorheanu Petru, Urâte Neculae (3), Șipoș Neculae, Noll Ana, Rus Tiberiu, Urate Saveta (1), Spătaru Ioan (5), Mureșan Neculae, Huciu Vasile, Codrea Toader, Galan Leon, Eremiu Eugenia; **Bistrița** (Năsăud): Savețchi Francisc, Sttofel Irma, Nostiuc Ilarie, Vaju Ilie, Născuț Elena, Pitcaniuc Ștefan, Cislingher Ștefan, Methes Eva, Sos Iuliu (1), Dănilă Alexandru, Calot Ervin, Blasi Alfred, Tarnavski Rudolf, Veber Maria, Veber Edvig, Costinel Florica (1), Harosa Măriuța (1); **Chiuza** (Năsăud): Brad Alexandru, Șoancă Dumitru (3); **Florești** (Năsăud): Purcea Neculae, Pititeanu Gheorghe; **Rodna** (Năsăud): Cărcu Dumitru, Bureacă Florea, Roman Elena, Borcius Victor, Matei Florean, Anca Zaharia, Domide Octavian, Domide Ioan, Porcius Emil, Irimescu Ioan (1), Cărcu Maria (2), Bălăi Victoria (3), Petreanu Emil, Moldoveanu Alexandru, Mihalca Petru, Tomoiagă Ștefan (2), Chișeu Livia, Cozmi Agripina (2); **Maieru** (Năsăud): Grozia Alexandrina, Vranău V. Dumitru, Vranău Silvia, Telceanu Maria, Pop Iuliu, Corusiu Viorel, Boșca Aurel, Cioncan Augustin, Coruț Aurelia, Neami Elisabeta, Timiș Gavril, Crăciun Augustin (6), Boșca Traian, Barnava Vasile, Pop Neculae, Măgurean Dumitru; **Șanț** (Năsăud): Moisil Anton (1), Domide Emil, Ilieș Auctovian; **Sângeorz-Băi** (Năsăud): Marcu Emil, Ursa Anton (2), Utația Ioan, Vulpe Constantin, Răzvanță Valer (3), Galeș Aurel (2), Lupoia Silvia (2), Dănilă Floarea (4), Sfrângeu Elisabeta; **Ilva Mică** (Năsăud): Buta Răfăla, Mrieși Alexandru, Coșbuc Victoria, Mereniuc Elisabeta, Moroșan Carol, Moroșan Vilhelm, Scramech Chuno, Dunca Adolf, Klain Ludvig, Șotropa Onisim (3), Pop Iacob (3), Daniuc Iosif, Vorah Ioan, Husar C. Alexandru, Daniuc Elena (2), Pop Aurica (2), Bertel Macedon, Pomohaci Simion, Moldovan Ioan, Poștean Gheorghe, Leca Ioan (2), Luca Emil (1), Oprea Gavril, Trișcaș Maria (1), Bertel Raveica (5), Branzi Nițu, Chișiu Vasile, Chiș Valer; **Ilva Mare** (Năsăud): Vlădică Ionel, Vlădică Floarea (4), Gabor Victoria, Cărcu Victoria (2), Tevadar Felician, Tomuțoiaie Aurel, Silvestru Ureche, Dobrea Alexa (2), Vărzar Iacob, Vărzar Mihai, Cătuna Teodora, Cătuna Viorica, Ursa Augustin (3), Dinu Gheorghe (1), Trandafir Pompei (1), Enciu Catrina (2), Ruștii Alexandru, Bora Mina, Albu Luca, Gălușcă Mina, Gălușcă Anton, Bozbici Ironim; **Măgura Ilvei** (Năsăud): Boșcoiaie Ironim, Bogdan Paraschiva, Dejan Cozma, Faur Vasile (5), Vrășmaș Sofia, Chinceaș Ana; **Poiana Ilvei** (Năsăud): Ureche

Leon, Porcuțan Dumitru (1), Bodișu Veturia, Ursa Margareta, Guzu Ironim, Candale Emil, Maștei Dănilă, Pop Viorel; **Feldru** (Năsăud): Spănu Toma, Sângeorghean Ioan, Soldan Neculae, Aldracoaie Traian, Dumitru Alexandru, Zamveliu Magdalena, Ilen Elena, Trișcaș Ana, Galben Todosia, Ignat Ezekil (1), Ani Neculae, Sciopan Ioan, Roș Ion, Androneș Ioan, Ani Silivan, Timoc Florea; **Nepos** (Năsăud): Istrate Marioara, Rognean Maria, Istrate Grigore, Onoiaie Dochia, Neculae Petre (4), Neculae Dumitru, Someșan Leon; **Rebrișoara** (Năsăud): Sângeorghean Ștefan, Lup Viorica (2), Albu Raveica (1), Burduhosu Petru, Mureșan Ilie, Burduhosu Onisim, Moldovan Gheorghe, Dascăl Neculae; **Parva** (Năsăud): Rus Maria, Rus Nastasia; **Rebrea** (Năsăud): Bachiș Ion, Mureșan Gavril (1); **Salva** (Năsăud): Diciuc Dionisie (1), Piciu Neculae, Piciu Leon, Puica Valer, Filip Sânzâiana, Puica Gavril (3); **Runcul-Salvei** (Năsăud): Harap Ioana, Jora Nastasia, Herța Floarea; **Telciu** (Năsăud): Blidariu Dumitru, Pop Ioan (1), Ștefănuț Ioan, Gaftina Ciurea (1), Todireși Victor, Baieș Maria; **Romuli** (Năsăud): Bulz Doroftei; **Lunca Ilvei** (Năsăud): Bogdan Ion (1), Popa Toader; **Lușca** (Năsăud): Pop Ioan, Daraban Neculae, Ilovan Neculae, Mărginean Emil, Pop Gheorghe, Crețu Macedon, Nistor Maria (1), Mureșan Emilia; **Zagra** (Năsăud): Marin Traian, Hurdea Sever, Coptil Vasile, Vaida Viorel, Marinescu Costantin (1); **Găureni** (Năsăud): Pop Victor, Luca Rem, Crișan Valentin, Crișan Victor, Filimon Dumitru, Lipan Anchidim, Timoceia Valer, Zăgrean Nastasia; **Bitigi** (Năsăud): Catana Ioan (1); **Mocod** (Năsăud): Tomi Costantin, Doce Simion; **Mititei** (Năsăud): Salvan Gheorghe, Becheș Gavrilă, Bondău Anița, Braic Ioana, Lazăr Floarea (1), Sârb Susana, Braic Gavrilă, Braic Ion; **Nemigea** (Năsăud): Ilieșu Gheorghe, Blaga Petru, Salvan Augustin; **Mintiu** (Năsăud): Daraban Augustin; **Dumitra** (Năsăud): Boldijar Gheorghe, Dubrin Ana; **Prundu-Bârgăului** (Năsăud): Nubert Wilhelm, Tanca Leontina, Marcel Alexandrescu, Vlad Ioan (1), Alexandrescu Florica, Axenti Vasile, Moldovan Teodor, Marian Emil; **Bistrițioara-Bârgăului** (Năsăud): Somfer Martin, Serban Leva; **Mijlocenii-Bârgăului** (Năsăud): Ghiță Ioan, Reu Maria; **Susenii-Bârgăului** (Năsăud): Galben Aurel, Pop Macedon (2); **Coșna** (Năsăud): Kraus Rudolf, Kraus Leopold, Sfaboda Vasile, Moldovan Maria, Todașcă Sevastian, Griga Ioan, Michiși Emanuel, Fierar Grigore, Nidelea Mihai, Candrea Ioan (3), Lugan Gavril, Cervean Ioan (3), Vlăsa Gocea (2), Todașcă Mihăilă, Danilescu Floarea; **Cluj** (Someș): Takați Klaudina, Mania Marta; Takați Klaudina, Peter Ana, Sidomia Ianu (1), Mititean Olimpea, Elisabeta Felicia, Resteșan Ioan (1); **Dragomirești** (Maramureș): Minică Ștefan (3), Zelea Mihai, Bogdan Dumitru, Ciolpan Maria (2), Ilea Dumitru; **Cuhia** (Maramureș): Rodina Marin (2); **Săliște de Sus** (Maramureș): Dobrea Mihai (5), Iuga Gheorghe, Chiș Irina, Chiș Neculae; **Borșa** (Maramureș): Grec Vasile, Ștețcu Vasile; **Săcel** (Maramureș): Mariș Ana, Colceriu Neculae, Negoschi Ioan, Câmpian Gheorghe; **Rozavlea** (Maramureș): Suștic Simion, Puiu Gheorghe, Ilea Aurelia; **Botiza** (Maramureș): Sidău Ion, Pop Vasile, Petruș Elena, Persea Ioan, Ceruncan Victoria; **Ieud** (Maramureș): Mariș Ioan, Rus Vasile, Chindriș Ioan, Gorea Gavril, Florea Dumitru, Chindriș Dumitru; **Strâmbtura** (Maramureș): Cordoș Gheorghe, Stanca Vasile; **Șieu** (Maramureș): Man Ioan; **Batuș** (Maramureș): Gartl Iohan (4); **Dumbrăvița** (Someș): Păltineanu Vasile, Purja M.

Ioan; **Negrilești** (Someș): Găucean Dumitru; **Șintereag** (Someș): Lazăr Valeriu; **Beclean** (Someș): Bichici Vasile; **Dej** (Someș): Slama Iudto; **Căianu Mare** (Someș): Termure Macedon (1); **Rus** (Someș): Hoștea Ioan; **Săsarmi** (Someș): Zăpârțan Elisabeta, Bolog Anchedim, Sumaș Ioan; **Dochea M.** (Someș): Crețea Liviu; **Căianu Mic** (Someș): Pugna Vasile; **Piatra** (Someș): Tot Dumitru, Tot Ioan; **Goreni** (Mureș): Clișan Ioan; **Craidoholț** (Satu Mare): Mureșan Gheorghe, Mureșan Vasile; **Miercurea Ciuc** (Trei Scaune): Vențel Iohan (5); **Crișeni** (Sălaj): Galgău Vasile, Ceva Vasile.

Obviously, this is only a small part of thousands and thousands of refugees who were legally recorded at the border, no matter where they were at that time. Many others went and recorded themselves in places where they had relatives or found something to work in order to earn their living, even if only temporary.

As far as the professions of the refugees at Coșna are concerned, we may say that: over 150 were workers or handicraftsmen, 60 pupils and students, 30 teachers, 25 public office workers, 15 agricultures, the others being tradesmen, doctors, pensioners, etc. Over 160 of the recorded ones are the refugees' wives and children.

We address our gratitude to all those who made possible the existence of this document and will be glad to receive and publish any other unpublished documents regarding the refugees, the expelled or deported ones, on ethnical criteria, during 1940-1945, and which might help our readers.

Note: the Table was corrected by M.-L. Tomuța and B.I. Bălan regarding their relatives. Should our readers find any differences, we kindly ask them to call on the editorial office.

Vasile TUTULA and Dinu URECHE

THE AGITATED WEEK OF HUEDIN, SEPTEMBER 9-16, 1940

(Paper read at the Commemorative Symposium in Huedin)

Now, when 65 years have past since the unjust sentence, that of the Vienna Diktat, was carried out, by means of which the fascist-revisionist states took North-West Transylvania and conceded it to Horthy Hungary, we cannot refrain from remembering the drama of the hopeless Romanians in Huedin, when experiencing terrible pains and three of them were killed. (...)

And, as time goes on, generations after generations are passing as well, and those knowing about those terrible facts are fewer and fewer, let's remember some facts starting from personal data.

Aurel Munteanu, the glorious martyr of this land, was born May 2nd. 1889 at Meghindeal. From 1907 to 1924 he performed as a priest in Valea Drăganului, and from 1924 till the end of his life he was priest and archpriest in Huedin (the book „*Archpriest Aurel Munteanu Hero and Martyr of his Nation*” is about him).

Gheorghe Nicula, is a peasant's son belonging to Niculescu family, descendant of those Romanians who had come from Apuseni Mountains, was born March 10, 1901, in village Valea Drăganului. His parents were Gligor and Ileana Nicula, peasants who came after Horea's uprising had been defeated and settled on the other side of the mountains to get lost. He worked as public guardian in Huedin.

Onița Negru, was born 1893 in village Tranișu. She married Ion Negru – Ghiuța and had 7 children. She had never been involved in politics and had no other „fault” except that she brought up her children in a Christian way.

*

In the evening of September 9, 1940, brothers Albrecht from Huedin had a party for the Horthyste military administration, that brought with it repression, and occupation military laws. During the party, one of the officers said to the Hungarian leaders in Huedin: *„ket nap szabad nep boszu”* (two days you are free to take revenge). That evening, during the night and next day a terrible massacre followed: some threw with stones to the archpriest's windows; others looked for Ion Negru-Ghiuța at his place, and not finding him, they maltreated his family, threw away objects in his house, shouted to the children: *„where are the weapons?”*. Some of them had been left there by soldiers, and they beat the children Gavril and Iosif telling them: *„where is your father to call Long Live Great Romania?”*

September 10 was the most terrible day in the history of the town. A group of people entered the house of Ion Negru-Ghiuța made a mess of everything and threw out of the house Onița Negru and the younger children Viorel, Ioan, and Lucreția. They told them to leave for their Romania, as that place was Hungary. The poor woman started to walk Southwards, crossed the border near Sâncrai, and went to village Bociu, where her daughter Măriuța and her husband Ioan had also gone.

At about noon, archpriest Aurel Munteanu, who was on his way to the hospital in order to perform the divine service for a Romanian soldier who had died, was surrounded by some wicked persons, beaten with clubs and stones and then forced to go into Ion Negru's yard. There they went on beating him and tortured him until he was heard saying: *„you'd better shoot me than do this again”* (a witness's declaration recorded at the trial in 1946).

Being market day warrant officer Gheorghe Nicula was also found. He was dressed as a civilian. He was taken from the market to Strada Mare where he was beaten in Veres Ioan Csiszar's yard. Then, they took him out in the street where some other Hungarians were urged to strike him. When he could hardly stand, they took him in Ioan Negru's yard, together with Aurel Munteanu where the criminals entered into competition with one another in torturing him. The first who stroke was Kudor Ștefan Hanzi, followed by Kovacs Francisc Csuci, and many others.

The same day, some others were found and beaten until they were full of blood: Gheorghe Herdea, Petru Brândaș, Alexandru Andrei, Iosif Popa, Gavril Negru, the last being hanged by his feet and they put lime on his wounds.

When Aurel Munteanu and Gheorghe Nicula lost consciousness, they were taken out in the street and beaten again and again and thrown in a cart. When the victims in the cart were seen to be still alive, they were stricken again while being taken out of the town, to a place named Acăți (as Dr. Vasile Pușcaș and Petru Merestanciu remember, they witnessing this calvary from the attic of the hospital). On their way, hangman Ercsey Francisc hit the victims with stones, and Kovács Andrei stroke Nicula over his feet. Bethlendi Francisc Gusas and many others joined them.

Farther, the victims were thrown out of the cart, dragged about 50 metres and thrown in a hollow, in the meantime being hit by Gál Francisc, Mihály Alexandru, Ercsei Francisc, Mathe Francisc, Ambrus Francisc-junior, Budai Ioan-Gepű and Kudor Ioan Duca. Seeing that the injured had no longer any response to strikes, all their valuable things were taken from them. Kovacs Andrei took Nicula's boots, Kertes Ioan the archpriest's watch, and Pocs Ioan, who had a metal stick in his hand, put it into Aurel Munteanu's mouth. Those who were seeing all this, also saw that corpses were slightly covered by earth and they tread on them as in a dance.

Maltreatments continued. September 16 1940, Onița Negru returned from Huedin, as she found out she had been robbed. She found Hungarians in her yard who were calling her names. Seeing what had happened to her home, the poor woman started crying and shouting, and to make her shut up, she was stroken, fell and hit her head. A soldier who saw her, threw water on her but could do nothing, could not bring her to life.

After a couple of days, Aurel Munteanu's and Gheorghe Nicula's wives found out where their husbands' bodies had been thrown and asked the authorities, especially Fekete Pál to let them take the bodies and bury them in the cemetery. They were told the men were not there, as they had left the country. Only November 16, the tragic news being spread in Transylvania, in Romania and abroad, they were allowed to take them and bury them. Dr. Eugen Nicoară made the autopsy observing deep wounds, broken ribs, broken parts of the legs, pulled hair and beard, that is to say proofs of death by violence.

The victims' wives found with difficulty some poor people willing to dig their tombs in the cemetery. The gendarmes, standing at the gates, let no Romanian enter and attend the funeral. Only 6 persons could enter: 3 from the diocese, Lucreția Munteanu, Victor Munteanu and Elena Nicula (some believe she was Nicula's mother-in-law).

Father Laurențiu Curea who had come from Cluj, performed the funeral service for Aurel Munteanu, and priest Gheorghe Rusu for Gheorghe Nicula, as, after marriage, he attended divine services in the Greek-Catholic church at Fildu de Mijloc. Priest Rusu attentively covered the coffin with a piece of a tricolour flag, as a symbol of the patriotism that had characterized the two martyrs.

The crimes in Huedin gained public notoriety soon, revolting each Romanian. A first action took place during the meeting at Romanian Academy, September 20 1940, as historian Ioan Lupaș presented a protest against all these

crimes. The Alba Iulia vicar took position as well by a circular letter No. 482/ 1940, September 20 1940, writing about: „*the monstrosity and ferocity of the crimes in Huedin, committed in full day-time, in front of a crowd made of Romanians paralyzed with fear and woe, hate and despair, by fascist,, chauvine, nationalist elements against a personality as archpriest Munteanu was.*”

Violent protests in the country and by diplomatic ways determined the Hungarian state open an inquiry and organize a trial to those who had committed the crimes. The Royal Hungarian Court of Law in Cluj made file No. 4239/ 1941/ 6, but the whole trial proved to be a mere masquerade (...).

Out of the 17 persons involved in killing the two (...), only 7 were found guilty as co-authors: Máthe Fr., Sekeres I., Kozma A., Bartha A., Kudor I., Kovács A., Mihály S., but they also were charged only for “severe *body injuries causing death*”, and the others were quitted. The 7 were only formally charged, convicted to two months arrest, being suspended, the fact being justified as “*the accused were in a poor mood, a fact that explains their sadness and strong emotions. This could cause excesses in people who were happy as they regained their freedom and full of patriotic feelings as well.*” (no comment n.r.).

Only after North Transylvania had been liberated, Law 312/ 1945 was promulgated, that mentioned the observation and punishment of those who were guilty of the disaster of the country and committed war crimes. In Cluj, Poples’ Law Court judged once again the case from Huedin and annuled the sentence No. 136/1941 of the Hungarian Military Court Cluj. By a new sentence, the accused: Gal Fr., Mihaly Al., Pocs I., Budai I., are sentenced to death; Kovacs Fr., Ercsei Fr., Kovacs A., Kudor I., Kozma A., Szekeres I to life hard labour; Kudor St to 5 years hard work, Bethlendi Fr., to 15 years hard work, and the former major Fekete Pal to 25 years hard work. But the real authors of the crimes in Huedin paid great care to leave for Hungary in order to escape punishment (...).

In 1965, urged by archpriest Petru Pop, the coffins were taken out and placed in a double tomb in front of the Orthodox Church in Huedin. The following words are written on the cross: „*HERE REST THE MARTYRS ARCHPRIEST AUREL MUNTEANU AND GHEORGHE NICULA, PASSED AWAY SEPTEMBER 10, 1940.*”

In memory of archpriest Munteanu, the street he lived on was named after him in 1990, and in 1998, in front of the new diocese, a great monumet was risen by the help of priest Dorel Pușcaș and the believers. A bust was placed in memory of Gheorghe Nicula in front of the Police Office. This was done by the efforts of the people mobilized by commander Ioan Herdea Rus...

Nicolae ȘTEIU

**ON THE JEWS' HOLOCAUST
IN NORTH-WEST TRANSYLVANIA,
DURING THE HORTHYSTE-FASCIST OCCUPATION**

(Fragments from No. 4/2005, p. 30-34)

The Jewish genocide, called by them SHOAH (catastrophy), was not a historical accident, but a systematic preparation, ended with this unique tragedy looked at with indifference by the civilized world and assuming a guilt that cannot be erased.

Unfortunately, the Jewish population in Romania and also in North-West Transylvania conceded to Hungary was a victim of racial discriminations and tragical experience of Holocaust during the World War II. Thousands of Jews were killed, and others regardless of age, or social status, were forced to leave their homes, taking only a few things with them. They had been put into ghettos, where from they were sent either to hard work camp or to extermination camps. The Jews were dispossessed by racial laws, they were prevented from working and learning according to the fascist model and experience (...).

It has been publicly admitted that too many Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and of other nationalities, in Romania and Transylvania, witnessed such events with indifference or powerlessly.

As a sign of solidarity with those who had suffered and their followers, the Romanian Government declared October 9 the day of commemoration for the Holocaust in Romania. This fact represents a moment of unusual importance for the relationship existing between the Jewish community and Romanian society. On this very occasion, the representatives of Jewish communities in Romania could talk about all this so that such facts should never take place again. At the same time, the representatives of our state and civil society showed compassion and regrets, apologizing for all what had happened.

Nor can be forgotten similar facts committed on Romanians during the foreign occupation, in 1940-1945, or those committed after December 1989, hoping that such events will never happen again.

In the following lines, we will deal especially with the „*final solution*” in the Horthy-Fascist way on the Jews in North Transylvania occupied by Horthy Hungary after the Vienna Diktat August 30, 1940. Those who are guilty, ought to apologize for what they had done.

The transportation of Jews from North Transylvania to extermination camps was rapidly done by Horthy Hungarian authorities in the spring of 1944, when the fact that Germany would lose the war was already obvious. In a very short interval, in only three weeks, over 170.000 Jews were transported from Satu Mare, Sighetu Marmăției, Oradea, Dej, Baia Mare, Carei, Bistrița, Târgu Mureș, Harghita, and other places, out of which 150.000 were exterminated in fascist camps.

The first stage consisted in a series of arrests, the Jews' intimidation and poverty, isolation and expropriation. This had a devastating effect on their social-financial position, which were taken from their houses and flats.

The Jews were hermetically separated from Christians by forbidding telephone apparatus, cars or radios, as well as the interdiction to travel.

Decisions were taken regarding the interdiction of engaging Jews by non-Jews, the dismissing of public office workers and lawyers in journalism and theatre.

They were obliged to carry David's yellow cross on them in order to be differentiated from the rest of population starting with April 5, 1944, the label being a means of humiliation and moral degradation.

Their not being allowed in public libraries and schools, as well as the book written by Jews or those of Jewish origin was established. Then, a campaign of destroying the books was organized.

The Jews also suffered from lack of food, food being obtained only by means of special coupons. As soon as the Jews had been taken out of their houses their goods were plundered.

The decree regarding the transportation of Jews into ghettos was applied beginning with April 28, 1944. Conditions in ghettos were extremely hard, most of the time inhuman, Jews being obliged to live in crowded flats, without the necessary equipment, in cellars, stables, etc

All this caused poor health leading to death many times, especially of old persons and children. The situation was even worse because of the gendarmes' rude behaviour, as well as that of policemen who watched over ghettos, torturing the Jews in order to find where they hid their valuable things.

In North Transylvania these facts began at 5 o'clock in the morning, May 3, 1944. About 170.000 Jews were objects of this attitude. In district Satu-Mare there were 3 ghettos: Satu Mare, Baia Mare, Carei, and in the village Valea Borcutului. In Satu-Mare area, the ghetto was placed where poor Jews were living according to the rules imposed by mayor Csóka László, without being any incidences. This because the Jews had not known the reality of the final solution, they waiting for something unpleasant, but not for their death.

This lasted for about a week, Jews being taken in a hurry, having only a few seconds time to take their necessary things. Then they were transported to the ghetto. The inner administration of the ghetto was done by a Jewish Council, including the leaders of the Jewish Community. This kind of organization was formal, as the Jews' fate was decided by Horthyste authorities.

Only in Satu-Mare ghetto there were over 200.000 Jews from Satu-Mare, Carei and the neighbourhood. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of 1944 the Jews represented 25% of the population in the district.

Deportations were done in trains having carriages for goods. There were two buckets there: one with water, and the other for physiological necessities. In each carriage there were about 70 to 90 Jews, the carriages being locked with chains and padlocks. 6 transports left from Satu-Mare including 20.000 Jews. They left for

Kosice (Slovakia) and then, father towards Auschwitz-Birkenau. Only about 30% of these survived.

The magnitude of the crimes committed by Horthyste-fascist against the Jews can be seen in the statistic data revealed after the war. These were forgotten after the setting up of communism. Thus, from Hungary there were deported 440.000 Jews, 267.000 being from the old territory, the rest from other territories given up after the Diktat. Everybody seems to have forgotten that these facts committed by fascist Germany and Italy still had some conditionings regarding the citizens' rights on these territories.

Documentary proofs show that the fascists could not have achieved their tasks without the co-operation of the Hungarian Government, that helped criminal Eichmann, in fulfilling all final stages: – isolation, dispossession, ghettos, deportation of Jews – very rapidly and skillfully impressing the nazi leaders. Among the Horthyste in Satu-Mare who committed such crimes there were some well-known persons, such as: ENDRÖDI BARNABÁS – Prefect of the district, BOIÉR ENDRE – vice-prefect, CSÓKA LÁSZLÓ – Mayor of town Satu Mare, Dr. ROGOZY PAPP ZOLTÁN – vice-mayor, Dr. PILNER ERNO – General Secretary of the townhall Satu Mare, Lt. Col. Dr. DEMÉNY MIKLÓS – leader of Gendarmes Legion Satu Mare, CZEGÉNYI KÓRÖLY – chief-commissary of the Police Satu Mare, NAGY JENŐ – the boss of the Police din Baia Mare (town belonging to Satu-Mare district), ORGOVÁNYI JOZSEF – director at political events Baia Mare, VAJAY IMRE – detective at the Police Baia Mare, BERTALAN ISTVÁN – detective at the Police Baia Mare, VÁNCSA JÁNOS – policeman in Satu Mare, Dr. SÁRKÖZI BÉLA – the boss of the office concerning foreigners' control at the Police Satu Mare, Cpt. BERENTES LÁSZLÓ – military commander at Phönix plants Baia Mare, FEKETE ERZSÉBET – office worker at townhall Satu-Mare, VAJAI SÁNDOR – notary at townhall Baia Mare, BALG KÁROLY – office worker at Phönix, KERÉNY ISTVÁN – office worker at townhall Satu Mare, CZEISBERGER PETÉR – shoemaker in Baia Mare, OSVÁTH ZOLTÁN – mason in Baia Mare, GUGET GYULA – President of NYILAS PARTY in Baia Mare, etc.

Three generations passed away without a grave, we being their grave, we the survivors! We will never be able to understand how could such a tragedy take place in the cradle of culture named Europe. Jews or Christians, believers or agnostics wondered whether one may live after Auschwitz the same way one had lived before Auschwitz. Obviously, the answers are various.

Not the peoples are guilty, not nations are guilty, but the criminals from various parts. They should answer to history. But, there also is a second death, stronger than the first, and this is FORGETTING.

The present generations ought to learn from this tragic experience, so that they might be capable to foresee such events. We don't have the right to forget those non-Jews who risking their own liberty saved the Jews' lives. We should learn from history in order to be wiser in the future. One needs memories and truth, peace and

understanding as THOSE WHO FORGET HISTORY TAKE THE RISK OF EVER REPEATING IT!

The Holocaust that took place 60 years ago was commemorated in Satu-Mare October 12, 2004. The action was extremely successful because of the Jewish Community, district authorities, District Library, «North Transylvania Holocaust 1944-1945 Association», «Association of the Romanian Refugees, Expelled or Deported as a Result of the Vienna Diktat» Satu-Mare, helped by the Prefect's Office and Townhall Satu-Mare. Similar activities took place in some other villages. Unfortunately, the 41.000 Jews living in Satu-Mare are dead. There might be about 100 survivors only. We will always remember them!

Ioan CORNEANU and Nicolae DÉCSEI

THE GOLGOTHA OF THOSE FROM SCĂRIȘOARA

– 25.10.1940-APRIL 1945 (I)

(Fragments from Ioan Bătea's confessions; ex-public prosecutor, author of the volumes „Transylvanians in Sătmar and Maramureș”;

Publishing House ENESIS, Baia Mare, vol. IV, 2003 and vol V, 2006)

Acknowledged historians and amateurs of history, personalities having other professions, and ordinary citizens, have never ceased being preoccupied by gathering documents regarding the exodus of population from the occupied territories.

In the last two decades of the 20th. century, Romanian history rendered valuable conclusions concerning the drama lived by Transylvanians in the North-West of the country, occupied by Horthysts.

I consider that the design of the Transylvanians' lives is not complete. Neither that of the expelled and deported ones. The books written on this theme describe only events which took place until they took refuge. But did sufferings come to an end the moment they left the occupied territory? Has anyone wondered or has anyone dealt with the life and activity of refugees? Is the impact of this tragedy upon human sanity really known? Being expelled is the direct consequence of chauvine and nationalist policy, the concrete manifestation of a typical fascist policy.

This is why, it is the survivors' right to describe the physical and moral pains people underwent under the circumstances considering the social-economic life of the period 1940-1945, when not only Romania, but our whole continent, and a part of Asia, North America, and Africa had been involved in the greatest calamity of all times, namely World War II. In that particular political and economic context, there is no time for compassion, for smoothing pains. The whole world was nervous, agitated, preoccupied to save necessary goods for everyday living. Under such circumstances, selfishness and care for tomorrow takes hold of the individual, nobody being actually interested in helping. Authorities were preoccupied with the army. The country was experiencing economic and social contradictions, people being mostly disorientated.

The regime of military dictatorship belonging to Marshal Ion Antonescu forbade any kind of democratic movement or political parties.

In such circumstances, you a poor refugee or expelled person, peasant or workman, „find your way out!“. In order to earn one's living, people moved to and fro in the country in order to find some work to do, to come together with the members of their family, or with friends as the only pleasant and comfortable environment.

A work that can synthesize the lives of refugees and expelled ones would be that historical document accusing the Horthyste regime. I hope future political analysts will find the necessary time to focus their attention upon this matter. However, no one may know better what actually happened there than those who had experienced it. It is worth knowing the sufferings of these categories, not in order to get revenge, but to remember from time to time what happened, so that future generations would not admit such policies.

I assure my friends and readers that all I write is the synthesis done with the responsibility of an honest and objective man, thought of without any kind of harm, without inventing anything or lying. All I did was to study documents chronologically and describe facts as they really were. *(to be continued)*

Ioan BÂTEA

ARCHIVES DO SPEAK (1)

(declarations of the refugees N. Lazăr and V. Tufan, found in the State Archives, Cluj Subsidiary, with the well-meaning of Mr. Vasile Lechințan)

„I Lazăr Nicolae, a native from Trășnea, district Sălaj, being a witness and one of those maltreated by the Hungarian army that set fire to the village Trășnea and killed Romanian peasants when coming into the village, when North Transylvania was conceded, have knowledge about the following facts which took place that terrible day:

1. Being concentrated at the West border, Tuesday, September 3rd. I was liberated from the military service and the next day I arrived in the village. Here, I began, together with the others, to take care of my home and waited for the Hungarian army to come in.

2. Monday, September 9th. 1940, at about 8 o'clock in the morning, as I was working with my threshing machine at the village head Trășnea from Zalău, just by the main road, a patrol of bicyclists went into the village; they were about 5 or 6. I stopped the threshing machine and we all came out to the gate. We greeted respectfully in Romanian. The Hungarians answered something, I don't know what, as I don't understand Hungarian.

3. About 20 minutes after the bicyclists passed by us, about 15-20 riders came from the same direction. They also went past us.

4. About 10 minutes after that, there came more cars, 2 cars of luxury, and 5-6 lorries. I have no idea what was hidden in them as they were covered by a canvas

5. After 10 minutes, an outpost appeared including 13 soldiers with side arms as scouts. This patrol also past by us..

6. At about 100 meters behind the outpost came the troop, the body of soldiers. First was the infantry, a battalion, a march column. In the meantime we had started the threshing machine and were working hard. I was on the machine so I could see what was going on very well. At 10 o'clock the artillery came in. It consisted of two field batteries. It went farther with the exception of two guns, one of them being pulled by the help of the Romanian peasants to the village head. The second was placed somewhat lower, on a side street. They were put with their barrels pointing towards Măgura, North-East of the village.

We were still working on the threshing machine, but we saw how the Romanian peasants helped to place the guns; others brought water for the Hungarian soldiers.

We also saw a motorized detachment, and then a mine-thrower detachment.

7. In the meantime, the infantry spread patrols in the village. I saw how those soldiers slapped whoever was passing in the street for just being there. As I learned later on, they asked: „Hol a zászló?” (Where is the flag?). Thus, they went from yard to yard, and as the peasants did not know what to answer, the soldiers slapped them, and went farther.

8. After the motorized and mine-thrower detachment, a Hungarian battalion appeared also from Zalău. They were dressed only with shirts with rolled up sleeves, guns in hands, with a canvas sack on their back and caps on their heads. The battalion stopped in the village, on the main road. A patrol of 7 soldiers broke away from it. They went to the woods, fired their guns several times, and returned in a haste.

9. That very moment, I heard the trumpet announcing the attack. Later on, I learned how the villagers listened to the captain's order to shoot whatever comes in their way. The very moment they heard the trumpet, the soldiers lay down, and pointing towards Măgura, began to shoot. At the same moment the church-bells were heard and the light was switched on here and there.

10. We, those from the threshing machine, were taken by a patrol about 50 meters towards the middle of the village. They placed us on the side of the road, searched us, taking everything we had on us. They took all the money I had then: 602 lei.

During this time, I saw soldiers lying down and firing towards Măgura. Some other soldiers started taking people, men, women, children in the direction they had come from.

11. They took us to the middle of the village, to the gate of Baji Francisc. On our way, we passed over dead villagers, lying on dust, some shot, others killed with the bayonet. I could recognize: Lazăr Anica, Lazăr Angelina, Buruiană Gheorghe, Sălăjan Floarea, Drumar Niculae, Drumar Marie with two little girls next to her. When I was searched, I saw how a Hungarian soldier ripped open a woman's belly, she falling dead at once. Later on, I found out that she was from village Păușea. She

was going to Zalău, to a relative of hers, and being caught by the Hungarians she took refuge at Bărburaș'.

12. Taken under the gate of Baji Francisc, we were searched again. Here, we were forced to read «Our Father» as they had to shoot us. As we were praying, a couple of officers came out of Baji's house and asked who ordered that we be shot. The soldiers answered, «The captain». They asked if any of us knew Hungarian. Three said «Yes». Those were told to bring water and extinguish the fire, to water Baji's fences, so as to save his house.

13. We all ran downwards, brought water and watered the fence. The whole village was on fire. Hungarian patrols were in the villagers' gardens. I also arrived bringing water. A patrol told me something in Hungarian. I didn't understand him. Then he hit me over my head. I fell down feeling dizzy. I don't remember how long I stood there. When I regained consciousness, I ran again for water. When I reached Brumar Niculae's house, that was on fire and stood next to Baji Francisc', I stumbled and fell down. Three soldiers came upon me. Both were hitting me with their guns. It is since then that I have been an invalid

14. At a certain moment, the three soldiers lifted me up and threw me in the fire. By a superhuman strain, with a single leg, I jumped over the shed, my hair and clothes burning. The roof of the shed collapsed. There was a mountain of flames between me and the soldiers.

15. I crept through the yard in the street. There wasn't anybody there. Then I crept to Lupean Frențiu's yard. Here, in the garbage, I covered myself with grass and garbage and stood there for about one hour.

16. I stood there until I heard people shouting: «There is some other army coming!». I left my shelter and crept to the creek, through its water to the woods, where I found all the villagers who escaped from the massacre. We remained in the woods for two days.

I didn't show up, being afraid. I learned that a committee came to investigate. I hid and didn't show up.

17. The Hungarians killed 86 Romanians in Trăsnea, 5 Romanians from other villages, 13 Romanians from other parts; they were going to Zalău, or were coming from there. They burned down 18 houses, 18 sheds. They also burned 2 oxen, 2 cows, 2 bulls and a horse.

18. I saw how the Hungarians set fire to Romanian houses. After getting better, I also came out among people and heard about the following:

19. A butcher from Zalău, whose name I don't know, came into the village at the same time with the Hungarian army, also dressed in a military suit, went to the house of Indreșiu Gavrilă, and asked where was one named Pădurarul. Ana Gavrilă accompanied him to the field where that man was mowing. He took him from there, tied him and Ana Gavrilă to a gun and took them to Hida. Some other day, they were released and given tickets to return home. As they didn't know Hungarian, they didn't understand why the ticket was given to them. It was written there that the first patrol

that met them should also shoot them. The wretched met a patrol between Hida and Sânmihai who shot them at once.

20. Villagers say that, while the village was burning, and the villagers were taken to be shot, the Hungarian placed a machine gun near a church pointing to the road. They brought there the Jew's daughter, Sasi, killed her with the bayonet and lay her on the machine gun. In this position they took photos which they carried to Budapest, to say that the girl, the daughter of the Romanian priest – as they said at that time – received them by » firing a salute », therefore being forced to kill the Romanians and setting fire to the village.

21. The Hungarians in the village, that is 5 families, often said: « What a terrible thing the priest's daughter did by shooting from the tower of the church! »

22. The villagers from Unguraș, Agrij and Păușă, where the Hungarians were sheltered, said that they boasted about what they did in Trășnea.

23. Later on, after things calmed down, the Hungarians said that during the party that was held in the square in Zalău, when the Hungarian troops came in, a Hungarian said, „Szegény, szegény Trășneaiak, ha madár tudnék lenni, elrepülnék hozzájuk és megmondanám hogy fussanak, mert jaj a mi részükre készül!” (Poor, poor people in Trășnea, were I a bird, I should fly to them!) The Hungarian army had not entered Trășnea yet.

24. They say that priest Costea Traian had wanted to take refuge before the Hungarian troops arrived, but was not let by Baji Francisc who told him he took the whole responsibility and nothing was going to happen. The Hungarians killed him too, probably the order being given by the same Baji Francisc.

25. I learned that there was a family that came from Mohigrad, on a small property they bought in Zalău. The man took refuge, but the woman was ripped. She was pregnant in the last month. They took out the child, who started to cry, and then killed both the child and the mother.

Regarding the situation there and the reasons I had to run away from there I may say:

26. In autumn they requisitioned everything. This was done quite late, so that I put in the autumn seeds. In spring we hadn't any seeds, and the notary penalized us for the neglected fields. People did not sow either corn nor potatoes. The corn was taken away from us in the autumn. They said it's for feeding pigs not people. They gathered it in a place where it grew moldy and threw it away.

27. We haven't been given the promised food for four weeks, saying it did not arrive. People are starving.

April 26 I said in the village:

a) From now on no feast is held. Everybody is going to work.

b) Everybody will work 4 days a week for themselves and their household, 1 day for the State, 1 day for the district roads, and 1 day for the Hungarian Baji Francisc

28. I left everything at home where I had my old daddy and crossed the border in order to go to my wife who was a servant in Bucharest. I had 8 Pengő in my

pocket, from which 5 I gave to the man who took me across the border, and 3 I ate while in Turda, as I crossed the border May 2nd.

This is all I have to say and which I said willingly in front of witnesses.»
Turda May 14th. 1942.

ss. **LAZĂR Niculae** din Trăznea

Declaration

(from the Archives of the Romanian Information Service)

September 25th.,1940, in the morning, a lorry with 42 Hungarian gendarmes with feathers in their hats and a luxury car arrived in the village Ungheni, district Mureș. Major Dobay Sándor was in the car. He was their leader. They settled at the primary school. The lists with the Romanians who were going to be maltreated and arrested were already made. Thus, when the gendarmes came, they immediately began to act, Romanians being arrested in the street.

Four gendarmes came to my place led by the villager Varga Ioan, who was supposed to accompany them. They told me that I was arrested according to a superior order. After having searched me, they took me to the school in Ungheni. There I met Major Dobay Sándor. A Hungarian gendarme took me into a class-room. He put me face to the wall, cursing. After a while, he tried to make a sort of interrogatory. After almost each word he slapped my face, until my nose was bleeding.

Then I was taken to another room, fit up for torture. There I found 3 Jews and 4 Romanians from Ungheni who were kept on their knees. I was forced to do the same.

The gendarme with feathers in his hat, who was watching me over, was hitting me with his foot and the butt. We had been kept like that for about three hours. Then we were taken to another room, where we found Major – hangman – Dobay Sándor. He made a patriotic speech, praising Horthy Miklos and the Hungarian gendarmes.

Because the 60 arrested Jews and Romanians didn't know Hungarian, I «officially» translated for them. I noticed there that, among the arrested persons, there also was my wife and daughter. I hadn't had any news about them for a time.

After the Major had finished his speech, we were all taken to another room and placed in a queue on our knees where we were kept for about 4 hours. Then we were taken to the chamber of torture.

I was the first among those beaten by the Hungarian gendarmes. They laid us on a bench striking 50-100 times with a rubber stick and the butt. Then we were taken to another room and kept there till evening. Because of the blows, I was stiff. Some others had fainted.

The Hungarian Major, who had come from Târgu-Mureș, let us know that we would be expelled. He also told us to put our articles of daily necessity in a cart.

He kept his word, as at the given time we were taken to a forest, next to village Leordeni, district Mureș, where a warrant officer beat us again and made a «patriotic» speech in favor of the Hungarian State. Then he told us that we were free.

Next morning (September 26 1940) a Hungarian woman from Ungheni came to me and told me that she heard that I, the Greek-Catholic priest, but also the orthodox one, were going to be shot. Knowing from my own experience that such things are always true, I crossed the border in a haste. Right! The same evening the Hungarian gendarmes looked for me at my place, in the village Ungheni, in order to shoot me. But I was already free, in Romania.»

Victor TUFAN

AGAINST THE „MODERATE” AND „RADICAL” ROMANIAN SPIRIT IN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS (1)

*(Fragments from „Foreword” to the book having the same title,
„România pur și simplu” Publishing House, 2007)*

(...) The easiest (and most comfortable) way would certainly be that of saying that the book here is nothing more than journalism bringing together all the published articles in the weekly magazine „Timpul 7 zile” (Time 7 days) in the period 2002-2003, under the title „*What else do the „allied” write about?*” But, this is something more. What I offer to my readers now is the result of a true monitoring of the Romanian press written in Hungarian. This activity covers many themes, and its results are representative for all the tendencies which are to be found again both at a local level and regarding the standard of Hungarian-Hungarian relationships.

On the other hand, the above-mentioned monitoring grasps some elements able to clarify the real position of the so-called moderates and radicals within UDMR, the true relationship among them, and, at the same time, the position both categories have regarding the „*Transylvania Problem*”, its „*future identity*” taking into consideration the fact that Hungary got three years start as far as European integration is concerned (...). It mainly deals with the proper use of this advance in order to achieve an ascendancy regarding the period of „*living together*” within the European limes, as well as the „*transfrontier*” relationships between the two integrated states.

That is to say, the part played by our monitoring will bring light, somehow accidentally, to a controversial chapter, succeeding – by simply ordering information and data – in offering a logic image and perspective upon the discussed matter: the position of Transylvania in a future *Europe of districts*. (However, what seemed to be accidental, should be looked at from the position of *those who caused it*, as the expression of a „*historical necessity*”, and the mentioned „*ordering of the data*” requires but a little more caution, these, – the data – getting order by themselves!).

Lacking the very moment of „*detachment*” and of a „*historical perspective*” the message of the book could certainly be contradicted by future evolutions – a fact that might only gladden us. However, facts will be facts, and their recording – taking into

consideration only the effort of finishing, not the end as such – is an obligation of him who proposes himself to mirror, from a „*contemporary*” point of view, a certain period of time. If not for another reason, at least for the possibility (not to say certainty) that the facts can always take place again, at the first opportunity given by history.

These are the reasons which made me take again an attempt considered, at least for the moment, ended. Still, because we discuss facts covering dozens of years, the „*historical perspective*” can be referred to in various ways.

As far as the title of the book is concerned, in a period when «Anti-Hungarian» (regardless of other anti...) it is something usual, the time seems to have come to introduce the term „antiromanian”, whose right to existence and acknowledgement has an infinite wider area both in history and immediate reality.

Zeno MILLEA

**THE INNER AND INTERNATIONAL FRAME
OF THE LIBERATION OF NORTH-WEST TRANSYLVANIA
FROM HUNGARIAN OCCUPATION.
CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNIST RUSSIAN MILITARY
ADMINISTRATION IN NORTH-WEST TRANSYLVANIA**

(Fragments from No.3 (18)/2008, pp. 48-58)

After the coup d'état in August 23, 1944, most of the inner political forces supported the necessity of the previous democratic development of Romania. The August 31 1944 order partially reinstated the 1923 Constitution. Unfortunately, secret misunderstandings among the Great Powers decided differently Romania's fate.

One of the major consequences of the detachment of Romania from Germany, the collapse of the Balkan front, a region where the Germans had an army of about 900.000 soldiers, was concluding the partition agreement between Churchill and Stalin, during the British Prime Minister's visit to Moscow (October 9-17 1944). Churchill decided to prevent the Red Army's entering into Greece, a fact considered a threat against the Suez Channel.

At the meeting in October 9, Churchill suggested to Stalin a general settlement, in the form of some percentages to express the degree of interests and control of the two parts within the European South-East states (Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece). Romania had 90% in the benefit of U.R.S.S. and 10% for Great Britain (in agreement with USA), Bulgaria 75%-25%, Greece 10%-90%. The only comment to this document is that, among all the countries conceded by Churchill to Soviet occupation, only Romania proved Soviet Union's complete domination. Even before this agreement, the presence of the Soviet Army in Romania, as an admitted area of influence of URSS, admittance given by Churchill and Roosevelt at its western border, placed Romania under Moscow's tiring tutelage. The detachment from Germany, as a result of the document given August 23 1944,

was immediately followed by the “Stalinization” of Romania, this time under the orbit of Kremlin. After the events in August 1944, Romania was occupied by the Red Army that soon became the guarantor of changing the country into a **soviet satellite**. A dramatic evolution followed which, under the tacit care of Great Britain and USA, which practically had sold Romania to Stalin, Romanians saw the beginning of a political and economic regime set up by means of the force of the Red Army.

The second day after the Red Army had been on Romanian territory, the Romanian society understood that it was quite difficult with “der, die, das”, but even more difficult with „Davai ceas” (a rhyming pun, „ceas” meaning „wrist-watch” in Romanian; it suggests that the Russians used to take everything from Romanians, even watches from their wrists). The Red Army, while passing across the country proved to completely ignore the changes which had taken place and, consequently, disarmed, took Romanian military units from Moldavia. The number of those who were caught this way was about 140.000. They were disarmed and then taken to camps in Siberia. At the same time, plunders and rapes committed by Russian soldiers seemed rather the invasion of barbarians than the crossing of the national territories by new allies. But the Soviet commandment had a strong argument: the armistice hadn’t been signed.

In order to occupy the entire country and treat Romania by force, the Soviet government delayed as much as possible the settlement of an armistice. The Romanian delegation, led by Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, arrived in Moscow September 4, 1944, but was received by the minister for Foreign Affairs, Molotov, only after six days, when the text of the armistice had already been agreed upon by the Soviet authorities. During official meeting, no suggestion was accepted from the Romanians. The agreement between Romania and U.S.A. was signed September 12, 1944, in Moscow. It exceeded the frame of an agreement, being, in fact, a real diktat, an instrument in the hands of the Soviet government in order to impose their will in Romania and against which none of the countries involved (Great Britain, U.S.A) had something to say. In this agreement Romania was considered a **defeated state** and not one that finished the war by its own efforts. The position as a co-belligerent was never admitted when referred to Romania. Romania was forced to support the Soviet army, over 1 million soldiers, meaning a financial effort of 2 thousand million dollars, at the official table of prices in 1944-1945. At the same time, Romania had to pay war damages of 300 million dollars to the Soviet Union for military losses and give back all goods taken from its territory in 6 years’ time.

The agreement required that the Romanian government should get involved in the allied war with at least 12 divisions completely equipped, to let the Red Army cross the Romanian territory and support both financially and logistically all military actions of the Allies against Germany and Hungary. The only favorable point was the abrogation of the Vienna Diktat and the regaining of North-West Transylvania, although the final decision regarding this aspect was handed over to the General Conference of peace at the end of the war.

As a conclusion, the Agreement, signed September 12, 1944, was extremely drastical. **The Allies persisted in considering Romania a defeated state, a fact that**

flagrantly contradicted reality itself. Through the stipulations included in the agreement, and especially through the measures taken by the Control Allied Commission, on the entire Romanian territory the agreement had all the characteristics of a military occupation. Averell Harriman, the American ambassador in Moscow, who took part in the negotiations for signing the armistice, was sure that the latter had given total economic and political control to the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to mention that if the act in August 23 represented a moment with an obvious character of national sovereignty, after the coming of Soviet troops, Romania lost its sovereignty, its position becoming that of a “*defeated country*”.

Until the Agreement was signed, the occupation regime had a drastic character, as the Soviet commandment didn't take into consideration the Romanian authorities, declining any contact or negotiation. In their turn, the isolated military leaders acted according to their own will regarding both the authorities and the ordinary people. The Soviet soldiers took away domestic animals, means of transport, and goods, from various public institutions, or individual persons. All this happened without any legal papers, threatening. There were instances when weapons were used and crimes were committed; rapes, plunders, creating panic among people.

The sovereignty of the Romanian state was severely violated when the Allied Control Commission decided the deportation of Romanian citizens of German origin to U.R.S.S.

After the Agreement had been signed, the integration of the Romanian army under Soviet commandment was so deep that the Great Romanian Military Powers were deprived by any actions. This is why, its commander, General Gheorghe Mihail, resigned.

Although naming military leaders was meant to be done by the government, the Soviet commandment “understood” to keep its control, conditioning the appointment and resigning without the approval of the government. A very severe moment took place March 1945, when the leader of the 4th. Romanian Army, General Gheorghe Avramescu, was arrested by the Soviet commandment and then murdered, the Romanian government knowing nothing of it.

A dramatic situation were the Soviet disarming actions upon Romanian military units. For example, the navy as disarmed. After the concentration of Romanian ships in Reni and Izmil, the leaders were arrested. The marine was occupied September 5, 1944, by Soviet detachments, the Romanian crew being dismissed.

The Allied Commission of Control, under Soviet leadership, progressively lowered the number of Romanian soldiers. Thus, but for 14 divisions on the front (February 1945) only 3 divisions were left. The rest: 12 divisions – 7 infantry, 35 independent battalions and 32 military schools being dissolved – although this was not mentioned in the agreement.

The Major Soviet Military Powers made free **zones, of occupation**, of the Red Army. This new reality of defeated Romania was put down in Burton Berry's diary (American ambassador in Bucharest 1944-1947:

- *Moldavia military occupied and isolated, with a Soviet military unit at Milcov, with the mission of controlling the traffic from Muntenia, on the old medieval border, as well as the stopping of all telephone, telegraph and post communications in that province.*

- *Dobrogea isolated, with the bridge at Cernavodă occupied and the crossing stopped; at the same time, all military bases at the seaside were occupied. Tulcea was occupied, navigation on the Danube stopped.*

- *Banate, considered Soviet military zone with concentrated troops and settlement of a zonal commandment covering parts of liberated Hungary and Jugoslavia (typical trans-border character).*

- *North-West of Transylvania, left under Hungarian and Soviet administration, including the removing of Romanian administration settled there after the complete liberation of this Romanian province.*

- *Basarabia and North Bucovina, Serpents' Island and the maritime zone, as well as parts of the Danube Delta, lost for ever.*

Beginning with the night August 23-24, 1944, The Romanian army joined that of U.S.A. in the anti-Hitlerist war. The Romanian army did insurrectional operations at the same time with strategic ones for covering the border and the Romanian-Hungarian line in Transylvania, 1400km., Oradea – Întorsura Buzăului – the Black Sea.

The importance and amplexness of this operation is also underlined by the fact that 17 Romanian divisions, out of 30 existing ones, took part in it from the first day. Some more, 11, joined it at the beginning of September. That means 28 divisions out of 37 at war with the Wehrmacht. The essential task of this operation was: assurance of successful development of the struggle in order to conquer and liquidate the enemy from the national territory, consolidation of state authority, discomfiture of strategic plans of the fascist Commandment to use powerful natural obstacles (the Carpathians and the Danube) in order to organize a defensive action on the South-East European front, and assuring necessary conditions to liberate North-West Transylvania.

Romanian troops possessing about 385.000 soldiers, were concentrated in high speed, in 48 hours, in order to liberate North-West Transylvania from under the occupation of German and Hungarian troops which had remained North and East of the Carpathians.

September 5, 1944, great German-Hungarian troops took the offensive in Transylvania, on the line Cluj – Turda – Sibiu – Târgu Mureș. Their task was to conquer the peaks of the Meridional Carpathians. The battles lasted till September 14, when the final encounter took place in Transylvania, the enemy being defeated and the Romanian territory next to Sfântu Gheorghe – Odorhei being liberated. After 4 days of sever struggles, the inimical offensive was stopped. The German commandment decided to withdraw on the Northern shore of river Mureș, this letting the 4th.Romanian army, led by General Gheorghe Avramescu to start September 9, the offensive, crushing the enemy and creating bridge-heads at Sânpaul, Iernut – Cipău, Luduș and Vișoara. Here, a very tragic moment was that at Oarba de Mureș.

The general offensive on the whole front was released September 23 1944. Extremely violent fights took place on Sângeorgiu Hill, overlooking the Someș Valley, between Cipău and Iernut, like a true natural fortress, defended by Division 8 German cavalry SS. The peak was conquered September 26-27, after some decisive attacks, executed by the soldiers belonging to Division 9 infantry. The fights at Oarba de Mureș might be considered among the most difficult and bloody fights in Transylvania. The proof is the great number of deaths: 11.000 of Romanian soldiers and officers. This step could have been avoided if the Soviet Generals had showed more locality towards the Romanian allies, lives involved in this common war.

Going on, the units of the Romanian army liberated the town Târgu Mureș, September 28. One day later, the town Reghin was liberated.

Important fights took place on Mureș Valley, at the West side of the Carpathians, in Transylvania, on Criș Valleys, in order to liberate the towns Turda, Cluj, Huedin, Salonta, Oradea.

One of the most important military operations was the one called "*operation Cluj*". It was started by the Romanian 4th. Army, October 9, 1944, on the main line being the Body of Troops 6.

The Romanian and Soviet troops came into the town from East and West at the same time with the attack upon Cluj. The Soviet Body 104 fought in the Southern part of the town. The enemy resisted, as Cluj represented a major pawn of defense in Transylvania.

Under these circumstances, the war action from North-East performed by Army 4, Division 18 Mountain Infantry and Division 1 Cavalry, from the West, made the action of the Soviet Body 104 easier and shortened the time for the liberation of the town.

Threatened by being surrounded, the inimical troops began the withdrawal, so that **October 11** towards noon, Cluj was completely cleaned from enemies. Doubtlessly, the Romanian Division 8 Mountain Infantry had a huge contribution in liberating the town. But, it seems worth mentioning that not only this division did it, but also helped by Divisions 9 and 11 Infantry, which surrounded the town from the right and Division 2 Mountain and Division 1 Cavalry from the left. They entered the town thru Mănăstur on Câmpului Street. The decisive part in liberating the town belonged to the 7 Romanian divisions, and only after that to the Soviet Body 104. The liberation was, is and will always be a Romanian victory.

The liberation of Cluj, October 11, 1944, the most important cultural, administrative and economic town in Transylvania, meant a very important event of that moment in the war, for the liberation of North-West Transylvania.

October 25 1944 the last Romanian territories were liberated from under foreign occupation – towns Carei and Satu-Mare.

During the fights for the liberation of North-West Romania, there were 2 armies with 28 divisions – that is more than twice the number stipulated in the armistice – The Airian Body and special units, having together 270.000 soldiers, among which 50.000 were killed in the fight (injured or disappeared). As far as the

enemy is concerned, they lost 21434 persons. As a result of the fights, **872 villages, among which 8 towns were liberated.**

After the liberation of the national territory and the annulment of the arbitrary decision from Vienna, in 1940, the Romanian divisions and the Soviet ones took part in the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and some parts of Austria. Two Romanian armies, five Bodies of troops, 17 divisions, an aerial body (174 planes), a division of Antiaerial Artillery, and others took part in the fights in Hungary, in the so-called "*operation Budapest*", in the centre and North Hungary, at the end of October 1944, till middle of January 1945. There were more than 210.000 soldiers, among whom 42266 were killed, injured or disappeared. The enemy lost 31.000 soldiers, among whom 21.000 were prisoners.

In December 1944 and May 1945, almost 250.000 Romanian soldiers were in Slovenia and Moravia, towards Boemia, arriving at 80 km. From Prague, the place where they were in May 15 1945 when they received order to stop. These forces had also great losses: 70000 killed and injured, that is about 30% of those who were actually fighting, bringing about 22.000 killed persons to the enemy.

One may notice the difference between the losses of the Romanian army and that of the enemy. This aspect proves that the Soviet army always threw Romanians in the first line of a fight in the most dangerous situations.

As a conclusion, during the military operations which lasted 263 days, covering 1700 km.: 538536 soldiers, among whom 455401 on land, 73667 in the air, and 9468 in the marine. Losses rise to 169822 soldiers, among whom 21035 were killed, 90344 injured, and 58443 disappeared. The losses of the enemy consist of 136529 soldiers, among whom 18731 killed, found on the land, and 117798 prisoners. All these facts are to be found in a book we mention in our Bibliography.

As far as the effort for supporting the war is concerned, the costs go higher than two thousand million, as compared with 300 million dollars as was agreed upon in the Convention of the Armistice. As far as war compensations are concerned, by July 1st. 1945, Romania gave to the Soviet Union goods, such as: oil, cereals, cows, wood, horses, engines, industrial equipment, ships, etc. representing 46300532 dollars, that being 9 million dollars more than it had been supposed to give during that period.

By means of the Armistice Convention, according to art.17, Romania got the right to establish its civil administration on its whole territory, as the front went on, excepting 50-100 km. on its line, that were still under the Soviet Allied Commandment. Thus, by means of the Law 487, October 8 1944, the Commissariat for the Administration of Transylvania is created in order to represent the authority of the Romanian Government on the liberated territory and defend the people's rights in that region.

The main qualities of the Commissariat were those of installing Romanian administration in the 11 districts of North-West Transylvania that means: Bihor, Ciuc, Cluj, Maramureş, Mureş, Năsăud, Odorhei, Satu-Mare, Sălaj, Someş and Trei Scaune. The prefects were named by means of decrees in September 25 and October 17, 1944. The authorities named by the Govern and guided by the Commissariat were placed in

districts Ciuc, Mureș, Odorhei and Trei Scaune and worked from October till November 10-14, 1944. In the districts Sălaj and Someș they worked for a couple of days only, in the others there wasn't even a beginning.

October 24, 1944, a day before the liberation of the whole national territory, Moscow ordered the moving off of the Romanian administration from the free North-West territory, on pretext of assuring military operations behind the front. At the same time, the Soviet commandment ordered the settlement of the Soviet military administration. That was a brutal, unjust measure. It also was unexpected. It was Stalin's refusal to accept the stipulations of the Convention, that of not retrocede North-West Transylvania until Romania would be led by a communist govern. It also made Hungary believe that it might keep the part it had in Transylvania.

And this regime was actually active till March 9, 1945, when after Groza's govern came to life, Stalin let the previous Romanian administration come back in whole Transylvania.

Reacting indignantly, General Constantin Stănescu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, said, during the meeting they had November 13, 1944, that they let him know about a very severe matter, namely that our authorities, being settled in districts Trei Scaune, Ciuc, Mureș and Odorhei *"received order to evacuate at once the whole area, that is to say the whole administration and the National Bank and all what was taken there in 24 hours."*

Being conscious of the impossibility of carrying this out in due time, The chief of the government required explanations from the Soviet military authorities, who evaded saying they were but mere performers. The Romanian authorities were forced to take measures of evacuation, preparing a train with 50 carriages, in Brașov, and sufficient lorries able to do the work, deciding that: *"everything should be taken South of Mureș."*

The Soviet military administration was exercised through the Executive Committee for North Transylvania belonging to the National Democrat Front, a communist one, dominated by ex-Horthysts, suddenly turned into great communists, including representatives of NDF of the 11 districts of this area. The Soviet commandment also co-ordinated and had political decision, assuring protection to the administrative body of NDF.

During the period of Soviet military administration, the local authorities, including mostly Hungarians, were named and accepted only by the local councils of NDF that had previous discussions with P.C.R. organizations (Communist Party) and the General Council of NDF. In the administrative bodies there were no representatives of the Soviet Union, but there were Hungarians. Thus, the Hungarians became again rulers of North Transylvania, in conditions almost similar to those during the Vienna Diktat, and the Romanians became foreigners in their own country.

The Hungarian language became again the official language, Romanians being forced to use it in all circumstances. All the notes, street directories, indicators of various kinds were written in Hungarian and Romanian, the

administration was also practiced in both languages. Schools were organized by means of ethnical criteria, and were led by parallel inspectorates. Persecutions against Romanians started again, often in violent terms, people being arrested and tortured.

The Popular Hungarian Police tried by all means to threaten Romanians in order to make them leave Transylvania, or not allowing them to return home. In all what Hungarians did a sluggish note can be noticed. They tried to prove their communist feelings, in order to get advantages for their own old dreams.

Thus, they obeyed the instructions given by the Hungarian government August 26, 1944, where they said: *„For the case in which North Transylvania would be occupied by Romanian-Russian troops, the whole Hungarian minority received instructions to organize themselves in a communist party, intensely collaborating with Russian authorities. This way they could get the approval of Russian military authorities, complicating the act of affiliating into the Romanian state.”*

The great number of Hungarians in P.C.R. as well as the above-mentioned instructions (intercepted by the Romanian delegation at Helsinki) made possible the great power of Hungarians in the administrative structures in North Transylvania, being preferred by the Soviet commandment, as among Romanians the affiliation to P.N.Ț. and its political leader Iuliu Maniu was very strong.

The Hungarian chauvine nationalist government, constituted in autumn 1944, at Debrețin, changed the entire Romanian orientation turning it towards a very severe end. Transylvania was considered a national Hungarian territory, elaborating on this basis the separation thesis. The Hungarians tried first to form the Soviet Republic of North Transylvania, as an autonomous republic, the next step being that of forcing all areas (Banatul, Crișana and Maramureș) to join Hungary.

The first attempt of creating such a state took place in Cluj, in the conditions created by the Soviet administration in North Transylvania, in the autumn of 1944., when autonomy was given to this part of Transylvania, led by a government called «The Central Council of North Transylvania». Ministries were called Committees (e.g. for the administration of the territory, legal Committee, for education; culture and arts; finance, economic, etc.).

In the programme of that “government” – also accepted by Budapest – included: *“good relationships with Hungary and Romania as neighbouring states”, “control of borders”, as well as “organization of the territory according to autonomies in villages, towns and districts”*. In administration, Railway, Post Offices, etc., *“recognition of the Hungarian language as an official language at all levels.”* (Hungarian University in Cluj, and Târgu Mureș; Hungarian Polytechnic education in the Szeckler area), *the setting up of a Hungarian Cultural Council”,* etc. But they also required the enlargement of stately autonomy over entire Transylvania.

There is a certain identity among the programme of the Hungarian

communists in North Transylvania, between October 1944 and March 1945, that of the Popular Hungarian Union (1945-1948), and the “democratic” one, UDMR has today. These are the theses of the post-Trianon policy, the theses of historical Hungary, typical imperialist ones, no matter what form they take. The Groza government being formed, March 6, 1945, the Romanian autonomous “state” ceased its existence March 13 1945. March 9, 1945, after an exchange of telegrams between Stalin and Groza, North-West Transylvania became again part of the national territory, ruled by Romania. Romanian administration was set up again in all the places in North-West Transylvania.

But the problem of North-West Transylvania was not entirely solved. That happened at the Peace Conference, after World War II, in Paris, beginning with 1946. It was there that the Vienna Diktat from 1940 was annulled, the border between Romania and Hungary being that existing in 1938, that meaning entire Transylvania belonged to Romania.

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Ioan BOJAN

OPEN LETTER TO MR. SÜTŐ ANDRAS

Hungarian leaders have always agonized and cried for help, wanting to persuade everybody that the people among whom they live want to eradicate them. This is what UDMR has done for 17 years now: they are crying they lose their identity, they lack cultural, territorial, social and political rights. They are lying to us who are living, suffering, loving and dying together with them. They have neither the courage nor the dignity to say what they really want: Transylvania to be theirs, only theirs.

As for the lack of opportunities of developing and affirmation, we offer our readers the open letter to Sütő András published in the cultural supplement «Românul», September 19 1992. Sütő András is no longer among us, God rest him in peace! But truths and lies are still alive...with and in the Hungarians living next to us.

This year you had the joy of celebrating performance 200 on the stage of the National Theatre in Budapest with the play *Harghita Advent*. Being paid by the Sörös Foundation, the National Theatre in Cluj-Napoca made a tour to Budapest, while the theatre from Hungary came to Romania with the play *Harghita Advent*. Up to this point everything was well and nice, but there always is a «but»! And not only a simple «but», but an interest of a certain kind. But until we come to talk about that interest, let us talk first about your speech on the stage in Budapest. What did you say there? Do you remember? I also have a small sheet of paper that a friend of mine also taking part in that festivity brought me, he himself amazed at what you said. On that notice, there were some words you said then. Here are some of them: *«In the land of joy designed by the party and state, those who were responsible with complete happiness did not allow this work of mine reach the public. Even more, they cut it into pieces, they wanted it get into the fire... It had to be saved. I received help, defense and shelter here, at the National Theatre in Budapest...»*. *«Torn to pieces, but not destroyed, all the Hungarians understood the words of the Transylvanian Advent (no longer Harghita?!), they stood up for it and told everybody about the curse its author was put to.»* *«Against those black powers, the actors in Budapest offered brilliant Advent evenings...»* You also spoke about *«the ethnical and linguistic chase»*, about *«hands still wet with shed blood»*, about *«historical chase»*.

I have read the words thousands of times. What could I feel as a writer and a Romanian? Can you imagine, Mr. Sütő Andras? I don't know if you ever respected us, the Romanians, there is no chance of love, but I am sure now that you hate us. And the quality of your hate goes beyond your valuable work. Were you actually so much chased, cursed, mocked at, tortured?

Was it only you who suffered under the dictatorship? Was it not the same suffering for Hungarians and Romanians? Do we not share the same fate? Let us better go to arguments. The Central University Library «Lucian Blaga» in Cluj-Napoca, Sütő Andras has 104 record cards. Between 1949 and 1989 you published almost 65 books (as the only author, collaboration, translations), 41 in Hungarian, 24 in Romanian, and some other 12 in German and Serbian, to say nothing of republishing them.

It is a vast, diverse and valuable work. So that people may not think that the Romanian writers published hundreds of books, I will underline that Marin Preda has 108 record cards, and Marin Sorescu 84! And something more: while you published so many books, the poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga was forbidden and had the job of a simple librarian!

Let's go on. From the statistics of the Centre of Informatics Bucharest one may see that you had 39 theatrical **performances** on Romanian and Hungarian stages in our country: at «Lucia Sturdza Bulandra» Theatre, at «Comedy», in Timișoara and Galați, Turda and Baia Mare, in Cluj-Napoca and Iași, that means everywhere! Let us add to this the prizes you got, those numerous journeys abroad, the money. Is all this nothing? Is it not them which confirmed you as a valuable writer? And then I come back and wonder: How on Earth, Mr. Sütő Andras can you talk about *«Hungarians torn to pieces»*, about *«ethnical and linguistic chase»*, about *the curse you were put to»*

about «*black powers*»? In the country of these «black power» you published and performed your plays. And it was not only the National Theatre in Budapest that offered you help and shelter. They discovered you only when you already were a celebrity! A good word was expected for those who suffered like you. Your selfishness, in fine hate, turn you into a small man, an unimportant one, much under the value of your work. You talk about hands still wet with blood. Whose hands? Cofaru was not the Hungarian maltreated by Romanians, the way he was shown at TV after the first days of events in Târgu Mureş. Cofaru was a Romanian... Mr. Sütő Andras, you hate Communism, and this is good. But! There also is a «but» here! You forget being a reporter at „Világosság” between 1945 and 1947, before graduating high-school, and a Party activist in Bucharest since 1947. What about being editor-in-chief at „Uj Élet”?! What about being a depute in GNA (Great National Assembly). A member in the Central Committee of CRP (Communist Romanian Party)? Do you remember the titles of your first booky? „*Biruință în zori*“, „*Opinca nouă*“, „*Pornesc oamenii*“, „*Scrisorile unui deputat*”? What do I mean by giving these details? That you were part with your soul and actions to the settlement of Communism in Romania, to its later affirmation! I also have some quotes from what you said about Communism, the national problem, about Ceauşescu. I do not talk about them now.

It is regrettable and maybe blamable that you could not find at least one good, sincere, correct word for the people you lived with, towards writers. We all suffered a lot. I, for instance, as a Romanian playwright could not publish a single volume of plays. The only play appeared in the volume „*Egyfelvanasos*“, edited by Kriterion and I am glad for it. I, as a Romanian playwright, was not allowed to perform any play in Bucharest!

The most prolific poets were: Horváth Imre – 20 volume, Horváth István 21, Szémler Ferenc 25, Kiss Jenő 22, Majtenyi Erik 31.

I indirectly answered to the reasons Mr. Sörös wanted to bring *Adventul Harghita* to Romania. To put our eyes out with it! But nothing good can be built on hate and revenge. I could also ask you: when was it that you told the truth: in the articles about communism, about power, or was it now in Budapest? You have never told it. That is obvious for anybody. You want only that truth that suits you. You want to become a hero by words not by deeds. As for the truth you mean, I am going to quote from the play *Floriile unui geambaş*, an excellent drama of ideas, with many clear allusions to us, Romanians. A character says: «*No matter how short man's life is and no matter how long and tiring the way of justice, nobody is allowed to look for it arbitrarily, on side paths.*» How nice that sounds! Why do you look for justice on laze side-ways? Why?

I myself will give an answer to this question. I shall do it with a reply from another play, another drama of ideas, *Cain and Abel*. Abel says: «*It seems that all what we have most valuable also is our biggest mistake* ». Have you something to say against it?

Center of Informatics and Cultural Memory
Performances with plays by Sütő Andras

I.A.T.C. – Bucharest:

1. „Mireasa desculță“, first performance: April 20 1955;

I.A.T.C. – Târgu Mureș:

2. „Káin és Ábel“ („Cain și Abel“), first performance: December 1 1979;

Teatrul de Comedie – Bucharest:

3. „Nunta la castel“, first performance: April 24 1962;

Teatrul de Nord – Satu Mare:

4. „Tékozló szerelem“ („Nunta la castel“), first performance: September 9 1962;

5. „Szétszotom minden örömöm“ („Poezii preferate“), first performance: February 24 1977; *Teatrul de Stat – Oradea:*

6. „Mezítlábas menyasszony“ („Mireasa desculță“), first performance: June 21 1951;

7. „Tékozló szerelem“ („Nunta la castel“), first performance: March 30 1963;

8. „Anyám könnyű álmot ígér“ („Un leagăn de pe cer“), first performance: April 25 1975;

9. „Káin és Ábel“ („Cain și Abel“), first performance: April 8 1983;

Teatrul de Stat – Sibiu:

10. „Mireasa desculță“, first performance: –;

Teatrul de Stat – Turda:

11. „Mireasa desculță“, first performance: December 17 1958;

12. „Bocet vesel pentru un fir de praf rătăcitor“, first performance: March 23 1981; *Teatrul Dramatic – Baia Mare:*

13. „Mireasa desculță“, first performance: December 25 1955;

Teatrul Dramatic – Constanța:

14. „Mireasa desculță“, first performance: December 22 1955;

Teatrul Dramatic – Galați:

15. „Mireasa desculță“, first performance: September 15 1958;

16. „Bocet vesel pentru un fir de praf rătăcitor“, first performance: January 13 1980; *Teatrul „Lucia Sturdza Bulandra“ Bucharest:*

17. „Aripa de rândunică“, first performance: March 8 1962;

18. „Florile unui geambaș“, first performance: February 19 1980;

Teatrul Maghiar de Stat – Cluj:

19. „Mezítlábas menyasszony“ („Mireasa desculță“), first performance: January 5 1951;

20. „Tékozló szerelem“ („Nunta la castel“), first performance: October 14 1962;

21. „Egy lócsiszár virágvasárnapja“ („Florile unui geambaș“), first performance: April 4 1975;

22. „Csillag a máglyán“ („Stea pe rug“), first performance: March 19 1976;

23. „Káin és Ábel“ („Cain și Abel“), first performance: June 16 1978;

Teatrul Maghiar de Stat – Sfântu Gheorghe:

24. „Tékozló szerelem” („Dragostea risipitoare”), first performance: –;
25. „Csillag a máglyán” („Stea pe rug”), first performance: March 1 1977;
26. „Káin és Ábel” („Cain și Abel”), first performance: March 20 1979;
27. „A szuzai menyegző” („Nunta din Susa”), first performance: May 29 1981;
28. „Pompás Gedeon élete, halála és feltámadása” („Viața, moartea și reînvierea teribilului Gedeon”), first performance: March 11 1983; *Teatrul Maghiar de Stat Timișoara:*
29. „Fecskeszárnyú szemöldök” („Sprânceana în formă de coadă de rândunică”), first performance: may 19 1959;
30. „Pompás Gedeon” („Gedeon cel minunat”), first performance: October 15 1972;
31. „Anyám könnyű álmot ígér” („Un leagăn de pe cer”), first performance: December 15 1978; *Teatrul Național – Târgu Mureș:*
32. „Floriile unui geambaș”, first performance: October 12, 1978;
33. „Három vidám játék” („Trei autori, un spectacol”), first performance: April 28 1959;
34. „Tékozló szerelem” („Nunta la castel”), datum: May 31 1962;
35. „Pompás Gedeon” („Gedeon cel minunat”), first performance: May 5 1967;
36. „Vidám sirató egy bolyongó porszemért” („Bocet vesel pentru un praf răătăcitor”), first performance: October 14 1977;
37. „Csillag a máglyán” („O stea pe rug”), first performance: May 28 1982; *Teatrul Național „Vasile Alecsandri” – Iași:*
38. „Nunta la castel”, first performance: November 20 1962; *Teatrul Tineretului – Piatra Neamț:*
39. „Nunta la castel”, first performance: June 6 1962.

Viorel CACOVEANU

**GERMAN-ITALIAN INVESTIGATION IN TRANSYLVANIA
UNDER HORTHYSTE OCCUPATION**

(Fragments from a material received at the editorial office)

(...) After World War I, Hungary joined the fascist-nazi countries. The Hungarian General Gyula Gömbösi, named Chairman of the Council of Ministers by Horthy, in 1932, centered his diplomatic relationships upon Germany and Italy. The fascist Party, led by dr. Alfred Rosenberg, relied on the collaboration with Gömbösi. This is why, in 1933, when the „Steel Pact” between Hitler and Mussolini was concluded, the latter said: *„The Axis will be able to rely on the complicity of Hungary once the war is started along the Danube and in Balkan.”*

For fidelity proofs towards fascism, Hungary was rewarded by Mussolini and Hitler, offering North Transylvania to it by means of the Vienna Diktat, August 30, 1940. In a previous stage, the work of the revisionist Dücö Csaba *„Nincs Kegyelem”* (Without Pity), was also published. In it he urged to *„do away with each and every Wallachian who came in their way, to „kill children in the cradle”*, because in this way *„there will be only one nation, the Hungarian one”*. After Horthy's gendarmes came into North Transylvania, the Romanians' calvary began. The Memoirs addressed to the authorities of the two countries, and especially to their governments, Germany and Italy, denounced the Horthy's abuses and crimes. Signals from the country, and the interference of marshal Antonescu, determined Hitler and Mussolini to order an investigation, in 1943, led by the German A. Henke, and the Italian Count Rogieri. The investigation was also based on some stipulations from the Vienna Diktat.

The report revealed that the Romanians were discriminated, related to Hungarians in Romania. After two years of occupation, there was no equality as far as rights are concerned between the two nations. The laws at that time were used discriminatingly. Hungarian authorities tried a forced „Hungarization” when the use of the native language comes into discussion. The same happened when proper names were used. The few Romanian students, learning at the University in Cluj, were treated rudely by Hungarian students. They wanted them leave the classrooms. The young Romanians, in the pre-military organization Levente, were maltreated, kicked, because they did not know Hungarian.

The committee found that many Hungarians, even political leaders, say that, by their culture and race, Romanians were inferior to Hungarians and, consequently, they couldn't ask the same rights (Zeno Draia, *„Note critice privind istoriografia română și maghiară”*, 2006). Therefore, medieval legislation was kept during Horthy's occupation as well. The report also mentioned that, in October 1942, the windows of the Greek-Catholic diocese were broken, and a great number of orthodox churches were devastated. The priests were mocked at, without the intervention of the authorities.

Getting a job or a pension were conditioned by changing faith. Here are some of the conclusions of the mixed committee Henke-Rogieri. Then how was it possible that the Romanians Iancu de Hunedoara, Matei Corvin, Nicolae Olahus get to the very head of the Hungarian state? How was it possible to ennoble so many Romanians who distinguished themselves in battles and culture? The report of that committee led to no measures as expected by everybody. The nazi were united with the Hungarian revisionism. The same chauvine nationalism is practiced today. The interference of the Hungarian government, diplomatically, in the investigation of some dignitaries UDMR, who are watched by DNA, prove the close relationship between the revisionism abroad and that of UDMR. The challenges of various organizations in Harghita-Covasna, that urge to civic insubordination and autonomy on ethnical criteria, are the proof of a constant preparation for the next movements in the country. The speeches of the Europarlamentaries UDMR in the European Council for the division of «Babeş-Bolyai» University, and the creation of a separate state university, in Hungarian, also has in view the disparagement of Romanian education and of other institutions (...).

Romanians should wake up until it's not too late.

Ioan CÎMPEANU

VICTIMS OF THE REVOLUTION IN SZECKLER LAND

(Apud „Adrian Păunescu's Flame”, No.47-48, (270-271), p. 9

In time, our subsidiary took up an attitude against all anti-national actions orchestrated by Romanian extremists of Hungarian nationality, especially after December 1989. I am working now at a book whose title is not sure yet. It is now „**Eroi și martiri români din decembrie 1989**“, a book-document, that also is a kind of remember, an eternal remembrance of those Romanians found guilty by Romanians of Hungarian nationality, in that December 1989, for «**the offence of being Romanians**». This also is an opportunity to thank Mr. Adrian Păunescu, not only because he let in „**Flacăra lui Adrian Păunescu**“ these lines for some Romanian martyrs, but also for all he had done as a Romanian poet and a senator for the national cause. The book I am writing now is based on a solid documentation, not letting place for any kind of subjective interpretations, a book about facts, realities that happened in districts Harghita, Covasna and Mureș in December 1989.

Be the memory of martyrs eternal:

Warrant Officer CHEUCIȘAN LIVIU TEOFIL – chief of Police post in village Dealul, district Harghita, married, two children. His wife, Dorina, and the two children took «**refuge**», after the officer's death, in district Bacău. In December 22, in the evening, a group of Hungarians attacked the Police office. The chief had his home

on the first floor. He was caught and beaten until he lost consciousness, some of the persons in that group wanting to throw him in a fire together with some goods and papers they took from the office. **Death Cause: cranio-facial and corporal politraumatism, multiple costal fractures, wound shock.** The value of the goods taken and destroyed raises to 112.800 lei (the value in 1989).

Warrant Officer FERENCZ EMERIC – local Militia office, Cristuru Secuiesc, married, a child. When the group entered the office, the warrant officer tried to calm down the people, but he was taken out, dragged through the yard of CAP, beaten again, then his throat was cut. In agony, he asked for water, but they gave him urine. **Death Cause: cranio-facial and corporal politraumatism, open wound in the throat and larynx, death being caused by masive aspiration of blood in the lungs.**

Senior Sergeant GABI DĂNĂILĂ – second chief of Militia Post in village Zetea, married, a child. In the evening of December 22 1989, after the group had entered the office, he took refuge in the rooms on the first floor. Here he was attacked by some people, beaten with the hammer for meat and a metal rug; his pistol was taken away and was shot in the mouth, dragged by his feet, his head hitting the steps, then taken by the fire where papers and documents were thrown. Only because some opposed the idea, his body was not thrown in the fire. **Death Cause: multiple cranio-facial wounds, over pubian pierced wound, head gunshot wound that caused cerebral detection with paralysis.**

Senior Warrant Officer (r) SZEKELY GAVRIL – reservist, a pensioner. December 22 1989, being in the building of the Militia in Odorheiu Secuiesc (completely destroyed) **as he wanted to save a colleague of his who was terribly beaten, he was dragged in the street, beaten; because of the blows, he died on the spot.** The officer was married and had two children.

Lieutenant Colonel COMAN DUMITRU – chief of the Security Service in Odorheiu Secuiesc. In the evening of December 22 1989, **the officer was attacked by a group of persons, beaten, dragged out of his office, undressed, and thrown in front of the hospital. At about 10 o'clock the officer died.**

Major AUREL AGACHE – chief of the economic office at Militia Târgu Secuiesc. December 22 1989, **he was murdered in the middle of the town. His corpse was profaned and they tried to put fire to it.** To all these abominable crimes, some other Romanians can be added. They survived, but saw all they gathered in a life-time being thrown and destroyed by Hungarians.

One of the cases also is that of **Traian Șuteu**, major of the town Sovata, in December 22 1989. They put fire to his house, to his car, and only running away through the woods, on sideways saved his life. Most of those who were guilty for the atrocities done in December 22 1989 in Harghita, Covasna and Mureș were identified, judged and got sever punishments, from 4 to 19 years. But, unfortunately, most of them are still free. One of them – you may not even believe it – was, at a certain moment in the Romanian Parliament and was – probably still is – a fervent supporter of the „Szeckler land”. I am an officer (r)

and this is why I referred especially to the crimes committed by Hungarian citizens. But, there also are Romanians who had to suffer and their own possibility was that of leaving the place; this happened in their own country, and they left having only what they were dressed with. They were especially orthodox priests, teachers and doctors.

May such a moment never come again!

Vasile T. SUCIU

OPINIONS CONCERNING THE AUTONOMY OF THE SZECKLER LAND

The representatives of the Romanian civil society from districts Harghita and Covasna gathered within the Civic Forum of the Romanians in Harghita and Covasna – an associative form with the **aim** of assuring the co-ordination and unity of action of the Romanian civil society in the two districts, being involved in keeping and developing the national identity of the Romanians in this area, where they are a minority, for normal relationships with the other citizens, for the common wellness and public one, in the context in which Romania becomes part of European structures – thank those who organized the debate on the autonomy of the Szeckler land, organized by Vatra Românească Union from Cluj-Napoca, spring 2005.

In a period when many of the major problems, with impact upon Romania's destiny, are object of political transactions stipulated in various protocols, the part played by the civil society and the academic staff in drawing the attention of those who are temporary at the leadership of the country is very important.

After December 1989, in various forms and ways the representatives of the Romanians in Harghita and Covasna showed their disagreement with the measures taken in order to get territorial autonomy and the settlement of an ethnic enclave in the middle of Romania.

In fact, the autonomy on ethnic criteria exists in Harghita and Covasna today „de facto”; its institututilization „de iure” is wanted too. The Hungarian minority, numerically a majority, dominates politically, economically and culturally. In this case, the necessity of juridical protection is no longer necessary. **The Romanians there need protection in order to preserve their identity.**

It is not the lack of rights that determines the wish for autonomy, but the fear that the number of Hungarians will decrease. This fact is caused by different factors, such as the negative demographic factor, emigration to Hungary, suicides, etc..

Autonomy cannot be obtained without the will of the Romanian population – and the key is not in Miercurea-Ciuc or Sfântu Gheorghe, but in Bucharest. In a democratic state, national minorities can make suggestions over the standards established by the European Law regarding the assurance of some specific rights and liberties, and the majority has to validate these proposals and offer the rights it considers necessary so as not to create privileges in society.

We want to underline the fact that, in parallel with this initiative of the „radical wing” of the Hungarians in Transylvania, the project of the Law regarding national minorities is in the Parliament of Romania. As a general conclusion, the project **exaggeratedly accentuates the collective rights of minorities**, proposing a series of concepts and institution such as „Cultural autonomy”, „The National Council for Cultural Autonomy”, etc., which goes beyond international stipulations, and see cultural autonomy as a basis of ethnic autonomy.

The matter of ethnic, collective and territorial autonomy, as found in the Statute of the Autonomy of the Szeckler Land, moots a discussion upon a new border. In Romania’s situation, the idea is that of creating an interior Hungarian border, a situation with obvious geostrategic and geopolitical implications.

At the beginning of Millennium III, anachronic forms cannot be brought to life again, forms that remind of times when the Romanians lacked elementary rights and were subjects to plunders. Very cautious with their ethnic, cultural and linguistic sensitivities, the authors of the Statute completely neglect the Romanian ones. **They do not realize the „boomerang effect” their suggestion creates upon the way in which the „citizens of the Szeckler land” will be treated in the other districts of the country, and which will be the effects upon the Hungarian minority, in other parts of Transylvania.**

As we already know, the first attempt has been rejected by the Parliament. We hope the new one will have the same fate.

In order to see how far things have gone, we let you know about a fragment of the debates that took place at the Summer University at Balványos on the theme: „The Future of the Szeckler land and the autonomy of this area”. How would this autonomy look like if it took the form of the Aland Islands? *„The Hungarian minority living here would receive compensations from the Romanian State (maybe of the Hungarian one too) for the statute of being a minority. Romanian education institutions would be but private schools, and Hungarian pupils would not be forced to learn Romanian. The right to buy land and make some business would be received only by those who were allowed to live there. In order to get this right they would stay here at least 5 years and speak Hungarian. Legislation should be divided between the Szeckler land and Bucharest – Szász Jenő, the mayor of Odorheiu Secuiesc said replying to Elisabeth Naucier’s speech (she being the leader in administrative matters in the Aland Islands. The newspaper Háromszek (Sf.Gheorghe), No. 4522, 20.07.2005, The 17th. edition of the Summer University at Balványos! Is autonomy of the Szeckler land necessary?, signed by Farkas Reka.*

The situation of the Romanians in districts Covasna and Harghita was also discussed at the Summer University Izvoru Mureșului. In this context, the regret that the Romanian political forces weren’t able to assure the legal and institutional frame to support the Romanians in Covasna and Harghita in their efforts to preserve their identity. Nor were they able to get the necessary tools to stop the Hungarians’ offensive to impose the autonomy of the Szeckler land and their identity in Moldavia. The changeable speech of the Romanian political leaders was underlined: when in

opposition they speak in one way, and when they get the leadership they speak in another way. Romanians are, in this way, only goods sent from one side to the other.

In the resolution to the Summer University Izvorul Mureșului the participants requested **a law to protect those who are a „majority”** in districts with a majority of the minority in the centre of Romania and the design of a strategy of counteracting the attempts which try to acknowledge the ethnical minority state of confessional minority consisting of Roman-Catholics in Moldavia.

In the same Resolution the passing of the *„Law of protection for the Romanians from everywhere”*, a generous project belonging to a group of parliamentarians of DA Alliance, when in opposition, and being now at the Parliament.

These are only some of the actual priorities Romania has when entering EU.

For more details see chapter „An Anachronic Project – the Statute of the Autonomy of the Szeckler Land,” in the volume *„Tendențe de enclavizare a unui spațiu românesc – Harghita și Covasna”*, România pur și simplu Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004.

Ioan LĂCĂTUȘU

A DIALOGUE WITH VASILE LECHINȚAN ON AN ABSURD DECISION OF THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT

(Fragment from magazine Formula AS – Year XVI, No. 703, February 2006, p. 3)

... Hidden beyond the term *retrocession*, the operation set out under Năstase, being finished under the present government. A defiance, ignoring the teachings offered by the history and refusing the advice of some people who actually know the realities of that region, the Tăriceanu government dances again with UDMR. The consequences of governmental ignorance are brought to light again, in Formula AS, by one who knows very well the past of Transylvania, namely the historian Vasile Lechințan, working at the National Archives Cluj. Author and co-author of more than 20 volumes of history, among which: *„Instituții și Edificii istorice din Transilvania”*, *„Românii din Harghita și Covasna”*, *„Oficiali de stat români din Transilvania, 1368-1918”*, etc. he knows well Latin and Hungarian paleography (16-18th centuries), also being a well-known specialist in the Middle Ages.

– ***The Government, in full stahanovist enthusiasm, retroceded the istorical centers of Transylvanian towns. Please, tell us about this dramatic anti-national act, Mr. Vasile Lechințan.***

– It's an amazing phenomenon, no person in Transylvania had ever expected. *By those so-called retrocessions they practically returned to the old medieval Constitutions (collections of laws of the Transylvania Diet), by means of which the Romanians were thrown out from the centre of towns, the way it happened when they were bondsmen.* The old public buildings in Transylvania, used for education, churches, etc., at whose building and development Romanians also took an active part, are purified

by Romanians! I am living in Cluj and I can see every morning how Hungarian children go to schools in the centre of the town, and Romanians to the outskirts. For instance, in the old building on street Mihail Kogălniceanu, where was a theological high-school, where great Romanian personalities graduated, such as: *Inochentie Micu Klein, Gheorghe Șincai, Petru Maior, and others*, has already been emptied by Romanians. The building known as „Bastilia”, of the old Reformed College, in the same street (a college supported by Romanian villages and bondsmen) as well as the building of the old Unitarian College (also raised with important public funds) were given to some Hungarian institutions, although they had never belonged to them.

– ***Hungarian institutions and the Roman-Catholic Church say that they own these buildings. Is it not true?***

– Nothing more false. It is not even necessary to check up the archives to see with what money they were raised. It is clearly carved in stone (on the theological high-school walls) that it had been raised from the *Fund of Study* – a public foundation, paid from the state budget, most of it being paid by Romanians. It was in the time of the Empress Maria Tereza, who made three large public funds (similar to a foundation today) **administrated by the state** in order to support churches, schools, and students: *Religion Fund, Study Fund, and Scholarships Fund*. After the settlement of the Austro-Hungarian dualism (1867), the huge fortunes were defalcated by the Roman-Catholic Status (Hungarian one), exclusively towards the Roman-Catholic religion, being thus used by Hungarians. *The Status* was an organization made up of both Hungarian clergy and civil persons, who considered themselves the followers of a privileged caste in the Middle Ages.

– ***But Hungarian institutions and churches come with documents...***

– Their documents are the greatest fake of the second half of the 19th century! In 1866, the Transylvanian Roman-Catholic Status requested from the Emperor in Vienna to give in **administration** these goods (that is not *as property*) . The Emperor agreed to the request, transferring them from under Austria to the Status, and, therefore, opened the way towards defalcation. *The Hungarians took everything, the Romanians nothing. Towards the end of the 19th century, the fake we were talking about took place: the Hungarians „corrected” the land book, and added brackets to the funds established by Maria Tereza* (during the Inter-War period, Onisifor Ghibu published a copy of this fake), *writing next to each fund, „of the Transylvanian Roman-Catholic Status.”* False, because, by definition, a foundation cannot be anyone’s property. It can only be administrated by somebody.

– ***Having an urban patrimony at hand, and the law of minorities by means of which they hope to get the „autonomy”, UDMR is ready to create for itself a „state within a state”, leaving the Romanians without anything.***

– These acts, called retrocessions, are not only a simple material dispossession, be they houses in the middle of towns, but they mean hitting the Romanian spirit, our moral and spiritual treasures. We have in these buildings a big moral and spiritual investment, because it was here that our great Transylvanian personalities learned. Our bondsmen’s efforts are related to them. For instance, The Reformed Hungarian College

in Aiud had in possession five Romanian villages which contributed financially to support it. The Reformed Hungarian College in Cluj got money from the villages Gădălin, Aruncuta, Micești, etc. My ancestors from Silivașu de Cămpie, together with some other Romanian bondsmen took money to the Reformed College in Târgu Mureș, the high-school Bola Farkas. Today. Any Romanian passing by a college that had been ethnically purified feels his historical dignity injured. And the list of examples may continue.

– Retrocessions, a shame of Tăriceanu's Government, take place in all Transylvanian towns, but are more advanced in Cluj. How do Romanians respond to being thrown away?

– In Cluj, there are 170 buildings which are claimed. If, during the Inter-War period great Law teachers and historians in the University got involved in all this, it is completely different now. Even more, Professor Andrei Marga, the rector of the University, signed a political decision to „give back” the building „Bastilia” (taken from „Gheorghe Șincai high-school) to the Reformed Hungarian church. „*And the building has never belonged to the Reformed Church. Never ever!*” Another legal monstrosity was done by the Law Court Cluj-Napoca, when it gave the building in Iuliu Maniu Street, No.5, a building that was administrated by the Transylvanian Status, to the Roman-Catholic Church in Cluj. It received a gift this way.

The church has never had that building in its property. The archives are full of such documents showing that the Romanians effectively contributed to these buildings. For instance, in 1666, the Romanian priests had to pay an extraordinary fee of 500 thalers. So did the Transylvanian Saxon priests, but not the Hungarian ones. In 1689, the Transylvanian Diet established the sum of money of the Romanian priests at 13.250, 200 kg. of corn, 500 oat, 300 portions of meat, 200 bowls of wine, 200 hay-carts, while the bishop had to give 25 lei per year, 32 marten furs, and 4 lynx furs. The Reformed bishop received from the state 300 lei, 300 buckets of wine, 70 buckets oat, 60 corn, 8 millet, 6 beans, 3 lentil, 12 meters cloth, 4 pigs, 16 lambs, 20 carts with wood, a bucket of honey, one of butter, and many others (1634).

– But can we deny that the Hungarians also have a right to some of these funds and buildings?

– Nobody denies the Hungarians' right, as well as the Germans' and others' living in Transylvania. But the purifying of Romanians is not justified as long as they say they only preserve the Hungarian nationality. In the 18th. century till 1848, in all these institutions learned in the same classroom sons of rich Hungarians and sons of Romanian bondsmen. Nobody lost his ethnical belonging. Avram Iancu was still a Romanian, Count Josika Miklos, the novelist, remained a Hungarian.

– Today's public knows very little about Transylvanians' past. Why, for instance, haven't the Romanians built castles in Transylvania, especially in those towns where they were a majority?

– I won't lecture you on history now, but it seems worth reminding you that Romanian religion and people were **tolerated** according to the owners' will, and the access to jobs and culture was forbidden. Romanians were allowed to stay in towns only

to work or sell agricultural goods. They were not allowed to build their houses or churches of stone or bricks. You may not believe what they were forbidden! A Romanian was not allowed to ride a horse. He could possess horses, but not ride them. A Romanian was not allowed to carry a gun, as that was a potential danger for the Count in that area. He was not allowed to wear boots. What hurts most, regarding the history and dimension of Transylvania, is the fact that many possible artistic and scientific geniuses disappeared because of ethnic and social oppression. But the worst that could happen to them was the fact that Romanians could not be part of the Diet as a political nation.

– *What could be done now, that allotments became effective?*

– First of all, not to retrocede any building made from public funds to a single organization of a single nation. The solution for the future is to live in harmony and understanding with most of the Hungarians, but we cannot accept the sequestration of common historical treasures by means of political manipulations done by some ethnical organizations. Today's retrocessions, exclusively to Hungarians, have no moral and legal right. Romanians are not brain-washed and soul-emptied by all feelings towards their ancestors. The design of old Structures in the Middle Ages become visible, so that many people decided to do their best to get their rights and are decided to go up to Strasbourg in order to get them. In Cluj, Alba Iulia and possibly in more towns there are many people who try to bring this to law.

Ion Longhin POPESCU

A FALSE PLEADING ABOUT THE CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The following commentaries are based on a translation from the magazine „*Europai-Ido*” (Covasna) No.13 – June 2007, and having the title „*Eva Maria Barki/The Church – Human Rights*”, translation for which The Executive Bureau of the National Federation of the Romanians Ethnical Persecuted „Pro Memoria 1940-1945” and Vatra Românească Union thank the European Study Centre Covasna-Harghita.

A day before the pilgrimage to Șumuleu, E.M.B., an ex-non grata person in Romania and in some other European countries, made a speech on the church's role in defending human rights, especially within the Carpathians area, where she says: „... *the Hungarians' tragedy is palpable*”. It isn't, of course, for the first time when this international Pharisee, preacher of Hungarian irredentism and separatism, comes to „enlighten” us with her aberrations.

Having admitted that Occidental democracies do not allow the church to interfere with state matters, „the great female guru” suggests the overthrowing of the given order stating that: „*this principle of separating the church from the state is outdated and anachronic*.” Having this idea as a starting point, she carries us through many treacherous words, and establishes for Transylvanian churches, especially those in the Szeckler land, the following items of propaganda:

1. *Hungarians' auto-determination, with a direct allusion to the Statute of the Szeckler land;*

2. *The ending of World War I and of another peace, „righter” than that at Trianon, signed by Hungary, but never admitted by irredentist Hungarians.*

3. *Saving Europe and EU from the degrading of Christianity.*

These seem to be E.M. Barki's main ideas which she wants to spread in Romania, without being stopped by anybody. Tolerant as we are, let's see what are E.M. Barki's suggestions.

As far as the first idea is concerned, our Lady sustains that an international law principle applied to peoples organized in nations, in their country, can be enlarged upon minorities from other countries. That is to say that the Hungarian minority in Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia, could behave in these countries as independent peoples and do what they want, to divide the country, to vote their own statute, without having the agreement of the majority and of that particular state. That is to say, to create a state within a state. Her arguments are aberrant: *„Hungarians are not a minority or a community belonging to other nations..., but a people that deserves auto-determination. The right to auto-determination is a natural one (?), therefore it is not led by human beings, but independently and supposed an unconditioned obligation...”*

No country in this world and no document agrees with this person and with those who think like her. The fact that church's involvement is demanded proves the despair reached by Hungarian Extremists, who see impossible their dream of re-constructing Great Hungary. We know that a dead person cannot be brought back from the grave not even by the priest. What the priest can do is to pray that his sins should be forgiven.

As far as Mrs. Barki's desire of applying her suggestions now, proves how confused she is, and not only she, but also they who agreed with her and applauded her. To all this I could only say: „God forgive these sinners they do not know what they do, want and say”. Our patriotic pride and memory makes us remember all these terrible facts; all Hungarian barbarisms, during Worlds War I and II in Transylvania, the necessity of taking refuge in 1940-1945, and make us do whatever we can that these events be forgotten and never repeated.

As far as this „gas bag” is concerned, I must admit she hides the same kind if ideas as those mentioned above. She also informed her listeners that: *„Europe and especially EU say „good- by” to Christianity and Christian values. EU denies the Christian roots of Europe and withdraws those human rights which are deserved by each individual person. EU does not recognize collective rights at all. The rights of minorities, as well as the right to auto-determination and to one's Country. EU – and implicitly Europe – reached a moral and political crisis...”* These are unfaithful Europe's „sins”. Maybe there is another one, that of not admitting that *„God is not Hungarian”* and for His sake the Hungarians can do whatever they want on this continent.

Using some confused words regarding Vatican's actions and those of the Pope, she expresses her hope that «...here too, in Transylvania, in Szeckler land, churches will struggle for the Hungarians' fundamental rights...» This struggle should be led by, as she puts it: *an honest priest, incorruptible and consequent.*» She probably means her good friend, minister Tökes László, another instigator, with whom E.M. Barki debates such „humanitarian” actions organized by the Hungarians' World Union.

It seems also very dangerous and serious to me the fact that Romanian authorities are „asleep” instead of closing the border for this woman. How long may this last?

Barbu I. BĂLAN

HUNGARIAN IMPUDENCE

The programme of the present edition of the Summer University at „Tusvanyos” (that is Băile Tușnad, in Romania!) could not lack the eternal debate on the eternal theme of human rights and the “unsolved” matter of Hungarians' rights in Romania

The theme under discussion was that untitled “*Human Rights and the Protection of Minorities in Europe*”. From the very animated discussions when the idea was launched that getting *autonomy can also be achieved through military force*, one can conclude that, at least concerning rights for minorities, Hungary can teach anyone. Politicians from Budapest became European experts, so that even those from EU can learn from them. Because “*EU pays no attention to human and minorities' rights. It started as an economic union and left man on a second position*”, stated the ex- minister of Foreign Affairs, Mártonyi János.

As far as I am concerned, based on all existing historical data, without fearing of being mistaken, Hungary might teach whole Europe, not regarding man and human rights, but how these minorities can be completely assimilated . It is a process, Eminescu also noticed in 1870: “*Those 16 million Hungarians with whom Europe is betrayed are a lie. And who cannot remember how they changed names of individuals and districts, so that poor German inhabitants did not even know what their real name was.*”

Relevant, in this respect, is the law from 1898: “*How to Turn Last name into Hungarian*”, thought by Telkes Simon, chairman of the Central Society of Turning Names into Hungarian. “*The change of names is an oath of allegiance, a patriotic engagement,*” the author writes.

The disastrous situation of nationalities in Hungary, about their assimilation up to the point they actually disappeared, was also noticed by others, such as Bernard Auerbach, who wrote in *La Libre parole*” from May 9 1894: “*This Hungarian people, like Kossuth and his political friends, have never ceased to be the wildest oppressors of the nationalities upon which they governed. The existence of this Hungarian kingdom, that terrorizes millions of Slavs and Romanians, similar to the Turks' ferocity, is a monstrosity*”.

Such politics has Hungary had in time, even during “Great Hungary”, declared as “Hungarian national state”, even if Hungarians were a minority! “They, namely the Hungarians, n.n. – *who are a minority within the Hungarian crown exploited and tread all the other nations in the kingdom of St. Stephen and defends its power by means of the most impudent corruption. (...) In this country, the majority lacks rights becoming slaves*”, the German journalist Maximilian Harden wrote in the weekly magazine „Zukunft”.

This also seems to be the Hungarians’ present situation in Romania, as their representatives don’t miss a single chance to cry for their lack of rights, asking them at all European organisms, maybe someone might believe them. To say nothing about their “political howlers” from Budapest, who are always here to pity their brothers’ miserable fate, they who are “terrorized and discriminated”, even if almost half of the Romanian Government consists of Hungarians, they being present in all autonomous administrations and governmental and national agencies. That actually is “discrimination”!

The same thing happened at „Tusvanyos”, too, where there were again politicians from Hungary, sent here with “*a great historical and political responsibility for the future, a future that threatens us with dangerous tendencies.*” Where from might these “*dangerous tendencies*” come against the Hungarians in Romania? Obviously, only from the “*oppressive Romanians*”, because “*only the Hungarians in Romania are living under the Romanians’ oppression!*”

About such things did speak, eyes full of tears, the political missionaries from the other side of Tisa: Szabó Vilmos, university professor, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian Parliament; Schopflin György, vice-chairman in the same committee, etc. Others joined them: Senator Eckstein-Kovács Péter and Szilágy Zsolt, minister’s principal secretary of the member of Europarlament, Tökés László.

Obviously, the “VIP” of the last days was the pastor-politician who, with his keen spirit, made a detailed radiography of the Hungarians’ situation in Romania, in almost two decades of “liberty”. The conclusion he reached was an extraordinary one, applauded by all the people there. Namely, the situation of the Hungarians in Romania is similar to that of people in Tibet vis-à-vis with China!

How much of the long and tormented history of Tibet this Reformed pastor actually knows, but he must have pondered a long time until he reached the conclusion he explained in his personal way: “*In 1951, Tibet was attacked by the Chinese. Transylvania has been object of a similar process for 90 years. The result can be seen today, when Hungarians in Transylvania dissipate. This is the reason why Hungarians should learn from the struggle of partisans led by Dalai Lama. As he himself said, the people living there became a minority in Tibet, as I also say that Hungarians became strangers in their own country and feel as if they were outsiders!*”

But pay attention to the phrase Tökés László used: “*foreigners in their own country*”. He does not refer to Romania, but to Hungary, Transylvania being taken away from it by “*the ravaging hordes!*”. That is to say: the “*hordes*” are we, the Romanians.

Placing himself at the head of these demands, being done in order “*to heal the historical wound of Trianon, liberating the secular Hungarian land*”, the priest Tökés “prays” – as Dalai Lama did – for “*the freedom of the Hungarians in Transylvania,*”, suffering, begging God to listen to his weeping, “*to give him courage and faith in his just battle*”.

We say, Oh, Lord, how big your garden is and how much impudence takes place in it! (n.r.)

Ilie ȘANDRU

DUZSÁRDY'S FOLLOWERS (1)

*(the beginning of a series reproduced in „Vatra Românească” magazine,
No.13, August 1991, p. 3.)*

Coasta – a village situated in the Eastern part of district Cluj and at about 35 km. From its capital city – is an ancient Romanian village, being attested for the first time in 1318. The village lies along the ridge of a quite high hill, with wide grazing fields – with valleys and locust trees. Then, above the centre of the village, with well-known vineyards, creeping upwards and full of grapes – the forest red at the beginning of autumn – descending till near the houses. The tree by which I used to walk with teacher Ion Călian on trips, learning geography. The hill named by people „At letters”.

Some hundreds of years ago (16th.-17th. century?), there in Coasta, old people say, the Hungarian Count Duzsárdy lived, in an castle surrounded by huge stone walls and defended by armed guardians. He possessed the whole ground in the area, and despotically ruled over Romanian bondsmen from everywhere around this place, torturing them for the slightest facts – the most horrible tortures invented by a human mind. So, he forced people till the land from the upper part downward, or to dig the vineyard the same way. Herds stumbled and fell on their knees; so did the men. The beast was watching them from a window with his gun pointed to them, and entertaining himself. He shot him who dared to turn his back to him. Or invented other tortures.

Then, he ordered a well to be built next to some trees, a well covered with stone. In these walls he thrust many scythes, points upward. Tied, the bondman instead of the bucket, was let down and raised several times, among the scythes which pierced his skin and tore him until he died. His shrieks horrified the natives. A bondsman from a neighbouring village, who greeted him in Romanian and whose daughter „refused” him „the right of the first night”, his men buried him alive, up to his neck, in Băgaciului Valley, where he was saved by some people from Năsăud, who passing by him, heard his shrieks, and moans for help.

About the end of Duzsárdy there was more than one story. Some people said he was punished by those men who saved the bondsman, who attacked the castle. Some others said that he was punished being chained in a cellar and poisoned with a melon, by the bondsman's daughter, terrified by his crimes. That girl, having ended her punishment, left „all human pleasures”, came back to her village, and had climbed up

and down the hill, digging in it for years on end three Latin letters: I.H.S – Iesus Hominem Salvator (Jesus the Human Redeemer) and the four figures, among which only the first are illegible (15...?), planting bushes around them. (Vd. și Dr. Dăianu, *Coasta scrisă*, în *Ursu Broina*, Cluj, Tip. „Carmen”, Petru P. Barițiu, 1905, pp. 11-14). Some say all this was written by ploughmen with ploughs. However, these letters can be seen even today, especially when spring is near.

When I was a child, the torture whole was a ruin, but the points of some scythes, although rusty, were still threatening. It seemed I could hear terrified cries from the depth of the well.

In the same village, Coasta, over ages, precisely September 1940, Duzsárdy's followers committed another crime. This is a legend no longer... *(to be continued in the next numbers of the magazine)*

Ioan ȘERDEANU

FACTS AND EVENTS FROM THE YEARS OF HORTHYTE OCCUPATION (1940-1944)

*(fragment from the author's Foreword to the volume „Mărturisiri peste timp”,
Ed. PROEMA, Baia Mare, 1997)*



Argument

„I lived in my childhood the sad period. of Hungarian- Horthyste occupation in North-West Romania as a result of the Vienna Diktat in 1940 and came to know the terror and crimes committed by the leaders of the fascist regime against Romanians in Transylvania on the temporary occupied territory.

Memorizing the facts and events which took place almost half a century ago, I was urged by my own conscience to relate objectively in the spirit of the historical truth, those stirring events which I witnessed. I put down on paper all this being sure that by means of writing I fulfill a patriotic task, that of writing about truths that may lead to the acknowledgement of my contemporaries of that

troubled time of oppression and sacrifices our people experienced.

I would be glad if my notes, a result of my passion, that of a teacher, will contribute to prove love for one's nation and country. I will be able to stir feelings of appreciation for the heroically facts of our ancestors for defending the national being and human dignity. My work will be entirely rewarded if the reader enjoys and understands it, helping him to join democratic rules and consolidate the state in order to prevent any attempt to create bloody conflicts and for stable relationships on our planet.

Aurel S. FEȘTILĂ

A TRANSIENT HELL

By Mircea Mol-Iliarian

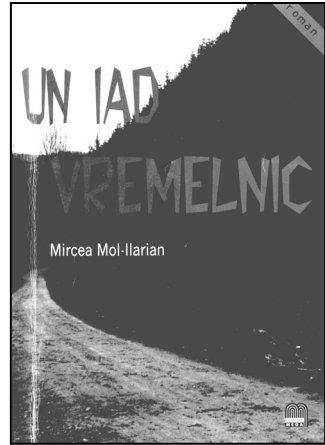
It was very seldom that I felt like reading a book so anxiously and with so much interest as I did reading Mircea Mol-Iliarian's novel entitled *A Transient Hell* edited by Mega Publishing House in Cluj, in 2004, and re-published in February 2006, an edition requested by the author himself and by the Association of Refugees, Expelled and Deported People in 1940-1945.

The book is a genuine description of the Horthyste terror created by the administration, army, gendarmes, and chauvine paramilitary groups in that part of Transylvania conceded to Hungary after the Vienna Diktat, during the first months of occupation. Crimes committed at that time are explained in detail, with the whole cruelty, without any exaggeration or tendencies of making them a romance.

In the author's Note we may read: *„After the withdrawal of the Romanian army from the conceded territory, calvary started for the population that remained there. There was practically no place left without bloodshed. Hundreds of crimes were committed in four years of Horthyste occupation, In the book we find only some of them, committed in the first months of occupation. The victims' guilt was only that of being Romanians. Readers should understand that all I say is true, and assassinations really took place. Those who are indifferent to the suffering described, do not do anything else but help that they be forgotten.”*

Particularly expressive, regarding its contents and spirit in which they are described, for the novel are Adrian Păunescu's lines quoted by the author immediately after his Foreword: *“Even when silent, I could hear me shouting,/ About this faceless death that's ever biting,/ About this ever changing into dust/ Of eagles that their wings have lost,/ About how much that tomb at Ip did cost./ On crosses over which our elder bends,/ The crucified no longer moves his hands,/ A tender sorrow takes body from pens,/ I felt my throbbing blood in hands and cried,/ They were Romanians, that's why they died.” (...)* *“We will not mourn for them now and again,/ Dead will be dead and those alive will live,/ But this way our sons won't know tomorrow,/ What country they come from, whom praise to give.”*

In the end, the author tells us: *„The book was written after a serious documentation, and some events were told me by persons who actually lived in that transient hell. You Romanian reader, who loves your country and nation, only you may decide whether to forgive or not those abominable facts committed by handymen of the past upon your people, **but do not forget!**”*



I recommend this book both to young people who have not experienced those events in order to come to know their own past, and to the grown-ups who might have experienced some of them and cannot forget them.

Alexandru BENEÁ

WASS ALBERT – A TRUE PORTRAIT

*(fragment from the bilingual work – in Hungarian and Romanian,
published by CONTRAST Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005)*

March 13, 1946, The People's Court of Justice, in Cluj, passed a death sentence upon Count Wass Albert, a Hungarian writer in Transylvania, together with other persons for War crimes (...) in North Transylvania, occupied by Horthyste troops as a result of the Vienna Diktat. It is very well known that, in order to escape, Wass Adalbert took refuge at his estate at Sucutard (Cluj district), first in Hungary, then in Germany and later on in the USA, in Florida, where he committed suicide in 1998. In the meantime he wrote a lot, publishing various novels, short-stories and articles.

In the last half of the 20th. Century, his name was not remembered too much neither in Hungary's literary life, nor with the Hungarians in Romania. During this time, his works, especially those written in the 4 decades, until the end of the communist regime in 1989, did not appear in shop-windows, everybody considering him guilty of war-crimes. After 1989, under the influence of a couple of Hungarian groups in the West, both in Hungary and Romania his works began to be read again.

At Târgu Mureş, Mentor Publishing House engaged itself in publishing his whole work. All what happened after 1989 around his literary activity is an obvious example of the cult of personality of a leading personality of Hungarian nationalism, that appeared and developed as a result of the political background, more precisely, of how aesthetic values are turned upside-down. (...) meant to induce in the mind of his conationals the image of „a great Hungarian, symbol of the struggle to re-create Great Hungary.” This proves that genuine literary values are not taken into consideration. All what matters are political interests of some groups who dream of „getting again the Hungarian hegemony in the Carpathians.” (...)

Put together with the prose work of some other writers, such as Krúdy Gyula, Móricz Zsigmond, Örkény István, Németh László, Tamási Áron, Kós Károly, the literary activity of Wass Adalbert is inferior. This does not mean that it lacks consideration, but we cannot deny noticing that both abroad and in our country, in Transylvania, readings are organized in order to politically rehabilitate him. Around these readings an intense extremist-separatist propaganda is developed...

HORVÁTH Dezső

THE POLITICAL RASCAL MARKÓ AGAIN ATTACKS ROMANIA

The political declaration of Senator Adrian Păunescu at the Plenary session of the Senate on 22 October 2007

(Abstract from No 2(17), 2008, pp. 69-72)

I take this microphone with the negative energy forced into me by my colleague Markó Béla. It is a long time since I once felt the need to fight for mother and son to be reunited. For a long time I have not felt the need to practice what I did well in my youth, namely playing football, applying one kick exactly in the softest place, so that the chair would yield up one of its four legs to penetrate the weakest part. For a long time I have never felt so indignant with and so irked by any vileness at international level, as the one the President of the Democratic Union of the Magyars in Romania (UDMR), our colleague, Senator Markó Béla, has committed. Just saying 'Shame on you!' is not enough. This conspiracy against the existing national unity of our country has now gone on for the nearly 20 years.

And this conspiracy existed even before that. Years ago, I used to go on stage at the stadium in Arad with the literary circle, 'The Flame', and during the show, in a special area, I saw a very strange mixture of colours; red, white and green. I thought to myself, Italy has a white, red and green flag, but in the west do we border Italy? Do we? What could this mean I wondered? What were these provocations? On the other hand, it is a long time since I agreed so much with what the Social Democratic Party (PSD) had to say. We are almost in harmony. I am still a member of this Party, but there have always been nuances. I have always demanded answers. I excuse myself as an intellectual, a creator, with life passing by, who can no longer swallow, without chewing everything that I am told and questioning the one who is telling me. But now, from my office upstairs, when I heard our colleague Dan Mircea Popescu in the hall downstairs, reading out the official position of the PSD, I felt again the moment when I was first keen to join..

His voice reminds me of 'he' who heralded the Second World War. Levitan was the name of the great herald who just had to say: 'Gavariat Levitan' and important events were announced. The voice of my friend and colleague, Dan Mircea Popescu, was so similar to that of Levitan, that it made me shiver. He spoke of some essential truths of the Social Democrat Party.

Who does not want to the Constitution of Romania; they should observe their own mother's! One cannot create a problem where it does not exist. Years and years have passed since we had to bear this insult continuously.

There have been people who have spoken about it over time. Three of them are your colleagues: Vadim, Funar, and myself, Păunescu. We had the finger pointed at us. We were singled out as extremists, and even though now you can all see that what we foresaw it has happened, continues to happen, and will go on happening, we remain labelled men.

One of the weaknesses of the Romanian political society is that one attributes to some political parties a glorious yet negative, reputation. For instance, the Great Romania Party, (PRM), is one I acknowledge with respect, yet as a matter of conscience, do not wish to join. Due to PRM's negative, yet glorious reputation that it is an extremist Party, people declare that it is impossible to work with them, and that it is a Party which can never lead the country. It really is a weakness of the Romanian government that some brave people, who did their duty by alerting us in good time to what might happen, were cast aside by corrupt politicians and a compliant press so that they finished up by being marked for all time.

How can those who gave the warning that certain powers were trying to undermine the unity of the country by what could be considered extremist means, be vilified, when it is affirmed by others that there really are powers which Transylvania to break away from Romania? How is one to view Senator Markó's declaration that he longs for his 'lost fatherland'? What fatherland is that? If he longs for his fatherland, let him go there, or as near as he can. And what does he mean by declaring that 'He is going to fight'? Are there enemies within the Hungarian minority?

Here are the statements of the leader of the UDMR, and yet it is us who are considered the extremists, us who have heard him declare the following which has been recorded in the annals: 'The fatherland lost in 1918, the houses, the woods, the land, the flag (standard)... In 1526, our ancestors have lost...[he probably speaks about the defeat at Mohaci]... for a century and a half the country was no longer ours'.

What kind of comment is this? Where does he think he is, this political rascal: 'How long are we going to tolerate such a situation. It is easy to blame the Liberal Government for the guilt of the leader of the UDMR, but the UDMR stood alongside the Socialist Democratic Party (PSD) and to all other forces which governed Romania: the Democrat Party (PD), and the Conservative Party (PC). Why did the UDMR find a place in each Government?' I'll tell you why. It is because generally speaking we are weak and because the Romanian State has become sort of fiction. What has happened to our laws? Can people do just what they like in Romania?

If Markó Béla were to cross a street while the Pedestrian light was red, he would most likely be hit by a car. If Markó Béla crosses the Constitution on a red light, is there no law or any regulation to inhibit him, for he continues to do just what he likes?

Probably Markó Béla is dispirited, for as a bidder in this miserable auction of the anti-Romanian spirit, he is being outbid by other forces with ideas even more radical than his own. More radical? Is that possible? It sounds like a declaration of war. We should look at a map for the country whose patriots made such pronouncements that they say correspond to an ancient historical legend. We have to respond to this declaration so that the country should not wait in vain.

What does these mean? Mr. Markó Béla tells us that he is going for fight three or even thirty years, or something like that in order to find his lost country once again. With whom is he going to fight? Probably us, who else but us? Well, let him come and fight, fight openly and tell us by what right within the European Court of Human Rights can he break up a country. This explains his interest. This explains their interest in

singing the praises of an independent Kosovo. Not because their heart goes out to the Albanian people – with whom WE are actually more related – but because they want to set a precedent in Europe with a country not far from us.

This matter cannot be treated as a simple discussion among academics. This matter could become a checkmate for the peace of Romania. To be sure these provocateurs will not take any action. Yet, there is something important that they most certainly will do, namely: they will create trouble in Transylvania. They will seed aggression between normal people, between Romanian and Hungarian, between people who live together with the Romanians in Transylvania. They will again set a match to light prejudice and conflict. They will try to amplify all the discriminations the leaders of those Parties would like to see take place in the fight for the right to deprive the Romanian population and throw them out in a storm of unrest.

The Romanian state must become more realistic and start playing its part. We don't speak here about subjective matters that concern a few of us. This is about the great national subjectivity which has become an objective situation in Europe: the very existence of Romania. Mister Markó may say such things inside his apartment, but he should not do so before an international audience. He should not urge the black forces against Romania. He should be ashamed to the end of his days, he and all his supporters. And shame on us if we do not act in conformity with the Constitution, with the laws of our country and with a United Europe. Could any one of you go to another part of the continent and declare about their country what Markó Bella is saying about ours? About Romania. How is it that he has the impudence to say such things, and how is it that the Prime Minister, Tăriceanu, remains aloof and uninvolved. How can one explain the passivity of President Băsescu? Are we so unfortunate: 'Have we achieved nothing: ' History passes us by laden with wretchedness. Here is what Senator Frunda has to say: 'When you are voting, remember that the UDMR will ask Europe to approve the autonomy of Szeklers' territory'.

So has the story of the 'Painted sign on the road for Tourists' past it's 'sell by' date? As they say, what does it matter if they placed a sign there: ' Could they not find another place to put it or even hide it forever? In conformity with the new regulation which does not forbid the use of all parts of the body for personal pleasures, they might include there that particular sign, because it is not the question of a road sign, they maintain. Did they set the sign there to indicate the road to the locals? If so, then why? Are the passers-by blind, or don't see very well: ' They can set their painted road panel wherever they want, but not on Romanian territory. And again, the authorities should act accordingly. You cannot do what you like in this country. Here is what Frunda said: "... right now the Hungarians from Romania sit on a chair with only three legs. We have representation among the local authorities in the Parliament and in the European Council. We miss a representation in Brussels, so we can sit on a more stable chair". I remember a story: a peasant from Oltenia was asked why was using a three legged chair. He answered: "because a fourth would worry me. It might just penetrate a certain place and then I wouldn't be able to stand to introduce anything".

Markó and Frunda want four legged chairs so that they can also have representation in Europe so that they might aim at the Romanian State from there. But what kind of a country is this which would allow them to go so far and achieve what they, the minority, want now, really, are there no regulations? Are we a country at the beginning of its life? Well, that is more or less true. I also remind you something else, that old theory about the cultural autonomy which we discussed here. I am proud to say, that I was the first Member of Parliament to attack it, the first Romanian Senator who rejected it and who exposed all this theory as a blatant lie. It is not a question of cultural autonomy they just use a pseudonym. They have acquired this pseudonym in order to obtain a certain right: to take decisions upon themselves in those places where Hungarians are in a majority, instead of allowing the Government or the elected local authorities to do so. They are after a separate country. It is obvious that their use of the word 'autonomy' means "the lost fatherland". They long for the "lost fatherland"! This is the truth. They do not see Romania as their fatherland. I repeat. Justice should be given to those who warned us beforehand about this state of events.

Now I will refer briefly to the 'new settlement' launched by Mr Markó Béla, in an imprudent stylistic manner. When he speaks about a 'new settlement', using the word 'dismounting' as if he were an ancient chronicler, I should like to ask him where exactly they were coming from on horseback: Did they come from Europe? And if he talks about a new 'dismounting', I will tell him and all those who think like him, with their views against Romania and against the European unity, to climb back on their horses and leave. But I advise them to make sure they have saddled them well and taken sandwiches with them. Mount and set off to wherever they think their Fatherland lies. Not long ago I indulged in the illusion that all this was no more than a political game and that his fatherland and their fatherland is here. One of the greatest Hungarian writers and pressmen from Romania, Hajdu Győző, a man who has been fighting for 17-18 years to show us the real face of these extremists, himself victimized by those infamous people, warned us after Markó Béla, at Tuşnad, had demanded something very simple; to have "Transylvania back". It is also true that at a certain moment Bela also said; "Go back Transylvanian", meaning that people from Wallachia, Moldavia, and Dobruja should not be allowed in Transylvania. But "Transylvania back" is the slogan of Horthy Miklós, and we pretend we don't see! Markó is a Horthyst! And we go on, because we need formal majorities and we can't accuse some people of what we all did. All with the exception of those who were marked out as extremists, for having foretold of this danger. And this danger does really exist. And Transylvania cannot be treated as a 'dame de compagnie' of various political structures with diverse barbarian appetites. I recommend that you read the courageous, honest, and well documented things written by Hajdu Győző over the years in my magazine 'Flame'. He also published a book about Europe. Then you will see how these problems have been treated during those seventeen years and perhaps you will then realize reluctantly, how late we are in reacting.

At the end Adrian Păunescu read his poem, written in 1990, *We can't live without Transylvania*.

„De-ar fi să n-avem soră și nici frate,
De-ar fi să fim doar fuga unui cal,
Fără crâcnire le-am răbda pe toate,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

El e blazonul nostru de noblete,
El e tiparul nostru vale-deal,
Pot ochii și cu noaptea să se-nvețe,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Puteți să faceți toți cu viața chetă,
Puteți să vă distrați la carnaval,
Noi am putea trăi fără planetă,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

El n-are cu nimic asemănare,
Ca aerul ne este de vital,
Când plânge el, pe toți în somn ne doare,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Pe roțile istoriei e sânge
Și ele-n iarbă fremătăta brutal,
Pe Dealul Crucii, maica Horii plânge,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Identitatea noastră e jucată
Nerușinat, la mese de scandal,
Și noi mai iute am muri o dată,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Prea bine, tată, și prea bine, mamă,
Că ne-ați născut e-un amănunt normal,
Putem gusta-mpăcați această dramă,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Tăiați în două, fără de nădejde,
Și umiliți în cel din urmă hal,
Putem tăcea un secol, românește,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Am fi de strajă silei spațiale,
Am fi un avorton universal,
Dac-am găsi, spre compromis, o cale,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Nu-l vom ceda păgânei poftă hoată
A unui rege încarnat pe cal,
Prin Univers l-am duce noi pe brațe,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Nu-i jurământ, ci e predestinare,
Nu e un vis, ci e un fapt fatal,
Putem să existăm fără oricare,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Nu e-o provincie și nu-i o hartă,
E marea-ntreagă, nu-i un simplu val,
Lumină, templu, inimă și soartă,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Și România nu e Românie,
Ci simplu coridor comercial,
De na-r fi el, tipar înalt să-i fie,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Mandat la conferințele de pace
Și ultim manifest continental,
Nu uneltiți, că-n rug ne vom preface,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

O lance-n codrii noștri mai rămâne,
Sub forma unui mugur total,
Deșteaptă-te, deșteaptă-te, Române,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

El este cifrul nostru fără sațiu,
Ce-aruncă-n aer orice cod vama,
E taina noastră, peste timp și spațiu,
Dar nu putem trăi fără Ardeal.

Nimic nu e, dacă nu e Ardeal.”

Adrian PĂUNESCU

LEADERS OF ROMANIAN MAGYAR DEMOCRATIC UNION WITHOUT THE MASK OF LOYALTY AND OF EUROPEANISM

Once again the leaders of UDMR show their true colours by double dealing

(Abstract from No 2(17), 2008, pp. 72-76)

Ever since UDMR was founded there have been organized actions and statements made that continuously reveal its members preaching water while drinking wine. In other words, preaching one thing while carrying out another.

The reality of this is also demonstrated in the way the leaders of UDMR created the list of candidates for the election to the European Parliament. Those leading members of UDMR have no scruples in declaring at every opportunity, how European and loyal they are towards Romania, Yet my comments can be justified if, for instance, one glances at one of their last actions; namely the fore-mentioned list of nominees.

When I heard on television that the second candidate on this particular list was Sogor Csaba, I thought the editors of the programme had made a mistake, for it is commonly known that this Senator from UDMR has, more than once, made the most abject and aberrant statement. One of the most outrageous of them being to recommend to the Hungarian and Szekler population that they should wear a sign of mourning in the lapel of their jackers during the celebrations of Romanias National Day – 1st of December, and not participate in any way during the official manifestations.

Quite naturally, this crass and anti-Romanian provocation gave rise to a protest from the general Romanian public. In any civilized, democratic European country such hostile incitement against the country in which one lives and against the majority of its population, would generate a very strong request by a government majority for the resignation of that particular Member of Parliament. The principal leaders of UDMR did not raise a vote of no confidence against Sogor Csaba. On the contrary they placed his name second on the list of nominees for the election to the European Parliament, thus ensuring his entry to this international forum. In other words, the leaders of UDMR bestowed an honour to Sogor Csaba, who has proved to be a Hungarian chauvinist, reactionary and anti-Romanian to the backbone. Since this provocation took place in Miercurea-Ciuc, and became common knowledge, he has deserved no other title.

It goes without saying that the leading members of UDMR really want to see Sogor Csaba established in the European Parliament, so that they may continue to undermine Romania and its constitution. Sogor Csaba's political programme is crystal clear. I quote his statement: 'If I am elected to the European Parliament, I will fight with all my might and main to obtain the recognition of the Hungarian language as the second official language in Romania.' He then declares that he will fight so that 'the

Szeklers' region' will receive the status of territorial autonomy based on ethnical criteria.

When will the leaders of UDMR, loyal to the country where they work and have a good life', learn that they need to present such issues for consideration only when the Romanian Parliament and the citizens with the right to vote have agreed beforehand to change the Constitution? This question holds good also for Senator Frunda Gyorgy who is the first on the list of Hungarian nominees for the European Parliament. I mention this because more than once I have read his opinion in the press that the future of Romania lies in the formation of self-governing Euro-Regions. That means the federalization of Romania; an idea which is a flagrantly in violation of Romanian law and the country's Constitution.

To conclude, I dare to say that by making up the panel of candidates for the Euro-parliamentary elections, the double dealing leaders of UDMR have once again shown their true colors.

The distorted anti-romanian attitude of Markó Béla

With Markó Béla at their helm, it is really incredible how far the leaders of UDMR will go in their endless and provocative attack on the Romanian nation. Myself, I am a Romanian citizen of Hungarian nationality, but at the same time I am a Romanian patriot. I take an indignant stance against the inconceivably anti-Romanian and rude declarations of Markó Béla, whom I see as openly irredentist and anti-European. It would appear that in the euphoria produced by holding a powerful political position, Markó Béla has lost his senses and at the next parliamentary elections in Romania I feel it is unlikely that he will be re-elected. His battle for popularity has passed all bounds.

Here are the claims of this chauvinistic Hungarian nationalist, who seemingly lacking the ability to think clearly, goes about distorting the historical truth. 'In 1526 our ancestors lost their country which for a century and a half no longer belonged to us. The last time we lost our fatherland was in 1918, and our duty is to get it back; to reclaim our land.'

This statement of his reinforces my comments above. How could somebody compare what happened in 1526 at Mohacs, when Hungary disintegrated after losing the war against the Ottomans, with the year 1918, when, after the first World War, the Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated due to the objective laws of social development; in other words, when the oppressed nationalities, then living on Austro-Hungarian territory, broke up to form independent national states? As a result of such a general social development in this area of Europe, on 1 December 1918, the National Assembly in Alba Iulia, united Transilvania with Romania by creating conditions by which they could proclaim 'The Great Union'.

This shameless provocation by Markó Béla proves in the most obvious manner that for himself, as well as for the leading members of UDMR, the Great Union – an event for which the Romanian people fought across the centuries with great self-sacrifice – is a source of pain rather than celebration). This is why Markó

Béla and his clique wish to make a new 'settlement'; one that re-establishes the situation prior to 1918, which they see as a "Greater Hungary", while actually, Transylvania had at that time belonged to the Austro Hungarian Empire. This position is exactly the revisionist one started by Hóorthy Miklós. It is obvious that the principal members of UDMR have never been against Horthys revisionist campaigns, which are still promoted by some publications written in Hungarian,

A question raises by itself: What are such representatives of UDMR doing in the Romanian Parliament? The second logical question is: why do the qualified institutions of the State, the provisions of the Constitution or in this case, the Penal Code not apply to Markó Béla?

Not one member of the UDMR objected when hearing the anti-Romanian, anti-European declarations of this man at the meeting in Târgu Mureș, that was held to launch the UDMR candidates for the European Parliament. In my opinion this says everything.

I am convinced that I speak not only for myself, but also for the many honest Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality, who are impatient to see just what steps the qualified institution of Romania will take against the leading members of UDMR who wish to claw Transylvania away from Romania.

**Censure of anti-constitutional, chauvinistic, or anything irredentist,
by no means suggests that hungarians are being persecuted**

It was with great interest that I read in Adrian Păunescu's FLACĂRA (The Flame) the political statement of the poet, now Senator Adrian Păunescu entitled 'The political rascal, Markó, again attacks Romania'. I sincerely confess that I read his statement not only with particular attention, but also with great satisfaction; and I am not just saying this merely because Adrian Păunescu, in his speech given at the Plenum of the Romanian Senate, honoured me by commenting positively on my contribution to literary publications.

My satisfaction stems from the fact that Adrian Păunescu voiced the absolute truth about Markó Béla, President of UDMR (The Democratic Union of the Hungarians from Romania), and also about those holding high office in the same Union. Seldom have I had the opportunity to read such a clear, impartial analysis, stating a profound truth: an analysis which reflects Romanian public opinion, as well as that of honest Hungarians, loyal to Romania.

For this reason I would like to thank and congratulate Adrian Păunescu, who is not only a great poet, but also a great Romanian patriot, fighting out of interest for national minorities as well as for Romanians. Minorities who have lived harmoniously together for centuries in their common native land – Romania. This harmony was, and still is, disturbed only by a few politicians, such as Markó Béla and his clique.

It is simply impossible to understand how, while still a member of the Romanian Parliament, a president of another organization, can make gross attacks to the territorial integrity of this country. If Markó Béla and his colleagues who are also

members of the Romanian government, regret the state of facts that existed before 1918, 'Greater Hungary', I wonder why he is in the Romanian Parliament, and his acolytes remain in our Government'.

At a Plenary session of UDMR in Târgu Mureş, the irredentist, chauvinistic position held by the leaders of the Union was quite evident. Adrian Păunescu underlined the main factors in his speech when he put forward the following questions with great emphasis: 'What has happened to our laws? Can anybody do just what he likes in Romania: 'If Markó Béla were to cross a street while the Pedestrian light was red, he would most likely be hit by a car. If Markó Béla crosses the Constitution on a red light is there no law or any regulation to inhibit him, so that he can continue to do just what he likes?'

This pertinent remark is valid for any leader of UDMR who, through actions and anti-constitutional statements, blatantly attacks Romania while in the position of being an advocate of the unitary system of government and of an indivisible national state.

Adrian Păunescu points out Senator Frunda's words: 'When you are voting, remember that UDMR will ask Europe to approve the autonomy of the Szeklers' territory'.

What are the Hungarians from Romania, now preparing for the election of deputies in the European Parliament, to make of such a senatorial request? Plainly speaking it shows the greatest insolence and an outrageous lack of loyalty!

The more so, because this impudence is supported by a jurist who is always ready to make a cheap show of his professionalism. Does Senator Frunda György not realize that to demand territorial autonomy in the European Parliament on the grounds of ethnical criterion for the Szeklers is equivalent to undermining the Constitution of Romania, and flagrantly attacking our country'.

In regard to this anti-constitutional and anti-Romanian attitude, which does no credit to any Romanian and European citizen, I would like to add Adrian Păunescu's relevant words: 'All those who support this man ought to feel life-long shame. And we too should be ashamed of ourselves if we do not comply with the Constitution and the laws of our country and of a United Europe.

I would like to close by mentioning something characteristic to some publications from our country written in Hungarian. If some party leaders in Romania criticize, with adequate reasons, the anti-constitutional, anti-Romanian, chauvinistic and irredentist attitudes, the Hungarian editors start singing the same refrain in unison: 'In Romania anti-Hungarianism grows stronger; the Hungarians are being persecuted'.

To all this, need I comment more?

Hajdu GYŐZŐ