

CHRONICLE OF CRUELTIES

ROMANIAN MISTREATMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA

by

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**Translated from the Hungarian
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The accuser shows mercy

As strange as it may seem, the author of this indispensable and inevitable book, dr. Arpad Kosztin, does show mercy: he does not accuse, does not point a finger but gives us a work of factual history. And this is important for this painful objectivity gives the measure of the work's credibility.

Our author does not have to be introduced to our readers for everyone knows his book on the debunking of the Daco-Roman theory (entitled the Daco-Roman Legend, it was published in English in 1997 by Matthias Corvinus Publishing, in the USA and Canada); on Romania's expansion into Transylvania; as well as his numerous lively and outspoken but profound essays and articles in the daily press. This book is the inescapable culmination of his labours: through decades he persevered in the assiduous and methodical collecting and "inventorying" in one volume the atrocities inflicted on the Hungarians living in Transylvania, Partium, in the Bansag or the Transcarpathian territories. Perusing this work, the reader will shudder and break out in a cold sweat, he will be gripped by a legitimate, historic wrath but will come to the conclusion that if the Hungarians endured so much suffering throughout centuries, surely they will not be destroyed now! In practice, dr Kosztin performed the work of a whole research institute (which does not exist): to clarify the relationship between the Hungarian and the Romanian peoples; to compel today's man to view this relationship clearly for without a clear view there can be no co-existence.

A long road led to this revelation, a road that started in Bonchida, led through Kolozsvar to Bucharest, across the battlefields of World War II to Szeged; then on to Budapest and from there to Western Europe, America and Canada. Then,

widening, like a flooded river, it curved back to one of Buda's coziest little streets that bears the name of Brassai Samuel (1800-1897), the last Hungarian politico-historian.

Yes, our author criss-crossed the world carrying everywhere the pain of Transylvania, fighting in word and writing for justice for Transylvania. In his private life, too, he sets an example to his intimate and wider circles: he is an exemplary husband, father, grandfather who manages the everyday life of his brood with benign sternness. He applies this same benign sternness to the events of the world as he stands at the crossroads of history; he notes everything and keeps writing his books. This book is a mirror reflecting the faces of the Hungarians' murderers and their instigators among the big powers.

We hope that the era of the atrocities has come to an end but we have to be prepared to avoid them as hate is a contagious disease and it can be hereditary... And we thank dr. Kosztin Arpad for recognizing this.

Bartis Ferenc

P r e f a c e

By presenting the cruelties (physical, economic, cultural, religious, etc.) committed by one people against the other will give a better picture of this people to the man of today. But is it fair to present a people simply on the basis of its cruelties visited on other peoples in the course of its history? Doesn't this impoverish, blur or skew a people's history? By emphasizing the cruelties born of extreme circumstances are we not shortchanging historic facts and justice?

This is obviously a danger for anyone who wants to illustrate a people's history strictly by its cruelty to others. Of course the danger is proportionate to the measure of the people's willingness to commit atrocities; to what extent can this people subordinate its instinct to its intellect.

Urged on by the clergy and intellectuals suffering from a feeling of inferiority, the Romanian people was always ready, from the Middle Ages on, to resort to cruelty. But it is important to show this cruelty dispassionately, without prejudice, exactly the way it happened and why it happened.

Unfortunately, for the longest time the writing of Romanian history was based on archaeological and paleontological finds and not on historical events. Even on that basis it was spotty and superficial. Let us just consider that the Peace Treaty of Trianon was based on the historically and scientifically unfounded Daco-Roman legend.

The omissions of historical research and writings are meant to be corrected by Matatias Carp's Holocaust in Romania 1940-1944(1). This book establishes the fact that the series of murders

committed against the Jews did not start with the Nazis but began in Romania. In June, 1940, the Romanian army, retreating from Bessarabia(1) because of the Soviet ultimatum, brutally murdered countless Jews. A year later, between June 21 and September 22, 1941 - that is, in three months - the same army advancing with the German troops, killed 166,000 innocent Jews. They almost completely wiped out the Jews from Bessarabia, northern Bukovina(2), and Transnistria(3) - a total of about 340,000 people(2) - writes Matatias Carp. (Of the 850,000 Jews living in Romania in 1939 there are less than 6,000 left.)

We must become aware of the suffering that the Romanian people inflicted on the Transylvanian Hungarians throughout its history. We also must inform the world of this suffering as the Romanian writings of history will never mention it. These historical and literary works will show the Romanian people as champions of benevolence, of patience, goodness, and meekness thus demonstrating that the Hungarians are one of the bloodthirstiest people on earth, or "genetically determined killers"(3), a characteristic that is inherited from generation to generation(4). Lately the same point is made by two Romanian historians, Paul Abrudan and Mihail Racovitan, who write the following in their work published in 1991: Hitler tore out northern Transylvania from Romania's territory thus "...opening the way to the cruelest barbarity ever inflicted on its Romanian inhabitants"(5). Grigori Nedei openly urges the expelling - "at the appropriate time" - of the Hungarians from their birthplace, the way they expelled the remaining 400,000 Jews and about 600,000 Germans(6) after WWII. The opening salvo in these anti-Hungarian writings was Ion Lancranjan's slanderous book. After that more and more books and essays appeared in Romanian about our anti-Romanian past and present, our anti-Romanian cruelties(8).

Despite the signed basic treaty, every sign points to the probability that the pan-Romanian leadership will choose a program-like solution to the "Hungarian question". And not by chance: there are innumerable works stating that the Romanian peasant revolt of 1784 led by Horea-Closca-Crisan aimed at

killing off all Hungarians. And this "wish" is still alive among some Romanian ultranationalist circles fed by the "dogma" of Daco-Roman continuity, by their Balkan-Byzantine orthodoxy and fundamentalism.

Romania clearly, though surreptitiously, prepares for the final reckoning with the Hungarians. The Council of Zetelak in Hargita County issued a press release stating that this community does not wish to have barracks and the army in its midst. The government - reports the April 6, 1994 (p.4) "Erdelyi Naplo" of Nagyvarad - plans to settle more military installations in pure Hungarian communities thus diluting the ethnic balance and fomenting tensions. Its plan became reality. Not secretly or surreptitiously: it created a Transylvanian army, or an army stationed in Transylvania, to intimidate the Hungarians.

The Romanian reign ruling Transylvania since 1918 has discovered that it can "execute" ethnic groups through judiciously applied cultural discrimination. Therefore, it instituted the cruelest discriminatory practices against the Hungarians. According to the statistics compiled in the Hungarian territories - occupied by Romania in 1918 and annexed to it in 1920 - within three short years only 1095 remained of the 2255 Hungarian-language schools; 50% of them "disappeared"(9). Later the so-called "culture zones" were introduced and, since both WWI and WWII, there is no end to the discriminatory economic regulations.

All these measures oblige us to gather together in one volume all the cruelties of those people that were welcomed by the original inhabitants of the region. We have to demonstrate the falsity of Romanian propaganda which shows the Romanian people as the meekest of the meek and the Hungarians as the bloodthirsty rabble that came out of Asia to oppress the Romanians in Transylvania. Our aim is also to show that there is a fundamental difference between the two cultures - the Romanian one Byzantine/fundamentalist, the Hungarian one European/Christian - causing tensions that cannot be eased. As a result, there have been disputes among the two people for centuries, disputes that have become by now, particularly after

the Peace Treaty of Trianon, highly contentious. To end these disputes, we feel compelled to present to the world the cruel treatment of the 2.5 million Hungarians that the Transylvanian Romanians and the country as a whole have applied for centuries first with Habsburg connivance but especially since 1918. The fate of the Transylvanian Hungarians affects the future of all Hungarians. Their survival is the most important question and has to come to the forefront of the world's attention. This is the purpose of this work.

I owe the publication of this book to the Hungarian Association of Texas, to Dr. Halasz Ivan, physician of Transylvanian origin, of Ohio, and to Breuer Imre of Bicske without whose support this would have been impossible. Their invaluable contribution to spreading the word of the unbearable situation of the Transylvanian Hungarians is greatly appreciated.

The Author.

I.

Introduction

(A brief historical summary)

To understand the Romanian mistreatment of Hungarians over the centuries, we must first examine who were the peoples the Hungarians encountered when they entered the Carpathian Basin; were there, could there be Vlachs - or Wallachians - as the Romanians were then known among those that the Hungarians subjugated? If they were not present in Transylvania at that time, we must know when and whence did they come from, under what circumstances, as a result of what historical event and in what numbers did they appear in Transylvania? We must also know that at the end of the Arpad dynasty (1301) there were 18,000 Wallachians in Transylvania. How come then that according to the 1910 Hungarian census they grew to 53.8% of the population?

Without disputing the possibility - even probability - of a dual occupation in 895, it seems plausible that part of the Hungarians entered the Carpathian Basin via the Pass at Verecke(4), whereas the other half entered it through the passes and southern valleys of Transylvania. The first stop of the Hungarians in the IXth century in the Carpathian Basin was in Transylvania according to traditions and the earliest written records(10).

Historian Laszlo Gyula (11) tells us that the occupiers found some karluk-turks living alongside the Szekelys in Transylvania and some Slav shepherds who also practiced agriculture. However, these are not to be confused with present-day Slovaks(12). But there was no trace of a Daco-Roman population - not even the vestige of one - that would have remained after Emperor Aurelianus withdrew his troops and his

people in 272. This population either never existed, or if it did, it became absorbed in the great migrations that lasted close to 600 years.

Around 1186 Greek Emperor Isac Angelos imposed unbearably heavy levies on the Bulgarians and the Vlachs (ancestors of present-day Romanians) living in his empire which they refused to pay. Therefore, the emperor confiscated their cattle and sheep. This hit the sheep-raising Vlachs the hardest. Two brothers, Peter and Asan, took command of the rebels, fought against the emperor but lost the battle. To escape the Greeks' revenge, masses of the Vlachs moved north across the Danube. They joined forces with the Cumanian people and, for a few years, successfully fought against their Byzantine foe. They occupied that part of Bulgaria that lay between the Danube and the Balkans. On July 1, 1208 they were soundly defeated in the battles of Philippopolis and Plovdiv(5). As a result, the Vlachs moved north again between 1208 and 1213, into what was known as Transylvania - to the chagrin of its inhabitants. This explains why the first documented mention of the Vlachs dates from 1210(13). It also explains why Larcanjan and his followers are so vociferous. Before the XIII century there is no proof of the presence of Vlachs - neither cultural (house of prayer, chapel, church, convent, monastery, abbey, or even cemetery) nor historical or topographic (place names, etc.)

After the Tartar invasion (1241-1242), the royal and ecclesiastical domains were left bereft of people and they needed to be resettled. The Vlachs, moving north from the Balkans, made up some of these settlers. But aside from those officially settled, some Vlachs infiltrated across the borders and settled on the Carpathians' eastern and southern flanks, including the region of the Maramaros tributaries(6). They continued north aiming to reach Moldavia. At the end of the XIII century they established the village of Valaska Dubova (Village of the Vlachs) in Slovakia.

According to a count of 1293, made during the reign of King Endre III (1290-1301), there could only have been 18,000 Vachs living in Transylvania. This proves without a doubt that at

the time of the Hungarian conquest (895), i.e. 5 centuries earlier, the Vlachs could not have been present among the peoples the Hungarians defeated. Also, on the papal tithing lists of between 1332 and 1337, from the end of the Arpad dynasty to the coming to the throne of the Anjous (i.e. 1301 and 1308) in all of Transylvania 310,000 Hungarian and Szekely catholics, 21,000 catholic Saxons, and 18,000 orthodox Vlachs were manifest. This clearly shows that the numbers arrived at during King Endre's reign are correct.

In one of his 1366 documents, King Lajos the Great (1342-1382) writes that the disorganized Vlachs always threaten Transylvania's public safety.

During the reigns of kings Zsigmond of Luxemburg (1387-1437) and Ulaszlo (1440-1444), because of the ever-increasing Turkish pressure, the Vlachs continued to seek asylum and settle in Transylvania.

During the 120 years that elapsed between King Lajos the Great and the sterner rule of King Matyas (1458-1490) the Vlachs' situation remained disorganized. At the same time, their numbers increased exponentially as compared to previous eras. On the basis of XIV and XV century documents it can be demonstrated how the Vlachs, individually and in groups, sought asylum and settled in Fransylvania fleeing the Turkish advance. In mid-XIV century - to stop the mostly Hungarian serfs from wandering off - it was decreed that in addition to tithing they also owed a ninth part of their harvest to the landowners. This measure rendered the serfs' lot even heavier, to the extent that by the end of the century whole settlements of serfs were abandoned. Contemporary documents prove that the arriving Vlachs readily found empty lots where they could settle without compensation. However, these people came without tools, nor were they too eager to work. In the more highly developed agriculture, their labour was limited to the most primitive forms. Still - and that is an important point - they represented humble labourers who tried to please their landlords.

During the reigns of kings Ulaszlo II (1490-1516) and Lajos II

(1516-1526)the composition of peoples as shown on the papal tithing list had changed considerably over 200 years: the Hungarian and Hungarian-Szekely population decreased by 100,000 whereas the Saxons and the Vlachs increased by 79,000 and 89,000 respectively. Nothing hindered the natural rate of reproduction of the Vlachs: they did not serve in the military, nor did they take part in wars, and as taxes they only had to pay the fiftieth part in sheep. With their nomadic shepherders life, they increased their numbers constantly wandering around in Moldova and the Southern Carpathian region. Nobody stopped them. Even the reigning prince's decree ordained: "...if there are poor people who settled here, let no one stop them or disturb them."(15)When the Independent Transylvanian Principality was organized (1542). Verancsics Antal (7), archbishop of Esztergom, declared that the number of Vlachs is equal to that of the other three (Hungarian, Szekely, Saxon) ethnic groups.

Vitez Mihaly (Mihai Viteazul), voivode of the Southern Carpathian Region (1593-1601) in 1599 defeated Prince Bathori Endre (Andras) (1598-1599) in the battle of Schellenberk and occupied the then capital of Transylvania, Gyulafehervar. He only ruled 11 months but in that short period of time he endeavoured to import Vlach boyars(8) whom he settled in Transylvania as a reward for their merits. During the XVI and particularly the XVII centuries (under the rules of Bocskai Istvan, Bethlen Gabor, the two Rakoczi Gyorgy, Apafi Mihaly), Transylvania reached such a high degree of development that it became extremely attractive to all foreigners who wished (or were compelled) to settle there, such as, among others, the Vlachs. Prince Apafi Mihaly defended the peasantry from the excesses of the military and the landowners. Local laws and mores, as well as the Churches - to varying degrees - held together and helped the lower class communities(16) of which the Vlachs were a part.

A liege-vassal relationship was developed among the Hungarian kings, the Transylvanian princes and the two voivode of the neighbouring Vlach territories in the XII and XIII centuries which lasted well into the XVI and even the early XVII

centuries. As a result, the liege kings and occasionally the Transylvanian princes donated fiefs(17) to the voivode who, after a losing battle, had to flee his province. When they fled to these fiefs, the voivode brought with them their families, priests, retainers, servants, even their prisoners. They could and did rule these fiefs undisturbed. They could and did build churches there. They also financially supported the building of churches on other Vlach regions, giving them devotional objects and other valuable gifts.

In 1691, with the Diploma Leopoldinum, Vienna tried to ease the exploitation of the serfs; this increased the immigration of their inhabitants from the two neighbouring Vlach provinces. They all could earn their living on the landowners' estates, or in the iron smelters, or the glass- and paper industries(9) The Carpathian pastures and the rivers' flood-plains offered unlimited possibilities to animal husbandry. The 100-odd years of the "fanariota"(10) era in Moldova and the Southern Carpathian region brought about a tremendous influx of Vlachs into Transylvania. In the Bansag of Temes(11) that was reconquered after the Peace Treaty of Pozsarevac in 1718 they found 25,000 Vlach and Serbian inhabitants. Empress and Queen Maria Theresa (1740-1780) primarily settled Germans in this territory. But in addition to these, Vlachs by the tens of thousands from the "fanariota" provinces flooded Transylvania. Between 1741 and 1744 - in mere three years - 15,000 Vlach families, i.e. 75,000 people arrived. Until 1784 the Vlach population increased to 785,000, or by 400% in less than 80 years(19).

Undoubtedly because of the miserable conditions of the serfs, in 1784 the Horea-Closca-Crisan-led peasant revolt erupted in Transylvania. Many Hungarian inhabitants became its victims as will be detailed in a later chapter (Section III).

Barely 30 years later, in 1821, the Vlachs fled to the Transylvanian cities of Brasso(12) and Szeben(13) the revolt led by Tudor Vladimirescu in the Southern Carpathian Region. The Moldovans found asylum in Bukovina, then belonging to Austria. Many stayed there and in Transylvania.

Between 1880 and 1910 the Vlach population increased from census to census. Most of them did not roam; they stayed. Instructed by their priests and their intellectuals in the Daco-Roman legend, they came to believe that they were the original inhabitants. Due to the infiltration and asylum-seeking throughout centuries, by 1910 the number of Vlachs in Transylvania has risen to 53.8%. After the unification of the two Vlach principalities on January 24, 1859 they call themselves Romanians.

From 1910 to 1920 when Hungary was compelled to sign the Trianon peace treaty, the demographics of Transylvania have changed considerably. After the defeat in 1916 of the Royal Romanian Army, Romanians by the tens of thousands fled to Old-Romania thus constituting less than 50% of Transylvania's population. We have exact numbers: between 1910 and 1914 143,000 Romanian citizens fled Transylvania and went to Old-Romania. This explains why the victorious powers after WWI refused to authorize a plebiscite in Transylvania(20).

Between WWI and WWII 3 million Romanians were re-settled from Romania into Transylvania and the re-settlement of Hungarians from Transylvania into Trans-Carpathian Romania continues to this day.

Before and after the 1989 revolution in Romania, the Hungarian population - legally or illegally - kept on leaving Romania. The Rev. Tokes Laszlo, Protestant Bishop of Nagyvarad, because of the serious dangers he is exposed to, rather circumspectly characterized as "ethnic cleansing" the process Romania applied for 75 years - and still does - against her Hungarian population and other minorities. The Romanians deny these charges vigorously but they are undoubtedly true.

The Romanians who during centuries infiltrated and settled in Transylvania brought their social system and their orthodox religion from the Balkans. Prior to their settlement in Transylvania - an organic part of Hungary - and during many centuries, they were ardent followers of the orthodox religion.

However, because of the new settlers' different social structure and faith, the deeply and sincerely Catholic Hungarians considered the Romanians as aliens and a nomadic people. These differences led to the segregation of the peoples - with some very few exceptions. Under these circumstances, no assimilation developed between the Hungarian and Romanian children. Such assimilation could not develop: as late as the XVIII century there is no sign of any politically- or religiously-led push for assimilation. On the other hand, this segregation never brought on Hungarian oppression - either economic or religious - of the Romanians. Aside from some extremes on both sides, the Romanians were free to develop economically and they did so. They built their churches one after the other; there is evidence that as early as the XIV-XV centuries the authority of the orthodox bishops was sporadically accepted(21). It must also be pointed out that the "Corpus Juris Hungarici" - the collection of laws passed from the time of St. Stephen to 1848 - does not contain a single law that would differentiate between the political and civil rights of Hungarians and all the other minority people. The Hungarians, as a race, never established any privileges for themselves.

The fatal mistake of the Hungarians was that they never established the Romanians as a fourth "group" of Transylvania's inhabitants, alongside themselves, the Szekelys, and the Saxons so that they, too, could contribute to the nation-building effort(22). An auspicious moment for this would have been the time following the 1784 Horea-Closca-Crisan peasant revolt, if for no other reason that the Romanian intelligentsia - torch-bearers for national consciousness - did not support the rebellion. Inocentju Miku-Klein Janos(14), Unitarian Greek-Catholic bishop, called Horea's people "accursed" "...who wanted to ruin the nobility"(23). But the nobility could not understand, let alone adopt, the ideals and thoughts of the rebellion even though the ideas of the approaching French Revolution had spread already as far as Transylvania. After the revolt, the nobles took refuge in their privileges and re-established the old, cruel order(24). They should have realized that re-establishing the old order inevitably leads to more revolts and revenge. The nobles should have realized that the time has

inexorably come to create the fourth nation out of Transylvania's Romanians. But they did not. Or, if they did, they used every means to stop the process. This was the cause of the failed 1848/49 freedom fight, of the Transylvanian Hungarians' bloody trials and decreasing numbers. They did not realize the nation-forging strength of the unified Greek-Orthodox and Byzantine Rite churches; or, if they did they were not aware of the importance to establish peaceful relationships. This sowed the seed of seemingly irreconcilable association(25) with the ruling nation. This became particularly acute once the ruling nation based assimilation on the "cuius regio eius lingua" principle (the language of the ruling nation shall prevail). As a result of the emergence of Romania's linguistic and cultural dominance, the Hapsburg empire became both an oppressed and an oppressor nation. Had these problems been recognized, perhaps the great powers would have treated Hungary differently after WWI. Maybe the dismemberment of the country and the Hungarian people could have been avoided.

The 1947 decision in Paris to nullify the Vienna accords that returned parts of Slovakia, Transylvania, and the Southern Territory to Hungary codified the annihilation of historic Hungary; Yalta and the peace treaty only confirmed this fact.

Had the great powers examined the demographics, the Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries - despite the basic accords - would not have to suffer oppression, there would be no problems, no conflicts which threaten the peace of all Europe. Since the peace treaty of Trianon, there is continuous litigation between Hungary and the successor states, litigation that will have to end in a just decision. But only a supreme international "will" can bring this problem of 5 million Hungarians living in minority status to an end and thus defuse a potentil destabilizing force in Europe.

II.

ROMANIAN ATROCITIES AGAINST HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

UP TO 1784, THE HOREA-CLOSCA-CRISAN PEASANT REVOLT

We have become acquainted with the Vlachs' infiltration, asylum-seeking, and settlement in Transylvania. Let us now, through historical research, examine their mistreatment of Hungarians and Szekelys, its causes and circumstances.

In her work published in 1981, Romanian historian Maria Holban examines the Romanian-Hungarian relationships in the XIII and XIV centuries. She reviews the attack by - according to her - Romanian (not Vlach) and Hungarian peasants launched against the abbeys of Kolozsmonostor and Kerc in 1344 and 1375 respectively. These are the earliest known instances in Transylvania where Romanians attacked Hungarian priests and monks, as well as Hungarian Roman Catholic houses of worship.

Although the following event has no close bearing on Romanian-Hungarian relationships in Transylvania, King Robert Karoly's (1310-1342) campaign of 1330 in the Southern Carpathian Region fits in with the theme of this work.

Basarab, the Voivode of the Southern Carpathian Region, attacked and occupied the Bansag of Szoreny(15) which was Hungarian territory at that time, and attached it to his principality. In September 1330, King Robert Karoly moved his army and took back the Bansag of Szoreny. His further aim was to force the Voivode back into the liege-vassal relationship. His

armies reached the fortress of Arges, in the center of the Southern Carpathian Region. Facing a superior force, Basarab surrendered and took the oath of vassal. The Hungarian army then left and made its way towards Transylvania. But Basarab went back on his word and on the way to Vorostorony (according to others at Posada) he attacked the army, stoning and killing half of the men. The king's life was only saved by one of his warriors who sacrificed his life by donning the king's armour and thus became the victim of the stoning(27). Basarab's men planted wooden wedges in the brains of their prisoners, including the high priests who had joined the campaign, as a symbol that south of the Carpathians other rules were followed(28).

Ban Vlajcu, succeeding Voivode Basarab (+1360), swore allegiance to his liege, King Lajos the Great who followed King Robert Karoly. But he did not keep his word either. He left unpunished the murder of the monks who had gone to the Southern Carpathian Region to convert the people. He also entered Transylvania and ravaged and pillaged the Barcasag and the region of Szeben. With singular cruelty, he butchered the inhabitants, particularly the Szekelys and the Saxons. In 1369 he burned down and completely destroyed the Landes Krone fortress at Talmacs (Nagyalmacs). Therefore, King Lajos the Great raised two armies and moved against him. One army, attacking Vlajcu from the Barcasag, lost the battle due to some carelessness. The other routed Vlajcu's main army which, according to the chronicler, "disappeared like smoke". Vlajcu was obliged to sue for peace. The King left the Szorenyseg (the western part of the Southern Carpathian Region) in Vlajcu's possession but - to maintain the Hungarian claim to this territory - he named him Ban of the Szorenyseg. Later the King gave him the estate of Fogaras as a fief with the condition that he resettle it, which he did, thus preparing the way to Transylvania for his people.

From April to August 1366, the King stayed in Torda(16); in July he convoked a parliament. The document that summarizes the decisions of these parliaments, states that "particularly the Vlachs" disturb the public peace. The King authorizes the

destruction of these "criminals"(29). The King's stern measures are understandable as in his time, following the Vlachs' immigration and settlement after the Tatar invasion (1241-1242), in addition to the royal domains, the episcopal and ecclesiastical estates, private landowners, as well as the cities, had the right to settle Vlachs.

Documents dating from the XIV and XV centuries testify that there were many violent men among the leaders, the judges, and voivode of the Vlachs that settled in Transylvania. They broke into each others' houses and looted them; they committed murders and arson and "prevarications"(17) over alien property were common. The voivode and serfs living on the episcopal and ecclesiastical estates sold with impunity arable land, pastures, and forests as if these were their own property. They imposed more and greater levies on their "subjects" and disregarded the authority of their landlords(30).

At the time of the war against the followers of Hus (1420-1452), the inquisition(18) started by the Catholic Church affected the Vlachs also. Some over-zealous church personages also included the followers of the orthodox faith in their persecutions. This, of course, led to outrage among the Vlachs which prompted them to participate in the 1437 uprising of the serfs in Also-Feher County.

Upon the joint complaints of the nobles and the Saxons, King Matyas ordered the voivode of Transylvania and the Szekelys' bailiff to curb the audacity of the Vlachs "...who obtain their freedom through acts of violence and crimes in spite of the royal decrees." In 1478 King Matyas ordered "the destruction of a newly settled Vlach village lest the infiltrating Vlachs threaten the royal serfs"(31).

Following King Matyas' death, the serfs - including the Vlach serfs - were increasingly exploited by their noble landowners. The Catholic Church demanded the paying of the tithes from the Vlachs too: these measures provoked the Vlachs' actions against the nobles at the end of the XV century, as well as in 1503 and 1511.

During these years of turmoil, erupted in 1514 the big peasant revolt led by Dozsa Gyorgy(19) in which the Vlach serfs also participated. The Vlach lesser nobles of Maramaros joined this internal war to a man.

Vitez Mihaly (Mihai Viteazul) - the already mentioned voivode of the Southern Carpathian Region - instituted the cruelest measures during his reign, all aimed at the Hungarian and Szekely inhabitants. Reading the works(32 and 33) of Szamoskozy Istvan(20) and Nicolae Balcescu(21) one must conclude that the number of his Hungarian and Szekely victims was considerable. A few examples are unforgettable:

- At Marosvasarhely his undisciplined soldiers massacred 150 peaceful citizens even though this city helped him in 1595 in his fight against the Turks;
- He had Huszar Peter, the city judge of Kolozsvar killed and installed the Romanian Stincul in his place(34);
- In 1601 he had his soldiers kill Kornis Gaspar in prison (according to other sources on his way to Kolozsvar)(35). Kornis Gaspar was: in 1575, deputy bailiff of Maramaros; in the 1590s commander-in-chief of Huszt; from 1595 member of the Prince's Council; in 1599 general;
- In 1599 when Mihai invaded Transylvania he destroyed everything on his way as far as Foldvar(36). At that time was razed the village of Szamosszentmiklos with its old church and its Hungarian inhabitants. Its population is now entirely Romanian. (In commemoration of this sad event the village is now called Pusztaszentmiklos.)(37)
- Kathonay Mihaly, Chief Justice of Kolozsvar, main supporter of Prince Bathori Zsigmond who returned to Transylvania on August 20, 1598, was arrested by Mihai Viteazul's soldiers. He was tortured by having his beard plucked out hair by hair, then, once "thus disfigured", had his throat cut(38);
- In 1601 Viteazul had Kornis Farkas killed. He was a Szekely nobleman, leader of his people, Royal Judge of Udvarhely(38).
- Upon news that Bathori Endre lost the battle of Szeben (October 28, 1599), the Vlachs "fearsomely and threateningly rose in great wrath". They started massacring the nobles,

destroying their manors and estates. Many of the nobles lost their lives then. When the nobles managed to flee, the Vlachs vented their anger on the hapless bourgeois inhabitants of the cities(40).

- Mihai had his secretary, Racz Janos, who had gone into hiding, hunted down and handed over to the executioner. Upon his orders, Racz was pilloried(22) at Fehervar (Gyulafehervar), had first his feet cut off then his legs at the knees; later his arms were severed at the elbows. His mutilated, naked, and muddy body was left there for two days, as an example to the public. This description of the facts was not penned by a Hungarian chronicler but by the aforementioned Balcescu, Romanian historian(41).

= Mihai punished the looting Romanian soldiers by flogging; but the Hungarian soldiers were put to death. Despite the pleas of his Hungarian followers, he had seven Hungarian soldiers executed(42).

- Mihai's soldiers were looting in Banffyhungyad(23). Then some of the city's inhabitants attacked and slaughtered some of them. In retribution, Mihai sent word to the commander of the Transylvanian army to go, destroy the city and kill its population. The commander did not dare disobey his orders; but before leaving, he secretly sent word of his instructions to his victims. The people, therefore, fled to the mountains with their families and their goods. Only a few citizens, who could not believe in such terrible retribution, stayed in their homes. These were burned with their town(43).

Mihai's "main and valiant servant", Baba Novac's hand has a lot of Hungarian blood on it. His memory will live forever in the consciousness of Transylvania's Hungarians as "the meanest" and the "most notorious" criminal. But he got his just deserts: together with a Serbian priest, he was roasted alive. "On the outskirts of the town he was put on a spit; an unspeakable thing. But his body was soon eaten by the crows; by the morrow only his bones hung on the spit." "At Kolozsvar, outside of the town, along the road, Voivode Mihai planted an old flag at the site of the burning even though Baba Novac's body was no longer there"(43/a).

Despite all his promises, the people of Gyulafehérvár were suspicious of Voivode Mihai - and justly so - but even in their worst nightmares they could not imagine what would befall them. It was no accident that Szamoskozy Istvan describes his entry into the town as follows: "...absent were the people's good wishes, the joyful clamour of the populace, the merriment, the shouted greetings. Nobody waved his hat, no one gave thanks to the Almighty with pious prayer. The people did not gather together; all hid behind the walls of their houses surreptitiously peeking out at the barbarian's entrance into town from behind the lattices of their portals and windows. Deadly silence covered the city(44)." The people were rightly suspicious of the Vlach (Romanian) voivode who arrived.

Mihai even alienated his most faithful nobles by confiscating their estates whenever he found the least fault with them and giving these to his boyars of the Southern Carpathian Region.

This spread the belief among his nobles that Mihai wished to eliminate the Hungarian nobility and to distribute their properties among his boyars.

But the ways of the Lord are mysterious. Convinced that Mihai wanted to keep Transylvania under his own rule, the imperial general Basta(24) had him killed on August 19, 1601 in his camp near Torda. It was characteristic of him and his retinue that no one came to his defense except one of his young Hungarian officers who was grievously wounded by his assassins. Jancso Benedek(25), historian, quotes the words of the Romanian historian, Jorga(26): "...nobody moved to avenge this godless deed(45)". Thus Transylvania was rid of this despot after only 11 months of his reign(46).

III.

THE 1784 PEASANT REVOLT OF HOREA-CLOSCA-CRISAN

In 1604 Transylvania lay looted, humbled and disgraced under the boot of general Basta, her liberator from Voivode Mihai, until the appearance in her history of her elected Prince, Bocskai Istvan(27). He legally guaranteed the peoples' rights, settled the destitute heyducks and ennobled 10,000 of them. To his successor, Bathori Gabor(28) he left a country that had grown in territory and respect. That the country was not plunged into catastrophe by his negligent and frivolous rule was due only to Bethlen Gabor (1580-1629). From Turkish lands, with Turkish help, he invaded Transylvania where he was elected reigning prince in 1613. Under his 15 year reign the country developed into a rich, cultured, and respected land. This enabled her to remain independent over two generations, and to fulfill her essential role of "safeguarding the idea of Hungarian unity and of the hope of rebuilding the old Hungarian entity."(47)

The unfortunate campaign of Rakoczi Gyorgy II(29) to capture the Polish crown destroyed everything Bethlen Gabor had built up. The civil war following this campaign left Transylvania an economically, morally, and territorially diminished land that limped along.

The almost 75 years - from Bethlen's reign to the liberation of Buda from to Turks (1686) - represent the golden age of the Vlachs and the other nations. They became stronger economically and developed the ecclesiastical arts and architecture that gave the impetus to their advancement. Vlach lords of the XVII century had built many churches in Hunyad County. The voivode and boyars of the Southern Carpathian Region - not quite unselfishly as will be shown by history -

contributed generously to this project and the Transylvanian Vlachs owe them an act of gratitude for their marvellously beautiful churches. (The Constantin Serban Basarab orthodox church in Deva was built with the donation of Costantin Brincoveanu.)

Despite Romanian allegations, it is a fact that throughout the Middle Ages and subsequent years the Vlach youth of Transylvania did take part in the general attendance at European universities. There could have been more. That there were not was not due to Hungarian opposition, let alone oppression: it was simply the result of the circumstance that "to the mostly orthodox Vlachs, similarly to other non-Catholic youths, the doors of the universities, then generally functioning under papal authority, remained shut." But there were Vlachs among those who went abroad to study, such as: Clementis Balachi de Deana (1498); Turc Janos, who is mentioned as ambassador of the citizens of Brasso in a 1498 letter of Basarab cel Tinar (the young Basarab); Johannes Moldvaiensis de Teleyth (1493); Martinus de Haczek, etc. This only proves that the Vlachs prospered and developed at that time, together with the other three nations in Transylvania: the Hungarians, the Szekelys, and the Saxons. These three nations, but particularly the Hungarians, could not have motivated the Vlachs to commit the later atrocities; these were partly influenced by the spread of the notorious Daco-Roman legend and partly by the divisive politics of the Habsburgs.

After the 1686 reconquest of Buda, Lotharingiai Karoly(30) invaded Transylvania with his armies in 1687. In 1691, the Transylvanian nobility accepted the final terms of the Diploma of Leopold and took the oath of fealty to King Lipot I.(1643-1690),

But Vienna's joy did not last: in 1704, Rakpczi Ferenc II(31) invaded Transylvania and had himself elected its reigning prince at Gyulafehervar. But by 1708 the insurrectionist spirit, as well as that of national consciousness, had died out. However, the Vlach national consciousness was born alongside their economic and cultural development. None of the three nations could

properly evaluate or handle this spirit. The most revolutionary were the Moc(32) who started stirring in 1721 already. They armed themselves and rose up in 1727 at Abrudbanya(33); their rebellion lasted until 1730. In addition to curing their social ills, their main purpose was the acknowledgement of their human and ecclesiastical rights. Between 1690 and 1711 the Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite was born; in 1761 the Orthodox Church was "acknowledged".

The religious policy of the Habsburgs did not officially recognize the Orthodox Church, the faith of most of the Vlachs, but acknowledged its existence. The mostly Vlach Orthodox Church openly displayed its hostility to the Vlach Byzantine Rite Church that the Habsburgs had created. This hostility, coupled with the social dissatisfactions that they blamed on the Hungarian landowning nobility, threatened to erupt into open rebellion. This enmity and the resistance it engendered were often supported by the neighbouring Voivode and at times even some of the Hungarian protestant landowners(49), as well as the court of the Orthodox Russian tsars. This massive support gave rise every three or four years to some peasant revolts among this people prone to mass movements. Some of these movements had a national character, such as the 1759 and 1761 Sofronie movements crushed by tsarist troops, and the 1774 movement led by Visarion in Zarand, in the valley of the Maros and Kukullo rivers(50). Behind the monk's seemingly religious demands - inasmuch as they attacked the Byzantine Rite church and its Vlach faithful - lurked the instigation to fight the nobility. But these movements had results: in 1763, Queen Maria Theresa (1740-1780) had to recognize the Orthodox Church

Without a doubt, both the Sofronie and the Visarion peasant movements were precursors of the cruel and bloody 1784 peasant revolt of Horea-Closca-Crisan. This took place during the reign of the uncrowned king, Jozsef II. (1780-1790) and spread throughout most of Transylvania(50).

In 1784 the Austrian war council decided to organize the Moc inhabitants of the Erchegeyseg(34) into military units of border-guards modelled on the Szekelys and the Vlachs. The

landowning nobles strongly opposed this resolution as it meant a great loss of manpower to them. On the other hand the Moc people registered for service en masse at Gyulafehervar. But then the gubernium(35) made a grave mistake: it nullified these registrations and sent the Moc serfs back to their landowners. The desperate Moc serfs rebelled and thus was born the bloody Vlach peasant revolt(51).

Much information is available to support the suspicion that King Jozsef II. used the Vlachs against the nobles who always opposed him. When the revolt erupted, with Transylvania anyway being under tension because of the landowner-serf relationships, the imperial army watched "at ease" the events that unfolded. In Transylvania at that time no legal distinction was made among noble and commoner, serf and serf along racial lines. But the governing body was composed of mostly Hungarians and the serfs - 3/4 of them - were mostly Vlach. This division raised the social issues to a question of race; thus the revolt had both a political motive and a political character. With the support of the paternal absolutism of the Hapsburgs, the revolt was led by the Vlachs' priests and intellectuals. The Russians also played a part. The leaders wanted to create an independent nation under the name of Dacia on the territory of Moldova, the Southern Carpathian Region, and Bessarabia.

The revolt was sparked by the moral shortcomings of the nomad Vlachs but primarily by the miserable lot of the serfs tinged by nationalism(52). According to the latest research, a small number of Hungarians and Saxons also participated. It started out as a serf rebellion but ended up in the massacre of countless innocent Hungarians and Szekelys(53). It is undoubtedly true that the life of the Hungarian and Vlach serfs was appalling, that the enlightened radical western European policies degenerated into programs of cultural development most of which did not affect the serfs, particularly not the Vlach serfs. Yet it is also undoubtedly true that our serfs - Hungarian and Vlach alike - had a better life than their western European counterparts toiling for their luxury-loving landlords. Our serfs - though considered beasts of burden - were not slaves. Their children could inherit their property, they could get married without permission, and

the so-called "jus primae noctis" law was unknown in our legal system. One Austrian counsellor, Borie - who hated the Hungarians - had to admit that the Austrian serfs "lived under worse conditions than the Hungarians" (54).

The Hungarian serf, without regard to his religion or nationality, had the right to witness against his landlord. He was never considered a beast led to the slaughterhouse, nor a gladiator(36) who could be sold on the slave market. The nobles exploited these serfs mercilessly but not enough to kill off in him the awareness of his human worth. Despite his primitive life the Vlach serfs' revolt could not have erupted without the instigation of Vienna which also gave them weapons and urged them to turn on their Hungarian masters.

The direct cause of the revolt was a set-to between the Armenian liquor vendors and the inhabitants of Topanfalva. May 24, 1782 was market day there. Here and then, the Armenians claimed for themselves the exclusive right to sell liquor. The inhabitants of Topanfalva evoked their ancient rights to distill brandy and to buy wine wherever they wanted. The Armenians did not accept the arguments of the Vlach peasants of Topanfalva and tried to stop them from selling brandy. Whereupon the enraged peasants broke the Armenians' barrels and let the liquor flow out. The Armenians turned for justice to the house of the lord (uriszek(37) which condemned some of the perpetrators to 50-100 strokes of caning, some to jail terms from 3 months to 2 years, and others to be executed. The citizens of Topanfalva, having heard the verdict with great excitement, decided to seek justice with the emperor. During his travels in Transylvania, Jozsef II. showed great interest in the serfs' situation. He had had friendly conversations with the peasants and their priests which, of course, made a great impression on the serfs. In the name of the Vlach serfs of Zalatna, Horea and Closka had already once before gone to Vienna to hand to Jozsef II. their petition to reduce the serfs' obligations. They penned a request to overturn the verdict of the house of the lord and took it personally up to Vienna to the emperor. As this request did not produce immediate results, Horea went back to Vienna, asked for and received an audience with the emperor who listened to

his complaint and ruled in his favour. Upon his instructions, the chancellery(38) ordered the local government to protect the inhabitants of the village and the complainants against the depredations of the estate and the county administrators. The government also had to submit all the records of the case.

Horea showed the order from the chancellery that he brought with him to his serf comrades. These assigned Closka to lead a delegation to take the order to the chief regent in Szeben. The chief regent accepted the order; he promised to release the prisoners and to remedy the other complaints of the serfs. He promised but never delivered(55).

After these preliminaries, Crisan, acting in Horea's name, convoked a meeting of the peasants for October 31, 1784 to discuss what was to be done. About 500 or 600 Vlach peasants gathered in Mesztakon, in the Orthodox church, where the priest and Crisan urged them on; the crowd started for Gyulafehervar. The deputy governor of Zarand county, having heard the news of the meeting at Mesztakon, sent two sheriffs and some gendarmes to calm the people.

The two sheriffs met the crowd in a village called Kurety and were promptly beaten to death.

The enraged crowd then moved from Kurety to the village of Kristyor. On November 4 they massacred the whole Hungarian population, among them 17 nobles and 12 members of the Kristyor family. (That in a village where the southern wall of the Orthodox church - built in 1404 - was decorated with frescoes of St. Istvan, St. Imre, and St. Laszlo as an expression of gratitude for having been accepted.)

After this massacre, the rebellious crowd split into two: some went to the village of Brad, the other to Miheleny. New arrivals joined the ravaging, incendiary, looting crowd. Within a few days, all of Zarand County went up in flames; the Hungarian population was slaughtered. On the same day, the mob went from Zarand County to Hunyad County, killing, destroying and setting fires on its way.

On November 11, the rebel army stood before Deva(39). They demanded the conversion to the Orthodox faith "of all nobles and their ilk", abolition of the nobility and the distribution of their lands, as well as general taxation. However, this time fate was kind to the Hungarians; the revolutionaries were defeated. But this urged them on to even more cruelties wherever they met with weak resistance only. They destroyed Verespatak, Offenbanya, Abrudbanya; then the rebellion spread into Arad County also. At Abrudbanya Horea's motto was: "just kill indiscriminately all Hungarian nobles who refuse to convert to the Orthodox faith." Those Hungarian nobles who were accidentally left alive were forcibly converted by the priests that had joined the rebellion. Young Hungarian noble girls were compelled to marry young Vlach men.

When the Hungarian nobles saw the imperial army observe "at ease" the unfolding events, when Horea's rebellion took over the whole country from Csucs(40) to Deva, from Arad(41) to Enyed, burning, destroying, looting their estates and chasing them away, they decided to arm themselves in self-defense. The emperor, fearing a civil war, put a stop to their taking up arms and determined to suppress the revolt.

The imperial troops and the main army of the rebels met at Miheleny. The Vlachs were soundly defeated. Horea, the leader, was at Topanfalva with his army. The imperial troops arrived there on December 11. Horea struck camp and fled with his companions. Jozsef II. offered a reward of 300 gold crowns to whoever apprehends them. This came to pass on December 27, in a forest (Szkoracset); the trial of Horea and his companions ended with the death penalty. He and Closca were broken on the wheel; Crisan hanged himself in prison with his bootlaces.

The revolt was primarily aimed at the Hungarian nobility. Kolto Laszlo, manager of the Feher County estates of Teleki Samuel, gives him a report on November 11, 1784 of the events that took place in the Orbo region. He writes to Teleki that the revolutionaries take merciless revenge on the region's nobles. His letter, which can be found among Teleki's papers, describes

the overwhelming fear of the nobles(57). As the nobility was mostly Hungarian, the revolt took on an anti-Hungarian character which stopped the Hungarian serfs from massively joining in. Neither could this peasants' revolt develop into a real peasants' war; this circumstance defined its defeat also(58). One thing is certain though: contrary to Romanian statements, this Vlach peasant revolt did try to kill off the Hungarians. The manuscript of a poem written three years after is testimony to this(59).

The participants in this revolt and its leaders were simple people; most of them illiterate. It is safe to assume, therefore, that they did not rise up spontaneously but listened to the instigations of their priests and intellectuals(60). The priests were particularly influential: their every word was followed to the letter. A simple Vlach peasant said at Torda: "The Romanians' star has risen; let the Hungarians go back to Scythia as they are the older inhabitants of this country." He could not have known of Scythia, not when he went into battle with the cry "Vivat Maria Theresa!" when this empress had already been dead since 1780(61). It must have been the priests who were aware of the Hungarians' origins who told him that; the priests who helped Horea write his letters and statements, as well as the peasants' petitions. They can be excused on the grounds of the spread of the idea of the Daco-Roman continuity. The Romanians' evaluation of this revolt as having been strictly a "peasant revolt" is patently false(62).

Whichever way we look at the peasant revolt - be it through Romanian or Hungarian eyes - it is clear that the Hapsburgs, afraid of the expansion of a powerful Hungary, successfully used the Vlachs against the Hungarians. After all, Horea and his companions destroyed a total of 389 villages and decimated the Hungarians in every region(63). As a result of this revolt, the Hungarians in Transylvania's southern region never regained strength. As a consequence, when it came time for the II. Vienna decision, the Hungarians asked that the river Maros be the new frontier and not the Southern Carpathians(64).

IV.

THE HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHT OF 1848/1849

The revolt of Horea and his companions had ended but it gave birth to the Vlach national consciousness and shape to the Vlachs' racial and national endeavours. These were prepared for the 1791 parliament when, for the first time, the union between Transylvania and Hungary was mentioned.

For a few decades after the 1784 peasant revolt led by Horea, Closca, and Crisan Romanian national consciousness did not manifest itself in any political action. However, the preparations for this manifestation went on continuously in the churches, in rectories, at gatherings for baptisms, weddings, and burials. The expansion of the circle of intellectuals brought with it the publication of historical works justifying the theory of continuity of the Daco-Roman origins; the latinization of the language; the Vlach's entrance into the higher reaches of the civil service/intellectual class. These ambitions were summarized by the 1789 "unitas" movement uniting the ecclesiastical and secular intellectuals and were expressed by its culmination in the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*(42). In this the bishops of the two reconciled churches, in complete agreement based on the national interest, submitted the following petition to Emperor Lipot II. and the reigning prince of Transylvania:

- 1.- That the Romanians be given the same civil rights that the other three nations (Hungarian, Szekely, Saxon) enjoy.
- 2.- That the two Romanian churches have the same rights as the other four recognized faiths.
- 3.- That the Romanians receive public offices in proportion to their number(65).

The bishops' petition seemed incomprehensible to the Estates and their reply was vague, though it did not contain outright refusal. Yet these requests/demands contained all the national ambitions of the Romanian; its non-comprehension set the tone for Romania's behaviour during the 1848/49 freedom fight.

During the 1842 session, the parliament held in Kolozsvár - imbued by the more progressive and perspicacious spirit of the era than the Estates - made the following proposal to the government:

- 1.- The Orthodox religion should be recognized.
- 2.- The faith of the commoner should be acknowledged.
- 3.- In addition to the serfs, the landowners should also participate in public works.
- 4.- The service of socage be maximized.
- 5.- The alteration of the petty debts of socage service.

Unfortunately the government did not allow the discussion of this proposal. The Vlach "national general staff", organized at Balazsfalva, on the other hand, continued the inevitable fight with perseverance, consistency, and fanaticism - which is always accompanied by hatred - for the Vlachs' equal rights. In 1847 the Vlachs found their spiritual leader in the person of Orthodox Bishop(66) Saguna Andras(43). A leader that even Szechenyi Istvan esteemed to the extent that on June 23, 1848 he wrote the following in his diary: "If I go to Transylvania you will have to be my guide." And further: "If Batthanyi Lajos and Kossuth were to agree, I would be willing to go to Transylvania, but only with Saguna(67)".

During the 150 years of Transylvania's government, national consciousness dimmed and the nations' interdependence faded. But the spreading of the popular national consciousness among all of Transylvania's peoples only emphasized the differences that kept them apart. It incited them to jealousy and hate and laid the foundations for their desire to separate. But since Hungarians represented the statehood, this wish to separate was not directed against Vienna or the emperor but against all

Hungarians. That made it possible for the Vlachs to unite and rise against the Hungarians. This unity in rising had its antecedents that were not regarded with the gravity they deserved.

At the time of the war against Napoleon, in 1809 and 1810 some of the free peasants, tenant farmers, and lesser nobles started stirring against the nobles in Sovarad, Abod, Kibed, etc. and in the County of Torda. The leaders of these stirrings were the village notaries, many of them Vlachs. Romanian historian Silviu Dragomir lists more than 20 Vlach village notaries as participants in the 1848 events; some 12 of these he characterizes as intellectuals, leaders of the revolutionary crowds. Some of these were Ioan Ungur, whose father had studied theology. He, himself used to be notary of the village of Megyero between 1822 and 1835. In Meggyesfalva Jakobovics Istvan was notary, in Szabed Moldovan Janos, and in the spring of 1848 in Kisapold Moise Tanase functioned as notary; he openly sided with the peasants. He refused to accept the authorities and many of the Vlach notaries became scribes of the peasants who refused forced labour(68). In addition to the priests, the Vlach village notaries also played a role in the preparations of the Vlachs' anti-Hungarian activities during the 1848/49 freedom fight.

Contrarily to the 1784 Horea-Closca-Crisan revolt which was widely condemned by the Romanian intellectuals of the time - primarily by the priests - this time the radical intelligentsia, such as lawyers, teachers, etc., started to stir too and assumed a leadership role. At first they did not reject the union between Transylvania and Hungary but they set conditions. Among the intellectuals who opposed this union, only Simion Barnutiu(44) turned fully against it. In a hand-written proclamation he considers any Romanian "forever accursed" who dares forge a union before politically acknowledging Romanian nationhood. He says: "Without nationhood even the republic is hell."(69)

The Vlach serfs decided that their liberation from serfdom was immediate and instantaneous without transition. Moreover, the Vlach serfs, not only did they refuse service, they felt justified in

occupying the estates of their landowners in Mihaczfalva and Koslard in Feher County, Some members of the Romanian National Committee remorselessly urged this obviously insane procedure, as well as open resistance, on the Vlach peasants. Subsequently the second Vlach meeting of Balazsfalva(45) took place; it lasted two weeks and it was where Avram Iancu(46) appeared, accompanied by 6000 armed Moc. The meeting decided that any able-bodied Vlach man between 17 and 50 has to bear arms and developed the military organization of the Transylvanian Vlach armed forces. One must remember that at the time of the 1784 Horea peasant revolt, Vienna forbade the Hungarian nobles to arm themselves in self-defense, but it never did forbid the arming of the Vlachs. Quite the contrary: it ordered the disarming of the Hungarian soldiers and militiamen, city by city and village by village. In some places this could only be carried out by force. Vienna's orders and the proclamation of October 12 of Bishop Andrei Saguna gave rise to bloody and deadly conflicts. The Bishop exhorted his faithful to obey the orders of Vienna's high command. They should arm themselves well and be prepared to defend their legitimate government (the Vienna government) against any foe. As enemy, he considered the Hungarians. On the day his proclamation was published, a crowd of about 10,000 armed men gathered by the Romanian National Committee slaughtered 140 Hungarians - men, women, children, and old people - at Kisenyed. At that time, Kisenyed was a large village inhabited mostly by Vlachs and Saxons; it had publicly-owned Hungarian property, nobles, and well-fenced in public buildings. Hungarians from the neighbouring villages went there seeking protection. Obeying their bishops' instructions to the letter, the Vlach revolutionaries demanded that the Hungarians put down their arms which they refused. After several days of resistance - since no help came from Szeben - they agreed with the peace-negotiator that they will put down their arms if they are guaranteed a safe-conduct. But as soon as that was done, the Vlachs - breaking their word - slaughtered the by now disarmed Hungarians. The names of their victims are known(71).

In Magyarigen, the village of Bod Peter(47), an eminent figure in Transylvania's cultural history, the Vlach revolutionaries

exterminated 176 Hungarian families. Their graves are in the cemetery in the garden of the ex-Roman Catholic school(72). It is no wonder but a consequence of this bloody deed that whereas in the XVIII century there were 1400 Hungarians, between 1980 and 1990 only 6 protestant and 8 roman catholic Hungarians were counted.

In the region of Balazsfalva, by October 20 more than 400 victims are mentioned. That is where Szollosi Elek, sheriff, lost his life, together with several nobles and the priest(73).

Drawing their lesson from what went on around them, the little town of Alvinc and Cardinal Frater Gyorgy, the reigning prince of Transylvania, decided to resist. The about 400 Hungarians of the neighbouring village of Borbere came here for protection and also helped defend the little town. They all took refuge in the castle which they transformed into a fortress. The Vlachs surrounded the little town and demanded that the Hungarians give themselves up. They refused, saying: "Only when the emperor's regular army comes here from the fortress of Gyulafehervar can there be talk of surrender." In the meantime, the Vlach and Hungarian communities started peace talks which led to an agreement. However, realizing how often such peace agreements were broken by the revolutionaries, the Hungarians sent Captain Racz and the local roman catholic priest as emissaries to Gyulafehervar(48) asking for help from the regular army. They were both killed on their way by Vlach rebels.

Despite the October 23 peace agreement, the Hungarians refused to put down their arms before the arrival at Alvinc of the regular army which they wanted in the fortress with them. This condition was accepted. Thanks to this action, no marauding Vlach groups could penetrate the town. And the local Vlachs kept their agreement. In this a great role was played by the two Vlach priests, Muntean and Corna, who "...during these perilous times kept calming the people and exhorted them to keep the command of brotherly love." Thus, through the intervention of the two priests, the Hungarians of the two small towns were spared. The hand-written copy of this Peace Agreement can be seen in the Manuscript Section of the

Romanian Academy's library in Bucharest.

For this reason, there were no retributions, no court-martials, after general Bem's(49) arrival(74).

The Romanian National Committee was charged with leading the fight of the popular revolt against the "godless heathens". Again, the 1784 events were repeated: the Vlach peasants forced their Hungarian comrades to convert to the Orthodox faith. For this reason, they did not join in the fight whenever possible(75). On October 15, 1848, the fully armed Szekelys gathered for a parliament at Agyagfalva. Despite his Hungarian origins, Austrian general baron Puchner, following Vienna's instructions, ordered the disarming of the volunteer Hungarian troops and militia, city by city and village by village. This could only be achieved by force and gave rise to countless bloody conflicts.

With the exception of Haromszek, all of Transylvania fell into the hands of the imperial forces and the Vlach revolutionaries who continued, at the price of much bloodshed, the disarming of the Hungarians. For a depiction of the carnage inflicted by this Austrian-Vlach "undertaking" on the Hungarians and their sympathizers, we have to turn to the Saxon chronicler, Friedenfels, who, in his book entitled *Joseph Bedens von Scharberg*, Vol.II, pp.81-82, writes the following: "What good would it do to list the places destroyed and the number of the victims? Aside from the Mongol invasion and the battles of the XVI and XVII centuries, there was never a time when the unbridled passions let loose in the whole country caused more looting, murder and arson than in this year."(76)

On December 1, 1848, Kossuth Lajos named general Bem as commander-in-chief of the Transylvanian army. While he went from victory to victory over the imperial troops in the country's northwest, in other parts of it some bloody events took place. The region of Torda, Medgyes, Szeben and Deva fell into the Vlachs' power. On January 5, 1849, they attacked Szaszvaros and exacted a terrible ransom from its inhabitants and the Hungarians who had fled there. Three days later, they attacked

Nagyenyed. Upon orders of Romanian prefect Axente Sever(50), the leader of the Vlach camp at Balazsfalva, Tribune Prodan had the town surrounded by a strong Vlach force and set on fire at several points. About 800 Hungarians became the victims of this vandalism. In this conflagration were destroyed the archives of the protestant bishopric, its irreplaceable library and valuable relics. An insignificant little plaque to the right of the fortress' main entrance marks the mass grave of the 800 Hungarians. It simply reads: "January 8, 1849".

The Vlach troops of Avram Iancu - who had attended and graduated from the Roman Catholic (piarist) high school in Kolozsvár - made their way toward Sárd and created a bloodbath at every village they touched. In the vicinity of Sárd they killed 42 Hungarian families (210 people).

After Sárd they came to the railroad station of Preszák, in the valley of the Ompoly River, where can be found the grave of the 700 Hungarians from Zalatna who were murdered there simply because they were Hungarians(77) on October 24, 1848. No wonder then that there are so few Hungarians left in Zalatna.

The passage of the Vlach troops was marked by murdered people and destroyed villages. About 170 Hungarians that went into hiding in the middle of the winter died of exposure and hunger.

In Marosújvár, 90 nobles of the region were gathered together; they were to be marched to Balazsfalva. They had barely left the town when an Orthodox priest appeared and made them pray. Then they were all killed, their bodies thrown into the Maros(78).

The possessions the fleeing Hungarian people left behind became the loot of the pillaging Vlachs who burned up whatever they could not carry(79).

In Aranyosgerend, they almost completely destroyed the books and documents that the historian Kemény József (1795-1855) had collected in his manorhouse built in 1633

The Hungarians of the Barcasag(51) took their share of the suffering during the freedom fight: in 1848 the Vlachs looted, burned and destroyed everything, killed many Hungarians and imprisoned others.

The Hungarian-speaking inhabitants of Moldovia (csango), ardent disciples of Kossuth Lajos, sent their deputies to the 1848 national assembly held at Agyagfalva. After their return, the leaders of Brassó, inhabited by faithful followers of the emperor, imprisoned them. Then they sent marauding Vlach groups against the csango serfs' villages which they laid waste. On December 14, 1848 at Hosszufalu they set Szaraz György, protestant minister, on top of a red-hot stove and roasted him there until he died. Two days before Christmas, the same roaming mobs ravaged again the seven villages(80).

At Gerendkeresztúr, 200 Hungarian nobles, gathered from the region, were killed(81).

During the night of October 28, they collected the Hungarians of the prairie town, Benedek, took them out of the town and slaughtered them. No one was left alive.

At Kocsárd, 60 Hungarians were executed with such cruel atrocities that, seeing these, 3 members of the village notary's family hanged themselves in the attic where they had fled(82).

At Gulaféhervár, the clock-maker Megai was roasted alive and at Domba the landowner had his hands and feet sawed off and was buried in dirt up to his waist(83).

At Naszód, the Hungarians were tied to stakes and put to death with select tortures(84).

At Borbánd, Baranyai Karoly had his arms and head sawed off before his wife and daughter. Then they put the head on a stake and his wife had to march it to Balazsfalva, accompanied by the looting crowd(85).

The Hungarians that had sought asylum in Korosbanya from the ravages of Prefect Buttyan (Butean) were disarmed and urged to return home. The Brady family, accompanied by the Orthodox priest of Korosbanya and some relatives, got into wagons and left the town at 6 o'clock in the evening, trusting in their past of high positions and their charity to the people. Yet they had barely left the town when an enraged Vlach crowd surrounded them and butchered them all, children included with the most atrocious tortures. Not one of the 14 family members was left alive. They tore an infant off the breast of Brady Palne and buried it alive(86). The victims' graves lie between Czebe and Korosbanya.

In Borosbocsard, estate manager Szekacs was harnessed to a plow together with Peterffy Laszlo, the erudite professor at the school of Nagyenyed. They were driven until they collapsed, dead.

Practically all of the Hungarians of the region of Radnot were exterminated(87).

Sheriff Jablonczay Jozsef and his son were tied to the back of a wagon and walked through every village of his district; then they were tortured and executed next to the inn at Gald(88).

Wherever they appeared the Vlach mobs looted, ravaged, murdered and set fires. The landowners, or wealthier Hungarians had their hands, feet, and heads sawed off. Unfortunately not every village had its scribe to record these terrible events.

During the whole of the freedom fight, whenever a battle was lost and the soldiers and militiamen tried to disperse and flee, on their way home, "...the marauding Vlach troops and the rebellious Vlach inhabitants fell on the returning Szekelys and massacred them."(89) Thus was killed Maria, the sister of Madach Imre, together with her officer husband as they were fleeing the battlefield after a lost battle(90). First-lieutenant V. Rucki (NOT a Hungarian), officer of the Polish legion that general Bem had organized, reports that on the sites of battles only "roving bands of Romanians" can be seen "robbing the

fallen". The Vlachs, as counter-revolutionaries, killed those that were left alive and robbed them(90/a). Wherever they found Hungarians on the road, they "disarmed" them in perpetuity. Thus Gyarfas Elek of Szancsal, Dobolyi Zsigmond, landowner of Veresegyhaz, County Judge Matok and his colleague Miske. Before they executed Miske they blinded him with hot coals; then, turning him towards his forest they asked him: can he see it?(91)

Although it occurred during a battle, the circumstances of Vasvari Pal's(51/a) death must be mentioned. On July 14, 1849, he and his comrades were retreating. Similarly to what happened in 1330 at the time of King Robert Karoly, Vasvari's "Rakoczi" troops found themselves stopped by barricades that Iancu's men had built out of huge logs. From above, a shower of stones rained down upon CVasvari's troops. Vasvari was wounded in the battle; his subalterns and more than a hundred of his men fell. Then the Vlachs executed Vasvari amid unspeakable tortures. A man named Togyer (Toader) Gavrilla sharpened a stake and driving it through Vasvari's chest, pinned him to the ground. Days later they found many of his baby-faced comrades (the Rakoczi troop was composed of youths betweenm the ages of 14 and 16) thus nailed to the ground(91/a). The applied forms of death-by-torture cannot be forgotten or forgiven by the Hungarians(92).

It is a historical fact that during the 1848/49 freedom fight Avram Iancu and his mob killed more Hungarians than died on the battlefields. But Iancu got his comeuppance: after the freedom fight he became insane. Dressed in rags, neglected and dirty, he roamed the mountains and valleys with his flute, sometimes even playing Hungarian songs, learned no doubt in his student-days. Often he was fed and given to drink by Hungarians....

All these terrible events could have been avoided if the Hungarian political leaders and Vienna had done more to satisfy rhe Transylvanian Vlachs' demands. The actions of the Viennese camarilla(52), turning the other minorities, such as the Vlachs, against the Hungarian freedom fight, should have been

prevented. Had the Hungarian national assemblies accepted the demands of the minorities, as formulated in the spring of 1848 at their congress; had Seneca's dictum(53): "Et auditor et altera pars"(53) been followed, the failure of the Hungarian freedom fight and the loss of Hungarians could have been avoided. In Hungary, the liberation of the minority serfs made free peasants out of them also, thus an interested party to the freedom fight. But when the conservative forces in Transylvania delayed the serfs' liberation, the conflict took on national (and racial) overtones enabling the counterrevolutionary forces to appear in the guise of proponents of the serfs' liberation, thus becoming their leaders(93). Furthermore, had the 1849 law, giving civil rights to the nations, been extended to include corporate rights too, the outcome of the freedom fight would have been very different.

Nevertheless, let us point out that the Vlach serfs suffering under the cruel fate of feudalism, did not have it worse than elsewhere in Europe, with the exception that - although considered a beast of burden - he could not be sold on the market like a beast; he was not a slave. When it came down to freedom, the Hungarians liberated all the serfs, regardless of nationality. And that included those Vlachs who immediately after their liberation followed Avram Iancu and his ambitions and started to exterminate the Hungarians. Let us also point out that in the home countries these Vlachs - now called Romanians - came from, the serfs gained their freedom from the yoke of their boyar masters of Moldova and the Southern Carpathian Region 16 years later only.

V.

BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The May, 1848 and last - governing national assembly in Kolozsvar declared, without conditions and restrictions, Transylvania's union with Hungary. This proclamation, adopted unanimously by all peoples of Transylvania was accepted by Orthodox Bishop Saguna Andras strictly on a personal basis, speaking for himself only. The Vlachs did not accept the union; in fact, they denied it.

After the freedom fight Transylvania was still governed from Vienna. Following the historical 1867 Compromise, the law of union between the two countries regained its validity. Transylvania became part of Hungary, as she used to be before the Battle of Mohacs in 1526.

Tired of the inequalities, conflicts, hatred and particularly the cruelties, the peoples of Transylvania began to approach and understand one another. But these developments were still sporadic, manifesting themselves mainly in larger cities, around the intellectuals. These frequented one another's cultural events, sincerely respecting the other's past and culture. There is a little song in two languages that speaks more eloquently of the situation than the representatives in parliament of Romania (the two regions of Moldova and the Southern Carpathian region joined together to form Romania and its people, the Romanians.)

Most of the people, however, followed the ideals of Horea and Iancu. Particularly the clergy, both the Orthodox and the Byzantine Rite priests, were leaders in the "anti-Hungarian activities." They attempted, assiduously and openly, to Romanize the Byzantine Rite Hungarians. To stop this process, Franz Joseph(54) ordered, on July 29, 1913 the validation of

the 1913 XXXV law creating the Byzantine Rite Bishopric of Hajdudorog. On October 5, Miklosy Istvan was ordained bishop; however, he established his see in Debrecen which was more centrally located; this was of paramount importance for communicating with his priests in the far corners of his see. The ultranationalistic Romanian circles could never forgive Bishop Miklosy for their loss of the possibility of further Romanizing the Byzantine Rite Hungarians or, even worse, threatening to absorb the Romanians. To combat this trend, the Bishop was sent from Csernovitz(55), on February 22, 1914, a package weighing about 18 kgs which contained a bomb; this exploded when the package was opened. It killed the bishop's secretary, his legal advisor and his deputy, seriously wounding 7 other people and slightly wounding 26 more. The bomb was made by Ilie Catarau, a professor at the military academy(94).

The until then neutral Romania sent off her Monarchy's (Regat's) declaration of war to Vienna on August 18, 1916 and immediately attacked Hungary. She invaded Transylvania; the result of this invasion was that 200,000 became temporarily homeless and several thousands of Hungarians lost their lives.

At Alsosofalva a Romanian military unit gathered together the inhabitants of the village and locked them up in the school. When the captives tried to flee the hunger and tortures inflicted upon them, the soldiers shot them. When the Hungarian army counterattacked, the Romanians formed a group made of 15-year old Hungarian boys and 70-80-year old men that they took with them. None of them ever returned. Their names are listed on the monument in the village center(95).

The September 23, 1943 issue of Szekely Szo publishes the report of Anghi Balazs detailing an event that occurred on September 22, 1916 when a unit of gendarmes, led by a colonel, executed all the leaders of Szarhegy in full view of the victims' relatives and the inhabitants of the village. Their bodies were thrown into a hole dug between a barn and a granary. Later, the inhabitants disinterred them and buried them properly.

On September 26-29, 1916, at the battle of Nagyszeben the Austro-Hungarian and German troops decisively defeated the

Romanian army, leading Romania to sign the peace agreement on May 7, 1918.

During this war, both parties naturally took prisoners. According to "A Hadifogoly Magyarok Története" (History of Hungarian Prisoners-of-War) (Vol. I, p. 280), the majority of those that fell into Romanian captivity were taken to Sipotele, the prisoner-of-war (death) camp located in central Moldova. In 1916, this camp consisted only of a few long barns; the lack of room, food, and medical supervision were beyond belief. According to a report by Swiss inspector Bacilieri, at the beginning of the winter of 1916, there were 17,000 inmates at the camp. Of these, 6,000 died; the Romanians own up to 2,000. Since no records of deaths were kept, they could advance any figure. Yet the notes that the prisoners kept speak of 15,000 dead. Their remains lie around a monument erected near the station at Redin by "Cultul Eloiroi", an organization created to care for military burial grounds.

The Romanian penetration into Transylvania brought the Hungarian population to the brink of annihilation and kept it there for 22 years (1918-1940). The Hungarians and other non-Romanian peoples became part of an Orthodox, rigid, and negative Balkan community, with its Balkan morals. This affected equally the Hungarians, the Hungarian-accultured Romanians and all the other peoples.

After the collapse of the Central Powers, the Romanian army crossed Transylvania's defenseless borders. On December 1, 1918, they convoked their National Assembly at Gyulafehérvár - that ancient Hungarian city - which adopted the so-called "Resolution of Gyulafehérvár" and unilaterally declared Transylvania's union with Romania. Yet let us remember that

1.- the Hungarians of Transylvania did not, could not in all honour, participate in this decisive assembly that determined the fate of all of Transylvania's peoples and therefore did not vote for this union.

2.- the Saxons (Transylvania's second nation) reluctantly voted for it after lengthy discussions and consultations with the leaders who made them some promises.

3.- Yet the Romanians themselves were not convinced of a union without conditions."(96)

In the "Resolution of Gyulafehervar" they proclaimed and promised to guarantee every nation's freedom - but these promises were never carried out.

The suffering of the Hungarian people started with the first step the Romanians took on Transylvania's soil. On January 15, 1919, they arrested Transylvania's Hungarian high commissioner, Apathy Istvan(56). On the basis of some trumped-up charges, he was convicted to 5 years in prison. He never served those 5 years - he was tortured to death well before.

After Apathy's arrest, the Romanians took over the government of Transylvania. This increased and intensified the mistreatment of the Hungarians. Some paid with their lives during the first few days of the occupation; others were imprisoned or interned. Practically all of Transylvania's ecclesiastical and secular leaders had "visited" the Romanians' prisons.

Immediately before the arrival of the Romanian army - although not universally welcomed by Transylvania's Romanian inhabitants - national councils and national guards were formed. They cooperated with the Romanian army and assiduously collected data on "mistreatment by Hungarians and the Hungarian authorities" in order to have the Entente push the demarcation line(57) farther out. Members of these guards became the main informers of the newly arrived troops and caused the greatest damage to Hungarian-Romanian relations.

In the glow of their victory, the Romanians started a campaign of destruction of everything that was not Romanian. This untenable situation was brought out at the the 1923 VI Congress of the Federarion of Balkan Communist Parties held in Berlin. It stated that "Romania practices oppressive policies of assimilation against the minorities", advocated "the use of plebiscites, even if it meant separation from the state, i.e. Romania".

Immediately after entering Brassó, the Romanians gathered the Hungarians together. They half interred them in a big pit and left them there for days, without food or water, until they died. They reintroduced the most humiliating of punishments: flogging. Normally 25 strikes were administered but sometimes 50. A captive Romanian soldier admitted that wherever the army went flogging was common(97).

The military tribunals of Kolozsvár, Brassó, and Temesvár handed down death sentences daily; fortunately most of these ended with prisoner exchanges(98). The remainder fell victim to Romanian retribution - in clear defiance of international law.

The Romanian army was a miserable lot: it was ragged, dirty, ill-shod, wearing straw hats. A few hours after arriving in Hungarian cities or villages, the army paraded up and down in civilian shoes and trousers which did not match their tunics. They looted shops and homes and shot those who dared to protest. According to military regulations, they did this "secretly and under cover", but took the residents' watches and jewelry in broad daylight.

The army that returned from Transylvania's Mezőség(58) was fully armed; some of the assault troops even had handgrenades. The two armies joined forces to rob the village administration. Those that could not escape, they beat to death. They looted the manor houses and the castles: they collected all the cattle and swine and even took the grain harvest.

As soon as they received the "manifest" (declaration) that the Romanians, together with all of Transylvania, are breaking away from Hungary, the priests immediately published this news in their churches. Thus encouraged, the Romanians looted first the Jews of the village and chased them away(99).

From Topánfalva, where the extermination of Hungarians reached its highest point in 1784 and 1848/48, all the Hungarians fled in the night, leaving behind all their possessions. Their escape only increased the looting spirit in the Romanians. Here, too, they started by looting the Jewish shops

and houses..Then they broke into the house of "Chief engineer Karoly" who was ill in bed and therefore could not escape. They robbed him, stripped him naked and beat him to death with their rifle-butts(100).

In Diod, famous for its Balassa-estate, landowners Mincenty and Kiss were robbed and they and their families tortured to death.

On December 15, 1918 in Branyicska there was an armed conflict; then they took Chief Forester Csanyi Janos and shot him to death on the false charge of spying.

In Csikszentsimon, a cavalry colonel and several men were killed because they tried to defend themselves against the looters.

Twenty-five people were killed in Parajd, just for the fun of it.

The end of December 1918 - early January 1919 brought the occupation of the mine region. The miners who protested their mistreatment were arrested by the hundreds; their families - women and children - were chased out of their homes which were then looted. But the miners had armed themselves even before the occupation; therefore on January 3 started their disarming and the collecting of their weapons in Petrozsény(59). According to a contemporary report, "...they took gold watches, food and many other things." The miners' resistance continued in Vulkan where the mining engineer Wolf was shot for protesting the "unusual treatment".

During the night of January 7 to 8, 1919, on the pretense of conspiring against the Romanian army, it collected and tried 9 Social Democratic leaders; they were collectively condemned to 300 years in prison(101). All this provoked the miners to flee the region; this was detrimental to production.

The personnel of the Budapest-Tovis postal service was beaten or arrested for not being able to speak Romanian.

From January 1919 on, the occupiers also introduced monetary fines.

They had no pity on the ill: a report dated December 15, 1918 from Marosvasarhely describes how they corraled and drove away all the cows of the hospital despite strong protests. The patients could not be provided for.

In Zilah(60), at the end of January, the Romanian army received 24 hours of free looting. They killed teacher Ploz Gyula, as well as Horvath Janos and Krausz Demeter, local residents.

Wherever the Romanian army went, its path was littered with corpses - communists and non-communists alike. Dozens and dozens of examples could be listed, such as the small village of Gebe where 27 Hungarians were killed(102).

When the Romanian army moved into the valley of the Fekete Koros, it deported 87 Hungarians - 71 men and 16 women - between the ages of 20 and 83 from the purely Hungarian village of Korostarkany. Their great offense was trying to help the Hungarians of a neighbouring village where the Romanian army committed atrocity after atrocity. Typical of the cruelty was Olah Erzsebet, a 49-year old woman who was buried alive and Izsak Mihaly, 72, who - as in the darkest middle ages - had his hands and feet cut off before being executed.

These martyrs were first buried in mass graves at the edge of the village. Later, they were disinterred and transported to individual graves in the cemetery. According to a 1935 order, their tombstones had either to be destroyed or the date of death erased: April 19, 1919.

In the neighbouring village of Kisnyeger, the slaughter took place on April 19, 1919 also. Seventeen innocent men between the ages of 22 and 76 were killed on Good Saturday. They are buried in a mass grave at the edge of the village. A willow-tree marks the spot of their death and guards their memory(103).

In towns and villages, Hungarian public servants refused, on the basis of international law, to take the oath of allegiance and to cooperate with the occupying Romanian army which embarked

on a merciless campaign against all the public servants and leaders. The chief sheriff of Kohalom was sentenced to death by a court-martial in Brassó; the mayor of Deva(61) was caned according to some reports.

Some other reports indicate the introduction, in several places, of questioning-by-torture. Some of the tortured had salt rubbed into their wounds(104). But what can one expect from a people steeped in cruelty(105)...?

They arrested and tortured to death Grun Samuel, Jewish owner of a printshop in Marosvásárhely. The truce commission did everything in its power to liberate this unfortunate man(106).

The occupying forces attacked particularly vehemently members of directorates that sprang up during the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Socialist Republic (March 1 to August 1, 1919), communists, red soldiers, and interned them at various points in the country(107). Hundreds and thousands disappeared from these internment camps. On February 1, 1919, two labourers from Alkenyer were arrested and court-martialed in Szászváros(62) for "spreading socialist ideals." Both men were sentenced to caning. Wherever they went, the occupiers carried with them units of the gendarmerie (which were not dispersed in 1919) whose only sin was to be steadfast and strong.

The withdrawal of the Romanian troops from Hungarian territory was the basic condition of the nation's consolidation. Yet the great powers could only achieve this after considerable time that the Romanians used well to inflict more cruelties.

Under pain of severe punishment, confiscation of property, or imprisonment, there can be no written record - inscriptions, tombstones, notes, diaries - of the slaughter and other atrocities committed during the Romanian army's occupation. So there are no or few written records; the stories are only oral histories that go down from generation to generation. Such as that of Tabori Piroška, a Székely teacher and poet whose anonymously published poem, "Uzenet Erdélyből" ("A message from

Transylvania") caused the Romanian occupying army to hang her. Only whispered mention could be made of this tragedy(63).

Despite the instructions of the Entente, the royal Romanian army penetrated as far as Budapest and occupied a small part of Transdanubia also. It continued its depredations along the way. The tombstone found in the cemetery at Kenderes (Szolnok County) speaks eloquently of such an event:

"For the Fatherland. On July 24, 1919 died a martyr's death Pataki Karoly, 63, Pataki Jozsef, 36, Pataki Antal, 17. They were tortured and suffered until their lives were extinguished and their blood was spilled by Romanian hands. We shall mourn forever an unforgettable husband, children, father and brothers."

From death and disinterment records, from diplomatic and police reports it becomes apparent that the Romanian army indulged in wholesale killings of political prisoners and red soldiers. Most of its victims were civilians; some 14 to 16 year-olds were among them(108).

Contemporary reports indicate that the Romanian army dragged 3 gendarmes and 2 financial guards from Gava to Vencsello where they shot all five. Then, in retribution for some trumped-up charges, the commander of the 82nd royal Romanian infantry division ordered that the whole village of Vencsello be burned down. Of the 326 houses, 231 were completely consumed by flames; also destroyed were the village's public buildings: its city hall, the Roman Catholic church, the school, and the teacher's residence(109). In Zalkid, the Hungarian soldiers captured in December 1944 were lodged in a sheep-pen in a Romanian village called Arini. At midnight, they set the sheep-pen on fire; fortunately no one got burned. From January 6, 1945 Hungarian prisoners-of-war died from typhoid fever. The village buried them in a mass grave(109/a). The list could go on and on - after all there is hardly a place in Romanian-occupied Hungary that does not have had its share of cruelties. They had a free hand to torture, kill, loot, and burn; because of internal dissent, the Entente commission could not or would not put a stop to these activities. As a Captain Gregory, American leader

of an auxiliary organization, reported in 1919: "While the generals ponder, the Roumanians plunder."(110) And not only the occupied parts of country - writes Harry Hill Bandholtz(64), head of the American military mission - but the whole country is down on its knees under their reign of terror(111). But let us return to Transylvania.

The Hungarian prisoners-of-war returning from Russia, as well as peaceful Hungarian citizens were interned. No exact numbers are available but it is known that from Petrozsény alone 65 men were interned, primarily members of the public administration(112).

In mid-January 1919, the highly respected Roman Catholic bishop of Gyulafehérvár, count Majlath Gusztav Karoly(65), was interned.

The occupation of Transylvania was executed by humiliating, looting, killing, and torturing all non-Romanian nations, including the Hungarians, Germans and Jews. Of course no mention is made of all this in the Romanian history books. It is interesting, therefore, to see what Ottokar Czernin(66) former foreign minister of Austria, has to say in his memoirs entitled *Im Weltkrieg* (pp.10-11): [the Romanians] "tore to shreds to Bulgarian prisoners they captured in the II Balkan war." He further writes: "One had to live in the Balkans to have known the hatred and its consequences there."

The most detailed description of the "union" of Transylvania with Old-Romania can be found in *Desavîrsirea Unificării Statului Național Român Unirea Transilvaniei cu Vechea Românie* (The fulfillment of Romania's Nationhood: Transylvania's union with Old-Romania), a work published in 1968 by the Romanian Academy(114). This "union" with - or occupation of - Transylvania is depicted as if the Hungarian and Székely inhabitants received the troops with "hallelujahs" and jubilation(115). As if those crowds had no memory of the cruelties of 1784, 1848, and 1916....

Aware of the mentality reigning in Old-Romania, the Transylvanian Romanian leaders have been striving for autonomy all along. They justified this on the basis of

Transylvania's historical development, its higher culture, as well as the leaders' own merits in the cultural and political fight. So they created the Ruling Council; it temporarily held the power. At least at the beginning, it proved to be capable of governing itself and its territory. It enjoyed - for a time - the wide support of the occupying Romanian army.

At first, the Council preached national peace. It emphasized mutual understanding with the Hungarians and the Germans. Maniu Gyula(67), one of the leading personalities of the "union" movement, felt that it was a mistake to dismiss all the Hungarian public administrators or civil servants, and to oblige them to earn their living in a liberal profession. His own experience taught him that those in the liberal professions - doctors, lawyers - remain in closer contact with their people(116). But he was overruled by Bucharest.

At the beginning, the Transylvanian Romanian leaders were not as hostile to their "co-nationalists" as were the subsequent governments in Bucharest. When the government started treating Transylvania as merely a "conquered" territory whose economy, industry, and commerce were simply to be exploited, it took the leadership away from the Transylvanian Romanians, thus cheating on their own nationals. Further, when they relegated Transylvania to the rank of their less cultivated provinces, these turned against the Hungarians and became their oppressors within the administration, in daily contacts, in economic and cultural questions(117). Thus started the curtailment of the Hungarians' civil rights, the closings of their cultural institutions, their schools. They even feared having their churches "occupied". It is no wonder then that during the occupation and the following few years 197,000 Transylvanians fled to Hungary; an emigration that continued. This was a deliberate, forced reduction of the minorities, an ethnic cleansing, a hidden genocide which still goes on.

Following the Trianon peace treaty and the stabilization of the country, Romania had to face economic difficulties galore, among them a multitude of strikes. One of these was the strike at the mines of Lupeny(68) where "Hungarian irrendentist spirit"

was blamed. It allegedly urged the miners (as if they had not been mostly Romanians!) to rebel, to sever all connections with Romania and Hungary and to set up the "Bansag and Transylvanian Republic". This allegation was based on its own fears: according to Romanian historian Mironescu, in the 3 counties of the Banat there were: a total of 1,582,133 inhabitants (387,545 Germans; 284,329 Serbians; 242,152 Hungarians; 76,059 others)(118) and 592,049 Romanians. The non-Romanians had trouble tolerating the medieval circumstances of endemic corruption. Therefore, the Hungarian of the "irredentist spirit" were executed and not the underpaid, hungry, bedraggled Romanian miners(119).

The strike, as always happens, had many victims. Babos Sandor, protestant minister, writer, was arrested for the following sentence pronounced during his funeral oration over the coffin of Duka Zsigmond, a striker who was killed: "...they only asked for bread yet riflebutts and murderous bullets became their lot." He was tried for anti-state agitation(119).

In those days, strikes not only in Romania but ALL strikes, without exception in Transylvania, were attributed to the Hungarian workers who were persecuted and oppressed. During the 22 years, until 1940, - not counting those that were tortured and killed in 1918/19 - the Romanians particularly cruelly persecuted the Hungarian socialists, including the social-democrats. In 1929 they executed at Temesvar the Hungarian-born socialist leader, Fonagy Janos, and in 1940 Ocsko Terez(120).

On December 20, 1937, general elections were held in Romania. According to the instructions of the then ruling Liberal Party, the candidates of the Hungarian Party were arrested and their meetings were banned. The day before the voting, whole villages were quarantined under the pretext of "an epidemic". No one of the Hungarian Party was allowed even near the polling places. Those who resisted and claimed their rights, were beaten; their votes were stolen and replaced by a vote for the Liberal Party. From Maros-Torda County about 800 Hungarians left to go vote in the village of Felsooroszi. Near

Nyaradmagyaros Pereni, the sheriff of Nikhaz, had the gendarmes stop them and kept them waiting for several hours. However, he let pass the pastor of Demenyhaza. Seeing this, the Hungarian crowd surged forward thinking they could go too. Whereupon the sheriff ordered the gendarmes to fire and he himself shot his hunting rifle first. Eleven Hungarians collapsed, 2 died instantly. The gendarmes took their bodies away and no one was allowed to attend their funeral. The wounded were taken to the state hospital in Marosvasarhely. One of them died, the remaining were left disabled for life. After the election, criminal proceedings were started but - of course - the accused were acquitted. The three who died: Marton Karoly, Siklodi Sandor, and Balogh Antal(121).

In the 1930 and 1935/37 strikes, the craftsmen collaborating with the strikers in minority-held enterprises were made out to be strike-breakers so that they could decrease national industry's earning power. Even during the strikes, ethnic discrimination was practiced.

Karoly II., Romanian king (1930-1940), having dismissed Prime Minister Octavian Goga(69), formed a new government over and above of the political parties under the leadership of the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church. On February 27, 1938, he also gave the country a new constitution which introduced the death penalty and the confiscation of property. This new constitution brought nothing good to the minorities - on the contrary. Instead of the prefects of the counties, he placed senior field-officers, "colonel-prefects" at their heads. The courts-martial took on added importance. With zeal and assiduity they prosecuted hundreds, thousands of Hungarians they considered enemies of the constitution. A Lt.-Col. Negulescu, the president of the court-martial of Kolozsvar, became notorious: he condemned any and all Hungarians appearing before him even though his no less anti-Hungarian prosecutor asked for acquittal(122).

In the meantime, on November 2, 1938 the first Vienna decision came about which enabled Hungary to reclaim a part of the territory she lost to Slovakia. Czechoslovakia fell apart. Then, in

March, 1939, the royal Hungarian army marched into Transcarpathia. Then the rumours spread that Hungary was massing 5 army corps on the Romanian border and is poised to invade the country. The fear that gripped the Romanian government and leaders at the mention of the Hungarian army is hard to describe. Romania mobilized. Under these tense circumstances one could not initiate Romanian-Hungarian contacts; particularly not with the Romanian prisons full of Hungarian prisoners and the two armies facing each other.

The negotiations preceding the I. Vienna decision were well-known in Romania also. She became nervous, worried that Transylvania will be on the carpet soon. This produced some anti-Hungarian provocations: in Bonchida (Kolozs County) the village youth organized a harvest-parade in the autumn of 1938. A group of Romanians attacked the paraders with sticks and fence-posts. A lot of blood was spilled but there were no deaths, thanks to the courage of the Hungarians. According to the news broadcast from Budapest, there were wounded on both sides. (The author was eye-witness to this event.)

On September 1, 1939, on Romania's immediate borders, the German-Polish war broke out. In Transylvania, everyone - not only the Hungarians and the other nationals but the Romanians themselves - dreaded the outbreak of the WWII which was bound to bring unforeseen developments, even the possibility of Romania's dismemberment. In addition to the growing dissatisfaction, the country was surrounded by enemy states, except for Yugoslavia. Given the proper moment, the Soviet Union was as little inclined to give up its claim to Bessarabia as were the Bulgarians to Dobrudzsa(70) or the Hungarians to Transylvania.

In October, 1939, the Romanian authorities arrested masses of Hungarians: pastors, professors, railway employees and ordinary folk too. The charges against them: the organization of secret national defense units, the preparation and organization of sabotage activities. Those charged were subjected to torture. In the end, they were compelled to release part of the 220 accused, the others were exiled to Hungary, without any of their

possessions which were confiscated. Only 15 were condemned; not in their proper venue in a Transylvanian court, but in court-martial in Craiova(71). One person, Roczy Mihaly, engineer from Kolozsvar, was sentenced to forced labour for life, the rest received 5 years each of prison. Later, after the II. Vienna decision (August 30, 1940), these - together with other political prisoners - were exiled to Hungary, dispossessed of all their valuables of course(123).

Searching for the threads of this "conspiracy", they arrested a group of still minor young people in Temesvar(72). None of them had anything to do with any "conspiracy": the arrests were just for showing off the authorities' power. But two of the arrested died as a consequence of Police Inquisitor Gritta Ovidiu's cruel tortures(124).

Foreign Minister Armand Calinescu invited count Banffy Miklos(73) to participate in the drafting of a minority law. On January 6, 1940, Banffy replied in a memorandum to the Interior Minister(?). This memorandum detailed exhaustively all the grievances of the Hungarians (from the requisitioning of draft animals to the curtailing of voting rights) pointing out that the Hungarians' "despair is "overwhelming" and worrisome(125).

In the summer of 1940, the Transylvanian Hungarians found themselves in a difficult situation. Not by accident, most of the men were mobilized for military duty in Old-Romania. Their families were destitute, their fields lay fallow, their animals were "taken" by the army. Weapons were issued to Romanian civilians and those underage and overage were weekly taken to rifle practice. The Hungarian men dreaded not only their duty to shoot their Hungarian brethren but also the slaughter that might ensue among the civilian population once the Hungarian army crosses the Trianon border. The communal, social, and ecclesiastical organizations cowered behind their walls, prepared for all eventualities and watched what will happen.

During the night of June 26 to 27, 1940 the Soviet Union sent an ultimatum to Romania demanding the evacuation of

Bessarabia and northern Bukovina which they invaded on June 28. Now all knew that this event will have far-reaching consequences. Romania ordered general mobilization. While the Hungarians dreamed of revision, more and more of them were arrested and court-martialed on the flimsiest of charges: an ambiguous comment, a misunderstood remark...

On August 30, 1940, Germany and Italy acting as arbitrators on Romania's demand(126) - not Hungarians'! - announced the II. Vienna decision. According to this decision, a part, the smaller part, of Transylvania was returned to Hungary. This ended, for a little while at least, the suffering and anxiety of its Hungarian inhabitants(127).

On September 5, 1940, the royal Hungarian army started to march into the territory that was assigned to Hungary. At the village of Ipp (Szilagy County), a Romanian miller handed up a bag of apples to one of the military wagons. At the edge of the village the bag exploded and killed two soldiers. To forestall any more of such attacks, the punitive party that was sent back to the village did not pick and choose: 157 Romanian peasants became victims of this retribution.

Near Zilah, an advance guard of Hungarian soldiers was caught in crossfire by Romanian army units hidden in the Meszes Mountains; they had also mined the road but were chased away(128).

At Ordogkut, inspired by the Orthodox priest and his daughter, the Romanians fired a volley at the advancing Hungarian army. "The machine gun rattled from the church steeple and from behind loosened roof-tiles rifles fired at the passing border guards."(129)

In Bonchida, the same bicycle-mounted border guard was billeted in the barracks of the local gendarmes. On the fourth morning, while shaving in the courtyard, 9 men were grievously wounded when "someone" threw a hand-grenade across the fence. The perpetrator "disappeared" immediately from the village but the Hungarians living there knew exactly who it was. For a short time, food poisonings were also a daily occurrence

among the Hungarian troops.

The Hungarian military leaders' reactions to these sporadic incidents of resistance were thoughtful and deliberate. In this connection it must be pointed out that before the Hungarians' arrival, the Romanians and Hungarians reached an agreement at Nagyvarad whereby the Romanians were to collect all the weapons from the civilian inhabitants. This they failed to do; all weapons used in these resistance attacks were army rifles. However, in the agreement the Romanians acknowledged the right of the Hungarian army to punish the franc-tireurs(74) - yet it was considered a cardinal sin. Not so the retribution inflicted by the Romanian army on Odessa(76) when Soviet partisans blew up Antonescu's(75) command post: in one day they killed 25,000 innocent citizens, men, women, old people, children...(130)

On September 11, 1940, the Hungarian army marched into Kolozsvar, Transylvania's capital. Before them, at six in the morning the last Romanian troops withdrew. The citizens began to drift out. A young boy appeared, selling pretzels from a basket decorated with a small Hungarian flag. The retreating army instantly shot him, as they shot a Hungarian journalist too.

When the army took possession of the city's barracks, they found in the old Hungarian one in Honved utca the bodies of Hungarian soldiers, executed and horrendously mutilated. (The contemporary press reported these events in detail.) But let us go back to Transylvania.

Because of its geographic location, Transylvania was always open to any cultural movement going from east to west or from west to east with all of them leaving their mark on this land. Its natural characteristics made it possible for all peoples to develop their own cultures with all their differences.

The Hungarians arriving in this land brought with them the culture and knowledge acquired from the neighbouring Kazar empire and enough wisdom to govern themselves and the other

peoples there(131).

During the Arpad dynasty (1000-1301) Saxons from along the Rhine were brought in with their urban and urbanizing culture. In mid-XII century, King Geza II (1141-1161) settled a group of franks from the Rhine; they established the town of Szeben and the surrounding villages, as well as a host of other towns, except for those in the land of the Szekelys and Gyulafehervar.

The last king of the Arpad dynasty, Endre III (1290-1301) convoked a legislative parliament in Gyulafehervar where he was represented by each nation: the Hungarians, the Szekelys, and the Saxons. Although without legislative power, the Vlachs - the Romanians' ancestors - were also present at this parliament.

It is not the purpose of this work to describe the cultural development of the four ethnic groups of Transylvania. As far as the Romanians are concerned though, we must point out that

- 1.- we know very little of them during the rule of the Arpad-dynasty and in the immediately following period;
- 2.- their numbers in the border counties increased tremendously;
- 3.- In these counties, some of the nobility came from their ranks but melded into the Hungarian;
- 4.- The majority of them were serfs belonging to the western reaches of the Orthodox church;
- 5.- They had no urban centers nor a middle class.
- 6.- The two Vlach principalities could not help them as they themselves were only created in the XIV century.

The cultural history of the land shows that the three nations, together with the ethnic Romanians though not a nation, developed their culture side-by-side, keeping in contact but not mixing. During the XVII century, thanks to the Reformation and the creation of the Principality, Hungarian and Szekely culture turned national; the Saxons already had their highly developed culture; the Romanian nobility, the emergence of a Romanian merchant-class and the reigning princes' generosity helped lift the Romanians up to a considerably higher degree of culture. These nations were welded into one to bear their common fate.

During the Austrian rule, the cohesive strength of these nations weakened and their spirit of self-governance started dying out. Yet it was at this time that the Romanians awoke to their own national feelings. It brought with it the alienation of Transylvania's three nations, their separation.

From wherever the attack may come, Transylvania's three nations will always ferociously defend their culture. This defense distinguishes the Hungarians and Szekelys from the Hungarians of Hungary, the Saxons from the Germans, and the Romanians from the Old-Romanians. And it is this distinction that Bucharest wants to extirpate at all costs.

As early as 1919, the occupying Romanian army destroyed the books that were lovingly and with great sacrifice collected in private libraries. By destroying the letters they tried to destroy the Hungarian spirit.

Onisifor Ghibu, professor at the University of Kolozsvár - who had enjoyed the support and assistance of the Hungarian state - proposed that the Saint-Michael and the Academy Churches be taken away from the Roman Catholic community of Kolozsvár, confiscate the property of the Autonomous Catholic State and all that be given to the Orthodox Church. He proclaimed his proposal not long after March 29, 1923, when "the liberal constitution of Greater Romania was voted in" guaranteeing every Romanian citizen, "freedom of conscience and language of instruction, without regard for racial origins, religion, or language;" when long before Maniu Gyula, at the meeting at Nagyvárad of the Romanian National Party, proclaimed: "...we must give all nations living amongst us the freedom to follow their own habits and mores... We do not want to become oppressors from oppressed." Yet on April 29, 1924 the Autonomous Catholic State was obliged to cede for 25 years the church of the abbey of Kolozsmonostor to the Byzantine Rite bishopric of Szamosújvár(77). Dr. Ghibu's proposal was fought by Dr. Boga Alajos, high-school teacher, who, in his essay, showed irrefutably that this proposal constituted a religious war against Transylvania's Hungarian Catholics. Dr. Boga's courageous stand only delayed the confiscation of the Catholic churches. After the agreement was signed with the Vatican on

May 10, 1927, the church of the Friars Minor was taken away in Kolozsvár. Not only Kolozsvár's but Transylvania's Hungarians of all faiths mourned this event; they also perceived a threat to their own churches.

During the reign of the "liberal" Romanian minister of culture, the notorious Constantin Angelescu, scores of Hungarian parochial schools were closed and taken away from the Hungarians. Where no Romanian schools could be opened simply because there were no Romanians in the purely Hungarian and Székely villages, so-called "culture zones" were established. Here they placed Romanian school principals who, with the help of the gendarmerie, compelled the Hungarian children to attend Romanian schools. The far-reaching effects of these zones represent the true culture war against Transylvania's Hungarians.

Within 20 years, the cultural regime closed down over 1/3 of the parochial (ecclesiastical) schools and rendered their teaching staffs destitute. On the other hand, it gave the young Romanians, who only taught in Romanian, an 80% salary adjustment if they were willing to take these places. These pedagogues were assured faster promotion and land if they accepted a teaching position in minority villages. These regions constituted the "culture zones" - for Hungarians "culture-killing zones". Originally by decree, but in 1924 by law, the regime established these culture zones in counties with mixed inhabitants. The law differentiated between:

- a) purely scholastic culture zones;
- b) scholastic and out-of-school mixed culture zones;
- c) the wholly out-of-school culture zones.

In August 1927, Culture Minister Angelescu undertook a study trip through the land of the Székelys. Before his departure, he made the following comments that were published in the July 17, 1927 issue of "Universal", the government's newspaper in Bucharest: "...the state schools in the land of the Székelys was always of primary concern to us. We must make every effort to have more and more state schools there, particularly in villages

where no Romanians live and particularly where the minorities dispute the state schools' right to exist. I shall give instructions to send to Csik County only Romanian teachers; further, that only those minority teachers keep their position who speak perfect Romanian. The rest, and those who maintain the status quo, will have to be dismissed."(132) And such policies could be adopted despite the guarantees of the League of Nations(78) for the Szekelys' educational autonomy. Only the few people who still remembered the far-reaching rights that the Hungarian state had given to the Romanians protested these oppressive and romanizing policies. But few listened(133).

All state employees, regardless of their mother tongue, could only send their children to Romanian state schools. The Hungarian ecclesiastical schools were considered private schools and were deprived of their public status. All Hungarian teachers, regardless of their branch of study, were obliged to take a Romanian-language examination the result of which determined their functions. Children in Hungarian or ecclesiastical schools had to take their baccalaureate exams in front of hitherto unknown Romanian professors. They had to take exams in Romanian even in subjects that they had learned in Hungarian.

An especially anti-Hungarian decree was the one whereby inspectors arbitrarily decided whose Hungarian name "sounded" Romanian; the children of these families could not attend Hungarian schools. They started out with the premise that "those who live in Romania" must send their children to Romanian-language high schools. And this despite the comment that King Ferdinand(78) made at the swearing-in of Prime Minister Bratianu: "I wish the government to keep a friendly attitude towards all citizens whose fate is tied to this land."(134)

In 1931, King Charles II(80) named as prime minister Nicolae Iorga who was fueled by the desire to solve "somehow" the minority question. To that effect and without consulting the minority parties, he named as minority deputy minister Rudolf Brandsch, member of the German minority party whom the Hungarians distrusted. Iorga, however, soon fell and in his place Iuliu Maniu was named prime minister on October 28,

1932. He, for reasons of economy, did away with the minority deputy ministership and dismissed Brandsch. The Hungarians, who never took this deputy ministership seriously, were neither upset nor sad. Brandsch formed a party together with the notoriously anti-Hungarian Pop Ghita, the "expert" of the National Peasants' Party. The two did everything possible to force into German schools the children of Schwabian parents who professed to be Hungarians.

In August 25, 1931, Balog Artur(81), renowned minority jurist, and Representative Pal Gabor complained that the history and geography school books sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Education insulted Hungary and called for revenge on her. The international commission (agents from France, Spain, and Norway) who was to investigate the complaint, accepted Romania's statement that indeed such remarks are not to be included in text-books and closed the case. So much for the League of Nations' handling of Hungarian complaints(135).

On March 10, 1933, the Romanian government signed an agreement with Yugoslavia to regulate the Serbian-Croatian schools in the Bansag. Such schools could be organized anywhere where there were at least 20 Serb-Croat or Romanian school-age children. The nationality of the child was to be determined by the parents or guardian. In the Romanian Bansag, teachers with Yugoslav formation could teach and Yugoslav text-books could be used in these schools. When the Hungarians asked that such privileges be extended to Hungarian schools also, Iorga replied: "...this can only come about when Hungary will have the same ties of friendship as Romania has with Yugoslavia."(136)

After the December 20 and 22, 1933 parliamentary elections, I.G. Duca became prime minister. The Hungarians had high hopes for him. On the pretext, however, that Duca "sold the country out to the Jews", the so-called "Iron Guard" (National Socialist Party), led by Zelea Codreanu, had Duca assassinated on his return to Bucharest from a visit to the king in Sinaia(83).

Tatarescu followed Duca as prime minister. His tenure

represented the nadir in the fate of the Hungarians. It was under his reign that the double-faced, treacherous, and malevolent policy of the minorities' - particularly the Hungarians' - oppression became government policy cloaked in humble words and humanistic ideas. Under his prime ministership

- representatives of the Hungarian press and literature were virtually blockaded by press censorship and public prosecutors;
- in periodicals they were not allowed to use the Hungarian names of places;
- the publishing of both literary and scientific works was made impossible;
- while the Hungarian press was practically destroyed by censorship and prosecutorial harassment, the Romanian newspapers were free to agitate against the Hungarians;
- the main purposes were: to dismiss Hungarian employees; to strengthen the Romanization of public instruction; to develop a Romanian middle-class to replace the minorities;
- the teachers of the ecclesiastical schools were obliged to take a qualifying exam. The young teachers were "failed" then; the older ones, who had obtained their diplomas before WWI were filtered out at the language exam and were thus made destitute. If the number of teachers at a given high school fell below six (which they saw to), they closed the school amid hypocritical expressions of regret;
- the Hungarian postmasters were dismissed from one day to the next and replaced by postmasters coming from Old-Romania and speaking no Hungarian;
- the proposed July 6, 1934 law on the defense of national work prescribes under severe penalty that in agricultural, industrial, commercial and other undertakings the employees must be 80% Romanian and the remaining non-Romanian 20% must have Romanian wives or children;
- the books and all correspondence should have been kept in Romanian only; however, the Hungarian and German representatives protested so strongly against the correspondence that it was left off.

Even without thorough analysis of these decrees, it is obvious

that they are anti-minority and detrimental to minority enterprises.

The Transylvanian Hungarians suffered the consequences of Gombos Gyula's(84) assuming the prime ministership in Hungary and of his adopting an openly revisionist policy. In Romania, an Anti-Revisionist League was founded and the press poisoned the atmosphere by agitating against the Hungarians. The anti-Hungarian atmosphere grew sharper and less tolerable. Meetings of the anti-Revisionist League became more frequent. After one of these, a few young Romanians, starting at the railway station, entered the ancient village of Sinfalva, breaking, destroying, and seriously wounding a few people. One Hungarian man was killed. A judicial inquiry was started but the only indictment that was handed down was against a Hungarian journalist who dared to report this incident in his paper(137).

Criminal proceedings were started against Biro Vencel(85), superior of the Piarist Fathers of Kolozsvár. He was accused of fraud, forgery, irredentism, and false pretenses.

Criminal proceedings were also started against Roska Marton, university professor and one of the leaders of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Kolozsvár. His crime: publication of 3 articles in the Association of Transylvanian Men's periodical appearing in Budapest entitled "A Tortenelmi Erdely" ("Historical Transylvania"). On the basis of some trumped-up charges he was sentenced to 3 months in jail. How trumped-up these charges were is evidenced by the intervention of prime minister Nicolae Iorga himself who asked the king for clemency for Professor Roska.

Mussolini(86), in his 1936 speech in Milano, called Hungary "the great cripple of Europe" ("la grande mutilata"). Romanian public opinion received these utterances with shock. The press called him all kinds of names and threatened the Hungarians. In its September 12, 1936 issue, a newspaper in Székelyudvarhely suggested a "Saint Bartholomew's Night"(87) for Transylvania's Hungarians. It declared that the "Hungarians had

to be extirpated like vipers and thrown on the stake to be burned."

During the 1936 Christmas recess of the Romanian parliament, Bethlen Gabor(88) sent a new year's message and Gratz Gusztav(89), former minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote an article; both of these stated that Romania did not live up to her obligations towards the minorities and urged the stabilization of the Romanian-Hungarian relationship. Romania replied the following:

- Romania did indeed live up to her obligations towards the minorities;
- Hungary must initiate the Romanian-Hungarian rapprochement by terminating her revisionist propaganda.

A few days after Bethlen's declaration, Papp Danila - ex-Austro-Hungarian army colonel, retired general - started the Actiunea Patriotica (Patriotic Action) movement. The organizing meeting summarized its program in 12 points, of which the most salient - and most damning - are the following:

- the Gyulafehervar decision must be abolished (it was never kept) as it gives privileges to minorities that are detrimental to the Romanian state;
- the assets of the minorities must be confiscated;
- to establish a "cordon sanitaire" of 50 km. at the border where no member of a minority should be allowed to buy real estate. Further, no minority member should be employed by the state in that zone.
- the Szekelys should be considered as a separate nationality and they should establish a Szekely Party;- the state should not give financial assistance to Hungarian church schools.

Naturally, the proposals of the Patriotic Action Movement worsened the Romanian-Hungarian relationship and the authorities did their best to keep it so.

On February 26, 1937, the Romanian parliament discussed the proposed law governing the theaters. The Hungarian representative pointed out that whereas the Romanian theaters enjoy state support and tax-exemption, the Hungarian theaters

not only do not get any state support but have to bear a heavy tax burden also.

In March 1937, the Hungarian parliamentary representatives objected to the "criminal" discriminatory practices in state assistance to the clergy: a newly ordained Orthodox priest received a stipend of 4060 lei monthly while a Unitarian pastor only got a pittance of 1200 lei.

The spring of this same year saw the birth of a movement the aim of which was to Romanize the bar associations throughout Romania. The leader of this movement was Istrate Micescu, the dean of the Ilfov County bar association who subsequently became foreign- and justice minister. His primary aim was to disbar the Jewish attorneys while preparing the way to disbar the Hungarian ones also. His "fight" was, therefore, based on race; he took a stand for the "numerus nullus" and demanded purely Romanian bar associations. This demand, which was thus pushed into the realm of politics, struck a hard blow at the Jewish attorneys as their number in the legal profession was disproportionately larger than in the general population. Among the Hungarian lawyers, the older ones retired because of language difficulties; their replacement by young lawyers was slow to start as Hungarian students entered law school in appreciable numbers only after 1928. Practically all of the young graduates joined the legal profession as employment in public administration, finance, and justice remained closed to them. According to the November 1, 1936 statistics, in Transylvania

- of 98 justices of the Court of Appeals, 83 were Romanian and only 3 Hungarian (3.06%)
- of 296 judges, 241 were Romanian and 13 were Hungarian (4.08%)
- of 375 district court judges, 294 were Romanian and 40 were Hungarian (10.6%)
- of 2125 court employees, 1745 were Romanian and 233 were Hungarian (10.9%)
- of 165 notaries, 161 were Romanian and only 4 were Hungarian (2.4%) (138)

On the territory as a whole that was cut off from Hungary, 24.4% of the population was Hungarian; yet the proportion of

Hungarian lawyers amounted to 20.47%. The Romanian bar associations applied the national average to the number of permissible attorneys.

To disqualify the practicing young lawyers and to reduce their number, the bar associations decided to introduce a language exam for the minority lawyers. That was decreed in 1938 for Arad, Torda, and Csikszereda. In Arad and Torda the lawyers went on strike; in Csikszereda they took the exam. However, the Romanian lawyers themselves did not take this seriously and did not fail anyone. In the end the question of the exam was quietly shelved and this put a period to Mr. Micescu's "numerus nullus".

The April 29, 1936 Romanian industrial law abolished the Hungarian industrial corporations and gave their assets to the small business administration of the Workers' Associations. On this basis the leader of the Workers's Association of Szatmar took the Industrial Home by force, even though it was not an industrial corporation. Although the district court adjudicated in favour of the Industrial Home, the Workers' Association confiscated it and stayed in it until the II. Vienna Decision.

Masterminded by Onisifor Ghibu, the court in Nagyvarad let stand a decision confiscating the church, the abbey, the high school, and the vineyards of the Fathers of Premontre - just like the properties of the Piarist Fathers of Temesvar and the Friars Minor of Arad.

The valuable scientific collection of the Transylvanian Museum Society was used free of charge by the Romanian University of Kolozsvár; but it wanted to acquire it outright. There was not much respect for private property...

After the change in power, very few Hungarian students enrolled at the University. Those who did were regarded with hostility by the Romanians and with suspicion by the Hungarians. Most of the young Hungarians went to Budapest to study but as their diplomas were not accepted by the Romanian authorities, most of them settled in Hungary. This created a huge

generation gap between young and old; in the 1930s there were barely any young Hungarians between the ages of 25 and 40.

Until the II. Vienna Decision, the Romanian authorities prohibited any Hungarian youth organizations. For instance, in March 1930, a 15-member delegation presented a memorandum signed by 400 universitarians to the rector of the university in Kolozsvár. They asked for permission to organize a Hungarian student union; the rector denied permission to create the Society of Hungarian University Students.

Armed with 423 signatures, the students presented a new memorandum to the Romanian minister of public education asking for permission to form the Bolyai Scientific Circle of the Hungarian University Students. The Circle was formed but it never received permission to function.

In 1937, King Karoly II asked Octavian Goga, leader of the National Christian Party, to form a new government. In its domestic policy, the new Party advocated anti-semitism and race-protection; in its foreign policy it followed the German and Italian line. He declared to the reporters that this is the most propitious moment to settle the Romanian-Hungarian feud since the change in power (1918-1920). After a lot of dithering and the granting of many privileges, a new agreement came about between Goga and the Hungarian Party. He even gave it in writing that he will recognize Hungarian national identity. The Executive Committee of the Hungarian Party met to discuss the agreement. While in session, they received a telephone call saying that Goga fell. That was also the end of the agreement.

After Goga's fall, King Karoly II proclaimed that he will take over the political power. He intended to form a supra-political government with the help of the Patriarch and to give Romania a new constitution. This took effect on February 27, 1938. It did not bring much good to the minorities even though the King, in his proclamation announcing it promised that "the other people who had lived in Romania for centuries will benefit from the same treatment as the Romanians". In the constitution itself there is no mention either of the historical minorities or of national

identities. The "royal constitution" gives rights to Romanians only - the promise the king made about "the other people living in Romania" remained just that - a promise.

On March 31, by decree all parties, societies and groups were dissolved. However, the leaders of the Hungarian Party remained their representatives. Although out of office, they still intervened as private citizens in Hungarian causes. They especially tried to organize the defense and financial support of the more and more Hungarians who had to appear in courts-martial. Secret organizations replaced the dissolved political parties.

For a long time, King Karoly II dreamed of settling once and for all the question of the minorities. In May 1938, he moved the department of the minorities from the ministry of culture to the prime minister's office and raised it to the rank of high-commissioner. At the same time, the functions and directives of the high-commissioner were also published and became known as the "minority statutes"(90). This "statute" was created without the cooperation of the Hungarian minority; its leaders were never consulted. The high-commissioner's office later became the Ministry of Minorities and its minister had cabinet rank. All this without the benefit of any legislation.

This "minority statute" represented, since 1918, the only legal way to settle the question of the minorities. But this became possible only after the king seized power; no previous political leader in Old-Romania or in Transylvania would have dared to attempt such a move. Although reams of rights and privileges were incorporated in the "statute", their execution remained almost impossible because of the entrenched nationalism and orthodoxism of the Romanians.

August 1938 saw the birth of the public administration law which divided the country into 10 provinces. However, their apportioning crossed the historical boundaries; it arranged the counties in such a way as to show a Romanian majority in every province.

Quite unexpectedly, on December 16 a decree was issued creating the Front for National Rebirth as the state's only party. There could be no political life outside the Front. According to the instructions governing the organization of the Front, "those members of the ethnic minority who join the Front will have to assert the rights given to them by valid laws within their subdivision."

This basic law set the groundwork for the creation of a single Party instead of the several, merging "all of Romania's constructive political strength."

Though slowly, the country's political life began to stir and now it was the government that sought to win over the masses of Hungarians to the state Party. The Hungarian leaders also felt the need to join the Front and be heard. Negotiations were started between the government and the leaders of the ex-Hungarian Party, as well as with church leaders. As the result of these, the Front admitted the Hungarians to be represented among its leadership and in the professional chambers. They could also organize a popular institution for their economic, social, and cultural needs.

On January 17, 1939, an agreement was reached between the negotiating teams. Its wording was exactly the same as the ones that the government had signed with the German and Bulgarian minorities. Its salient point was the permission for the Hungarians to join an all-encompassing organization with cultural, economic, and social aims. After this every Hungarian could join the Front for National Rebirth. This meant the start of Hungarian political life. But those who tried to defend Hungarian interests within the Front had a hard and thankless task. Many regarded them with distrust and suspicion: those whom hitherto they trusted implicitly to remedy the problems with which they inundated the ex-Hungarian Party. However, the discipline imposed by the Front did not allow any leeway for taking the stand of opposition. Even if they did find an opportunity for such action, the censored press could only print a few, hidden lines about it. Anyway, there were never any worthwhile discussions at the Front's meetings. Furthermore,

the masses of Romanians were more interested in the Iron Guard (fascist) movement and the National Peasants' Party. So the Front failed; the King could do nothing but transform it into the Nation's Party which would have "functioned under the King's exalted leadership". The Transylvanian Hungarians did not join the Nation's Party, thus losing representation. But the II. Vienna Decision was to come along (August 30, 1940) which brought about a solution to the Hungarian question - at least for a short while.

At the close of this chapter, let us remember those heroes whom the Little Entente's(91) secret police had killed, locked up in mental institutions never to return, who killed themselves because of the brutal actions of the police. We have no precise data on them. but those in the know, know(91/a).

Let us also remember the Doftana Prison - the notorious "Romanian Bastille" - a 397-cell prison built on the site of an old salt mine in Telega {Prahova County, Southern Carpathian Region). This prison (where Ceausescu "lived" from 1936 to 1938)(139) that upon the order of the dictator was transformed into a museum, was visited by the author in September 1980. He determined that over 80% of the books in the prison-library were in Hungarian leading him to the conclusion that the prisoners were also at least 80% Hungarians. In between the two World Wars, the Romanian authorities locked up mostly Hungarian social democrats and Transylvanianists in this prison.

VI.

DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II THE 1956 REVOLUTION AND FREEDOM FIGHT IN HUNGARY

As a result of the II. Vienna Decision, Transylvania was split into two parts: Northern Transylvania was returned to Hungary and Southern Transylvania which was retained by Romania.

Northern Transylvania covered 43,104 km²; southern Transylvania 59,989 km². Most of the traditional, historical Transylvania was left to Romania.

The Hungarian government re-established the ancient system of counties with a lord-lieutenant at their helm. With an eye on the international situation, it forbade the formation of any political parties, except for the already existing Transylvanian Party. It invited as representatives in the Hungarian parliament its president, count Teleki Bela, together with 53 other leading Transylvanian personalities.

Northern Transylvania counted 1,069,000 Romanian as living there; in southern Transylvania, according to geographer-prime minister Teleki Pal, 700,000 Hungarians lived(140).

A few days after the II. Vienna Decision - despite the great tension created by the inflicted cruelties - Vasarhelyi Janos, reformed bishop of Transylvania, together with Laar Ferenc, counsellor to the church district, visited Nicolae Colan, orthodox bishop, and Iuliu Hossu, bishop of the Byzantine Rite, to assure them of their brotherly respect and sympathy. He also encouraged them to call on him in case of an attack on them; he was ready for any service and intervention in their interests.

It is an undisputed fact that the arrests of Hungarians was a daily occurrence. As a result of the biased verdicts brought in cases of malicious denunciations filled the primitive prisons with hundreds of Hungarians. In southern Transylvania, the Iron Guard worked zealously against the Hungarians, particularly against the Hungarian workers and their leaders.

Use of the Hungarian language was forbidden in public offices, in telephone conversations, for a while even in postal communications, or in public notices.

Church events were also prohibited, such as, in 1942, catholic Easter processions. Pastors were forever harassed, insulted, and injured; dances were organized in Hungarian houses of worship (i.e. in the house of prayer in Mezoszakall).

They did everything possible to discontinue Hungarian as the language of instruction.

In the autumn of 1942, so many Hungarian men were conscripted that whole villages were left without menfolk. The cities, too, were emptied of men. They were either sent to the front with the criminals, or they had to work in labour-camps for 5-6 months instead of the 60 days for a pittance of 200 lei a month. Their food consisted of a thin soup of crushed barley; they received bread once, or at most, twice a week. Their commanders stole the food.

The Central Romanizing Office dismissed scores of Hungarian employees and workers of the postal services, the railways, and several industries. Those who were dismissed could not find other jobs as the Employment Office did not give them any.

The artisans and the small shopkeepers had to contend with a slew of discriminatory regulations. Often, on the pretext of hoarding or price gouging, they were burdened with confiscatory fines. When it came time to distribute the raw materials, they were often ignored unless they "paid up" a hefty sum. Sometimes their licenses were withdrawn.

They impeded the functioning of the Center for the "Hangya"

Association.

The Hungarian peasants living along the borders suffered daily injury stemming from Romanian national bias and aiming at bankrupting these peasants.

The peasants were hit by regulations amounting to confiscation of their property that limited their trade in real estate. The greatest hardship was caused by the commandeering of foodstuff and grains which, by circular decree, reached its highest point in June of 1942. This decree struck hardest at the Hungarian population of several counties. Everyday occurrences were the billeting of troops in Hungarian homes, the conscriptions to perform unnecessary public works, and the cruel internal deportations(141).

The list of cultural and economic mistreatments could go on: these drove the Hungarians to leave their country, southern Transylvania, and seek asylum in Hungary, sometimes at the risk of their lives. Sixty-thousand Hungarians fled their homes between August 30, 1940 and the end of 1942 and their numbers subsequently increased. According to the minutes of the January 7, 1943 session of the council of ministers, a total of 150,000 people were forced out.

The persecutions and the detrimental regulations continued. The second half of 1943 saw the dismissal of more and more Hungarian workers or employees, or their transfers; the destruction of historical Hungarian monuments and chapels; the seizing of the bells from churches and belfries. The number of Hungarian schools decreased rapidly and Hungarian-language instruction was obstructed wherever possible; only 27 Hungarian students were admitted to the Romanian universities. Even outside of the schools, the use of the Hungarian language was curtailed. The civilian courts, as well as the courts-martial brought in verdict after verdict that struck down the Hungarians. But it was enough to belong to the minority to have one's life and limbs threatened.

By 1943, there was hardly a Hungarian man under 50 who did not serve in a military labour brigade. Those conscripted for this

kind of service received neither clothes, boots nor even food. The commanders of these "slave camps" were thieving, corrupt officers and non-commissioned officers, prone to physical abuse. The weakened, ragged Hungarian slaves - left without doctors or medications, exposed to frost and snow - died by the hundreds. From villages left empty of manpower even the winter reserves were plundered. In the winter of 1943/44, a whole wave of requisitionings swept through the Hungarian and mixed minority villages in several counties. The sequestration of the Hungarian peasants' livestock was ordered. This meant condemning these peasants to famine and destruction, in many cases to their extermination(142).

The defeat at Stalingrad of the 6th German army undermined in Hungary and Romania the population's trust in a German victory. In both these countries it had hoped for a quick German victory. This defeat made people stay home in southern Transylvania and await the end of the war, thus reducing - despite all cruelties - emigration to northern Transylvania.

On September 5, 1944, German and Hungarian troops attacked southern Transylvania for defensive purposes. Fighting rear-guard actions, the Romanian army retreated in order to hasten the advance of the Red Army towards the Hungarian Plains. This German-Hungarian attack made it possible for Hungary to re-acquire some more of Transylvania's territory, albeit temporarily.

Due to the advance of the Red Army, some territories were re-possessed by Romania. From these counties a thousand Hungarian men were deported, of which 6 were executed at Szentmihaly. After Arad was re-captured, Hungarian and German civilians were taken prisoner and put into internment camps (there are no reliable numbers of these).

In some places, the Romanian army "indulged" in bloody "retributions" and anti-Hungarian programs; thus in Szaszfalu and Nagyszamos. It is impossible to list all these "retributions"; one thing is clear though: that there is barely a village where Hungarians had not been tortured, mutilated, executed or

disappeared because they did not bemoan the advance of the Hungarian army. On September 23, 1944, the Romanian army that followed the retreating Hungarian troops, together with the Romanian inhabitants, ravaged and plundered two villages. They also killed 42 Hungarians, including 12-14-year old young boys and people over 60.

In the village of Gyanta, the Romanian army torched and leveled the manse of the reformed pastor, built in 1800, together with its library and archives. When the local Romanians asked the troops not to burn down the village, the answer was that they are acting on orders. After raping, beating, and robbing them, they executed 47 Hungarian people. These unfortunates fell victim to this racial hatred in the last few days of the war. They could not even be buried with religious rites. (These mass executions are described in Koteles Pal's novel *Hotel Karpatia*.)⁽⁹²⁾ (The list of the executed whose name is known can be found in the parish records.)

To form a picture of the atrocities that the Romanian army commanders and soldiers committed, we quote verbatim part of an interview that appeared in the *White Book* (p.11 - eds. Gal Maria, Boros Zoltan):

"Who burned down the parish house? The army or civilians? It was most likely the army because they set fire in several places. They burned down whole rows of houses, hay-ricks, barns, with people in them and the army did it all. And the executions, too. Medrea had a large cellar opposite the mill; some 20 people could fit in there. They shot in there too, with a machine-gun. Some were wounded; those they took to the cemetery and finished them off. One of my relatives, Boros Zsuzsa managed to escape; she crept into a cornfield. When night fell, she returned to the village; a Romanian allowed her up into his attic. From there she saw and heard the executions, the wailing.

A Romanian man, Mihai Todinca, was told he was free to go. But he did not want to leave without his Hungarian wife and

children, so they shot him too together with them.

At the other end of the village, they took some 20 people to the foot of a hill and shot them. But there are some survivors: Bere Gyula escaped from there. Then there was a teenager, Biro Istvan, who was shot in the face. He was found unconscious but alive under the dead. He died later, still as a school-boy."

By October 25, 1944, the Soviet and Romanian armies occupied all of Transylvania. The Romanians pointed out to the Soviets all the leading Hungarians: primarily state and church functionaries. Thus, when entering Kolozsvár, the Soviet troops caught Mikecs László (1917-1944), author, researcher, who died on the shores of the Sea of Azov, in Taganrog. Miko Imre was taken to the same place in the autumn of 1944. He was a famous jurist, secretary of the Transylvanian Party. Under similar circumstances were deported Vita Sándor, editor and politician; Vita Zsigmond, historian of literature and art; and count Teleki Béla, landowner and politician.

Wherever the Romanian troops arrived in northern Transylvania, they started their retributions with the village judges. There was hardly a village judge that stayed alive; they were simply "quietly" arrested and executed. It was not their profession that singled them out; only the fact that they were Hungarians. After all, by killing off these judges they managed to "rid themselves" of quite a few Hungarians. The majority of the less homebound village notaries left northern Transylvania. The fate of those who remained was a bullet in the head or internment and the destruction of their families.

Part of the northern Transylvanians who fled the "retributions" could not continue; so they chose to return. The Romanian troops gathered them together and exhibited them in a village's market place or a city's main square. There Romanian civilians assaulted and robbed them of all their belongings. The armed-to-the-teeth Romanians also unharnessed their animals from the wagons. They had to go home with all their belongings lost.

The Hungarians lived through some critical times in the winter

of 1944 and the spring of 1945: their lives were at risk. Persecutions and genocide of the Hungarians and Germans began and spread throughout the whole country. The Romanian administrators - even in counties with a Hungarian majority - preached exile and banishment for all Hungarians. Yet there were some who took a position for accepting the regime.

On November 9, 1944, in the village of Kokos, the Romanian gendarmes executed four men for refusal to convert to the Byzantine Rite, just like 160 years earlier, at the time of the Horea peasant revolt. According to the August 2, 1945 report of the village notary to his district, part of the Hungarians were sent to the camp at Foldvar where 9/10 of them died of typhoid fever and famine. This death camp was maintained even during the reign of the Goza-government.

Romanian public administration took over northern Transylvania. As its primary and most important move it prohibited Hungarian political rallies or meetings. It court-martialed the allegedly guilty leaders of the Association of the Hungarian Workers (Magyar Dolgozók Szövetsége - MADOSZ)(93). The northern Transylvanian followers of Maniu Gyula - who "sneaked" in on the coat-tails of the administrators - started their assault against the Hungarians and their requirements. They maintained that only the Hungarians were fascists - conveniently forgetting Antonescu and his henchmen.

Members of the so-called Maniu-guards, led by capt. Gavril Olteanu, marched into Brassó and Marosvásárhely, ostensibly to "make order", created such a nightmare of a blood-bath among the Hungarians that defies description. They killed Hungarian peasants, women, and even infants, with axes.

But who were those Maniu-guardsmen? It is time that we, and the world at large, know about them: This "volunteer" group, led by the afore-mentioned Cpt. Gavril Olteanu, solemnly marched into Sepsiszentgyörgy on September 19, 1944, together with the Romanian public administration. These and the units belonging to them, made up the Maniu-guard. According to the minutes of the "Magyar Népi Szövetség" (MNSZ) (Hungarian People's Association) the guard appeared for the

first time on September 22, 1944, at Arkos. They plundered, pillaged, and seriously injured people but they did not kill yet. The minutes of the MNSZ and the daily papers name this day as the beginning of the Romanian reign of terror in northern Transylvania.

The guard started in Bucharest. More than 50,000 people joined in as they paid homage to Mihai Viteazul (Vitez Mihaly) the voivode of the Southern Carpathian Region notorious for his terror. They took an oath to start another anti-Hungarian reign of terror. Their primary purpose was to cleanse the territory of "partisans" behind the advancing Soviet and Romanian troops. However, their main concern was to decimate, terrorize, and banish the Hungarians from the land of their birth.

In addition to these guardsmen, in the western Ercegyseg there were mountain snipers stationed as garrisoned troops which were called "batalion fix". Their methods were the same, though, as those of the guardsmen or the gendarmes. They killed, plundered, raped, and pillaged.

The Maniu-guard, robbing and plundering, continued on its way north. The first village where it stopped on September 29, 1944 was Csikkozmas. The members of the guard were searching for weapons. In the attic of one Balint Jakab they came across a discarded trumpet. Under the pretext of "hiding military material", they decided to execute him. They took him to the judge's house which served as their billets. There they beat him. They gathered the villagers so that they can witness the execution. Then one wounded Soviet soldier who lagged behind his troops stopped the execution. Thus Balint Jakab's life was saved but his house was ransacked.

Andras Anna, after having her house plundered, was almost beaten to death. Several families were looted.

The guard continued on its way north. It arrived in Csikszereda where they searched for partisans and weapons. One young man, Pal Andras, went to the guardsmen to protest the robbing of his family. They took hold of him and started caning him. They stopped after three whacks as one of them said: "Leave

him alone, here comes a Soviet officer!"

The minutes taken at the City Hall in Csikszereda show that Guard-First Lieutenant Netobean personally beat up several people, among them Hajdu Gyula whom he subsequently arrested. Lajos Domokos and Dezso Lajos were beaten almost to death with a truncheon.

On the 24th page of the MNSZ minutes, Szmuk Sandor, deputy judge of Gyergyoszentmiklos declares that Boros Mihaly, Banyasz Sandor, the priests Orban and Madarasz who had been deported from an unknown place were taken to Csiktapolca. When he reported this to the Soviet military authorities, these obliged commandant Olteanu - "under pain of losing his head" - to release the prisoners.

On October 6th, the guardsmen had already ravaged Gyergyoszentmiklos for six days. After this came the massacre of Csikszentdomokos.

There, the next day, under the pretext of searching for military material and weapons, the guardsmen pillaged every house. They looked for food and clothing in the first place. Then Albert Peter was beaten unconscious, his hand broken; Zsok Lajos got 25 strikes with the cane; and Buzas Jozsef was flogged.

The next day, on October 8th, they gathered those they had picked out and drove them to the garden of Dobos Ferenc. The executions took place around 4 in the afternoon. They first killed the 54-year old Biro Lajos; then came Kurko Jozsef, 27; Timar Sandor, 19; Kosa Janos, 31; Kedves Ferenc, 29; Szakacs Antal, 54; and his son, Imre, 18; Zsok Lajos, 32; and finally Albert Peter, 31. Last came two women: the 82-year old Mrs. Gyorgy Jozsef, nee Kedves Agnes; and Mrs. Bodo Sandor, nee Bacs Anna, 39(143). They killed these innocent people because they had found some discarded ammunition boxes on their trash heaps. Their grave is marked by an iron cross bearing their names.

After the executions, the guardsmen had their victims buried

immediately; then started their carousal! They not only looted the village but, according to some witnesses, they raped several women; no one dared talk about it. The final, all-encompassing plunder came the next day: In a garden, they gathered together most of the animals of the village; they took furniture and clothing. According to the November 14, 1944 issue of the newspaper "Nepi Egyseg", the Romanians of Bekas and Piatra Neamt drove some 960 sheep and over 200 head of cattle away. In the village of Bolon, they threw hand-grenades into two houses - just for fun. They beat the mother of the protestant minister until she was bleeding.

In Haromszek County, two days after the arrival of public administrators, the following order was proclaimed: "Every inhabitant of the city and county is obliged to report to the Romanian authorities. Those who do not obey this order will be considered spies and punished as such." Many did not report, they hid out. Those who did disappeared for years or forever. In the spring, in the melting snow, the bodies of the men who did report to the authorities were found...

In the city of Haromszek, the guardsmen appeared on September 19, 1944. led by Cpt. Olteanu. They ostensibly were searching for hidden weapons but their "work" consisted more of pillage and robbings. On September 20th, in a paper called "Desrobirea" they issued a proclamation entitled "Our road today and in the future" exhorting their Transylvanian brethren to join them. Some excerpts from this proclamation: "The volunteers of the Iuliu Maniu regiments joined the army to hasten the hour of ultimate victory. Some have already left to fight the final battle. The others, in collaboration with the army, stayed behind to maintain order. Romanians! let us regain our liberty with torch and sword. Let Romanian rifles and bayonets pronounce the last word over the murderers of the puszta. Transylvanian brothers! Come join the flag raised by Iuliu Maniu."

In Arkos, the the guardsmen raped Kovacs Istvan's pregnant wife. They gathered about 70 people accusing them of having served in the Transylvanian Militia troops. Most of them could buy their way out; but 7 were taken to prison in

Sepsiszentgyorgy and from there to the death-camp in Foldvar(144).

Cpt. Olteanu, with 50-60 men, moved into the village of Pake to avenge the assassination of two Romanian shepherds. Although the locals insisted that the retreating Germans killed them, they gathered 100 Hungarians to execute them. They were stopped by a two-men Soviet patrol to whom a Russian-speaking Szekely appealed. They left the village - after stripping it clean. In Sepsiszentgyorgy the robbings and acts of terror were daily occurrences. They arrested Lapikas Bela, a shopkeeper, beat him unmercifully and then robbed him of his stock.

The guardsmen arrived in Szarazajta on September 26th: their first victim was Gecse Bela whom they shot while he was trying to escape. Then came Malnasi Jozsef: they broke into his house, fired some shots and took him to the schoolyard where he died of his wounds.

They collected 26 people in the schoolyard. There they cruelly beat Kalnoki Ferenc, Incze Zoltan, Nagy Viktor, Nemeth Sara, and Domokos Gabor. After these atrocities, they placed Nagy Sandor's head on a tree-trunk and chopped it off with a battle-axe. Next came his brother, Andras. In full view of his mother and father, the executioner could not kill him with three strikes of the axe. It took two rifle-shots to end his suffering(145).

The brothers Nagy were followed by Szep Albert and his wife. But then the crowd stirred. Olteanu had shots fired into the people; Tamas Laszlo, a gypsy, was seriously wounded and died to same day. He was, therefore, the seventh victim. Then came Elekes Lajos who took seven shots to kill him. They fired several shots at Nagy D.Jozsef but he only lost his upper teeth. However, as a consequence of being so traumatized, he died relatively young, at age 50. Three guardsmen shot Szep Bela but only managed to wound him; but he, too, died ten days later of his injuries. They killed Nemeth Gyula, 61, and Szabo Benjamin, 63, with several rifle-shots. Then came the eleventh victim: Nemeth Izsak who was shot. Then Olteanu stopped. He may have lost his nerve: shots were heard coming from the

direction of the cemetery; he may have thought that Soviet troops are approaching. However, that did not stop his looting and pillaging. He compelled the locals to bury the victims immediately - without priest or rites. But even after Olteanu's departure, the Hungarians' harassment continued. Romanians, "drunk with victory", kept shooting nightly into the Hungarians' homes. Order was re-established only after Soviet troops moved in; the locals still speak of the Russian "misses" who kept peace. However, 72 young men were deported from the village to the death-camp at Foldvar; of these only 3 or 4 returned. The rest perished there(146).

In the village of Komollo 62 men were collected; they were taken to the church where their questioning started. Some were badly beaten. The next day they were to report in Uzon whence they were taken by gendarmes to a field to harvest turnips. After the day's labour, they were "lodged" for the night in prison where soon they were joined by people from Rety and Maksa. One day the camp commander declared that those who are called by the Romanian priest are free. It turned out that only those were free who converted (according to the Romanian priest "re-converted") to the Orthodox faith. Some felt that this was too high a price to pay for their liberty. These were taken as partisans to the camp at Foldvar. Some, whose transport was delayed, escaped this punishment as, on November 12th, the Romanian public administration was withdrawn from northern Transylvania.

Kolozsvár, the capital of Transylvania, was occupied by the Soviet troops on October 11, 1944. Since there was no resistance, this "treasure" city escaped the ravages of the WWII.

However, on October 13th, the city heard the terrible news: Ovary Elemer, an attorney, and his family, 6 people, were found murdered in his apartment(147). According to the rumour, the Soviet officers who had been invited for dinner, were the perpetrators. There was also the rumour that Romanian "voluntars"(94), dressed in Soviet uniforms, were the culprits. Both the Soviet command and the MNSZ started inquiries which produced no results(148). One thing is certain, though: the

Ovary's housekeeper, who was hit over the head, testified in the hospital that the killers were dressed in Soviet uniforms but spoke a different language.

Also on the 13th, Farago Jozsef, Szasz Istvan, Jarosi Andor, and Kis Jenő - members of the city's Hungarian elite - were deported from Kolozsvár. Four industrialists were also killed.

Milea Aurel, political commissar of the hospitals of Kolozsvár, tried to enforce the Romanian anti-Hungarian law on all activities he supervised. Ilie Lazar, liaison officer, demanded, without authorization, the keys of the university from President Miskolczy Dezső who refused to surrender them. On Soviet orders, all Romanian university staff had to leave Kolozsvár within 24 hours.

Countywide, the killings took place stealthily, at night or early morning hours, in all instances the police and the volunteers collaborating. It also happened that the covetous Romanian population hastened to "help them", some out of revenge, some just in the hope of free loot. The victims were first taken to the headquarters of the gendarmerie or the parish hall; after a few days or months, their bodies were found on the outskirts of the village. The motive in these cases was generally personal vengeance. The victim was judge, teacher, or pastor of the village sometime between 1940-45 or someone against whom one of the local Romanians held a grudge. There were 58 murders committed in the autumn of 1944 in two counties, according to the MNSZ newspaper "Világosság" and the recollections of the survivors (151). Together with the Hungarians, they also killed an 18-year old German soldier who lagged behind his troops, simply because his clothes were good...

The robberies, lootings, threats, and acts of terror were - proportionately - the highest in the counties' Hungarian villages. In some villages, law-enforcement officials "rob the houses of men working in the fields, beat them, and deport them to unknown places."

In its November 5th and 8th 1944 issues, the daily newspaper of Bucharest, Tribuna Popolurui. publishes excerpts from a report of Vescan Teofil, Romanian Lord-Lieutenant, of some anti-Hungarian activities:

- In Nagyeskullo, D. master-sergeant, compels the Hungarians to leave their village immediately, without any of their belongings;
- In the village of Bogara, there were robbings and looting day after day, perpetrated by armed 16-18-year-old teen-agers;
- In Nagyzombor, many were told to escape from the village or else they would be beaten to death;
- In Kolozs, the farmers were robbed; they took their draft-animals so they could not work their fields;
- In Kriszturel, a sergeant leading a Romanian patrol wanted the village priest executed by the local people. This they refused. Then the sergeant took the priest back to his manse and beat him up;
- In Bodonkut, the Hungarian village girls were forced into hiding as "young men dressed in some military uniform terrorized the village."

According to another Romanian newspaper, Romania Libera, on October 15th every Hungarian house in the village of Kide was robbed of money, valuables, the harvest, with 22 horses and 14 head of cattle driven away from the Hungarian farmers. On October 17th, in Nema, the village priest and 25 Szekely families were forced to flee under Romanian threats. In Magyarzsombor, on October 21st, Vintila, sergeant of the gendarmes, had Albert Janos, village notary, Szilagyi Arpad and Fazekas Jozsef mine employees, taken to the near-by forest and made the guardsmen shoot them. The next day, the sergeant made the families of Nyitra Jozsef, owner of an agricultural combine, and Lengyel Jozsef, miller, leave the village within three hours. The apartments of the escaped Hungarians were pillaged. In Fejerd, on October 23rd, the Romanian sergeant summoned to the parish hall Kallo Janos, farmer, and Racz Dezso, Jr., a 19-year old young man. Both were found murdered, at the edge of the village, the next day. On October

24th, in Magyarpalatka, the guardsmen beat to a bloody pulp with rifle-butts Nagy Ferenc, farmer, and his wife. They burned the library of the protestant elementary school and obliterated its equipment.

In the village of Almas, Mrs. Kapocsos Ferenc complained that "on October 22nd Tap Simion, Romanian former judge, accompanied by a gendarme, arrested her husband, Kapocsos Ferenc. After a severe beating he took him to a cellar where another 23 Hungarian men, mostly from Szeplak, were cruelly tortured and kept languishing in dire need." On October 25th, the gendarmes tied up Kenyeres Ferenc and took him to an unknown place. His body, half buried was found on January 14, 1945 by children playing in the woods. After her husband's death, Tap Simion, Romanian judge, banished his wife from the village. She had to leave all her assets behind; she could not even take her personal belongings. A commission of inquiry came out to examine the case. But even though Kenyeres Ferenc's head was bashed in and his body showed evidence of the worst tortures, no murder was determined(150).

During the night of October 20th, in Pancelcseh, two gendarmes took to the village's market-place Denes Istvan, former judge; Papp Sandor, 60-year old master tailor; Mate Ferenc, 42-year old miller; and Nagy Sandor, 62-year old agricultural labourer. An officer of the Maniu-guard and some strangers awaited them in a car. All four disappeared. Their bodies were found in the spring of 1945, buried, near a creek. In addition to those they murdered, they were looking for 3 other people: the protestant pastor, the cantor/teacher Torok Ferenc, and Sebestyen Gyorgy. The pastor and the teacher fled even before the arrival of the Romanians. Sebestyen went into hiding until he could return to his village(151).

The Romanian public administration arrived in the County of Maros-Torda on September 28th. In early October they instructed those who had returned from the Hungarian army to report to the nearest gendarmerie. They were all treated like enemy. According to the Communist Party and a memorandum by the MNSZ ("Szabad Szo", November 12, 1944), they were

taken to the internment camps of Foldvar, Hidveg, or Focsani. From the Focsani transit camp, all were sent to the Soviet Union for forced labour. Very few returned of those who were sent to these internment camps. Most of them perished without their relatives' ever learning how and when they died. After the Romanian public administration was banned by the Soviets from northern Transylvania - at the time of the "Autonomous Republic of Northern Transylvania - the constant persecution of the Hungarians ceased. But the terror started up again after the March re-annexation to Romania.

In Teke, Romanians tore the clothes off the strolling Hungarian girls. The enraged Romanian crowds broke into the courtyard of the MNSZ Party's building. After that a group of Romanians resumed assaulting and hurting the Hungarians. In Dedradszeplak 15 unknown persons penetrated the house of Kollo Lajos and seriously hurt his two sons. Without any rhyme or reason, Romanian men beat up Gyorgy Lajos and hurt his wife and daughter. The beating up and assaulting of Hungarian men was a daily occurrence. In Vajola, the local Romanians bludgeoned Bajor Janos to death, in his vineyard, during work. In Petele's parish hall, Romanian men flogged Balazs Adam and 6 of his companions. Zseller Vasile, Notar Mihai, and Curcan Maria - Iron Guard-persons (fascists) - without cause tortured and thrashed 5 returning Hungarian soldiers. At a dance in Gorgenyuvegcsur a group of Romanians attacked some Hungarian youth because they sang Hungarian songs. Benko Albert's head was bashed in and other people were badly hurt also. In Kisnyulas, two Romanians, Belean David and Belean Gavrila, broke into Papai Gergely's apartment. They thrashed Papai's father until he lost consciousness, then they poked him with an iron fork. The old man died the next day of his injuries. Papai's grandmother was removed to the courtyard and she got such a beating that she died of her wounds in a few days. To add insult to injury, they stole his horse and wagon. In Szekelyfalva everyone was forced to speak Romanian. A gendarme badly injured Nagy Janos, a 17-year old youngster, because he did not understand what the other told him in Romanian. Without giving any reasons, Nan, sub-officer of the gendarmerie, had 50 Hungarians deported from Nyaradszereda.

Similar actions took place in several villages of the Counties. According to available data, about 4,000 Hungarians were deported from these counties, sent to internment camps or Soviet forced-labour camps(152).

According to the September 27. 1944 issue of the daily paper Curierul, the Romanian council of ministers decided, at its September 26, 1944 meeting, to do away with the German ethnic group. Soon after occupying Szatmar County, the public administrators started a cleansing campaign at the end of October to collect and deport all the Svabians considered war criminals. Between January 3rd and 22nd 1945 a veritable flood of ridding the county of Germans spread throughout the region; however, most of those collected and deported were still Hungarians.

As per the church district and the MNSZ minutes (MOL.ROM.TUK.XIV-I-i-j., 18.d.,16/b.z.cs.) the following pastors were deported from the Szatmar County church district: Melan Ferenc, pastor, Nagybanya; p. Gruber Erno, prior, Nagybanya; Monostori Ferenc, pastor, Nagymadarasz (the pastor was seriously ill); Lengyel Laszlo, pastor, Erindszent; O.Septei Gellert, pastor, Nagykaroly; Franzen Karly, pastor, Aporhaza; F, Simon Elzear, pastor, Szekelyhid; Lang Lajos and Steibel Ferenc, seminarians(153).

In Krasznasandorujfalu, the women whose husbands had already been deported were collected also. But they could not deport the women, mothers, because their children set up such a wailing and howling that the Soviet commander intervened and adamantly refused their deportation. It is to the great credit of the Soviet soldiers, "uniformed misses" and officers that they defended the Hungarian population from the barbarism, plunder and pillage of the Romanian soldiers, gendarme commanders, notaries, judges, teachers, and priests that drifted back into northern Transylvania.

In the village of Bere, 16 Hungarian men were arrested as partisans and deported to unknown places. "The daughter of Orosz Erno, protestant minister, was on the point of being deported to the Ukraine as a Svabian. He managed to get her out at the last minute. 59 people - among them parents with three

children - were deported as Svabians to the Ukraine despite their being pure Hungarians. On several stations, behind sealed wagons, they cried out: "We are protestant Hungarians, yet we are still being taken!"(154)

The Romanian notary and judge of Nagyszokond listed the village's Hungarian population as Svabian, to be deported to the Ukraine. They were.

From Krasznokbeltek and Sandorfalva also Hungarians were deported to the Ukraine as Svabians. From Erdod, 170 Hungarians were dewported to an unknown place.

The passing of the front and the change of regime had the same consequences in Szilard County as elsewhere in Transylvania. The Soviet troops arrived in Zilah, capital of the county, on October 15; the change-over to the Romanian public administration went smoothly. There were only sporadic incidences of plunder and pillage. However, there were mass deportations from Szilagysomlyo and its vicinity. After the arrival of the gendarmes - who should have assured order and peace - the volunteer-Maniu guardsmen, led by local activists, systematically robbed the local Hungarian crafts- and tradesmen. They took 8 wealthier Hungarian men to Zilah and put them to forced labour. After three days they let them go.

The village pf Badacsony, near Szilagysomlyo, was Iuliu Maniu's birthplace. Therefore, Szilagy County's Romanians were all members of, of symoathizers with the National Peasant Party; they represented the Guard. On the basis of their denunciations, the best of Hungarian men were collected from their homes and deported to the various internment camps.

In January 1945, several hundred men were arrested. Part of them were sent to the prison in Nagyenyed, others were taken to an unknown place. On January 10, 1945, in Zsilagysomlyo, 18 men, who never had anything to do with politics, were arrested(155). These were first taken to Zilah; after a few days of interrogation and torture, they were locked up in the prison in Nagyenyed. During their prison-years, ten out of the original 18

died. Among the arrested were the village's chief notary, a city engineer, a high-school principal, three shopkeepers. Not one of them was a politician; they were simply respected members of the community... and Hungarians(156).

Recalling the 1940 incident in the village of Ipp where two returning Hungarian soldiers were killed by an enraged Romanian miller and who himself was killed by a Hungarian penal detachment, when the Romanian public administration arrived in 1945, it arrested 16 Hungarians who had nothing to do with the incident. These 16 Hungarians received such a severe punishment that only two returned alive(157).

The "German-cleansing" actions of Szatmar County undertaken in early 1945 must be mentioned separately. On January 3, 1945, in Szilagysomlyo, all Hungarians with German-sounding names were rounded up and deported to the Soviet Union under the pretext of collective guilt. Of these 19 people, only five returned from the Soviet Union(158). It must be pointed out that the Romanian local population everywhere participated in the guardsmen's and "batalion fix" atrocities, in the hope of free loot and easy acquisition of wealth.

It was also mentioned that the unfortunate Hungarians who were arrested as a retribution were taken to internment, or rather death- camps. The same fate awaited those who fled to northern Transylvania to get out of military or forced-labour service, as well as those who no longer wished to serve in Horthy's army and returned to their homes. Of these, the Romanians told the Soviets that these are dangerous "fascists", "white guerillas" or rogue troops. In the Focsani(95) death-camp, for instance, 35,000 Hungarian men were kept as prisoners-of-war; but the number of deportees and internees soon rose to 100,000. In this camp, as in the one at Foldvar and others, the daily toll of dead was 20-30 Hungarians. This was due to the beatings and famine they were exposed to and the complete lack of medical care. Then came the typhoid fever epidemic! These conditions were confirmed by Gheorghe-Deorghiu-Dej(96), a leading Romanian communist, at the time of his visit to the internment camps in the Zsil Valley. According to his report, the chauvinistic Romanian

supervisors were brutal and treated the forced-labourers like animals. But their lot was no better for the Hungarians who languished in the Tirgu-Jiu(97) camp near Bucharest or worked on the railroad in inhuman conditions near the port city of Galac(98).

The barbarisms and atrocities committed by the Maniu-Guard against the Hungarians prompted the Soviet leadership to send, on November 5, 1944, a stiff memorandum to the Romanian head of state. This note pointed out that the Romanians violated some of the terms of the truce signed by Romania on September 12th and also warned that a civil war might erupt as a consequence of the Maniu-Guard's carnage in northern Transylvania. As the "ethnic cleansing" did not cease, the Allied Control Commission and the Soviet military high command - themselves not the most sensitive or merciful of entities! - decided to suspend the reactionary Romanian public administration's authority in northern Transylvania until such time that it becomes truly democratic, can see to the execution of the terms of the truce and can guarantee the democratic Hungarians' rights, and installed a Soviet military administration until March 6, 1945, day of the nomination of Groza Peter(99) to form a new government. Thus, when on November 12, 1944, on the basis of this decision, General Vinogradov expelled the Romanian public administrators from northern Transylvania, ended the reign of terror that aimed at creating such a panic among the Hungarian population that they would voluntarily leave their birthplace. However, the Soviet's defense of the "democratic" Hungarian population left the door open to the Romanians to indulge in anti-Hungarian retributions and other evil deeds. The fact is, though, that without this decision the Romanian units of soldiers, gendarmes, police, etc. would have continued the destruction of the Hungarians until the whole population was obliterated. Speaking about these acts of terrorism, Deputy Foreign Minister Visinskij - who was well inured to such actions - said: "Without any preliminary agreement with the Soviet Union, there appeared in northern Transylvania the so-called Iuliu Maniu-Guard's volunteer units that plundered and terrorized the Hungarian nationals and organized vile manhunts against them."

On March 6, 1945, Groza formed a coalition government. On March 7th he asked the Soviet government's agreement to "re-annex" northern Transylvania to Romania. I.V Stalin(100) - head of the Soviet government - gave a favourable reply. He agreed to the introduction of the Romanian public administration into northern Transylvania. Therefore, the Romanian government received the agreement only to introduce the public administration and not to the re-annexation of this territory to Romania, nor did it receive the agreement to exercise full state's right over northern Transylvania. Despite all this, Stalin's decision foreshadowed the annexation of this territory to Romania. From the autumn of 1944 on, Romanian diplomacy argued - unfortunately successfully - that Hungary got used already to the "loss" of northern Transylvania, to the Trianon peace treaty and that not allowing Romania's annexation of this territory would set back the cause of socialist states. This decision fostered the Romanian nationalists' and fascists' anti-Hungarian stand, gave rise to the oppression of Hungarians with the purpose of enticing them to leave Transylvania voluntarily. The Romanian government tried to show the country to the outside world as stable, at least for the time of the peace negotiations that closed the WWII. They promised to introduce into the constitution a law governing the nationalities; this raised the hope that the international norm for the treatment of nationalities will become permanent.

During the Groza regime, there were still some arbitrary internments despite the promises, although conditions for the Hungarians improved in general. In April, 1945, some of the internees were allowed to return home. In June, the camp at Tirgu-Jiu was closed. On July 23 the Groza government issued its general military amnesty which applied to those Hungarian military age men who fled from southern Transylvania. Despite the amnesty, in several places, among them Deva, Hungarian men who had fled the Antonescu regime to northern Transylvania were tried and convicted upon their return home.

Even after the Groza government came to power, some local military commanders still conscripted - with official mobilization

papers - tens or hundreds of Hungarians, some well-to-do, some ordinary. These could buy their way out of service against payment of huge sums. In their unfettered avarice, the Romanian master-sergeants and sergeants recalled again and again those who had already paid up once. Many a Hungarian family was robbed blind by this "exercise". Their officers not only must have known of this practice but must have shared in the "profits". Otherwise it could not have gone on so blatantly.

Choice mistreatments were committed against the Hungarian aristocracy. Without going into lengthy details, let us just mention one case, that of count Banffy Miklos of Bonchida.

A petition was written by the author asking that the over 70-year-old count Banffy be allowed to go back to Bonchida to see, once more, his castle named "Little Versailles" that was burned and destroyed by the Germans. Despite count Banffy's valuable work during WWII in the interests of Romanian-Hungarian friendship, his request was refused by the local Romanians of Bonchida. An investigation of the author was started but the well-meaning police officer in charge put it on the backburner upon the request of the Seventh Day Adventist church (of which he was a secret member). But the author was warned to escape; this he did with the help of two Hungarian peasants transporting salt to Hungary.

The end of 1945 saw the first of the show-trials.

Dr. Jakab (pen-name: Bozodi) Gyorgy, member of the writers' circle "Harvest" was interned in 1946 in Kolozsvár on the false charges of being a war criminal and fascist element. After his release, in the 1950s, he was deported again as a "kulak"; thus he also spent time in the Romanian forced-labour camps too. He was finally set free in 1967. Then he went from ministry to ministry seeking to re-acquire his valuable manuscripts and books but to no avail(160),

The poet, Kiss Jenő, was convicted by court-martial because of his satirical verses.

Laszlo Domokos was also convicted by the Romanian court-martial for protesting the closing of Hungarian schools.

In 1947, Dr. Unghvary Sandor, professor of the Reformed College of Kolozsvarm was arrested on the trumped-up charges of being the agent of a conspiracy in Hungary. The purpose of his trial was to get the "anti-communist" religious, institutional, and social-democratic leaders eliminated.

On June 20, 1949, Gyulafehevar's Roman Catholic bishop, Marton Aron, received a telephone call asking him to go the next day to Bucharest because Prime Minister Groza wanted to see him. This was just a pretext to remove him from his home. On the road, the car that took the bishop to the railroad station developed some problem. Just at that time another car came by and the bishop's chauffeur asked the driver "to take the bishop and his secretary, Ferenc Benjamin, on to the station." In the car, Cracium identified himself as the chief of Szeben's public safety and informed them of their arrest.

After passing through several horrendous prisons, Bishop Marton was taken to Bucharest and jailed in the Interior Ministry's Jilava prison. With his hands tied behind his back and manacled to his feet, he could not even sit(161).

In September 1949, Rajk Laszlo (1909-1949), former Hungarian Interior- and Foreign Minister of Transylvanian origin, was arrested, condemned to death and executed. During and after his show trial several of his Transylvanian friends and acquaintances, as well as Hungarian communists were also arrested under the pretext of "leaning to the right".

On November 3, 1949, several Hungarian leaders were arrested. Among them Kurko Gyarfas, the president of the MNSZ, and Dr. Szasz Pal, landowner and president of the Center of the 500-member "Hangya" Association of Transylvania.

On February 17, 1950 were arrested: Lakatos Istvan, president of the Hungarian section of the Romanian Social Democratic

Party; Dr. Venczel Jozsef; count Teleki Adam of the famous Teleki family; Boda Bertalan, bank manager; and Dr. Pasztai Geza, attorney, who was also member of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Kolozsvár. They met Kurko Gyárfas in the cellar of the Interior Ministry.

It must be mentioned that Dr. Venczel Jozsef was taken away with his wife from his four children to make him admit the existence of an anti-government conspiracy. It was obvious that they were preparing a big show-trial to intimidate the Hungarians.

Their trial started on July 30, 1951 at the court-martial of Bucharest. It was secret; the prosecutors were afraid that the statements the accused made would create a reaction among Transylvania's Hungarians. On the accuseds' bench sat 1) Marton Aron; 2) Dr, Szasz Pal;; 3)Korparich Ede; 4)Lakatos Istvan; 5) Kurko Gyárfas; 6) count Teleki Adam; 7)Dr. Venczel Jozsef; and 8) Bodor Bertalan.

They were accused of spinning a vast conspiracy to overthrow the government in 1945 and '46. They allegedly wanted to restore capitalism in Romania; prevent the nullification of the II. Vienna Decision; what is more, they wanted to annex Southern Transylvania, too, thus endangering Romania's territorial integrity.

The accused were stunned to hear the gravity of the charges against them and at the end of the trial they all made their statement - which were dramatic.

It is clear from the procedure of the trial and the reaction to the statements that the verdicts were well prepared by the Interior Ministry. The verdicts were announced on August 7, 1951, in the prison at Jilava.

The accused were condemned to

- a) maximum 10 and minimum 4 years of hard prison for conspiracy;
- b) maximum 10 and minimum 3 years of loss of political rights for conspiracy and treason
- c) From a maximum of life to 12 years of forced labour for

treason;
d) confiscation of all property;
e) payments of fines ranging from 10,000 to 2,000 lei for court fees.

According to the instructions included in the verdicts, the accused had to fulfill the hardest requirements.

The accused could appeal within four days but their appeal was rejected. In eight days, they were transported to the prison in Nagyenyed. A month later, Marton Aron was transferred to the prison in Maramaros where he found all five of Romania's Roman Catholic bishops (Gyulafehervar, Nagyvarad, Temesvar, Bucharest, and Jasi).

Here were incarcerated also Eugen Popa, dean of the Theological College of the Byzantine Rite of Kolozsvár; Medveczky Istvan, pastor; Berkovitz Asra, journalist; Fridenek Jenó, lieutenant-colonel; Vida Lajos and Magyar Gusztav, bishops of the Byzantine Rite; Rafael Friedrich, pastor; and "many others". This was the communists' "annihilation" center of the Romanian, but primarily the Hungarian, intellectuals during the early and mid-1950s. The deaths of eminent personages were prepared in this prison, or hastened by all available means. The "scientifically" established food plan of 700 calories a day was just sufficient to prevent a sudden death. (All the Roman Catholic bishops and deputy bishops were imprisoned. Among them, by 1956, only Marton Aron was still alive.)

Korparich Ede served his 5 years of prison. Since he had no property left nor a pension, he moved to West Germany.

Szasz Pal died of hunger in the Ocnele Mari prison.

Lakatos Istvan was incarcerated for about 15 years. While in prison, his family had no news of him. Letters or packages, to which every political prisoner has a right in civilized countries, are unknown in Romania.

Kurko Györfas was set free on August 4, 1964. Already during

his arrest he was tortured and beaten to such an extent that he went mad. (He was condemned despite his insanity.) He was rehabilitated in 1968 and died in 1983.

Count Teleki Adam was reprieved after 7 years in prison by his "old friend" Petru Groza.

Venczel Jozsef served his 12 years of prison. After his release he did not get his professorship back but was employed by the university as it needed his vast knowledge.

Bodor Bertalan served his 5 years in prison. In 1968 he was rehabilitated; it was determined that he never committed any unlawful acts. However, his confiscated house was never returned to him.

Marton Aron, Korparich Ede, Venczel Jozsef, and Lakatos Istvan never asked to be rehabilitated(161).

In the prisons - and not only in Maramarossziget - food was so scanty that hundreds of prisoners died of hunger. When freed, most of the survivors came out ill and incapacitated. Who can believe that in the XX. century the prisoners did not see toilet paper for 15 years and had to wipe themselves with their bare hands and less than a cup of water?(163)

From one day to the next, Marton Aron was transferred back to the cellar of the Interior Ministry where he spent 2 years. After that he was taken to the suburban villa of a boyar where he spent 1 year. His every wish was granted but he was strictly guarded. Petru Groza visited him several times. On February 2, 1955 he was taken to the archbishopric of Bucharest where he received an apartment and could even say Mass. He was allowed to return to Gyulafehervar where he arrived on March 25; he immediately took over the administration of his see.

Vicar Sandor Imre was arrested on March 10, 1951 for forbidding his priests to take part in the "peacenik-priest" movement. He died in prison as a consequence of his torture.

Together with Sandor Imre, Gajdatsy Bela was also arrested; he too died in prison of his tortures.

On August 26, 1951 were arrested Jakab Antal, David Laszlo, Eros Kajos, and others. Jakab Antal was beaten twice to such an extent that he became brain damaged.

After Jakab Antal Maczalik Gyozo took over the administration of the diocese. He was arrested in 1952 and died the same year, in prison, of his tortures.

Together with several of his fellow-clerics, Prelat-Canon Dr. vitez Boga Alajos was arrested for refusing to accept the decisions of the meetings of the "peacenik-priests" and for prohibiting his priests from participating in this movement. He was first taken to a prison in Vacarest, then to a camp in Maramarossziget where he died on September 14, 1954 as a consequence of his torture. With his fellow-priests, he was buried in a mass grave without cross or monument(164). To Romania's and the communist regime's eternal shame, they were stripped of their clothes, thrown into a wooden crate, and buried without markers in the paupers' field during the night. No question of leaving traces or documents...

Scheffler Janos, Roman Catholic Bishop of Szatmar, died in prison on December 6, 1952.

As of January 1, 1964, 41 diocesan priests of Gyulafehervar (28 secular priests and 13 religious priests) were in prison.

To the "democratic" Romanian government the physical annihilation of thousands of Hungarians was not enough. Already on February 9, 1945, it activated law #91, the infamous CASBI law - the Management and Supervisory Institute of Enemy Property - aiming directly at bankrupting economically and fiscally a part of the Hungarian population. With this law all property of Hungarian citizens and enterprises with Hungarian interests pass under the control and supervision of CASBI. On April 25, 1945 appeared the instructions on how to apply the law which expanded its meaning. It also created its

own definition of "presumed enemy" and of which property will fall under its control. Thus became "presumed enemy" property that which belonged to Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality who had stayed in Hungary or northern Transylvania on September 12, 1944, as well as the property of those who stayed outside of the Romanian-Hungarian border or who, before the given dates, left the war zone.

Thus, concerning Hungary and Hungarian citizens, the property of close to 200 industrial and commercial enterprises and 16,000 people came under the supervision and control of CASBI. At the same time, the property of some 30,000 Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin was confiscated as "presumed enemy"s - ruined for life, left destitute or driven to death(165).

The #187/1945 law on land reform was enacted on March 23, 1945. Under its terms, the land, other real estate and their chattel was to be confiscated from all those who went to a country that was at war with Romania or who fled abroad after August 23, 1945. The instructions accompanying this law made it even more severe. Deemed "collaborators" and subject to confiscation were the properties of those who left with the German or Hungarian armies. This law was applied to those Hungarian nationals who were compelled to leave their homes but had already returned there. The Szekely border-guards who served with valid mobilization papers also had to forfeit their land under the pretext of "collaboration".

These legal instructions were, after WWII, the real agents of bankrupting the Hungarians economically and financially. Not to mention the differentiated levies imposed on the Hungarians and the actions aimed at ruining the craftsmen. But mention must be made of the lawsuits by means of which the Romanians, who had fled northern Transylvania into southern Transylvania, regained their properties in the north. These properties were legally sold to Hungarians or exchanged with them until 1944 when the Romanians started drifting back into Northern Transylvania following the Soviet or Romanian troops' advance. The lawsuits only served to sanction this robbery; the evicted Hungarians were also sometimes brought to trial on

criminal charges. Many of the destitute Hungarians committed suicide or lost their minds. In some places they even tried to rob people of their real estate who did not fall into this category.

In some villages older Hungarians were killed just to acquire their real estate without any attempt to discover the perpetrators. In Bonchida (Kolozs County), for instance, Mrs. Goots Sandor, a small landowner, was found dead on the main street, with her head bashed in so that her house could be robbed, confiscated, and acquired.

These incidents remained the villages' secret. The Hungarian population did not dare speak of such things and the Romanians' interest was in keeping a "wise" silence. However, one could learn of these events while travelling, at meetings of Hungarians. There was hardly a village of mixed inhabitants in Transylvania, particularly in northern Transylvania, where the Romanians did not persecute some wealthy Hungarians, sometimes even forcing them to flee.

These events which mock human dignity and the confiscatory regulations only increased exponentially after May 7, 1946 when the great powers accepted the January 1, 1938 boundaries between Hungary and Romania. Particularly in view of the fact that there were constant contradictions between the programs of prime minister Petru Groza and the Hungarian nationals. This was characteristic of all of Groza's prime ministership(166).

Characteristic also was the opinion of the Hungarians and Szekelys: Yes he made a beautiful speech, in Hungarian, too; "the trouble is he is still Romanian."

They were right: despite his true communism, in all his policies, including the question of minorities, Groza was a pure Romanian. This can be stated categorically: in his work, *A Borton Homalyaban* he traces his ancestry to the Dacians(167). He let this be known not by words but by his actions: when he indulgently shut one eye to the atrocities, even the cruellest, inflicted on the Hungarians. It is a sad commentary on the Transylvanian Hungarians and on Hungary's political elite that

they never saw or took notice of these, believed his smiling countenance, his promises delivered in excellent spoken Hungarian yet which had tragic consequences for all Hungarians. Domokos Pal Peter(101), in his work Rendületlenül writes the following of Petru Groza:

The Romanian prime minister, dr. Petru Groza, was a sly, perspicacious politician who knew how to set up his "chessboard". He tried to support the efforts of Stefan Voitec, socialist minister, "to have in Romania, at the opening of the peace negotiations, 2071 Hungarian-language elementary schools, 181 high schools, a Hungarian university in Kolozsvár, a medical and pharmaceutical faculty in Marosvásárhely; and, in the Székely counties, a Hungarian county chief and bilingual administration, etc. Similarly to 1918 in Gyulafehérvár where pompous decisions were taken on the "rights of Hungarians" which rights they never received(168). But the world at large never knew that a Hungarian teacher earned only 26,000 lei as opposed to his Romanian counterpart's 80,000, that the Hungarian teacher did not receive his pittance for months and that often the villagers had to feed the teacher's family to save them from starvation. The young, unmarried teachers had to be fed by their pupils' families by turn.

On June 24, 1945, the Minister of National Food Supply embargoed the whole 1945 harvest of wheat, rye, barley, and oats. The Romanian collecting agents practically emptied the Hungarian villages of Transylvania. In certain Székely counties all of the hay harvest had to be surrendered at the officially determined price. This was set at 60 lei per ton whereas beyond the Carpathians the price of hay was 400 lei per ton. In Old Romania the price of a horse was 900,000 lei; in the Hungarian regions of Transylvania, it was 150,000 lei.

After the 1947 peace treaty the cruelties against the Hungarians only increased, their sufferings continued. Just one example: in 1948, in Szarhegy, where the great ruling prince Bethlen Gabor (1613-1629) was raised, a riot broke out against the neocommunist, anti-Hungarian, oppressive regime. 1,459

people - men and women - were arrested; of these 319 never returned. 10 people were executed by torture, beating, shooting, or being thrown in front of moving trains, etc. Never before in history has the demand for human rights been avenged in such a bloody manner(169).

In every mixed village there was persecution of Hungarians. Whole families had been hounded, robbed, and driven out of their homes. In every Hungarian or mixed village, Hungarian homes have been looted and the people harassed.

The fate of those people from Northern Transylvania who after the II. Vienna Decision were called in to serve in the Hungarian parliament is worth mentioning. Three reformed pastors from Szatmarnemeti were held in prison for over two years; they were only freed on 1954. No doubt those men from other regions who served in the Hungarian parliament had to endure the same fate.

All these events, which can truly be counted as cruelties, were the clear responsibility of prime minister Petru Groza who professed to be a friend of the Hungarians but was double-faced in all his policies. It can therefore be said that the anti-Hungarian "holocaust" started in Romania under his regime(170).

It was also under Groza's stewardship that started, in May 1947, the indefensible assault on Hungarian intellectuals. Its communist- internationalist basis was set by the MNSZ newspaper, "Vilagossag" and its editor, Balogh Edgar(102). He also began the cautious, but progressive elimination of all Hungarian institutions. It is evident that the MNSZ policies contributed to the total disregard of the Hungarians' wishes during the Paris peace conference(171). It is also obvious that Groza always followed Romania's national interests and that, as a "cultured friend of Hungarians", he endeavoured to put a democratic face on their oppression. Yet he never lifted a finger for his imprisoned allies and friends, such as Kurko Gyarfas, Balogh Edgar, Meliusz Jozsef and others.

It must also be known that, even in peacetime, in Romania

people (Hungarians, Jews, Gypsies, etc.) could be executed by the gendarmerie, the police or the army without judicial proceedings, simply on the basis of oral complaints or orders. During and immediately after WWII - according to Romanian sources the "turbulent times" - the number of executed civilians in Romania can be put at 100.000; the exact number shall never be known.

At first, Bucharest picked its victims according to their political manifesto, their declarations, their statements and their rock-hard solidarity to their Hungarian-ness and not according to their profession. It tried to break the back of those Hungarian and Szekely families who would under no circumstances change their identities. To reach this goal, it applied financial/economic measures to ruin these families. When, after WWII the Romanian leadership realized that it was ranged against all Hungarians of Transylvania and the Szekelyfold, it made its confiscatory measures general. It robbed the Hungarians by, for instance, having them build - atheism or not - the orthodox churches that served the Romanian administration.

According to a decision of the June 10-11 1948 meeting of the Central Leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party (RMP), the "national- nationality question is an important but not an essential element of the revolutionary change-over". They certainly ignored this question. Continued the persecution of the Hungarians, particularly of the Hungarian intellectuals, the mergers - read: elimination - of the Hungarian institutes of higher education with their Romanian counterparts. They would not hear of Hungarians having their own economic institutions as their economic strength could be used as a springboard for their political independence.

The RMP prepared its plan for a "Constitution for Building Socialism". Gheorghe Gheorgiu Dej stated in his report that the constitution must show that the minority policies of the Romanian Communist Party were based on Stalinist teachings. Following these, they prepared new administrative districts for Romania, including an Autonomous Hungarian Province of the Republic of Romania. The region inhabited by compact

Hungarian-Szekely populations would form this Province. It would have its autonomus administration, elected by the Autonomous Province's inhabitants. It lists the "rayons"(103) that the Province would encompass. By examining these, it is clear that these include only Udvarhely, Csik, Haromszek, and Maros counties, leaving out Aranyosszek, the Barcasag, and that part of Moldova that was inhabited by Szekelys. To the "outside world" this would not only prove that Romania has an enlightened minority policy but also that only in these regions lived Hungarians.

The March 18, 1948 issue of the [newspaper] "Magyar Szo" points out that according to the 1948 census Romania's Hungarian inhabitants amounted to 1,499,851, i.e. 9.4% of the total population. The population of the Hungarian Autonomous Province was 740,318 of which 539,669 were Hungarians, the rest - 200,649 - were of other nationalities, mostly Romanian. This is a significant mass of people within an Autonomous Provice and almost puts its validity in doubt. This solution was also tinged by some anti-Hungarian feelings, particularly if we consider the omission of some important regions. Thus, 960,182 - almost 1 million - Hungarians were not counted among the 1,499,851. According to the 1949 divisions, considerable numbers of Hungarians lived in the following counties:

In Kolozs County	of 366,193 inhabitants	118,823 were Hungarians	
Kolozsvar		167,977	"
In Szilagy County	373,220	"	141,369
Zilah			6,566
In Temes County	528,662	"	108,481
Temesvar			16,189
In Bihar County	515,591	"	164,896
Nagyvarad			52,541
In Szatmar County	912,391	"	104,419
Szatmar			30,536

Only 1/3 of Romania's Hungarians lived in the Autonomous Hungarian Province. It was stressed that council members, public administrators, and workers in the judicial system - including the leaders - as well as teachers and professors would be chosen for employment from among local experts. Thus, the Province would have given rise to more use of the native language. In practice, however, use of the Hungarian and German languages was limited by fear: even the leaders of the Province, in its building, dared speak Romanian only - to their shame and that of the "democratic leadership and the contry's minority policies that demanded it."

So the quiet but deep-running and planned economic/fiscal and cultural/spiritual strangulation of the Hungarians continued unabated until the 1956 revolution and freedom fight in Hungary. Sympathy for and identification with it was evident; as a consequence, the oppression grew worse and more open. The pretext of being "suspect of counter- revolutionary activities" was enough to settle some Hungarian's score - particularly the intellectuals - or to ruin a person's reputation. This took them straight to the atrophying of the independent minority institutions and school networks, to the closing of the Bolyai Hungarian University, to the increased pressure to assimilate and to settle in Romanians.

We left it to the last to illustrate how the Romanian-Transylvanian Hungarians were affected in 1948 and 1949 by the collectivization and the introduction of a Soviet-style system of Kolhozes in agriculture.

As a prologue to the subject, let me tell you that there were very few Romanian "kulaks", or "exploiters" of agricultural workers, although there were some who had sizable land holdings. The majority of the "kulaks" were Hungarians. The main charge against them was that they stirred up opposition to agricultural collectivization. For this reason the Hungarian landowners were subject to inflated taxation, higher requirements of turning in the harvest, in harassment by the police and constabulary, initiating criminal procedures that result in fines and/or prison sentences, deportations, time spent in labour camps, etc. Many tried to

escape but of those who stayed, many committed suicide.

Without listing the innumerable cases of harassment and persecution committed against the landowner class, let me just give you one example:

In the village of Uzon, during the night of March 2, 1949, armed Romanian soldiers broke in on Temesvary Janos, small landholder, and his family. Together with his pregnant wife, he was forced into a truck and taken to Sepsiszentgyorgy, to the basement of the police building where 60-70 Hungarian-Szekelys from Haromszek were already kept prisoner. As a result of this trauma, the wife went into labour; they asked the soldiers if she could be left at home, under armed guard, to deliver her baby. This request was refused. So was the request for her obstetrician. She got blood poisoning. She was transferred to a hospital where, after five days of labour, her little son was taken out. The child cried for a few minutes then died. Under the pretext that the family incited against collectivization, they were taken, together with about 80 others, from Sepsiszentgyorgy to Brasso; from there, in cattle-cars later in trucks, to Dobrudzsa, the former Bulgarian Province. After 6 years of inhuman treatment, they were set free. The husband, as a consequence of these 6 years of atrocities, died at age 35. His wife, a Hungarian citizen, received permission to re-settle in Hungary on May 28, 1960(172).

Similar events occurred in Transylvania everywhere. Innumerable Hungarians, particularly landowning Hungarians, perished.

VII.

DURING THE 1956 REVOLUTION AND FREEDOM FIGHT.

The communist leadership of Romania was as if hit by lightning out of a clear sky by the outbreak of the revolution and freedom fight in Hungary. The Transylvanian ungarians, those of the Bansag and of Partium(104), as well the Hungarians of Moldova and the Jews listened with keen interest to and followed every broadcast of the Free Kossuth Radio of Budapest. The deported and cowed German nationals, influenced by their cruel persecution, just watched the unfolding events although they did sympathize with the Hungarians(173). Now the organizations opposed to the social system surfaced immediately. New organizations were founded and started functioning in the spirit of this revolution and freedom fight, such as the Transylvanian Democratic Movement of Opposition ("Erdelyi Demokratikus Ellenallasi Mozgalom" or ENDEM) or the Association of Transylvania's Hungarian Youth ("Erdelyi Magyar Ifjak Szovetsege" or EMISZ), etc.

All meetings and gatherings were prohibited, not only in Transylvania but nation-wide. The people, though, despite the prohibition, held their meetings; the secret police - the Securitate - were always present. In larger villages or towns, the armoured vehicles and heavy weaponry of the military were always at the ready. The slogans spread throughout Kolozsvar, Temesvar, Marosvasarhely: "Out with the Russians from the country!" "We are tired of captivity!" "We want liberty!" etc. The Old-Romanian university students kept pace with them: they took the lead in these movements. But the students of the Hungarian-language Medical Faculty of the Univesity of Marosvasarhely were isolated. At the student demonstrations in Temesvar, for instance, several thousand people participated.

November 4, 1956 [the day the Soviet troops crushed the

revolution] had dire consequences for the Hungarians in Romania. Romania felt empowered to solidify her reign in Transylvania; to accomplish her own nationalism under the cloak of internationalism. But she could only do that by doing away with the over 2 million Hungarians. The first wave of blame and persecution hit about 10,000 people(174).

The execution of the project of "doing away with Hungarians" started with arrests at the time of the events in Hungary and 1960. Anyone condemned for treason, conspiracy against the state, inciting armed rebellion, conspiracy against the social system, failing to denounce, hiding arms, listening to foreign radio stations put his life in peril. The courts often handed down sentences for the death penalty, life imprisonment, and/or 15-20-25 years of forced labour(175).

As soon as they heard in Marosvasarhely of the events in Hungary, technician Kelemen Imre, together with Kelemen Laszlo, Fulop Sandor, Dozsa Imre, Pal Istvan, Tofan Mihaly, and Magyari Ferenc decided to form a group, arm themselves and go to Hungary to help their brethren there. Their quick organizing soon came to the attention of the ever-vigilant "securitate". On October 29th, members of the group were arrested and tried by court-martial that sentenced them from 10 to 4 years in prison.

In Bonchida, Poka Andras and his two companions, Szakacs Jozsef and Toth Imre were denounced and taken to the gendarmerie. They were accused for one of them wanting to become judge if ever there is a revolution in Bonchida too and a Hungarian administration comes to power. All three, but particularly Poka Andras, were beaten half to death. Also, they arrested - on trumped up charges - Voit Karolyne, the widow of the village's pharmacist, and her son. He received a heavy sentence and after his liberation was not allowed to return to Transylvania from Bucharest.

On November 4, 1956, in Marosvasarhely, Dr. Maier Sandor, general practitioner, was arrested with his father and condemned to 12 years in prison. Of these, 6 years were spent in the

notorious prison in Szamosujvar.

At the city tribunal of Marosvasarhely 514 people were tried and convicted. Among others: 75 members of the EMISZ (Association of Transylvanian Hungarian Youth); the 11-member team from Csikszereda; 3 members of an "armed rebellion"; and the 6 members of a group distributing handbills.

In Temesvar, Szoboszlay Aladar, Roman Catholic pastor of Magyarpecska, together with 500 participants started a nationwide organization. Accusing them of anti-state conspiracy, 11 of them were condemned to death and 10 executed. Draganita Mogyoros Maria was also sentenced to death but her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. But according to baron Banffy Istvan, condemned to 15 years in prison, as soon as the verdicts were proclaimed, they were already gunned down in the forest of the Temesseg. On the other hand, some say that they were executed in the prison at Arad; others maintain that the executions took place in the underground Cell 0 of the notorious prison in Zsilava. The families still do not know where the remains of their loved ones are buried.

The pastor of Brasso-Bolonya, Raduly Istvan, was sentenced to 20 years of forced labour.

Tauffer Ferenc and Simo Sandor of Torda were convicted to 18 years of hard prison life simply for expressing their views.

Biro Karoly was shot to death trying to escape the Luciu-Giurgeu forced labour camp (one of several Romanian Gulags along the Danube).

Due to starvation and brutal treatment, Demeter Istvan died at the forced-labour camp at Periprava. Several others died soon after their release in 1964 from this forced-labour camp. Tordai Janos, mechanic, who was condemned to 25 years of forced-labour, died in this prison.

On November 1, 1956 - on the Day of the Dead - the Hungarian students at the University of Kolozsvar held a memorial to the

past great intellectuals: Josika Miklos (1794-1865), the first master of Hungarian historical fiction, politician; Boloni Farkas Sandor (1795-1842), author and former employee of the Chancellery. Bartis Ferenc, freshman student, recited the poem he wrote for this occasion: "Torchlight in honour of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight". The Securitate swooped down immediately and arrested members of this group. In 1957 and 1959, Bartis Ferenc, David Gyula, Laki Elemer, Vastag Lajos, Pall Lajos, Peterffy Iren - all university students - were condemned on charges of counter-revolutionary demonstration.

On November 18, 1956 some more people were arrested, among them the poet, Paskandi Geza.

Show trials against Hungarians were fabricated in ever increasing numbers. Dr. Dobai Istvan, internationally known jurist, university professor, was tried on charges of treason. That was because he had found the solution to Transylvania's problems in land- and population exchanges. He was condemned to forced-labour for life. Also involved in this trial was Laszlo Dezso, reformed pastor of Kolozsvar, former parliamentary representative of the Magyar Part; and Dobri Janos, professor of reformed theology and former commander of the Transylvanian scouts. The prosecutor asked for 5 death sentences at the September 1957 session.

On March 15, 1957, the above mentioned EMISZ placed a wreath at the monument honouring the dead of 1848/49 at Feheregyhaza - where the poet Petofi Sandor lost his life in battle on July 31, 1849. For this, the 5 main culprits received a sentence of 25 years and 22 others of 20 years of forced labour, 14 were condemned to hard prison, and 40 to between 5 and 15 years in prison.

In 1957, also on March 15, the students of Sepsiszentgyorgy placed a wreath at the monument dedicated to the 1848 freedom fight. For this, Jancso Csaba and 8 of his companions - although minors - were condemned to 10-15 years of hard prison. They were placed in Romania's most notorious prison,

the one at Jilava - this prison whence the screams and moans of the tortured never escaped, where the executioners plied their trade day and night.

Half of the Unitarian clergy of the Erdovidek and the region of Homorod, together with their families, were sentenced to several years in prison for "organizing and giving support to hostile elements." Of the family of Nyitrai Mozes, Unitarian pastor of Homorodkaracsonyfalva, 4 members were arrested: his father, his mother, the theologian Levente, and the barely 15-year old Csongor. Because of overcrowding, they stuffed Csongor on the cement floor under the bunks where he became a cripple within 3 months.

Of the Unitarian section of the faculty of reformed theology, 3 professors and 15 theologians were sentenced to hard prison.

Under the pretext of being "members of a counterrevolutionary organization" and "terrorist conspirators", 5 youths from Nagyenyed were subjected to extremely painful methods of inquiry and 2 of them were condemned to death.

In the months following November 4, 1956, the six-centuries old College of Nagyenyed was dissolved. Its priceless library was partly scattered, partly burned. To ease the tension, the Hungarian leaders tried to appeal to the U.N. But their memorandum was caught on the border and its signatories were arrested. In this desperate situation, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant clergy appealed to the Soviet Union asking it to take over Transylvania as its Romanian leaders were out to destroy it(177). The Soviets promptly sent the signatories' names over to Romania. They were all condemned to 25 years in prison and their families were deported to "the infamous swamp" of the Danube Delta. That in itself was condemnation to death. Dr. Dobai Istvan, internationally known jurist, drafted the memorandum; his companions, Kertesz Janos and Szekeresi Nagy Jozsef paid with their lives in suffering.

The trial against Dobai Istvan, Komaromy Jozsef, Dobri Janos, Gazda Ferenc, and Kertesz Marton quickly "grew into" a show

trial against the Hungarian intellectuals. Among the main charges against them: sympathy with the "counterrevolutionary" movement in Hungary, reading and distributing the "Irodalmi Ujsag" [Literary Gazette] of Hungary and the denying of marxism.

Professor Jordaky Lajos was arrested twice for having made "reactionary remarks" and for condemning Romania's social system.

Vastag Lajos, student at the faculty of History, was asked during his judicial inquiry about his opinion on Nagy Umre, Hungarian revolutionary prime minister. When he approved, he was asked: "Had you been in Budapest in 1956 which side would you have shot? The left or the right? His reply: "I would have shot neither left nor right. I would have shot myself". His answer brought him 12 years of prison.

Countless Hungarians, including 43 condemned reformed pastors, were incarcerated at Szamosujvar. One of these died as a result of his sufferings.

Sass Kalman, pastor of Ermihalyfalva, and Dr. Hollos Istvan, colonel, judge at the military tribunal, were condemned to death and executed at the prison of Szamosujvar.

It must be mentioned that those that the Romanian Communist regime sent to the prison of Szamosujvar were destined to die. Ten thousand people were crowded into this prison built for 3,000. Only one day out of five did the prisoners receive food; the rest of the time, they lived on 10 dkg. bread and water. During the day, the bunks were folded up; the prisoners had to walk up and down in their stinking, damp cells. They were not allowed to sit or to talk. This prison represented the depth of humiliation or death. According to eyewitnesses, a great number of people lost their lives here.

Five professors and 23 students of the Protestant Theological Institute were imprisoned.

Seven Saxon and German theological students suffered persecution and were banished from further studies as a result of the events of 1956.

Several eminent Hungarians - such as the "poet of the year" Szamado Erno were arrested just to "panic" the Hungarian minority. Also simple folk like Visky Ferencne, was condemned and deported to her forced-labour camp with her 8 children; she was freed in 1964, her children were ruined for life. Most of those who were arrested in 1957, 1958, and 1959 were freed in 1964, the year of the general amnesty.

Many judicial proceedings and heavy punishment was meted out for such crimes as "listening to foreign broadcasts"; "insulting comments" made during research into folklore; "failure to denounce", etc. Dr Nagy Geza, university professor at Kolozsvar, for instance, was tried for having "neglected" to inform the authorities of his students' wish to celebrate March 15th. He was sent for a year to the construction site of the infamous Danube-canal, then worked for years in a furniture factory as polisher. Finally he was rehabilitated and ended his life as a retired university professor on January 21, 1981.

A Hungarian of Jewish origin, Robotos Imre was dismissed as editor-in-chief of the Romanian Communist party's Hungarian-language newspaper. A high-ranking party member characterized him as "the Jew who does not like Romanian democracy" but his real crime was his refusal to print anti-1956 comments made by Hungarians. He was demoted and sent to Nagyvarad. Later, he emigrated to Hungary with countless others of the remaining 400,000 Jews in Romania.

The infamous communist-internationalistic Feher Konyv ("White Book") published in Budapest (Magyar Nepkoztarsasag Minisztertanacs Tajekoztatasi Hivatal, I-IV, 1957 II.) contains photographs of the "counterrevolutionary" activities. Salamon Laszlo, resident of Gyergyoszentmiklos, was also among the demonstrating crowd in front of the Hungarian Radio's building.

Identified from the photograph, he was tried after his return and

sentenced to 10 years in prison(177/a).

Czirjak Ferenc, resident of Marosvasarhely, was also tried and sentenced after his return even though at one point he negotiated with Andropov, the Soviet ambassador. (After 1956 Kadar Janos organized the socialist states' security services into one tight-knit system, a real "proletarian-internationalism".)

To be honest, some of the Romanians also suffered as a consequence of the events of 1956. Paul Goma, author, who subsequently settled in Paris but was convicted, liked to sleep in prison with Banffy Istvan because the count took off his artificial leg for the night so there was more room on the narrow and uncomfortable bunk!

Joan Popa, an employee of "Balanta" (Scale) was imprisoned for several years because he agreed with - and loudly stated his convictions - the aims of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight. After he was freed, he continued to preach the need for Romanian-Hungarian-German friendship until one day he "disappeared" for good(105). No wonder then, that Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej suggested to his comrade Kadar Janos that they hang all counterrevolutionaries - which they both proceeded to do: Kadar in Hungary and Dej in Romania went after the Hungarians.

To get an accurate picture of Romanian reprisals in 1956 it is necessary to have every fact. It is important to know that in Romanian Transylvania more Hungarians were imprisoned and executed during 1956 than in Hungary itself. This is doubly important as all records and prison-cemeteries have been annihilated, including the Securitate's record of informants' network.

Bartis Ferenc tried to establish the list of all those Romanian-Transylvanian Hungarians who were incarcerated, imprisoned, and executed in connection with the 1956 revolution and freedom fight. His list reached 37,000 people. This list was publicized and made known to many eminent political leaders in Western Europe and North America - but without results as far

as Romania is concerned. The country's Jewry - which numbered 850,000 in September 1939 but was halved to 425,000(178)- was almost completely wiped out as a precursor to cooperation with Germany at the beginning of WWII(179). Similarly, the 600,000 Germans - Saxons and Schwabians - were reduced to 60,000 - mostly people too old to move.

The cruel reprisals that followed the 1956 revolution and freedom fight upset Transylvania's, particularly northern Transylvania's Hungarians and other nationalities. Fear and dejection spread throughout the whole country.

It must be mentioned that in 1958 but as late as 1980 the most humiliating punishment - even worse than death - was employed: caning.

But let us now focus on the Romanian mistreatment of Hungarians, particularly Hungarian intellectuals, that manifested itself in their persecution stemming from the Romanians' fear that the Hungarians, and not they, are really the spirit of Transylvania.

VIII.

COUNTERMEASURES TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF THE SPIRIT OF THE 1956 REVOLUTION AND FREEDOM FIGHT.

The Romanian communist powers were aware of the dread they created among the Hungarian population by their anti-Hungarian "reprisals". They were also aware of the fact that these might provoke vengeance. Counting on such a move, in the spring of 1959 by order of the central party, it "merged" from one day to the next, the "Bolyai" University(106) with the Romanian "Babes"(107) University of Kolozsvar. The "merger" was just a pretext to terminate the Hungarian-language institution. This Romanian measure foreshadowed in its consequences the gradual elimination of all Hungarian- language higher education which in effect ensued. And it affected not only higher education but also all schooling in general.

The merger was carried out by the then general secretary of the Romanian Communist Youth Association, Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej's faithful disciple, the later infamous Nicolae Ceausescu(108). At the meeting called about the merger, the poet Szabedi Laszlo(109) refused to support the forced merger. In this instance, he even refused to speak Romanian. This particularly irked the "supreme Romanian comrade" who, at that point, could only speak faulty Romanian. In his Hungarian-language address, Szabedi disputed the correctness of the merger which only aimed at destroying Hungarian-language instruction. Assistant Dean Csendes Zoltan also expressed his doubts. Szabedi Laszlo committed suicide; he was followed by the wife of Czendes Zoltan and by the philosopher Molnar Zoltan.

According to Romanian opinion - which had no basis in fact - the Bolyai University contained a "nest of chauvinists" and represented a threat to Romania's territorial integrity.

The American "Danubian Press" published an English-language study entitled Transylvania and the Hungarian-Romanian Problem. The author of one of the studies, Ionel P. Margineanu, Romanian university professor, sadly notes: "The Transylvanian Hungarians were accused of sympathizing with the 1956 revolution. This was the pretext to start the destruction of the Transylvanian Hungarians." The first step in this process, according to Professor Margineanu, was the "merger" of the Bolyai university with the Babes university. In Chapter VI we described the circumstances, the aims, and possible consequences of the creation of the Hungarian Autonomous Province. The Romanian leadership had two purposes with this: 1) to prove to the "outside world" that Hungarians lived only in that Province, and 2) to divide the Hungarians of this Province by future measures. With this in mind, they particularly stressed the transfer of Szekelys or the Hungarian inhabitants of the Province's cities to Romanian regions outside of Transylvania, mostly to Moldavia and the Southern Carpathian Region, even into Dobrudzsa that the Bulgarians had ceded them.

At its congress (1960.6.20-25), the RMP decreed heightened industrialization, a 16-fold increase in production within 15 years, development of the technical standards, and the end of collectivization. Yet in the Autonomous Province industrialization was cut back to encourage emigration thus promote the loss of Hungarians. The inhabitants of the Szekely cities moved close or closer to where the jobs were. This naturally reduced these cities' Hungarian population which was replaced - by state planning - by the infiltrating Romanians. Just one example:

According to the 1966 census, Marosvasarhely had a total population of 104,937 people of which 71,206 (67.8%) were Hungarian and 32,030 (30.5%) Romanians. In 1985 the city had a total of 154,904 residents of which 85,176 (55.9%) were Hungarians and 66,420 (42.9%) Romanians. Thus, in 19 years, the Hungarians decreased by 11.9% and the Romanians increased by 12.4%.

At the time of the Romanian "Caligula Emperor"(110), the

infamous Ceausescu (between 1966 and 1989), that is, in 23 years, the Romanian residents of Marosvasarhely - the Szekely capital - increased by 55,306 people. That is more than was the total population in 1935. This in itself is proof enough of state-directed destruction of ethnicity.

After the December 19, 1960 meeting of the Central Committee of the RMP, Ceausescu submitted to the Great Romanian National Assembly his proposed law to "Correct the Romanian Popular Republic's territorial administrative division". He changed the Hungarian Autonomous Province's name to Maros Hungarian Autonomous Province.

After annexation of some districts and the separation of others, it was found that the Hungarian population decreased - which was the purpose of this exercise. A cruel "solution!"

The Maros-Hungarian Autonomous Province only existed for 14 years. The Romanian communist leadership regarded this "mini-state" as a center of chauvinism which created tensions and seriously threatened Romania's internal peace and territorial integrity.

In 1968 the Party promised to extend the scope of the use of the Hungarian language, both in education and in cultural manifestations. The events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia gave the impetus to this process. Ceausescu, on his visit to the Szekelyfold, declared that "the life of the Szekelys will be drastically changed with the five-year plan". The people hoped - but in vain. Nothing came of Ceausescu's promises - as usual.

The abolition of the Hungarian-language "Bolyai" university led, as a consequence, to the elimination of the Hungarian-language school system. In the "mixed" schools (Romanian and Hungarian), Romanian-language instruction gradually replaced the decreased Hungarian-language classes. Therefore, instruction is bilingual from the first grade on (180). In many places, Romanian is the compulsory instructional language even in nursery schools.

While the squashing of Hungarian-language education continued

apace, several anti-Hungarian mistreatments took place:

The young poet from Marosvasarhely, Szocs Kalman, rescued a Szekely youth from the hands of 3 militia-men on the main square of the town. For this, he was shamelessly menaced, harassed and persecuted to the extent that he committed suicide in 1973(181).

On March 15, 1974, in Brasso and other Szekely cities, leaflets appeared on the streets with anti-Romanian slogans. Ceausescu immediately declared a state of emergency, the Szekelyfold was cordoned-off, the army moved in, the militia and the Securitate searched the region. Many grown-ups and students were arrested, typewriters confiscated, national leaders - mostly Hungarians - were dismissed from their posts and a barrage of anti-Hungarian slogans was launched(182).

Also in the summer of 1974, there occurred several explosions in factories, on consecutive days but in locations far apart. They stopped as suddenly as they started. As a consequence many people were arrested, mostly Hungarians.

Then, from one day to the next, appeared the decrees concerning mobilization, the possibility of imposing a state of emergency, confiscations, internment, and other presidential fiats. Among these was one that forbade foreign citizens visiting Romania: to make moving pictures or audiotapes, take photographs and notes of conversations with locals, and to stay in private homes. The only exception to this latest prohibition was made for staying with immediate relatives (sibling with sibling, parents with children or children with parents). Often, after one of these visits, the Romanian parent or sibling or child had to submit to a house- search, announced as looking for weapons. These presidential decrees hit the Hungarians hardest, making it more difficult to maintain contact with relatives.

In the autumn of 1974 in Szek, this purely Hungarian village, students came from Bucharest to gather folklore. In the evenings they shared a glass a wine with their hosts, and talked... while the magnetophone secretly rolled and recorded everything that

was said. Within a few days the militia confronted the people with their evidence and when they denied having said anything, they made them listen to the tapes. There were many such "acte de provocatiune"(111) in Transylvania at that time.

A merciless battle was fought against any visitor to the Csangos in Moldavia. As soon as a visitor showed up from Hungary - or even Transylvania - be it a relative, immediately "someone" appeared (council member, militia, priest, etc.) trying to find out the purpose of the visit, why he came, what for, what is his interest, and unless the visitor was a parent or sibling, warning him that for the sake of the family he better be gone. When he left, another vehicle accompanied him until he reached the nearest town ... then disappeared.

A specially ardent crusade was launched for the destruction of any Hungarian original source material, monument, data, memorabilia that served or could have served as proof of Hungarian historical fact, spirituality, or culture. They attacked with particular zeal those historical artifacts that had a connection with the millenium(112) in Hungary.

In 1985-86 several commissions made up of local party activists and from Bucharest toured the Transylvanian counties to make surveys "of the condition of historical-military cemeteries and monuments". One of these commissions "worked" its way around Hargita County keeping precise records of its findings. These records keep track of the national division of the cemeteries and monuments indicating that, on the county's territory, it recorded 222 cemeteries and monuments of soldiers of other armies. Furthermore it recorded 171 cemeteries and monuments of which

- 101 were established between the two world wars;
- 10 were created between 1940 and 1944 by the Horthyist authorities (with two modified);
- 7 were established after 1945

Blacklisted were all monuments of the millenium; the reason given was: "The commission noted that there were... four monuments on the county's territory that proclaimed the

thousand-year old occupation of Hungary. There are also other monuments to events of the XIX century. One memorialized the death on September 10, 1898 of Queen Elizabeth(113)."

The commissions' work was not just theoretical: a WWI Austro-Hungarian monument was blown up; in its stead one was erected in Tolgyes to the Romanians. In Szekelyudvarhely they created a veritable mausoleum to the Romanian soldiers; in Csikszereda they collected and removed all the tombstones from the old Austro-Hungarian military cemetery. In Tusnad, the residents were much attached to the cross commemorating the plague; even this was destroyed.

This sacrilegious destruction has gone on and is still going on throughout Transylvania. To detail every incident would go beyond the scope of one work. Yet one more event: to erase the name, memory and legacy of the great Hungarian prince, Bathori Istvan(114), the authorities desecrated and destroyed the exquisite chapel he had erected in honour of the Virgin Mary. In the Castle gardens, they ripped off its monument a marble plaque where the names of the soldiers that fell in WWI were inscribed - simply because they could not stand the sight of a Hungarian-language tablet(183).

As mentioned earlier, the Romanian powers in Transylvania did not spare the ancient Hungarian burial grounds for one can read a people's history, spiritual legacy, and culture by studying the crypts, tombstones, monuments. Fully aware of this, the Romanian authorities have always tried and do so now to obliterate these old cemeteries, make their monuments disappear and generally laying waste to them. They try to stop the Hungarians' interment there thus, in the long range, romanize the cemeteries too. Some examples:

- It was only through the intervention of the Hungarian Writers' Association that the crypt where the young Transylvanian poet (who died at 31), Dsida Jenó(115) was to be buried in the Hazsongar cemetery in Kolozsvár was saved from becoming Romanized. For the past 40 years, along the main roads, only Romanians could be buried in this ancient Hungarian burial ground. In many places, under the pretext of "rearranging

plots", the tombs of Hungarians, Saxons, Schwabians, Serbs, etc. were bulldozed away.

In the Jewish cemetery, they either desecrated the tombstones or took them away - ostensibly - because the inscriptions were not in Hebrew but Hungarian. According to their logic, inscriptions should either be in Hebrew or Romanian. But even though some were in Hebrew, they were still destroyed so they could confiscate the tombstones.

But let us return to the Házsongárd cemetery, that holy Hungarian burial ground. There they removed the Latin-inscribed tombstone, dating from 1601, of the master gold-and silversmith Bonczhidai Gergely and placed it to be sold with the tombstones of other famous Hungarians. One of the Transylvanian Churches (it is still not safe to name it!) of which he was a leading member, tried in vain to obtain this relic of the Hungarian past and culture. It is obvious that the Romanian powers attempt zealously to obliterate any sign that is not Romanian in the cemeteries where they themselves are often buried(184).

Ceausescu, this cobbler-turned-party secretary and head of state(185), under the pretext of "systematizing"(116) Transylvania endeavoured to obliterate scores and scores of historical Hungarian villages to obtain more agricultural acreage - while the people did not even work that at their disposal. But world-wide outrage at his plan stopped him from carrying it out. Had he been able to, many X-XIII century houses of worship - mostly churches and chapels - would have disappeared forever.

Ceausescu, wielding real "imperial" powers, decreed that Romania's every citizen - if he desires to have the full rights of citizenship - must learn the Romanian language also, not only his own. In his speech to the Association of Hungarian and German Workers(186), which was published in the Romanian Hungarian-language newspaper "Elore!" (Forward!) he stated: "In order to work in whatever line in Romania [the worker] must be able to speak Romanian also aside from his own native tongue. Without this his possibilities of achievement and the

practice of his full citizenship will narrow." Furthermore, said Ceausescu, "...in our circumstances we find it imperative to acquire the Romanian language in addition to the native one to achieve equality of rights to participate fully in the construction of Romanian socialist and communist reality." In other words, according to Ceausescu, only those can work and be full citizens who speak the Romanian language. The others - like the Szekelys who have no way of learning Romanian - are destined for the poorhouse.

The leaders responsible for the fate of Transylvania's Hungarians could only watch in despair the divisive tactics of the Romanians against the Szekelyfold. By creating wedges settled by Romanians, the party functionaries quartered the once unified Szekelyfold. At the same time, they proceeded with the transfer into Old Romania of the Hungarian intellectuals and skilled workers. The Hungarian doctor, veterinarian, pharmacist, engineer, agronomist, pedagogue, etc. that refused this transfer was considered unemployed, a shirker, and fined considerable sums. The Hungarian intellectuals with families had their family lives ruined. For example, the professor from Kolozsvár had to teach in Maramarossziget whereas his wife, a physician, was transferred to Nagyenyed, a great distance from each other and from their residence.

The graduates of the major faculties of the university of Kolozsvár were particularly harshly treated. The 1986-87 graduates were sent to jobs according to a secret state plan. Most of them were placed in positions in regions of Old-Romania where they could not teach Hungarian or in Hungarian. Of the 12 graduates, 10 were placed in Old-Romania and only 2 in Transylvania - but in almost purely Romanian locations. It is not difficult to imagine what they do now - but with more refined methods - with agronomists, physicians, engineers, etc.

It is no wonder, therefore, that young university or college graduates of Hungarian origin choose to leave Romania and go to Hungary or elsewhere in the world. But crossing the border illegally is not easy. Those that are caught are subject to choice tortures even before they receive a judicial trial. One example:

On May 17, 1988 two young man from Csikszereda were nabbed trying to cross the border near Borveny by master-sergeant Marian who tortured them mercilessly. One of them was beaten to death. The other was treated in the hospital in Nagykároly. Marian and his henchmen had manacled him to the compound's fence as a deterrent and beat him for hours with an iron club. They were taken away the next day only(188). But most of such cases remain unknown.

Skilled Hungarian workers or groups of workers are being constantly transferred out of Transylvania into Old-Romania or into Transylvania's accident-prone mines, i.e. the Zsil Valley.

Special mention must be made of Kiraly Karoly(117) who reached a fairly high rank in the communist party under Ceausescu's "reign". He was moved, from 1972 ro 1978 from post to post and ended up banished in Kabansebes; all this because he hounded Ceausescu for indulging in "personal cult". In Kabansebes in 1978 he was poisoned by the secretary he "inherited" from his predecessor. In the hospital, "they found nothing special". He recovered and continued his work. But he never again accepted a cup of coffee from his secretary, Kovacs Liliana(189).

According to Kiraly Karoly, the Romanian Communist Party had, already in 1972, decreed its "homogenization" policy. This meant that Romania could become a unified country if it could do away with its minorities, by way of assimilation or emigration. Romania was emboldened by her success in transferring, between 1950 amd 1960. several hundreds of thousands of Jews to Israel, paid for in hard curremcy by Israel. Over 400,000 Saxons were re-settled in Germany under similar circumstances. Between 1918 and 1978, Romania assimilated 20.000 Turks/Tatars/Moslems; 100.000 Greeks; 150,000 Hungarians; 50,000 Germans; 100.000 Jews; and 1,500,000 Gypsies.

In January 1978, Kiraly Karoly distributed a memorandum, signed by himself, to the participants of the European

Conference of Belgrade. In this, he accused the Romanian Communist Party that with its chauvinism and discrimination it persecutes Romania's minorities. It compels them to assimilate. What goes on in Romania - continues the memorandum - "has nothing to do with marxism- leninism, nor with human rights, nor the innate right of people, least of all with humaneness that her ptopaganda trumpets abroad incessantly".

As a consequence, the main aim was and still is the anti-Hungarian forcible assimilation: the breaking in of a nation by singling them out individually, by shortchanging them financially, by starvation, by undermining of its health and family life. Proof of this forcible assimilation policy lies in the creation, at the Interior Ministry, of a "Romanizing Commission" (Comisie de Romanizare). This had a well-planned acrivity with choice anti-Hungarian means.

Since Trianon, the Romanian powers in Transylvania subjected every political, economic, social, and cultural activity to the "ideal" of Great-Romania. Those talented Hungarian intellectuals who adopted this ideal" enjoyed every advantage the regine offered. But it also meamt slow and imperceptible romanization. Those who rejected the "ideal" had their lives made impossible by the regime; they were either persecuted or annihilated. They paid with their lives for their steadfast opinion. Some of these:

- Kerekes Arpad was instructed to write a paean to Romania for the wall-paper of the Technal College of Kolozsvar. He refused and was dismissed. He worked at a job in Old-Romania and did not return to Sepsiszentgyorgy for years. Preparing a bilingual anthology, he got into an argument with the Romanian editor. He killed himself in the 70s.
- Peter Miklos, reformed theologian, stood out with his talent at the Cultural Circle. He was imprisoned.
- Csatlos Csaba, who had several of his writngs published, was run over by a car.
- Bojthe Sandor died suddenly with his poetry after he was freed from prison in 1962.
- Szocs Kalman hanged himself at a young age.
- The poet, Suto Istvan, was found dead on a train.
- The sensitive poet, Apathy Geza, former editor of the "Brassoi

Lapok" had to be taken to Marosvasarhely for medical treatment. He died young.

- Balogh Erno, worker-poet, hanged himself in his home after a house-search and several "summons to interrogation".

- Balint Emil, talented actor and publicist, was on his way home to Marosvasarhely from barracks in Old-Romania. He arrived dead.

- Czimbalmos Cecilia, barely 19 years old, sent some of her poems and literary translations to some editors. She cut her veins and died even before the reply arrived

- Bojthe Balazs, member of the Literary Circle of Gyergyoszentmiklos, committed suicide.

- Takats Bertalan, technical inventor, died when he was run over by a huge wagon.

- Petho Laszlo, poet, left the editorial offices in protest against the mendacity [of his paper?] and went to work in the leather factory of Marosvasarhely. He was imprisoned in the 80s; he escaped and ended up in Hungary.

- Toth Jozsef, artist-painter, living in Marosvasarhely, was not allowed to exhibit his paintings because "he did not give in". He was imprisoned. His life work still awaits a rescuer(190).

- The communist regime could not break Palfi Geza, Roman Catholic priest. He died mysteriously of Hodgkin-disease that intrigued the Hungarian population for a long time. The Securitate watched him and repeatedly interrogated him. According to some, at one of these occasions he was irradiated which caused the Hodgkin-disease(191). He was buried on March 15, 1984 in the cemetery in Szekelyudvarhely.

After leaving the Securitate, Szikszay Jenő, doctor of literary science, was found hanged in his attic.

Visky Arpad, actor from Sepsiszentgyorgy, was found dangling on a rope in the woods at the edge of town.

These cases should suffice to describe the methods used by the Romanian regime against those Hungarians it could not bring under its yoke. As hinted at earlier, the regime is bent on exterminating the Hungarians, maybe with a program-like coup. To illustrate the likelihood of such a program, we must briefly

examine the "finds" at Berevoiesti.

Since May 20, 1991 the whole world is acquainted with the name of Berevoiesti, a village 165 km. north-east from Bucharest. It was on that day that a man called Petre Mihai Bacanu, editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Romania Libera" showed, at a press conference, a pile of documents found buried in the village. This military truck-load of material was buried by a small "detachment" during the night of June 28, 1990, i.e. two weeks after the dramatic invasion of Bucharest by the miners. But the "detachment" did shoddy work: within days the whole village knew of the burial and avidly read the perfectly good dossiers. The Securitate came out and collected every scrap of paper and re-buried them. The site was covered by truck-loads of "material" from the nearby mines.

The material in question contains the list of the names of those Hungarian "conspirators", mostly intellectuals, who were singled out for extermination. The purpose was to show the world in a large-scale show-trial that the Hungarian intellectual chauvinists-nationalists-horthyists threatened Romania's national integrity.

There are authors, publicists, university professors, physicians, artists, theater people, jurists, Roman Catholic and Reformed Church priests, etc. on this list. After being listed regionally, there is a second list established by profession.

Among those singled out for extermination are also a few workers. Ages were also listed: they range from the young active men of 34 to the 70-year old retiree. According to one man who figured on the list, this was the list of those who were to be exterminated immediately. The date of the operation was already set: the end of January, 1990.

This document has a great deal of significance for the present and the future of Transylvania's Hungarians. The December 1989 events did not bring with them the hoped-for changes in regime. The Securitate was left safe and sound. The dossiers of the persecuted and harassed Hungarians remained sealed.

Equally, the list of informers of, and collaborators with, the regime are kept behind seven seals.

The lists that were found were only the first drafts prepared by the Securitate. The question remains: what happened to the final version? It exists, no doubt; by now probably in computerized form. And if we think of the events that occurred since December 1989, we must assume that a new list of Hungarian conspirators was added. For in Securitate's report to parliament, it speaks of Hungarian chauvinist-nationalist conspiracies that threaten Romania's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Since Ceausescu's death, both the actors and the rules of the game remained the same. Kiraly Karoly tried to convince Iliescu to do away with the Securitate; he replied that he could not do so as it would turn 80.000 people against him. This does not augur well for Hungarians. Those who were responsible for the events in Marosvasarhely clearly thought to start a program against the Hungarians(193), had it not been for Kiraly Karoly and his companions in Bucharest(194).

So Iliescu did not do away with the Securitate. His negative attitude became obvious during his electoral campaign when he shrieked: if he isn't elected president of Romania, the king will come, and the big landowners, the Hungarians(195).

In Romania, already in 1972 and 1978 appeared a lexicon, entitled "Mic dictionar enciclopedic"(196) which is clearly and openly Romanian-oriented. However, it is interesting to note what it writes of Hungarians: blinded by the editors' ultranationalism it states that though Hungarians do exist elsewhere, in the Carpathian basin they represent only some loose masses which have little to do with the true Hungarians. The editors make geographic distinctions:

- The Hungary of Trianon is "Ungaria", its inhabitants are the "ungurs";
- The Transylvanian Hungarians are the "maghiarii" and these most Hungarian of Hungarians are considered a separate entity;
- the Szekelys, called "secui", "are an amalgam of some Turkish people" who "joined the "ungurs" at the time of the conquest of the Pannonia basin (895-896) and are therefore, a different

people, of different ethnicity than the Hungarians."
- the Csango-Szekelys are a people of Romanian origin, living outside of Transylvania, "partially bilingual people (Romanian and Hungarian) of the Roman Catholic faith." What a slap in the face of the Transylvanian Hungarians and of the Csangos - wherever they live!

In additiin to falsifying history, the editors of the "dictionar" make a distinction between the words "ungur" and "Maghiar" depending on where they live. This "one-has-nothing-to-do-with- the-other" distinction must be rejected out of hand. Particularly because it gives rise to further distinctions: neither the Szekelys nor the Csangos are considered part of Hungarians. They also question where the Csangos of Gyimes, the Barcasag, and Deva belong? This is a question that not even the most courageous Romanian ever dared ask(197)

Not even the Romanians accept such unhistorical history; they consider it mere propaganda. The author was once asked: "Sir, please send me a French or English book so that I can finally learn the true history of Hungarians. It is impossible to find one here!"

Their anti-Hungarian attitude and falsification of Hungarian history is shown also by their calling Hungarian authorts, poets, etc. as belonging to the "maghiar" nation. They also "romanize" well-known Hungarians, such as Szathmary Pap Karoly (1821-1888), painter and graphic artist wwhom they re-named Carol Popp de Szathmary simply because he used to be the Romanian Principality's official court painter and photographer(198).

One of the almost criminal negligences of the MDE is its lack of census figures. The reasons are two-fold: one is the fact that with a population of 2.5 million, Hungarians represent the largest minority in Europe; second, 90% of these Hungarians live in Transylvania. These facts also explain why there has been no statistical report since 1980 on Romania's minorities and where they live. It is inconceivable that a state where oppression of its minority is official policy should be allowed to join "European civilization and democracy"(199), NATO amd the

European Union. But Romania has not been invited to join either. NATO learned its history lesson, not like the Hungarian politicians with their "foot-note riddled" basic contract.

The Szent-Anna-To (Lake Ste. Anne) with its chapel honouring Ste. Anne, was always a popular place for the gatherings of young people. They came from all over the world, sometimes as many as 150-200 and even more. They camped, formed friendships, sang Hungarian songs, reinforced their national identity and their faith, made plans... until Romania declared these gatherings a threat to its sovereignty. In 1981 the Securitate descended on the whole region and made a "Saint-Batholomew's night" when they gathered the young people, threw them into sealed trucks; many were arrested. They wanted to make a big show-trial but it did not work. So after roughing them up and locking them out of their schools, they were let go. Many went - not only as far as Hungary, but also to Canada, Australia. Their poor parents broke under the strain(200).

In the 1970s and 80s when Hungarians - particularly intellectuals - asked for a passport for travel to the West, they only received one after several applications. In the meantime, the Securitate showed "interest" in them. When they finally did receive one, it was handed to them with the "good advice" not to return. This was the simplest way to "weed out" Hungarians. This was the way Markus Janos, young man from Nagyvarad, and his wife received their passports(201). As well as many others...

IX.

ATROCITIES FOLLOWING THE 1989 ROMANIAN REVOLUTION

There was a revolution in Romania between December 17 and 22, 1989. It was sparked - however much Romanian nationalism tried to hide this fact - by an evacuation order visited on a reformed clergyman - now bishop of Nagyvárad: Tokes Laszlo who needs no introduction. This innocent- sounding fact incited the Hungarians in the whole of the Temesvar region to resist, spurred Temesvar's whole population (including Romanians, Germans, Serbs, etc.) to action against the hated communist regime and its representatives.

In December of 1989 the economic situation of the country was appalling. The stores were empty; people were hungry and cold. Yet, sticking to his program, the arrogant Ceausescu continued to destroy the historical Hungarian villages and monuments, forever repeating: "We shall be ready with communism for the millenium."(202) He never noticed his people's needs and suffering - nor its hatred. So before arriving at cmmunism, he lost his life to the wrath of his people, in its bloody revolution. On one of the corner buildings on Bucharest's Palota (Palace) Square, three names are written in blood: "Hitler, Stalin, Ceausescu".

The people's wrath swept away the hated president-dictator. What he dreaded for three decades came to pass: the spirit of 1956 caught up with the communist regime and its pre-eminent representative. The revolution was victorious - the first victorious Romanian revolution. Ceausescu's communist dictatorship fell because he did not recognize the truth: "if you make servants of the people you cannot expect gratitude just revenge."(203)

Transylvania's Hungarians, particularly the "unsolvable Romanian-Transylvanian Hungarian question" contributed

greatly to Ceausescu's fall. The Romanian leaders, even during the revolution, were fully aware of its dangers. The TV coverage of the arrest of Ceausescu and his wife, Elena who were trying to escape, was interrupted by several orators, one of whom declared: "...the Romanians and the minorities now march together towards a better future. There are no more distinctions, we want to build the future together."

On the same day, Ion Iliescu, member of the Front for National Rescue (?) and later head of state, declared at a mass meeting: that the organization of the party and state has been destroyed "to start to build a democratic Romania". Dumitru Mazilu, former UN diplomat who had just been freed from house arrest, pointed out that "the country's policy towards nationalities must be placed on a new basis. The minorities must be understood and supported in their endeavours to participate in the new, democratic developmen." (In the meantime, in the afternoon, was formed the Hungarian Democratic Council. Domokos Geza, the Kriterion Publishing's manager, was chosen as its president.)

Immediately after the revolution, the forever-trusting Hungarians, who never learn anything from history, had high hopes that Hungary and Romania, the Hungarians and Romanians will finally work in harmony. However, Bucharest (and NOT the Romanian people and NOT the Transylvanian Romanians) returned to its policy of oppressing the minorities, most of all the most numerous one, the Hungarians. It only moderated this sufficiently so as not to incur Europe's and the world's punitive measures.

Even after the revolution that swept Ceausescu away, the political, cultural, educational, religious, etc. distinctions against the Hungarians remained and still remain although the Hungarian government was the first to recognize the Jewish Romanian leadership that calls itself democratic. It immediately dispatched Horn Gyula, then foreign minister, to Bucharest to discuss mutual problems. He returned to Budapest with reassuring promises. The Romanians, however, went back on their words, altered them, or interpreted them differently than it

did during their "difficult days".

There are Romanian leaders even at the head of counties which have Hungarian inhabitants. The creation of any institution defending the interests of the minorities are considered nationalistic organizations advocating separatism. This does not augur well for the Romani Magyar Demokratikus Szovetseg (RMDSZ - Democratic Hungarian Association in Romania), even though the present head of state and government depend on it.

During the December 1989 events and immediately following them, minority rights were acknowledged only so far as they could be trampled on with the tacit but obvious aim of chasing them away from their birthplace, of banishing them. Or, by creating conditions such as in Yugoslavia, they could solve the minority question either by ethnic cleansing or by programs. To make our assertion clear, we must point out that at every significant [human rights] conference (Helsinki, Vienna, Paris, etc.) it was stipulated that every decision must be made public in every country that signed the declaration. Romania consistently disregarded this obligation and thus its decisions and never published these international documents. Romania, or its government, was not compelled to sign these declarations; but if it did it should respect its stipulations. But that seems out of the question. So much so that the RMDSZ was forced to let the European Council know that Romania never lived up to the promises it made concerning the rights of minorities which were conditional to its acceptance into the Council. The RMDSZ's "memorandum" was also sent to president Ion Iliescu and to the appropriate Romanian organizations; all Romanian [political] parties soundly disapproved(204). According to the president and the parties, the claims of the Hungarian minority are "anti-constitutional" and "surpass the constitutional state". But they never mention the fact that the Romanian constitution is deliberately ambiguous (1. par.) when it speaks of Romania being a unified nation-state, yet its social structure is multi-national. Nor do they indicate that this is the reason that it never published the international decisions on minority rights(205). This is why the RMDSZ argument - that the solution to the

minority question - is only possible within new legal terms is faulty. The Romanian leadership, on the other hand, maintains that the European decisions concerning minorities are respected and that the present laws solve the ethnic questions quite satisfactorily. The starting points for regulating these questions are, therefore, so divergent that no solution is possible. As a consequence, despite the changes in president and government, tensions between Hungarians and Romanians run high: because Romania's aim is the complete assimilation of the Hungarian ethnic groups or their extermination. To obtain either or the other end, they indulge in ethnic cleansing - cultural-fiscal or physical. Within the country quietly, slyly; towards the outside world, they trumpet the accusations against Hungarians: charging them with impatience, arbitrary demands, separatism, and threats to Romania's territorial integrity. It also brazenly states that the "quality and quantity" of these activities is determined by, and directed from, Budapest(206). But the actions of the government prove the opposite.

As mentioned earlier, in December 1989 there was a revolution in Romania. Many Hungarians were its victims but Romania will never divulge their exact number. But truth compels us to say that in addition to the Hungarians, many others - Romanian, Serb, German and Jew - all the people who rallied round Tokes Laszlo became the victims of Ceausescu's henchmen.

In places, retributions were meted out to the representatives of the past regime, sometimes even its privileged ones who caused Hungarians to suffer 5-10-20 years imprisonment. Thus, in Kezdivasarhely, on December 22, 1989, the crowd killed Agachi, the Romanian policeman who had already acquired a "name" for himself as the police chief of Barot(118). He investigated people so forcefully and so illegally that some committed suicide. Dumitru Coman, Udvarhelys' "municipal securitate" chief, was hanged. Cheushisan Liviu, commander of Dalnok's militia, had his head cut off and his body burned. Keresztur's militia-man, Ferenczi Imre, was also killed. In Csikszereda many employees of the Interior Ministry were assaulted and their vehicles torched(207). However, only those people were assaulted or killed who had displayed extraordinary

brutality towards the Hungarian population.

Nobody knows for sure what happened on December 22, 1989 in Zetelak, Harghita county. The fact is that 10 Szekely-Hungarians were condemned to 5 years of prison each for manslaughter and for crimes against public property (including the burning of the communist party flag). Although they occurred in revolutionary times, the actions of four residents of Oroszhegy were considered under criminal law and they were punished by 66 years of imprisonment(208). Public outcry secured pardon for some of these; yet Romania's attitude remained the same even after its admittance to the European Council: "It is not at all certain that these condemned [people] were imprisoned because of their national affiliation... their actions were criminal activities and do not fall under the recommendations of Strasbourg." They were condemned to the worst prisons (Szamosujvar, Zsilava) by true Romanian prosecutors and judges...

The Transylvanian Hungarians celebrated, in 1990, their national holiday, March 15 peacefully, in a civilized manner. Egged on by Romanian TV's strong anti-Hungarian "campaign:", chauvinist- nationalist forces used this to deepen anti-Hungarian attitudes. The "Vatra Romaneasca" ("Romanian Hearth") was of considerable help. This ultrnationalistic organization(209), the worst of the "psychosis"(119) of Trianon, direct descendant of the "Legion of Archangel Michael" later known as the "Iron Guard" has, as its avowed aim, the banishment of all Hungarians, their full assimilation or the physical extermination of those incapable of it. The Romanian leadership "lumps together" these "unassimilables" with the Vatra Romaneasca saying that if there can be ultrnationalistic Hungarians, it follows automatically that here should be ultrnationalistic Romanians. Bishop Tokes Laszlo denied this with his statement: "They cannot show me a single Hungarian community which could be compared to the Vatra Romaneasca or the Party of Great Romania."(210)

Incited by this organization, enraged provincial Romanians, armed with axes, iron clubs, chains, "travelled" by special bus

to Marosvasarhely, the Szekely capital. On March 19th three, on the 20th more than ten of these busses arrived. The arrivals surrounded the RMDSZ building and attacked it. The police, the militia, the armed forces did nothing. The Hungarian leaders who had fled to the attic were escorted to a bus "to save them" but they let the crowd assail them. They were all severely thrashed; that is how Suto Andras, eminent Hungarian writer and politician, lost an eye. Subsequently they broke into peaceful Hungarian homes, breaking up furniture, beating the inhabitants. They also broke into the offices of the Reformed Church and destroyed everything.

In Szatmar, the crowd celebrating March 15, meant to lay a wreath at the statue of Nicolae Balcescu, a Romanian revolutionary of 1848, as a peace offering. The Vatra people surrounded them, shredded their wreath and started to beat them. One Hungarian man fell victim to their assault.

Around 9 o'clock in the morning of March 21, about 10,000 - later 25-30,000 Hungarians marched peacefully on the Mayor's Office in Marosvasarhely. The same enraged provincial Romanians again attacked the empty-handed demonstrators with clubs, axes, iron stakes as on March 19th. The Hungarians, fashioning weapons from any material at hand (such as benches, etc.), forced the Romanians back. After the arrival of 3 Romanian tanks, the Romanians became bolder. They had paving stones brought up to hurl at the Hungarians and petrol to make Molotov cocktails which they also threw at them. After that they started jumping over the 3 tanks and that was their downfall. The Hungarians of Marosvasarhely joined by some Szekelys and gypsies beat them up and chased them out of town. These Romanian-led assaults left 6 Hungarian dead and hundreds of injured were cared for in the hospitals(211).

The gypsy leader who took part in the battle said the following to Kincses Elod, a prominent Hungarian lawyer: "Mr. Kincses, of course we will come and help the Hungarians - after all we are Hungarian gypsies and it hurts us to see Hungarians mistreated!" And he added: "It is you today, but we tomorrow." This is the situation today in the Romania of many nationalities

yet "unified state- nation" where there are more ethnic groups than racially pure Romanians(212).

Following the December 1989 and March 1990 events, many Hungarians were incarcerated purely on the basis of their ethnicity even though they fought for their basic human rights. The Romanians did this so as to deprive them not only of their liberty but also of their honour, to throw sand in the eyes of the world(213). The March 1990 troubles in Marosvasarhely produced 47 Hungarians who were condemned. Among these was Cseresznyes Pal who was sent to prison for 10 years AND was condemned to pay "compensation for pain" to the Romanian who beat him up. After his imprisonment he was, on numerous occasions, assaulted, tortured, had paprika rubbed into his eyes (he became almost blind)and his teeth knocked out. He was kept in a cell meant for 45 but where 90-95 people - mostly common Romanian criminals - were crowded in. These often assailed and beat him while the prison guards watched. To top it all off, he was obliged to pay damages every month to the Romanian whom he "kicked" until the end of his life(214).

Starting with the premise that the minority questions only concern the country where these minorities live, the Romanian communist leadership after WWII tried first of all to deprive them of their culture. The opinion that there is no need for Hungarian-language higher education became widely accepted. This is such an exclusive right, a privilege, that would adversely affect the Romanians of Transylvania. Nor is there any need for Hungarians to safeguard the mementos of its 1000-year old culture. They maintained and still maintain now that such mementos belong to the Romanian national culture and are part of its patrimony(215).

The democratic Romanian leadership adopted these principles to such a degree that from 1950 on it gradually curtailed the Transylvanian Hungarians' cultural independence; prohibited the distribution of foreign literary-scientific works; stopped the Hungarian-language broadcasts of Bucharest TV; cut back on the Hungarian-language programs on the radio; tried to undermine the Hungarian cultural aspects of the Hungarian

theaters; decreased the number of Hungarian-language publications (newspapers and magazines), etc.

Immediately after WWI, until the signing in 1947 of the peace treaty, even the Csangos of Moldavia could have Hungarian-language education. After 1947, but really after 1950 started the elimination of Hungarian schools, beginning in 1958-59 with the "Bolyai" university in Kolozsvár. From 1970 on, they did away with the Hungarian high schools. The number of bilingual "mixed schools" increased; this meant conversations were in Hungarian but instruction in Romanian. In Transylvania, one Romanian child's presence was enough to force the schools to open a Romanian-speaking class, regardless of the 10, 15, or 20 children of other nationalities(216). By the way, the regimes that came to power after 1989 decreed that more pedagogues must be hired in the minority schools.

Even after the 1989 political changes, Romania still harbours hostility towards its other minorities also, not only the Hungarians. Walter Luthi's article: "Romania's exasperated relationship with its minorities" that appeared in "Der Burg" on June 19, 1993 states that following the 1989 events, the Romanians managed to turn the primary political question - that of democratization - into an internal, national one. The idea of homogenization, assimilation and hatred still guides the extreme parties and the Romanian leadership in accord with them. They stress the territorial question which was never brought up by Transylvania's Romanian minority just so as to undermine any endeavour of the Hungarians to better their situation.

As a consequence of Ceausescu's "policy of a head price" - according to Luthi - the German national minority's numbers decreased from 800,000 to 100,000 in 1993. In the same year, the Jews totalled only 13,000, yet antisemitism continued to be a part of the political discussions - without any reaction from the Jews. The gypsies, amounting to more than a million, are even more of a scapegoat than the Hungarians. Yet only by "doctoring" their numbers can the Romanians show more Romanian inhabitants than there really are.

Despite the most sanguine hopes raised by the changes, Romania's minority policies can be substantially altered by the most innocuous event(217). Therefore, we can only agree with the

December 9, 1992 analysis of the Wall Street Journal which concludes with the rhetorical question: "Isn't it time for the West to intervene?"(218) Yes, the time has come: for the whole world knows that the Peace Treaty of Trianon parcelled out among her neighbours one-third of Hungary's national territory without the benefit of a plebiscite. Yes, Hungary does have territorial claims against her neighbours for the partial restitution of her "Lebensraum", for peace in Europe(219).

After WWI the royal and after WWII the Muscovite-communist Romanian governments deprived the historical Hungarian churches (Roman Catholic, Reformed Protestant, Unitarian, Lutheran) of all their property. It took considerable land away from the Hungarians, confiscated their means of production, set back their industry and commerce, destroyed their exemplary network of associations, and imprisoned their leaders. They also deprived them of their libraries, archives, museums, historical relics, the treasures of their churches - and sometimes of their churches too - of their ecclesiastical registers, of all their famed valuables. They put to the torch their houses, manors, and castles, together with their irreplaceable libraries, archives and stores of documents, not to mention monuments, statues and even tombstones(220).

In 1948, the notorious decree #176 of the Romanian government secularized 1593 church schools from one day to the next. Of these, 1300 were the property of the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, the Lutheran and the Unitarian churches.

In the course of its history the Transylvanian Roman Catholic church secured the financial backing for its schools. After WWI, its assets were partially confiscated; after WWII they were taken away in their totality, as well as whatever was left of the assets of the Catholic State.

From the Protestant Church the government confiscated more

than 500 elementary and 16 high schools and other institutions: hospitals, orphanages, old-age homes, etc. But none of these institutions was built with public funds; no, it was the cooperation and generosity of the members of the Protestant Church that built and maintained them for all who had need of them.

The exalted leaders of the Romanian power also destroyed the Unitarian Church - that center of the "most-Transylvanian" of Transylvanian churches. This Church was deprived of 11,500 kh of its landholdings of about 18,000 kh in 1921; in 1948, through government decrees, it lost almost all of the remaining 6,500 kh. The regime took away the Church's 35 educational institutions, together with the buildings that housed them. It lost the Unitarian College of Kolozsvár that looked back on almost 400 years of history and whose first dean was David Ferenc(120), the founder of the Unitarian Church. It also lost the 200-year old Unitarian High School of Székelykeresztúr; the old building of the Unitarian College of Kolozsvár; its industrial school, its elementary school; several rooms of the Unitarian Theological Academy; the Unitarian Great Library with its invaluable collection of historical documents, codices and books, together with the hall in which they were located; its houses of culture; and numerous religious objects of great value.

The 1989 revolution could not wipe out the memory of these Transylvanian-Romanian injustices. Nor could Iliescu who broke every single one of his promises. The representatives of the 14 acknowledged religions in Romania drew up in 1990 the project of a law entitled "Churches and Freedom of Religion". Thanks to the Romanian state, this project never reached parliament and nothing was changed with regard to the discrimination of the Transylvanian Christian Churches. In the meantime, the Romanian Orthodox Church, as well as the Romanian Byzantine Rite Church received valuable properties. It must be mentioned that in 1945 277 pieces of real estate were confiscated from the Protestant Church of Királyhagy alone.

The new Romanian President, Emil Constantinescu evaded the

questions asked by the historical Transylvanian Churches by saying: "...We can't expect to see the once oppressed Romanians chased out once again from the cities to the country." This remark needs no elaboration. One thing is certain though: since the Trianon Peace Treaty there never was and never will be a government with which a solution can be found to the minority problem because of the steadfast anti-Hungarian attitude of the Romanian elite. Note the remark of Mircea Pascu, former deputy minister of national defense: "The Romanian army has developed secret plans on how to react to the eventual forceful manifestations of the minorities if the state's political leaders so authorize it."(222) This is the Romania that professes to be the meekest nation on earth whereas it plots the forceful assimilation or the extermination of its Hungarian minority (223).

The Transylvanian Hungarians are therefore forced to search for the means of their own economic-spiritual survival. They organize conferences, at home or in Hungary, to help them seek the best ways. The Romanian parliament and press strenuously object to these conferences, calling them "irredentist" meetings destined to bring to the foreground the situation of the Hungarian minority which - they claim - is "enviable". But if it is that enviable why do they consider it a sin to bring it to the foreground of the world's attention? Why do they consider these conferences an infamy, effrontery or even treason? Because Transylvania was also a topic which "...incited the people to racial hatred and intolerance."(224) Those who cannot understand that "...just like individuals have a right to life and the founding of a family so has the minority a right to live its own particular life."(225) The Romanian TV kept showing videoclips of these conferenes so as to divert the public's attention from the country's burning socio-economic problems. While the TV keeps talking about the dangers from Hungary and the persecution of the Transylvanian- Romanians, nobody mentions the shortcomings of food distribution or the endemic corruption. It talks about who will have to be banished but never about the immeasurable difficulties of the little clerk, worker or retiree to buy the daily bread(226). They keep talking about the danger that Hungary represents and on how to forestall this danger: "Before anything else, Transylvania must be militarized;

a web of military units must cover this whole region, the army's center of gravity must be located here, to terrify the population."(227) Further, according to Sergiu Nicolaescu, the movie- and "revolution" producing senator, "...as long as we do not scatter the Hungarians over the whole of Transylvania, until we do not assimilate them forcefully with mixed marriages, we shall not be rid of our obsession with the loss of our ancestral home" (meaning the Daco-Roman territory) (228).

This collection of Romanian mistreatments of its Hungarian minority gives the basis to the Europe-wide view that "the problem of Romania's Hungarian minority is like the pressure building up in a gas-boiler whose escape-valve is stuck."

Paskandi Geza(121), in his novel. The Tombrobbers, sends the following message: "Remain Hungarian or become Romanian...because they want to make a Romanian out of you even if they swear that is not so. Whatever new leaders or regimes come, they - openly or covertly - want to swallow two millions here in Transylvania, even if it is a dumpling that can choke them. This will always remain the site of a potential explosion, a big bubbling kettle that they cover in vain it will always boil over, will stink to high heaven."(230)

Romania's declaring herself a nation-state, her laws and her orders all aim at the elimination of her Hungarian minority, its extermination.

It is almost a crime, a serious mistake to trust in a solution to this question because both parties want to become members of NATO and the EU. But since the two interested parties, Hungary and Romania seem incapable of finding a solution, this must be imposed on them, as a binding decision, by some outside force that recognizes the danger of leaving this problem unattended.

The great and unforgettable Roman Catholic Bishop, Marton Aron(122) said the following at his show-trial: "After every war, the victors dictate the peace and woe to the losers. Vengeance and hate dictated the Peace Treaty of Trianon. There are many

millions of people nowadays who know that some peace treaties exaggerated. When there were two million Romanians in Hungary, they said that there was a minority problem that must be solved. Today, when there are two million Hungarians living in Romania we cannot just say 'everything is in order' and we can sleep peacefully. During the present peace negotiations, when more than one frontier was modified, now would have been the time for the victorious powers to settle, finally and with justice, the Hungarian-Romanian problem. We do not want an unjust solution: we do not want regions where the Romanians are in the majority only those where Hungarians predominate. Some Romanians and some Hungarians could voluntarily change places. The time has come to make peace between the two peoples but this cannot be to the detriment of one party or the other. Both have to make some sacrifice. I would like to see peace between these two long-suffering nations; if that means my imprisonment, so be it."(231)

Does Europe know this chronicle of cruelties or is Europe blind? Do they know that the descendants of the Iron Guard(123), the Vatra Romaneasca (Romanian Hearth) will eventually fulfill its obligations and will organize programs against the Hungarians, because that is their only "ideology". Proof of that is the 16th point of their statutes:

16) Transylvania always was, is now, and will be ours forever. To our misfortune, the Hungarians, gypsies and other riff-raff still profane our holy Romanian land. Let us unite to chase them out of the country. Out with the Huns (the homeless who never had a home on this land). Out with the gypsies who bring shame on our country. We want a pure, Great Romania. Every stolen acre of Romanian earth must be returned. Now or never! Don't be afraid to fight and spill their dirty blood. These hairy apes do not belong in our beloved land. Now is the historical moment to rid ourselves of all who do not have Romanian blood in their veins. We managed to chase some of the Germans away but there are still quite a few of them here whom we do not need. Let us do everything possible to be rid of them. Ceausescu did not live long enough to exterminate them all, but let us not put down our arms. We do not want Switzerland. We do not need

Europe. We are Romanians. Do not let yourself be misled by "Pro Europe" slogans. These slogans mean the destruction of the Romanian nation. We are a clever people! The House of Common Europe means the annihilation of Romania. Unite! Unite! Unite! All we need is the Vatra Romaneasca - nothing else. The Romanian language rules supreme. We do not want to hear other rough tongues. There is no other language but the Romanian. We urge every Romanian to support our aims which are now concentrated on Marosvasarhely but which we shall expand to all of Greater Romania."

But this would be incomplete without showing the 18th par. of Vatra's statutes. This reads as follows:

18) "Our Association's main purpose is the practical application of the means and methods of intimidation. With this in mind we have to neutralize our enemy's ablest leaders and directors. This is the principal aim of the Association. Then we have to inform every Romanian that [these people] have no place in Romania. They will have to be made to understand that not only do they not have a place in Romania but that they are not safe here either physically or intellectually. With this method we shall achieve the cleansing of our sacred land of all this trash and make them emigrate. In the final analysis it is best to annihilate those who still do not want to leave."

These two points signify the "schedule" and methodology of two and a half million Hungarians' extermination. This has to be stopped. If the Vatra can say that "this is the historic moment", we Hungarians must also seize this moment to force a revision of the Trianon-imposed situation. According to Theophile Delcasse, French foreign minister of the 20s: "A nation is not humiliated by defeat or by being forced, with a knife at its throat, to sign a fatal contract. But it becomes dishonoured if it does not protest, if it accepts its demise. It is not the losing that is the failure but the acquiescence. Therefore, if we do not act, we acquiesce.."

EPILOGUE

It is wrong to call "Transylvania" the 102,787 km² of territory that was cut out of Hungary and annexed, as per the Peace Treaty of Trianon, to the Kingdom of Romania. It is wrong because the territory given to Romania is vastly larger than the "historical Transylvania", that land where all the atrocities I have shown in this work were committed against the Hungarians.

It has become a cliché to say that "the past makes everything beautiful". That is not so: these cruelties can never be made beautiful.

The question remains: does it make sense to evoke the memory of these mistreatments and to open up some barely healed wounds?

So long as Romania persists in claiming Transylvania her ancestral land of 2,000 years, so long as it conceals the atrocities of centuries or explains them away as justified, we cannot afford not to show the untruth of its premises and the truth of its cruelties.

It must come out that the Romanians always indulged in these sly and malevolent atrocities when the Hungarian Transylvania was beset by economic and political problems, when outside forces humiliated and defeated her. when her economic, spiritual, and moral strength was broken.

Neither was I led to this work by the principle that if the Romanians "hit us", we must "hit back." Far from it. I know that the quietly spoken words have more power; all I wanted to do was to honour the memory of our ancestral victims.

I felt it important to point out that without being aware of Romania's atrocities, knowledge of her history will remain incomplete and one-sided. That these people will always try to annihilate the culture of its minorities, particularly of the most

numerous one, the Hungaian, Their faith almost compels them to adopt Antonescu's standpoint that he stated at the council of ministers' meeting of November 6, 1943: "If, with the help of some lucky circumstances we win the war, I can assure you there is no other solution but a reform to make it possible for the minorities to move away. This we will have to realize so as to cleanse the Romanian "Lebensraum" from these masses of minorities."(233)

I gathered together the story of the atrocities throughout the centuries so that we remember their victims. We have to remember them as heroes.

My political instinct stopped me from publishing this work until now. However, having read the March 16, 1968 article in the "Magyar Nemzet" that reports on an interview given by Gheorghe Tinca, former minister of defense and politician, in the newspaper "Curentul" stating that "the 1848 revolution's generals who died in battle killed many Romanians" that Budapest "should reciprocate a gesture of sympathy towards Bucharest for the victims of Ipp and Ordogkut". According to him, "the Hungarian army committed many atrocities in these two communities during WWII." Getting on his high horse, Mr. Tinca proposes "a gesture from Budapest" to further Romanian-Hungarian peace, but forgets the many, many atrocities committed by the Romanians throughout history.

This interview prompted the publication of this work and Makkai Laszlo's undeniable statement that "the Romanian-Hungarian antagonisms were not those of the people but were fomented by the peoples' enemies and oppressors."(234)

The statement of Gheorghe Tinea (Tinca?) reinforces my belief that the forbearance, silence, readiness to compromise - in one word: acquiescence - does not reduce nor blunt the tensions between the two nations. On the contrary: it only strengthens the Romanians' baseless beliefs to the detriment of the Transylvanian Hungarians.

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- 132) Barabas Endre: "Kisebbsegi Magyar Sors. Az Erdelyi Magyar es Roman Kulturzonak." [The fate of Hungarian minority. Hungarian and Romanian zones of cul;ture] Magyar Szemle (ed: Szegfu Gyula), Vol.II,

january-april 1928, Budapest. Published by the Magyar Szemle Tarsasag;
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133) Nyujtodi Gaspar: "Kisebbsegi Magyar Sors. Egy erdeyi roman politikus Romania kisebbsegi politikajarol. [The fate of Hungarian minority. A Transylvanian Romanian politician /speaks/ of Romania's minority policies] Magyar Szemle (ed: Szegfu Gyula) Vol. III. Published by the Magyar Szemle Tarsasag, Budapest, 1928; pp.249-251

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136) - - Op.Cit. (98); p.139

137) - - Op.Cit. (98); p.136

138) - - Op.Cit. (98); p.178

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140) Tanulmányok Erdely Tortenelmerol; Op.Cit. (10); p.277

141) Csatari Dabuel: Forgo Szelben. Magyar-Romam Vizony 1940-1945; Akademiai Kiado, Budapest 1969; p.139

142) Csatari Daniel: Op.Cit. p.373

143) Domokos Pal Peter: Op.Cit. (71); p.168

144) Gal Maria-Gajdos Balogh Attila-Imreh Ferenc: WHITE BOOK of the anti-Hungarian atrocities of autumn 1944; Kolozsvar, 1995; p.45

145) - - - - - p.50

146) - - - - - p.53

147) Katona Szabo Istvan: A Nagy Remenyek Kora (Erdelyi Demokracia,

1944-1948); Magveto Konyvkiado, Budapest, 1990; pp.42-58

148) Gal Maria and co. Op.Cit. p. 79

149) - - - - - p. 82

150) - - - - - p. 85

151) - - - - - p. 86

152) - - - - - p. 77

153 (- - - - - p.104

154) - - - - - p.105

155) - - - - - p.104, p.105

156) - - - - - p.104

157) Beke Gyorgy: Op.Cit. (130); p.10

158) Gal Maria and co.: Op.Cit. note #5 on p.105

159) Tanulmányok Erdely Történetéről, Op.Cit. (10); p.183

160) Katona Szabo Istvan: "Bozodi Gyorgy Lazadasa," CEH, 1993, #1, P.6

161) Domokos Pal Peter: Op.Cit (71); p.184

162) - - - - - p.198

163) - - - - - p.197

164) Matrai Bela: "Egy alig-ismert erdelyi pap-martir: Dr. vitez Boda Alajps prelatus-kanonok" [A barely-known Transylvanian priest-martyr: Prelate-Canon dr. vitez Boga Alajos],Magyar Vetes, Vol.IV, #18 (VI.6.1993]

165) Tanulmányok Erdely Történetéről, Op.Cit. (10), p.192

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- 167) Petru Groza: Op.Cit. (126); p.43
- 168) Domokos Pal Peter: Op.Cit. (71); p.169
- 169) Bartis Ferenc: "Szarazvillamok Szarhegy felett" [Dry Lightning over the mountains], KAPU i/1, 1988 September, p.9
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- 172) Czego Zoltan: "A budai Kiralyi Palotától a Sirig." [From the Royal Palace of Buda to the tomb]; Nyugati Magyarsag, Vol.XIII, #11 (November 1995); p.8
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- 175) Tofalvi Zoltan: "Az 1956-os forradalom utani magyarellenes megtorlasok Romaniaban" [Anti-Hungarian retributions in Romania after the 1956 revolution]; Becs Naplo, Vol.XIII,#6, November-December 1992; p.5
- 176) - - - Op.Cit. p.5
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- 177a) "Magyar '56 I. Forradalom s Szabadsagharc Magyarorszagon - Hatasuk a Karpatmedenceben" [The '56 Hungarian Revolt and Freedom Fight - Their effect in the Carpathian Basin]; he 1956 Committee of the Hungarian World Federation; Budapest, 1996; p.229

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- 179) Bereczky Albert: A Magyar Protestantizmus a Zsido Ulidozes ellen" [Hungarian protestants against the persecution of the Jews], Office of Reformed Tracts, Budapest, 1945; pp.9-11
- 180) Szaz Zoltan: Erdely Vedelmeben [In Defense of Transylvania], published by the Biro Family Kft, Budapest - Washington, 1996; p.16
- 181) SDtoffan Gyorgy: Ceasescu El! Romanokkal Europaban [Ceasescu lives! With Romanians in Europe]; Muszolga Printing, Budapest, 1990; p.16
- 182) Elek Sandor: Szekely Sors a mai Romsnisban [The fFate of Szekelys in today's Romania] "Pirkan Books"; 1977 Sin Valor Comercial, Argentina; p.12
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- 185) Omagiu, Op.Cit. (139); p.11
- 186) Nicolae Ceausescu: his SPEECH addressed to the meeting of he council of Hungarian and German workers March 14, 1978; Political BookpublisherBucharest, 1978; p.28
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- 188) Transylvanian Hungarian News Agency: Cruelties to the captured refugees; KAPU #I/1 1988; p.16

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- 190) Bartis Ferenc: Betuk Nyomdokain - Toprengesek [On the track of letters - Meditations]; INTERMIX Kiado. Ungvar-Budapest, 1994; pp.421-422
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- 193) Kiraly Karoly: Op.Cit (189); p.196
- 194) - - Op.Cit (189); p.196
- 195) Magyar Nemzet, Vol.LIX, #264 - IX.12.1996 - p.2
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- 197) Beke Gyorgy: Op.Cit. p.193
- 198) Magazin Istorico, Vol. XVII #4(193), February 33, 1983.
- 199) The Council of the Hungarian Parliamentary Representatives, Marosvásárhely, June 20, 1993: "They not only passed judgement on Marosvásárhely alone, but on the Hungarians in Transylvania too..." Vigyázó, 2/1993, pages 19-20
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213) II. World Congress of the Allhungarian Association; its October 15, 1993 appeal to the World League for Freedom, and Democracy's Berlin conference; Ho-NAP, Kisgazda Fuzetek; Vol. I,#10 - November 1993 - p.9

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- 215) Nagy Pal: Marosvasarhelyi Sorok [A few lines from Marosvasarhely],
Az Erdelyii Szovetseg Fuzetei; INTERMIX Kiado, Budapest-Ungvar1944;
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- 216) Botos Laszlo: "Kisert a Mult! ...Kormanyrendeletek ellen - Egy
gyermek szamara is osztaly inditanak" [The past is haunting me!...In
opposition to government decrees - They start a class for one child" Uj
Magyarország. Vol. VII, #197 - VIII.25.1997; p.3
- 217) Uj Magyarország; Vol. III, #145 - VI.24,1993; p.3
- 218) "Western Intervention in the Carpathian Basin?" An analysis by the
Wall Street Journal; Nepszava, Vol.129, #291 - XII.10.1992; pp.1-2
- 219) Kosztin Arpad: Magyarország - Erdely; VETES Kincses Kalendarium
1995; Budapest, 1994; p.119
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- 221) Katona Szabo Istvan: "Tokes Laszlo Radikalizmusa"; Nyugati
Magyarsag, Vol.XV, #9 - September 1997; p.12
- 222) Secret Romanian war plans; Uj Magyarország, Vol.IV, #219 -
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- 223) Czire Denes: Op.Cit. p.22
- 224) Nagy Pal: Op.Cit. p.61
- 225) Makfalvy Gabor: "A kisebbség politikus Marton Aron"; Uj
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- 226) Nagy Pal: Op.Cit. p.61

- 227) Gyarmath Janos: "Ceausescu 'visszakoszon' a sirjabol - Bukaresti szakitoproba"; Magyar Nemzet, Vol.LX, #218 - September 18, 1997; p.2
- 228) Gyarmath Janos: Op. Cit. p.2
- 229) Amerikai Magyar Hirlap; Vol.IX, #28 - VIII.1.1997 - p.1
- 230) Paskandi Geza: A Sirrablok [The Grave Robbers]; Szabad Ter Kiado, Budapest-Dabas, 1989; p.510
- 231) Domokos Pal Peter: Op.Cit. (71); pp.188-189
- 232) Kocsis Istvan: Op.Cit. 2nd par. of text following p.548
- 233) Tibori Szabo Zoltan: "Antonescu Szobrara"; Magyarok Vasarnapja [California] Vol. 105, #1; -January 1998; p.15
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FOOTNOTES

- 1) Bessarabia: the region lying between the Dniester and Prut rivers, the Black Sea and the Danube delta.
- 2) Bukovina: the region lying between the eastern Carpathians and the river Dniester. It was annexed to Romania in 1918. In 1940 the Soviet Union repossessed even its northern section.
- 3) Transnistria: the region beyond the Dniester that the advancing Romanian armies occupied in 1941.
- 4) The Pass at Verecke: it leads from the valley of the Latorca to the valley of the Stryj.
- 5) Plovdiv: Bulgarian town alongside the Marica (the largest river on the Balkan peninsula)
- 6) Maramaros: one region of the historical Hungary's north-eastern territory. Its chief town: Maramarossziget, on the upper Tisza.
- 7) Verancsics, Antal (1504-1573): cardinal, archbishop of Esztergom, politician, diplomat
- 8) Boyar: Romanian owner of large estate; generally also holder of higher state office
- 9) Officina: office, atelier, such as a printing shop
- 10) Fanariota: originally inhabitant of Constantinople's port section, distinguished Greek born there, mostly merchant. Under Ottoman rule, many of them became rulers (voivode, princes) in Romania.
- 11) Banat: (Temeskoz, Banat) region of 28,000 km² encompassing the counties of Temes, Torontal, and Krasso-Szoreny
- 12) Brassó: Transylvania's most important industrial and commercial city

13) Szeben: city on Transylvania's south; founded in the XII century by the immigrating Saxons of the Rhine region

14) Inocenctiu Micu - Klein, Janos (1696-1768): self-assured bishop of the Byzantine Rite (between 1728 and 1745) who was very familiar with his nation's past

15) Szorenyi Bansag: the western part of the Southern Carpathian region, owned by Hungary before Ottoman rule. Its chief town was Szorenyvar (today Turmu-Severin)

16) Torda: Torda-Aranoy county's chief city along the river Aranyos. The oldest Hungarian city in Transylvania

17) prevarikalas, prevarikacio: illusion (?)

18) Inkvizicio: Inquisition: th Catholic Church's arm of political retribution; in the middle ages and in some countries until the middle of the XIX century: the tribunal for the persecution and suppression of heretics

19) Dozsa Gyorgy (?-1514): Szekely noble; chief leader of the 1514 peasant revolt. Szapolyai Janos, them Transylvania's voivode, tortured him and put him to death on a red-hot throne.

20) Szamoskozy Istvan (?-1612): Zamosius by his Latin pen name, Transylvanian historian of the XVI-XVII centuries. Historian of Bocskay Istvan prince of Transylvania, Hungary's elected king, and of Rakoczi Zsigmond

21) Balcescu, Nicolae (1819-1852) Romanian revolutionary democrat, politician, historian, one of the leaders of the 1848 revolution in the Southern Carpathian Region

22) pillory: where criminals were publicly displayed during the middle ages

23) Banffyhunyd: (Kolozs county) central city of Kalotaszeg

24) Basta, Georgio (1544-1607): Habsburg general of Italian origin

25) Jancso, Benedek (1854-1930): literaryn historian, publicist, am expert

on Transylvania's minority problems

26) Iorga, Nicolae (1871-1940): Romanian historian, author, and politician; president of the Romanian parliament 1919-1920; prime minister 1931-1932; in November 1940 the Iron Guard = Romania's fascist party - had him killed

27) Bocskai Istvan (1556-1606): in January 1605 he was elected ruling prince of Transylvania and in April, at the Parliament of Szerencs, of Hungary

28) Bathori Gabor (1589-1613): Transylvania's ruling prince from 1608; on 1613 the Turks made him resign

29) Rakoczi, Gyorgy II (ruled from 1648 to 1660) Transylvania's ruling prince after his father's death in 1648

30) Lotharingiai Karoly (1643-1690): Charles of Lorraine: general of the Habsburg empire; after Louis XIV deprived him of the principality of Lorraine, he entered the service of the Habsburgs

31) Rakoczi, Ferenc II (1676-1735): at age 12 was interned in Vienna, was freed in 1692. He died in Rodosto [Tekirdag, Turkey]. His remains were returned to Kassa in 1906

32) Moc, mocok mokanok: inhabitants of the transylvanian region bordered by the Erchegyseg, the rivers Maros, the Aranyos, and the Feher Koros.

33) Abrudbanya: ancient Hungarian town in Also-Feher county.

34) Erchegyseg Transylvanian Erchegyseg: mountain chain and region bordered by the rivers Maros, Aranyos, and Feher Koros

35) Gubernium: seat of government for the Transylvania joined to the Habsburg Empire.

36) gladiator: in the Roman circus, slaves that to entertain the public, engaged in a fight to the death

37) Uriszek: home tribunal of the landlord who was empowered to render

judgment in the affairs of any non-noble person living on his estate. In 1848 this was cancelled at the liberation of the serfs

38) Kancellaria: chancellery. In the Middle Ages, in royal courts, an office that prepared all written documents. The chancellery of the Ar[ad] dynasty rose to pre-eminence under the Habsburgs who governed through them.

39) Deva: chief town of Hunyad county, along the Maros

40) Csucs: village in the western part of Kolozs county.

41) Arad: chief town of the county of the same name. Site of the execution on X, 5. 1849 of the 13 military chiefs of the 1848-49 freedom fight.

42) Supplex Libellus Valachorum: a "humble petition" addressed in 1791 and 1792 to the Emperor Leopold and the Transylvanian Ruling Prince by Transylvania's Vlachs

43) Saguna, Andras: organizer of the Eastern Orthodox vlach church; bishop from 1847. metropolitan from 1863; his policies were anti-freedom fight and pro-Habsburg

44) Barnutiu, Simion (1808-1864): one of the leaders of the Vlachs' 1848/49 national movement

45) Balazsfalva: town in Also-Feher county; Charles III [1685-1740] donated his princely palace to the Vlachs' Byzantine Rite Church as a bishop's see

46) Iancu, Avram (1824-1872): leader of the Vlach revolt during the Hungarian freedom fight.

47) Bod, Peter (1712-1769): Transylvanian reformed church minister, author of ecclesiastical history. His Magyar Athenas is the first collection of literary merit of writers' biographies

48) Gyulafehérvár: town in Also-Feher county. Ancient see of bishops, today archbishops, with an old cathedral, rich episcopal library [Batthyaneum]; the seat of the ruling Transylvanian princes in the XVI-XVII centuries

- 49) Bem, Jozsef (1794-1850): hero of the freedom fight, Hungarian army general of Polish origin
- 50) Axente Sever, Ion (ca. 1820-1906): had a significant role in organizing the vlack national guard that fought the revolutionary armies. His bloody atrocities made his name "unforgettable"
- 51) Barcasag: Fertile Transylvanian region bounded by the Transylvanian Carpathians, the rivers Olt and Barca
- 52) Kamarilla: secret clique made up of a few persons to further selfish aims
- 53) Et audiatur et altera pars: let the other party be heard also
- 54) Ferenc Jozsef (1830-1916): Austrian emperor and Hungarian king
- 55) Csernovitz, Csernovic: capital of Bukovina, on the right flank of the [river] Prut
- 56) Apathy Istvan (1860-1922): university professor, zoologist of European renown; president of the National Council in 1918; high commissioner of Eastern Hungary. From January 1919 until August of 1922 was imprisoned for his strong national feelings
- 57) Demarkacios vonal = line of demarcation
- 58) Mezőség: treeless region lying between the [rivers] Szamos and Maros
- 59) Petrozsény: place in Hunyad county
- 60) Zilah: capital of Szilagy county
- 61) Deva: capital of Hunyad county; its beautiful fortress [now in ruins] was built after the Tatar invasion (1241-1242)
- 62) Szászváros: a town in Hunyad county
- 63) This poetry was also published under the name of Szabolcska Mihály

[1862-1930], poet, reformed church minister of Temesvar

64) Bandholtz, Harry Hill (1864-1925): American general; in 1919 he was president of the military control commission of Budapest

65) Mailath, count Gusztav Karoly (1864-?): roman catholic bishop of Transylvania; one of the leaders of the Transylvanian Hungarians

66) Czernin, Ottokar (1872-1932): Austrian foreign minister; ambassador in The Hague, Paris, and Bucharest

67) Maniu, Juliu (1873-1951): lawyer, Transylvanian Romanian politician. 1910: Hungarian representative; 1918: president of the Romanian national party; he declared, as president of the Governing Council, Transylvania's union with Old-Romania at the meeting in Gyulafehérvár; from 1926: president of the National Peasants' Party; 1928-1930 and again 1932-1933 prime minister; 1937: imprisoned; the precise date of his death is unknown

68) Lupeny: site in Hunyad county, center of the coal basin of the valley of the Zsil

69) Goga, Octavian (1881-1938): author, adapter of Ady's and Petofi's poems; translator of "The Tragedy of Man"; prime minister of Romania for a short while in 1937

70) Dobruza: fertile region bounded by the Lower Danube, the Black Sea and the Bulgarian frontier

71) Craiova: county seat on the western slope of the southern Carpathians

72) Temesvar: county seat of Temes county in the Banat on the [river] Bega

73) Banffy, count Miklos (1873-1951): statesman, author (penname: Kisban Miklos), artist-painter, designer for architects and gold-and silversmith; 1921-1922: Hungarian foreign minister; in 1926 moved to Transylvania, to his estate in Bonchida

74) Franktiror: from the French "franc-tireur": sniper

75) Antonescu, Ion (1882-1946): general, Romanian dictator; with Hitler's help, mounted a coup d'etat and took over the power from King Charles II on IX.3.1940

76) Ogyessza, Odessza: Odessa: city and port in the Ukraine,, on the shore of the Black Sea. It was the scene of heavy fighting during the WWII from July 10 to October 16, 1941

77) Szamosujvar: town in Transylvania, in the province of Kolozsvár

78) Nepszovetseg, Nemzetek Szovetsege, Societe des Nations: Society of Nations: created in 1920 in the course of the peace negotiations to preserve world peace

79) Ferdinand (1865-1927: Romanian king; ascended the throne in 1914; in 1921 in Gyulafehérvár - that ancient Hungarian princely city - he was elected king of Greater Romania

80) King Charles II (1930-1940): son of King Ferdinand

81) Balog, Artur (1866-?): university professor, legal expert

82) Duca, I.G. (1881-1935): prime minister of Romania between November 14 and December 29, 1933; the Iron Guard killed him in Sinaia

83) Sinaia: Romanian royal resort in the valley of the Brahova, on the southern slope of the Carpathians

84) Gombos, Gyula vitéz jankai (1886-1935): general of the infantry; defense minister from 1929 to 1936; also prime minister from 1932 to 1936

85) Biro, Vencel (1865-1962): Piarist father, priest-teacher at the Roman Catholic Zagoni Miklós Kelemen high school in Kolozsvár, then university professor from 1940 at the University of Kolozsvár

86) Mussolini, Benito (1883-1945): Italian statesman; founded the fascist guard in 1919; in 1921 got into Parliament with 40 fascists; in October 1922 was named prime minister by the king, Victor Emmanuel III and was given the powers of a dictator by the Italian Parliament; he was hanged in

1945

87) Szent Bertalan-ej: the night of St. Batholomew: upon orders of Catherine de Medici, the massacre of the protestants that congregated in Paris, on August 23, 1572; the number of victims was 90,000

88) Bethlen, count Istvan 1874-?): was member of parliament from 1901 until the collapse following WWI; prime minister from April 13, 1921 until August 19, 1931; was deported to the Soviet Union by the occupying Soviet forces; he died there but the date of his death is uncertain

89) Gratz, Gusztav (1875-1946): economist, historian; in 1927: finance minister; after the fall of the Socialist Republic. was named minister to Austria, then foreign minister of the Teleki-government; was briefly imprisoned after WWII

90) statutum": statutes

91) Kisantant: little entente: political and military association of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania; was originally created by Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia; Romania joined in 1921

92) Kotelesd Pal: Hotel Carpatia (a novel), Magveto Kiado, Budapest, 1989

93) MADOSZ was formed between August 13-20, 1934 in Marosvasarhely; it was a left-wing mass movement

94) Voluntar, voluntari: volunteer, volunteers

95) Focsani (Foksany): border town in southern Moldova between two former provinces: Moldova and the southern Carpathian region

96) Gherghiu, Gheorghe (Dej) (1901-1965): in 1945, secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; from 1948 to his death, first secretary of the Central Leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party

97) Tirgu-Jiu: city in southern Romania, in the Southern Carpathian Region

98) Galati (Galac): port city on the Danube, at the confluence of the Seret and Prut rivers

99) Groza, Petru (1884-1958): Romanian statesman; 1918-1919: member of the governing council of Transylvania; 1920-1927: parliamentary representative on several occasions; 1921-1922 and again in 1926-1927: minister: in 1943 he was imprisoned for his anti-fascist activities; from March 1945, prime minister; 1952-1958: president of the presidium of the great national assembly

100) Stalin, Josif Vissarionovic, actually Dzhugasvili (1879-1953): Soviet statesman: from 1922 general secretary of the Communist Party; during WWII president of the State Defense Committee, commander-in-chief of the armed forces; during and after WWII, as head of the Soviet government, participated at the conference of the three great powers (Soviet Union, USA, Great Britain)

101) Domokos Pál Péter. (1901-1987?) Authority on the Hungarian Chango (Csángó, Tsango) people of Moldova (Rumania)

102) Balogh Edgár (1906-1990?) Hungarian journalist, author, university professor, politician. First in Czechoslovakia then in Rumania. Leading left-wing politician.

103) Rajon = district, county.

104) Partium, district of the Principality of Transylvania, but not integral part of it. Lies between the river Tisza and Transylvania. When Transylvania was united again with Hungary, part of it remained there. From 1848, Partium consisted of two counties only: Zaránd and Szilágy.

105) testifies Bartis Ferenc, poet and author living in Budapest, who is Transylvanian and was imprisoned with Ion Popa

106) Bolyai, Janos (1802-1860): greatest Hungarian mathematician of the XIX. century

107) Babes, Victor (1854-1926): Transylvanian Romanian pathologist and bacteriologist

- 108) Ceausescu, Nicolae (1918-1989): from 1965: secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party; member of the Political Committee; from 1967 president of the Romanian Socialist Republic; general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party; was killed in December 1989 in the course of the Romanian revolution
- 109) Szabedi, Laszlo (1907-1959): Transylvanian Hungarian poet, narrator, aesthete
- 110) Caligula: by his full name Gaius Julius Caesar Caligula (12-41): Roman emperor (from 37-41); tyrannical ruler, was probably insane
- 111) acte de provocatiune: seditious flyer
- 112) millenium: the thousand-year anniversary of the 1896 conquest
- 113) Erzsebet Amalia Eugenia: Hungarian queen and Austrian empress, wife since 1854 of Franz Joseph I, Austrian emperor and Hungarian king
- 114) Bathori, Istvan somlyoi (1533-1586): after the death of the elected Hungarian king, Janos Zsigmond (1540-1571), became in 1571 prince of Transylvania and in 1575 king of Poland
- 115) Dsida, Jenő (1907-1938): poet, editor; great hope of Transylvanian literature who died early
- 116) szisztematizálás = systematizing: methodical arranging
- 117) Király, Károly (1930-?): left-wing politician; from 1949 official of the KISZ (Communist Youth Association); 1970-72 first secretary of Kovaszna County party commissar, member of the Romanian parliament and state council; in 1972 resigned from his state and party posts; in 1989 vice-president of the Council for the Front for Saving the State (?), then senator from Kovaszna County and vice-president of the senate; in 1991 he refused to cast his vote on the badly drafted minority law and was therefore deprived of his mandate as senator
- 118) Barot: large village in the old Haromszek County, birthplace of Barot Szabó David (1793-1819), Jesuit, adapter of classical poetry to our literature

119) psychosis

120) David, Ferenc (1510-1579): learned Transylvanian priest, the first Unitarian bishop; influenced by teachings opposed to the Holy Trinity, at the 1566 synod of Torda he already preached the theses of Socinus (1539-1604) in 1570 his Church already had 4-500 assemblies in Transylvania

121) Paskandi, Geza (1933-): author and poet; in 1957 was imprisoned in Romania, freed in 1963, settled in Hungary in 1974; chief editor and collaborator of the periodical entitled KORTARS; recipient of literary prizes

122) Marton, Aron (1896-1980): since 1939, bishop of the Roman Catholic bishopric of Gyulafehérvár

123) Vasgarda = Iron Guard: former fascist-terrorist organization of Romania, created in 1927 with the aim of establishing a fascist dictatorship; disseminated nationalist, anti-semitic propaganda disguised in mysterious clichés; its founder and leader was the notorious Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea (1899-1939); in 1940 it helped make general Ion Antonescu (1882-1946) fascist dictator of Romania; he mounted a coup d'état against King Charles II; was executed as war criminal in 1946