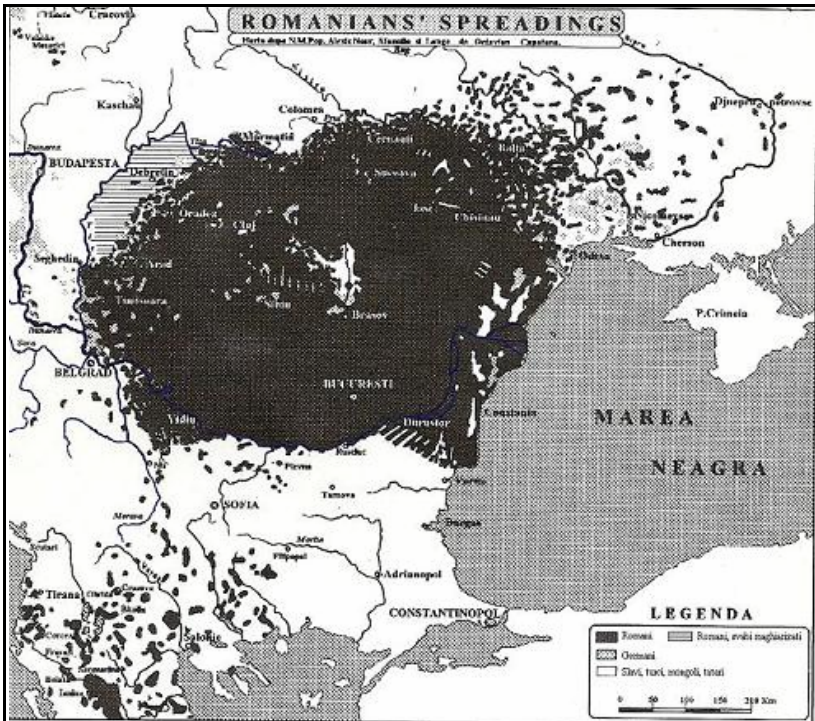


THE TOWNS OF TRANSYLVANIA

**Excerpts
from
Paradoxical Romania
by Octavian Dan Capatina**

**English version by
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The Romanians' spreading at the begining of XXth century

THE TOWNS OF TRANSYLVANIA

The future can be built only on truth

MAGYARIZATION THROUGH RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

The 1279 edict of BUDA, issued by the Catholic Church, interdicted the building of stonemade churches by the Orthodox (Romanians). The churches from DENSUS (1250), STREI (1270), GURA SADA and SANTA MARIA ORLEA were erected before this edict. Shortly after the Moslem suzerain is replaced by a Viennese Christian sovereign, the Orthodox monasteries of Transylvania are razed to the ground, in 'mildly Christian' cannonade and fire. Of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic churches to be found today in Cluj-Napoca, the first was erected in 1795 <<extra muros>>, because of the same "peaceful way of living together". In their August 5, 1799 meeting, the Cluj City Council and its Jury decided: "we state that in the future, [as in the past], we shall in no event tolerate Wallachian churches within the city boundaries." The first <<intra muros>> church in Cluj was put up by the Greek-Catholic in 1803 through a subterfuge: they managed to obtain an authorization for a warehouse; once built, the church was not demolished, owing to the special status of the Greek-Catholic. After the peasants' revolt in 1437, the pact known under the name of UNIO TRIUM NATIONUM was concluded between

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the Saxon patriciate, the Hungarians and the Szeklers; this pact deteriorated considerably the status of Romanians, who constituted the great majority of Transylvanian population. "One thing clearly results - says Milton Lehrer - from the fact that the three groups of "guests" on Transylvanian ground had to conclude an agreement for common struggle: we can herefrom infer what a significant force Romanians represented in Transylvania. The power of Hungarians did not suffice..." [1].

One century later, in 1568, the Hungarians evaluated that in order to ban Romanians from public life for good the "devilish threefold pact" was not enough, so they concluded another one -that of the 4 religions: Catholic, Lutheran, Unitarian and Evangelic. These were declared "acknowledged" faiths. In other terms, the Orthodox faith was not recognized in Transylvania, it did not exist as such from the authorities' point of view. It was merely tolerated.

MAGYARIZATION BY ANY MEANS

All in all, until 1919, in Transylvania Romanians could not live in towns unless they accepted to be Magyarized, they could not be craftsmen, they could not wear hats that cost more than 2 florins, they could not carry arms, they were not allowed to spend the night in certain towns and so on and so forth. Several excerpts from the documents of the time spare us other arguments: In the minutes of the April 28, 1697 meeting of the Debretin City Council it stands written: "Romanians shall not be allowed to buy or build houses; ... they should live in huts; nay, let them no longer put up huts either." In a July 19, 1711 resolution of the Turda City Council it is said: "we decide that every householder or widow in town shall be

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compelled to chase away from their houses and lands, within the next 8 days, all the Romanians that dwell in these houses or on these lands, and, should the Wallachians disobey, resort to the use of force." Under these circumstances, those Romanians who nevertheless managed to settle down in towns were Magyarized volens-nolens.

German and Hungarian historians and geographers publish notes which attest that in the 18th century Oradea was divided into 3 districts: the episcopal one, the Romanian one and the military one. In that time the town had no Hungarian inhabitants. After other sources, in 1721 in Oradea the Hungarians represented only 18% of the population [24]. Arad as well, up to the beginning of the 19th century, had a majoritary Romanian population. So as Otto Lakatos stated: "In 1774, the vast majority of the inhabitants in Arad city consisted of Wallachians, Serbians, Germans; the Hungarians were the smallest part of the citizens"[24]. For several centuries Careii Mari had been an important Romanian cultural centre, inhabited exclusively by Romanians until 1880 [4]. As attested by many Habsburgic conscriptions, from the Austrians' arrival in 1718 until the end of that century, Timisoara and Banat as a whole had no Hungarian inhabitants [23]. Also, Hans W. Ruhrig (Leipzig 1840) considers that untill the rule of Iosif II the Hungarians were in such few number in Panonia that it is out of discussion that they could be settled as colonists in Banat before. About Turda , A.E.Bielz (Hermannstadt, 1857) wrote: " The inhabitants are in small number Hungarians, the great majority being Romanians" [24]. And so on.

The ancient Daco-Roman cities, fallen into decay during the great migrations, were rebuilt by the Saxons. In the 17th century and even in the first half of the last century the vast majority of

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Transylvanian towns were still bearing the mark of their distinctly German character. Many such German dwellings situated in prevaillingly Romanian countryside regions were Magyarized. The Magyarization was accomplished by using the school, the church, the army, the administration, by bringing in colonists, by humiliating discriminations, etc. [1, 2, 3, 4, 5].

THE MAGYARIZATION YIELDED ITS FRUITS, ABOVE ALL IN TOWNS

According to the academician Oszkar Iaszi [5], in Hungary and on the territories administrated by it the city population increased by 302,8% between 1787 and 1914. The Hungarians, the Szeklers and the Magyarized people increased by 432%, whereas the other than Hungarians only by 104,4%. So the Hungarians and the Magyarized increased by 130% over the average, while the others by 200% under the average. For instance in Deva, a city situated in a purely Romanian region, between 1880 and 1910 the ethnic structure evolved as presented below [6]:

Hungarians and Magyarized people	+ 293,9%
Romanians	+ 21,2%
Germans	- 67,7%

We are even entitled to hold that Germans were affected

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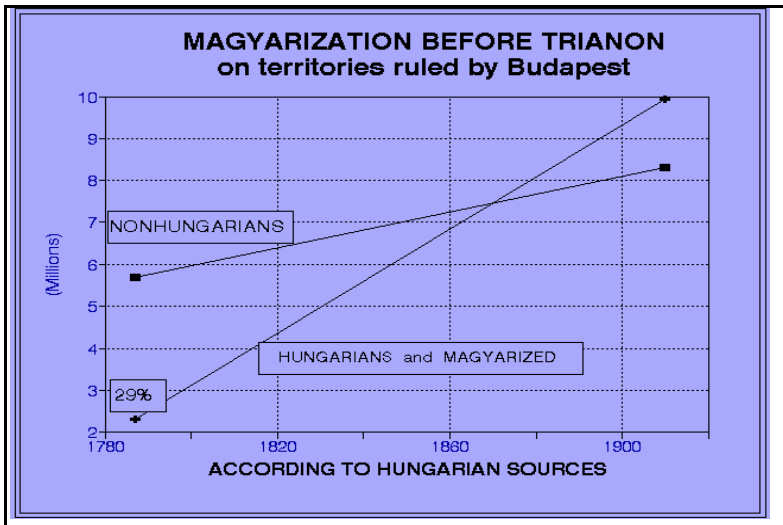
even more severely than Romanians by the process of Magyarization triggered after the Austro-Hungarian dualism was set up; this was another kind of Anschluss, when the Magyarization reached its devastating climax. This is how a city that was German in the Middle Ages - Klausenburg-Cluj, situated in a region where most of the inhabitants were Romanians, "became", at the beginning of our century, a Hungarian city. In the former Cluj district (communist post war territorial organization), which includes the 1910 Cluj County, in 1956 Hungarians and Magyarized people represented approximately 14% of the rural population.

THE MAGYARIZATION WAS THE PROGRAMMATIC MEANS BY WHICH THE MINORITY DOMINATED

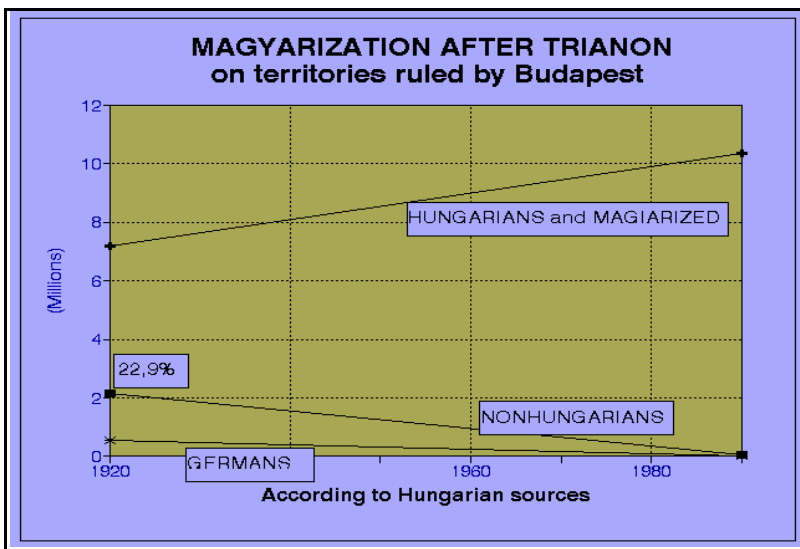
The fact that the Magyarization was a programmatic process of the Hungarian political class is borne out by spacial, as well as by temporal factors: the Magyarization took place on all the territories administrated, up to the present, by Budapest, immediately after the Turkish rule was overthrown, and proceeded at an increasing rate. It is crucial to recall that in 1787, all over Hungary and the territories administrated by Budapest, only 29% of the inhabitants were Hungarians [5]. The diagram below presents the process of Magyarization before Trianon on all the territories administrated by Budapest. The diagram speaks for itself; I only want to emphasize that it is based exclusively on Hungarian statistics. The Magyarization of Transylvanian towns also took place in this highly racialistic atmosphere. Nevertheless, the process did not reach the

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level claimed by Hungarian statistics. As a matter of fact, there is not a single reliable Romanian or German researcher who does not point out the fraudulent character of these statistics. While Hungarian statistics indicated 551 000 members of the German minority in Hungary in 1920 and claimed that the denationalization rate was 100 000 / year in the '30s [3], German statistics showed 600 000 Germans in the early '40s [8]! Individuals were classified according to the language they spoke, recorded in documents as their mother tongue, Yiddish was not recorded separately, etc. However, religious affiliation was also recorded, and this allows for a correction of official statistics as regards Romanians and Jews. In the diagram above such corrections were not made.



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THE MAGYARIZATION OF BUDAPEST

If, as we claim, Magyarization was a devastating process for the majoritary, though divided, inhabitants of the Panonic Plain, we should come across similar evolutions in towns situated in that area as well. The case of Budapest is, I believe, most relevant. In volume III of the NAGY LEXICONA, published in Budapest in 1893, we find the evolution of the ethnic structure of the town over a period beginning with the overthrow of Turkish rule, up to the date when that volume was compiled.

	GERMANS	Hungarians and Magyarized people	Others
1715	55,6%	19,4% *	25%
1737	57,8%	22,5% *	19,7%
1750	55,2%	22,2% *	22,6%
1851	56,4%	21,5%	22,1% *
1881	33,3%	25,4%	28,5% *
1891	23,7%	46,1%	32,2% *

* Jews included.

The last 3 quoted censuses also include religious distribution; the major correction to be made refers to the Jews, who do not appear separately, but are usually melted into the mass of the Hungarian

minority. With this correction, this is how Hungarian the German city on the Danube must have been in the last century.

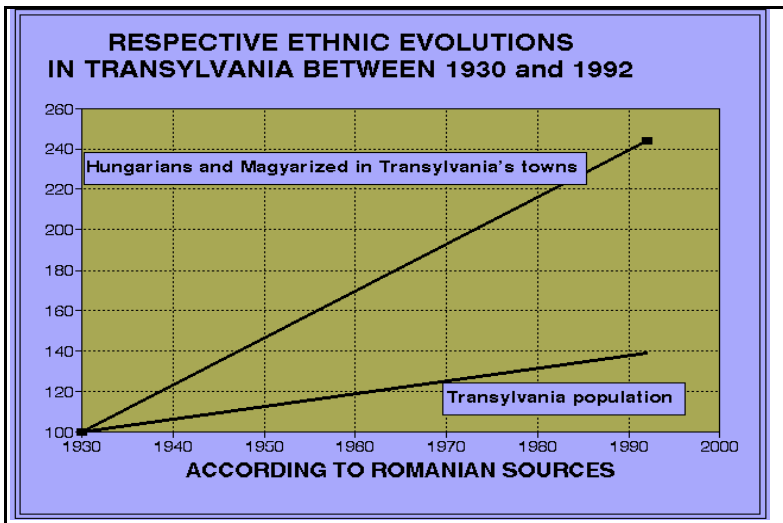
THE CHANGING OF THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF TOWNS AFTER 1919

Taking into account the Hungarian inferiority complex which the erroneous statistic figures betray, we see that the first truthful census in our century is the one undertaken in 1930 and prepared by Sabin Manuil_ and David Prodan with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. This census confirms the Magyarization of Transylvanian towns, which had the following ethnic structure at the time: Romanians 35%, Hungarians, Szecklers and Magyarized people 37,9%, Saxons and Swabians 13,2% and others 13,9% [6]. However, in 1930 the city population only represented 17,3% of the total population in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures. According to the January 1992 census, urban population now represents 57% in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures. The increase of city population in the last 30 years also drew upon the natural reservoir constituted by villages. And in Transylvania most of the inhabitants are Romanians; in 1930 the Hungarians and the Magyarized amounted only to 17.9% in Crisana and Maramures, 7.6% in Banat and 9.4% in Transylvania, where there also lived 17.8% Szeklers. In a predominantly Romanian environment, through industrialization, the structure of towns will in time grow similar to that of the "hinterland". What is now

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essentially different from the period before Trianon is that, unlike Hungarians, Romanians have never denationalized other communities.

In 1930, 365 008 Hungarians, Szeklers and Magyarized people were living in Transylvanian towns. According to the last census, they are now 890 981, that is 2.44 times more numerous. Within the same period of time, the population of Transylvania increased only 1.59 times. So the ethnic structure of towns has changed, but the number of Hungarian-speaking inhabitants of towns has not decreased in absolute figures, but rather increased far above the average rate of the whole population. The diagram below shows the evolution of the Hungarian-speaking part of city population as compared to that of the whole Transylvanian population between 1930 and 1992.



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Therefore, Hungarian revisionists and their Western victims can only accuse us of the 'UNMAGYARIZATION' of Magyarized Swabians in the Satu-Mare County [9] and of the emancipation of gipsies in Mures County, who have begun to acknowledge themselves as what they really are, and not as Hungarians, the way they used to until December 1989.

THE HORTHYST - COMMUNIST SYNCOPE

Inconceivable crimes followed the occupation of Northern Transylvania by Horthy's troops in September 1940, (see [10] the evidence brought by Oliver Lustig, a survivor from Dachau), such crimes as would fill with horror the very creators of the holocaust: mass assassinations, people sent on the first front line without previous training, deportations to extermination camps, hard labor, churches and synagogues burned down. By conversion to communism, the Hungarian racialists ensured their dominance in Transylvania for another 25 years: they directed the security service, the prosecuting magistracy and the communist party. In this period, the communist one, we witness, paradoxically, a process of Magyarization in regions where the Hungarians and Magyarized people already represented at least 20% of the population, a percentage which provided the necessary safety margin [11],[22].

WHAT

TRANSYLVANIA REALLY IS ?

Banat, Crisana, Maramures
and Transylvania



What we, generally speaking, call Transylvania consists in fact of 4 distinct units: Banat, Crisana, Maramures and Transylvania, as it is shown in the first map. Distinct units, because of their different fate. Thus unlike Hungary, Banat and Crisana and like Moldova and Walachia, Transylvania has never been under Ottoman sovereignty.

What Transylvania really is ?

It has never been an Ottoman pashalik, as Hungary was. Moreover, except for 50 years (between 1868 and 1918), Transylvania was a Free Voivodate, an Autonomous Voivodate under Hungarian or Ottoman suzerainty, and Autonomous Principality under Habsburg sovereignty. To be more exact, we shall refer to these units with distinct statistical data. However, when a general reference to Banat, Crisana, Maramures and Transylvania (or inside Transylvania) is intended, we shall simply say: Transylvania.

The cradle of Romanians

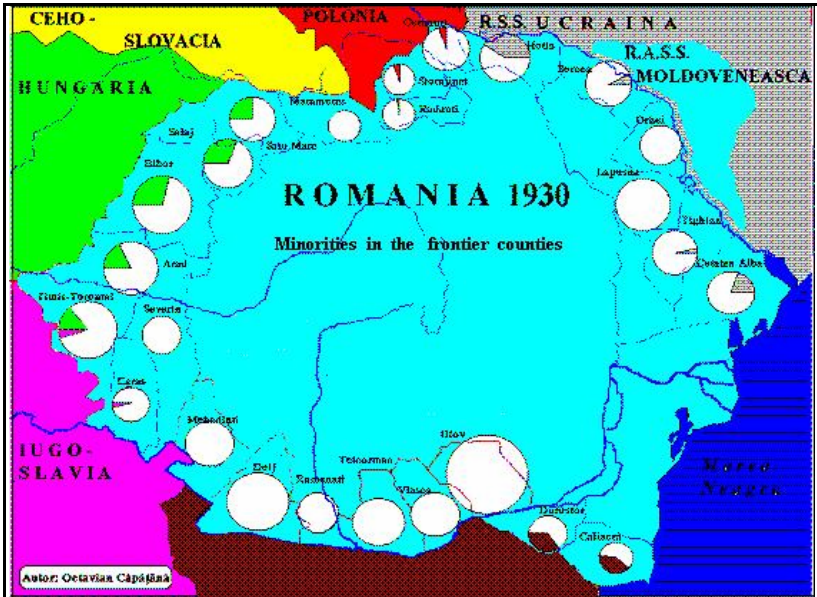
Transylvania is the core of the county inhabited by the ancestors of the Romanian people - the Dacians. Their country included a vast territory from Moravia, Panonia, Morlacia up to Bug, Black Sea and Balkan Mountains. The Dacian state power center, however, lay in Transylvania. Even at the beginning of the XXth century the remnants of this population were identified by independent researchers. Transylvania was an integral part of the Roman Dacia; both its capital and the headquarters of the two Roman Legions were situated here.

Transylvania is the territory of the first Romanian Principality certified by historical documents. Transylvania is a natural fortress; the Carpathian Mountains protected the Romanian people's ethnogenesis. The migratory peoples have, generally speaking, avoided the Carpathian Mountains by north or by south, offering the Romanian people from Transylvania the possibility to be born. Transylvania was the ethnical reservoir from which poured out over the mountains the population's surplus. A papal letter from the year

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1234 certifies that many Romanian peasants were passing over the mountains choosing the Orthodox faith and thus defying the authority of Catholic bishops. The passing of Romanians over the mountains is also mentioned in the Joannian Knight's Order from 1247 [14]. From Transylvania came Negru Voda, Dragos Voda and Bogdan Voda, rulers who established the extracarpathical principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia [15]. Transylvania is the center of the Romanian spirit; everywhere around it there live Romanians: in Moldavia, Bucovina, Maramure_, Cri_ana, The Tisa plain, Banat, to the north and south of the Danube. Transylvania has best preserved most Dacian customs, pre-Christian and early-Christian ones, it has kept most words from Latin. Transylvania is the center of the Romanian people's ethnogenesis, it is the ethnographical, anthropogeographical, historical and economical center of the Romanian nation [16]. The local Romanian rulers will be the ones to put up a strong resistance to the Hungarian interference, and through their struggle and fierce attitude they will maintain

What Transylvania really is ?



the autonomous state of the Transylvanian Principality. After the peasant's uprising of 1437 the Romanians, although they formed the majority of the population, were no longer recognized by the principalities' leadership that consisted of Hungarians, Szecklers and Saxons of Transylvania. Their religion was not even recognized, but only tolerated. Hungary disappears from Europe's map after the battle of Mohaci (1526) until 1867. Between 1541 and 1699 it is a Turkish pashalik. In this period, on the contrary, Transylvania maintains its voivodal autonomy under Turkish suzerainty, just like Moldavia and Wallachia. After peace was closed in Carlovit in 1699, Hungary enters under Austrian rule as well as Transylvania,

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even if, starting with 1688 the ruling Prince of Transylvania gives up "by his own will and Christian duty" the Turkish protectorate and passes under Austrian domination. The attempt made by Hungary in 1848/ 1849 to extend its authority over Transylvania encounters the extraordinary resistance of the Romanians led by their legendary hero, Avram Iancu.

UNDER HUNGARIAN RULE

For the first time, after 1867, Hungary extends its authority in Transylvania, when, after repeated defeats in Italy and Prusia, Austria is forced to accept dualism (a sort of Anschluss). It is important to remark that even in that period Hungary was not subject to international law, because it had no diplomatic ties, it had no army a.s.o.. Between 1867 and 1918, Transylvania faces an ultrachauvinistic policy of forced assimilation, Magyarizing all the nationalities, the German, Slavic or Romanian ones [1],[2],[4],[17]. In 1881 in Budapest *The Society for Magyarization of Names* was set up ! It must be noted that more than 50% of "Hungarians" at that time had non Magyar names, as the president of the Society claimed. Related to this is the fact that the Hungarians at that period were a minority on the territories administrated by Budapest.

"The land of Transylvania,....,presented much too vivid an image of its age-old Romanian spirit.One can , therefore, understand the Hungarian desire to wipe out, once and for all, those elements which spoke about a purely Romanian past... Count D.Banffy,...., decided to deal with this situation by replacing the old non-Magyar place names with new names, invented on the spot and bearing the

What Transylvania really is ?

characteristic stamp of Magyarism. With this end in view, he drew up "*the law*" dealing with names of communes and other places, which was promulgated on February 17, 1898" - wrote Milton Lehrer in its essential book about Transylvania, [1, pg 227]. After that black period of Magyarization for Transylvania the census shows(in thousands):

TRANSYLVANIA	1910*	1930	1966	1992
Romanians	2827	3207	5104	5658
Hungarian, Szeck- lers,Gipsies, Magya- rised	1662 **	1352 **	1560	1598
Germans	563	543	382	108&
Jews	*	178#	42#	2.8

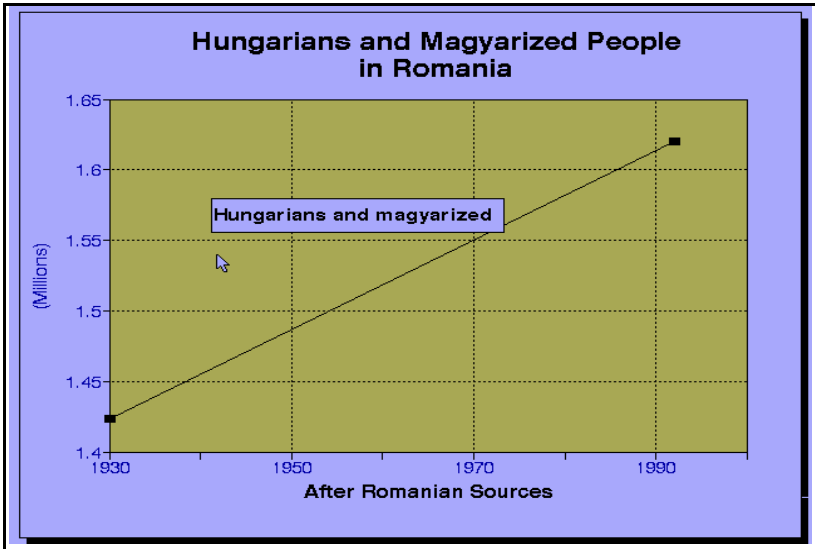
* Data from the Hungarian census (1910) are classified according to the mother tongue. Yddish was not recognized by the Hungarians who made the census. So, Jews are recorded as Hungarians.

** The diference lay in the fact that after 1918 , the army and the other Hungarian administrative clerks withdrew to their home territories.

After authorized Jew sources , 150.000 Jews from Northern Transylvania were deported to Nazi extermination camps by Hungarians in the spring and summer of 1944, (Tribuna nr 6/1990, Cluj-Napoca) and most of them (95%) never came back.

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& After the Romanian Revolution Romania lost a very skilled people, the Germans who emigrated, for economical reasons, to West Germany.



WHO SET UP COMMUNISM IN TRANSYLVANIA ?

We receive a candid answer from Mr. Gaspar Tamas, deputy in the Parliament of Budapest, native of Transylvania and having good knowledge of the realities that exist here. We quote:

" On souligne aujourd'hui a l'envi la faiblesse du parti communiste roumain d'apres guerre (15000 de membres) mais on oublie le parti frere de Transylvanie, L'Alliance populaire hongroise, qui comptait 600.000 membres. Les transylvaines d'origine hongroise ont joue un role crucial dans l'implantation du communisme en Roumanie".[18]

Before confirming the above mentioned data through archive information, we shall try to see what happened during the second World War.

The North of Transylvania between 1940 - 1944. Through the second Vienna Diktat from August 30, 1940, under Hitler's and Mussolini's patronage, the North - Western part of Transylvania is given to the first fascist state from Europe. Immediately after the Romanian authority's retreat, the invader set about to abominable acts, unparalleled in the whole modern Europe! Public murders of Romanian ethnics, including children, pregnant women, aged people, priests, intellectuals. Slaughters in the towns and villages of Ip, Treznea, Moisei, Sarmas, Ciumirna, Sapinta, Pausa, Simleul Silvaniei, Cosmiciul de jos, Muresenii de Cimpie, Iara. Deportations to extermination and forced labour camps. Sending of Romanian

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youths without any army training, on the battle - front, in order for them to be shot from the back in the eventuality that they escaped from the bullets that came from ahead [19]. Taking away of movable and fixed assets belonging to Romanians and Jews; Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches were destroyed with the savageness of people for whom the belief in Christ is only an instrument for hiding their Asiatic reminiscence. The synagogues too were destroyed [12].THE SAME SCENARIO WAS REPETEAD IN THE COUNTIES OF HARGHITA AND COVASNA AFTER DECEMBER 1989, WHERE THE MAJORITY CONSISTS OF SZECKLERS AND MAGYARIZED PEOPLE [11].

After the liberation of Northern Transylvania, the Romanian army passes to Hungary, Cehoslovakia and Austria. In the northern part , called Ardeal, the Soviet troops remain. As W. Churchill and F.D. Roosvelt sold Romania to the Russians [20], the soviet troops also had the political role of forcing Romania under a communist regime. Anyhow,the Romanian troops fought a life and death struggle with great sacrifices in the mountains, to cross the rivers, to occupy the strategical points. As the communist party had, before the war, about 800 members, the Romanian ethnics representing only a small minority, Hungarians were the ones who consolidated the communist party in Romania and especially in Transylvania. In this time, the Hungarian fascists were trying to hide their past in "new democratic" activities. The Hungarians were the instruments of the Soviet army in order to introduce communism in the country. In the region of the town Cluj, where according to the 1956 census there were 20,4% Hungarian and Magyarized persons from a total

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of 1,153,076 inhabitants, the composition of the Communist Party from Romania in December 1945 was the following:

Hungarians	Romanians	Jews	Germans
2490	288	195	8

(the State Archives of Cluj : Fund 1, File 1, page 13).

We also have some suggestive data from September 4, 1950 from the State Archives of Cluj-Napoca (Fund 13, File 527) with the list of the Communist Party's Regional Committee:

- out of 4 secretaries, 3 were Hungarians,
- in the party's cabinet 72% were Hungarians,
- in the Regional Committee's sections such as Statutory Affairs, Press and Editing, Personnel, Sport Hungarians were employed 100 % .

The Hungarians took advantage of their important presence in the communist Party in order to occupy all the leading positions in the " Securitate ", the Prosecutor's office and the Police from Transylvania. Here are some well known examples in the region of Cluj: Breban Jozsef, Peres Sandor, Criszan Gyula, Nagy Wilhelm, Iakab M., Kulcsar L., Istvan E., Kiraly A., Pall Fr., Szekely M., Dombodi L., Fele L., Barany E. and so on. All of them were chief of Departments or Bureaus. In order to understand more clearly the strange situation which the Romanian experienced in the period when communism was being set up, we quote from official documents of the Intelligence Office of that time [21]:

" Three days ago, in Tg. Mures, civilian armed Hungarians attacked in war formations the military troops (Romanian - n.n.)

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stationed in town. Because it was ascertained from an official source that the arming and organization of these civil formations' actions were achieved with the tacit knowledge of the Tg. Mures commander's office (Soviet-n.n.), the battalion's commander (Romanian) requested details" (from telegram no.452/ Nov. 16, 1944).

"Generally speaking, in this region as well as in other parts of the country, the Romanian public opinion is clearly hostile to the new domination (communism -n.n.) that is being established. ...The Hungarian delegation which left right now for Moscow has the mission not of closing an armistice, which is in fact closed since 1942, but to perfect the majority of Hungarian requests approved through the secret Treaty of 1942. .. According to this attack immediately after the Soviet Union would have forced the passings in the Carpathian Mountains, Hungary would have entered behind the German-Romanian battle-front in order to open the way towards Vienna and Berlin. According to this agreement, Hungary and the whole of Transylvania should be independent Republics under the suzerainty of the Soviet Union. Besides, to Hungary will also be attached the region of Oltenia up to west of the city of Craiova, Croatia, East of Slovenia with Fiume and Trieste, part of Carintia, Lajta and a great part of Slovacia and Ruscinnso. Of great interest is the free harbour at the Black Sea, in the area of Constanta City, the railway Constanta - Nehoiasi - Arad - Budapesta" (Act no. 503/Dec. 31, 1944)

"It is a miracle that cannot be explained by any Romanian, not even by the simple peasants with whom I spoke, how come these persons who declare themselves relentless democrats act towards other people with the most savage intolerance and lack of

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mercy" (act no 513/ Jan. 20. 1945)

" If Romania will not give itself up by its own will, the clandestine organization has the purpose that through its inside and outside members like: unemployed Hungarian workers who would attack and take by force, at the moment when the economical and moral force will be weak enough..." (act 457/Febr.27, 1945)

An important moment of the "democratisation" of Romania was represented by the elections of Nov. 19, 1946. From the same sources we give a few excerpts:

"We are informed that in Dermata "shock teams" (Hungarian n.n.)are prepared to assure the "liberty" of elections. These teams will guard the elections in villages. They are armed with machine-guns, automatic weapons and hand-grenades" (act 64/May 23, 1946)

"The arrests that take place in the whole country do not have as a main task only preventing the opposition to submit lists. The arrests will continue through November, December and January. More than 90,000 Romanian intellectuals will be arrested. They are trying now to cover up these arrests with different reasons, but later on people will be just picked up. The regime that they will have during the winter will be a very hard one and many will die because of diseases" (act 396/Oct. 23,1946)

"In the organization of the new state the greatest role is reserved for the Magyar Popular Union, which, it is said, has the confidence of the domination as a reward for services rendered" (act 397/Oct.23, 1946)

"In Chiuesti, the county of Somes. At the opening of the voting, a group of Hungarians working as guards, dressed as guards in soldier uniforms together, with a group of policemen took the

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ballot box by force and left quickly for the town of Dej. ...The peasants, are gathered around the election station followed the wagon of the thieves. They sent messengers to all villages calling armed people to Dej. On Thursday, November 21, 1946, the town of Dej was completely isolated, being surrounded by about 50-60 thousand peasants. .. Gilgau, the county of Someș. Even if in the villages that voted there live only 1-2% Hungarians, the ones who remained after the colonization made by Horthy, it is said that the Hungarian list included a couple of hundred votes. In Cluj, it is stated that those great democrats who terrorize under the mask of communism and democracy are Hungarian revisionists"(act 411/ Nov.21 , 1946)

And other opinions

"Oh God, protect Thou us against ..!"

Richard Wagner-Lohengrin

"Let us leave out the conventional lie according to which we do not want to kill the non Hungarian nationalities. Yes, we want to exterminate them, and we have to exterminate them!"

Geza Kosztenszky

Hungarian writer

"This country has a language, which all its inhabitants know. This language is neither German nor Hungarian, it is the Romanian language which everybody knows even without learning it"

Stephan Ludwig Roth

And other opinions

"The Hungarians pursue a blind and violent policy against the nationalities which are the subject of the Hungarian crown, against the Romanian in particular".

lord Edmond Fitzmaurice
member of Gladstone Cabinet

"The Hungarian are people who, by their violent method of governing, have created the Romanian problem"

Leon Gambetta
French Foreign Minister

"What is even more saddening is the fact that count Apponyi had a reputation abroad for being a pacifist, while in Hungary he is not prepared to acknowledge that non Hungarians possess the quality of being people. any people of sound mind should tear the mask from the face of this demented person, to reveal to the whole world that he is not a benefactor but a bird of prey".

Count Leo Tolstoy

"In my youth, when the Hungarian nation was oppressed, I used to love it and admire it a lot, and I shed bitter tears for it. But later, when I studied the situation more closely, I became convinced of the injustice that was being done to other nationalities in Hungary, and I started hating Hungarian chauvinism. I am certain that there is nobody outside Hungary who does not share these feelings - and believe me, these injustices sooner or later will lead to Hungary's downfall" - *Bjoernsterne Bjoernson*

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"Persecution has been carried so far that it is almost impossible to find a Romanian newspaperman who writes for a political newspaper, and who has never been in jail, charged with a political crime"
Arthur Seton Watson

"By arbitrary stipulations which were introduced into the electoral law, the Romanians no longer enjoy any political rights. The electoral census is ten times greater for the Romanians in Transylvania than for the rest of Hungary. The Romanians, who on proportionate basis should have 75 of the total member of 417 deputies in Parliament, have in fact none"

Georges Clemenceau
French Prime Minister

"The Hungarian government spent millions of crowns for the purpose of colonizing Transylvania with Hungarians, and after the war it embarked on stepped up efforts to implement this plan"

Charles Upson Clark
American historian

"Transylvania was not Magyar but Romanian - otherwise , what was the point of compulsory Magyarization?"

Milton Lehrer

"Unpardonable are those unscrupulous persons who, for personal reasons, encourage in England Budapest's revisionist policy and attempt to disrupt the establish order, an attempt fostered by people who proved themselves to be intolerant, oppressive and lawless in their dealings with other nations"

George Bernard Shaw

Paradoxically, Romanians, the most tolerant people of Europe, always pliant to the will of their Southern, Eastern, Northern and Western neighbors - those neighbors who have situated themselves all along history on the opposite side of tolerance - Romanians are discriminated today at the insistent requests of those very neighbors.

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