



THE ENTIRE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE



4 (18)
1988

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With the ardent pathos of the love for his country President Nicolae Ceaușescu stated at the high rostrum of the Party National Conference that every citizen of our motherland must do his duty here, on the land of our ancestors, must serve faithfully, in any circumstances, the people, must defend the Socialist Romania's independence and sovereignty

THE WORK OF NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ABOUT THE LEGITIMACY OF THE GREAT UNION OF 1918

Reader MIRCEA MUȘAT, DHist.

Fundamental and permanent coordinate of Romania's history, lawful result of the Romanian society's evolution, the struggle for national unity and independence represented the old-century ideal and aspiration of the Romanian people. It was grafted on the granitic foundation of the Romanian people's development — a people that moulded unitarily in the ancient hearth of Dacia and which has always had the same homeland.

From ancient times the Romanian people has developed in a continuous confrontation with obstacles and hindrances of any kind, with numberless historical adversities and vicissitudes. The waves of migratory popu-

lations, that rushed upon our homeland for many centuries, its location at the crossroad of interference of vying interests of the biggest empires in Europe — Ottoman, Habsburg and Tsarist —, the devastating wars waged on the Romanian countries' territory, the destruction or alienation of numberless material and spiritual assets, all this, adding to them, sometimes, the Romanian Countries' separation between the great empires of the time, considerably hampered the Romanian people's socioeconomic progress. But, in spite of these heavy storms of history, with one hand on the plough and the other on the sword, it preserved its ethnical and State

being, the determination to be united, free and full master of its own country.

From times of yore, the Romanian people's evolution has been grounded on the firm belief that along centuries, the consciousness of common origin, of the unity of nation and historical destiny, of the continuity in the ancestors' hearth where it took shape and to which it felt closely and indissolubly linked, was a strong support of the people's struggle for the preservation of its being, for liberty, for the remaking of the unitary nation-state. This consciousness underlaid the tenacious resistance of our people which never deserted its ethnic habitat and daringly faced the waves of invaders — from the migratory populations to the big expansionist empires in the mediaeval, modern and contemporary epoch. **"We are in a position to state — President Nicolae Ceaușescu underlines — relying on historical facts, that our people took shape over several millennia in the Carpathian-Danubian area, that every metre of land and every stone are sprinkled with the sweat and blood of our forefathers. In most difficult times, our forebears never deserted the land where they had been born, fraternizing with the land, with the mountains and the plains, with the rivers and the deep forests, they stood their ground and they fought to preserve their identity and their right to live in freedom."**

As it is known the state led by Burebista and Decebalus waged heavy fights for the preservation of its being. After the heroic resistance in face of the Roman expansion, the long living together of the Dacians and Romans on Dacia's territory put a strong imprint on the character and moral physiognomy of our people. **"With an unquenched thirst for liberty — President Nicolae Ceaușescu showed — with its determination not to bow to foreign rule, resolved to always be itself, the sole master of its life and fate, which it had inherited from the Dacians, and evincing a rational spirit, judgement and creative passion, bequeathed by the Romans, the Romanian people, that had emerged in the world, recorded a heroic eventful and great history spanning nearly two thousand years, continuously developing and strongly asserting itself in ranks of the peoples, and today, of the nations of the world"**.

To those who transgressing science have formulated denigrating or pseudoscientific appreciations about the continuity of the Romanians' life on their motherland's territory President Nicolae Ceaușescu gave an exceptional answer: **"Some historians are now trying to uphold the theory that, for a certain period of time, there was a void in the Carpathian-Danubian area. I think that the answer to that was given a long time ago. First of all, the most outstanding people and the scholars of that time answered that question by speaking about the inhabitants of that land and about the voi-**

vodates that were in existence in the Carpathian-Danubian region; and I think that they had a better knowledge of facts than some of today's historians have: those who claim omniscience and try to deny reality, to deny the results of historical development. The answer to that was given by Mircea, by Stephen the Great, by Ioan of Hunedoara, by Michael the Brave. It was given by those who defeated Bayezid, who stood their ground against so many conquerors, who accomplished the first centralized state of the Romanians of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. They did not come from other parts, they did not fall from the skies: they lived and they were born here, in this land, and they defended it with their own blood". The people preserved the consciousness of the common origin, of the unity of nation and language in keeping up the ties between mountain, hill and plain, the complementary economies of the three Romanian countries, the alliances concluded between them, favoured by the factor of mutual attraction, i. e. the consciousness of the national unity, the joint military actions waged for the defense of their independence explain both the stubbornness in face of expansionist veilities of Hungary's kingdom, the Polish kingdom, the Ottoman empire, the Habsburg empire and the Tsarist empire and the heroism proved by the armed popular masses, the bravery of some voivodes for whom the motherland's liberty and independence was above all. So, these deeply rooted economic traditions and of common fight and the aspiration after unity became main traits and coordinates of the Romanian people's life. **"Facing ravaging storms — President Nicolae Ceaușescu said — withstanding all vicissitudes, it paid a great contribution to the defense of civilization in this part of the world, to the peoples' fight against the oppressors. Keeping alive the light of the ideal of liberty, independence and self-determination, the Romanian people gave, along its millenary history, numberless examples of heroism and spirit of sacrifices".** Due to their heroic resistance in face of the invading kingdoms and empires, the Romanian countries could not be subdued by force, they succeeded in maintaining their autonomous State being.

Defending their own independence or preserving, in a certain period, a status of autonomy, the Romanian Countries thwarted for long time the offensives of the invaders playing, therefore, a leading role in the defense of Europe. The efforts made by the three Romanian countries in this sense gave the West and Central Europe the necessary respite for them to create the means necessary to the economic and cultural progress. **"While a great part of our people's wealth — President Nicolae Ceaușescu underlined — fell into the hands of foreign exploiters and oppressors and our country was im-**

poverty, struggling with poverty and wants, the Western countries embarked on the road of capitalist development, were developing industry, were building strong edifices of culture and science, decisively embarked on the road of civilization".

The Romanians always kept alive the consciousness of their unity, consciousness determined by the fact that both language, costumes, traditions and beliefs and way of living were the same. Arbitrarily imposed borders by the great empires and kingdoms in one epoch or another could not hinder the unitary assertion of their ideas and traditions, permanently being brought out the community of aspirations to liberty and unity of all the Romanians, irrespective of foreign rule they were subject to. As President Nicolae Ceaușescu said: "The preservation of these relations and communities would not have been possible if there were not a close unity, from all viewpoints, between all these territories, between the population that lived here for millenia".

The tendencies to the making up of a unitary political organism able to defeat the hostile actions of the neighbour powers found a strong expression in the Union of Muntenia with Transylvania and Moldavia under the political sceptre of voivode Michael the Brave in 1599—1600. On May 27, 1600 he called himself with the dignity of the historic right: "Voivode of the Romanian Country, of Transylvania and all Moldavia". The valiant voivode grasped very soon that independence and the defence of State being, unique for all the Romanian Countries were impossible to be achieved without their political unity, a menace for one of them being at the same time a reason of worry for the other two. But the opposition put up by the then Great Powers temporarily destroyed the political work of the Great Voivode. Although short-lived the achievement of this unity influenced the future political evolution as it answered a strong historical necessity. With good reason Nicolae Iorga wrote: "After Michael the Brave no Romanian could think any longer at union without his huge personality, without his sword raised to the heaven of justice". "But the people never ceased — as President Nicolae Ceaușescu said — to aspire for union".

Taking over the political programme of fundamental importance left by the first political union of the Romanian Countries achieved under the sceptre of Michael the Brave, the generations of the 17th—18th centuries continued their struggle for national and State unity. "The chroniclers and scholars in all the three Romanian provinces — as President Nicolae Ceaușescu said — had a great importance in giving scientific grounds to the idea of the national, ethnic and linguistic unity of all the Romanians". In the political circumstances of those centuries, the humanistic idea about the

common origin of our people were propelled by Grigore Ureche, Miron Costin, Ion Neculce, Constantin Cantacuzino, Dimitrie Cantemir and others.

At the end of the 18th century, after the defeat of the popular revolution led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan, the Romanians' national programme demonstrated the Transylvanian Romanians' historic right to the ancestors' land, their continuity of millenia in the ancient habitat, what involved the revendication of the Romanian political unity and the revendication of national liberty by virtue of the modern principle of self-determination. During the fights waged by the popular masses led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan clearly was pronounced their wish to "unite with the country", the idea of a Daco-Romania gaining ever more ground. "The Romanian people's hopes for union — President Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out — were most pregnantly expressed during the 1848 Revolution, which broke out almost simultaneously in the three Romanian Lands and was inspired by the same ideals and claims. Inscribing on its banner the slogan of abolishing feudalism, achieving national unity and winning independence, the 1848 Revolution enhanced ever more powerfully the self-awareness of the Romanian people and strengthened the determination of the population of the three Romanian lands to achieve national unity within the boundaries of the same State. Nicolae Bălcescu, the great patriot, pointed out that "after this revolution, we will have to carry through another two revolutions: a revolution for national unity and, subsequently, for national independence, in this way enabling this nation to re-enter in the full possession of its natural rights". There followed the Union of Moldavia and Wallachia in January 1859 and the war of independence of 1877—1878 with the large participation of numerous Transylvanians in an impressive national solidarity.

The lofty ideals of unity and independence, strongly proclaimed and achieved in the 19th century with deep-going and beneficial consequences on all levels for the whole Romanian nation, represent premises of the achievement of the historic act of 1 December 1918, and an inexorable necessity, a lawful answer to the ceaseless and strong goads of the past. The Great Union of 1918 is the outcome of a struggle whose particular trait was the mass character. This crucial historical event that involved the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the advanced-minded circles of the bourgeoisie, the main classes and sections of the society mapped out the historic process of the ascension and assertion of the Romanian nation. "That is why — President Nicolae Ceaușescu considers — nobody else than the people can claim authorship of the union. An analysis of developments tellingly demonstrates that the

formation of the unitary Romanian national state was not the outcome of agreements reached by negotiations, but the outcome of the fight waged by the entire people inspired by the age-old hope for unity, and by the determination to make the dream, for which so many generations of forerunners had fought and laid down their lives, come true".

The oft-times recognition by the Great Powers of the Entente of the principle of the peoples' self-determination and the Romanian people's lawful right to national and State unity, the assertion of the lofty principles of equity and justice following to underlie the post-war organization of the world, all this had to increase Romania's trust, and of other small and medium sized states in the work to be performed by the Peace Conference. Especially that Romania wished for that international forum to officially recognize the historic decisions taken by the Romanian people, solemnly and definitively proclaimed in 1918, in the assemblies of the representatives of the broad popular masses at Chişinău (27 March/9 April), Cernăuţi (15/28 November) and Alba Iulia (18 November/1 December). That is why the Paris Peace Conference was not in the position to make a completed Romanian state. It had been already achieved through the work of the Romanian people. The Conference was called to juridically sanction the new territorial and political status through the recognition of the principle of national self-determination.

In the prospect of history the great achievement of the Romanian people gained in 1918 and their sanctioning through the resolutions of the Peace Conference reveal

ever more that Romania was not among the profiteers of a peace achieved through the goodwill of the victors or the gains brought by the hazard of a victory in a war, but it was the vivid, dynamic expression of the Romanian nation, of the century-old aspirations of a people determined to live united, free and independent in the ancestors' hearth where it was born. Pointing out the historical circumstances of the completion of this process, President Nicolae Ceauşescu said: "The course of historical events categorically demonstrates that the Union was not an accident, the fruit of favorable circumstances or of accords reached at the negotiation table, but the result of the determined struggle of the widest masses of the people, an act of profound national justice, the achievement of an objective concordance between an objective reality and the inalienable rights of the people on the one hand, and the national setting forcefully demanded by these realities on the other hand. The peace Treaty concluded later on did no more than confirm an already existing fact, a situation created as a result of the struggle waged by the mass of the people in Romania and Transylvania, of the struggle waged by our entire people".

The making up of the Romanian unitary nation-state created the national and socioeconomic framework for the development of modern Romania, positively influenced the entire economic, political and social evolution of the country, for its assertion on international arena as a unitary, sovereign state animated by the desire of maintaining peace and collaboration among peoples.

THE TRUTH, INTEGRITY AND DIGNITY OF HISTORY

Prof. GHEORGHE PLATON, DHist.

"Who does not know that history's first law is neither to dare say false things nor to avoid saying the true ones?"

(Cicero)

Denouncing the danger of narrow, distorting specialization, which can bring about the sinking of western civilization "into an atrocious technologic barbarism", H. J. Marrou, and along with him, many other historians of this day, declare for the engraving "on the frontispiece of our Propylaea" (those which take to historiography) of Plato's maxim: *No one should enter here unless*

*he is a philosopher — unless he has pondered first over the nature of history and the condition of the historian."*¹ The need, keenly felt, today, of lucid and critical philosophical reflection, in the arcane theoretical and methodological problematique of historical science organically originates from the many-sided requirements of our time, at the turn of two millennia, from the huge development of technology, from the tension generated by the multitude, seriousness and variety of present contrasts, from the doubts, inquietude and fears of the future.

The history of our times should be in keeping with these requirements; it should

pose questions and offer answers which today's and tomorrow's people need. Therefore, History directs its approach, to a greater extent — reassessing and repatterning its content and methodology — toward the idea of *totality*. More than ever, historiography, whatever the political and philosophical conception which its ministers profess, has the opportunity and the means to explain the world in a global, integrative outlook. However, this calls for the moral obligation, also implied by the warning formulated by the French historian, to use all the opportunities made available by present methodologies and means, in the defense of history's integrity and dignity, by the unflinching profession of *The Truth*.

Learned by its major significances, Juvenal's maxim — *Vitam impendere vero* — became a norm of conduct to the historians' activity. *The truth* — this "as modest as light" attribute, which "directly asserts itself and does not tolerate the obstacles" — is the fundamental pre-requisite of cognition. "The real research — noted, in this respect, Karl Marx — is the truth in progress."²

Naturally, historical knowledge, and consequently, the historiography of every epoch, are determined, among other factors, by the philosophical conception adopted, by the available information, by the way of approaching facts, by cultural pursuits etc. Current obsessions influence it, conferring it special overtones.³ This situation gives rise, hence, to the need that every generation, respecting the truth and nothing but the truth, reconstruct history, in keeping with its own image on the past, with its options and aspirations, from its own vantage and against its own background. The new construction, none the less, does not raise only on the ruins of former generations; it also rests on their positive achievements.⁴ Hence, history — that is its reflection by historical writing — is never finished, concluded; it is a process, its truths having a cumulative, additional character.⁵

Referring to the specific development of Romanian historiography, from the very beginning we should emphasize that: the Romanian scholars' well-known inclination to the study of history, is "not so the triumph of a vocation, but the need sprung from the specific conditions of national life." The writing was not with them a deft pastime," a gratuitous witty play, but a message, an adequate answer to the epoch's commandments. Historiography originated, thus, not so from the need to know — asserted, however, by the most illustrious representatives, "but from patriotic imperatives, while its evolution toward the calm zone of the purely scientific interest was not and, practically, can never be separated from the idea to defend the national ideal!"⁶ Romanian historians — great personalities of this cultural life — understood from the

onset that a people's history should be also defended along with the land and the dignity of its spiritual values. The armed struggle for the nation's rights went side by side with the combat waged by historians against falsehood. As noted, historians were "our second diplomatic corps,"⁷ worthy messengers of national interests.

The militancy was one of the basic traits of Romanian historiography. It is not by chance, naturally, that, consecutive to the humanists' writings, but also from the vantage opened by the political unity achieved by Michael the Brave in 1600, and by the ensuing plans of unity, the 17-th century — *the golden century of Romanian culture* — opened up the road of historiography. The work written by Miron Costin — one of the mostly representative scholars — breathes a high-minded militant consciousness. "*Triumphed the Thought*" to write his country's history, noted the historian, cherishing the wish to weed out the "abuses" and "outrages" committed against the Romanian people by the interpolations included in Grigore Ureche's chronicle. Likewise, Dimitrie Cantemir, on the "threshold" of the Enlightenment, considered the historical writing as a way to "rightfully and untiringly serve the homeland." His "toils" aimed to render the Romanians' history in its entirety. His most representative works are a telling proof thereon. "*The soul cannot find peace*" he clearly confessed his faith — *until he discovers the truth.*" A truth which justifies the confidence in his people's destiny, whose "loose threads" he wants to bring together into a powerful bundle.⁸

In the 18-th century, the centrepiece of Romanian political, cultural and national activity shifts to Transylvania. In this sanctuary of the people's spirituality, grounded on the 17-th c. accumulations, the Transylvanian School, in a profoundly militant spirit, defines the components of national ideology. Here Romanian historiography — a national answer to foreign works which denigrated the Romanians — plays a paramount role in the fulfilment of this goal. It is not by mere chance that then, when Romanian nation became a reality, asserting its ideology, political options and aspirations by dint of the *Supplex* and the movement it generated, as well as the social dimensions by dint of Horea's revolution, theories came into being which disputed Romanians' continuity, their right over their ancient land. Romanian historical writing is put, once again, in the service of the defense and promotion of national interests. In his famous *Istorie pentru inceputurile românilor în Dacia* (1812), Petru Maior emphasized the polemic, committed character of his writing. He related historical facts "observing the truth only", raising against tendentious statements made by certain foreign writers who "consider that the whole world has

to believe their fibs; even more, for some time now — he further noted — as a mule scratches another mule, they borrow from each other the slanders, without any respect for the truth, and they print them as new, and the more the Romanians keep silent, never saying a word of reply to these disparaging injustices, the harder they strive to defame and abuse the Romanians.”⁹

The writing of Mihail Kogălniceanu — also under the sign of “eternal truth” — and of Nicolae Bălcescu, founders of Romanian modern historiography, without deviating from the imperatives of truth, follow the same line of the defense of national interests, at a time when the nation set, with all its forces, on the road of regeneration, unity, independence and modernization of Romanian society. The then historians were of a special kind: they wrote and made history, contributing, through their civic deed and writing, to the promotion of national consciousness, to the popularization, worldwide, of Romanian realities and values, being both messengers and defenders of national interests.

A. D. Xenopol expressed his convictions of citizen-scientist, of historian, in his monumental work *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*, as well as in the answer given to Rösler’s theory, which tried to revive the immigratory theory, with all its implications, detrimental to historical truth. Pushed by the “need to discover the truth” the historian’s supreme goal, certain that the understanding of its own history will ensure the people “the lasting life on Earth” and its cooperation to “the triumphs of civilization,” the historian voiced his joy to have written history without renouncing one single moment to his scientific convictions. “I have never been, he confesses, in the nasty dilemma” to weigh down either historical truth or my people’s interests.”¹⁰ “I have never dared, he added, to tear off this very truth when it served the feeling. The country’s future, he expressed his conviction, could not be lastingly built on this narrow piece of land where greedy peoples are crushed and swallowed, *unless on the foundations of truth*” (our emphasis).¹¹

Nicolae Iorga — who keystoneed all historical writings on *truth* “before anything else,”¹² succeeded to achieve what his predecessors attempted to do: to establish the place and role of the Romanians in world history,¹³ to express the Romanian people’s aspirations for universality, for totality. The scientist’s work of world history, the highest peak reached in world practice,¹⁴ ambitioned to spotlight those instances in world history when mankind was united in the name of superior values. In Nicolae Iorga’s outlook, like in fact in Vasile Pârvan’s, by dint of history, “the self-awareness of mankind as a whole.” — man relives the entire life of the past, he can reach the invaluable thesaurus of the experience and

richness stored by humanity, he has the chance become better, happier.

We have mentioned these facts, without enlarging on them, to highlight, at least, two important things of the problem under survey. Worth mentioning, in the first place, is the humanistic tradition, paying respect to truth and to mankind’s fundamental assets, of collaboration, which Romanian contemporary historiography has inherited, preserved and developed nowadays, when the nation has clearly defined its individuality and options. Secondly, mention must be made also of the fact that, today, in a world where the principles of peaceful co-existence, of cooperation and mutual respect are untiringly asserted, in certain parts on Earth old theories, condemned by history, are revived, revigorated and brought up-to-date; that the problem of our ethno-cultural identity becomes again topical. Thus, the very rationales of this people’s historical existence, of national unity are disputed. There would not be, it is stated in this respect, a relation of continuity between the Geto-Dacians, Romans and Romanians, that the Romanians would have emigrated to their own homeland coming from the south of the Danube, that their union in 1600 would be an adventurous act, the outcome of an armed conquest. Likewise it is underlined the progressive role of multinational empires in this zone, while the creation on the latter’s ruins — of unitary nation states is termed as a regressive work, a.o. Who reads, for example, the so-called *History of Transylvania*, edited by the Hungarian Academy, will easily see the extent to which, in this historical literature, *the scientific spirit* and *the criterium of truth* are ignored.

Naturally, we are glad when historians, pushed by scientific interest, passion or under the imperative of historical knowledge approach Romanian history. From its depths spring up a rich experience of life, of collaboration, a tolerant spirit which can enrich mankind’s treasure store, can serve the contemporary interest in knowledge and cooperation. But, as rightfully stated, to deprive a people of its past, to deliberately distort it is as serious as to plunder its territory and to deprive it of its means of subsistence. “History is an inalienable asset and deserves to be seriously considered, with the respect due to any thriving for better.”¹⁵ The respect for a people’s historical inheritance is in perfect agreement to the principle which calls to give everyone its due.¹⁶ This is a means to militate for the dignity of history, respecting its truth and values.

At this point, we should insist on basic fact it seems, in the problematique under survey. The reasons underlying the operation to forge the data of national history are alien and run counter to scientific spirit and truth. They do not belong to politics in general, but to a “certain policy.” The

relation between history and politics is clearly defined in the field of historiography. W. Bauer's syntagm — *History is the policy of the past, while politics is the history of the present* — is grasped, especially nowadays, in its real acceptance. Politics and history are meant to cooperate without merging into one another. Politics clears its programme through the appeal to history and consolidates its ideologic scaffolding through the investigation of the past.¹⁷ This complementarity is tellingly highlighted by Romanian historiography, whose political militancy represented one of its distinctive features.

It is saliently evidenced in the circumstances when history — under the specific development of this new society — has become a dimension of contemporary life. On the arena of this political life, in the spirit of mankind's general values, in agreement with the national ones, the two realities: history and politics jointly and unswervingly work to promote the Romanian people's inalienable interests. The political factor, by dint of its authority and prestige, stimulates historical investigation, history's truth being in perfect agreement with national options. The stand taken by the head of this state is telling thereon. Moreover, it confers substance to historical research, offering the historical argument the political weight and worth in the line of national militancy. The constant assertion of the need to write history as it was, clearly and expressively preads for truth, for the observance of the strict relation between history as science and politics. "History — states the General Secretary of the Party — should describe the entire process of revolutionary struggle in its complexity, should start from the scientific analysis of social reality, should portray the facts not according to the people's subjective wishes, not according to contingent political needs, to conjectural criteria, but as they occurred, in keeping with the truth of life."¹⁸

Many assessments and impulses, references with certain scientific and methodologic value, set in bold relief the lines of a collaboration, within which historiography and historical research, with a strengthened stature, enjoy a privileged place.

In its tendency toward totality, entirety, present-day history cannot renounce to the particularities which make it up and confer it content, permanently revigorating it. We share the opinion expressed by a fellow historian that — like the ecologic movement, generated by the tendency to ensure a healthy environment, threatened by an excessive industrialism — a movement is needed, likely to alter, perhaps, the science of history too, "no less important for the destiny of mankind"¹⁹, to ensure its *dignity* and *integrity*, by an effort to comprehension, by the telling of the *truth* in its deeply human consequences and significances.

History, as Marc Bloch lucidly stated in his last work, a true profession of faith of a great civic consciousness — is a vast experience of human diversity, a lengthy encounter of peoples. Life, like science, will gain if this encounter is fraternal²⁰. By all means, this is — and should remain — the conviction of all of us.

1. H. J. Marrou, *De la connaissance historique*, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1959, p. 10 and foll.

2. Marx-Engels, *Despre literatură și artă*, Bucharest, 1953, p. 539—540.

3. Al. Zub, *Biruit-au gîndul*, Iași, Editura Junimea, 1980, p. 222 and foll. and passim.

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7. Ilie Minea, *Adevăr și neadevăr relativ la istoria românilor*, Iași, 1932, p. 12.

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11. Idem, Nicolae Kretzulescu, Bucharest, 1915, p. 146.

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13. N. Iorga, *La place des Roumains dans l'histoire universelle*, publiée par Radu Constantinescu, posface de Virgil Cândea, Editions Scientifique et Encyclopedique, Bucharest, 1980.

14. Dan Zamfirescu, N. Iorga. *Etape către o monografie*, Editura Eminescu, Bucharest, 1981, p. 107.

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18. Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Romania on the Way of Completing Socialist Construction*, Vol. 1, Meridiane, Publishing House, Bucharest, 1968, p. 338.

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THE GETO-DACIAN STATE, A Remarkable Historical Reality in European Antiquity

ION HORĂȚIU CRIȘAN, DHist.

There are very few peoples in Europe's ancient history outside the Greco-Roman world to have reached a superior development stage: state organization. The Geto-Dacians are among them.

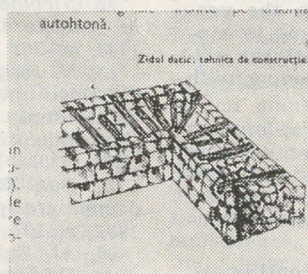
Herodotus, speaking of Zalmoxis wrote about "the country's luminaries." Sophocles, a contemporary of Herodotus, mentioned Charnabon who "is ruling over the Getae." Athenaios related about the marriage of Phillip II of Macedonia to Meda, the daughter of king Khotelos who was ruling somewhere south of the Danube. In about 339 BC there was talk about "a king of the Istrians" who opposed the penetration of the Scythians led by Atheas. King Dromichaites fought against Lisimach at about 292 BC. A local ruler in northern Dobruja named Moskon, having the title of basileus, struck coins after the Hellenistic model in the third century BC. In the 3rd—2nd c. BC epigraphic documents discovered at Istria spoke about Getic kings like Zalmodegikos or Rhemaxos. No doubt the use of such titles as basileus as early as the 5th c. BC then consistently found throughout the following centuries was no accident. It was an expression of the socially divided society, with lead-

ers, aristocrats and the grassroots.

The natural evolution of the Geto-Dacian society whose evolution can be followed archaeologically — thanks to numerous recent research — led, towards the beginning of the 1st c. BC to the creation of dominant social layers and of the mass of goods producers. This is also explicit in Strabo's text. No doubt, the amplest literary text on the structure of the Geto-Dacian society belongs to Jordanes, who says that: "Those of them who were

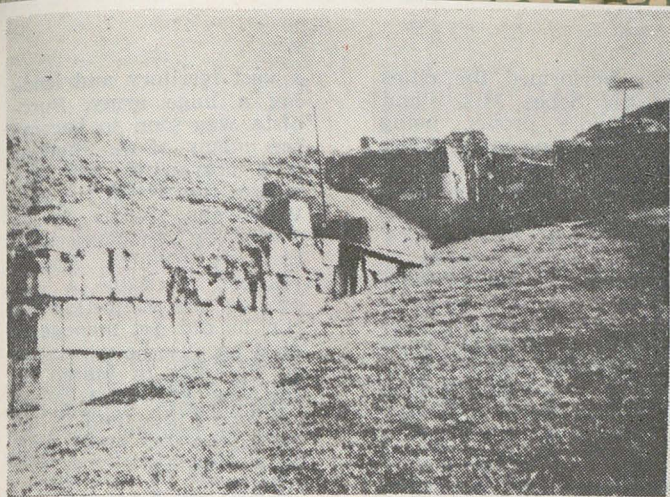
divided into nobles (*pilleati*) and the grassroots (*comati*). The existence of slaves of patriarchal type, present in almost all ancient societies cannot be excluded. Most probably they were war prisoners or peoples who had lost their freedom because of unpaid debts.

Hence we infer that the division into social classes of the Geto-Dacian society had started as early as the 5th c. BC and deepened gradually, by the 1st c. BC social classes being already well apart, with the existence of dominant exploiting classes and the mass of producers, also differentiated according to the social division of labour into farmers, craftsmen and merchants. These elements made up the structure of the bodies politic at the head with kings like Rhemaxos (about 200 BC) or Oroles, and especially Burebista, "the first and foremost of all the Thracian kings," as written in the decree of citadel Dionysopolis. That was in the 1st c. BC. Henceforward, diverse sources (literary, epigraphic, archaeological, numismatic) more numerous proved that following a long ascending evolution the Geto-Dacians had embarked on a superior form of political organization: that of centralized statehood. Numerous social,



Murus dacicus — a proof of the architectural performances scored by the Dacian civilization

noble were called in the beginning tarabostes and then pilleati." Starting from this text in the 19th century the conclusion was reached that the Geto-Dacian society was



Costești. Main gate of the Dacian citadel

political and military changes must have been wrought in the tribal community to have reached such a stage of development, all explained by the development of productive forces and the exercise of power both in the interest of the community and in relations with the neighbouring entities.

The basic text on Burebista's role remains Strabo's, which reveals that Burebista had taken over command of the state; in other words, it was an institutionalized, bequeathed leadership an opinion supported by the Histria inscription speaking of king Rhemaxos's son who also exercised royal powers. Burebista's most outstanding feat was the achievement, in a few years, of "the greatest empire", "big state." Strabo mentions the modalities used: first, he put an end to the endless wars characteristic of military democracy. Then Burebista organized a new kind of army changing the very essence of military skills into an instrument of state policy; most important was "obeyance to commands and laws" that is compliance with royal decrees; the final part of Strabo's text stresses on the defeat and consequently subjection of many

of the neighbours once threatening the stability of this "big state."

The king was at the head of the state, and he had political military duties. The foremost institution was, like in all class-divided societies, the army. Burebista's army numbered about 200,000 peoples, according to Strabo. Starting with Burebista, kings were surrounded by various dignitaries, "king's servants," as Strabo called them. From Criton we find that at Decebalus' time "some of them were stationed in fortifications while others were keeping an eye on the land tillers." For various jobs the king resorted to the services of deft messengers, empowered to convey tidings. An inscription of Dionysopolis tells us that Acornion was, "in close friendship" with Burebista and he advised the king "in the most important matters"; he was also sent "as ambassador to Cnaeus Pompeius." The aulic title *protos kai megistos philos* borne by Acornion resembled that used at the courts of Hellenistic princes, which justifies the suppositions that the Geto-Dacian state's organization was founded on Greek-Macedonian pattern.

Jordanes tells us that

Burebista granted to Decebalus royal powers almost (*pene regiam potestatem*). According to Dio Cassius the same dignity had Vezinas, later on, "who was the second after Decebalus." Some of the royal family members fulfilled various jobs at the court of the Geto-Dacian kings. For instance, Diegis, Decebalus' brother, had peace talks with Domitianus.

Most assuredly, Geto-Dacian state organization also implied *minting activities*. With Burebista's rule and the creation of the state, the Geto-Dacian mint turned a new leaf. Local mints were closed down and a unitary system was set up which issued imitation denarii after the Roman republic coins. Most probably coin issues were under the king's control throughout the existence of the Geto-Dacian state. The king and the priests also exercised *justiciary functions* in the solution of domestic issues.

What state existed then in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in antiquity? There are no grounds to deem the Geto-Dacian state an early slavagist state. The Geto-Dacian state can be compared with other consolidated states known in the Thracian world, for instance with the Odrish kingdom, defined as a territorial-type state, meaning that its basic trait was broad expansion over a vast territory, a characteristic also common to Burebista's "empire." Another common feature of the two states is represented by the borrowings from the Greek or Hellenistic world in matters of state organization or administration. Despite these borrowings, the Geto-Dacian state was far from the organisation of Hellenistic monarchies from all points of view. The economic base of the Odrish state as well as of the Geto-Dacian was agricul-

ture, practised within the village community. In both cases there did not exist yet an administrative apparatus and a well developed constructive force

Burebista's Geto-Dacian state was compared to the kingdom of Phillip II of Macedonia, in view of the fact that the two kings made great efforts to integrate into their kingdoms some Greek state-cities, and led a domestic policy consolidated monarchy by annulling the powers of local rulers and organizing a unique royal army.

The main criterion to establish the type of the Geto-Dacian state is form of property on productive means. In our case, given that the Geto-Dacians at the time were first of all and in majority farmers there arised the question of property over the land. All existing documents show that the Geto-Dacians peasants lived in communities where land was held in common. In antiquity, typical forms of village communities existed in the Orient, in Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, etc. where what Marx called the "Asiatic" production mode existed. It was established that this mode of production, different from the scclavagist one, was not adequate and was replaced by the "tributary" mode of production. A suchlike mode was characterized bassically by the existence of a basic contradiction between the subjected communities and the dominant class on the whole, by common ownership of land (doubled by ownership of the supreme power and private ownership) in a despotic-state regime and by sporadic scclavagist aspects.

In relation with taxes in products the following excerpt from Critron's work stand proof: a money tax was levied on Greek cities, attested by the inscriptions discovered at Histria. As regards the

jobs performed the cities in the Sebeş Mts. stand irrefutable proofs, being built in stone on a strong system; to erect them common labour was used. Another form of tax was the village communities' duty to supply soldiers.

In other words the Geto-Dacian state was engendered and characterized by tribute production mode which was more widespread than the scclavagist one and took a variety of forms.

In its millenary evolution the Geto-Dacian so-

a vast territory and leading a huge army, Burebista was soon to become the enemy of the Romans who craved to win and master the world. He, tells us Strabo, "came to be feared by the Romans" a fact for which Caesar planned to wage a war against the Geto-Dacians. But he did not manage to do it because he was killed in the ides of March, in the year 44 BC. At about the same time and in the same way his great rival, king Burebista was also murdered.



Sarmizegetusa. Dacian sanctuary.

ciety came, in the 1st c. BC to overcome the framework of the primitive commune and pass to a superior forms of organization: statehood. Burebista's most outstanding achievement was the union of all Geto-Dacians in their vast habitat, between the Balkans (present-day Stara Planina) and the Northern Carpathians on the one hand, and the middle Danube and the western shore of the Black Sea on the other. Burebista swayed over all the Greek cities on the western shore of Pontus Euxinus from Olbia (present-day Porutino, in the Soviet Union) to Apollonia (Sozopol, in Bulgaria). He defeated the Celts led by Critarios and the Bastarnii (German tribe) who had penetrated into the Geto-Dacian space. Ruler over

The Geto-Dacian state founded by Burebista in the first half of the 1st c. BC was to register ample changes along the centuries, to witness its ups and downs. After the formation of the Romanian people — a proces that was triggered off by the continuous habitation of the Romanians' ancestors in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space — there followed a difficult period, corresponding to the migration of various peoples which showered numerous hardships and tribulations on the autochthons and which was to be ended by the first Romanian bodies politic, preservers of the old Daco-Roman traditions and at the same time, carriers of new elements of civilization.

THE DACO-ROMAN SYNTHESIS: UNITY, CONTINUITY, ENDURANCE

Prof. DUMITRU BERCIU, DHist.

The Daco-Roman synthesis was the decisive factor of Romanian ethnogenesis, the basic element of our nation unity. This synthesis is underlain by the unitary Thracian-Getic-Dacian stock several times millenary, on which the Roman factor was grafted following a long process of contacts and mutual influences, of coexistence and interpenetration, of ethno-cultural and other medleys. Such a phenomenon was possible due to the fact that the Geto-Dacian world was, at the time of the impact with the Roman world, in an advanced stage of social, economic and cultural development which facilitated the reception and assimilation of superior civilization assets such as was the case of the Romans. Actually, the Geto-Dacians had known before the Hellenic civilization and had had relations with the Scythians, the Celts, and the Persians so that they had

not been left outside the ancient world to which they were better integrated thanks to the contacts with the Romans.

The Dacians were one of the main peoples of antiquity who ascended to a superior stage of civilization being a settled people of farmers, animal breeders and craftsmen, abreast of the technological progress of their time as proved by archaeological digs in the Davae and Dacian citadeils. The new archaeological discoveries which increase with every passing year come to round off the real image of the ancient ethnic layer and further stress on the role played in the millenary endurance of the Romanian people at the Carpathians, Danube and the Black Sea, as well as vis-à-vis influences, perceived and heritages and persistency, bequeathed to

other peoples as well which settled and were created later on in these parts of south-eastern Europe. This Thracian bequest is, to this day, a common feature with all the peoples in the Carpathian-Danubian-Balkan region but none of these peoples except the Romanian people sends its roots into the four-times millenary history of the same ancient land where it lives at present. Our vigorous Romanity has been grafted on the ancient Thracian-Getic-Dacian root in an autochthonous and unitary process.

No doubt, the Romanian people was formed within the area inhabited by the Thracians and their direct and genuine descendants, the Geto-Dacians and within eastern Romanity. The concept on this Romanity had a more restricted area including, according to some historians, only the territories directly under Roman rule, subjected by the Roman army and administration. Eastern Romanity in this sense naturally included the Roman province of Dacia and Moesia with present-day Dobrudja. Setting out from this view on oriental Romanity and particularly of its Carpathian-Danubian sector, the question of continuity would be limited only to Dacia and especially to Transylvania, and the process of the Daco-Roman synthesis would bear only on the former zones under Roman military rule. It goes without saying that this would

The vast space with the Carpathians, Danube and Pontus Euxinus at its core, ruled by Burebista — "the first and the greatest of all the Thracian kings ever"



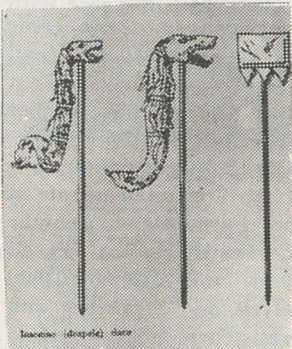
diminish the very geographic and ethnic basis of Romanian ethnogenesis. In the same light, of course, it was believed that the process of the Daco-Roman genesis would have begun Dacia's conquest in AD 106. This breaches in the overall concept on the Romanians' Daco-Romanism and continuity which resulted in the deliberate airing of unscientific conclusions.

Given a rich archaeological documentation provided by brisk research in the past thirty years, made in Romania and the neighbouring countries the above-mentioned issue appear in a different light which helps us detach the image of a vigorous reality of Dacoromania as a historical, geographic and ethnic notion. Current Romanian historiography has deepened — down to primary sources, we could say — the knowledge of the homeland's ancient national history and capitalized on the thesaurus of Dacian and Roman inheritance. It has been noted that the Thracian-Getic-Dacian continuity has also preserved some Indo-European Carpathian-Danubian heritages, to say nothing of the Dacian and Roman. By their continuous existence in the same territory the Dacians and the Daco-Romans conserved, developed and handed over to the early European mediaeval civilization many autochthonous material and spiritual assets and of Roman antiquity. The autochthons also handed over suchlike boons to the migratories.

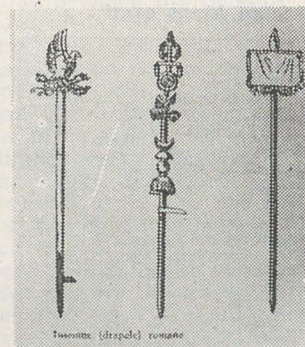
The Daco-Roman stock corresponding territorially to what we call Daco-Romania appears today in all clarity especially after AD 271 when the Roman administration and army withdrew south of the Danube. Its premises had been laid much before the conquest, first south of the Danube in the Getic-Moe-

sian-Dacian sector by the penetration of products and of the Roman republican coins, of merchants and the establishment of the actual Roman rule on the Danube at the time of Augustus, in the early years of the first century AD. At the same time it can be said — as shown by archaeological digs — that the penetration of Romanity north of the Danube and across the Carpathians, to the very core of Dacia was significantly stepped up. The circulation of the Roman republican coin was very broad, especially towards Decebalus' time. About 26,000 such coins are known on Romania's territory which means that Dacia had already been caught in the world economic flow, dominated by the Romans at the time.

It is a historic fact that the entire territory inha-



Military insignia of the Dacians



Military insignia of the Romans

bited by Geto-Dacians is under the umbrella of the Roman civilization and economy, a natural result of Dacian ethnocultural unity. The Roman phenomenon not only acknowledged suchlike unity but also, thanks to its vitality contributed to its strengthening and to ensuring continuity, while the Daco-Roman synthesis was gaining shape slowly throughout the vast Daco-Getic nation unity. Here we should add that the Roman coin discoveries and the Roman imports are also common in the intra-Carpathian parts and the extra-Carpathian as well. For instance, in Moldavia there are numerous Roman hoards or isolated discoveries spreading down to Bukovina and even further off. Renunciation to the traditional coin and the Dacian imitation of the Roman republican denarius in the 1st century BC was therefore a natural consequence while the new, unique coin came to further the pronounced crystallization of the centralized and independent Dacian state's economic and political structure created by Burebista. Moreover, the discovery in 1979, in the Buridava citadel of Ocnița, Vilcea County of the oldest alphabet proves that as early as the 1st century BC the Geto-Dacians must have known the Latin language. At Augustus' time they also knew and used the Greek alphabet and language, as shown by the most significant inscription of king Thiamarcus of Buridava-Ocnița.

The observations collected during research in the Vilcea sub-Carpathians, in Gorj, Muscel and Buzău and in the Romanian Plain lead to the conclusion that the extra-Carpathian area had entered not only under Roman influence but also under political and military Roman control as early as Augustus' time, when various kings or

local basileis — like the one of Ocnița — must have depended one way or another on Roman authority. Consequently, the premises of the Carpatho-Danubian Dacoromania had existed even before AD 106, the year of the conquest of part of Dacia, that is of the Dacian bastion in the Carpathians, of the territory of modern Oltenia and Banat, for after AD 106 part of Decebalus' Dacian state was actually incorporated into the eastern Romanity. On the Geto-Dacian soil, just like in Moesia, a superior urban civilization was to flourish while between the natives and the Romans close relations and influences took shape, not only one way, the Roman one, for the autochthons themselves imprinted a specific note on the Roman civilization in Dacia. Suffice it to mention the funerary monument of Ceșei in Transylvania, to note that the natives had managed to impress certain aspects of their own life, related to the soil and their trades on the Roman funerary art.

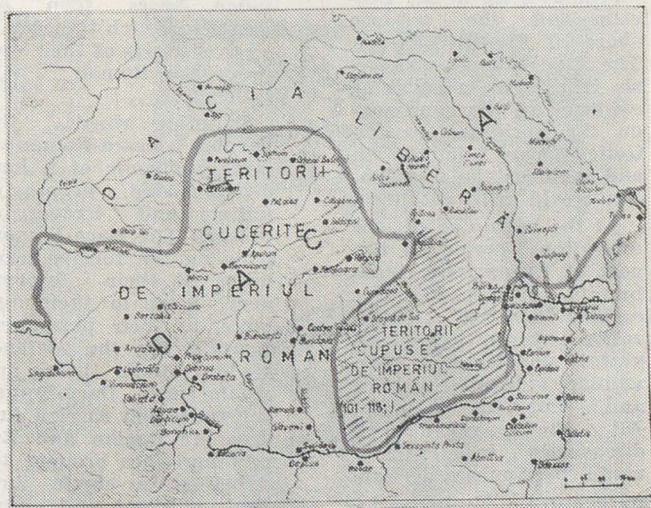
The entire archaeological documentation within the former Roman province of Dacia attest to the undeniable continuity of the Dacians after AD 106. They are attested not only in villages but also in castrums (Apulum, Olteni, Covasna, Drobeta etc.) and in Roman cities around which numerous archaeological Dacian testimonies have been discovered. The fact that Roman cities took over the names of important Dacian centres (Apulum, Napoca, Porolissum, Sarmizegetusa, Drobeta, Buridava etc.) and waters maintained the names previous to the conquest implicitly attest to the continuity of the Dacian population.

The most remarkable outcome of the continuity and Romanization process was the birth, on Dacian soil, of the Daco-Roman ethnocultural synthesis. No doubt it was due to the permanence of the Daco-Roman population on the same territories which, after AD 106, became part of the Roman state. The new synthesis was underlain by the autochthonous Geto-Dacian stock and its powerful tradition, extremely vital and lasting which was hallmarked by Rome's influence, as historian Nicolae Iorga put it.

We cannot understand the Daco-Romanism of our people if we refer only to the Roman province of Dacia without thinking continuously of the Geto-Dacian unity at the time of Burebista and Decebalus and the permanent continuity under Roman military and administrative control. If politically, in AD 106 the state political unity of the Geto-Dacian world dissolved, ethnically and culturally it remained unaltered and this was the strong point

of the Romanians' ethnogenesis, as an unitary, irreversible process. This process also comprised the Free Dacians which, surrounded Dacia on three sides and had direct contacts with the Dacians in the province, with the south-Danubian Romanity along the Danube line or west, with Roman Pannonia. Prevailing within this process of including the free Dacians was the Dacians' genuine unity and continuity on the entire area of their habitation, irrespective of whether they were under Roman rule or free. The important thing is that the population left outside the empire's frontiers was receptive to the influences of the Roman civilization and entered the Roman economic flow, as free Dacia where continuity was not for a moment interrupted and which maintained a permanent relation with Roman Dacia and the Romanity south of the Danube. This enables us to say that the ancient unity has been maintained. The free Dacians were the permanent

Dacia between 106—275



factor of continuity of the struggle for freedom and individuality, originality of the Dacian people's culture and being. In AD 271 when the Roman army and administration withdrew from Dacia, the inhabitants west and east penetrated the former Roman province of Dacia as shown by the archaeological discoveries in Transylvania and Oltenia, as well as those in Bistrița-Năsăud, Alba and Vilcea. Thus the political reintegration of Dacia was achieved. In the former province the Daco-Roman mixture had been achieved which became a factor of permanence, in the continuous development and improvement of social life and the organization in traditional Dacian and Roman forms. The osmosis led to the vitalization of the older political unity before the conquest. Proof to this stand the cultures of Chilia Militari, Sintana-Arad, Medieșul Aurit, Bratei, Poienesti and Lipița. The archaeological material discovered in most impressive numbers both in the former province of Dacia and in free Dacia — mirror the all encompassing dynamics of the natives' live changing into Daco-Roman and then Romanian life. The one-time unity is remade in Maramureș up to the Dniester and the western shore of Pontus Euxinus. The Daco-Roman synthesis is actually a speaking evidence of the continuity on the ancient Thracian-Getic-Dacian foundation and includes the Geto-Dacian world in its ensemble.

At the beginning of the migrations' period in this part of Europe, the inhabitants of Daco-Romania on the whole had a civilization superior to the migratory peoples of a prevailing village character and full of vitality. All the archaeological discoveries in Transylvania (Apulum, Sarmizegetusa, Bratei, So-

por, etc.) and in Oltenia (Verbița-Dolj) reflect the continuous development of this civilization towards the 4th, 5th and 6th c., its Romanic character as well as that of its creators becoming ever more obvious. In the 6th-7th c. this Romanic unity of the Romanian people was concretely demonstrated by the Ipotești-Cindești culture (discovered this year in Transylvania too, in Harghita County), then Bratei in Transylvania and Costișa-Botoșana in historic Moldavia. That was the period of full maturity reacted by the Romanians' Romanic core. Latin had become the household language, richer in content, preserving its unitary character throughout Daco-Romania. The unity of the Romania.

The adoption of Christianity in Latin and vernacular also contributed, just like the language to binding together the people and strengthening their unity, to the struggle against the waves of migratory peoples. Paleo-Christian discoveries dating from the 4th-7th c. were made throughout the country, mirroring the unity of the Romanians in the field of spirituality, differentiating the natives from the migratory peoples (Goths, Huns, Gepidae, Avars then old Slavs) to which they handed over assets of their own or of the Roman civilization.

In other words, this people's Daco-Romanism is the outcome of a long, differentiated, deep-going unitary and irreversible process. The Daco-Romans lived on the former territories of their forerunners owing to their own force, to their permanent struggle for the defence of the ethnic being and of the new, Daco-Roman culture which carried further the Dacian and Roman heritages brought together in a single juridical, political and admini-

strative entity: the Romanian people. Though left outside the empire, the inhabitants on both sides of the Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea managed to maintain their traditional organization in communities and confederations which still existed under Roman rule. Under the difficult conditions of migratory waves they resorted to the fortification of villages, centres of the relevant communities. In that period the word village spread around deriving from the Latin fossatum = ditch (defence). Subsequently, the term became more general. The community was organized around the fortified village of what Nicolae Iorga called village romanias, in reality Daco-romania. Then we can speak about the romanian-type organization to which only the autochthons belonged, foreign, migratory elements being excluded. The Romanians joined together and formed the Countries (Terra) with village character in the beginning. Thus state tradition was maintained with the Daco-Romans and the Romanian people as an inheritance from Burebista, Decebalus and Thiamarcus, deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people. It is not accidental that no barbarian state was created in Daco-Romania like for instance, the Franks' in Gaul, and the natives preserved their own organization, initially only in folk forms. The Daco-Romans' resistance under the difficult conditions of the migrations were to become for their descendants, the Romanians, an unending source of dignity and pride, as it secured the unitary Romanian ethnogenesis and the lastingness of this people.

The Romanian People, Unique and Unitary

on Both Sides

of the Carpathians and the Danube,

Inheritor of the Great Virtues and Traditions

of Its Glorious Forerunners

ȘTEFAN OLTEANU, DHist.

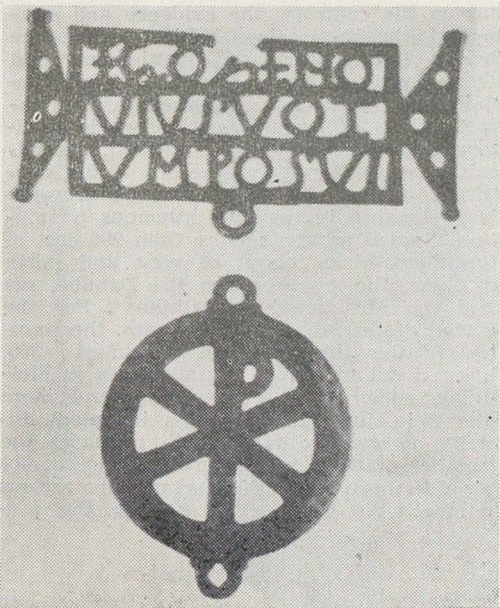
Formed, like many European peoples in wake of a long and complex historical process, the Romanian people is, in fact, the outcome of the synthesis between the two fundamental components of ancient culture and civilization: Geto-Dacian and Roman, a synthesis laying in main, in the preservation of the assets of material and spiritual culture created by the Geto-Dacian society, on the one hand and on the other, by the Geto-Dacian communities' receptivity to some values of the Romanic world, consequence of direct contact between the two great civilizations of that time.

Obviously such a synthesis implies, indubitably, some major traits rendering substance to the entire process above mentioned: steadiness in the ancestors' hearth, uninterrupted continuity on the entire Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, full unity of our people's material and spiritual culture, peculiar traits rendering this process a character of oneness strongly revealed by archaeological and historical research in the last two decades. Studies dealing with this subject have casted light upon the existence, on the territory of old Dacia, all along the Ist millenium AD, of a sedentary society with a demo-economic and socio-political dynamics attesting to, in spite of a period of delaying in its evolution, a continuous progress to the Romanian mediaeval achievements. Referring to this evolution, President Nicolae Ceaușescu gave an utmost appreciation for orienting scientific research in point of our historical continuity after the retreat of the Roman armies and administration from the territories north of the Danube. „Under these circumstances — President Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out — our people still in the process of shaping its ethnical and spiritual physiognomy, was left alone to face the migratory waves crossing its territory with its own forces”¹.

Similar results of archaeological and historical research have spotlighted another as-

pect of the Romanian ethnogenetic process, namely the inheritance that our forerunners bequeathed to the Romanian people. Making a remarkable synthesis of the results gained by research in this sense, our country's President has approached with the same firmness this problem in one of his speeches: “As attested by contemporary written records, by archaeological research and scientific findings, it was at that time that the Dacian-Roman symbiosis was achieved, and a new people began to take shape, relying on the highest virtues of both the highest virtues of both the Dacians and the Romans. That is how the Romanian people was born”². Pluridisciplinary scientific research have casted light upon some major

The donarium discovered at Biertan (Sibiu county) stands proof for the Romanian people's continuity in the ancestors' hearth: “Ego Zenovius votum posui”





The fierce clashes between the Dacians and the Romans have ended. People — men, women and children — return to their homes
(image from Trajan's Column)

peculiarities of the Romanian ethnogenesis conferring our people its unitary character and also have revealed the inheritance bequeathed by its forerunners.

Unlike the origin and epoch of formation of the peoples surrounding us the Romanian people is the only inheritor and representative, in this oriental part of Europe, of the Roman world, "an island of the Roman world" as some works of speciality published abroad appreciated³. The Romanian ethnogenesis, unlike that of the other neighbour peoples, unfolded on the same territory that was inhabited by its forerunners; it was therefore a direct process of historical continuity within the same territorial frontiers of its forerunners.

Research have demonstrated that the territory of old Dacia was uninterruptedly inhabited all along the epoch of the big migrations by the autochthonous population (Daco-Roman, Romanian). Nothing is pleading for a demographic caesura at that time, but on the contrary, the evidence and sorting of the archaeological objectives in the 3rd — 12th centuries AD, settlements and necropolises identified so far (entirely or partially unearthed and discovered through investigations at surface) on the whole territory of our country have testified, statistically, the existence, for the 3rd — 5th centuries, of some 40 settlements and necropolises belonging to the autochthonous population divided as such: more than 200 east of the Carpathians, about 60 west and north of them, the rest between the Danube, sea and the Meridional Carpathians⁴. For the period of the 6th — 8th centuries, the number of the objectives ran to almost 300, being distributed such as: about 100 in Moldavia, some 80 in Transylvania and more than 70 in Muntenia (Dobrudja included). Finally, as for the 8th — 9th centuries the number of these settlements and necropolises rose to more than 1500 what means a serious demographic increase as against the pre-

vious period. One should note that beside some settlements that continued to uninterruptedly live all along the above mentioned period of the 3rd — 12th centuries, their grouping in some geographic zones, in demographic concentrations made up of several villages grouped all together, remained all along the 3rd — 12th centuries, a fact with very important significances in point of its political-State organization.

This uninterrupted demographic evolution of the autochthonous communities on the territory of old Dacia all along the millenium of the big migrations strongly demonstrates our historical continuity on the native place of the Romanian people, thus invalidating for ever the so-called theory of the demographic "vacuum" in the Carpatho-Danubiano-Pontic area, a vacuum caused, allegedly, by both the retreat of the Roman armies and administration in 271—275 AD, and the penetration of the big "pulsations" of this Asian steppes, of the migratory populations.

It is well known how unitary in its essential compartments was the civilization of the Geto-Dacian society in its classic period, manifested in the unity of nation and language⁵. Many of the assets of the Geto-Dacian culture and civilization transmitted

Women and children featured on this metope art an argument for the continuity of the autochthons after the Daco-Roman wars (image from the Tropaen — Trajani Triumphal Monument Adamclisi)



to the Daco-Roman society being applied in social practice until late in the Middle Ages. It comes to, for instance, the following centuries (within the activity for the capitalization of the mining resources by the autochthonous population) both on the territory of Transylvania, and on that of Moldavia and Muntenia. Such instances could be quoted also in case of handicraft practices and technologies, for instance in the field of ceramics, of processing and making some objects and tools specific of the Dacians, in art etc.

The Roman conquest of some parts of Dacia yielded as fundamental consequence the intensification of the direct contact between the material and spiritual assets of the two big civilizations, thus contributing to the achievement of the Daco-Roman synthesis, to the formation of the Romanian people.

Recent research strongly demonstrated that immediately after the Roman conquest, the Geto-Dacians were receptive to and assimilated from the Roman world the iron plough share and knife of Romanic type — main pieces of the plough which were used beside the Dacian ones (the "Dacian" iron plough share). Concise evidence shows that for the 2nd—4th centuries there have been discovered so far Romanic plough shares in more than 50 localities (33 on Transylvania's territory, 10 on Muntenia's territory and 6 on Moldavia's one). This reality shows that, as it was natural, this new type of tool was more rapid assimilated in the Rome-controlled territory, but the new technology was to be also assimilated in the other areas of old Dacia. Starting with the 4th—5th centuries AD, due to the technico-economic qualities of the new type of plough share and knife, society was to prefer that with superior economic efficiency so as after that date the Roman plough share would be exclusively used. Similar situations may be found in the evolution of other farm tools, as the iron sickle and hook. The taking over of some new types from the Roman world evinces that society was receptive to them and adopted them, almost exclusively, those better meeting, through their technico-economical qualities, the need for growing up the cereal output. It was a process of technological assimilation — unfolded within the Daco-Roman society all over the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area — of some assets of the Roman civilization, a process unfolded within that of blending the two fundamental components of the Romanian ethnogenesis.

A profound unitary character might be ascertained in the evolution of the socio-political and military structures within the human communities on the territory of old Dacia. The territorial village community, inherited from the Geto-Dacians, distinct through its specific institutions of the social structure of the migratory populations, became in the 1st millennium AD, the fundamental socioeconomic and politico-military cell of our society on the whole territory of the country. The village community, performing, among other duties, the defense function at the level of unions of village communities in case of foreign danger, evinced the Romanian people's capacity in creating its own socio-political and military structures, necessary for the defense of its ethnic liberty and being. At the end of the 1st millennium AD, such structures would turn into those Romanian voivodates and

"țări" (lands), mentioned in written sources, which represented a superior stage of politico-State and military organization of the Romanian people consolidated by mid 14th cent. through the making up, at the level of our historical provinces, of the independent Romanian feudal states: Transylvania, Muntenia and Moldavia.

Grounded on the facts presented so far one may consider that the manifestation of the above mentioned phenomena and process, on the entire Romanian area of old Dacia, their synchronization, the identical institutional contents of the economic, social, political and military structures, the similitude in point of artistical and behaviour manifestation within society on the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area strongly demonstrate the ethno-cultural unity of our people, its effort to build its own culture and civilization in spite of all historical vicissitudes.

- 1 Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania on the Way of Building Up the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society, vol. 14, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, p. 292.
- 2 Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania on the Way of Building Up the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society, vol. 24, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, p. 17.
- 3 Histoire Universelle, vol. V, Paris, 1975.
- 4 Evidence was prepared by us and will be used in our book entitled: Societatea românească în secolele III—XII; statornicie, continuitate, devenire (in course of elaboration).
- 5 H. Daicoviciu, Epoca lui Burebista, in Po-taissa, Turda, 1980, p. 5 and foll.; M. Babeș, in SCIVA, 1979, 3, p. 329.
- 6 Ioan Glodariu, Eugen Ianilavschii, Civilizația fierului la daci (sec. II î.e.n. — I e.n.), Cluj Napoca, 1979, p. 35.

Silver glass discovered at Porțile de Fier



STATE UNITY

in the Romanian Political Consciousness and Action of the Middle Ages

The way the Romanian people had to cover before the making of the unitary nation-state is a particularly interesting chapter, illustrating the troubled history of the Romanian land. If the final stage of this way lasted



At Posada, the Romanians in the Romanian Country of Walachia (by taking both sides of the mountains) crushed the invading Hungarian army

sixty years only (from the 1859 Union to the Great Union), the other stage, which preceded and prepared the two great lawful events is much longer, covering the largest part of the Middle Ages and of the modern age. It is one and the same with the way of the Romanian people to the establishment of its national identity, the corollary of which had to be — and really was — the gathering in one state of all Romanians living on both sides of the Carpathians. The turning point of this long stage was Michael the Brave's deed in

1600. Everything that followed was influenced by this deed. Everything that preceded it prepared it and led history to it.

A well-known poetic phrase, dear to our hearts, speaks of union in thinking and feeling, which came true long before the political union. And before it, long prepared by the luminaries of this nation with patience and many sacrifices, there was another, older one, an expression of the fundamental unity of the people itself. "The Romanians' first union," wrote N. Iorga, "existed when this idea had not occurred to scholars, in the perfect unity of economic life, grounded on the perfect unity of life



Banner from the time of great Prince Stephen, ruler of the Romanian Country of Moldavia

as a whole. Transylvania entered this life too: one body, one system, we might say a strong one, through which the same live blood flows." The Ro-

manians' entire evolution marked the way to the full identity among the inhabitants who, by calling themselves Romanians, showed they spoke the same language, Romanian, attesting by this very fact the consciousness of their unity.

This consciousness is undoubtedly older than the oldest documents attesting it. The very existence of the people's Romanias, wonderfully intuited by N. Iorga, stands proof to it. The names of Vlachias and Walachias applied to any country inhabited by Romanians derive from these Romanias, as a convincing evidence of unity and Romanity at the same time. The 14th century, which witnessed the appearance of the two extra-Carpathian Romanian principalities as independent entities, did not annihilate

Moldovița Monastery. Votive painting representing the family of Petru Rareș, a ruler who put his mind and body to the service of the Romanian unity



this reality and did not lead, as some foreign historians put it, whose good faith has to be doubted seriously, to the formation of different peoples. Such Walachias or Romanian countries were to be found all over the place inhabited by Romanians, north and south of the Danube. Such a terra blacorum is attested in Făgăraş in 1222; later on, Transylvania itself will be considered a Walachia. The same name is also to be found with the Romanian political formations south and east of the Carpathians. Thus, a walachen lant is mentioned in 1307 and a Valachia in 1340 in the east-Carpathian area; in the territories between the Carpathians and the Danube the Romanian possessions are remarkably attested by the famous diploma of the Knights Hospitalers of 1247.

The unitary and relatively synchronous evolution of the Romanians inside and outside the Carpathian arch might have justified the making of a unique state long ago, by gathering the Romanian lands around Transylvania; but the early pressure exerted by the Árpád dynasty on this Romanian country, on the one hand, and the Mongolian invasion and the Tartar domination for almost a century in the regions south and

east of the Carpathians, on the other, prevented the making of a unique state in the 14th century, bringing about the setting up of the two extra-Carpathian Romanian principalities. The first to appear on Europe's political map was named as it should have been named, Walachia (the Romanian Country), thus continuing the ancient consciousness of the Romanians. A couple of years later, the appearance of the second Romanian state, between the Carpathians, the Dniester and the Black Sea, sanctioned the existence of another Romanian country on the same political map of Europe. After the name of the river on the banks of which the unitary knezate of the east-Carpathian regions had come into being, the new state was called Moldavia, the Moldavian Country. But besides this official name there were other names too (some of them used by the state chancelleries) which point to the existence of the same consciousness of the unity. What else can mean, for instance, Moldovlahia?! The two extra-Carpathian Romanian states were often referred to by the same name: Walachia Minor for Moldavia and Walachia Major for Walachia. In the public consciousness and the official deeds of

the east-Carpathian principality, Moldavia was always considered a Romanian country. The best proof in this respect comes from Stephen the Great. In the message he sent in 1477 to the doge of Venice through his uncle, Ioan Țamblac (Tzampakon), the Moldavian prince named Walachia l'altra Valachia "the other Walachia," a clear proof that he considered his Moldavia a Walachia too. This reality was known and attested by the scholars of the 14th-16th centuries too. Archbishop John of Sultanieh, who came to know the Romanians in the late 14th century, noted that this people was proud of its Roman origin and spoke one language that resembled the language of their Roman neighbours. The linguistic unity has always been the clearest and most categorical proof of the Romanians' unity: there are two Walachias speaking the same language, says a source of 1437. The Italian scholar Antonio Bonfini (1434-1503), who lived at the court of Hungary's King Matthias Corvinus, wrote that "Transylvania is surrounded by the two Walachias." Michael Bocignoli of Ragusa, who lived in Walachia in the first decade of the 16th century, showed that "this Walachia borders to the east on

The Romanian Country of Dobrudja had as ruler Dimitrie (year 943), attested by the inscription found at Mircea Vodă, Constanța



the other Walachia." Stefan Brodaric of Slovenian origin, who was a bishop in Hungary, wrote (before 1527) of "the two Walachias."

This reality was evinced particularly well by the Dalmatian scholar Anton Verančić (1504—1573) too in his *Description of Transylvania*, Moldavia and Walachia. A clergyman, diplomat and historian, who came to be archbishop of Esztergom and Viceroy of Hungary, Verančić was one of the bitterest rivals of Moldavia's Prince Petru Rareș (1527—38, 1541—46), a fact which did not prevent him from presenting in his book, with erudition and objectivity, the truth about the Romanians (their Romanity included), emphasizing and argumenting the three major guidelines of Romanian history to the day: the Romanians' Romanity, continuity and unity. It is not by mere chance that Verančić wrote like that and outlined the history of the three countries, considered unitarily, from Burebista's Geto-Dacians. Verančić admitted and expressed a reality as he lived when the Romanian unity began to act as a political force. This moment, when consciousness changed into a force capable to influence political action, was marked by that very Moldavian prince mentioned above: Petru Rareș. Fifty years ago, Nicolae Iorga, who had a good knowledge and understanding — into the finest subtilities — of the sources of our history, intuited and stated it clearly in his last synthesis: Petru Rareș, wrote the great Romanian historian, "wanted to make Dacia of and through his Moldavia." It is beyond doubt that Rareș knew of the ancient Dacian unity of the Romanian lands and it is here that we have to see a reason — maybe a major one — of his action in Transylvania.

His contemporaries were surprised to note the "boldness" of the Moldavian prince who boasted everywhere that he took Transylvania by sword and would not give it up to anybody, that the country was subdued to him and would not recognize another ruler. "The Moldavian prince [Petru Rareș — a.n.] wants nothing in this world except Transylvania," concluded in 1535 a diplomat who had met Rareș.

What can be the foundation of the statement that Prince Petru Rareș was aware of the ancient Dacian unity of the Romanian territories and that he saw an argument for his action in it? In 1533, at his court of Vaslui, the Moldavian prince was visited by a monk of Mount Athos, Macarie of Hilandar, who had come to ask for material support to the community of monks he headed. His attempt was justified by the fact that Hilandar had been founded by the old Serbian rulers, whose successor was Princess Elena-Ecaterina Brancovici herself, Petru Rareș's wife. In 1526—28 this Macarie had interpreted an excerpt of a Byzantine law book, Matei Vlastares' *Syntagm* (14th century). Taking Ptolemy's *Geography* as a guide, he identified the Dacias of the Byzantine text with the north-Danubian regions: "Dacia... is Moldovlahia and Ungrovlahia, which is also called Walachia" and "Dacia Mediteranea is now Hateg and Transylvania and Muncaciu."

To the Romanians' perfect unity — linguistic first of all, but in other fields too — was thus added the historical argument, an argument that might have been decisive and that, anyhow, introduces a new element in understanding Petru Rareș's actions aimed at consolidating and maintaining his influence in Transylvania

and south of the Carpathians. This is why an assertion made in recent years is not groundless, namely that in Petru Rareș's deeds one can see "a Moldavian dress rehearsal" of Michael the Brave's epic. That moment was too important for the state unity and naturally the contemporaries grasped it. The same Verančić said that Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, another enemy of Petru Rareș, was afraid that this Romanian prince might unite the three Romanian principalities and incite them against the Crescent.

There were some decades left to the Michael the Brave moment. And these decades made important steps, attesting the change of the consciousness of unity into a force at a more general level. One of the steps deserving particular attention was made in 1570. At that time Coresi, a Walachian scholar working in Brașov, printed a religious book in Romanian, in the epilogue of which he used the formula "we Romanians." This is one more proof that the full identity of the Romanians in the three principalities had perfectly entered people's consciousness. It is on behalf of this "we Romanians," springing from the heart of a patriotic scholar, that Michael the Brave will hoist the flag that will crown the union of the three principalities under one prince. This "we Romanians," uttered in the time that had elapsed between Petru Rareș and Michael the Brave, has always been the best proof of the awareness of the consciousness of kin, which was to lead to state unity by political actions.

■ ȘTEFAN S. GOROVEI

MICHAEL THE BRAVE, „RESTITUTOR DACIAE”*



November 1, 1599: “After this (after the battle of Șelimbăr on October 28, 1599 — *ed. note*) the oft-times mentioned voivode (Michael the Brave — *ed. note*) wended his way to Alba Iulia, along with his Romanians; a magnificent procession, with the notabilities and inhabitants of the town met him at a mile distance, paying him great respect and escorting him to Alba Iulia. There, as in all other towns, were to resound salvos of joy, as a special sign of victory”¹.

“At the beginning of November, he [Michael] entered the town [Alba Iulia — *ed. note*] in a

triumphant march; when he came near, he was welcome by groups of reverends dressed in black, headed by reverend right Demeter [...]. He wished him welcome and then, after the festive address, prayed for him, beseeching Lord to allow him a long rule over the country acquired, a good health and successive victories on battlefield”².

April—May 1600, during the campaign in the Romanian Country Moldova: “The Romanian stayed as a ruler of Moldavia and his subjects would hasten to deliver him the keys of the fortresses and be the first to make him an oath of faith”³.

This evidence strictly contemporaneous with the

events formerly described does truly record the two basic instants by which Michael the Brave became ruler of all Romanians, the first “Rex Daciae” of our medieval history and the third in order after Burebista and Decebalus, if taking into account the whole evolution of the Romanian people until then. The union was the accomplishment of a long strife that the most ancient and numerous inhabitants of this abiding Romanian space made for centuries, in order to adjust their ethnic geography to their political geography⁴. As related to this desideratum, the neighbouring great powers were interested in obstructing it, in a permanent and brutal manner. Whether they were called

* Our photo: Michael the Brave (painting by Valentin Tănase)

the Hungarian Kingdom, the Polish Kingdom, the Ottoman Empire, the Hapsburg or the Tsarist Empire, it made little difference: each of these powerful neighbours of Romania during the Middle Ages, without exception, had but one single priority aim: to annihilate the Romanians as a political and military force, by ways whose variety ranged from vassalage or direct domination to attempts of actual physical extermination.

This is exactly why the history of the accomplishment of the unity of the Romanian people within one and the same state was the history of a permanent struggle against unfavourable circumstances which opposed to it; it was the history of a great and unique *Reconquest*, which was not directed against one sole invader as in the case of Spain, but against a countless sequence of adversities and adversaries that were in a ceaseless change, in such a way that the less strong and ruthless powers would be replaced by others, which proved to be greater, more cynical and unscrupulous. And they would not come from one direction only, but from all cardinal points, concomitantly.

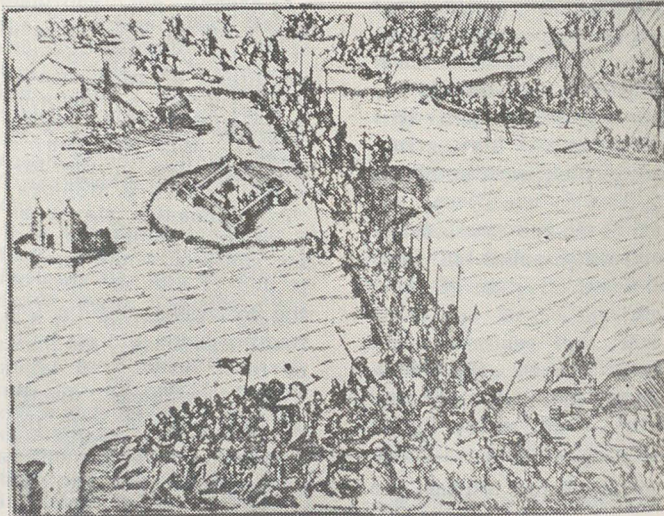
Thoroughly aware of the fact that despite the North-Danubian statal pluralism⁵ — which was actually a consequence of the perturbations engendered by external factors that affected the process of the formation of a Romanian unitary state during the Middle Ages ever since the 1st half of the 2nd millennium A.D. — the Romanians were the inhabitants of one *Romanian Country* — whose ancient tradition of unitary political existence was rooted down in the strong kingdom of Dacia, the only state of ancient times which was built on ethnic

grounds —, our great politico-military men like Mircea the Great, Iancu of Hunedoara, Stephen the Great and Petru Rareș, along with others as well, — made of the "Romanian block" the reason of their struggle for national independence and Romanian unity. Now, "while Stephen the Great would politicize the idea of national unity, conceiving its accomplishment as a dynastic union of a feudal type, with Petru Rareș, one may record an exceptional crystallization in point of Romanian political ideology, namely the concept of «Dacian union as a support of full independence and already become a sentient cause for whose carrying out generations on end would not spare their efforts»"⁶.

In the 16th c., the problem of *Restitutio Daciae* became crucial, the more so as it was necessary to avoid the disaster of integrating the whole Romanian world within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire which flourished under the rule of Soliman the Magnificent, the one

who did away with the Hungarian Kingdom and led his armies as far as the centre of Europe, below the walls of Vienna. The records of those times clearly state the fact that "Soliman was afraid lest Transylvania, the Romanian Country and Moldavia should unify and defend themselves, had he attempted to occupy one of them"⁷. As long as "the strongest" Ottoman emperor lived, this union could not be accomplished, but he could not get a scheduled integration of the Romanian countries into the Ottoman Empire. When a new international situation was created in favour of the struggle of all south-eastern countries against the Ottoman rule and supremacy, the union of the three Romanian countries was supported everywhere, by men capable to serve it. Among them, there would single out, like a legendary figure or like an ancient hero of a folk ballad, Michael the Brave. He would manage to do whatever Rareș aimed at but could not attain, whatever Voi-

Giurgiu, October 1595. The last moments of the dramatic clash when Michael's armies chased the Turks across the Danube (print from 1596)





The defence of Romanian independence often took the armies led by Michael the Brave to the Danubian southern front (painting by Theodor Aman)

vode Despot had proclaimed with no hope but with a deep insight and whatever the prince of Transylvania, Sigismund Bathory had dared unequivocally add to his titles, namely Michael would succeed in being, for one single instant, *Rex Daciae*.

By the deplorable ignorance of certain pseudo-historians and the programmed ill-intentions of others, Michael the Brave was assimilated to a "condottiere" or to a simple conqueror who lacked any other instinct than that of aggression and annexation, reminding one of the way a certain Western historiography regarded the great princes of Moscow when they tried "to gather together the Russian lands" and create the Russian state.

Actually, Michael the Brave was the exceptional representative of a historical moment which was decisive for the fate of Romania and of the south-eastern parts of Europe during the Middle Ages. It was in 1566, after sultan Soliman the Magnificent's death, at a time marked by the decline of the Ottoman Empire, a process which had not become obvious sooner than the end of the 17th c., but could have been fore-

seen by a shrewd political instinct ever since its setting up. At the same time, there came into view, from two directions, the aspirants to the inheritance of this superpower that, for a long time, had made the whole of Europe regard it fearfully and respectfully, look for its benevolence and even conclude treaties of alliance with it as Francis I, king of France, did. The Hapsburg Empire which was in the making from eastwards and the Kingdom of Poland from northwards trace and automatically aim at the Romanian Countries which stood in their way. The Hapsburgs plan the immediate conquest of Transylvania where from they had been once rejected by Petru Rares; on the other hand, the Kingdom of Poland considers it proper to acquire the long wished-for Moldavia that John Albert had not been able to defeat on the battlefield of Codrîi Cosminului.

Undeniably, the historical moment was one of the most difficult to overcome for the Romanian people, subjected to many such trials along its century-old history. Each of the three great powers neighbouring Romania during the Middle

Ages had stifled its desire to possess the whole north Danubian territory. They got to a tacit agreement, dictated by their tendency to immediate satisfaction of their conquering aspirations, which consisted in the mutual self-contentment of having, each one of them and only temporarily "of course", one of the Romanian lands. Thus Muntenia was to belong to the Ottoman Empire, Transylvania to the Hapsburg Empire and Moldavia to the Polish Kingdom. Realizing this disintegrating danger which hovered over the Romanian territory, Michael the Brave was aware that the alliance and cooperation of the three Romanian lands had become inefficient and that it was high time for them to draw together into a unique country, under one rule, that might have accomplished the process started centuries ago, when the oldest inhabitants of the territory bordered by the Tisza, the Dniester and the Danube had managed to lay the foundations of the first "Romanian Land", which was meant to include within its boundaries all those who spoke the Romanian language, the direct inheritants of the Geto-Dacian people. Therefore these were the boundaries of the Dacian state which has constituted a unitary ethnic basis of whose name and destiny are linked to king Decebalus and emperor Trajanus. But in the political outlook of post-ancient Europe — starting with the Byzantines and ending with the diplomats of the tsarist Russia — the concept of "Dacia" will invariably define the *totality of the north-Danubian Romanians*, therefore king Decebalus' *Dacia* and not the Roman province called the same, created by Trajanus. This is, naturally, the viewpoint shared also



1600 History awaits him : Michael the Brave enters triumphantly Alba Iulia (painting by lt. col. Dumitru Taflan and col. Nicolae Popescu)

by Michael the Brave's contemporaries, who knew exactly what his deeds meant. In 1598, only a year before the great act of the union of the inter-Carpathian Romanian Country with Muntenia, the Italian Lazzaro Soranzo would write: "Undoubtedly, the Transylvanians are considered to be among the most warlike people of Europe. They are, along with the Moldavians and the Wallachians, the ancient Dacians, so much dreaded by the Romans. They vanquished Domitianus' armies, the Romans themselves being forced to pay them a tribute, under the rule of one and the same Domitianus, of Nerva and at the beginning of Trajanus' sway, lest they should go over the Danube and attack them; the Turks know it only too well because of the defeats they had to undergo, several times"³.

The truth could not possibly be distorted because of the sheer reality linked to the Unifier's great accomplishment. The Swabian Ioannis Bisselius

has stated outrightly: "To these (he had formerly mentioned the moral qualities and the military skill of the voivode — *ed. note*), there may be added the fact that most of the provincials [Transylvanians] would rather like one of them, a Dacian like Michael, than a foreigner like Basta"⁴.

The documents which the voivode left us, whether written by his own hand or made under dictation, are quite relevant in this respect. They stand for Michael the Brave's endeavour to make the Romania of the Middle Ages — as a unified and independent state — have boundaries identical to the ones of the ancient Dacia. Subsequently, as "a prince of Wallachia, of Transylvania and of the whole country of Moldavia"¹⁰, he asks the Hapsburg emperor Rudolph II, to acknowledge his position: "That his Highness besetow — would specify among other things the messengers come to Vienna from Michael's court in the summer of

1600 — in perpetuum Transylvania, Moldavia and the Romanian Country to Michael and his son"¹¹. Moreover, knowing that the western and north-western borders of Romania during the Middle Ages had been amputated a while ago, he requests from the same Rudolph, in unequivocal terms, to remediate this situation: "I wish that the Hungarian emperor and country would maintain and observe the border between Transylvania and the Hungarian country, since this was established through the agreement between emperor Maximilian, predecessor of the present emperor and Ianosz, prince of Transylvania and of the Hungarian country; as at this time of rebellion the Hungarian emperor took hold of some territories like Oradea and the county of Bihor, Hust and the county of Maramures, the parts of Crasna, of Solnoc, of Sărand and Nag-Baia with Baia de Sus and their surroundings which were offered to Transylvania by emperor Maximilian, his Highness should leave them to Transylvania, as they were before"¹². The Romanian prince is also preoccupied by the western and south-western regions swayed over by the Ottoman Empire: "After having been freed from the pagans, the fortresses on the border like Timișoara, Felnac, Cenad, Beșcherec, Panciova, Berlin with all other regions to the Danube should be one and the same estate and country"¹³.

While the western border was under the incidence of the Hapsburg Empire, Michael would ask for warrants from the king of Poland, who was requested, at the same time, to acknowledge him as a prince of all Romanians.

Therefore, it is obvious that Michael the Brave intended to set free and unify into one state the whole territory of ancient Romanian living, to rebuild, within all but its natural borders, the Dacia of the King-hero Decebalus.

But this was an "insolence" that the great powers could not "tolerate", since a state of all the Romanians would have been likely to drive away the Ottomans to Asia and also, to undermine the authority and expansionism of the "great European powers" and above all of Rudolph II the declared "master" of the continent: "He thus started to send letters and messengers — does Bisselius record —, to confer without much ceremony with the Turkish sultan, with Zamoyski's Poles, with the Tartars — whom he had defeated soundly a little while ago — analyzing how he and his son Pătrașcu could ever have been sovereign princes of the three Dacias, not constrained to pay tributes to the emperor"¹⁵.

The reaction against him was instantaneous — the anti-Romanian Polish-Ottomano-Hapsburg coalition managed to annihilate, simultaneously, by way of force, both the foundation and its founder, that is to say the unitary Romanian state which was centralized and independent, set up under the rule of Michael the Brave in 1599–1600. "The union in 1600 was annihilated by power of sword, from the outside; surely it was not demolished because it had

lacked some proper foundations"¹⁶.

But nevertheless, the struggle for unity of the Romanian people was to be successful later on. Every year, on December 1, the Romanian people celebrates this victory, reminding all those who yearn for liberty, wishing to be masters of their homeland, the huge force lying in the people's will to keep their integrity. It was this very yearning, with its thoughts and deeds that the great hero of the Romanian people, Michael the Brave the Unifier, embodied.

■ ALEXANDRU V. DIȚĂ

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- 8 *Lazaro Soranzo in Michael the Brave in the European Conscience, 2nd volume, p. 246.*
- 9 *Ioannis Bisselius in ibidem, p. 302.*
- 10 *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. The Romanian Country, 11th volume, Bucharest, 1975, p. 553.*
- 11 *Eudoxiu de Hurmuzachi, Documents on the History of the Romanians, 12th volume, Bucharest, 1903, p. 960.*
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- 13 *Ibidem, p. 146.*
- 14 *Ion I. Nistor, Michael the Brave's Negotiations with Poland in "The Annals of the Romanian Academy. The Memories of the Historical Section", III, 16th volume (1934–1935), p. 64.*
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Michael the Brave was meanly killed on Turzii Plain. Nevertheless, the idea of Romanian Union will endure (print issued in "Le Grand Theatre Historique on Nouvelle Histoire Universelle", Leiden, 1703)



NATIONAL UNITY

Major Goal in the Political Programs of the Century of the Revolutions



Our photo: Horea, Cloșca and Crișan as featured in the print by Antonius Alvisius Hoehne; facsimile of the second memorandum which Horea, "the champion of the people", as the editor of Dublin called him in 1785 — sent to emperor Joseph II

The necessity of building the national state, i.e. the adequate political and institutional framework for the obvious reality — the Romanian nation — was increasingly clear for all social classes and categories starting with the second half of the 18th century.

Horea's revolution, the first chronological landmark of the century of revolutions, was characterized not only by wide dimensions of the military actions and the bravery shown in fight by the peasant army, but also by its Romanian specific, by the deepening of the already links between the Romanians on either side of the Carpathians, by the

assertion of the awareness of solidarity that united the three Romanian principalities. Telling in this sense is the fact that the noblemen, in their démarches with the authorities meant to induce them to more energetically counteract the Romanian peasants, who had started the struggle for emancipation, cautioned that they "were in correspondence with the neighbouring countries Moldavia and Walachia, from which they expected assistance and that at the beginning of 1785 some 30,000 Romanians east of the Carpathians wanted to invade Transylvania through the Ghimeș passage". It is not fortuitous that the impe-

rial authorities reinforced the guard of Transylvania's frontier with the other Romanian principalities south and east of the Carpathians, and at the trial frame for the leaders of the revolution, the prosecutors insisted on Horea's links with his fellow nationals in Walachia. Horea would be seen by his contemporaries as a "rex Daciae", a furtherer of the deed of the other "Restitutor Daciae" — Michael the Brave. The idea of Romanian unity was thus present in the conscience of the Transylvanian peasantry and it found the most telling expression in the revival of the Dacian unity. All this proves that the 1784 revolution helped cementing

D'UN DÉFENSEUR DU PEUPLE
L'EMPEREUR JOSEPH II
SUR SON RÈGLEMENT CONCERNANT L'ÉMIGRATION,
ET PRINCIPALEMENT SUR LA RÉVOLTE
DES VALAQUES;

De l'on discute à fond le droit de révolte du Peuple.

„Toutes les fois qu'on s'écarte de la fin des Gouvernements
„ & que la liberté publique est en danger, / que tout autre
„ moyen de le sauver est inefficace, le peuple peut & a le
„ droit de reformer l'ancien gouvernement: & d'en établir
„ un nouveau. La doctrine de non résistance au gouverne-
„ ment arbitraire est absurde, fautive & destructive du bien
„ & du bonheur du genre humain.”

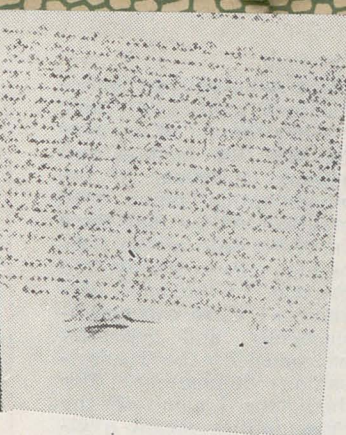
Constitution de l'état de Maryland, Art. 4



DUBLIN,
M. DCC. LXXXV.



The leader of the 1821 Romanian revolution (painting by Th. Aman; on the right, facsimile of Tudor Vladimirescu's proclamation to the Bucharest inhabitants and to "all the people")



the links among all Romanians, irrespective of the political status imposed on them or of the artificial frontiers that divided them by force. The revolution thus played an important role in the achievement of our nation's cohesion. By program, consequences and reverberation in the other Romanian territories, the revolution covered in fact the whole Romanian area. Nicolae Bălcescu assessed that it laid down in fact "the Romanian nation's rights and the political and social program of the future revolution".

True, the next very important event — the 1821 revolution — expressed the same vehemence, will and action of the Romanian society in pursuit of freedom and unity. Although its main area was Walachia, it involved also

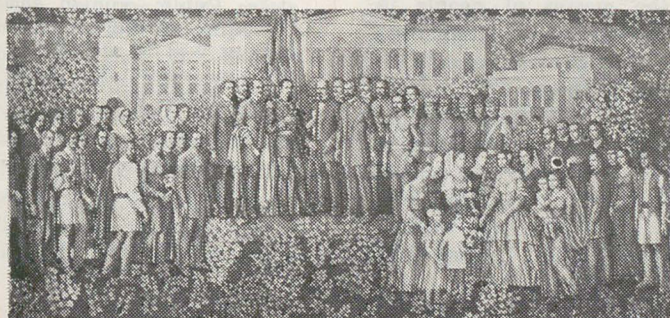
Moldavia and Transylvania. Tudor himself recommended closest cooperation with the Moldavians, stressing the ethnical community with them "as we are of the same kin, of the same religion", as the final target was that "in one thought and voice with Moldavia we may equally win the rights of these principalities, assisting each other".¹ The Romanian peasantry in Transylvania pinned in turn great hopes on Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, seeing its leader as a new Horea. In Hălmagiu commune (Arad county) a peasant said that if the corvee were to continue, then "the world of Horea will come".² The agitation of the Transylvanian peasantry worried the authorities, who concentrated troops³, confiscated the

arms and ensured a wide circulation of the encyclical issued by the pope on September 13, 1821, that condemned the activity of the secret, revolutionary societies. The authorities' worry was heightened by the confidence that even the troops were not reliable, a fact confirmed, among other things, by the discussion between two Romanian soldiers in frontier guards' regiments: "The older told the younger that in two-three weeks Todoruț would come here and change the rules"⁴.

Nicolae Bălcescu who, like I said, emphasized the continuity of the revolutionary process, from Horea to Tudor, correctly understood that the national unity would be one of the fundamental targets of the future revolution, which he foresaw in 1847: "Our target, gentlemen, I think, can only be *The National Unity of the Romanians*, a unity first of ideas and feelings, that would lead in time to political unity, making of the Walachians, Moldavians, Bessarabians, Bucovineans, Transylvanians, Banatans, Cutsowalachians one political body, one Romanian nation, one state of seven million Romanians".⁵

True, during the 1848 revolution, that one way or another covered the whole Romanian area of habitation, the national unity was on the mind of all advanced forces, all consciences of the nation, showing also in some of the wide-scale revolutionary actions. Widely debated in the then revolutionary press, expressed clearly in the Blaj Plain on May 3/15, 1848 — when, in the presence of the representatives of the Walachians and Moldavians, 40,000 Transylvanians, shouting the motto "We want to unite with the country!", voiced the aspiration of all Romanians to live into only one state —, the unity had a

1859. Al. I. Cuza is simultaneously elected prince in Iași, then in Bucharest. Contrary to the will of the great powers the Romanian people achieves the Union of the Principalities (painting by Ilie Grigoraș)



prominent place also in the programs of the movements of renewal of the Romanian society in the middle of last century. The program entitled *Our Principles for the Reform of the Homeland*, worked out by the Moldavian revolutionaries who took refuge in Braşov, demanded Moldavia's union with Walachia, as a first step toward the achievement of full Romanian unity into "only one state, an independent Romanian state"; the Cernăuţi program, drafted a few months after that, considered the accomplishment of that action as "the keystone without which the whole national structure would collapse".

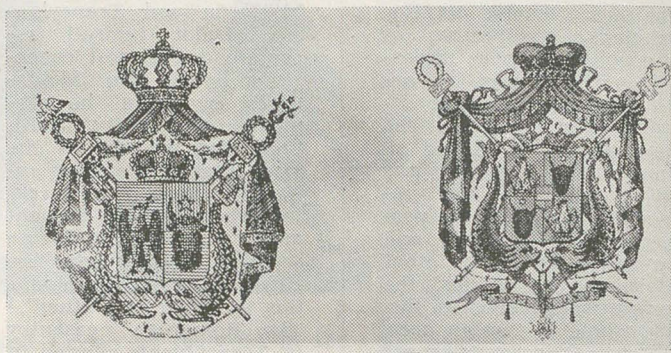
Even if the solution of the "little union" was the only possible in 1848, the picture of Daco-Romania, of the "great union" was present in many minds and in some plans of action, profoundly worrying various representatives of the three empires — Habsburg, Ottoman and Tsarist — that exerted their domination over Romanian territories.⁶

But the leaders of the 1848 Romanian revolution, suppressed through the neighbouring empires' military intervention, concluded from its bloodbath end that if the emergence on Europe's map of a state that would revive Dacia of yore was impossible in the then conditions, they could however hope and firmly campaign for the union of the two extra-Carpathian principalities for the time being. The post-revolutionary period materialized in intensified — both at home and abroad — initiatives for the union of Moldavia and Walachia, that had already become an issue of major international interest. That facilitated the removal of the obstacles raised by the external factors that were interest-

ed in maintaining the Romanians' political division.

After the act of January 24, 1859, the feelings and actions in favour of the whole nation' union were manifest with equal force on either side of the Carpathians. Even the twofold election of colonel Alexandru I. Cuza was enthusiastically and hopefully welcomed by the Transylvanian Romanians. For them, the Union of the Principalities meant a vigorous impetus to their struggle for social and national emancipation. Their brothers in the extra-Car-

ment. Transylvania was a basic component of the Romanian unity and as long as it remained under the rule of the Austrian empire, the Romanian state that emerged on Europe's map in 1859, retained the character — obvious to anyone — of temporary unaccomplishment. It was on that evidence that relied the memoir advanced in 1860 by Al. Papiu-Ilarian to prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza. "Without Transylvania", he wrote, "the Principalities have no future, they live on borrowed time. It



The first coat-of-arms of Romania during the rule of Al. I. Cuza (drawings by D. Pecurarju)

pathian lands gave them an example and an impetus that would both find wide reverberation. As shown by President Nicolae Ceauşescu, "the Union of the Principalities was an act which laid the foundations of the modern Romanian National State. It aroused a powerful echo in Transylvania as well, enhancing the awareness of national unity of the masses of people in this province, stimulating their fight for union with the Motherland."⁷

For the Transylvanian Romanians it had become clear that the wish to unite with the country had taken a great leap in 1859 toward its accomplish-

is only the union of Transylvania that will lay foundations to Romania's perpetual life."⁸ He saw Transylvania's union with the United Principalities as an historic necessity on whose fulfilment depended the future of the Romanian state.

The actions in the intra-Carpathian principality had in turn wide reverberation in the Romanian state. Public opinion and the press voiced the unanimous will to see all Romanians within the boundaries of one and the same homeland. Under the title of "Dacia", that expressed a real political program of action, was started a newspaper in Jassy in 1861, in the pages of which one could read: "The Roma-

nian nation's life, happiness and whole future can only be the true union of all Romanians", or "Romania's unity was, is and will be every Romanian's day and night aspiration"⁹.

Cuza himself always acted as a representative of the interests of the whole nation, confessing that his political efforts pursued "the securing of the fate, welfare and freedom of whatever is called Romanian"¹⁰. His stand confirmed the vigorous popular current of unity of the whole Romanian society, noticed also by the representative of the Hungarian emigration, G. Klapka, who noted that in the newly created state "neither women nor children dream of anything else" but its union with Transylvania, Banat and Maramureș.

Cuza's steady attitude of promoting and preparing the union of all sons and daughters of the country enhanced the fears of all those who saw the creation of a unitary Romanian national state as an obstacle in the path of their policy of expansion. The possibility of emergence of "a Daco-Romanian kingdom supported by national boundaries" referred to by Eder, Austrian consul in Bucharest, worried Petersburg and Vienna alike.

After the Union of the Principalities, the winning of independence was naturally the way to the completion of national unity. The union of all Romanians was unconceivable without the independence of the Romanian state. In order to be able to accomplish its unifying mission, the Romanian state had to have its self-relying existence, to unfold a foreign policy free of any constraint and avail of a military force fitting its political purposes.

The national and popular war of 1877—1878 gave all Romanians — at home and abroad — the chance to express their powerful feeling of national solidarity. The independence war fought by the Romanian state was the war of all Romanians, who found the most varied forms — from money donations, to volunteering for the army — in order to express their complete and profound adhesion. It was not by chance that the war was regarded in Transylvania as an event of overwhelming importance, a cause of the whole Romanian nation: "The cause of the Romanian soldier", wrote 'Gazeta Transilvaniei', "is a general Romanian cause; his victory is the victory of the whole nation".¹¹

The open attitude of solidarity of the Romanians in the Habsburg Empire with Romania's war effort for national independence, generated, on the one hand, new serious fears in Vienna, and on the other hand, it reactivated the idea of Daco-Romania. "In general, the Romanians (in Transylvania, author's note) show great sympathy for the events in Romania and there is a rumor with the population that Transylvania will given to Romania", a document showed, "and such opinions can be heard also in public as well as in the quarters of the highest class".¹²

The winning of independence following the 1877—1878 war was considered by all social Romanian forces as a necessary stage of the historical process of fulfilment of the Romanian nation's inescapable right to get organized in a complete and single statal entity. In the years that followed, the struggle for the union of all Romanians recorded an ever upward course. The objective and sub-

jective conditions were ripe on the eve of the First World War for the Great Union to become historical reality.

■ Colonel CONSTANTIN CĂZĂNIȘTEANU

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THE RESISTANCE PUT BY THE ROMANIANS TO FOREIGN PRESSURE, INTERFERENCE AND OPPRESSION

Reader VASILE CRISTIAN, DHist.

Inclined to peaceful activity and construction, the Romanians were forced, centuries on end, to fight against expansionist drives and actions let out by migratory peoples or neighbouring powerful states. The geographical location as well as the extremely fruitful land were the main reasons why the Romanian territory was on many occasions the theatre of military operations or attracted enemy forces eager to get hold painlessly of the assets achieved by the autochthons. Therefore, the resistance put by the Romanians to foreign oppression, interference and pressure had to be and in fact was steadfast and indomitable. It vigorously permeated the entire Middle Ages and gained momentum in modern times, when Romanian nation asserted itself as a fundamental premise to the creation of unitary nation state in 1918.

An important role, in this respect, devolved on Transylvanian Romanians. They had vigorously asserted themselves as early as the 18th century, by dint of the national efforts made by Inochentie Micu, through the cultural endeavours of the Transylvanian School, through the political action achieved by the Supplex, through the uprising led by Horea, all these directed against foreign interference and oppression. To this end, the activity gathered momentum in the 19th cen-

tury, this true "century of the nationalities." The year 1848 is a telling proof thereon, since the then events exerted contemporaries' admiration, being acknowledged as among the most important ones in Europe at that time.¹

Therefore, all the more surprising is the way in which they are "interpreted" by contemporary Hungarian historiography, which either belittles or even denigrates the role played by Romanian revolutionary personalities like Simion Bărnuțiu, Avram Iancu etc., or blurs out the large-scale Romanian rising, as it does, for example, with the great assembly in Blaj on May 3/15, 1848, an event which few other instances on the continent could match. Likewise, by invoking the Hungarian revolutionaries' wish of national liberty it is blamed that of the Romanian revolutionaries, who are sometimes portrayed even as reactionaries, when they rejected a programme likely to put them under a political subordination. The fact is the more blameworthy as this way of distorting the truth is sometimes used even in textbooks.

The wish expressed in 1848 to remove foreign domination and to unite with the brethren across the mountains gained a fresh and forceful momentum when the Union of the Principalities was achieved. In fact, January 24, 1859 stood out as a me-

morable event to the whole Romanian community. A telling proof thereon is the way in which the act achieved that day, like the ensuing ones, were appreciated.² The most telling instance is the foundation, only two years after the Union, of the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Romanian People's Culture (ASTRA) which scored remarkable successes in the emancipation struggle waged by Transylvanian Romanians.

Within the stages which hallmarked the Romanians' road toward the creation of the Romanian unitary nation state there are, nevertheless, extremely complex moments, occurred after 1867 when Austrian-Hungarian dualism came into being and acted as a strikingly oppressive brake upon the natural development of this process. The statement refers mainly to Transylvania which, after centuries when it uninterruptedly preserved, under various forms, its autonomy, was for the first time incorporated into the Hungarian state³, while the Budapest government, aside from certain provisions of the Law of nationalities, was decided to resort to a forced policy of its Magyarization. At the same time, however, the dialectics of historical evolution emphasized that the worsening conditions in which the Transylvanian Romanians' national struggle was waged, gave

a considerable impulse to this struggle. It gained greater impetus when the goals were set in bolder relief. This fact was strikingly evidenced the following year, when the *Blaj Pronunciamento* expressed the determined protest against Transylvania's forced union to Hungary. The document was largely supported by the masses which assembled on May 3/15, in the town Cîmpia Libertății to celebrate two decades since the 1848 assembly. It recorded the fundamental claims of the Romanians in Transylvania — its autonomy, the recognition of the Romanian nation as a rightful equal to the other nations, the right to use the Romanian language in administration, justice, education, the participation of the Romanian nation, in proportional representation, in political, administrative and cultural life etc. These are demands whose carrying into effect would have implied Transylvania's political independence from Hungary. In fact, the Hungarian government's policy toward the Transylvanian Romanians, after 1867, enhanced the latter's faith that the only solution to their emancipation — first of all national, but also social-economic, political and cultural — could be only the union to Romania. Count Beust was certain that this solution was encouraged by the Bucharest government, even if the latter could not do it into the open⁴, while a noted politician like Gambetta, after a trip to the Lower Danube region (1868), showed his conviction that the Romanian issue originated from the violent leadership in Pesta, while in 1875 he openly made common cause with the idea to create a kingdom of all Romanians.⁵

Confronted with the ever more accentuated

process of Magyarization, the Romanians made use of the most varied resistance means. Under the church's patronage — which was, to a great extent, under a secular influence and played an obvious political role — supported by local contributions and benefitting from the devoted work of schoolteachers, deemed to be real apostles of the people, the Romanian school developed a broad network of primary schools, by far broader than that of other nationalities under Hungarian domination, in spite of all the measures taken against it. To this we must add several middle schools as well as an increasing number of Romanian students trained abroad. Despite the strict official control, the school was the main educational means of Transylvanian Romanians.

Likewise, another way to express the national ideal was the press. Because of the extremely restrictive régime, the number of periodicals varied. Foremost among them were *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, *Transilvania*, the magazine of *ASTRA Society*, founded in 1868 and edited for a long time by George Barițiu, and the *Tribuna* newspaper, 1884, issued in Sibiu and having the motto "Our sun in Bucharest is rising." At the same time, cultural societies in Transylvania (in 1900, *ASTRA* carried out its activity in 3,232 communes), Banat, Maramureș, and also student societies in Budapest and Vienna, largely extended their activity.

The direct political activity of the Romanians gained since 1881 a superior organizational framework by the merging of the two parties in Transylvania and Banat into the Romanian National Party (RNP) whose pro-

gramme featured, first and foremost, the restoration of Transylvania's autonomy. RNP launched a vast propaganda campaign in favour of the Romanian cause. As a result of these actions, the decision was taken in 1887 to draft a document which should comprise a lengthy analysis of the Romanians' situation and claims. This grew into the *Memorandum* (1892) which put forth an "armamentarium" of irrefutable facts and arguments.⁶ The *Memorandum* movement is one of the summits in the Transylvanian Romanians' struggle against Hungarian oppression. This struggle went on in the following years, determining at a certain point (1910) the authorities in Pesta to initiate Romanian-Hungarian negotiations, which came to naught.

A feverish policy of denationalization was perpetrated also against the Romanians in the north-western part of Moldavia incorporated in 1775 into Habsburg Empire and subsequently called Bukovina.⁷ In fact, after a period of military occupation, this was annexed for a time to Galicia, as a simple "administrative circle", rejecting the inhabitants' claim to remain a "separate province with its old customs and settlements."⁸ Against the new situation, from the very beginning protesting movements cropped up: many villagers crossed to Moldavia, retreated in the mountains, led an outlaw's life or even set off local uprisings, which gathered steam around the year 1848⁹, determining the Vienna government to declare, through the Imperial Constitution of March 4, 1849, the autonomy of Bukovina, proclaimed a duchy, a statute preserved until 1918. Furthermore, the Romanians protested

against massive colonizations to which Habsburg rulers resorted with the obvious view to denationalizing the province, which they could not achieve though. At the same time, Romanian scholars, the clergy and the peasants in Bukovina steadfastly claimed, by various means, political and national rights¹⁰, synthesized in the document-programme of May 20, 1948, "The Country's Petition."

The struggle waged for its liberation entered a new stage through the creation of the Romanian National Party in Bukovina (1892), whose programme worded Bukovina's autonomy and the maintenance of its historical-political individuality. In fact, in the years before the First World War, the national consciousness of the Romanians in Bukovina, became more and more clear, owing to influence of local scholars and also to the ever closer ties with old Romania, mainly in Jassy, where numerous intellectuals come from that part of Bukovina under the Habsburgs had settled. Referring to the reception of a stately delegation from that region by the mayorship and inhabitants of Jassy, the Turkish consul noted that "the public opinion here interpret these events as a first step toward union", to arrive at the idea, turned into deed after a decade, that "any Romanian who graduates a school, be it primary, learns that Bukovina, Transylvania and Bessarabia are provinces detached from the Romanian Kingdom and that sooner or later they should return to the motherland."¹¹

The struggle waged by the Romanians in Bessarabia for emancipation was carried out under more difficult conditions than in the other provinces under

foreign domination. It is true, at first, it enjoyed a privileged treatment; the organic law in 1818 was made in a relatively liberal spirit and preserved to a great extent the old local rules. At that point, Bessarabia could be considered as a "fragment of a state" with a foreign tradition, incorporated into Russian Empire. Even the Arms of the new province did nothing but to put side by side the aurochs' head of Moldavia and the Russian Eagle.¹²

After about a decade, the situation was radically changed. The province's autonomy was practically abolished, autochthonous rules replaced by Tsarits laws, while the use of Romanian in administration was forbidden. Even under these conditions, the national feelings were strong. The events occurred on the other side of the Prut struck a deep echo in Bessarabia. In 1848, in Chisinau the *Românul* magazine was published, while after another ten years a magazine bearing the same title came out. The 1859 Union was saluted by the Romanians in Bessarabia — among others by Alexandru Haşdeu — the authorities sensing the danger of suchlike manifestations. Thus, in 1862, Boyard Cristi's application to open a printing works was rejected on the ground that it "belongs to the uninspired Moldavophiles who dream of a sole united Romania."¹³ The statement was resumed, from a larger viewpoint, by Russian Minister of Public Instruction, who, on inspection in this region, mentioned that "the union of Moldavia and Walachia and the creation of an almost independent principality exerts a tangible attraction upon their Moldavian neighbours in Bessarabia."¹⁴ The officiali-

ties had information about some practical actions to this end.¹⁵

Against these tendencies very drastic measures were taken with the view to Russifying the province. In these conditions, the national action became, naturally, more difficult. None the less, it could not be discarded because it found mainly two fulcrums. On one hand, the impressive mass of peasants, who perpetuated ancient customs, and above all, preserved the mother-tongue, only a scarce part of them, as emphasized by contemporary testimonies, learning to speak Russian. Suchlike situations could be also noticed in towns. On the other, intelligentsia, in spite of all restrictions, made that some works printed in old Romania circulate on the other side of the Prut too. Moreover, among those who attended Russian universities, few renounced to ancient feelings. The activity carried out by intellectuals on the eve of the First World War proves it. Naturally they had, in their attempts to practice their national culture, to overcome particular difficulties but they knew how to cope with all circumstances and to get ready for future actions within the general-national struggle.

Within this framework we should also approach the struggle waged by the Romanians in Dobruja.¹⁶ It is true, under Ottoman domination since the mid-14th century, the province witnessed many demographic changes, but the Romanians had permanently remained here too the largest population; mainly in early modern ages, besides the natives (the Dacians), the cojans and shepherds settled on these places, (Ion Ionescu de la Brad considered that

every village can be seen as a Dacia in miniature") which, on one hand, strengthened the ties with the other Romanian territories, and on the other, increased the resistance to Ottoman domination. Obviously, the great moments of national past had deep-going consequences also on the territory between the Danube and the Sea. During the 1821 revolution, Ottoman authorities took measures to prevent the natives' contacts, mainly the shepherds, with the pandoors. In 1848, the Romanians in Dobrudja fought on Avram Iancu's side, while, later on, Dobrudja, was considered by Ion Ionescu de la Brad or Nicolae Bălcescu as a possible centre of Romanian national resistance. The Union of the Principalities had also struck a deep echo in Dobrudja, as evinced, among others, by the trip made by Alexandru Ioan Cuza to this region on his way to Constantinople, in 1860, or, later on, that made by Carol I. The Romania's representatives in Tulcea and Sulina described the Romanians in Dobrudja as "brethren and ardent patriots of our homeland who nourish the hope to unite to us in the future". This hope gained momentum by dint of cultural activity. Schools were set up not only in towns and boroughs, but also in villages, with teachers coming generally speaking, from other Romanian territories, who taught in a national spirit, ready to struggle for "liberty and nationality, attentive to all movements in Walachia",

as wrote Ion Ionescu de la Brad. He also noted the significant statement made by a Romanian in Tur-tucaia who expressed his wish "to see schools in all Romanian villages on this side of the Danube and to also see the Romanians united."¹⁷ "The Romanian Society for Culture and Literature", a kind of ASTRA's auxiliary in Dobrudja — founded in 1870 upon the initiative of the Romanian school in Hirsova — set similar goals. All these elements prepared the act of 1878, when Dobrudja — this "trans-Danubian Romania" as a contemporary publication called it¹⁸ — reunited to the motherland (telling thereof is that the very text of the Treaty of Berlin emphasized the term reunion).

The 1878 act is, thus, a new stage on the road of the completion of Romanian unity, whose fully achievement in 1918, came as the logic fulfilment of a lengthy and complex historical process. In this context, a fundamental element was the resistance put by the Romanians to foreign pressure, interference and oppression, an action which we tried to outline in the present article.

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17 Gh. Platon, *Istoria modernă a României*, Editura didactică și pedagogică, Bucharest, 1985, p. 112.

18 *Românul*, August 19, 1878.

UNION FOR ALL CENTURIES

Prof. DUMITRU ALMAŞ, DHist.

Historians, philosophers, sociologists have ascertained that under highly difficult circumstances the Romanian people's history has revolved for more than two millennia round three coordinates: **Continuity, Unity, Independence.**

The first coordinate, **Continuity**, was mirrored, from the earliest dawn of civilization's history, in the uninterrupted habitation in this blessed Carpatho-Danubiano-Pontic area. The Romanian people is the fruit, the golden sew of this land; it was born here once with the trees and the wheat, once with all other assets typical of this geographic zone. It is the fruit of this geographic area that developed and always resisted being able to overcome all the vicissitudes of time: onslaughts, plunders, foreign rules, border cripples, oppressions, nonrecognition of the right to existence, may considered intruders by many of those who came over us, subject to brutal but futile attempts at denationalization. It resisted for all that and developed always reviving from the strong Dacian root and thus proving that "water flows but rocks remain on". The second coordinate, i.e. **Unity**, the perfect unity imposed by the geographic and ethnogenesis area, by life and culture, expressed in one of the most unitary languages all over the world.

The tragedy of history of the Romanian people lies in the fact that this unity was encroached upon and torn off, from the early outsets, by those Hungarian kings, those Tartar Khans, those Ottoman sultans, those Habsburg emperors or Russian tsars who rushed upon the Romanian territory and people as upon a daring prey and quite good to be taken. The Romanian territory, the Carpatho-Danubiano-Pontic area is so harmoniously built in point of internal geomorphological structure — it has fields, mountains and plateaus in equal sizes, — and is shaped and bordered on rivers like a fortress rounded by defensive moats. This ancient hearth has such a homogenous population, such unitary! It is well known that for many centuries we have lived our history being organized in three Romanian states: Transylvania, Moldavia, Muntenia. But we are not the unique case of this kind that history knows; neither the Italians, nor the Germans, nor the Spaniards did achieve their unitary national state but gradually, oft-times after heavy fights against foreign rules that always practiced the "divide et impera" policy. However, albeit we lived for many centuries separated in three "countries" — or just due to it —, we permanently wished to be

united "*together and in the same country*", as chronicler Miron Costin wrote. Although wrapped in various structural forms: economic, political, cultural and military this unity functioned yet.

The consciousness of the Romanian unity is an ancient tradition. One cannot count its age in years since really it is identical with the very existence, with the very national being. Since they, the Romanians, could understand each other in one and the same language, since they grasped they had the same creeds and the same ideals of life and liberty, since than they got the consciousness of the necessity and legitimacy of their unity that acted as an ever-increasing morale force due to the development of culture and self awaking. The policy of defense in the time of the great voivodes: Mircea the Great, Iancu of Hunedoara, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave, Constantin Brincoveanu, stood for a goad and special binder, a permanent means for proving not only the necessity of the union, but at the same time for making true the possibility of its achieving as a vital national act. The same great army commanders and visionary politicians demonstrated that *the people's liberty and the state's independence cannot be won and instal-*

led without the national unity of all the Romanians. Ever more clear the liberty and independence, the State sovereignty presented themselves in the Dacian space as a consequence of the Daco-Roman continuity, of the Romanian continuity afterwards, as a logic of life and historical development, as a consequence and inalienable right coming from the Romanian unity, from Sighet to Giurgiu, from Sătmar to Constantza. Union and independence are closely correlated principles, they intertwine indissolubly and had common and logic grounds when the people's life and the State's existence was imperilled. This phenomenon was to be verified in 1600 too when Michael the Brave achieved the first Union, in 1859 and 1877, the Moldo-Walachian union and the winning of independence respectively, as well as in 1918 when there was completed the State national unity.

In 1848 when union and independence lighted the Romanians' minds, Dimitrie Bolintineanu wrote: *"The most precious right of a nation is its right to be governed as it wishes; the second right of a nation is its right to preservation: a nation has always the right to repel by force any unjust aggression from abroad; the third right is that of the free and full development of its all availabilities as long as its application will not be harmful for the interests of the other nations"*. By its very definition the Union cannot be achieved, strengthened and maintained but through the will and struggle of the entire people. The statement made by M. Kogălniceanu in 1859 expressed the most indubitable truth: *"the Union was made by the people!"*.

More than a century ago, in 1877, Mihail Emi-

nescu formulated lapidarily the great and complex postulate of our history: *"Independence is the sum of our historical data"*.

I feel it is my duty, in the problem here presented, to point out the words full of truth uttered by President Nicolae Ceaușescu: **"The Union of Muntenia and Moldavia and the achievement of the nation-state in 1859 was a crucial moment in the destinies of our people marking Romania's entering a new stage of its historical evolution. The fight for liberty and national independence came to a superior stage so as earlier than two decades after the union the State sovereignty of our homeland was won, arm in hand, through heavy toll and blood sacrifices"**.

The first step to national Union and the making of the modern state of Romania was taken concomitantly with the historical process that other peoples underwent through, like the Italian and German peoples for instance, which made up their unitary national states during those years too. At the beginning of the 19th century national culture was a fact and a spiritual thesaurus of greatest value for lighting the ways of State unification. The torch of national consciousness was lighting ever stronger and was warming the hearts and steeling the wishes in the people's struggle, of the entire people for Union. *"Our Romania will exist. Blind is that who does not see it"* — Nicolae Bălcescu declared.

Gradually achieved the process of the Romanian states' union naturally integrated into the history's logics that led to the breaking up of multinational empires, like the Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian ones, that made possible the liberation of the peoples from the chains

of absolutism and subjugation and conduced to the making up of the national states, free, within ethnical borders: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania. This great act of social, political and national justice took place under far-reaching revolutionary conditions with the participation of the entire people, a fact that laid down the foundation and gave the certainty of the national states' solidity and perennality. What the peoples achieve from the necessity to live and develop, what is achieved at the history's order and from everybody's ideals acquires the seal of eternity. *"What the voivodes could not achieve at the respective time — President Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out — others continued: in '48, in '59, in '77, in 1918 and through the people's unanimous will there was achieved the unity of our national state..."*. *"The achievement of this historical vital dezideratum — the Party Programme stressed — was the outcome of the fight waged by the broad popular masses, of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, of the progressive circles of bourgeoisie, of the main classes and strata of society, the oeuvre of the entire people, of the entire nation. History demonstrates that the making up of the unitary Romanian nation state was not the outcome of events of conjuncture, or of agreements concluded at the negotiations table; the peace treaty made but sanction a fait accompli created by the struggle of the popular masses. Transylvania's union to Romania was the accomplishment of the Romanian peoples' century old aspiration for unity, of the dream for which numberless generations of forerunners sacrificed themselves, the attainment of an objective necessity of*

the very historical development”.

Thus the brotherly relations, strangled for centuries on end, became free and natural, by all laws of justice and civilization. The country's economy and culture unified after a short time without any difficulty. The growth in economic and spiritual power made the union strengthen astonishingly rapid and yield its benefic fruit. Even we take only one instance, for the example, from the economic history of modern Romania the role of railways construction to the passes of the Carpathians Cimpulung Moldovenesc, Ghimeș, Predeal, Valea Oltului or the building of the Cernavodă big bridge we have an idea, though, of the effort to build a strong economic basis, an as efficient communication network as possible to give a supplementary strength to the process of national political union.

The Romanian unity was seriously wounded in 1940 during the Second World War through the brutal force and arbitrary policy of the fascist and

revisionist states. After the heroic and revolutionary act of 23 August 1944 the Transylvanian border crippled through the Vienna Diktate was



“Alba-Iulia” special edition heralding the Great Union of 1918

re-established in the wake of heavy and heroic fights at Ooarba de Mureș and Păuliș; at Turda, Carei and Cluj-Napoca, a fact recognized in the Paris Peace Treaty in

1947 in spite of so many vicissitudes and hindrances. The treaties sanction the state of things but only the peoples' will and fight offer a perennial character to the historical principles and achievements.

The Romanian union, a union coming from centuries of aspirations and fights joined indestructibly and thoroughly in the historical realities of that time, in the consciousness and the heroic and daring pace of the development of the world of today and tomorrow. Today the union is guaranteed and consolidated through the socialist revolution, through the material and moral constructivity of an epoch as never was before.

Because the binder of the Romanian unity is the Romanian Communist Party, guider, catalyzer and promoter of progress in the hearth of Romania united, independent and sovereign for ever.

- TESTIMONIES
- After two years of heroic struggle with great sacrifices for the defence of the independence and integrity of the Romanian state invaded by the troops of the Central Powers and their allies, the Romanian people could fulfil, in 1918, its millenia-old dream — the liberation and union to the Motherland of the ancient Romanian territories that had been under foreign domination.
 - Both national and international public opinion fully understood the Romanian nation's legitimated evolution towards unity. Most of the historians and diplomats involved in the whirlwind that was to change the looks of Europe at the turn of the second decade of the 20-th century proved the imperative need of the dismantlement of multi-national empires; to let free the triumph of nationalities. Reputed personalities of Eu-

ropean and American cultural and scientific life expressed their admiration for the huge human and material effort made by the whole Romanian people for implementing its wish to live and develop freely and independently within a unitary nation state, facilitating thus an international recognition of the Romanians' Great Union, perfected on December 1, 1918. Some of them were: H. Wickham Steed, R. W. Seton-Watson, David Mitrany, Allan Leeper, V. Pétin, General H. M. Berthelot, a.o.

The Alba Iulia Grand National Assembly, the highest form of national expression, sanctioned the Romanian nation's century-old dream: the union within the same state, confirming an irreversible historical act, the outcome of the whole Romanian people.

Headings are made by the editor.

1918, the Year of the Objective Assertion of the Nations' Inalienable Right to a Free, Independent Development

DORINA N. RUSU, DHist.

The 1918 year was the acme of the struggle carried on by the peoples subjected by multinational empires, which struggle was to enter the decisive stage in point of the achievement of their national desideratum. It was objectively determined by the historical evolution of the respective peoples and was strongly influenced by the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution of October and by the 14 points-programme that Woodrow Wilson, USA President submitted to USA Congress concerning the political and economic problems of Europe. The reassertion of the justice principle for all peoples and nations and the necessity for the latter to live on equal terms of freedom and security also meant the implicit confirmation of the right to national self-determination. At the same time the struggle of the oppressed peoples for the accomplishment of their supreme national desideratum was to be considerably influenced by the defeats incurred by the Austro-Hungarian army on various battlefronts, defeats which heralded the Allies' final victory and implicitly

the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. As President Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out "The collapse of the Tsarist Empire and of the Austro-Hungarian empire were epoch-making events in the mankind's world history which strongly drive the society's progressive evolution, conduced to the thorough transformation of international relations"¹.

Within the complex process of the assertion of the peoples' right to self-determination pride of place should be given to the Congress of the nationalities oppressed by this "hotchpotch of languages and peoples" as Friedrich Engels named the multinational Austro-Hungarian empire. The Congress was held in Rome between 8 and 10 April 1918 and strongly evinced the unflinching will of the oppressed peoples to free from the foreign domination and make their own states, separate and independent, to organize themselves as they wished.

This desideratum was clearly mirrored in the *Agreement* concluded by the representatives of the Czechs, Serbians, Poles, Ita-

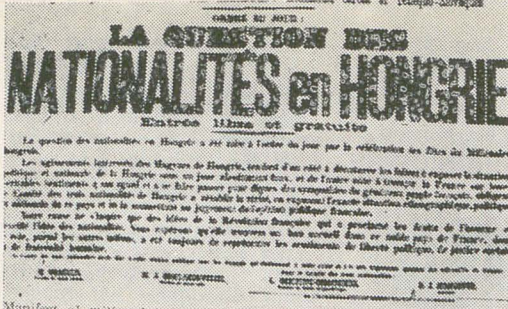
ALLAN W. A. LEEPER: *"The Romanians' union — a great contribution to the cause of progress and democracy"*

Romania had been forced to wait for two more years (1914—1916), but not "to help the victors", as it had been mistakenly considered, but now when she has improved her own political and military situation, she is willing to shed her sons' blood with a definite hope, but also with a tremendous risk, i.e. to liberate her oppressed brethren. Romania has taken an open risk and has greatly suffered for her ideal — the union of the Romanian people and the cause of democratic progress and national liberty.

The heart of the matter is not only Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina. The

future of democracy and freedom in Romania herself is closely connected to the liberation of the Romanians from Austro-Hungary and their union into "Greater Romania." As we have seen, the Romanians from Hungary are socially and politically democratic. They are hard-working, very sensitive and eager to have a more advanced education and autonomous institutions, which they have preserved up to now with lots of money and tears. They are tough as they had to face foreign oppression and they are thrifty as it was only in that way that they could bear the double burden (that imposed by the state and that willingly imposed by themselves for their churches and schools). Their union to the Kingdom of Romania will be for sure a great contribution to the cause of progress and peace, and this fact is unanimously accepted.

• TESTIMONIES •



On July 11, 1896 the Romanian-Serbian-Czechoslovak meeting was held in Paris on the common struggle for liberty and national unity (facsimile of the Manifesto)

lians and Romanians which comprised three highly important decision including both the right of any of these peoples "to build its own unitary nation-state or to complete it in order to achieve its full political and economic independence" and the recognition of a well-known reality, namely the *Austro-Hungarian morarchy was "the tool of German domination and the main obstacle to the accomplishment of their aspirations and rights"*. In the end the above mentioned agreement revealed the "necessity for a joint struggle to be led against common aggressors until each of these peoples will achieve its full liberation, its complete national unity and political liberty"². The Congress of nationalities strongly evinced that in spite of all attempts the Austro-Hungarian empire could not impede the finality of the lawful process of completion or making of the independent unitary nation-state.

Thus for instance on January 6, 1918 all the Czech deputies in the Reichrat and country diets assembled in Prague signed a solemn declaration in which they positively proclaimed the wish of the Czech nation to have its sovereign state "within the boundaries of historical provinces and the

*Slovak sister nation-inhabited regions"*³. The intensification of the national liberation movements of the Czechs and Slovaks concretized in point of political organization in the setting up, on July 13, 1918, of the Czechoslovak National Committee which proclaimed itself the leading body of the Czechoslovak people's national struggle. The months of October-November 1918 climaxed the liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks as in fact of the other peoples in Central and South-East Europe. On October 14, 1918 numerous popular meetings, demonstrations and strikes were organized on the Czech territory whereby the masses insistently required for the making up of the Independent Czechoslovak Republic. As soon as the Vienna government accepted the American note concerning the independence to be granted to the Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavians, the Czech and Slovak peoples understood that the time had come for taking fate in their own hands in order to come off Austro-Hungary and establish their new governing rule. Given these circumstances, on October 19, the National Czechoslovak Committee proclaimed the country's independence and succeeded in only three days to take over the entire military and civil administration.

GENERAL V. PETIN: "Romania joined the war at a moment victory was nowhere in sight."

GRAILLET's telegramme to the French Foreign Minister.

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We have never forgotten that Romania joined the war, on our side, at a moment victory was nowhere in sight, the following day after Verdun and on the eve of Somme. We shall always remember that her action moved numerous German divisions from west to east, that she revived in 1917 with her strong faith the whole south-western Russian front which would have definitely failed, without her, starting with June 1917. We could have seen German battalions entering Odessa and Russia and concluding peace six months earlier. It would have meant to displace the German troops from the Russian front to the French front six months earlier, and the assault for peace, that *Friedensturm*, begun at a time when the American army has only a few small divisions.

The completion of Greater Romania is required not only by France's special interest, but by the European balance and by civilization as a whole; the Romanians deserve a material and moral compensation, as they joined the war without being obliged to, at a moment of our choice, despite a deplorable geographic position; menaced at the same time on all borders, they were simultaneously attacked by Bulgarians, Austrians, Germans, being forced to fight another great enemy: typhus. Despite all these, unaffected by great losses, they fought with all their forces and their effort was quite substantial to concentrate 85 Austro-German divisions against them, on December 1, 1917, liberating thus our front of a certain number of enemy units, but as bad luck would have it, Russia,

The effervescence of the struggles for national independence and unity embraced the popular masses in Slovakia too. On October 30, 1918 the Slovak National Council drafted, at a meeting held at Turčiansky Sv. Martin, a Declaration that proclaimed Slovakia's detaching itself from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and its embodiment within the Czechoslovak state. "Historically and linguistically — the Declaration read — the Slovak people is a part of the Czechoslovak people. We ask for this Czechoslovak people the right to self-determination grounded on a full independence" ⁴. Thus the independent state of Czechoslovakia became a fait accompli and the century-old aspirations of the Czech and Slovak peoples attained their full accomplishment. On 14 November, in Prague, the National Assembly was convened with the attendance by 201 Czech deputies and 69 Slovak that proclaimed the making up of the Czechoslovak state as a republic. In this way a new independent state appeared on Europe's map — the Czechoslovak Republic.

Similar events in point of significance also took place almost concomitantly in Austro-Hungary's territories inhabited by Southern Slavs (Serbians, Croats, Slovans, Bosnians etc.). On 17 October 1918 the representatives of all the Yugoslav parties in the double monarchy met together at Zagreb and set up the National Yugoslav Council whose first act was the making of a provisional government intended to take over the administrative management of the Yugoslav territories. Two days later, on 19 October, this supreme organ proclaimed the independence of the Serbians, Croats' and Slovans' state and thus laid down the foundations for the unification of all provinces into a one state.

On 24 November the Popular Assembly (Vece) lodged at Zagreb adopted the resolution for the union of the Serbians, Croats' and Slovans' state with the kingdom of Montenegro and in the next days the popular Skupshina of Voievodina declared for union too.

The European press took a solidary stand with the Romanians in Transylvania who fought for national liberty (facsimiles of the newspapers "La Verité" and "L'Intransigent" May, 1894



weakened as it was, turned into their greatest enemy; they were plundered, decimated, surrounded, despite their great Mărășești victory, one of the greatest loss of the Germans, as Marshall Mackensen put it himself.

Report made by MANUEL MULLETEDO the Spanish Minister to Bucharest, to the Spanish Foreign Minister.

What had happened only once, for a short period of time, during Michael the "Brave"'s reign, in 1600, i.e. the fact that the whole Romanian people got united within the borders of Trajan's ancient Dacia, seems to be happening now again, not by force of arms, but through the free will of this country's provinces.

Excerpt from L'Orient, Belgian newspaper (after a visit paid by a Transylvanian delegation to the Belgian minister in Bucharest)

After warmly thanking to the members of the Transylvanian delegation for the good feelings they have for the Belgian people and their Royal Majesty, the Belgian minister assured them that it would be his duty and honour to convey them to his government. He also added that the brotherly and moving homage paid by the delegation, on behalf of the noble and brave inhabitants of Transylvania, would be like a precious balm for Belgium's wounds. The liberation of Transylvania and its union to Romania, concluded the minister, produced a most sincere joy in my country, where independence and justice are highly praised.

TESTIMONIES.

The will for unification was to be solemnly and officially sanctioned on December 1, 1918 when the unique state of all Yugoslavs was proclaimed — the kingdom of the Serbians, Croats and Slovans —, the foundation on which modern Yugoslavia was to rise.

As for the Poles, during 1918, they would intensify their actions aimed at rewinning independence and asserting their right to self-determination. The Central Powers incurred defeats as well as the collapse of the Russian Empire favoured the creation of propitious conditions to the making up of the independent and sovereign Polish national state. Its significance was recognized by the governments of Great Britain, France and Italy which declared that *"one of the conditions for a lasting peace in Europe was the making up of a united and independent Polish state with free access to the sea"*⁵. Formally recognizing the right of the Polish people to remake its own independent state, the European powers had not, however, a conclusive and clear outlook about the latter's boundaries. That is why the making of the independent Polish unitary state was considerably influenced by the intensification of the struggle carried on by the very Polish people — both diplomatically and militarily. On 28 October, at Krakow, on Polish territory subject to the domination of the double monarchy, there was set up the Polish Liquidation Commission whose supreme aim was the making of the nucleus of the Polish state that was to embody all Polish territories. This first independent representation of the Polish nation⁶ succeeded to take power in Krakow,

Western Galitia as well as in other regions from the former Polish kingdom, the rest of the territory having been under the authority of the Provisional Popular Government of the Polish Republic. In fact, the intentions of the Polish progressive forces were clearly expressed by J. Pilsudski who, in a note submitted to the great powers' representatives declared: *"The Polish state is created through the will of the entire nation and is grounded upon democratic bases. The Polish government replaces the force based domination — which for 140 years oppressed Poland's destiny — with an order and justice-based regime"*. He concluded in voicing the hope that *"the strong Western democracies will grant their assistance and brotherly support to the Polish Republic, revived and independent"*⁷. The consolidation process of the central power of the socio-political regime and the establishment of Poland's borders, started at the end of 1918, continued in the next period too, the making up of the independent national state representing one of the most important events in the military history of the Polish people.

Under conditions marked by the ever-increasing struggle of the peoples oppressed by the double monarchy ended with the making up of independent national states, the Austro-Hungarian empire broke down, not only due to the *"war or defeat, but especially due to its own regime and social and political structures that stood for the cause of the war and the defeat too"*⁸. Under those circumstances, on the ruins of the

ION CLOPOTEL: *"A historical turning point that laid the foundations of the free and unitary state of the Romanian nation"*.

• TESTIMONIES •

I had the great satisfaction to participate, as an official delegate, in the Alba Iulia National Assembly, on December 1, 1918, and I have treasured most cherished memories; it was a memorable, unique moment in our contemporary history... That winter day was a historical turning point that laid the foundations of the free and unitary state of the Romanian nation...

All decision-making factors, the members of the Romanian Central National Council, almost all heads of peasant and worker provincial organizations, officially summoned or attracted by the momentous event, had come to Alba Iulia, on

November 29 and 30, to debate upon the draft resolution written and presented by Vasile Goldiş. The meeting turned into a huge representation, but nobody thought of limiting the participation. The feelings of absolute and definitive brotherly union with the free motherland was wholehearted, as the necessity of a democracy to shatter the remnants of all kinds of dominations, the landlords' oppression and the century-old political oppression in Transylvania, Banat and the old motherland, where the landlords' powers were still great...

Early in the morning of December 1, crowds of delegates and volunteer participants got off trains coming from everywhere, carrying tricolour banners, singing Iancu's revolutionary marches. The splendid folk costumes and the enthusiasm of the crowds gathered there

former monarchy two new states appeared — the Republic of Austria, proclaimed on 12 November and the Hungarian Republic of the Councils, on 16 November 1918.

Like all peoples under the domination of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the 1918 year was for the Romanian people, too, the year of its great national achievements, the victorious crowning of a long train of fights and sacrifices for the completion of the process of making up the unitary Romanian nation-state. Started on 27 March/9 April 1918, through the Romanian territory between the Pruth and Dniester coming back to the mother-land, the process for the completion of the national State unity was to continue with the resolution of 15/28 November 1918 for Bukovina's union to Romania and achieved its acme on 18 November/1 December 1918 with the grandiose Alba Iulia National Assembly which sanctioned for ever the union of Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures to Romania. As President Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out "1918, 1 December went down in the Romanian people's history as a decisive moment out of numerous moments it has undergone in the struggle for the preservation of national unity, for social and national liberty"⁹.

So, by the end of 1918 the map of Europe was substantially modified: the big multinational empires disappeared, new states

emerged and other completed their State unity. Liberty and justice triumphed! It was a reality made through the will and struggle of the peoples which had suffered for years on end the heavy yoke of the foreign domination. An irreversible reality like everything under history's lawfulness and logics.

- 1 Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania on the Way of Building Up the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society, vol. 17, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, p. 273.
- 2 Apud C. Botoran, I. Calafeteanu, E. Campus, V. Moisuc, România și Conferința de Pace de la Paris (1918—1920). Triumful principiului naționalităților, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 205.
- 3 Eduard Benes, Souvenirs de guerre et de révolution 1914—1918, vol. II, Paris, 1928, p. 164.
- 4 Afirmarea statelor naționale independente unitare din centrul și sud-estul Europei (1821—1923), Bucharest, 1979, p. 175.
- 5 Ibidem, p. 219.
- 6 Ibidem, p. 223.
- 7 Ibidem, p. 224.
- 8 Histoire de la Hongrie des origines à nos jours, Budapest, 1974, p. 451.
- 9 Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania on the Way of Completing Socialist Construction, vol. 3, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969, p. 696.

to sanction the Union roused sublime and eternal feelings. The 1,228 delegates present in the hall frantically cheered the resolution of the Union.

This resolution, with its enlightened contents, generous ideas that have to be rightly understood for their times, was the outcome of the unanimous consensus of the Romanian peoples social strata, a product of those that had heroically fought for social and national liberation.

Alba Iulia was the synthesis of mature political thinking, fully corresponding to the objective laws of the development of society and of the emancipation of oppressed nations. By the Great Union of 1918, the Romanian people has opened a new path for its assertion and progress, matching similar efforts of other European nations.

TIRON ALBANI: "I imagined I was in a great court meant to make justice."

I was to Alba Iulia myself. Years have passed quickly. I have lived hard and good times ever since, but that December 1 will stay for ever with me...

Groups of deputies and invited guests were coming out of the crowds; they had the noble mission to decide for ever upon the fate of the Romanian people, recently freed from the terrible domination of an absolutist monarchy. The Casino hall was too small for all guests. Lots of them had to stay out. The walls were decorated with the banners of the states freed from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The impressive portrait of Michael the Brave towered the background, flanked by the likenesses of the three martyrs of 1785: Horea, Cloșca and

THE GREAT UNION OF 1918, the Work of the Entire Romanian People

Acad. ȘTEFAN PASCU

Seventy years have elapsed since the day of 1 December has been evoked and celebrated, as it ought to be, by the entire Romanian nation. Its historic and national significance has kept permanently their importance because seven decades ago, through the resolution of the entire Romanian people, anywhere its sons were living, a century old dream was achieved: the Romanians' national-State unity decided for ever by the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia of 1 December 1918. A resolution justified by centuries of uninterrupted endeavours and daring oeuvre of the "bold thought", of the grandiose ideal.

First it was the idea of union or more correctly the re-union of all Romanians within a sole body politic, as they had been before their partition into three states. Within one and the same Country; made up of numerous "countries" adorning this Country. As the native people called them from the Latin world *terra-land* and *country* also, and from country, its inhabitants, the countrymen (peasants) with their "țarina" (tilled land) securing their life and therefore they were linked to it through all fibres of their soul.

The idea of union turned into an ideal. The ideal of rallying together all streams into the same bed.

Ideal that did not engulf a thin stratum of society only, but it deeply entered the consciousness of multitudes. It is an axiomatic truth that when an idea and an ideal are right and deeply rooted in the consciousness of the multitudes, they cannot be thwarted. The idea and ideal are like a river that due to the opposition of the rocks should carry its waters, for a while, hidden under the earth cover, but when their power, after gathering together all torrents into one led, overcomes resistance, they come out to never hide afterwards.

The grounds of the ideal of unity of the Romanian people were numerous, strong and permanent. Ori-

TESTIMONIES

Crișan. The members of the Romanian Central National Council were seated at the Presidium tables like generals facing victorious armies...

10.30 a.m. Ștefan Cicio-Pop opens the Assembly with a speech reviewing the most important aspects of the struggle of the Romanian people and of the activity of the Romanian Central National Council.

Then Chairman George Pop de Băsești took the floor... declaring the National Assembly open, asking the audiences to pay attention to what would be said there, as it was a highly important moment, when "time has come for you to make the history."

Then Vasile Goldiș (with the draft resolution of the National Assembly), Iuliu Maniu and Iosif Jumanca (the speaker of the workers of Transylvania and Banat) took the floor...

Then followed the most solemn moment: the aged Chairman George Pop de

Băsești, asked the National Assembly whether it agreed to the draft resolution and then, in enthusiastic applause and ovations, proclaimed Transylvania's union to Romania...

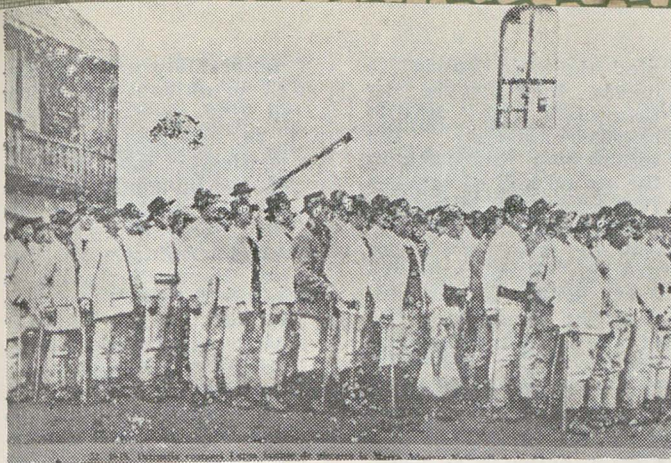
Words are too poor to describe the revolutionary impetus of the masses that had come there to sanction the lofty decision... The people had come to pass judgement on history, to correct it and give it a new course. They were the representatives of those who had worked, struggled and shed their blood without enjoying freedom.

I shall never forget that solemn moment. I imagined I was in a great court meant to make justice...

The city, the citadel and Horea's Field were overcrowded...

"You've called us here to decide whether we want to get united to the motherland. Is that so or not?"

"Yes, yes, yes!" they answered, tears of joy running down their cheeks.



Delegation of the Lupșa commune ready to start for the Great National Assembly

gin and language, customs and traditions, ideals and aspirations, all together made up a strong binder meaning unity beyond the artificial borders of that time. As they were synthesized, as nice as profound, by Michael Kogălniceanu, when the union of Principalities prevailed over all minds and hearts of the Romanian people for the achievement of the "great wish", the "most general" one. The great men considered Union as

being "natural, lawful and absolutely necessary" because is of the same people "homogenous, identical as no one else", with "the same beginnings, the same name, the same language, the same religion, the same history and civilization, the same institutions, the same laws and customs, the same fears and the same hopes, the same sufferings in the past, the same future to secure and finally the same mission to perform".

The same "mission" — grounded on the same strong grounds, feeded by ideas and ideals — permanences of national-State unity, by the wish of the whole Romanian people — was performed through the clever mind and brave sword of Michael the Brave in 1600: the union, within a sole body politic, of all the Romanian-inhabited territories! An achievement bequeathed as a highly precious inheritance, present in all endeavours of the following centuries till the beginning of the 20th century when historical lawfulness strongly imposed through the same strong will, unflinching will of the Romanian nation on its whole.

No one and nothing could any more impede the achievement of the ideal of the Great Union. No enemy force could divert the wills from the accomplishment of the great ideal. It was not the First World War that created Great Romania. It had been created for long time in the hearts and consciousness of the entire Romanian people.

That answer sounded superhuman, expressing much more than its three sounds, as it had been uttered by four million hearts represented in Alba Iulia by 100,000 participants.

ALEXANDRU BORZA: "The motion for Union was unanimously voted in a frantic atmosphere."

December 1 (1918 e.n.) was a quiet, solemn, enthusiastic day. Mass was celebrated in the morning at the two metropolitan churches (Uniaded and non-Uniaded), then the people gathered in the Union Hall (the deputies with the credentials) and on the plain behind the citadel. The honorary guardsmen were the *Moți*, dressed in white clothes and big fur caps, in Michael the Brave's style. Everywhere there was perfect discipline and rousing enthusiasm.

I do not want to describe the meeting as such, as it is too wellknown by now

and belongs to history, as one of the most memorable events in the life of our people... The motion for Union was unanimously voted in a frantic atmosphere. All arduous feelings were then concentrated in the shattering tune of the hymn "Awake thee, Romanians!"

Meanwhile, the 100,000 Romanians dressed in their Sunday best, carrying hundreds of tricolour banners, were listening to the *ad hoc* speakers, until the delegates of the National Assembly, bishops Cristea and Hossu, came to read the decision of the Assembly and ask for the plebiscitary adhesion of the huge masses of enthusiastic Romanians.

I think that was the most important moment of my life, when I had the chance of voting myself the union of all Romanians, to make that state meant to give the world its due share, this old, cultivated, king and most gifted nation...

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The first world war was only the occasion but not the cause. This war was for the entire Romanian people liberation and completion, but not desires for conquests.

It was for liberation and completion that the Romanian battalions crossed the Carpathians in summer 1916, met with undepictable enthusiasm by their brethren who were waiting for their coming for such long time. It was for liberation and completion that the Romanian soldiers performed feats of arms of legendary heroism in summer 1917 at Mărăști, Mărășești, Oituz. It was for their great ideal: the union into a sole country that the Romanian soldiers from Romania, Transylvania and Bukovina sacrificed themselves.

Union was achieved gradually, not by itself, but, through the same general effort of the whole Romanian people. First in November 1917 when there was proclaimed the *Moldavian Democratic Republic* grounded on the "Declaration of the peo-

ples' rights in Russia" to decide their future by themselves (the right to self-determination). The second step was taken in the second half of January 1918 when the *Moldavian Democratic Republic* proclaimed the *Moldavian Republic, Free, Independent and Autonomous*, with the unanimous vote of the Country's council (the legislative assembly) and with the enthusiastic consent of the entire people of the *Moldavian Republic*. The next step would be taken on 9 April 1918 when the Country's Council decided — on the basis of the principle: "peoples must decide by themselves their fate from now on and for ever — that "Bessarabia unites with her mother, Romania".

The somersaulting, impossible to be stopped, of the artificial and anachronistic *Austro-Hungarian Empire* — called with good reason "the prison of peoples" and formed through raptures and oppressions — was the "occasion" of the completion of the Romanian people's

nation-State unity, achieved in autumn and winter of 1918.

In Transylvania, the legitimate representatives of the Romanian peoples decided on 12 October 1918 the Romanians' right to self-determination, namely the Romanian nation to decide by itself "its place among the free nations" what meant the proclamation of its inalienable right to a complete national life. Declaration backed up through the adhesion expressed the very next day by the representatives of the social-democratic party which rendered it a more thorough political and juridical authority so as it could be submitted to the Budapest Parliament on October 18.

The example of the Romanians in Transylvania was soon followed by the Romanians in Bukovina who elected, on 27 October, a Constituent Assembly authorized to vote a motion concerning the "union of Bukovina with the other Romanian countries into an independent national state". Three days later only (30—31 October)

"THE ELECTIONS DEMOCRATIC INDEED, INFLUENCED BY NO ONE..."

The news of the convening of a grand national assembly on 1 December 1918 in Alba Iulia, where the Romanian people was to have its word before the entire world, on the basis of the peoples' right to self-determination, strengthened ever more the Transylvanian Romanians' decision to separate from Hungary, becoming one with their brothers in Romania. Never before had the Romanian people been more united as in those moments, when nowhere could be heard a dissonant voice.

On 3 November 1918, the Romanian National Council was founded in Ora-

dea, in Aurel Lazăr's house. It was also in Oradea that the elections took place for the executive committees for the electoral districts in the county, which had the task to set up and guide the village councils, and to recruit the military guards. The Romanian National Council in Oradea and Bihor was controlled by the Romanian Central National Council in Arad, while the military guards had their headquarters in Timișoara. Subsequently, there were initiated 3 actions: a) the election of the village councils; b) the setting up of the military guards; c) the election of the delegates for the Alba Iulia assembly. The rural population enthusiastically elected their worthiest repre-

the Romanians in Transylvania set up their Central National Council made up, on the basis of parity of six representatives of the Romanian National Party and six of the Social Democratic Party. It would take over the governing in Transylvania.

The popular revolution in Banat and Transylvania embraced similar forms of manifestation: justice for workers and peasants through the regulation of the property relations between peasants and landowners and the taking over of the enterprises' management by the workers; the replacement of the old administrative and political authorities,

representatives of the Austro-Hungarian bourgeoisie-landowners with popular ones: local national councils and local national guards.

The Romanian people, acquainting the peoples of the world with the profound mutations occurred in the Romanian territories that were, previously, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in order to decide the future of the Romanians and the territories they were inhabiting, convened assemblies of plebiscitary cha-

acter, on the basis of the legislation in force: the National Romanian Council of Bukovina, the Congress of Bukovina and the Great National Assembly of the Transylvanian Romanians.

The National Council of Bukovina and Bukovina's Congress convened at Cernăuți, on 28 November, decided with unanimity of votes, the unconditional union and for ever of Bukovina to Romania and the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia, in the same unanimity, decided the

Jassy, June 1917. Transylvanian volunteers taking the oath



representatives for the village councils, which were to replace the *amnistii* (village representations). At the same time, the village guards were also set up.

The delegates were elected on electoral districts. *The elections were democratic indeed, influenced by no one*, and their only criteria were the elected's diligence, capability and devotion for the people and its interests. They were free elections, reflecting the people's true will, which could be influenced by neither threatenings and cavils, nor the different stratagems of the administration, which was still controlled by the Budapest government. There were 15 delegates elected for Oradea and Bihor, their names being published in the Official Gazette No. 1 of the Directing Council in Sibiu.

An important contribution was made by the Romanian intelligentsia both in the setting up of the village councils and in the election of the delegates for the Grand National Assembly in Alba Iulia, with a view that these actions should take place solemnly, with all the dignity of the historic moment, and express the true will of the people. Like in the past, everywhere, the intellectuals were the binder which ensured the Romanians' homogeneity, solidarity and unity. Thus, the Romanian liberating army found in Transylvania a people with a high national consciousness, who, for almost 2000 years, had piously preserved unaltered its language and customs, its love for beauty, its folk music, dance and

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Before leaving for Alba Iulia, Transylvanian soldiers in the Austrian-Hungarian army took an oath before the Romanian Military Council in Vienna

union, without conditions and for ever of Transylvania to Romania.

Far-seeing and clear-sighted men, aware of the responsibility on the shoulders of their generation, aware of the historic significance of the decisions taken at that crucial moment for the Romanian people's future, wanted for the Great Union to be endorsed by the entire Romanian people, whatever their social position and political orientation. As always in face of great decisions and great responsibilities, the Romanian people evinced a thorough

unity, subordinating social and political interests to the superior, general interest.

Between the Pruth and the Dniester the "public" (multitude) was "shaken by enthusiasm", "deputies" (the members of the Country's Council) and the people embraced and kissed one another. Everybody's eyes were full of tears, tears of joy". Everywhere meetings were organized within which peasants, workers, intellectuals declared their adhesion through motions and telegrams as the news-

papers of that time announced.

In Bukovina, while in the Hall of the Metropolitan Palace in Cernăuți the members of the congress decided upon the union of High Moldavia — overrun by the Habsburg in 1775 — with Romania, in the market of the town, the thousands of people arrived from all parts of Bukovina joined the "hora" (Romanian round dance-edit.), as only in stories could be, singing and shouting exultantly. "The young were yelling and the old were crying for the joy of that day; messengers came from all Romanian-inhabited territories and from Bukovina, all the best and purest that the Romanian intelligentsia and peasantry had", the newspapers heralded.

At Alba Iulia, on 1 December, beside the 1500 delegates or deputies elected in the electoral districts and by those 26 associa-

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poetry, its crafts with their local manifestations, a great and priceless treasury, as a component part of the national patrimony of the Romanians.

As I worked for the Romanian National Council in Oradea ever since its setting up and during its whole functioning, I had the occasion to be thoroughly acquainted with its activity, both in its headquarters and in the village councils, and to know all the events in the county. The seat of the Romanian National Council was the Prefecture, or — as it used to be called — the "County House", close to the Hungarian government inspector's offices and to the headquarters of the Magyar National Council, however totally autonomous and independent to the latter. At the beginning, the two councils were meant to collaborate as regards the maintenance of the public order. But this cooperation did not last long. It was the Magyar National Coun-

cil itself that broke the agreement, hushing and even patronizing a series of frauds and abuses which were perpetrated in November and directed towards those who were preparing for the Alba Iulia assembly, towards all the Romanians after December 1, 1918, particularly intellectuals, without sparing the peasants either.

In early November, I was deputed by the chairman of the Council to go to the Harghita district, together with the late Gavril Bejan, a reserve officer, not long ago arrived from the front; we were to set up councils in the Romanian villages of this rural district where this had not been allowed by Hungarian county chiefs. Harghita was then the rural district of the county mostly exposed to Magyarization actions. I can still remember the warmth and love we were welcome with, especially when they heard the representatives of the Roma-

tions, cultural, economic-financial societies, by women-, school-, church-, handicrafts societies —, the team of officers appointed to number the people gathered in Cimpul lui Horea (Horea's Field) or the Cimpul Romanilor (the Roman's Camp) counted 120,000 people and overwhelmed by these huge human waves they interrupted numbering. And the people continued to come. There were present some 150,000 people of all social strata, intellectuals, peasants, workers, townsmen who came from all intra-Carpathian Romanian territories, sent by towns and villages to represent them and voice the unflinching will for Transylvania's Union with Romania. Some figures are telling. The "sources" wherefrom these living torrents are flowing? The Alba county has 28,600 men at the Great Assembly, the Solmoș-Dăbica county, 3,000 men, the Turda-Arieș — 560, the Hunedoara county 500, the Blaj county 1,800, the Ocna Mureș, workers center 600, the Vințu de Jos town more than 1,000 men.

the villages of Pianul de Jos almost 1,000 men, Micești 850, Bucerdea and Daia 600 each of them, Drimba 750 etc. But "the small Alba Iulia's", namely the thousands of meetings in towns, market towns and villages of those who remained at home? But the thousands of latters and cables sent to Alba Iulia expressing the full adhesion to the resolution for union?

Such a wide-scope participation rendered a plebiscitary character to the decisions for union with Romania of the territories subject to foreign domination theretofore. It also demonstrated the participation of the entire Romanian people to the great decisions it had prepared for long time, had feeded with the awareness to be always alive and decided them through an unflinching will.

This means that the making up of the Romanian unitary nation-State was the work of the entire people whatever social position and political membership. Its will for making social justice is embodied in the principles

nian government addressing to them in their own language; actually, most of the old people cried with joy. But then, we were also confronted with moments of pain and real shock. In the centre of the district, in the Harghita commune, there was a Magyar military unit, the "Acél-gárda" (the Steel Guard), meant to maintain the order. Its members would invade the Romanian villages, on the pretence of searching hidden arms. Thus, they stopped in the Sacalásău village, summoning the mayor to hand them over the arms he was supposed to have concealed. Now, the mayor was weak because of a flu he had had. Besides, there was mourning in the house with his wife, lying dead in a coffin. He told them he had nothing to hide and nothing to deliver. Instead of anything else, they beat him black and blue and seized his daughter, of about 18 — who was trying to help her father — half-thrusting her into the oven with the

fire burning. When we got there, we saw the mayor's daughter with burns all around her face and neck, while her hair was half-burnt. They had also taken out of the coffin the mayor's dead wife, in search of hidden arms. We drew up an account of what we had found, which was confirmed by many witnesses and by the local authorities. The members of the National Council in Oradea could hardly believe such a cruel and barbarous deed could be true. The chairman of the Council decided the report to be forwarded to the representative of the Central National Council in Budapest, dr. Ioan Erdelyi, in order to be enclosed in the dossier of documents which was to be submitted to the Commission for the Peace Conference in Paris. We remained in the Harghita district for a week and set up councils in most of the Romanian villages. While making preparations to leave for Oradea, we were threatened by the commander of

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ALBA-IULIA

CASA DE TURISM ALBA-IULIA

Căminul turistic al stațiunii

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Saluturi noastre.

La întâlnirea noastră cu stațiunea de Schimbare.

Căminul turistic al stațiunii de Schimbare este o unitate turistică modernă, cu o dotare completă, care vă oferă toate condițiile necesare pentru o vacanță plăcută și sănătoasă. Este situat în centrul stațiunii, în apropierea lacului și a parcului, într-un cadru pitoresc și liniștit.

Căminul turistic al stațiunii de Schimbare este deschis toată anul, de la 1 martie până la 30 septembrie. Pentru mai multe detalii, vă rugăm să contactați biroul de informare turistică.

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Sala de mese este o sală spatioasă, luminată, cu o dotare modernă, care vă oferă toate condițiile necesare pentru o masă plăcută și sănătoasă. Este situată în centrul stațiunii, în apropierea lacului și a parcului, într-un cadru pitoresc și liniștit.

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Sala de odihnă este deschisă toată anul, de la 1 martie până la 30 septembrie. Pentru mai multe detalii, vă rugăm să contactați biroul de informare turistică.

CASA DE TURISM ALBA-IULIA

Căminul turistic al stațiunii

1918." The brothers finally meet" and in Alba Iulia the Romanian soldiers are greeted enthusiastically, "the pride and fame of the Romanian nation" (facsimile of the contemporary press)

of this resolution : the necessity of a radical agrarian reform and rights for the workers like those extant in the most advanced states ; the popular masses' participation to the public life, secured through the decision of

setting up a democratic regime; universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage; the freedom of press, of word, of citizen, of association and meeting, denominational freedom. Add to all this, the equality in rights of national minorities with the Romanian people, their right to learn and administer in their own language and the right of proportional representation in legislative assemblies and government.

The principles written down in these decisions, the historical justice and lawfulness, the observance of other principles too — the will of the people, the observance of the ethnodemographic reality and of legislation in force — determined the Paris Peace Conference recognize a fait accompli, the completion of the Romanian people's national unity and sanction, through treaties of international juridical value, the historical achievements accomplished one year and one year and a half earlier respectively.

The international acknowledgement of the entire Romanian people's decisions was a proof of the latter's righteousness on the ground of the historic right and the ethnodemographic realities, on the ground of the nations' right to decide their fate by themselves and freely. These decisions — coming from principles of the international law, sanctioned by time and peoples as a mirror of the imminent justice —, represent undeniable proofs that the completion of the Romanian peoples national unity was not a "generous gift" of the Congress, but the outcome and fruit of the tireless and incessant struggle of the Romanian nation, the natural conclusion of an objective and lawful process, of the historical development of the Romanian people. "Union was — as Romania's President asserted with good reason — the victorious crowning of the century-old struggle waged by the most advanced forces of the Romanian people in Moldavia, Muntenia and Transylvania, by the scholars and great thinkers of our people, of

the activity carried on by the revolutionary elements, by the socialist militants, of the entire Romanian people's aspirations and will".

The completion of the Romanian people's national unity must be considered, because it is really, a right and progressive act of great importance in the development of the Romanian people and contemporary Romania. Through the Great Union of the Romanians in 1918 there was achieved the suitable national framework for the society's development at a rapid pace, through rallying together, within the same state, all energies and creative capacities of the Romanian people, all advanced-minded forces, through the removal of the heavy and oppressing obstacles put up by foreign rules. The entire material and cultural life of the country has known an unprecedented upsurge. In a nutshell, the making of the national unity had a positive influence upon the entire economic, social, political, cultural and institutional evolution of Romania.

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the *Acél-gárda* in Harghita that we would be met with storms of gunfire if chose to continue our action in other villages as well. But we had already accomplished our task.

As the date of the Alba Iulia assembly drew closer, the situation was changing

- for the worse, with the strain growing tenser and tenser. By no means did the government wish to see the Romanians separating from the borders of "millenary" Hungary, while the Romanians would on no account stand this bondage any longer. The government and its bodies used all kinds of unconceivable means in order to thwart the Romanians' will; they started to promise them national and cultural autonomy within the Hungarian borders and finished by resorting to the most savage reprisals. Despite this, the Romanians were more than ever determined in their will to unite to their brothers beyond the Carpathians. They acknowledged no other authority in the country besides the Ro-

manian National Council, at whose headquarters there was an endless pilgrimage of peasants, come there with all their complaints and aware they could be comforted with encouraging words and given Romanian journals and booklets, which clearly explained the importance of the decisions which were to be made.

The agents of the Budapest government did their best to intimidate the Romanians. The most incredible rumours were circulated on the reprisals that would be exerted on the participants in the Alba Iulia assembly, extended also, on their families. People told about train derailments, mass accidents or other such disasters. But the people of Bihor could not care less of all this. Several days before the start of the grand assembly, it was not only the official delegates that left for Alba Iulia, but also hundreds of people belonging to all social strata and trades. A lot of peasants from the south of the

IN THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL GUARDS IN TRANSYLVANIA,

“Fighters for peace and liberty, for language, traditions and motherland”

Reader LIVIU MAIOR, DHist.

Under the conditions of the military and political collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, of the revolutionary situation brought about by the struggle for liberty and national unity of the oppressed peoples, in the autumn of 1918 took place in Transylvania the last act of the making of the Romanian national unitary state. In the accomplishment of this major desideratum of our people's history, an essential contribution was made by the national guards, born in the heat of the social struggle which involved the whole Romanian society.

The revolutionary events unfolded at a brisk pace, particularly in October 1918. On 28 October Romania re-entered the war, thus annulling the treaty of Buftea-Bucharest, which, as a matter of fact, was never ratified. The same day, the Romanian National Council of Transylvania was estab-

lished, including — on parity basis — 6 representatives of the Romanian National Party and 6 representatives of the Romanian Social-Democratic Party. After a short time, the Romanian National Council moved its headquarters from Budapest to Arad, gradually taking over the power and governing the Romanian territories for a month. On the basis of the right to self-determination — clearly stated in the Declaration of the National Party leadership — 12 October 1918 — the Romanian nation set up its own political administrative bodies, which replaced the old ones. After its foundation, the Romanian National Council set about organizing the national guards, meant to defeat the new order that was being established.

An essential part in the founding of the national guards was undoubtedly played by

county crossed the mountains on foot, in order to be present at the great trial of History, which was to be passed in the town which had witnessed the victory of Michael the Brave and the martyrdom of Horea, Cloșca and Crișan. The grandeur of the event and of the decisions taken then are well-known; they were thoroughly described and commented upon so far. It is certain that an objective historical outlook and the lapse of time are to emphasize ever more brilliantly the significance and the unique greatness of the event.

Those who remained at home hoped they could participate — at least symbolically — in the grand act which was to completely change the course of their future life. We used to spend almost all our time, till late at night, in the Council offices. To show our solidarity with those gone to Alba Iulia, we decided to hoist the Romanian tricolour on the frontispiece of the building of the county administration — the County

House — which accommodated our council too. I was assigned this task. The access to the entrance to the garret of the edifice — wherefrom one could reach the spots for hoisting the flags — was rather difficult, since up to it, there were a lot of latched doors. However, chief warrant officer Petrovici from the Romanian military guard assured me that he would unlatch all the doors; we were to lock them again after having hoisted the flag. And so we did. On Saturday November 30, 1918, at 10 a. m., the Romanian national flag was hoisted for the first time on the frontispiece of the County Administration House in Oradea. I can still see it waving in the wind, a beautiful glorious silk flag, as if it had been specially made for this purpose. The flag symbolized then all our hopes for the future. History did justice and fulfilled them.

As for those who had gone to Alba Iulia, they returned home truly happy to have witnessed the nation's liberation.

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former Romanian military from the Austro-Hungarian army. The soldiers in the units quartered in the main towns rose in rebellion, removing the foreign officers and setting the prisoners free. The desperate endeavours of the authorities to suppress the mutinies failed one by one. The Romanian military units in Arad were among the first Transylvanian ones raised to revolt. In the night of 30 to 31 October, hundreds of soldiers degraded and disarmed the foreign commissioned and non-commissioned officers, left the barracks and attacked the military prison, setting free the 900 political prisoners, most of which were soldiers sentenced for insubordination. Two days later, the soldiers in the Sibiu garrison rebelled too. As had been the case in Arad, they released the political prisoners and the Russian detainees, arresting the officers and non-commissioned officers who tried to put up resistance. The soldiers in the regiments billeted in Cluj, Dej and Oradea refused to obey the orders anymore, leaving the barracks and making for their houses arms in hand. All these actions led, in many localities, to bloody clashes with the military police force and the units of officers who vainly endeavoured to save the former regime. Arrived in their towns and villages, the armed soldiers placed themselves at the new Romanian authorities' disposal, decisively contributing to the removal of the former administration, since they were no more capable to cope with the current situation. Most of them made up the nucleus of the future Romanian national guards.

The same thing happened among the Romanian units in Vienna and Prague, in Bos-

nia and Herzegovina, as well as on the West-European front. Owing to the presence among them of certain patriotic officers, the Romanian soldiers, preserving their weapons and equipment, organized themselves to return to Transylvania and place themselves at the disposal of the Romanian National Council, having in view their contribution to the achievement of the union. Thus, the over 50,000 Romanian commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the former capital of the Habsburg Empire, Vienna, organized themselves into the Romanian Military Senate, which acknowledged the activity of the Romanian National Council in Arad. In Transylvania, a few days after the setting up of the Romanian National Council, on the initiative of its political leaders, began the organization of military units, formerly called "military councils", subordinated to the General Headquarters of the military units in Arad, having the mission to serve the interests of the majority population of this ancient Romanian land.

In November 1918, on behalf of the Romanian National Council, Ștefan Cicio-Pop assembled the Romanian military in Arad, who made an oath to the Romanian temporary government. The same day, the National Council and Guard were constituted in Alba Iulia. Captain Emil Negruțiu compelled the commander of the garrison to hand over the power, and the locality was taken over by the Romanian national guard. A similar event took place in Cluj, where the military units became national guards. The following days, national guards were set up in villages and towns all over

ROMANIANS, "EXAMPLE OF MILITARY VIRTUE"

Under the pact signed in London (April 26, 1915) Italy pledged to enter the war against Austria-Hungary. On May 3, the government led by Antonio Salandra denounced the alliance with the Central Powers, while on May 24, following the contradictory debates in parliament, the decision was taken to declare war to Austria-Hungary. After the Italians were defeated at Caporetto (October 24, 1917) a resistance line was established from the Grappa Mountain range to the course of the Piave river.

In the summer of 1918, Austrian-Hungarian forces tried to set on an offensive which was stymied by the Italian armies on the Piave-Montello line. Once the struggles were launched on all fronts against Central Powers, General Armando Diaz, Chief of Staff of Italian Army, de-

cided to take the offensive which broke the enemy's front in the Vittorio Veneto zone (October, 1918). In the last stage of the struggles waged on the north Italian front, several detachments of Romanians from Transylvania and Bucovina were in the front ranks, making substantial contributions to the defeat of Austrian-Hungarian armies, with the conviction that in that way they supported the effort made by their entire people for the achievement of the great ideal of national unity.

Many inhabitants of Transylvania and Bucovina, taken away from their homes, drilled, equipped and sent to the front to defend a state which oppressed them for centuries reached Italy. Over 60,000 Romanians sent to that front by the imperial military authorities, crossed the border. Their ardent wish was to go back to Romania and from there to launch together with their brethren the great struggle for the liberation of Transylvania and Bukovina. They made con-

Transylvania, as the main instrument of taking over the military power. Peasants, workers, intellectuals, former commissioned and non-commissioned officers made an oath of loyalty to the Romanian nation in front of the tricolour, committing themselves to defend national liberty at the cost of their own lives. At Vidra, in the Apuseni Mts, the meeting for the setting up of the national guards took place in the house where Avram Iancu had been born, since he was a prominent historical personality, relevant for the entire people's rise in armed rebellion.

The founding of the national guards induced the Romanian National Council to pass to the centralized organization of these armed forces. Thus, the Romanian National Military Council was set up, the higher body responsible for order and quietness, for the political atmosphere necessary to the preparation for the Grand National Assembly. The council had at its orders the village and county national guards on the entire territory of Transylvania, and had its headquarters in Arad, being closely connected with the Romanian National Council. In a few days, till mid-November, the national guards acted in 23 counties, loyally discharging their duty. Pride of place in the generalization of this process was held by the appeal of the Romanian National Council signed by Ștefan Cicio-Pop, by which the commissioned and non-commissioned officers were relieved of the oath made to the emperor and were called to enlist in the national guards. The village national guards were made up almost exclusively of peasants,

while the town ones included workers, intellectuals, young people capable of rising arm in hand. They were equipped with weapons from the dumps of the former Austro-Hungarian army, with armament brought from the front or seized from the military police force or the Magyar national guards. There was a military council for each county, which had at its orders the local guards. At the festivities occasioned by the setting up of these councils, there were also defined the latter's tasks: in Arad, Ștefan Cicio-Pop called the members of the national guards "the enlightened minds and well-wishers of the people, while in Cluj he named them *"fighters for peace and liberty, for the defence of their language, law and land."*

The supreme command of the national guards was made up of major Vlad Alexandrescu, lieutenants Romul Rîmbaş, Cornel Albu and Aurel Raicu, as well as second lieutenant Sabin Mladin. The instructions on the training and the way of action of the national guards were transmitted by orders of the day or circulars. The members of the guards were dressed in either military uniforms or plain clothes, and wore on the left sleeve the Romanian tricolour with the words "The Romanian National Guard".

The Romanian national guards also played a remarkable part in the preparation and unfolding of the Grand National Assembly in Alba Iulia. After the public convening to the assembly, the national guards ensured the security of the delegates' election.

siderable efforts along with many Romanian politicians and intellectuals living in the allied countries to gain the right to organize special military units and to participate on the Italian front in the war against the common enemy.

For a while the decision was put off. Romanian prisoners organized, then, on their own initiative. The first detachment was created on June 28, 1918, at Cavarzere. Professor Stefano Novo did honour to this moment through a letter addressed to Sidney Sonnino, Italian minister of foreign affairs, which read: *For Romania's unity and independence. On Mr. Domenico Garvari's estate, between June 21 and 28, a ceremony of utmost importance was held in all its plain grandeur. The colonel in command of that zone, Knight Santini, came accompanied by war prisoners of Romanian nationality garrisoned here. After brief, heartfelt and patriotic speeches,*

*the detachment of Romanian volunteers was formed in Italy to join our ranks against the common and eternal enemy, under the red, yellow and blue flag, the sacred symbol of their remote homeland. On the colonel's right and left two sisters kept upright the Italian and Romanian flags... The colonel calls the Romanian standard-bearer, who kissed, tears in his eyes, his country's standard hoisted on the serene sky of Italy in the shouts of Long live and Hurrah, to the joy of the entire troop present there."*¹ Another Romanian detachment similarly organized left Cavarzere, arrived at Padua before July 11, 1918, where it crossed the town's streets heading for the railway station singing all along the way national songs. At 11.10 a.m. it left by train for Ponte di Brente.²

Italian military authorities mentioned

(continued on page 89)

On the appointed day, the national guards were in Alba Iulia. Almost 17,000 members of them, some dressed in folk costumes, others in uniforms, guarded the entrances to the town, in order to prevent any possible attempt at disturbing the Grand National Assembly. Their presence there during the grandiose assembly had a special significance, giving confidence to the tens of thousands of Romanians come from all over Transylvania to witness this decisive moment in the Romanians' history.

Thus, the Romanian national guards constituted the instrument capable to thwart the instigations of the elements belonging to the former régime, to ensure the taking over of the power by the Romanian majority population in Transylvania. The national guards benefitted by the people's support since they complied with a century-old

longing, the Union to Romania. Born on the ruins of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, the national guards played an essential part in ensuring a proper unfolding of the Grand National Assembly in Alba Iulia. Their activity was carried on after 1 December 1918 too, till the Romanian administration was completely set up and the Romanian army took over the defending of the borders of the Romanian national unitary state. By their contribution to the accomplishment of the Great Union, they wrote a glorious page in the history of the struggle for the achievement of the Romanian national unitary state. In the military history of our people, they mark a salient moment, exceptional for the force represented by the armed nation, determined to attain its great purposes.

THE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE ROMANIAN GREAT UNION OF 1918

Reader ION ARDELEANU, DHist.

The Great Union of 1918 — crowning of the century-old struggle waged by the most progressive forces of the Romanian people, by the scholars and great thinkers of our nation, by the popular masses, by the entire Romanian nation — went down as a decisive moment that achieved the national and socioeconomic framework for the development of modern Romania with beneficial influence upon the whole subsequent evolution of the country. Some months later, on January 18, 1919, Raymond Poincaré President of France opened Peace Conference in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. This international forum was attended by delegations from 32 countries with a membership of one up to five. The Conference was to map out the new frontiers of the states, to recognize the states of things extant af-

ter the dissolution of the big empires (Austro-Hungarian, Tsarist, German) concomitant with the making up of several independent and sovereign states; the establishment of the European political and military balance, the assessment of the war reparations for the huge damages suffered by the Allies on whose territory the war had developed; the setting up of the League of Nations etc. Historian J.A.S. Grenville in his work "The Major International Treaties 1914—1973" considered: "In fact, the Allies and the United States, came to Paris only to confirm the new states, successors of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which had collapsed after being defeated"¹. In his turn historian Pierre Renouvin too reached the conclusion that "The destruction of the Dual Monarchy had been an ac-

complished fact even before the Imperial Government signed the armistice of Villa-Giusti on 3 November. (1918). This destruction was achieved through the people's will... The Peace Conference had the task of merely recording the results already obtained"².

Romania participated in the Peace Conference of 1919 as a country which had entered the world war in order to free her national territory. She had made supreme human and material sacrifices, respecting the obligations she had assumed in treaties and conventions. This international forum had to officially acknowledge the Romanian people's historic decisions of 1918. That is why the Paris Peace Conference was called upon not to offer Romania a gift, but juridically confirm her new territorial and political status by

acknowledging the principle of national self-determination.

The Paris Conference was to fix the details of Romania's ethnic frontiers and the quotas due to her out of the reparations to be paid by the Central Powers for their plunders in the years of the military occupation. Romania's wishes were extensively presented at the plenary meeting of February 1, 1919 during which the head of the Romanian delegation, I. I. C. Brătianu made a documented presentation of Romania's situation starting with 1914 when the war broke out up to the beginning of the Conference.

How much the Allies took into account the justified rights and the considerations of the Romanian delegation became evident on 7 May 1919 when, in a formal setting, at Versailles, the German delegation was handed the peace preliminaries although Romania's representatives were acquainted with none of its stipulations. On 28 June 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, the Romanian delegation, made up of I. I. C. Brătianu and General C. Coandă, signed the Peace Treaty with Germany. With regard to the damages, the Treaty with Germany contained two clear references to Romania the Art. 244 and Annex VII, art. 259, al. 6 that compelled Germany to renounce the Treaty of Bucharest of 7 May 1918 and Art. 232 which contained Germany's commitment to compensate for "all damages inflicted upon the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers... and generally all damage"³. The Conference held in London (28 March — 5 May 1921) fixed the sum total of the reparations to be paid by Germany at 132 billion gold marks (i. e. only 6.3 per cent of

all reparations initially claimed by the Allies amounting to 494 billion gold francs) of which Romania was due only 1 per cent (approximately 1.3 thousand million gold marks), but finally she received just a small part of the sum⁴.

The Peace Treaty with Austria was negotiated by the Great Powers in the same spirit. "The keeping of draft peace treaties secret until the very last moment — as the correspondent of The Washington Post rightly said — was a trap, a way of overlooking the Allied peoples, of strutting their mouths, tying their hands and paralyzing their will in the face of an arrangement playing with their destinies without their previously knowing or accepting it"⁵.

The great powers started a policy of bargaining at the expense of the Romanian territories, each of them pursuing mean interests. Aiming at strengthening their domination in Romania they pursued to introduce some political and economic clauses offending the country's absolute independence⁶.

Facing the irreconcilable stand taken by the Great Powers, the head of the Romanian delegation, I. I. C. Brătianu decided to leave the Paris Peace Conference and designated Nicolae Mișu, Romania's minister in London, as Romania's chief delegate at the Conference. Before leaving Paris, the Romanian Premier submitted to the Conference a memorandum entitled "Romania before the Peace Conference".

The new Romanian government, set up after the resignation of Brătianu cabinet, presided over by General Arthur Văitoianu, made a last attempt at preventing a separate action of its allies and on 9 September its delegation submitted to the Peace

Conference a new Memorandum arguing Romania's right to national independence and sovereignty: "After the Treaty with Germany did not grant the reparations as against the damage, the draft peace treaty with Austria seriously prejudices, in several articles, its rights and interests. Really, through this treaty, in spite of its oft-times protests, Romania is obliged to accept beforehand the decisions that the Great Powers will take in connection with some problems of interest for the domestic life of the country, the treatment of nationalities, the transit and commerce with other states. This stipulation is incompatible, by its form and essence, with the internal dignity and sovereignty and the economic interests of a sovereign state"⁷.

The Treaty with Austria was therefore signed at Saint Germain on 10 September 1919 in the absence of the Romanian and Yugoslav delegations. Given these conditions, the Supreme council decided in its session of 12 November 1919 following an intense exchange of notes with the Government in Bucharest, to address Romania an ultimatum set in very erergetic terms setting it a deadline for signing the two treaties. The ultimatum, handed to the Romanian Government on 24 November 1919, stipulated that in 8 days Romania should accept "indisputably, unreservedly" the decision of the Supreme Council to sign the Treaty with Austria and the Minorities Treaty. In the event of a new refusal, the Supreme Council would notify Romania immediately to recall her delegates from the Peace Conference and the member-countries of the Council would withdraw their diplomatic missions from Bucharest"⁸.

Meanwhile, the talks between the Romanian delegation in Paris and the Committee of the states designated to examine the Romanian objections had reached the point of operating certain changes in the Minorities Treaty and under these conditions on 10 December 1919 Romania's delegate to Paris Conference, General C. Coandă, signed the Treaty with Austria of Saint Germain. The Minorities Treaty and the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine with Bulgaria reconfirmed the Romanian-Bulgarian frontier as established under the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 10 August 1913.

The positive feature of the Peace Treaty with Austria was the legislating of Austro-Hungary's dissolution and the recognition of the de facto situation extant in Central Europe as early as in 1918. The treaty juridically recognized on international arena the Union of Bukovina with Romania and the 1774 territorial raptures was annulled once again: *"Austria renounces in Romania's favour all rights and titles to the portion of the former duchy of Bukovina this side of Romania's frontiers as they will be subsequently established by the Great Allied and Associated Powers"*⁹ (art. 59).

On 1 December 1919 Clémenceau invited the Budapest government to send its delegates to the Peace Conference¹⁰. Headed by Count Albert Apponyi, Hungary's delegaton arrived in Paris on 7 January 1920 and on 16 February, Count Apponyi, in the exposition he made before the Supreme Council, contested the legitimacy of the decisions entitling the oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary to self-determination and maintained the need for organizing plebiscites in all regions which had seceded from Hungary and had formed unitary national states, which in

fact were attempts at exerting pressures on the Peace Conference in order to modify the treaties or delay their signing. Hungary's notes and annexed documents were analysed by the Conference for two months in the absence of the countries directly concerned: Romania, Serbia and Czechoslovakia. In the "Memorandum on Transylvania" and in the one called "Instead of One, Three Multinational States" the Hungarian delegation accused impudently Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia of imperialism, because "by virtue of the principle of nationalities" these states would have taken possession of "Hungary's millenary territory"¹¹.

One of the camouflaged formulae of reviving the old multinational state in the centre of Europe, this time under the aegis of Hungary, was the Danubian Confederation project. Referring to this attempt, the American delegate, Charles Seymour, professor of history at Yale University noted that: *"Such an idea was doomed to failure, the Danubian peoples would not even hear of it. They had actually freed themselves through their own effort and were instinctively afraid of any federation which might have determined a survival or restoration of this hated tyranny which had caused them so many sufferings. The conference had neither the right nor the power to impose on them a union they rejected. By virtue of the proclaimed principle of each people's right to self-determination, the Danubian nations alone had the power to decide on their destiny"*¹².

On 6 May 1920 the Peace Conference handed Hungary's delegation the answer signed by Chairman of the Conference, A. Millerand, which rejected the idea of a plebiscite

in the former Hungary-dominated territories: *"the people's will was voiced in the days of October and November 1918 when the Dual Monarchy collapsed and when the populations for a long time oppressed united with their Italian, Romanian, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak brothers"*¹³. Answering the Hungarian delegation which tried to demonstrate that the new frontiers left a part of Hungary's population outside its state and that country had a thousand-year-old claim on Transylvania, President Millerand's letter made it clear that: *"The ethnographic circumstances in Central Europe are such that it is indeed impossible for the political frontiers to coincide entirely with the ethnic frontiers... But it cannot be claimed, on the basis of this situation, that it would have been better if the old territorial status had been preserved. Even a millenary state of affairs has no reason to live on if it runs counter to justice"*¹⁴.

On 4 June 1920, at the Great Britain, Trianon, France, Italy, the United States, Japan, Romania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Czecine states on one side, and Hungary on the other, choslovakia and other signed Peace Treaty. For Romania the Treaty of Trianon was signed by Dr. I. Cantacuzino and Nicolae Titulescu¹⁵.

Article 45 of the Trianon Treaty stipulated: *"Hungary renounces in Romania's favour to all rights and titles to the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the other side of Hungary's borders, the frontiers being those specified in the Art. 37, 3rd part (Hungary's borders, and recognized through this treaty or any other*

treaties concluded with the purpose of setting down all present affairs, as being part of Romania"¹⁶.

The Peace Conference gave Romania not one square metre of Hungary's territory, but sanctioned a reality which could not be overlooked. It validated the Transylvanian Romanians' decision regarding Transylvania's union with Romania whose legitimacy was checked also by the French, British and American delegations in the researches undertaken in 1918—1920¹⁷.

The legitimacy of the Peace Treaty was to be acknowledged and sanctioned by history and historians. Thus, Hungarian historian Tibor Eckardt in his book "Magyarország Története" (The History of Hungary) issued in Budapest in 1933, wrote: "Do not let us imagine that the Hungarians people the entire country... The territory inhabited by them covered roughly that established by the Peace of Trianon..."¹⁸.

Referring to Hungary's complaints against the Peace Treaty of Trianon, the American historian Milton G. Lehrer said that: "If in 1920 injustice was done, it is not for the Hungarians to complain about it, but for the Romanians, because beyond the political frontier several islands of Romanians were left in the Hungarian territory"¹⁹.

On 10 August 1920, at Sevres, the Romanian delegation consisting of Nicolae Titulescu and Dimitrie Ghica, Romania's minister in Paris, signed the Peace Treaty with the Ottoman Empire. Under that treaty, the Ottoman Empire pledged "to acknowl-

ge the full validity of the peace treaties and additional conventions concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the Powers that fought alongside the Ottoman Empire, to accept the provisions that have been or will be taken regarding the territories of the former German Empire, of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, and to recognize the new states within the frontiers thus fixed" (Art. 133)²⁰.

In the years following the setting up of the unitary national state, an important part of Romanian diplomatic activity was devoted to the establishment of good-neighbourhood relations with Soviet Russia. At the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 the relations between Romania and Soviet Russia worsened and diplomatic relations were severed. In this context, the Independent Soviet Republic of the Ukraine addressed on 15 February an ultimatum to the Romanian Government followed by a series of other notes (16 March, 21 April, 5 May 1918), documents which did not recognize the union of 27 March 1918.

The Romanian Government's refusal to take part in the Western Powers' armed intervention in support of Kolchak, Wrangel and other "white" generals, the refusal to support Poland in the war on Soviet Russia determined a thaw in the relations between the two countries. Between 9 and 14 February, Copenhagen hosted talks between D.N. Ciotări and M.M. Litvinov, Soviet Russia's representative. In the name of his Government, the Romanian delegate proposed that the agenda of the con-

ference should include as a main objective the Soviet Government's official acknowledgement of Bessarabia's union with Romania, as well as the restitution of the Romanian treasury. In the wake of discussions on 24 February 1920, Chicherin, foreign affairs commissary of the RSFSR, sent A. Vaida Voevod a telegram reading: "The Soviet Government of Russia considers that all litigious issues existing can be settled through between the two countries peace negotiations and that all territorial questions can be solved through good understanding..."²¹.

On 28 October 1920, in Paris, the representatives of Britain, France, Italy and Japan on the one side, and those of Romania on the other, signed a treaty acknowledging Romania's sovereignty over the territory bordered by the Pruth, the Dniester and the Black Sea²².

In history's prospect, the setting up of the unitary national state in 1918 and its sanctioning through the treaties signed at the Peace Conference in 1919—1920 clearly reveal that Romania did not count among profiteers of a peace achieved through the goodwill of the victors — as some so-called foreign historians and theoreticians, forgers of historical truth, try to advocate —, but it was the vivid, dynamic expression of the Romanian nation's unanimous will, of the century-old aspirations of a people firmly determined to live united, free and independent in its ancestors' hearth. The coordinates of assertion, of defense of the country's unity and inte-

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THE ROMANIANS' UNION IN 1918, the Accomplishment of an Objective Historical Law, an Epoch-Making Event of WORLD HISTORY

Lieutenant-General ILIE CEAUȘESCU, DHist.

The ideals of all the Romanians' union within frontiers of one and the same state go back to very ancient times grounded on the same ethnic genesis, community of material and spiritual life of our forefathers brilliantly embodied in the centralized and independent Dacian state led by great king Burebista. The quite harmonious structure of Dacia's ancient land, the ethnic, linguistic, territorial, cultural and economic unity of the Geto-Dacians permitted "the bravest and most righteous of all Thracians to make up one and the same independent body politic, capable to face, on equal footing, the superpower of the ancient world at that time, i.e. the Roman Empire. The politico-State unity achieved by the great Dacian king, 2060 years ago, was a symbol and message of our people's endeavours and fights, the spirit of uniting all the Romanian lands becoming a sacred desideratum transmitted from generation to generation. The community of ethnical and territorial origin, of language, of civilization, culture, traditions, behaviour etc. typical of the Romanian people as early as in its genesis was permanently realized consciously in course of work, of improving socio-political activity from the popular Romanias to the independent centralized feudal states, developed and proved its vitality in the struggle for survival, in the long resistance opposed to the migratory waves, in the stubborn confrontation with the big invading empires of that time.

The political concept called Dacia was

understood as the whole Romanian land in spite of the mediaeval State pluralism. The existence of the separate feudal states did not affect the unity of the Romanian people mirrored in its ethnical homogeneity, in the community of language and culture, in the similitude of political organization and economic and social structures, all favoured by the harmonious geographic framework. The Romanian mediaeval state pluralism cannot be confused at all with ethnical pluralism, nor did it express a multitude of peoples within the same people. The three Romanian mediaeval countries cannot be considered on any account as a proof of an ethnical pluralism: there is not a Moldavian, Transylvanian or Muntenian people different from the Romanian one. Referring to the conditions typical of the feudal system that determined the State division on our country's territory too, Romania's President, Nicolae Ceaușescu stated that: "Nevertheless, thanks to the homogeneity of economic, social and cultural structure of the entire Romanian populated territory, to its unity of language and the mighty awareness of common origin of the inhabitants, permanent contacts and intensive, many-sided links developed between the three States. There was a steady exchange of material assets, a strong flow of ideas, of cultural and artistic production and, above all, there was a rising awareness of the need for joint struggle against the invaders, against the common enemies"¹.

The feelings of unity consolidated ever more and were a basic stimulus for the lofty combat and moral virtues proved by the Romanians in the epos of defending the ancestors' hearth, especially against the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, in the 14th—16th centuries. The resounding victories gained by Mircea the Great at Rovine (1395), Iancu of Hunedoara at Belgrad (1456), Vlad the Impaler in the Field of Muntenia (1462), Michael the Brave at Călugăreni (1595) a.o. were not beneficial for one or another of the feudal political entities, but they aided the Romanian general cause, the interests of the European peoples even.

The ethnic-linguistic unity and community of interests of the Romanian countries remained steady all along the whole Middle Ages. The intense economic relations, the frequent alliances in face of the Ottoman danger, the unifying tendencies in the politico-military field evinced by the Romanians' illustrious voivodes revolved round one and the same aim: the recompletion within the borders of ancient Dacia and the making up of a body politic — the mediaeval Romania — thus being reconstructed the old political unity of ancient hearth. Simultaneously with these ever stronger tendencies in the 15th and 16th centuries the policy promoted by the Romanian Countries' leaders was ever more convergent, the unity of political ideas irreversibly conducing to the unique and unavoidable goal — the making up of a sole Romanian mediaeval state, independent and indivisible.

All these premisses, grounded on the community of origin, language, territory, traditions, civilization and historical destiny, stood for that motive power that led to the 1600 Union achieved by Michael the Brave. The Romanian centralized, unitary and independent state led by the great voivode Michael the Brave crowned a lawful process started centuries ago; it was right the achievement of unity of those of the same kin and language and the rehearsal, on other sizes of history's scale, of the first great union of our people's history, that made in the time of Burebista. Like Burebista and Decebalus who had ruled over an united Dacia, Michael rebuilt, on political level, the reality of the Romanians' unity, becoming "prince of the Romanian Country, of Transylvania and of all Moldavia". Far from being a "warrior" or a "condotierre", as those serving the foreign oppressors qualified him, the Romanian voivode joined in the lawful



1599, Michael, the brave liberator, entering Alba Iulia (painting by D. Stoica)

commandments and rights of his nation becoming — as A. D. Xenopol wrote — "a great factor in the historical evolution of his time". The grandiose historical achievement of the Romanian unitary and centralized state under the rule of Michael the Brave was, in the following period, a symbol of the sacred ideal for which accomplishment generations after generations fought.

In the following period the idea of the community of origin, language, territory, and culture was a true emblem of all enlightened spirits of the people who grasped that it is their patriotic duty to bring out into bold relief its historical attestation: "I have decided to start this work, to show the world our nation, what is the origin of the inhabitants of our country, Moldavia and Muntenia and the Romanians in the Hungarian provinces... that all of them are of the same origin and they dismounted at the same time..."² wrote chronicler Miron Costin. In the same spirit Constantin Cantacuzino Stolnicul (High Steward) stated: "...the Romanians are not only those living here (in the Romanian Country of Muntenia — edit.), but also those living in Transylvania, who are even more genuine and the Moldavians and all those living in other part but of the same language..., all of them are springing and flowing from the same well"³ — Taking over a valuable previous scholar's inheritance and expressing at the same time the consciousness of the Romanian people's unity in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, Dimitrie Cantemir in his "Hronicon of all Romanian Country (later divided in Moldavia, Muntenia and Transylvania)..." delt with historical evolution of the Romanian people within the traditional politico-territorial concept of Dacia. He referred clearly to "the Romanians of Dachia who are today the Mol-



In 1821 under the banner of pandour Tudor Vladimirescu "the whole people" gathered to claim the country's freedom. Tudor reading the Proclamation of Padeș in front the crowds (painting by D. Stoica)

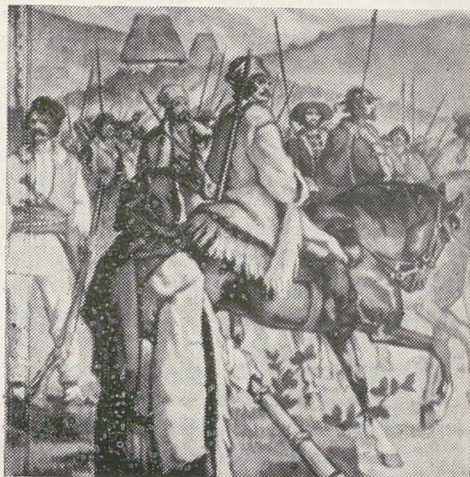
davians, Muntenians and Transylvanians"⁴.

The modern epoch uplifted the Romanians' struggle for national unity unfolded when the foreign domination over the Romanian countries considerably intensified. The policy of territorial annexation promoted by the big neighbour countries made that a part of the Romanian territories be incorporated: in 1775, Moldavia's north-western part was overrun by the Habsburg Empire, in 1812 the Romanian territory between the Pruth and the Dniester was incorporated within the Tsarist empire and in 1867 Transylvania was partially annexed by Hungary with the support of the Vienna Court which continued to exert the prerogatives of governing over the main State bodies — military, financial, foreign affairs — both for Transylvania and Hungary too. Faced with this situation, for the Romanian people unique and unitary, the achievement of the national unity became a stringent desideratum that got the valences of a true political programme in the century of revolutions launched once with the great Romanian rising to social and national fight in 1784. Whether Horea was called by contemporaries "Rex Daciae", as Michael had been "Restitutor Daciae", this fact demonstrates that Dacia was a vivid reality in the Romanians' consciousness. In fact it came to the passage from the consciousness of nation to national consciousness which mirroring the objective requirements of the Romanian society's development proclaimed the necessity of achieving the national unity within ethnical borders. "Brothers, you who did not let the sacred love for our homeland to die out in your hearts, remember that you belong to the same nation" — was calling Tudor Vladimirescu,

the leader of 1821 revolution. And did the Moldavian Romanians answer "as we are of the same nation and law"⁵ and the Transylvanian Romanians waited the "new prince", "Todoruț" (little Tudor) after his being victorious south of the Carpathians, to cross the mountains in Transylvania, to do justice here too".

The aspiration of all Romanians after political unity was to be ever strongly expressed during the 1848—1849 Romanian revolution. Unitary in development and political programmes, the Romanian revolutions wrote down on its banner, beside social objective of wide-interests, the lofty ideals of achieving the nation-state union. These programmes did not confine to a restricted circle of revolutionaries, but they engulfed the broad popular masses which, on this occasion, too, expressed their aspiration and wish, at the Grand National Assembly at Blaj when uttered: "We want to unite with the Country". The feral quelling of the 1848—1849 Romanian revolution by the coalesced forces of the Ottoman, Habsburg and Tsarist empires did not mean the defeat of the struggle for national state unity. Voicing the common thinking and feelings, the unflinching will animating all the Romanians Nicolae Bălcescu wrote in 1850: "We want to be a nation, a sole, strong and free nation through our right and duty, for our good and of other nations because we want our happiness and we must perform our mission in this world (...). The conditions of power we need can be found only in the solidarity of all the Romanians, in their union into a sole nation, a union

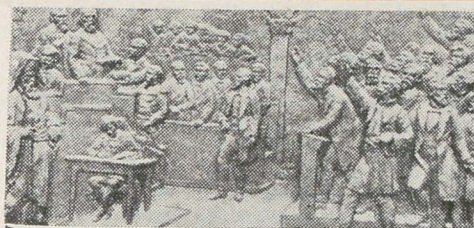
1848—1849. Avram Iancu, a revolutionary who constantly fought for union (fragment of the great fresco at the Romanian Athenaeum painted by Costin Petrescu)



to which we are destined through nationality, language, religion, customs, feelings, geographic position, through their past and finally, through the need to preserve and free themselves. If nationality is the soul of a people (...) national unity is its guarantee, is its necessary body for its soul not do die and mollify, but on the contrary, to be able to grow up and develop"⁶.

The first outcome of the century old efforts and aspirations, of the forerunners' sacrifices was on 24 January 1859, the Union of Moldavia with Muntenia, union which was a true cornerstone in the thorough attainment of our people's national aims. A new state, Romania, appeared on Europe's map, an event that gave on energetic impulse to the struggle for the achievement of complete national unity. The representatives of the big European powers were obliged to recognize the reality, namely the inhabitants of the Romanian countries were always, "a sole people", that they "have the same onset, the same name, the same language, the same religion, the same history, the same civilization, the same laws and institutions, the same beliefs and customs, the same fears and hopes, the same needs to be met, the same borders to guard, the same pains in the past, the same future to secure and finally the same mission to perform"⁷.

But ancient Romanian territories for which the state set up south and east of the Carpathians was a true vital nucleus, continued to be under foreign sway. At the same time, the Romanian modern state played an important role in the process of disintegration of foreign dominations at the Lower Danube and was an obstacle for the expansionist policy exerted over the peoples in South-East Europe. An eloquent moment of the Romanian national solidarity was the wide-scope protest versus the Dualist Austro-Hungarian pact signed in June 1867 where through, ignoring the will of the Romanian nation in majority, the ancient Romanian land of Transylvania was annexed to Hungary. This act of annexation, typical of colonialism, marked at the same time the intensification of the anti-Romanian policy officially promoted by the Budapest government which pursued, through enforced Magyarization, to annihilate the ethnic and political character, eminently Romanian, of Transylvania. The gloomy perspective facing the Romanians from Transylvania and Banat in the wake of the Dualist haggling determined the former's determined riposte. The struggle against the Dualist regime was morally, materially and politically supported by the Romanian



1877. Romania declares its independence
(bas-relief from the pedestal of
C. A. Rosetti's monument)

state, being considered, with good reason, the struggle of the entire nation for safeguarding its being and the union with the Country. The Romanians' resistance versus the Dualist political regime developed concomitantly with the national movement of emancipation of the Romanians from the other subjugated provinces and closely linked with their brethren from the free country. The political credo of the Transylvanian Romanians was clearly expressed by George Barițiu on 15 May when said: "without a united and free Romania, grounded on justice and morality, one cannot speak of Romanian nation and nationality"⁸. And this Romania must include obligatorily the ancient hearth of Transylvania.

The proclamation of the State independence on 9 May 1877 and the national and popular war in 1877—1878 carried out by the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians showed once again to the whole world that the Romanian nation is one and the same, in spite of the borders temporarily imposed by the big limitroph powers, that the entire Romanian people, both in the free country and in the provinces subject to foreign sway shared the same historical aspiration — the union within the frontiers of the same state. The Peace Treaty signed at Berlin on 1/13 July 1878 which sanctioned the new international juridical status of Romania, also stipulated Dobroudja's coming back to the mother-land — the ancient Romanian land between the Danube and the sea which had been, more than four centuries, under Ottoman domination.

The suprem dezideratum of all the Romanians' union within a sole free and independent state would mark out the fight of the most progressive elements of our nation over 1877—1918. Synthesizing the state of spirit extant in Romania on the eve of the First World War, General Grigore Crăiniceanu wrote: "The first ideal of the Romanians and of the Romanian army is the country's defense. It is documented, real and true,

and not a mere assertion, our permanent declaration that Romania had not and has not any aims at conquests, but only at defense (...). But besides the ideal of the country's defense the Romanians have another ideal too, that of Completed Romanian nation"⁹.

Taking part in the first world conflagration, starting with 1916, Romania fought by the side of the Entente for the attainment of the national aspirations — the union of the Romanian provinces under the Austro-Hungarian sway with the motherland. The Romanian state's commitment to the first world war had a right, lawful character, for the completion of the nation within the same motherland — unique, independent and sovereign. It was for this that Romania entered the war of national liberation and recompletion, it was for this that the Romanian soldiers fought adamantly at Braşov, Jiu, Dragoslavele, Turtucaia, Mărăşti, Mărăşeşti, Oituz, it was only for this that 800,000 Romanians — wounded, killed or missing — sacrificed themselves in the war, i.e. ten per cent of the country's population.

The intensification of the peoples' revolutionary struggles and of national liberation, the collapse of Tsarism and the defeats sustained by the Central Powers seriously influenced the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which, as V. I. Lenin appreciated was but a "flimsy union of social parasites"¹⁰. After the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 had proclaimed the peoples' right to self-determination and USA President, W. Wilson, referred to that principle as a basis for negotiating the peace terms with the Central Powers, the peoples' liberation movement made great strides. This movement of the peoples also embodied the Romanian fight for the completion of State unity.

The Romanians living in Bessarabia in the territory between the Dniester and the Pruth, annexed in 1812 by Tsarist Russia, proclaimed the independence of the Moldavian Democratic Republic formed at the end of 1917, endorsing afterwards on 27 March/9 April 1918, the decision for union with the mother-land, Romania. The declaration of union adopted by the Country's Council stipulated: "The Moldavian Democratic Republic (Bessarabia) within its borders between the Pruth, Dniester, Danube and the Black Sea and the old frontiers with Austria, snatched away by Russia more than one hundred years ago from the body of old Moldavia, on the strength of principle that peoples have to decide their fate by themselves, from now on

and for ever unites with its mother, Romania"¹¹. Crowning of the struggle waged for more than one century by the Romanians between the Pruth and the Dniester for the preservation of their national being, for social and political rights, the union of Bessarabia with Romania had a progressive character according to the lawful requirements of the development of modern Romanian nation. It integrated within the wide-scope process of national and political self determination in course at that time in Europe¹².

On 15/28 November 1918 the General Congress of Bukovina, in the unanimity of thousands of participants representing



"Long Live the Union and Great Romania". This wish was made for the future generations by the hundreds of delegations present in Alba Iulia (Our photo, representatives of the Galtiu commune)

the hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of this Romanian province decided the "unconditional union and for ever of Bukovina within its old frontiers to Cernuş, Colacin and Dniester to the kingdom of Romania"¹³. A historical injustice was thus redressed and there was achieved the dream of almost one century and a half of the Bukovina Romanians.

The Romanian people's millenary fight for its thorough State unity was successfully crowned on 18 November/1 December 1918 when, at Alba Iulia, in a grandiose plebiscit, more than 100,000 people-workers, peasants, intellectuals, representatives of all social classes and strata — enthusiastically declared the union of the Romanians beyond the mountains and of all territories they inhabited with Romania"¹⁴. The historic decisions taken at Alba Iulia enjoyed the support of co-inhabiting nationalities. — Saxons, Sva-

bians, Jews —, as well as of progressive elements belonging to Magyar population who aware of the Romanians' right to decide upon Transylvania, approved the decision for union and expressed their wish to live together with the Romanian people in completed Romania, to work and fight together with a view of ensuring the country's many-sided progress. Nourishing feelings of lofty and traditional kind-heartedness that always characterized them, the Romanians evinced a higher morale and human conduct vis-à-vis the nationalities living for centuries on Transylvania's hospitable land.

The Great Union of 1918 would be internationally sanctioned through the peace treaties that put a formal end to the First World War. The act of self-determination performed by the Romanian people, on its whole, determined to live united in a united country asserted itself in face of international public opinion and representatives of those states concerned gathered together at the Paris Peace Conference as an inalienable historical right of the Romanian nation.

The year of 1918 was therefore the cornerstone of building up the Romanian national unitary state after a long and complex historical process crowned the successive and heroic battles waged for many generations, halting the exemplary evolution of the Romanian society. The representative assemblies and their bodies — the Country's Council, the National Council, the Romanian Central National Council, through their freely taken decisions, expressed the popular masses' aspirations in achieving the union with Romania. The union of the three Romanian countries with the motherland was achieved within a large democratic framework through acts of freely expressed will, on the Romanian territory and not outside it. The Romanians did not ask permission, or support of the Great Powers for the achievement of their ideal, did not wait for diplomacy or Peace Conference to decide their fate, but they themselves acted and did what they considered to be done¹⁵. Referring to these events, socialist Romania's President underlined: **"The course of historical events categorically demonstrates that the Union was not an accident, the fruit of favourable circumstances or of accords reached at the negotiation table, but the result of the determined struggle of the widest masses of the people, an act of profound national justice, the achievement of an objective concordance between an objective reality and the in-**

alienable rights of the people on the one hand, and the national setting forcefully demanded by these realities on the other hand. The peace treaty concluded later on did no more than confirm an already existing fact, a situation created as a result of the struggle waged by the mass of the people in Romania and Transylvania, of the struggle waged by our entire people"¹⁶.

The achievement of the Romanian state's unity was of paramount importance for Romania's evolution, for the Romanian people's thorough assertion in the internal and international life. Reuniting, the Romanian provinces subject to foreign sway in the ancestors' hearth, Romania embodied within her historical borders a surface of 295,049 sq km and a population of 18 057 028 inhabitants, presenting herself as an ethnically homogenous state so, according to the 1930 census out of the entire population of the country 71.9% were Romanians, 7.9% Magyars, 4.1% Germans, 4% Jews, 3.2% Ruthenians and Ukrainians, 2.3% Russians, 2% Bulgarians etc.¹⁷. This fundamental trait was stipulated in the 1923 Constitution: "The kingdom of Romania is a unitary and indivisible national state", and "Romania's territory is inalienable"¹⁸. It was underlined in fact the territorial unity of the Romanian state as well as its ethnical homogeneity, the Romanians being in overwhelming majority of the country's population.

The setting up of the Romanian unitary nation-state in 1918 circumscribed to a qualitatively superior mutation emerged in Europe in early 20th century being part and parcel of structural changes in the international life. Romania's State recompletion, besides the remaking of the independent Polish state, the setting up of Czechoslovakia, the winning of Albania's independence, the building of Yugoslavia, the liberation of Hungary expressed the assertion of might and vitality of some old peoples on the European continent subject, for many centuries, to foreign exploitation and domination. The setting up of free states, within ethnical frontiers, in East, South-East and Central Europe — among which Romania also counted — determined the considerable reduction of the sphere of action of the imperialist and interventionist circles thus evincing the entire world that nation and national state represent the most suitable forms of organization of human communities. The Romanian unitary nation-state asserted itself in the following years on the international arena as a united and sovereign state animated

by the sincere wish to actively militate for maintaining peace among states, for the intensification of collaboration among the peoples in Europe and all over the world too.

Reinstated within its lawful rights over all her ancestors' territories, the Romanian nation, united, organically integrated in the process of the world material and spiritual life and fully contributed to the development of human civilization in enriching its thesaurus of assets with those specific to the Carpatho-Danubiano-Pontic area.

The foreign policy initiated by the Romanian governments in the inter-war period aimed, in main, at the defense of national independence and territorial integrity of our country. Romania has permanently militated in different international organisms for the unabated preservation of the principles of every state's independence and territorial integrity, noninterference in the internal affairs, equality of treatment between the big and small-sized countries, of negotiated settlement of all litigious problems. United and strong Romania acted firmly for a climate of peace and interstate trust, for supporting the countries which suffered by the aggression of fascist and revizionist states.

Today, on celebrating her 70th anniversary as a unitary national state Romania presents herself as a free and independent country in which a socialist homogenous, dynamic nation is living, in full assertion of its creative availabilities, unflinchingly rallied round its vital centre, the Romanian Communist Party.

Historical facts irrefutably demonstrate that our country's territory — the Romanian territory on which the Geto-Dacian people formed and developed about four millennia ago and the Romanian people two millennia ago — has a unitary and indivisible character. The Romanian people, its Geto-Dacian forefathers and the latter's forerunners steady on the ancient land from times immemorial worked, fought and created on this territory. History does not record any situation when our people and our forefathers to have left under any circumstances these lands. On the contrary, we have been here from the very onset. Our autochthony and anteriority on this territory, as compared to other peoples, the continuity in time and space, the ceaseless fight for the observance of unity and independence are irreversible realities and nobody can raise them for discussions by any means. That is why we do

not let anybody whatever circumstances, to strike at our people's unity, to offend in one way or other its interests and inalienable rights over territorial patrimony, its prominent quality of building up its own history according to its wish. Romania was, is and will be unitary, indivisible, free and independent.

- 1 Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania on the Way of Completing Socialist Construction, vol. 3, Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969, p. 647.
- 2 Miron Costin, Opere, Bucharest, 1958, p. 241.
- 3 Cronicari munteni, vol. I, Bucharest, 1961, p. 68.
- 4 Dimitrie Cantemir, Hronicul vechimei romano-moldo-vlahilor, Bucharest, 1901, p. 57.
- 5 E. Vîrtosu, Tudor Vladimirescu, Glose, fapte și documente noi (1821), Bucharest, 1927, p. 102—103.
- 6 Nicolae Bălcescu, Opere, tom. I, 2nd part, Bucharest, 1940, p. 105.
- 7 Acte și documente relative la istoria Renasterii României, vol. I, p. 63—68; 2, p. 28—29; cf. Ștefan Pascu, Făurirea statului național unitar român, vol. I, Editura Academiei R. S. România, Bucharest, 1983, p. 139.
- 8 George Bariț, Scrieri social-politice, Bucharest, 1962, p. 204.
- 9 General Gr. Crăiniceanu, Despre istoria armatei române, Bucharest, 1912, p. 53—54.
- 10 V. I. Lenin, Opere complete, vol. 30, Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1964, p. 8.
- 11 Ion I. Nistor, Istoria Basarabiei, Cernăuți, 1923, p. 422—423.
- 12 România în anii primului război mondial, vol. 2, Editura Militară, Bucharest, 1987, p. 568.
- 13 Ibidem, p. 622.
- 14 Unirea Transilvaniei cu România, 1918, Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1978, p. 618—619.
- 15 1918 la români. Desăvîrșirea unității național-statale a poporului român, vol. I, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucharest, 1983, p. 56.
- 16 Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania on the Way of Building up the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society, vol. 17, Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1979, p. 256.
- 17 Anuarul statistic al României, 1939, and 1940, p. 62.
- 18 "Monitorul oficial", nr. 282 of 29 March 1923, Bucharest, 1923, p. 3.

THE ENTIRE NATION'S AGREEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE ROMANIAN UNITARY NATIONAL STATE IN 1919

Colonel GHEORGHE TUDOR, DHist.

The evolution of the political and strategic situation in Europe in late 1918 and especially 1919 made Romania take measures for the liberation of its entire territory from the Central Powers occupation troops, which were in no hurry to leave Romania, as it had been established by the Armistice Agreement. General mobilization was decreed to this purpose and steps were also taken to defend the unitary nation-state's independence and integrity. It was clear that "if we were able to wait for favourable circumstances to make union, independence and the nation's reunification, when it comes to preserving Romania's integrity and sovereignty we have to be always able to struggle successfully, especially when general circumstances are not favourable at all."¹

With its sense of justice, history truthfully recorded that, both as regards the working out and the implementation of the policy and programme of measures in all fields meant to consolidate and defend the unitary nation-state, there was a broad indestructible national agreement, a close unity of the Romanian people, which was resolute in sparing no effort for keeping its independence and integrity unimpaired. Mention should be made of the fact that the broad indestructible agreement on the defence of the unitary nation-state was also obvious in the unitary principles of the foreign policy practised by Romania's Government between the two world wars, which are in line with the Romanian people's tradition and confirm the constructive vocation for peace and understanding with all the peoples of the world, for good neighbourliness, deep respect and esteem for all nations.

In the period under consideration the state's faithfulness to the ideal of peace was proved by their attitude to the status quo established in Europe by the system of treaties concluded. Besides the observance of this status quo no other alternative was de-

sirable, naturally, any revision not agreed upon by all the signatories might be a dangerous element of tension and war.² By their whole policy and activity Romania's Governments, supported by the entire people, defended peace and struggled against revisionism and war.

In the course of events, against the complicated European situation, mention should be made of the fact that the most serious danger to the independence and integrity of the unitary Romanian nation-state in 1919 was generated by Hungary's aggressive and expansionist policy, by its attitude to the international treaties. Ruled by the nostalgia of the Asian, and then European, Greater Hungary, which presided over and directed the Hungarian Government's policy and actions, the leaders of Budapest showed arrogance and contempt for the international treaties as early as their getting the finishing touches, systematically refusing to withdraw troops from the Romanian territory and threatening with armed intervention to take Transylvania back. Béla Kun and the other leaders of the Hungarian Republic openly declared they "will extend the domination of the proletariat on the entire territory of the country with armed forces" (they thought of "historical" Hungary with the provinces it had occupied). Describing this reality, the Hungarian historian Liptai Ervin wrote that the Hungarian Government "did not actually want to give up historical Hungary's territorial integrity." "Moreover," went on to say the same historian, "it has repeatedly expressed its decision to fight for this integrity, arms in hand."³

According to tradition, ignoring the provisions of the treaties and rejecting all demarches by the Entente powers, including those by the representatives of the Great Powers who had come to Budapest to this very purpose, the Hungarian leaders did not confine themselves to declarations and

threats, they also took aggressive military actions gradually against the Romanian people and unitary state, concurrently continuing the atrocities perpetrated against the Romanian population, among which one should necessarily mention the cruel murder of the Bihor County prefect, lawyer Ion Ciordaş, LL. D., of lawyer Nicolae Bolcaş, LL. D., of Beiuş. Thinking of political and strategic prospects, Hungary's leaders hoped to co-ordinate their efforts in time and space with those of the Ukrainian Red Army. Having this aim in view, on April 26, 1919, the Kiev General Staff of the Red Army ordered its troops "to advance quickly and make the connection with the Hungarian Red Army."⁴ In a telegram sent by V. I. Lenin to the Command of the Ukrainian Red Army on April 25, 1919, he instructed that the troops should move to the direction of Galicia and Bukovina to make "the direct connection with the Hungarian Red Army" and other groups were "to start attacking to break the positions of the Romanian royal forces and encircle them near the Dniester."⁵

Acting in perfect unity, the Romanian people answered by a legitimate war (through it it defended its ethnical being and state integrity) to Hungary's expansionistic and aggressive policy and actions, which actually became quite obvious on April 16, 1919. The war of national liberation and defence of the Romanian State, which lasted from April 16, 1919, till August 3, the same year, developed in two stages closely connected between them.

In the first stage the Romanian army worked to force the Hungarian troops to observe the provisions of the Armistice Agreement. With this aim in view the 7th Infantry Division and the 1st Mountain Division were ordered, on October 29/November 11, 1918, to cross the mountains to the Romanian Country of Transylvania. Later the troops of the 2nd Mountain Division and the 6th Infantry Division crossed the mountains too. The Romanian commands were ordered to avoid any armed conflict with the Hungarian units, but to repel any of their attempts at opposition. Being acquainted with the Hungarian troops' aggressive behaviour, the Allied command informed, through the French General Henri Berthelot, on April 16, 1919, that "the Romanians have the right to take the offensive if attacked and advance to the eastern limit of the neutral zone with a view to taking the zone assigned to them."⁶

The evolution of events confirmed the just conclusions reached by Romanian strategists. In the period we are referring to the most convincing proof was the Hungarian Army (which had about 70,000 military, 137 guns and 5 armoured trains east of the Tisa) starting the aggression on the night of April 15—16 in the valleys of the Someş and Crişul Repede, advancing to the direction of

Cicirău-Dej, Zalău-Cluj and Ciucea-Cluj.⁷ Under those circumstances — deliberating on the entire Romanian people's energetic act on December 1, 1918, materialized at the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia, in keeping with which the union had been decided upon and implemented by the masses of Transylvania and Romania as early as 1918⁸ — the Romanian command took measures to crush the enemy's groups and concurrently prepared the passage to the counter-offensive with a view to completing the liberation of the national territory.

The Romanian army went along several directions, mainly focusing on the big centres. Consequently, on April 19, Satu Mare and Carei were liberated and, on April 20, the Romanian troops entered Oradea, without fighting, and were welcomed enthusiastically by a huge crowd crying "Long live the Romanian Army" and singing the heroic hymns Wake Up, Romanian and Union Is the Word on Our Banner. The Hungarian army retreated to the line of Nyiragyháza, Debrecen, Bekescsaba. On April 21 the Hungarian command had decided to stop the advance of the Romanian army here. But, energetically continuing the offensive, the Romanian army entered Debrecen on April 23 and Nyiragyháza on April 27. On April 27, 1919, the command of the Hungarian Army ordered that troops should be removed from the territory east of the Tisa. By May 1, 1919, the Romanian army reached the Tisa. Its big units joined hands with the Czechoslovak troops in the Csap, Munkacs area.⁹ In a telegram sent on April 27, 1919, General Franchet d'Espérey, commander of the Allied armies in the East, described this way the evolution of the military operations that started on April 15—16: "After being attacked by the Hungarians, the Romanian troops of Transylvania masterly repelled the enemy forces and confused them entirely."¹⁰

Jointly attacked by the Romanian, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak peoples, which were freeing their own territories from Hungary's oppressing domination, on April 30, 1919, its leaders decided to send a message both to the governments of the three countries, to President Woodrow Wilson and to the European worker parties. In this message Béla Kun said: "On behalf of the Hungarian revolutionary Government I am honoured to inform you that we unreservedly admit all your national territorial claims. You grounded these claims on your intention of putting an end to the millennia-old oppression of your people by the Magyars' ruling class. We now let you know directly that we unreservedly admit all your national territorial claims... Therefore, if we believe peace can reign supreme among us from now on."¹¹

Considering the new situation, on April 30, 1919, the Hungarian Government made a suggestion of armistice through the com-

mander of its troops in the Szolnok area, which was handed to the commander of the 2nd Mountain Division in its very disposition. On May 3 the Military Convention was concluded, signed by General Constantin Prezan and Colonel Semis Werth. By it Hungary undertook to put an end to warfare against Romania.¹²

But Hungary's Government did not observe the obligations it had assumed. Starting July 5, its high military command prepared a wide-scope offensive with a view to taking Transylvania back.¹³ The plan of the new offensive against the Romanian army essentially included two attacks in two sectors far away from each other, preceded by the crossing of the Tisa, in order to encircle the Romanian troops east of this river and destroy them (the enemy thought that the main forces of the army were quite near to the river). The forces assigned to this task consisted of two army corps (8 divisions), two independent brigades and a cavalry regiment and 91 batteries, which amounted to 50,000 military.

Being informed of the enemy's plans, the Romanian command, including 8 infantry and 2 cavalry divisions making up 119 infantry battalions, 60 cavalry squadrons, 98.5 batteries (66 field batteries, 2.5 howitzer batteries, 7 batteries of mountain guns, two 155-mm heavy batteries and two motor-gun batteries) totalling 392 warheads, a company of airstation and 4 companies to cross the river, decided to preserve the same strategic disposition essentially, with the main forces arranged along a line to the depth, also leaving behind troops to cover the military operations.¹⁴ Thus, a narrow belt was made, which was meant to allow supervision, aimed at stopping the enemy's offensive in the first stage and at creating the necessary conditions for the counter-offensive in the second stage. Subsequent developments validated this highly original plan.

Triggered off on July 20, 1919, the enemy's offensive was actually a genuine military aggression "of Hungary against Romania. The main aim of this aggression was to try to annex again to Hungary the territories inhabited by the Romanians, which, by the unanimous will of the masses, had united with Romania on December 1, 1918."¹⁵ In the first few days the aggressor was successful; by July 23 the main forces managed to cross the Tisa and go east, being harassed by the Romanian troops that covered military operations.¹⁶

Concurrently with the operations meant to crush the Hungarian aggression, the Romanian high command minutely prepared

the passage to the counter-offensive with no operational break in order to make the best of the situation created by the removal of the main forces of the Hungarian army from the Tisa. Triggered off on July 24 and generalized the next day, the Romanian army's counter-offensive was quite successful so that, on July 28, the first Romanian units began to cross the Tisa, pursuing the aggressive Hungarian army, which dissolved in a short time and put up no special resistance west of the water course. On the night of August 3, 1919, a detachment of Romanian cavalrymen with two guns and two groups of machine guns symbolically entered Budapest, where Colonel Gheorghe Rusescu asked the Hungarian Government to order ceasefire. On August 4 the troops of the 1st Mountain Division entered Hungary's capital.¹⁷ In a proclamation addressed to the population of Budapest on August 5, 1919, General Gheorghe Mărdărescu expounded the reasons of the Romanian army's presence in the Hungarian capital and the role of the Romanian soldier: "1. The Romanian army does not wage war against the inhabitants, but against the armies that attacked it; 2. The Romanian soldier guarantees the peace, property and life of the citizens"¹⁸ asking the population "to observe the laws of this country [Hungary — a.n.]" Following the same line, the proclamation of August 10, 1919, pointed out: "The command of the Transylvanian troops announced that the Romanian military authorities did not and would never interfere in Hungary's domestic affairs... Romania's wish is that, as the issues resulting from the present war were settled in agreement with its Allies, it should resume normal peaceful relations with the neighbouring Hungarian people." Then, informing that the Romanian military command gave the population over 70,000 rations of bread of 400 g each in one day only, the proclamation ran as follows: "Any sense of revenge is alien to the Romanian army which took the military action after the enemy army on the Tisa provoked it."¹⁹ On August 30, 1919, the Mayor of Budapest, Dr. Bódy Theodor, wrote to the commander of the 5th Cavalry Regiment, the officers of which made their contribution to feeding the children in Hungary's capital: "I warmly thank you for your kindness to the children in this city. At such hard times the poor inhabitants of Budapest suffer a lot and we, the officials, cannot help them at all despite all our efforts. Even from this point of view we are deeply grateful to you and the officers."²⁰ On November 4, 1919, the High Commissioner of the Romanian

Government in Budapest, Constantin Diamandi, informed the Hungarian Government that 1,000 wagons of wheat began to be sent from Romania to provide food to the Magyar population.²¹ On November 12, 1919, General Grazziani wrote to the Romanian High Commander referring to the distribution of food to Budapest's population: "The commission can only welcome this humane gesture."²²

The character and aim of the war waged by Romania, the purely military reason of the presence of its army beyond the Tisa and in Budapest struck deep echo with world public opinion and the press of that time. For instance, *Le Petite Parisien* mentioned that "Romania, left to its own resources, defended itself and probably it listened only to the voice of its national salvation that asks it to go forward and the Allies have no right to blame it." *L'Echo de Paris*: "We must support Romania. The Romanians defended themselves and they are to establish the terms of their future security. Let us avoid hindering them."²³

The character and aims of the war for the liberation of the entire Romanian territory and the defence of the unitary Romanian nation-state's independence and integrity, during which the agreement of the entire Romanian nation was expressed, can also be inferred clearly from the last proclamation addressed by the Romanian command to the Budapest population on November 12, 1919: "The Romanian army is retreating. Budapest will be evacuated. Leaving the Hungarian capital, Romania insists on saying once again that, after the attack on the Tisa, which was the cause of its military action, its only aim was its self-defence and the military requirements. Any intention of oppression or revenge was alien to it. The Romanian army did its best to make the presence of the troops in Hungary as easy as possible to bear for the population's suffering. Feeling that it exerted its right and fulfilled a humane duty, the Romanian Army wants to state once again that it has always regarded Hungary's domestic affairs as belonging to the Hungarian people alone, to which it wishes to succeed in establishing peace again by avoiding any political, social or religious pressure."²⁴

3 Ervin Liptai, *Vöröskatonák, Előre! A Magyar Vörös Hadsereg Harcai* 1919, Budapest, 1979, p. 87.

4 Gyula Juhász, *Hungarian Foreign Policy 1919—1945*, Budapest, 1979, p. 22.

5 Agnes Gedő, Sándor Tóth, "Patya na ungarska-savenska voenna družhba," in *Armia mira i progressa*, Sofia, 1978, p. 184; apud *Din cronica relațiilor poporului român cu popoarele vecine*, Vol. I, Bucharest, 1985, p. 269—270.

6 Ervin Liptai, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

7 *România în anii primului război mondial*, Vol. II, Bucharest, 1987, p. 670.

8 Nicolae Ceaușescu, *România pe drumul construirii societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, Vol. 26, Publishing House for Political Literature, Bucharest, 1984, p. 438.

9 *Istoria militară a poporului român*, Vol. V, Bucharest, 1988, p. 782.

10 *Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe*, file 54 (telegram 68 to King Ferdinand signed by Franchet d'Espéry, April 27, 1919).

11 *Dimineața*, year XVI, No. 4673 (May 5, 1919), p. 1; see also Liptai Ervin, p. 60.

12 *Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe*, Holding 2, U.W.L., IX, Art. 181, 1921—1922, Vol. I; see also *Desăvîrșirea unității național-statale*, Vol. IV, p. 78—79.

13 Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, D.Hist., *Transilvania, străvechi pământ românesc*, Bucharest, 1984, p. 80.

14 General Gh. Mărdărescu, *Campania pentru dezrobirea Ardealului și ocuparea Budapestei (1918—1920)*, Bucharest, 1921, p. 108.

15 Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

16 General Gh. Mărdărescu, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

17 *România în anii primului război mondial*, Vol. II, Bucharest, 1987, p. 680.

18 *Ibidem*.

19 *Desăvîrșirea unității național-statale*, Vol. IV, p. 101.

20 *Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe*, Problem E2 Holding, Part II, Vol. 48, p. 256.

21 *Ibidem*, p. 64.

22 *Ibidem*, Part II, Vol. 48, p. 581.

23 *Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe*, Problem E2 Holding, Part II, Vol. 58, p. 138.

24 *Colecția ordonanțelor date de Comandamentul trupelor din Transilvania cu anexele ordonanțelor ce au suferit modificări și proclamațiile date de acest comandament*, Sibiu, 1920, p. 81.

1 *Revista infanteriei*, year XXV, No. 350 (April 1931), p. XV—XVI.

2 Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *România după Marea Unire*, Vol. II, Part I, 1918—1933, Bucharest, 1986, p. 1003.

POSADA, November 9-12, 1330. A BRILLIANT MILITARY VICTORY WITH DECISIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ASSERTION OF THE ROMANIAN STATEHOOD

Colonel VASILE ALEXANDRESCU, DHist.

The Romanian people's struggle for the making up of its own independent and sovereign State has a bimillenary tradition that goes back to the first State bodies-politic of the Gëto-Dacians, to the centralized and independent Dacian state led by Burebista in the 1st century BC and the strong state of Decebalus at the end of the 1st cent and beginning of the 2nd cent AD, contemporary and rival of the strongest empire of the ancient world: the Roman empire.

All along the 1st millennium the village communities and popular Romanias, the knezdoms and the Carpatho-Danubian voivodates represented in Pontic area the organization framework of the Romanians' resistance struggle against the migratory populations thus securing the uninterrupted existence of their ethnical being and permanently evincing the creative political might and historical vitality of our people.

The assertion of knezdoms and voivodates, of the "lands" — as they were called at that time — represented a necessary stage in the process aimed at the formation of the Romanian independent unified state, a process strongly affected by the oft-times foreign invasions from different direc-

tions. One of the most negative consequences of these onslaughts was the checking up of the natural evolution to the gradual reunion of the extant bodies politic within a sole State body with frontiers established within the natural limits of the Romanian habitat.

The entire process of making up the independent Romanian state was considerably hindered, in the first centuries of the 11nd millennium, by outside interferences like the Mongol power but especially the invasion policy promoted by Hungary's kings. Particularly the latter made the Romanian people continue, as until then, its long and grim fight against foreign aggression, the main obstacle in the way of attaining its aspirations for a free State existence.

During the reign of Bessarab I, the ruling prince of the Romanian Country of Muntenia, great strides were made on the road of the natural territorial unification. In a long reign, more than three decades, the domestic and international position of the young Romanian state between the Carpathians and the Danube strongly consolidated climaxing in crushing down the domination pretensions of the Hungarian royalty that would have as a corollary

the winning of thorough independence.

Concomitantly with the measures aimed at securing the internal independence of his state, the great voivode Bessarab I unfolded a wise and far-reaching external policy of wide reverberations in the European South-East.

Thoroughly exerting his authority as a sovereign of an independent state, the voivode of the Romanian Country of Muntenia concluded lasting alliances meant to contribute to the checking up of the Hungarian state's expansion and driving away the Tatar danger. The authority of the Romanian voivode and his state became so strong that an 1325 document mentioned that *the political and military power of Carol Robert d'Anjou, Hungary's king, "cannot be compared and run counter the power of Bessarab I."*

The economic and military assertion of the Romanian Country of Muntenia, but especially the Bessarab I- promoted independent policy irritated the Hungarian ruling circles which, through diplomatic pressures first, tried to impose the Romanian voivode the status of vassalage to the d'Anjou king. In order to avoid an armed conflict for which he was not prepar-

ed enough it seemed that the Romanian voivode initially accepted the pretensions of Carol Robert d'Anjou because a royal diploma of June 26, 1324 named Bessarab I "our Transalpine voivode". The recognition of Hungary's king as a suzerain-frequently used method in the relations between the sovereigns of Europe's feudal states and which envisaged the Romanian voivode only as a person, but not his country — was short-lived. Faced with Hungary's expansionist plans the relations between the two sovereigns rapidly deteriorated so as one year later an official Hungarian document was referring to the "Bessarab, the Transalpine, unfaithful to the holy crown"².

1330 was to categorically resolve the strong contradictions between the two states, generated by the policy of the Hungarian royalty of territorial winnings at the expense of other peoples. Yet, informed in due time about the war preparations made by Carol Robert, the great Romanian voivode adopted the measures imposed by given circumstances in order to give a crushing riposte to the enemy and save the country's independence and integrity. His strategic plan grounded on the principle of an active and flexible defense envisaged that in the end, after the enemy offensive potential was to be diminished a striking blow to be dealt at the latter within a decisive battle.

Inspired from the millenary tradition of the defense of the ancestors' land through the entire people's war the Romanian voivode thought to call to fight the entire able-bodied population besides the country's army. The military developments entirely confirmed the realistic character and the efficiency of the measures

envisaged by Bessarab I. The king Carol Robert d'Anjou brutally encroaching on previous agreements concluded between the two countries invaded the Romanian country ahead of a strong Hungarian army supported by a Cuman corps. It was in September 1330. The military aggression against his peaceful neighbour, which had not been provoked by the Romanian voivode, politically aimed at "driving away Bessarab from this country" and give it /the country/ to one of the courties of d'Anjou.

Trying to avoid a wide-scope military conflict that would have been accompanied by a heavy toll in human lives and material damages, Bessarab I resorted to a political solution mirrored in his wish to start negotiations. As the famous *Chronicon Pictum Vindebonense* narrated, the Romanian voivode would have offered 7,000 silver marks and even some territorial concessions. But in the deputation sent to Hungary's king he warned the invaders "you should go peacefully back and avoid dangers which you may encounter for, if you still advance more in my country, you are exposing yourself to dangers which you can by no means avoid"³. But declining the peaceful proposals of his neighbour, the arrogant king Carol Robert d'Anjou burst out with the following offending words: "you should tell Bazarab that he is the shepherd of my sheep and I shall draw him by his beard out of all hiding places"⁴.

The king's army proceeded on its way through the Romanian Country of Muntenia, they attacked and seized the Severin fortress and directed towards Curtea de Arges, the country's capital, the main target at which the

invading troops had aimed from the very beginning.

In this stage of the war the Romanian army applied the enemy a wide fan of combat methods and proceedings typical of the popular war: strategic and tactical manoeuvre, offensive ripostes and mangled retreats, harassment and ambushes, attacks by surprise in compulsory passing points".

As in the remote epochs the population of villages and market-towns in the area where the invading troops were advancing evinced lofty spirit of sacrifice and patriotism. The crops were either hidden or destroyed, the fodder burned, the wells poisoned, the houses put on fire and the people retreated to hidden places. So, the Hungarian army was lacked of food and lodging and as the above mentioned chronicle narrated "and/ the king and his men, unable as they were to find food in an unknown country... they came soon to be afflicted with hunger all together, the king, the men and the horses"⁶.

Demoralized and exhausted the Hungarian troops were denied the advance in face of the walls of Arges fortress, "Castro Argias", really deprived of any possibility to mount a siege and so much the less a decisive attack on the capital of the Romanian Country of Muntenia. The first stage of the campaign against the Romanians ended with the invader's failure in attaining the target aimed at. Started the second stage in which the initiative was seriously in favour of Bessarab I.

In view of the decisive campaign the voivode of Muntenia adopted an ingenious tactics mirroring the high level of the then Romanian military art. Bessarab I established for the Hungarian army, now

in a hurried retreat, to be lured to a deep defile, on the shortest way to Transylvania, to be there attacked by surprise and crushed; thus there were to be used the terrain advantages and the Romanian fighters' valiancy was to be utmost capitalized. The place of the battle-entered history with the name of Posada — is placed in Tara (Land) Loviștei, by some opinions, between Sălătrucu and Peșișani.

The combat disposition was structured in four groups with distinct missions: the first had to close the defile gate in the south after the penetration of the Hungarian column using, with that end in view, trunks, branches and rocks. Another group was to close the northern exit from this defile preparing at its mouth moats and earthen walls for defence. The other two groups deployed on combat positions on both sides of the pass, on steep heights, aimed at striking the invading troops with arrows, lances, rocks and stones and everything at their disposal. In this way the troops led by Carol Robert d'Anjou once their entrance the defile could not any more either advance, or retreat.

As the *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense* narrated the battle started on Friday, the 9th and ended on Monday, the 12th of November, 1330. The aggressor was attacked by surprise and shut up at both ends by deep precipices and "the great multitude of Vlăhi who came in a rush, there high up, on the brink of the precipices and crowded in from everywhere and threw their arrows to the King's army, who were gathered at the foot of a deep valley, which could not even be called a way, but rather a sort of narrow ship where owing to the squash even the most

nimble neen and horses fell in battle.⁷

During the battle that lasted four days numerous enemy soldiers were either wounded or killed and many princes and noblemen fell in battle. "And the king took a narrow escape with a couple of his men. As they stood close to the King and they received all the arrows and sword cuts provided they could save the King's life and avoid for him the fatal blow"⁸. The remnants of the Hungarian army, arms and baggages all together, including large sums of gold and silver coins and valuable goods — were captured by the soldiers of Bessarab I.

The 1330 war thus ended in a brilliant victory of the Romanian army. It was as Nicolae Iorga pinpointed "a great and complete victory, full of consequences because the fight followed the natural way of our development, on our land so protective for its"⁹.

The Posada victory scored by the Bessarab-led army was of utmost political importance in the Romanian people's history. It consecrated and consolidated the complete independence of the Romanian Country of Muntenia and demonstrated on European level the viability of the Romanians' statehood.

The resounding Romanian victory at Posada of 1330 fully demonstrated that "in the struggle for the country's defense there was applied the tactics of the entire people's war against a militarily superior enemy" and that the "entire people's war was the only solution for the defense of the homeland's independence"¹⁰.

Along following centuries, generations after generations of Romanians tirelessly militated for the defense and consolidation of an independent State life, a guarantee for their

socioeconomic and political progress, for the preservation of their national being, of the Romanian language and civilization. The outcome of this heroic struggle was the continuity, the uninterrupted existence of the Romanian Statehood even under the highly inauspicious conditions of the enforced instalation, by force of weapons, of the suzerainty of the big neighbour empires. Beside Posada for ever remained alive in the Romanian people's consciousness numerous other proofs of the love for liberty, independence and national unity — dear ideals of the Romanian people; they name Rovine, Codrii Cosminului, Jiliște, Călugăreni, Plevna, Rahova and Vidin, Mărăști, Mărășești, Oituz and many others which marked and prepared the road of the epochmaking moment of seven decades ago — The Great Union of 1918.

1 Documenta Romaniae Historica, Series D, vol. I, pp. 37—38.

2 Ibidem.

3 Chronicon pictum Vindobonense, Bucharest, 1937, p. 234.

4 Ibidem.

5 Istoria militară a poporului român, vol. I, Bucharest, 1984, p. 347.

6 Chronicon pictum Vindobonensis, p. 234.

7 Chronicon pictum Vindobonensis, p. 235.

8 Ibidem, p. 236.

9 N. Iorga, Istoria armatei românești, Bucharest, 1970, p. 43.

10 Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, DHist, The Entire People's War for the Homeland's Defense with the Romanians, Bucharest, 1980, p. 77.

Towards the mid-16th century, under the impact of a set of economic, political-military, epidemiologic and climatic factors, the domination of the Golden Horde began to waver. The first blows occurred at the Western frontier where the Mongols had to face the offensive of the Hungarian and Polish Catholic kingdoms and the Romanian reconquest east of the Eastern Carpathians.¹ At Sinie Vody (Blue Waters), a tributary of the Lower Bug, in 1362 or 1363, the troops of duke Olgerd of Lithuania (1345—1381) defeated the forces of three Tartar emirs, the Lithuanian state extending its rule between the Dniester and the Bug down to the Black Sea.² The international military opposition, the rise of Tamerlane increased the internal political instability of the Golden Horde, fourteen khans contending for power in the seventh and eighth decades of the 14th centuries in the New Sarai on the Volga. The decisive influence in the Horde came to be exercised by the feared temnik (the commander of a tümen, a unit of 10,000 fighters) Mamai, finally proclaimed khan.

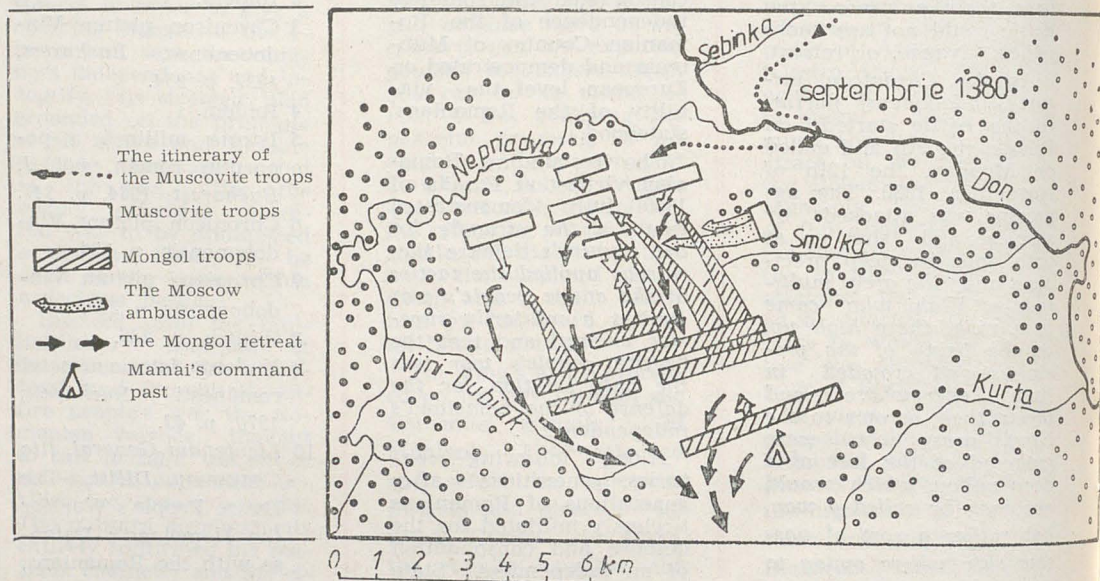
Under the umbrella of the great khans of Sarai, in the first half of the 14th century, by a "natural selection" the ascent of Moscow occurred in the world of the Russian principalities: the Gatherer of lands, knez Ivan Danilovič of Moscow (1328—1341), nicknamed "moneybag" (Kalita) knew how to turn any circumstances to his advantage, to use the force of the Mongols, whose tributary he was, to enlarge and strengthen his

state. Deftly winning the favours of the Mongolian dignitaries, Ivan Danilovic got the Tartar investiture for the large knezate of Vladimir, a prominent position among the Russian rulers, confirmed on the religious plane too by the presence there of the metropolitan appointed by Byzantium.

Thanks to the courage and endeavours of metropolitan Alexei at the Mogol court of Sarai, this position continued to be held by Ivan Danilovic's nephew, Dimitri Ivanovic (b. October 12, 1350 — d. May 19, 1389)³ who was placed on the throne of the great knezes of Moscow when still not of age in 1359. Despite the Black Death (the terrible plague of the 14th century) Moscow won by force of arms the competition for supremacy among the Russian rulers, defeating the knezates of Suzdal (1363—1365) and Tver (1367—1373). The great knez Dimitri Ivanovic rebuilt the Kremlin in stone after it had been destroyed in 1366 by the troops of the great duke of Lithuania, Olgerd, who defeated the Tartars (1363—1364) coming into competition with Moscow.

After Dimitri Ivanovic's last journey to the Mongol court (1371) where he got freedom of movement to "subject the other knezates and impose his will on all Russian knezes"⁴, Moscow's power came into abvious clash with that of the Golden Horde. After the efficient defence of the new frontiers of the new knezate against the Tartar inroads (1373), the Moscow forces attacked the Kazan khanate (1376) forcing it to pay

Drawing of the battle



a tribute. After defeating a great Mongol incursion on the Vozha river (August 11, 1378), they attacked Lithuania (1379—1380). The conflict with the Golden Horde which for several years was lacking its major source of income — the tribute of the Russian knezates collected by Moscow — was acute.

The invasion was decided by the great khan Mamai in the summer of 1380, the Mongol envoys securing the cooperation of Lithuania and Byzantium against Moscow. The forces raised by Mamai, estimated by the Russian chronicles at 300—400,000 people were correctly put by Soviet researchers at 60,000 fighters⁵, representing the strength of the Golden Horde plus several thousand Bulgarians from the Volga, Alans and other Caucasus populations. Warned, the great knez Dimitri Ivanovic ordered the concentration of his own troops and of those of the subserved knezates — assessed by chroniclers at 150—200,000 fighters, actually 70,000 — at the confluence of the Moscow with the Oka, not far from the borough of Kolomna. On September 7, after a rapid march, the Russian forces reached the left bank of the Don not far from the place where the river flows into the Nepriadva. The war council summoned by the great knez heatedly debated the idea to cross onto the other bank where the Tartar horde was expected to come⁶.

On the western bank in the field of the "Whistlers" (Kulikovo), the Muscovite army arranged in disposition on the course of the Nepriadva, the 5—6 km-long front being flanked by forests and the Nizhi Dubiak, Smolka and Kurtza. Between the right (the troops of the Rostov and Starodub knezes) and left wings, there was the large corps led by the Muscovite boyar Timoftei Veliaminov. According to the mentality of the times, great knez Dimitrie decided to fight in the advanced troops of the Drutsk knezes. A partial reserve (the Lithuanian knez Dimitrie Olgerdowicz) was placed between the large corps and the right wing, their rear being displaced and the general reserve was placed in the Zelionaiia Dubrava, to the east being commanded by knez Vladimir Andreevic of Serpukhov and the Lithuanian pan Dimitri Bobrok.

By noon, the mist covering the field dissipated and "it was terrible to see two great powers marching one towards the other to shed their blood," as an impressed chronicler put it.⁷ The great khan Mamai had put up his tent on the Red Hill and the rows of his infantry were supported by the cavalry flanking them. After a singular fight between the Tartar noble Temir and monk Andrei Peresvet in which both of them fell, the Mongols attacked the Muscovite advanced corps and the left wing. Towards 3 p.m., the powerful Tartar offensive, which had broken the advanced corps and the par-

tial reserve forcing large corps into retreat, was preparing an extensive manoeuvre of its left flank. When the Mongol forces were fully engaged in the return, the detachments of the general reserve placed in the Zelionaiia Dubrava led by pan Bobrok started to attack. With their wing exposed and counter-attacked by the troops of the great corps, the Mongols started retreating and then fleeing.

The Tartars were followed along 50 km, the Muscovite victory being complete in the evening of September 8. The great knez Dimitri Ivanovic was finally found alive among those fallen on the field of Kulikovo. For eight days, the Muscovite soldiers remained there to bury their dead and honour the leaders fallen in the battle — 40 Muscovite boyars, twelve knezes of Belozero, 30 members of the Novgorod Republic Council, 20 boyars from Kolomna, 40 from Serpukhov, 20 boyars from Pereslavl, 25 from Kostroma, 35 from Vladimir, 50 from Suzdal, 40 from Murom, 70 from Riazan, 34 from Rostov, 25 from Dimitrovsk, 60 from Mojaysk, 30 from Zvenigorod, 15 from Uglets⁸ and many of their troops.

This defeat meant the collapse of Mamai's power: at Kalka, his horde was defeated by Toqtamis, the protege of Tamerlane. Seeking refuge in the Genoese Caffa, the vanquished of Kulikovo was assassinated on the order of the new great khan.⁹

The victory of Kulikovo marked the apogee of the rule of "the great knez of Russia," as Dimitri Ivanovic entitled himself, adding Donskoi from that battle. Even if in 1382 the new great khan Toqtamis ravaged Moscow and forced it to pay a tribute the supremacy of the great knez over the other Russian rulers and the subjected neighbouring peoples could not be contested.

■ SERGIU IOSIPESCU

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2 Victor Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI—XIV*, București, 1982, pp. 274—279.

3 V. A. Karashev, G. I. Oskin, *Dimitri Donskoi*, Bucharest, 1953.

4 *Histoire de l'U.R.S.S.*, ed by A. Pankratov, vol. I, Moscow, 1948, p. 115.

5 L. G. Beskrovnyi, in *Kulikovskaia bitva. Sbornik Statei*, Moscow 1980, p. 224.

6 *Polnoe sobranie russkije letopisy*, vol. XI, Sankt Petersburg, 1897, p. 56.

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GREAT COMMANDERS

Unity and independence have always been the most cherished ideals of all Romanians; to conquer and maintain them, they have unceasingly fought along centuries and will always guard them, no matter the sacrifice. From this outlook, the formation of the Romanian national unitary state, on December 1, 1918 was not a fortuitous event, the result of a favourable series of circumstances, but the lawful outcome of a long process of transformation of the boundaries of the country into ethnic frontiers. In the name of these holy aspirations, we had to fight, most often arm in hand, against external threats. In these military conflicts, issued from our striving after having and defending what was but our own right — since, as Nicolae Iorga put it, "we are maybe the single people in the world that cannot be blamed of having taken something which did not belong to us by rightful law" —, asserted themselves a series of great army commanders, designated by history to lead the entire people in the armed clashes meant to safeguard the national state.

During Burebista's reign (82—44 BC), there came into being the centralized and independent Dacian state. The energy of the military commander blended with the cleverness of the diplomat in that who was "the first and greatest king of Tracia", as Burebista was described. Indeed, he was one of the most prominent personalities of the ancient world, one of the most dreaded adversaries, even

for the empire led by Julius Caesar. And this at a time when the Gaul Vercingetorix, after the victory gained over Caesar at Gergovia (52 BC), in his attempt of banishing the Roman rule, had to acknowledge irrevocable defeat at Alesia, the same year.



Michael the Brave

Whatever Vercingetorix symbolized for Western Europe, does Decebal (87—106 AD) represent for the eastern part of the continent. Ever since his first year of reign, the illustrious Dacian leader was confronted with the Roman armies put under the command of Domitian and later on, of Trajan. Decebal proved to have unmatched qualities of a commander and of a military organizer during the hard battles carried on against the most experimented, the strongest and the most haloed with victories army of the age; he was a defender at all costs of the liberty and independence of the Dacian state. The fact that finally the redoubtable Roman legions broke down

the Dacians' resistance after two exhausting campaigns, in AD 101—102 and 105—106, does by no means lessen the military genius of the Dacian king, "master of warfare (...), valiant in struggle, knowing how to adroitly use a victory and take advantage from a defeat," as Dio Cassius put it.

The Romanian people was born in the Dacian hearth from the blending of Dacian and Roman civilizations, supported by the permanent fight for independence and unity, for the creation of the unitary state of all Romanians, during a long-lasting process which was forever marked by the necessity of transcending the vicissitudes of history. Against this background, there arose great commanders like Glad, Gelu and Menumorut, representing the resistance of the Romanian political formations in the Romanian Country of Transylvania and later on, Bessarab I and Bogdan, founders of two feudal independent states: the Romanian Country of Muntenia and the Romanian Country of Moldavia. Bessarab I the Founder (1310—1352) legitimated the independence of a new state, the Romanian Country of Muntenia, by the victory won over the invading armies led by Carol Robert, king of Hungary, in 1330, letting Europe know the Romanian people's will of liberty. During the same period, Romanian voievodes Balica, Dobroitiță and Ioancu led the struggle for the accomplishment and maintenance of the independent state on the Romanian territory between the Danube and the Black Sea.

There followed centuries of restless fights against the Ottoman Empire, when the Romanian princes stood in the first line of defence of "Christian Europe". The countless efforts and sacrifices on battle-



Giuseppe Garibaldi (commemorative medal; Ioan Butum Collection)

field for the consolidation of the state were always associated with the fervent wish to accomplish the full political unity of the Romanians. Mircea the Great and Vlad the Impaler in the Romanian Country of Muntenia, Stephen the Great and Petru Rareș in the Romanian Country of Moldavia, Iancu of Hunedoara in the Romanian Country of Transylvania preserved unaltered the undefeasible rights of the Romanian people to an independent existence. Their great victories at Rovine, Podul Înalt and Belgrade against the Turkish armies, the wise internal policy of the Romanian Countries made them invincible strongholds in front of the Turkish Empire, at a time when the whole of Europe was apprehensive of the extension of the Turkish power. The notable feats of the great Romanian voievodes and military commanders might be compared in Europe with that which Gjerg Kastrioti-Skanderbeg achieved in the middle of the XVth century, during the liberation struggles of the Albanian people against the Turkish rule.

In 1600, at the threshold of the XVIIth century, the Romanian territory was united for a while under the sway of Michael the Brave (1593—1601), the great voievode who achieved the union of the Romanian medieval states.

A brilliant commander made known by the victories he gained at Călugăreni, Șelimbăr and Guruslău, one of the military geniuses of his age, Michael the Brave has been inscribed in the national conscience of the Romanian people as a triumphant figure who achieved the Union of all Romanians, thus attaining the ideal of all struggles they carried on up to his time, for independence, unity and liberty. But that which had been made by History itself did not last long, as the armies of the neighbouring empires interfered, thus desintegrating the newly born statal organism.

Michael the Brave's and all the people's will was to be partially accomplished as far as the XIXth century, "a century of the nations," as recorded by historiography, this concept pertaining to the legitimate process of fast crystallization of the national states. In Latin America, Simon Bolivar and Jose de San Martin, two generals of the time, resulted in the assertion of such national states as Bolivia, Venezuela, Chile, Peru and the Argentina. In Europe, Giuseppe Garibaldi's name was highly praised both on account of the military valiant deeds of the "red shirts" and by the contribution they brought to the formation of modern Italy. In the Romanian countries, the national and social revo-

Tudor Vladimirescu (Commemorative medal; Ioan Butum collection)



Alexandru Ioan Cuza

lutions of 1784, 1821 and 1848 were succeeded by the Union of Muntenia to Moldavia on January 24, 1859, an act of free and energetical determination of the whole nation, which laid down the making of the modern state of Romania. A significant part in this historical work played Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859—1866), the prince of the Union, whose wise and balanced internal and external policy proved to be decisive for the strengthening of the young Romanian state. This is how, though having no battlefield records, Alexandru Ioan Cuza has been honourably placed among the great Romanian military leaders, as a founder of the modern Romanian army, a basic vehicle in the conquest of independence. But important Romanian provinces were still under foreign rule. After Romania had become independent as a state, on May 9, 1877, everything was ready for the final battle of making the Romanian national unitary state. We had been trained for it along centuries and this training had been made at the cost of huge sacrifices, torments of the mind and armed clashes. This is how we may account for our Great Union in 1918, when History decided to do justice and impart serenity throughout the territory of Romania.

■ ADRIAN PANDEA

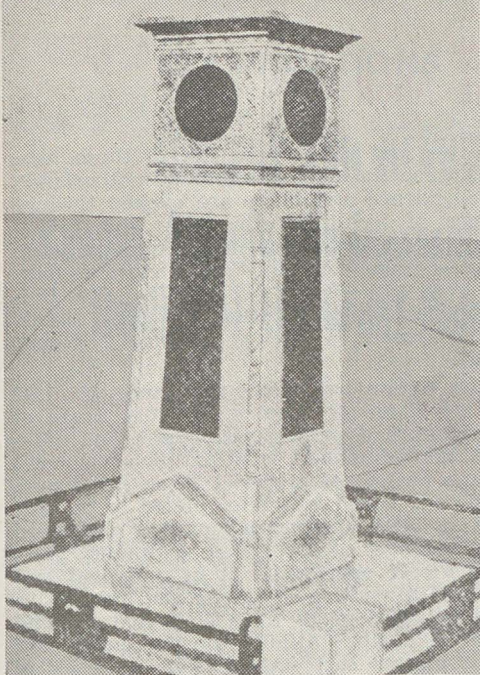
FLORIAN TUCĂ, DHist.

Historical reality, largely and multilaterally mirrored in documents of all kinds attest to the truth according to which the fight for the achievement of nation-State unity had a character of permanence with the Romanians. The lofty ideal of Union was in all times the light that illuminated generation after generation, the road towards progress, to a better, free and dignified life. Achieved in December 1918, as a natural and lawful outcome of the long historical development of the Romanian process, a crowning of its right and uninterrupted fight for securing the right to be free and master in its own country, the Great Union is a brilliant attainment of century-old aspirations for which illustrious personalities and broad popular masses had militated and fought. The road to the achievement of the 1918 Grand Nation was mapped out by a series of events of major importance for the Romanian people's history, among which some went down as decisive moments. It comes, in main, to the 1600, 1859 and 1918 triptych. The epoch-making achievements of those years were largely mirrored and evoked in the documents of the time, in poems and songs. They were given homage in stone and bronze "documents" too, in numerous monuments, commemorative obelisks and plaquettes. These memorials, present throughout the country, stand for a valuable national "archives". We shall refer to some of them further down.

ALBA IULIA. The equestrian statue of Michael the Brave. Placed in the hearth of the town, the memorial is the work of sculptor Oscar Han. Unveiled on 28 December 1968 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Transylvania's union to the motherland. Participating at the solemn unveiling of this memorial, Romania's President, Nicolae Ceaușescu stated: **"The statue of Michael the Brave is a symbol of our people's will to preserve its independence and national sovereignty"**. Fixed on a socle conceived as a parallelepiped, 6 m in height, the statue shows the voivodes of all Romanians in a haughty attitude, full of dignity as his deeds and achievements were: on the horseback, with the sceptre in the left hand, raised daring by to the heaven, as a token of victory, in the acme of glory he reached in 1600 when, through his daring deed, and of the whole people, the first political union of the Romanian countries was achieved.



The memorial erected at Alba Iulia dedicated to the illustrious voivode of the 1600 Union has a background a large bas-relief, work of sculpture Horia Flămîndu and unveiled in 1975, on the occasion of the 375th anniversary of the political union of the three Romanian sister countries under the sceptre of Michael the Brave. Bronze casted, 6 m in length and 4 m in height, the bas-relief shows the historic moment of the unifier voivode's triumphal entrance in Alba Iulia. The down part of the bas-relief has the following text in relief: *"Here, at Alba Iulia, in 1600, as a symbol of the historic right of the Romanian people to live free and independent, there was achieved through the nation's fight and will, through the prowess of genius of the great voivode Michael the Brave the great act of the political union of the three Romanian principalities: the Romanian Country of Muntenia, Moldavia and Transylvania"*.



FOCȘANI. "The memorial boundary mark".

Erected on the initiative of the Cultural Society in the place where until the achievement of the 1859 Union there was the border picket on the border that temporarily separated the two Romanian sister countries: Moldavia and Muntenia. Unveiled on 13 September 1931 the memorial was conceived as a pyramid. By its form and sizes (about 1 m in height) it looks like a boundary mark. On the four sides of the monument there are fixed metal plates with texts, in relief, of great patriotic significance linked to the century old aspirations and determined struggle of our people for the achievement of nationState unity. The plates on the lateral sides show the coats of the two Romanian principalities. The texts belong to famous Romanian personalities who actively militated and acted in favour of union. For their beauty, content and message we quote them entirely: "Romanians, how many live in the Hungarian Country and Transylvania and Maramureș are of the same origin as the Moldavians and all of them are coming from Rome" (Grigore Ureche). "Let us close our hands / Those with Romanian heart, / To dance the "hora" of brotherhood / On Romania's land" (Vasile Alecsandri); "Union, gentlemen, I do not recognize anybody's right to say that it is an individual act, its exclusive property: the union is the energetic act of the entire Romanian nation" (Mihail Kogălniceanu); "The citizens of the town of principalities' union erected this sign for remembering a past of victorious faith. In the 40th year of the Cultural League that was convened here. In this place was formerly the boundary mark no. 47, on the Milcov river which was separating

the two sister countries: Moldavia and Muntenia".

PALANCA. Monument to the memory of hero-sublieutenant Emil Rebreanu. Built on a ridge near the locality, in the proximity of which the Ghimeș-Palanca railway is crossing. The memorial, 2.5 m in height, reinforced concrete, has the form of a square prism. The main facade has the following text engraved, in relief, on white marble plate: "Sublieutenant Emil Rebreanu hanged by Hungarians on 14 May 1917 because he wanted to join the Romanian army and fight for the nation's completion. The grateful motherland did not forget him". When the first world war bursted out, the officer was enrolled in Austro-Hungary artillery regiment. Being sent to fight on the Romanian front, in the Ghimeș-Palanca area he decided to join the Romanian army, his blood brothers, his brothers of language and ideals. Captured when he tried to cross the enemy lines, sublieutenant Emil Rebreanu was arrested, put to trial and sentenced to death. During the trial, voicing the lofty patriotic feelings he was nourishing, Emil Rebreanu declared before the judges: "I wanted to join my Romanian brothers. Had better be shot than fight against my brothers". Before his hanging looking with dignity at the military enforced to attend the execution "in order to take for a model", the brave officer had the strength to shout these words: "Long live Romania!"

The tragedy of Emil Rebreanu was to be depicted by his brother, writer Liviu Rebreanu in the novel "The forest of the hanged men", a true monument of the Romanian literature.



THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH



Out of hundreds of monuments built to commemorate the Romanian soldiers heroism and sacrifice in the war for national liberation and State completion and the Great Union of 1918 erected throughout the country, in towns and villages, impressive through grandeur, artistical performance and historical significance is the Triumphal Arch in Bucharest. Monument perpetuating over time, in granitic eternity, the message read with profound veneration by generations succeeding the one that, through its keen mind and deed of the armed hand, achieved the long dreamed ideal of all Romanians: national State unity. Monument glorifying not only the fight and sacrifice of the 1918 generation, but of its precursor too. By mid-19th century Nicolae Bălcescu, illustrious representative of the 1848 revolution generation was writing: "*National unity was the beloved dream of our brave voivodes, of all our great men who impersonated the people's individuality and mind in order to show them to the entire world.*" Like an echo over time, in full concordance with Bălcescu's writing the words of homage engraved on the monument frontons wrap up its full significance: "*Glory to those who by the light of their mind and the might of their soul prepared national unity.*" "*Glory to those who by their prowess and blood sacrifice achieved national unity.*"

Prowess and bloody sacrifice of those, who fought for the defense of their motherland's independence and unity are evoked through names of localities, toponymy and hydronymy — engraved on the monument archway —, linked to heavy and victorious battles over 1916—1919: "*Cerna, Jiu, Olt, Dragoslavele, Neajlov, Oituz, Mărăști, Mărășești, Râzoare, Vrancea, Muncel, Coșna, Tisa.*"

The Triumphal Arch was built in 1922 on the Kisseleff Avenue, initially made of wood adorned with stucco works. In 1935—1936 the monument was completely rebuilt by the project of architect Petre Antonescu. Made of armed concrete, plated with granite of Deva, the monument was conceived by the model of the classic triumphal arch, with a sole openness — 11 m in height and 9.50 m in width —, having the form of a parallelepiped of 25 × 11.50 m in basis and 27 m in height. Initially the monument had eight plaster cast statues, four on each of the two facades, on the right and the left respectively. The statues looking to the Victory Avenue — representing a Dacian soldier and a Roman one, an archer of Mircea the Great and a border guard of Stephen the Great were made by sculptors Oscar Spaethe, Frederick Storck, Cornel Medrea and Dimitrie Paciurea. The statues on the other side represented: a soldier of Michael the Brave and a pandour of Tudor Vladimirescu, a soldier from the 1877—1878 war of independence and a soldier from the 1916—1918 war of national liberation and State completion; they were made by Alexandru Severin, Ion Jalea, Ion Iordănescu and Dimitrie Mățănanu. At it looks now, the monument is decorated with bas-reliefs and portraits made by Ion Jalea, Cornel Medrea, Alexandru Călinescu, Mihai Onofrei, Constantin Caraschi, Mac Constantinescu. The main facade of the monument bears the inscription: "*After centuries of sufferings, endured in a Christian manner, and heavy fights for the preservation of national being, after the full of sacrifice-defense of human civilization, justice was done for the Romanian people too [...].*" Paying homage-inscriptions on the right and left, above mentioned, are to remember both the present and the future the places of legendary prowess, blessed through the sacrifice of our heroes from the war of national liberation and completion.

■ MIRCEA COCIU

FORGERY AND DENIGRATION

Cannot Change the Inexorable Historical Reality of the Great Union of 1918

FLORIN CONSTANTINIU, DHist.

Romania's participation to the First World War was determined by its wish to free the Romanian territories subject to foreign sway. When the Tsarism broke down and Austro-Hungaria disintegrated, the Romanians living in the territories subdued by the two above mentioned empires could voice, on the strength of the right to self-determination, within representative organs, democratically elected, their will to unite with the Romanian state. The Great Union of 1918 was therefore the expression of the Romanian people's unanimous will to have its suitable political and institutional structure which according to the development stage of the Romanian society could be but the unitary nation-state. The peace treaties in 1919—1920 internationally sanctioned the act of will of the Romanian nation¹.

These historical truths which for any honest, upright and well-informed researcher enter the scope of elementary knowledge are either contested or distorted in the attempt — in fact foredoomed to failure — to deny the historical legitimacy

of the unitary Romanian nation-state and especially its rights over the ancient Romanian land — Transylvania.

Those who deny the historically necessary character of the unitary Romanian nation-state try to present it as a hybrid product born from the territorial "presents" made to Romania for her participation in the war alongside of the victorious Entente. "Romania — Kövari Atilla pretends — came into being thanks to the political guarantees granted by France, England and Italy", the Romanian state being, in its borders of 1918, in the opinion of this Magyar emigrant to Israel but native of Romania, "a classic state of nationalities"².

But historical reality is the antipode to the assertions made by Kövari Atilla and those sharing his viewpoints. The territories that united with Romania in 1918 had belonged to the ancient Dacian area and then to the Romanian feudal states. The State pluralism — the existence of several Romanian feudal states (Muntenia, Moldavia, Transylvania and Dobrodja) was a phenomenon engendered by the very rea-

lities of the feudal society which prolonged (like in case of Italy and Germany too) to the modern epoch due to some political factors action. As far as the Romanian history is concerned these factors were represented by the great limitroph powers, hostile to the Romanian people's unity whose unitary state would have embarrassed their policy of expansion in the Carpatho-Danubiano-Pontic area. The murdering of Michael the Brave, the first unifier of the Rominians, represented a tragic example of the political attitude taken, at the turn of the 16th—17th centuries, by the Habsburg and Ottoman empires and the Polish kingdom, whatever the relations between them — vis-à-vis the possibility of the making up of a centralized Romanian state.

The territorial cripples of Dacian hearth made by the Austrian and Tsarist empires during the Ottoman power's decline rose new obstacles in the way of making up the Romanian unitary nation-state. President Nicolae Ceaușescu underlines that "History, events teach us that the foreign domination, the existence of some empires in the neighbourhood of our country retarded in a period or another the socioeconomic development of the people, the formation of the Romanian nation, of the unitary nation-state"³. The objective, lawful character of the process evoked by the RCP General Secretary proved however much stronger than all obstacles and attempts to bar it so as in 1918 there were not the "political guarantees" of France, Great Britain and Italy

that created — as Kövöry Atilla asserted — the Romanian unitary state, but the 2500 years of history whose outcome is this state.

The revizionist orientation books that present the Trianon Treaty (4 June 1920) — whereby there was internationally acknowledged Transylvania's Union to Romania — as a "grave injustice" to Hungary, maintain that there were not the Romanian people's rights over a part of its territory — Transylvania — that determined the Paris Peace Conference to recognize the legitimacy of the vote of 1 December 1918 at Alba Iulia, but allegedly the "generosity" of the Entente which would have been speculated cunningly by Ion I. C. Brătianu, Romania's Prime Minister and representative to the international forum held in France's capital city. This time too the very reality is diametrically opposed to these biased assertions. The Romanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference had to cope with the tendencies of the "big four" — France, Great Britain, U.S.A. and Italy — that adopted the stance of treating the small allied powers as minor partners whose rights and interests were of a second-place importance vis-à-vis the victorious big powers. The Romanian delegate acted not for acquiring territories which did not belong to our people, but for securing Romania — like Poland, Serbia and Greece too — the acknowledgement of a status of equality with the "big four". As Ion I. C. Brătianu showed when he formulated the principle that to accept any discrimination between the

"big" and the "small" ones would mean to give up our sovereignty as an independent state, Mr. Venizelos (the Greek representative — o.n.) answered very nervously that he did not consider himself the representative of an independent state; that the big powers were acting to their liking only and had in their hands the conditions they wanted to impose and all the problems referring to territorial reparations"⁴.

It was necessary for the Romanian delegation to take a highly firm stance in order to make the Romanian people's legitimate rights be recognized before those who, exclusively guided by the interests of the big powers or sometimes just due to an unbelievable ignorance⁵, were decided "to forget" their own engagements assumed in 1916 or, respectively, to ignore the rights of our nation.

It was not the "generosity" of the Entente but Romania's then diplomatic struggle, that made the Great Union of 1918 be internationally sanctioned⁶.

The making up of the Romanian unitary nation-state was not an isolated phenomenon in Central-East and South-East Europe, but it integrated within a large and complex process developed in this quarter of the continent, a process at whose conclusion Poland reappeared, the Czechoslovak state was set up, Romania's national unity was completed and the Yugoslav state was created.

From a viewpoint which, although declared as Marxist, aims at the same political target — to contest the inexorable historical reality according to which Transylvania is part and

parcel of the Romanian state — Transylvania's union to Romania is presented in the book *Erdélyi Története* (Transylvania's history) written by a group of authors under the guidance of Bela Köpeczi (Budapest, 1986). The authors show the resolution taken by the Alba Iulia Grand National Assembly on December 1, 1918, as an outcome of the efforts made by a group of the Romanian bourgeoisie in Transylvania, a solution to which they oppose a "socialist" solution offered — as they allege — by the Hungarian Republic of Councils able, allegedly, to ensure the equitable settlement of the national problem.

The two main theses of the Budapest authors are as erroneous as tendentious. The historical evolution in the Romanian area has demonstrated that the completion of national unity of the Romanian state in the wake of Transylvania's Union to the Country was not the outcome of actions performed by a group of the Romanian bourgeoisie in Transylvania, but the work of our entire nation for which the unitary state was a century old legitimate aspiration. It was for the making up of this state that the Romanian people steadily fought and during 1916—1918 paid a heavy blood toll. As far as the national policy of the Hungarian Republic of Councils is concerned, during 1916—1918 paid a matter of fact its leaders pursued to preserve the integrity of old Hungary thus disregarding the right to self-determination of the peoples within the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Unquestionably, "the refusal to recognize the Romanians' right to independence, the autoch-

thonous and always in majority people of Transylvania, to put into application the proposals of the Allied powers which were in favour of the Hungarian government as well as the latter's military measures against its neighbours conducted to the unleashing of an armed conflict between Hungary and Romania, a conflict that could be avoided if the Hungarian revolutionary government had been realistic in taking some major political measures"⁷.

To oppose — as the authors of the so called "History of Transylvania" do — the vote of 1 December 1918 at Alba Iulia to an alleged socialist alternative represented by the Hungarian Republic of the Councils really means to refute the historical necessity of a national state as a politico-territorial structure achieved through the will and legitimate action of an entire nation.

But could one really speak of a materialist-historical outlook when

there is refuted the historical legitimacy of the formation of the nation-states, like those made up in Europe after the breaking down of the Austro-Hungary monarchy?

Irrespective of the declarations of "principles" of those who refute the legitimacy of the making up of the Romanian unitary nation-state in misstating the development of this process, irrespective of their political or ideological orientation these self-styled historians — because that who forges the truth cannot be called a historian — want to refute a historical reality: the Romanian unitary nation-state. History has been proving its might so as all forgeries and denigrations are foredoomed to failure.

1 Well documented presentation of this process in the book *România în anii primului război mondial*, 2 vol. main coordinator, Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, *DHist.*, Bucharest, 1987.

2 *Kövari Atilla*, The Antecedents of Today's National Myth in Rumania, 1921—1965, *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Soviet and East European Research Center*, Jerusalem, 1983.

3 *Nicolae Ceaușescu*, Romania on the Way of Building Up the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society, vol. 24, *Meridiane Publishing House*, Bucharest, 1983, p. 15.

4 *Gh. I. Brătianu*, Acțiunea politică și militară a României în 1919, Bucharest, 1939, p. 72.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 46.

6 See at length *C. Botoran*, *I. Calafeteanu*, *E. Campus*, *V. Moisuc*, *România și Conferința de pace de la Paris (1918—1920)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983; *Hannah Pakula*, *The Last Romantic*, New York, 1985, p. 268—279.

7 *România în anii primului război mondial*, ed. cit., vol. II, p. 668.

IS HORTHY REHABILITATED?!

CONSTANTIN BOTORAN, *DHist.*

According to the Romanian historiography, history should be a science of truth, since only by dealing with truths can it be a "memory of mankind", can it play the role of "magistra vitae" offering people that body of knowledge capable to guide their actions towards progress and civilization, can contribute to the better acquaintance and rapprochement among peoples.

Of course, each people recalls its past, perpetuating it from generation to generation since this is its most valuable patrimony. But it is very important how historians do this, given the fact that not al-

ways have the servants of Clio placed their pen in the service of the loftiest ideals of mankind. There have been many instances in which historians, placing themselves in the service of retrograde causes, deliberately ignored or falsified theses and conclusions grounded on real data and facts, "adjusted" this information to suit some predetermined interpretations. Suchlike works are baleful from the scientific viewpoint and prove that their authors fail to understand the lessons of the past.

I am referring chiefly to the works (studies, schoolbooks, historical atlases) written by Hungarian historians and published in

western countries, but also in Hungary, works of a propagandistic character, which put forth viewpoints running counter historical truth and seeking to accredit theses and assessments which absolve, totally or partially, the Hungarian regimes or politicians of the responsibility they bear for the worsening of the neighbourhood relations between the Romanian and Hungarian people, for the preparation and triggering of conflictual states between the two states.

There is a proliferation in the contemporary Hungarian historiography of studies featuring Horthy Miklos and the regime established by him over 1920—1944 in a favourable light, thus trying to absolve him of the crimes committed both against the Hungarian people and especially against the Romanians, against humanity in general. Can the Horthy regime be assessed as a fascist regime? Hungarian historians give different answers to this question. Many of them opine that Horthy's regime established in Hungary after the defeat of the Republic of Soviets in 1919 was not a fascist regime but only a "right-wing government" with "fascist tendencies interlaced with elements characteristic of a conservative political regime." The only attempt to bring a fascist dictatorship to power in Hungary, they say, was made by prime minister Gömbös Gyula in 1934—1936 but it "was not received with full enthusiasm" even by the political circles that had initially hoped to find in his person "the man capable to find a solution."¹ György Aczél, the head of the ideological, cultural and scientific section of the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, considers that the main features of the Horthy regime's domestic policy were "harsh anti-communism, limitation of civic liberties even in comparison with the conservative liberal system of Hungary in the time of the Dualism, the removal and persecution of the democratic forces. This counter-revolutionary policy moved in an ever greater degree to the extreme right as fascism was rising in Europe."² Suchlike views, like many others, show a surprising tendency to strike a contrast with those expressed in the postwar historiography in Hungary which showed that from the very beginning of Horthy's ascent to power, the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie and landowners firmly pursued the establishment in Hungary of a fascist-totalitarian political regime.

Korom Mihály, for instance, writes the following in a study published under the aegis of the Institute of history of the party under the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party: "The Horthyist regime that ruled for a quarter of a century was an entirely fascist regime, the fascist dictatorship of the great Hungarian imperialist bourgeoisie born from the intertwining of the financial oligarchy with the landed one by the fusion of the industrial and financial capital with the former feudal landed aristocracy.

The Magyar fascism did not manage to build a solid mass basis and for this reason it had to keep the appearance of parliamentarianism and, apart from an extreme-right fascist opposition, to tolerate the activity of some left opposition parties."³ Nemes Dezső, a well-known Hungarian historian, also assesses that as early as 1921—1922, "the fascist Hungarian regime, consolidated by the Bethlen government at that date, had considerably outrun Mussolini in point of open and institutionalized terror against the revolutionary forces."⁴ These last assessments according to which the Horthyist political regime was — alongside the Italian fascism and the German Nazism — a fascist-type reactionary regime, with some specific features which change its essence by nothing, are much closer to historical truth. This is also confirmed by prominent men of that regime. Thus, prime minister Teleki Pál who backed Horthy's terrorist dictatorship, was proud of the fact that the Hungarian reaction was the forerunner of the fascist ideas and practices in Germany and Italy. "After the world war," he wrote to Mussolini, "the policy of promoting the struggle against the Jewish Marxist terror in 1919 rallied around Horthy Miklos the leaders Gömbös Gyula and Teleki Pál. Among them and from their struggle," he pointed out, "there appeared the embryos of those national and social ideas which inspired the rebirth of the new Germany and Italy."⁵ In his turn, another prime minister, Kállay Miklos, remarked with unconcealed satisfaction: "We, Hungarians, were the initiators, the first champions of the (fascist, C.B.) idea which reigns in Europe today... And even if at that time (immediately after 1919, C.B.) we could not fulfil this idea, this was due to the fact that then we were alone, as a drop in the European sea of democracy, of free masonry and Jewry. But the position we have acquired represents a past to us the recongition of which we should claim."⁶

Evidently, it is difficult to analyse the character of a regime like that established in Hungary by Horthy Miklos especially because its architects managed to conceal its true essence so adroitly by a number of apparently democratic bodies. But it is undeniable that from its beginning to its end, this regime which turned Hungary into "the country of three million beggars", was maintained in power by frightening acts of terror. With good reason was Horthy's dictatorship described as the most brutal and reactionary social and political regime in the then Europe.

If as regards the internal situation in Hungary during Horthy's regime and the character of this regime there are several opinions in Hungarian historiography, the question being of interest first of all to the Hungarian reader, things are different when assessments are made of the Horthyist regime's foreign policies the objective of which

was, as is well known, the revision of the Treaty of Trianon and the re-annexation of the territories which in 1918 had broken with Hungary and united with the states they *de jure* belonged to. Hungarian historians find nothing to criticize in the Horthyist aggressive policy but, more than that justify it, considering that the Treaty of Trianon bears the responsibility for the reactionary, fascist orientation of Hungary, and that the so-called illegitimate acts brought about by this treaty justified the revisionism and revanchism of the Budapest governments throughout the interwar period. They thus circulate almost unaltered the theses put forth by the ideologues of Horthyist revisionism and revanchism who, at the respective time, resorting to falsification, tried to win the good will of governments, statesmen and editors of great dailies, sustaining everywhere that the Treaty of Trianon "mutilated Hungary" and that the "unjust" geopolitical status quo created by the system of the Versailles Treaty had to be revised. Here are some of the favourite formulas and phrases of such so-called historians as Makkai Laszlo, Kópeczi Béla, Ranki György, Szekelyhidi Agoston, Ruffy Péter, Bibó István, Gostonyi Péter, Glatz Ferenc, Ormos Maria, Pinter István and many others: "the imperialist peace system," the peace treaty signed at Trianon "ceded to Romania a Hungarian territory of 102,000 sq.km.;" "Hungary preserved in its new frontiers set at Trianon only 32 per cent of *its old territory* and 41 per cent of *its population*" (how come that Transylvania, Croatia, Slovakia, the sub-Carpathian Ukraine, etc. were "old Hungarian territories"); the Treaty of Trianon "pushed Hungary on the road of fascism;" "Some of the new states created at Versailles did, in most instances, nothing else but continue the policy of oppression pursued by the Hungarian ruling classes, this time to the detriment of the Hungarian minorities;" the *injustice* done to the Hungarians who remained outside the frontiers set at Trianon maintained the illusions of the intact historic Hungary; the peace treaty of Trianon annexed important territories *inhabited only by Hungarians* (about three million) to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia;" "the *ethnic frontiers* of pre-1918 Hungary were wiped out by the *dictate of Trianon*;" "an unjust, imperialist peace (that of Trianon, C.B.) since it made substantial concessions to the greediness of the bourgeoisie risen to power in the new neighbour national states;" "The fact that the dismemberment of the historic Hungarian state took place at the same time with the defeat of some revolutions and with peace arrangements which caused serious national prejudices hindered the establishment in this country (Hungary, C.B.) of democracy." Therefore, according to these pseudo-historians, Horthy's fascist regime was engendered not by domestic factors resulting from the Hunga-

rian economic and sociopolitical structure after the First World War but by the Treaty of Trianon. Justifying in this way Horthy and his regime, the Hungarian historians try, instead of justifiably blaming him, to rehabilitate him in the internal and international public opinion to the end of relaunching noxious, anti-Romanian theses which are in flagrant contradiction not only with historical truth but also with the principles of good neighbourhood. It was not the Treaty of Trianon which determined the establishment of the fascist Horthyist regime in Hungary but the policy of the great Hungarian landowners and capitalists who saw in Horthy the advocate of their aspirations to regain the economic and political positions held during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, to continue the oppression and annexation of other peoples and territories.

Those embracing the policy of Horthy and his proxies aiming at remaking "greater Hungary", the "Hungary of St. Stephen" should be reminded each time when they refer to the Romanian people's history that the unitary Romanian nation-state accomplished in 1918 was not an artificial creation of the peace treaty but the outcome of an objective process unanimously wished and carried through by all the Romanians, that at the date when the Conference was opened in Paris (January 18, 1919) the existence of the unitary Romanian nation-state and of other nation-states built or reunited on the ruins of the anachronical Dual Monarchy was already an irreversible reality; that Romania had become a unitary nation-state in the wake of the decisions made by the plebiscitary assemblies of Chişinău (March 27/April 9, 1918), Cernăuţi (November 15/28, 1918) and Alba Iulia (November 18/December 1, 1918) that decided the union to the motherland of the territories held under the domination of the neighbour multinational empires until then; that the treaties negotiated at the Paris Peace Conference (that with Hungary included) as international instruments with legal and political power sanctioned *de jure* the unitary Romanian nation-state which at the time of the signing was a *de facto* reality. The Treaty of Trianon confirmed to the Romanian people the historical justice done by itself after centuries of struggle and suffering.

Starting from this treaty, the Hungarian historians aiming at rehabilitating the nefarious policy of Horthy and his regime present the territorial revisionism promoted throughout the interwar interval by the Budapest governments not as an imperialist, fascist policy but as a patriotic one aimed at righting the "wrong" done to Hungary. The pursuance of the policy of force and dictate, of revision of peace treaties, of frontiers, Hungary's adherence to the revanchist policy of Hitler Germany and fascist Italy and its role as an outpost of Nazi imperialism and international reaction in Central

and Southeast Europe, the constant refusal to answer the friendly demarches made by the neighbour states to establish relations of good neighbourhood and collaboration, the participation, alongside Nazi Germany, in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the occupation in this country under the first Vienna Award (November 2, 1938) of a territory of 12,000 sq.km. with a population of 1,000,000 inhabitants, then in the occupation of the north-western part of Romania (42,243 sq.km. with a population of 2,607,007 inhabitants) inhabited chiefly by Romanians under the second Vienna Award on August 30, 1940 and then in 1941 in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia by the occupation of part of this country's national territory, the war waged by Hungary alongside the Axis powers against the Soviet Union, all these aggressive acts of Horthyist fascism which contributed to the ruin of international peace and security, to the preparation and outbreak of the second world conflagration are often attributed by the Horthyphile historians to the extreme-right organizations and especially to the command of the Hungarian army seized with revisionism and anti-communism. By placing the aggression, crimes and abuses committed by the Horthy regime only on some of its institutions, they actually try to rehabilitate the man who led the state and regime — Horthy Miklos. Undoubtedly, the leadership of the Hungarian army included the most reactionary elements from among the Hungarian bourgeoisie and landowners who greatly contributed to imprinting the Hungarian policies an aggressive and revanchist character. But the army, as the main institution of the fascist totalitarian state, cannot be dissociated from the mechanism of the Horthyist regime and labelled as the chief, if not only, culprit for the reactionary and revisionist policies pursued by Hungary throughout the period after the Trianon Treaty. The ruling classes in Hungary, reactionary and despotic internally, aggressive and revanchist externally, had built the army according to their pattern so that it should always be ready to serve their interests. Designing the warlike plans directed against the territorial integrity of some neighbour countries, Romania among them, setting the lines of aggression and the forces destined to carry it out, the leadership of the Hungarian army translated thus into life the political line worked out by the Horthyist politicians and approved by the head of the state, Horthy Miklos. It is well known that Horthy Miklos maintained close ties with the leaders of Nazi

Germany. In August 1938, he paid a visit to Germany where he coordinated his plans with those of Hitler. On the eve of the 1940 Vienna Award, when, out of general strategy reasons, the Nazi leaders warned the Budapest government of their disagreement to the armed aggression against Romania, Horthy sent Hitler a letter expressing his regret that Hungary was not sufficiently sympathized in Germany, although "after the war, when everybody was against Germany, we were its only faithful friends, out of gratitude, sympathy and comradeship, of course, and not out of circumstantial reasons." He requested the Führer his support in the annexation of Transylvania. "To us, holding the Carpathians is a vital question," Horthy wrote. "Transylvania is the only natural fortress of Europe and it will be to the good of Germany if it is in safe hands. Sooner or later the time will come for Germany to settle its accounts with Russia."⁸

Another attempt to rehabilitate Horthy is the insistence with which some historians elude the horrors committed by the Horthyist occupation regime in the north-eastern part of Romania annexed under the Vienna Award. If about the white terror unleashed over 1919—1920 chiefly against the Jewish population and ending with the assassination of 5,000 people, about the massacres committed by the Magyar fascists in Vojvodina after its annexation in 1941 where Horthy's murderers also executed over 5,000 people in a couple of days several mentions are made, Hungarian historians behave quite differently about the massacres and atrocities perpetrated by the Horthyists at Ip, Trásnea, Sármas, Moisei and in many other villages in the bloody autumns of 1940 and 1944. Some of them entirely ignore them as if they had never heard of them while others mention only the persecution of the national minorities "which soon acquired brutal forms on both sides"⁹. The silence or tolerance about the crimes of the Horthy regime and the mention of an alleged similar policy of the Romanian authorities are also to be found in the work *Erdely története* (p. 1754): "The so-called national policy of reciprocity began; expulsion was answered by expulsion, internment was answered by internment, closing down of schools was answered by closing down of schools this producing a state of insecurity for the Romanians in the North and, respectively, the Magyars in the South". Therefore, in order to absolve Horthy and his regime of these bloodsheds, the Hungarian historians put the sign of identity between the situation of the two populations, leaving aside the fact that beyond the expulsions and internments mentioned by the authors, a wave of unprecedentedly harsh terror was unleashed in north-western Romania annexed by the Horthyists. Horthy

Miklos authored the massacres which killed children, women and old men, ordered the internment in forced labour and extermination camps of Romanians and Jews. It is significant that in a relatively short time, until the end of 1940, over 86,000 Romanians were forced to cross into Romania, other thousands being maltreated and deported to Germany.¹⁰ To the same end, the Hungarian historians suggest a parallelism as regards the Jews in Transylvania in the years of the Second World War. It is already known that in Hungary, Horthy resorted to the final solution in the "settlement" of the Jewish question. The application of this solution resulted in the deportation from the Transylvanian territory occupied by Horthyists not of a considerable part (90,000—100,000 as the Hungarian historians state) but absolutely of all Jews (160,000) to Nazi camps where 84.5 of them were exterminated. Most often, the Hungarian historians do not even feel the need to mention Horthy's name in this context. It is true that realizing the unprecedented gravity of the monstrous crime against the Jews, he designed an alibi, irrefutable he believed: the Council of Ministers session of March 29, 1944 which launched the avalanche of anti-Jew laws aimed at providing a "legal framework" to the extermination of Jewry in Hungary and the occupied territories. The verbatim of the session began with the "conveyance" of a decision of Horthy: "According to a statement of the Prime Minister, His Excellency, the regent, gives free scope to the government under his leadership in connection with all ordinances on the Jews (against the Jews, C.B.) and wants to exert no influence in this respect."¹¹ The fact that he shunned any prerogative in the solution of the Jewish question does not absolve him of the direct responsibility for the crimes committed. Because Horthy stepped aside only "de jure" while "de facto" he took good care that the "final solution" be mercilessly applied. He entrusted the solution of the Jewish question to two undersecretaries of state, Baky and Endre, his close aides. "You are among my old officers from Segedin", he told Baky when he appointed him undersecretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior. "I know you are faithful to me and I have full confidence in you. I hate Galitian and communist Jews. Out with them of the country. Out! Out!"

It would be one of the most flagrant violations of truth to put the sign of equality between the situation of the Jews in the Hungary and Horthy-held territory and those in Romania. University professor dr. Israel Gutman, scientific director at Yad Vashem in Israel, stressed with good reason that the Nazis' plans to deport the Jews from Romania met "with an energetic opposition of the Romanian people and the

Romanian authorities, inclusive of the government and dictator Antonescu... Their refusal to hand the Jews over was ever firmer and this resistance was the factor which saved most of the Romanian Jews from the 'final solution' applied by the Nazis." Indeed, while in most countries under the Hitlerite sway, most of the Jewish population — in some of them 80—90 per cent — was exterminated, in Romania the great majority was saved.

The conclusion of those stated above is self-evident. Horthy and Horthyists can by no means be rehabilitated. History has long blamed Horthy and his regime. The Hungarian historians' attempt to absolve the Horthyist regime of the crimes committed against humanity, to minimize the nefarious effects of their reactionary internal and external policy describing it as a patriotic policy are doomed to failure. But they prompt us to vigilance and to profound meditation on the role and mission of the historian in contemporary society.

1 See *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines a nos jours, written by seven historians coordinated by Ervin Pamlényi*, Ed. Horvath, Budapest, 1974, pp. 519—520.

2 Francis Cohen, *Entretiens avec György Aczel sur un socialisme*, Editions Sociales, Paris, 1982, pp. 18—19.

3 Korom Mihály, *A fasizmus bukása Magyarországon*, Ed. Kossuth, Budapest, 1961, pp. 7—8.

4 Nemes Deszö, *A fasizmus Kérdésehez, Magvető Kiado*, Budapest, 1976, p. 122.

5 *Documenti Diplomatici Italiani, noua seria, 1939—1943, vol. V, Rome*, pp. 332—342.

6 Kallay Miklós, *Nagy idök sodrában, II, köt*, Budapest, 1943, pp. 19—20, apud Hollós Ervin, *Rendörseg esendörseg, V.K., F.2, Kossuth Könyvkiade*, 1971, p. 17.

7 See Francis Cohen, op. cit., p. 18.

8 C. Neagu, D. Marinescu, *Fapte din umbră, vol. IV, Ed. politică, Bucharest*, 1983, p. 171.

9 *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p. 553.

10 See more in *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă în nord-vestul României (septembrie 1940 — octombrie 1944)*, Bucharest, 1985.

11 See more in Dr. Oliver Lustig, *Denaturări și falsificări care jignesc și profanează memoria victimelor terorii fasciste*, in "Magazin istoric", No. 5/1987, p. 68.

Dr. Ilie Ceaușescu
LA TRANSYLVANIE
ancienne terre roumaine
Bruxelles, 1988

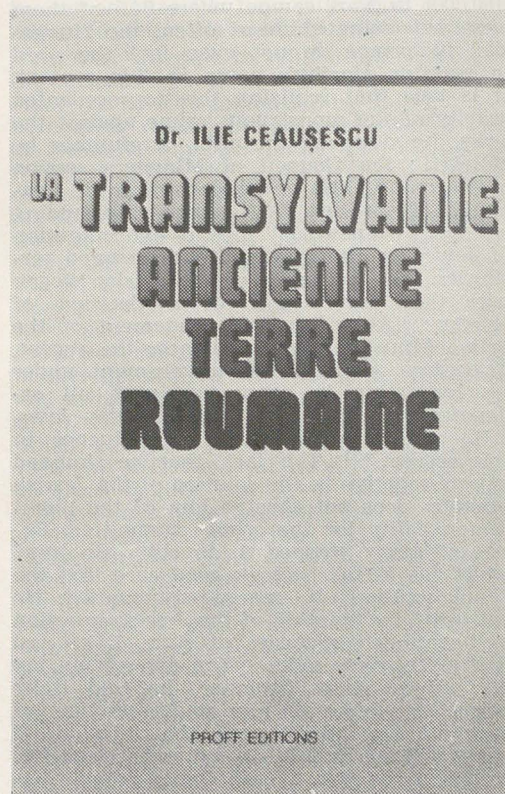
Received extremely favourably when it was published in Romanian in 1984, the work of Lieutenant General Ilie Ceaușescu, DHist., **Transilvania, străvechi pământ românesc** (Transylvania-Ancient Romanian Land) has got a new confirmation by its recent French edition, in Belgium. The scientific value and political significance of the publication of the volume in this new edition are emphasized in the preface by Roger Gheysens, himself a prominent personality of Belgian military historiography (author of numerous contributions to the history of the Second World War and editor-in-chief of the "Memo" military history review); the Belgian historian, familiar with the Romanian past, stresses that Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, DHist., "expounds sine ira et studio the so checkered history of Transylvania which for a while was the Alsace-Lorraine of the Romanians. It is a clear and well-documented book following the logic line of Romanian historiography" (p. 13).

The Romanian reader could appreciate from the very appearance of the Romanian edition the great qualities of this book. Dealing with Transylvania's history, it integrates the object of its investigation into the broad context of the Romanian people's history casting light on the organic relation between the past of Transylvania and that of Romania. Relying on the archaeological discoveries and the information supplied by written sources (some of the most representative ones are reproduced in the annex to the book) the author traces the multi-millenary history of this ancient Romanian land. The autochthony and continuity of the Romanians in Dacia are supported by peremptory proofs which shatter the tendentious interpretations about the void of Romanian population in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area after the withdrawal of the Roman army and administration from Dacia.

The author traces the process of emergence of the feudal Romanian states and in this framework reconstitutes the birth of the Romanian knezates and voivodates in Transylvania, the resistance they put up to

the attacks of the Hungarian tribes that in 896 had settled in the Pannonian Plain. An accurate analysis is made of the origin and evolution of the Transylvanian voivodate whose existence, corroborated by the information offered by the Chronicle, of the anonymous notary of King Bela is one of the strongest arguments of the Romanians' presence within the Carpathian arch at the time when the Hungarians penetrated into Hungary.

The individuality of this voivodate, its specific status within the Hungarian Kingdom until the latter's collapse in the wake of the Mohacs battle (1526), the close relations between the Romanian countries —



Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia — form the object of a well-documented presentation and of a profound and clear analysis.

An important section is reserved for the social and national emancipation struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians subjected, within the political formula grounded on the alliance between the Magyar nobles, the Saxon aristocracy and the leading stratum of the Szeklers (Unio trium nationum), to a regime of discrimination, increasingly bur-

dening and humiliating. The popular revolution in 1784 led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan, the Supplex movement, the 1848 revolution, the Romanians' resistance to the policy of oppression and denationalization applied by the Budapest government after the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Dualism (1867), the Memorandum action, the political struggles for the union of Transylvania with Romania which culminated in the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia whose December 1, 1918 vote carried to completion the Romanians' national unity are presented in their historical flow and inter-conditioning.

The fascist Vienna Award (1940) is correctly condemned as are the efforts of Horthy Hungary to seize from the Romanian national-territorial patrimony this ancient and checkered Transylvanian land.

The book of Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceașescu, DHist., has appeared in the Bel-

gian edition at a time of recrudescence of chauvinist essence directed against the history of the Romanians, especially of Transylvania which is part and parcel of our national history. The author of the preface, Roger Gheysens, also refers to these circumstances stressing that without engaging in polemics, *La Transylvanie ancienne terre roumaine* is a well-documented answer to these baleful distortions of historical truth. "The work of Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceașescu, DHist.," he writes, "obviously is a book of history but it also has a profound contemporary political echo." (p. 13).

We can only subscribe to the assessment of the Belgian historian who praises the scientific objectivity of the author and insists on the association between love of the homeland and professional competence wherefrom this admirable volume was born.

■ FLORIN CONSTANTINIU, DHist.

Lieutenant-General ILIE CEAȘESCU, DHist. ROMANIAN MILITARY DOCTRINE PAST AND PRESENT New York, 1988

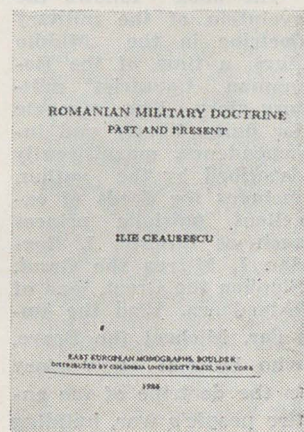
A valuable book was recently published in the U.S.A.: General-Lieutenant Ilie Ceașescu, DHist., *Romanian Military Doctrine: Past and Present*. Unquestionably, the international prestige of the reputed historian was confirmed again by this new publication which is meant to popularize abroad highly important truths of Romania's history.

The volume arrests readers' attention by the scientific spirit and high professionalism, quite obvious in selecting and interpreting much Romanian and foreign documentary ma-

terial, the reevaluation of which facilitates the many-sided examination of the subject dealt with. Compiled in a modern way and revealing a quite attractive style, specific to genuine cultural acts, the book manages to render faithfully the theoretical and practical dimensions of the complex process of creating the Romanian military doctrine, using as an essential methodological prerequisite the examination of the phenomenon studied in the context of the heroic struggle of the Romanian people for the defence of its sacred

right to existence and liberty.

The work begins by pointing to the millennia-old military roots of the Romanian military doctrine, the beginning of which were established gradually, concurrently with the economic and social and political development of the Geto-Dacian society. Our ancestors' wonderful feats of arms (the clash with the huge Persian army led by Darius in 514 B.C., the



glorious battles fought against the armies of Alexander the Great and his successors, the staunch resistance of the Geta-Dacian people, headed by Decebalus, facing the expansion of the Roman Empire) are considered by the author, with good reason, turning points in the historical process of accumulating the elements of the doctrine of the entire people's war. Of course, the author emphasized the main idea which turned into the very *raison d'être* of our ancestors' military doctrine: the defensive character as a fundamental feature of the Romanian military thinking and practice at all times. The book convincingly illustrates the truth that the vicissitudes at the troubled time of the migrations did not stop the historical evolution of the Romanian people in its millennia-old hearth of habitation. The practice of the masses' war was subsequently developed with ingenuity and consistency under the pressure of the Tartar and Magyar invasions by the knezs and voivodes of the autochthonous feudal formations, contributing to the making of the Romanian feudal states, Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, on the basis of the community of origin, language, economic life and territory.

The book follows the evolution of the military doctrine in the Middle Ages, a time of the Romanian Countries' military glory. The struggle for unity, liberty and independence, magnificently described by the author, includes the deeds of excellent patriotic princes such as Basarab I, Bogdan I, Mircea the Great, Stephen the Great, Ioan of Hunedoara, Vlad the Impaler, Michael the Brave, who brought new glory to the doctrine of the entire people's war, building

a shield against enemies on the homeland's borders.

Investigating the inexhaustible treasure of the Romanians' historical experience, the book by Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, DHist., is a valuable research into the military structures making up the doctrine of the entire people's war, the strategy and tactics of the defence struggle, the forms of the masses, resistance which were conveyed by centuries as an evident proof of the forerunners' military genius.

The analytical demarche of this valuable monograph deciphers, with scientific accuracy, the logic of the evolution of the Romanian military doctrine in permanent connection with the great moments that marked its progress in the contemporary and modern age: the revolutions of 1784, 1821 and 1848; the 1859 Union of the Principalities; the war for winning Romania's full state independence (1877—78) and the war of national reintegration (1916—18).

A landmark in the national history, an event that utterly changed the Romanian people's destiny and opened the way to the building of socialism, the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944 is, as the book demonstrates, a beninng of a new stage as regards the improvement of the military doctrine too. The outlook on the people's arming will radically change in the glorious age inaugurated by the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the most fruitful period of the development of the Romanian military thinking by the creation by the General Secretary of the Party, Nicolae Ceaușescu, an outstanding personality of contemporary world, of

the doctrine of the entire people's war for the homeland's defence. The author reveals the dialectic relation between tradition and innovation expressed by the present military doctrine of socialist Romania by raising the tradition of the masses' war to the superior stage of assertion specific to a modern doctrine, which is capable to ensure the safeguarding of the Romanian people's fundamental prerogatives under the circumstances of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, of the deep-going changes undergone by the military phenomenon. The author, eloquently points out the original outlook of Nicolae Ceaușescu on the homeland's defence, the ways to structure the national defence system, the principles of managing defence by the Communist Party and the bodies of the socialist state, the doctrine landmarks of equipping the armed forces, the principles of Romania's military relations with other states.

Proving with unquestionable historical arguments, grounded on the deep knowledge of the autochthonous and foreign sources, the truth that the formation and development of the theory and practice of the homeland's defence by the whole people coincide with the very process of our people's assertion in it ancestors' hearth, the work by Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, DHist., which was recently published abroad, is a vast and prestigious contribution to the popularization abroad of the Romanian military history and doctrine, of the peaceful, defensive character of socialist Romania's defence policy.

■ Major SIMION BONCU

General Traian Moşoiu MEMORIAL DE RĂZBOI

We celebrate this year the 70th anniversary since the achievement of the grandiose act of the 1918 Union. Therefore, the release at the prestigious Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, of the work *Memorial de război (august—octombrie 1918)*, edited by professors Alexandru Dragomirescu and Marius Pop, with a preface by prof. Vasile Netea, DHist., is, in our opinion, a remarkable publishing event.

The editors embarked on a difficult undertaking, having to overcome the herculean tasks of a vast documentation, the more so as they approached a topic either cautiously dealt with or even cursorily treated by historical research.

Investigating a throng of sources, all listed in a lengthy bibliography at the end of the book, the editors built a rigorous scientific scaffolding, prefaced by a salient introductory study which portrays the life and military career of General Traian Moşoiu, his parti-

cipation in the 1916 campaign, offering pertinent comments on the author's front notes, which are related to the Romanian war memorials, explaining then, briefly, the memorialist's participation in the 1919 campaign as well as his political activity until his 1932 death.

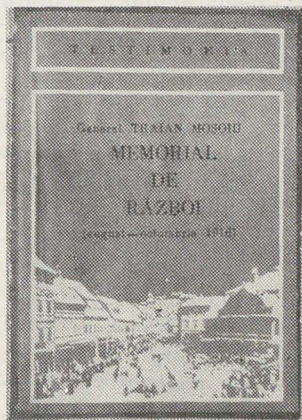
The diary's text features remarkable military events and exploits related to the battle fought in Sibiu-Ciineni zone. Mentioning the moment when the Romanian army crossed the Carpathians, the Memorials' author captures the enthusiastic mood of the Romanian soldiers: "We looked at each other, without uttering a word and General Dragalina came to me and embraced

me, setting the example to the entire army. On all faces one could see the joy everybody felt in those historic moments, when the Romanian Army entered the battle for the people's completion." (p. 67).

The pages of General Traian Moşoiu's War Memorials are pervaded by the patriotism and bravery of the Romanian army, which showed a lofty humanitarian conduct during the entire battles: "All the elements which entered the battle proved their mettle fighting with a disregard of their lives worthy of admiration. Our losses were insignificant, some few wounded we had were competently tended by Major Preda, the doctor of the Vilcea Regiment. Likewise, enemy wounded enjoyed the same treatment like the Romanians" (p. 70).

The new book makes a series of extremely important contributions related to the military campaign carried out by the Romanian troops under General Traian Moşoiu's command, in 1919, as well as his political activity aimed at the homeland's social and economic progress.

■ Captain GAVRIL PREDA



NEW BOOKS

● A.S.S.P., *The Institute of History and Archaeology of Cluj-Napoca*, Ştefan Pascu (coordinator), Documente privind revoluţia de la 1848 în ţările române. C. Transilvania, vol. IV, 14—25 mai 1848 (*Documents Concerning the 1848 Revolution in the Romanian Countries*. C. Transilvania, vol. IV, May 14—25, 1848), the Academy Publishing House, 1988.

● Eugen Comşa, Neoli-

ticiu pe teritoriul României (*The Neolithic in the Territory of Romania*), the Academy Publishing House, Iaşi, 1987.

● Mircea Petrescu Dimboviţa, Dan Gh. Teodor, Sisteme de fortificaţii medievale timpurii la est de Carpaţi. Aşezarea de la Fundul Hertii (*Early Feudal Systems of Fortifications East of the Carpathians. The Fundul Hertii Settlement*), Botoşani county, Junimea Publishing.

● Apostol Dan, Revolu-

ţia Română de la 1848. Solidaritate şi unitate naţională (*The 1848 Romanian Revolution. National Solidarity and Unity*) the Publishing House for Political Literature, 1987.

● Manfred Opperman, Tracii între arcul carpatic şi Marea Egee (*The Thracians between the Carpathian Arch and the Aegean Sea*), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● * * *, 2500 ani de luptă eroică pentru liber-

tate și independență (2,500 Years of Heroic Struggle for Liberty and Independence), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● Adam Wilhelm, O hotărâre dificilă (A Difficult Decision), vol. 1, the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● Colonel (r.) Mihai Cucu, Trecătorile Carpaților în lupta românilor pentru unitate națională (The Carpathian Passes in the Romanians' Struggle for National Unity), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● Colonel Dumitru Constantin, colonel dr. eng.

Tudor Niclescu, Războiul undelor (The Wave War), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● Major Marian Dobrică, Elemente de sociologie și psihologie în gândirea militară românească (Elements of Sociology and Psychology in the Romanian Military Thought, 1877—1944), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest.

● Captain third rank Ilie Manole, and co-authors, Confruntări navale (Naval Clashes), vol. I, the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● Major-general dr. Cornelio Soare (coordinator),

Tipologia războaielor în epoca contemporană (The Typology of Wars in the Contemporary Times), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● Colonel (r) Traian Groza, Concepte ale strategiilor militare contemporane (Concepts of Contemporary Military Strategies), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

● * * *, Permanențe istorice în doctrina militară românească (Historical Permanences in the Romanian Military Doctrine), the Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1988.

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(continued from page 55)

grity, ideals of the entire Romanian people, have marked out further the directions of Romania's domestic and foreign policy.

1 Quoted work, Paris, 1974, p. 45.

2 P. Renouvin, Histoire des relations internationales, vol. 7, Paris, p. 114.

3 Tratatul de pace între Puterile Aliate și Asociate și Germania și Protocolul, signed at Versailles on 28 June 1919, Bucharest, 1926.

4 E. Bold, De la Versailles la Lausanne (1919—1932), Editura Junimea, Iași, 1976, p. 25.

5 Also see România în timpul primului război mondial, vol. II, Editura Militară, Bucharest, 1987, p. 422; "The Washington Post" of 23 May 1919.

6 Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, De la statul

geto-dac la statul român unitar, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucharest, 1983, p. 675—676.

7 Desăvîrșirea unității național-statale a poporului român. Recunoașterea internațională. 1918. Mărturii, vol. IV, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucharest, 1986, p. 152—153.

8 V. V. Tillea, Acțiunea diplomatică a României, noiembrie 1919 — martie 1920, Sibiu, 1925, p. 32, 211.

9 Desăvîrșirea unității național-statale..., vol. IV, pp. 310—311.

10 Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, op. cit., p. 686.

11 Ibidem, p. 687—688.

12 Charles Seymour, La fin d'un empire; les débris de l'Autriche-Hongrie, in Ce qui se passe réellement à Paris en 1918—1919, p. 18.

13 ASB, Fund Ministry of National Propaganda, vol. 77.

14 History of the Peace Conference, Ed. A.W.V.

Temperley, vol. IV, Oxford, 1921, p. 422—423.

15 Istoria militară a poporului român, vol. V, Editura Militară, Bucharest, 1983, p. 812.

16 Desăvîrșirea unității național-statale..., vol. VI, p. 282.

17 Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceaușescu, DHist, Transylvania — Ancient Romanian Land, Military Publishing House Bucharest, 1984, p. 80—81.

18 Cf. Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, op. cit., p. 691.

19 Milton G. Lehrer, Ardealul pământ românesc, Bucharest, 1944, p. 33.

20 Desăvîrșirea unității național statale..., vol. VI, p. 131.

21 Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, fund USSR, Relations with Romania 1926 doss. 22.

22 C. Botoran, I. Calajeanu, România la Conferința de Pace de la Paris (1918—1920), Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 402.

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in brief and telling terms the presence of Romanian detachments on the Italian front. Since June 1918, under the authority of the Italian Supreme Command, detachments of Romanian volunteers were organized, which called themselves the Alpines. They were formed by Romanians from Banat, Transylvania and Bucovina. Organized in platoons and companies, they were attached to various armies and received the missions assigned to storm troops as follows: a 250-strong company, under the 8-th Army command, fought together with the 61-st storm division at Montello and Vittorio Veneto; another company, attached to the 5-th Army made up of two platoons, was present at Asiago and Monte Cengio and together with the 46-th English division, at Sisemoled and at Val Bella with both platoons together with the 2-nd French Division; a platoon fought along with the 1-st Army on the Cimone; a platoon, attached to the 7-th Army, we do not know whether it has received any missions. In August, the third company was organized within the 4-th Army. This valiantly fought at Grappa.³ The 8-th Army Command proposed, on November 11, 1918, that 129 soldiers in the 1-st Romanian company be decorated with the War Cross. On November 22, 1918, Caviglia, Lieutenant-General and Commander of the 8-th Army conferred, by virtue of the Royal Decree No 205 of January 19, 1918 "The Cross of the Merit of War" to the following military belonging to the 1-st Romanian company, with the notification for everyone in part: "Master corporal Neunțiu Gheorghe, Romanian volunteer, attached during our offensive to a group of the brigade's informants, crossed with the first Italian detachment the Piave, facing with calm and patience the enemy's fierce gunfire, proving the noblest feeling of duty, defying the danger and with the utmost calm he interrogated the first Austrian-Magyar prisoners, from whom he gathered information and data of utmost importance. Sergeant Lupoie Constantin, master corporal Haruța Gheorghe, soldier Boias Ioan, soldier Crișan Pantelimon, soldier Mitrea Ioan, master corporal Miha Alexandru, in all the actions in which they participated they showed an imperishable courage, an extraordinary daringness, setting for all an example of military virtue and spirit of discipline."⁵

For similar reasons the same general awarded The Silver Medal to Lieutenant Piso Emilian, aspirant Vancea Victor who, although well aware that, if captured, they will be killed in the most infamous way, they volunteered to all actions performed by their detachment, proving daringness and calm in all the struggles. Soldier Gavrilă Nicolae enlisted in the army which fought against the oppressors of his homeland, showing a praiseworthy patriotism and courage. He fought for two days on the course of the Piave river, and being taken prisoner he knew how to escape from that critical situation. Soldier Grădinar Nicolae, taken prisoner while he was valiantly fighting back the enemy, managed to escape after after he was under sentence of death. Master corporal of services Ludu Bartolomeu, who remained on the course of the Piave river because of the broken bridge, cooperated to repel the enemy's attack, crossed the river the following day by boat, only after he made sure that no one of his soldiers had remained on the other bank, saving among others a seriously wounded soldier. Soldier Pop Victor crossed the Piave with the first patrol and fought with particular devotion. Surrounded by enemy troops, after a tenacious resistance, he swam back to the initial positions, further combating the enemy with his company.⁶

Also conferred were The Bronze Medal to soldier Tăuren Dumitru who was wounded, but refused to go to the first-hand post, fulfilling his mission until the end of the action. Soldier Breb Dumitru, seriously wounded refused to leave the fire line, thus contributing to throw back an enemy counterattack, setting an example for his own comrades. Master corporal Chiorean Vasile, who volunteered for the action to bring back the survivors left on the river course (Lucca island) crossed the river succeeding to fulfill his mission. Stindard-bearer Merlaș Ștefan, master corporal Hambasan Ilie, corporal Ștefan Gheorghe, soldier Bristian Ioan, soldier Caldarariu Rocolta, soldier Birsan Dumitru, soldier Doban Iosif volunteered for an extremely dangerous patrol mission, from which they came back only after they inflicted great losses to the enemy, fetching useful information on the enemy's defense positions. Sublieutenant Cosmin Mihai, sublieutenant Hoissa Romulus, sergeant-major Răchită Grigore, fully aware that if captured they would be killed in the

most infamous way, volunteered to all actions, proving the greatest courage and calm in all the struggles waged.⁷

The excerpts culled prove the decision which inspired the Romanians from Transylvania and Bukovina who came to fight in Italy, their enthusiasm and daringness shown on the battlefield, their conviction that they contributed to the completion of the unitary nation state of all Romanians, to the removal of a great injustice which was the cause of many hardships suffered by the inhabitants of Transylvania and Bucovina.

"OUR FUTURE IS IN THE HAND OF OUR ARMIES"

The implementation of the great ideal of national unity was a dominant feature of the Romanian public opinion between the Danube and the Black Sea, as it was in fact for the whole Romanian people, during the last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, until the country's joining the war for the people's reintegration. Expressing its belief in the righteousness of this ideal, the press of Constanța wrote that "the Romanians beyond the Carpathians" are "the defenders of our people, as, struggling for their mother tongue and faith, they are struggling also for our brotherhood and for us. Their struggle is therefore just and sacred"¹, "Time will come when the sun rises above our people too and freedom will be reigning in Transylvania just like in the free Romania"², the same newspaper assured its readers. The newspapers in Tulcea wrote in their turn that "we are also longing for the fulfilment of the Romanians' most cherished ideal, we are also shedding tears and feel sorry hearing the painful moan coming to us from the beautiful lands of Transylvania and Bukovine deprived of their most precious assets"³.

On the eve of the first great world conflagration and during the neutrality (1914—1916), trans-Danubian press would greatly contribute to kindling the population's patriotic feelings. Besides numerous news and comments on the situation

of the Romanians of the provinces still under foreign domination, they also publish appeals and subscription lists for the moral and material assistance offered to the Transylvanian and Bukovinean brethren, together with encouraging articles. A publication called "România Mare" (Greater Romania) is printed in Constanța (1913—1916), the first in the country bearing this symbolic and programmatic title. The editorial wrote: "All Romanians should from now on have only a single wish, a single thought: «Greater Romania», the reintegration of ancient Dacia... This slogan should be faithfully preached in schools, churches, press, everywhere. But the press has the most important role of all"⁴, rightly point out the patriotic Constanța newsmen. The same magazine published an article titled "The Hungarians Feel the End is Drawing Closer", showing that "We (the Romanians, e.n.) are not afraid by death, we are fed up with our brethren's suffering, and we shall willingly rise in arms to put an end for ever to this suffering"⁵. "There is something in the air", the article goes on, "we are well aware of, but we cannot define; we are impatiently waiting it to blow up any moment". The editorial also said that "the time will come when the sparkle gleams... and then nobody will be able to stop it. But this supreme moment must find us ready, united in action and thought, to start the big struggle. Now, our brethren from everywhere are getting fresh forces, courage and are expecting a lot from us, the free ones. We are duty-bound to be up to their expectations, to encourage them, strengthening their hearts, so that their expectation should not seem to long or hard. And it will be neither long nor hard if they see that we are joining our forces to liberated them"⁵.

The Constanța magazine considers the First World War as a nefarious moment in European history, as "A few ambitious and crazy people are menacing, in the coldest blood possible, thousands upon thousands of human lives, now, in this enlightened and civilized century, staging the terrible tragedy, like a most skilful

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stage-director"⁶. But, faced with the on-going events, it was necessary to "encourage the masses and make them realize their duty. When time comes, we have to defend our country, to restore our forefathers' inheritance"⁷. Romania's joining the great conflagration was determined, to the Dobrudja patriots, only by the implementation of their national ideal, in keeping with the whole country's feelings and thoughts; an article headed "Let the Army Gather" pointed out that: "We shall not join the war to any involved state's interest: neither for the Germans, nor for the Russians, «we shall fight only to the interest of the Romanian people». Public opinion was thus assured that the implementation of the national unity depended only on the Romanian people itself: "We shall have to get accustomed to the idea that we shall be able to overcome through our own forces, without any foreign help. «Through our own forces». This must be our logo"⁸.

Other Dobrujan newspapers supported the Romanians' national aspirations. An article headed "The German Danger", published in the summer of 1916, pointed out that "The greedy Prussian imperialism, pan-germanism are the only present danger, now after two years". The conclusion drawn from the experience of the imperialist expansion is quite clear: "We have to learn to take part in this defence of Europe and take all necessary steps to avoid such dangers in the future. That is why we have to strengthen our forces, to make Greater Romania, joining to our country the Romanians under Hungarian and Austrian domination, trying to strengthen our hold upon our country, fortifying as much as possible Romania's political and economic bases"⁹. A newspaper published in Tulcea wrote in 1915, under the heading "Watch Hour", about the army's role in the completion of the national unity: "We want this watch hour to preserve its dignified magnificence, untinged by any doubt. Tomorrow, the army, inspired by the same feelings and the same ideal, will have to go on with the same belief in the justice and triumph of the cause of the Romanians beyond the Carpathians; we must not pour the poison of doubt into

the soul of the people who will make up the army", as "waiting for the hour of sacrifices, Romania — her arms in hand — will not cease looking towards Transylvania"¹⁰.

The same patriotic spirit is promoted by the Constanța magazine "Garda", since its first issue of November 22, 1915. On February 1916 it changed its name into "Victoria", "as victory will be the symbol of our struggle". It will unmask social injustices, speculation, the evil actions of the Austro-German agents, kindling the hope in the victory of the Allies, as the Romanian army was the guarant of the fulfilment of national aspirations: "We are happy indeed with our allies, in the same way, as our future is in the hand of our armies, the sacred victory resides in the power of our allies and of our army alike". (our emphasis).

The Austro-Hungarian consul in Constanța was informed, in 1913, that both the citizens and the officers were openly talking about "the imminent division of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which, to their opinion, was completely disorganized", mentioning also "that the imminent revolution of the Romanians from Transylvania and Bukovine will bring it on the verge of destruction"¹².

More galvanizing articles are published pointing out the Romanian army's patriotism and devotion; "The Army — the Country's Sacred Icon" runs the titles of a long article, while another one headed "Homage to the Army", published by a Tulcea newspaper wrote "I do not know whether there is any other army in the world to deserve such a heartfelt homage as the Romanian army. It has earned it through its abundant virtues"¹⁴.

In the summer of 1916, when Romania's joining the war of national reintegration was impending, the Dobrujan press mirrored the enthusiasm with which the people were waiting for that event, the patriotism inspiring the Romanians in that part of the country. The article titled "We are taking Action" published by Constanța newspaper "Victoria", only a month before the beginning of the operations for Transylvania's liberation, wrote that: "Absolutely everything, the happenings in Bucharest, among diplo-

mats, on our borders, both within and outside, among the army, in the King's and Government's attitude, in the frequency of ammunition supplies and many others clearly show that very soon we shall join the Allies' action. Everybody is convinced of that, Mr. Marghiloman included. We are even more convinced of that, making it our sacred duty to welcome our joining the war, for the fulfilment of the century-old ideal"¹⁵. A few days later another article headed "Rumours about Mobilization" noted that: "The Romanian army has been mobilized body and soul since the outbreak of the war. So, when the bugles call, they will not take weeks and months on end to get ready, but everything will be ready in a single night, when there is a full moon and the the hour of our fate strikes"¹⁶.

And the "Hour of our fate" struck in mid August 1916, when the country set forth to the "great battle" for its territorial and ethnic reintegration. At that historic moment, the Constanța newspaper dedicated a full page to the Government's decision: "Romanians, we are going to a hard and bloody battle. The bigger the battle, the greater our glory.

Let us be confident in our soldiers of 1877 and shout:

Long live the Romanian Army!

Long live Great Romania!"¹⁷

1 Răvașul nostru, I, No. 2—3 August—September, 1906, p. 46.

2 Conservatorul Constanței, II, No. 15, May 2, 1910, p. 1.

3 Lupta, V, No. 9, June 20, 1915, p. 1.

4 România Mare, I, No. 1, November 1, 1913, p. 1.

5 Ibidem, p. 2.

6 Ibidem, I, No. 7—8, July, 1914, p. 1.

7 Ibidem, I, No. 5—6, June 1914, p. 1.

8 Ibidem, II, No. 36, May 2, 1915, p. 1.

9 Liberalul Constanței, III, No. 40, June 29, 1916, p. 2.

10 Conștiința, I, No. 11, May, 15, 1915, p. 1.

11 Victoria, I, No. 158, September 6, 1916, p. 1.

12 Apud T. Pavel, Mișcarea românilor pentru unitate națională și diplomația Puterilor Centrale (1894—1914), Facla Publishing House, Timișoara, 1982, p. 247.

13 Victoria, I, No. 17, March 25, 1916, p. 1.

14 Dunărea de jos, I, No. 15, December 1915, p. 1.

15 Victoria, I, nr. 124, 14 iulie 1916, p. 1.

16 Ibidem, I, No. 136, July 28, 1916, p. 1.

17 Dacia, II, No. 133, August 15, 1916, p. 1.

"MY LIFE BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE"

On December 25, in the year when our people proved its bravery and love of liberty in the battlefield during the War of Independence (1877—1878), Ioan Ciordaș (Ciurdariu), the man who was to become the great champion of the national and social justice of the Romanians in the provinces under Austro-Hungarian rule, was born at Betfia, a village in Bihor County.

Defending justice in the trials that made him famous as a lawyer in Satu Mare, Dr. Ioan Ciordaș embarks upon the heroic struggle for the assertion of the Romanian population's right to existence, takes social and economic action to help the oppressed, such as the setting up of the Drăganul bank, the creation of the bookshop and a Romanian printing house in Beiuș, the intensification of the activity of Lyra, the promoter of the Romanian choir, the intensification of the activity of the Casina establishment of Romanian culture and of the Beiuș branch of Astra. It was him too who organized assemblies to protest against Apponyi's law in Beiuș, in April 1907, and prepared Dr. Vasile Lucaciu's victory in the elections for the Budapest Parliament. Dr. Ioan Ciordaș struggled to make Romanian be taught again in the Beiuș high school and to issue a Romanian magazine in the same town (it appeared in the year when he died). He declared and worked against the forced Magyarization and Catholicization of the Romanians. This attracted the deadly hatred of the Hungarian chauvinists to him (odious Count St. Tisza among them).

On October 12, 1918, he was by the side of Vasile Goldiș, Ștefan Cicio-Pop, A. Vaida-Voievod and A. Lazăr at the Oradea historical meeting, when the Romanian National Council, was set up, and became chairman of the section in the Beiuș area. Ordered by the Romanian

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National Council, he organized the Romanian National Guard which ensured order and discipline during the revolutionary effervescence preceding the Romanians' Great Union of December 1, 1918.

Taking part as a delegate of Beiuș in the Alba Iulia Great Assembly, Dr. I. Ciordaș was elected to the Great National Council. But he did not come to see the complete liberation of Beiuș as, on the night of April 3, 1919, he was taken from his own house by a gang of Szeckler terrorists and treacherously murdered together with other leaders of the Romanian movement in the Beiuș area. A few days later the Romanian liberating army arrived. The words engraved on the monument dedicated to this hero's memory ("My life belongs to my people") are an eternal proof to the sacrifice of this hero who witnessed the eternal Great Union.*

* The monument was destroyed in 1940—1944 and no trace was left of it.

THE BEIUȘ VICTORY, THE VICTORY OF A WHOLE NATION

On August 27, there were 81 years since the victory of a Romanian in the elections for the Parliament of Budapest. He was Dr. Vasile Lucaciu, a deputy of Beiuș and its surroundings. As early as 1828, the first high school with Romanian-language tuition in the Romanian provinces north of the Carpathians had been built there. A few months before, on April 14, there had been an assembly to protest against Apporyi's inhuman law. The authorities reacted by "bloodshed," as mentioned in *Tribuna*. Several heroes of the Memorandum movement and of the 1918 Great Union appeared here too. Finally, Beiuș is the place where Dr. Vasile Lucaciu came to know the triumph that benefited the entire Romanian majority population. In the *Lupta* newspaper (No. 169 of July '19), which was published in Budapest, there was an article by Dr. Ioan Ciordaș (Ciurdariu) titled "To the Beiuș Votets" that ran as follows:

"All Romanians look forward to you, voters of the Beiuș-Vaşcău constituency!

"People which is a oppressed and hopeless as it is beautiful and kind, industrious and enduring!

"Your adviser and the protector of the just way will be the man who will also



assume the difficult tasks burdening you and the suffering exhausting you... This be the mark by which you shall know him!"

And for the first time in the history of those places the Romanian tricolour was hoisted on November 4, 1918. It was triumphantly fluttering on I. Ciordaș's house (a museum today) as it can be seen on the left of the photograph. In front, the monument featuring the martyrs of the 1918 Union: I. Ciordaș, N. Bolcaș.

The manoeuvres organized by the dual régime in favour of the rival candidate Kardoș (the name of an imaginary *Vasiliu* Lucaciu was entered on the lists to mislead voters, a fire meant to disarrange elections, the stones thrown at the house of Ioan Ciordaș, which had turned into the election office for candidate Dr. Vasile Lucaciu, other manoeuvres and violent acts which were meant to call the gendarmerie and then to put an end to the elections), all these manoeuvres failed. All of them. A stone thrown into the election office, where there was Vasile Lucaciu, hit Viora Ciordaș of Bihor, the daughter of the Memorandum supporter Vasile Ignat, a poet and public activist.

Viora said: "When the enemy attacks women, his cause is lost!" And she was right. Her words turned out to be true. Dr. Vasile Lucaciu won the elections by a majority of 804 votes. Therefore, a resounding success. The Beiuș victory of V. Lucaciu was considered a victory of an entire nation, a great leap forward to the assertion of the national being of the Romanians, always the majority population on the ancient land of Bihor.

MARTYRS OF THE ROMANIAN GREAT UNION

It happened in the spring of 1919. Bihor was still under Hungarian occupation; this ancient Romanian land had been taken by Hungary for about half a century, despite historical reality, through the anachronical decision of a Diet appointed in keeping with the feudal law of 1734. The reputed and learned French historian Henri Gaidoz (1842—1932) wrote in his study, published by *Revue de Paris*, on May 15, 1894, that the ethnic situation north of the Carpathians is utterly contradicting the Hungarian annexation as "all eastern part of Hungary is Romanian, not only Transylvania, but also the counties in western Transylvania." Throughout this territory, "the Romanian nation covers a vast circular area, except the centre", where "there is a group of Szeklers... a few islets of German population, Transylvanian Saxons, as they are called, the descendants of colonists brought there by Hungarian kings during 12th—13th centuries. The rest is only Romanian territory, from the Black Sea to the Hungarian Plains and from the Dniester to the Danube; but this vast land has been divided by history and by the great states' ambition." These Romanians are, therefore, separated "from their brethren in the Kingdom of Romania only by political frontiers" (p. 3—4). The historian was convinced that "the unification of all Romanian lands into a single state... could become possible only after the dismantlement of Austro-Hungarian monarchy", (p. 19) which happened in 1918 after the legitimated decision of the grand plebiscitary assembly of Alba Iulia. But the Romanians from Bihor had to suffer unthought of hardships, until April, the following year, as the reactio-

nary Hungarian authorities, intensified terrorist actions and perpetrated abominable crimes, making use of armed gangs made up of former military of Imperial Army. Prison and horrendous torture, culminating with the murder of Romanians, was the only "answer" given by those who thought they could halt or change the irreversible progress of History. The archives "The Heroes' Cult" offers other proofs as well (Bihor holding, file 3/II, p. 367—368).

Those pages are shattering, like a painful moan addressed to the world. What do they say? That before 1918, Dr. Ioan Ciordaș and Dr. Nicolae Bolcaș (both of Beiuș) "were going from village to village in Bihor County, secretly preparing the population for the grandiose act they had to implement." And the Great Historic Justice was finally made in 1918, through Romanian deed and thinking. Back home, the document read, they would suffer from the "sacred national act", as the Hungarian occupants had perpetrated undescrivable brutalities. Forty two Romanians were burnt alive by Hungarian soldiers led by Urmanczi Nandor, in Beliș. Another instance: "Captain Verbőczy and lieutenant Urmös, commanding troops in the Vașcău region, ...arrested Dr. Ioan Ciordaș and Dr. Nicolae Balcoș during the night of April 2/3, carrying them by a special train from Beiuș to Lunca (close to Vașcău — e.n.), where, after horrible tortures and horrendous maimings, they were buried at the far end of the village, in the garden of peasant Nicolae Hosan, on the banks of Vărzari river." That happened on April 4, 1919. A few days later, the Romanian Army managed to put an end to oppression.

Now, seventy years since the Great Union that had taken a great toll of our forefathers' lives, we may rightly repeat the words engraved on the memorial dedicated to these heroes: "Praise to the martyrs of the people's liberation and reintegration, so that their blood toll remain for ever on eternal remembrance."

Group articles by **ANDREI BUSUIOCEANU**, Major **GHEORGHE VARTIC**, **AUGUSTIN CHIRILĂ**, **DUMITRU ZAHARIA**, **DHist.**, **ȘTEFAN LASCU**, Lieutenant-colonel **IOAN C. PETRIȘAN**, Captain-Commander **ILIE MANOLE**

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HELSINKI 30 May—5 June 1988
THE 13th INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUY
OF MILITARY HISTORY

Major MIHAIL E. IONESCU, DHist.

Sponsored by the Finish Commission of Military History Helsinki lodged over 30 May — 5 June 1988 the works of the 13th International Colloquy of Military History. Delegates from 25 countries affiliated to the International Commission of Military History focused upon two large tematics: a) *The role of political and military intelligence of Supreme Command on the strategic and operational decisions taken in Europe in the Second World War*; b) *The transition period and the prospects of development of field armies' tactics from mid-18th century to early 19th century (1750—1830).*

The papers presented and discussions round them underlined complex historical problems: the essential role of intelligence, of their correct interpretation and their rapid dissemination to decision-taking echelons in oportunely taking good decisions on strategic and operational level; the great significance of West Allies deciphering of the enemy's confidential cables and messages (the Ultra and Magic operations); changes occured in tactics during and after the Napoleonian wars; the evolution of military thinking over 1850—1830 and the organizational shaping of the armed forces etc.

The Romanian Commission of Military History presented two essays: "*The Role of Intelligence over 1943—1944 in Romania's decision to enter the war against Germany, authored by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceaușescu, DHist. and*" *The Standing Army or the "armed nation": the case of the Romanian volunteer units: 1768—1821*", authored by Major E. Ionescu, DHist. Both two essays enjoyed success raising numerous questions and comments during debates. It was underlined our country's major contri-

bution to the victory over fascism, stress being put upon the sovereign, independent character of the act of 23 August 1944 and arguments were brought in support of the assertion that Romania, through her military effort, shortened the war by at least 200 days. At the same time there was revealed that in the first stage of the "revolution century" in Romania's modern history, started once with the 1784 popular revolution, the debate about the nature and structure of the soldierly establishment concluded with an original Romanian "answer", according to historical traditions and historical circumstances (economic potential, the hostility of the neighbour empires vis-à-vis the Romanian people's struggle for political unity and independence etc.). "Answer" concretized in the formation of volunteer units that will prepare the cadres of modern standing army.

The Helsinki Colloquy also occasioned some meetings of the bureau of International Commission of Military History heeded to the organization of the international congress of military history to be held at Madrid (August 1990) and special numbers of some reviews of military history with international collaboration (special numbers of *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire* dedicated to military museums of national commissions affiliated or inter-war problems).

The Finish hosts, the colloqui was sponsored by the country's President and with the substantial support of the ministries of education and army — did their best for the colloquy to be successful, stress being once again put on the utility of exchange of opinions as a main lever of mutual knowing in the interest of peace and international collaboration.

THE ROMANIAN-ITALIAN COLLOQUI OF COMPARED HISTORY

Milan lodged an important scientific manifestation: the international colloquy dedicated to "*Romania and Italy, 1943—1947. For a parallel history*". Initiated by the hostes — Centre of Studies and Research on Contemporary Europe (Ce. S.R.E.C.) and enjoying the participation of some representatives of the Romanian Commission of Military History, the colloquy works were attended by a large public made up of university cadres, researchers, students and newspapermen.

Within this scientific manifestation the Romanian delegates delivered the papers: *From Cairo to Stockholm Romania between the big powers in 1944* (Dr. Florin Constantiniu), *"Romania" contribution to the defeat of Nazi Germany* (Major Mihail Ionescu, DHist) and *"Romania at the Paris Peace Conference* (captain Ilie Schipor) and the Italian side *"The Italian resistance: myth and reality"* (ambassador Edgardo Sogno) and *"Italy at the Paris Peace Conference"* (Dr. Sergio Chille, Milan University).

The colloquy works were chaired by Dr. Riccardo Ranzi and Dr. Lauro Grassi, Chairman and respectively general secretary of Ce. S.R.E.C., research institute asserted through its preoccupations about the pluridisciplinary analysis of our continent's evolution in contemporary epoch. Both the papers and the debates revealed unknown so

far aspects from the politico-military evolution of Romania and Italy in the last part of the Second World War and until the conclusion of the Peace Conference. The Romanian delegation pretended and argued convincingly the role of the national democratic forces led by the communist party in getting Romania out of the anti-Soviet war and its joining the United Nations coalition, our people's great contribution to the defeat of Germany and her allies, to shortening the world conflagration with about 200 days and to the winning of final victory, as well as the peculiarities and implications of the Peace Treaty signed on 10 February 1947.

The hostess underlined some unpublished aspects from the organization and action of the Italian resistance during the last world conflagration, analyzed the context and beneficial consequences of Italy's granting the status of cobelligerent.

The interest showed by the Italian public to the Romanian essays and our national history, the reverberation of this scientific manifestation in the Italian press (*Corriere della sera*, *La Repubblica*) and in other mass media, demonstrate the prestige that our country and contemporary historiography enjoy all over the world and stress the necessity of promoting scientific dialogue as means of knowing and nearing among all peoples of the World.

■ Captain ILIE SCHIPOR

FRONT COVER: The Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia December 1, 1918

BACK COVER: Heroism and self-sacrifice in the war for national liberation and recompletion of 1916—1918. Bucharest. The Triumphal Arch.

● L'œuvre du secrétaire général du P.C.R., le camarade Nicolae Ceaușescu, sur la légitimité de la Grande Union de 1918 ● La vérité, la probité et la dignité de l'histoire ● L'union d'avant l'union. L'Etat gétodace, une réalité historique remarquable de l'antiquité européenne. La synthèse daco-romaine: unité, continuité, pérenité. Le peuple roumain unique et unitaire d'une part et de l'autre des Carpates et du Danube, héritier des grandes vertus et traditions de ses glorieux précurseurs. L'unité étatique dans la conscience et l'action politique médiévale roumaine (les siècles IX—XVI). Michel le Brave, „Restitutor Daciae”. L'unité nationale — objectif principale dans les programmes politiques du siècle des révolutions. La résistance des Roumains face à la pression, de l'immixtion et l'oppression étrangère ● 1918, La Grande Union des Roumains — La Grande Justice historique. Union pour tous les siècles ● 1918, l'année de l'affirmation objective du droit inaliénable des nations au développement libre indépendant. La Grande Union de 1918, l'œuvre du peuple roumain. Les gardes-nationales roumaines de Transylvanie, les „combattants pour la paix et la liberté, pour la langue, la loi et le pays” ● Témoignage ● La confirmation internationale de la Grande Union roumaine de 1918 ● Vérités fondamentales de l'histoire nationale. L'union des Roumains de 1918, l'accomplissement d'une légité historique objective, événement important de l'histoire universelle ● Fondements de la doctrine militaire nationale. Le consensus de la nation toute entière dans la lutte pour la défense de l'Etat national unitaire roumain de 1919. ● Grandes batailles. Posada, 9—12 novembre 1330. Kulikovo, 8 septembre 1380 ● Grands commandants. ● Les monuments de l'Union ● Attitudes. Le faux et le dénigrement ne peuvent pas modifier la réalité historique inexorable de l'union roumaine de 1918. La réhabilitation de Horthy?! ● Le livre d'histoire ● De l'activité de la Commission Roumaine d'Histoire Militaire. Helsinki. 30 mai — 5 juin. 1988. Le XIII Colloque International d'Histoire Militaire. Le Colloque italo-roumain d'histoire comparée ●

● Проведения генерального секретаря Румынской коммунистической партии, товарища Николае Чаушеску в связи с закономерностью Великого Объединения ● Истина, целостность и достоинство истории ● Объединение перед Великим Объединением. Гето-дакийское государство — исключительная историческая реальность в европейской античности. Дакско-римский синтез: единство, непрерывность, постоянство. Единый и единственный румынский народ по обе стороны Карпат и Дуная, приемник великой доблести и славных традиций его предшественников. Государственное единство в сознании и политических действиях румын в период средневековья. Михай Храбрый — „Restitutor Daciae”. Национальное единство — важнейшая цель политических программ века революций. Спротивление румын чужеземному нажиму, вмешательству и угнетению. ● 1918. Великое Объединение румын — Великая историческая справедливость. — Объединение навеки. ● Свидетельства. 1918 год, год объективного утверждения права наций на свободное, самостоятельное развитие. Великое Объединение 1918 года — дело всего румынского народа. В национальных отрядах — „борцы за мир и свободу, язык, закон и отчизну.” Международное подтверждение великого румынского объединения 1918 года. ● Коренные истины национальной истории. Объединение румын в 1918 году, осуществление объективной исторической закономерности, важное событие всемирной истории ● Основы румынской военной доктрины. Единство всей нации в борьбе за защиту единого национального румынского государства в 1919 году ● Великие битвы. Посада, 9—12 ноября 1330 г. Куликово, 8 сентября 1380 г. ● Великие полководцы ● Памятники объединения румын ● Пояснения. Отношения. Фальсификация и оппортунизм не могут изменить неумолимую историческую реальность Великого Объединения от 1918 года. Реабилитация Хорти?! ● Историческая книга ● До сведения Румынской Комиссии по военной истории ●

● Das Werk des Generalsekretärs der Rumänischen Kommunistischen Partei, Genosse Nicolae Ceaușescu, bezüglich der Legitimität der Grossen Vereinigung von 1918 ● Die Wahrheit, die Integrität und die Würde der Geschichte ● Die Vereinigung vor der Vereinigung: Der getisch-dakische Staat, bemerkenswerte historische Realität im europäischen Altertum. Dakisch-römische Synthese: Einheit, Kontinuität, Dauerhaftigkeit. Das rumänische Volk, ein einziges und einheitliches Volk beiderseits der Karpaten und der Donau, der Erbe der hochstehenden Tugenden und Traditionen seiner ruhmreichen Vorfahren. Die staatliche Einheit im Bewusstsein und in der politischen Handlung der Rumänen im Mittelalter (IX—XVI.Jh.). Michael der Tapfere „Restitutor Daciae”. Die nationale Einheit — hauptsächliches Ziel in den politischen Programmen des „Jahrhunderts der Revolutionen”. Der Widerstand der Rumänen gegen den Druck, die Einmischung und Unterdrückung der fremden Mächte ● 1918. Die Grosse Vereinigung der Rumänen — die Grosse Historische Gerechtigkeit, Vereinigung für Ewigkeit. 1918, das Jahr der objektiven Durchsetzung des unveräußerlichen Rechtes der Nationen auf selbständige, freie Entwicklung. — Die Grosse Vereinigung von 1918, das Werk des ganzen rumänischen Volkes. In den rumänischen Nationalgarden Transsilvaniens, „die Kämpfer für Frieden und Freiheit, für Sprache, Gesetz und Boden” ● Bekenntnisse ● Die internationale Bestätigung der Grossen Rumänischen Vereinigung von 1918 ● Grundlegende Wahrheiten der nationalen Geschichte ● Die Vereinigung der Rumänen von 1918: Erfüllung einer objektiven historischen Gesetzmäßigkeit, ein bedeutendes Ereignis in der Weltgeschichte ● Grundlagen der nationalen Militärdoktrin. Die Einheit der ganzen Nation im Kampf für die Verteidigung des einheitlichen rumänischen nationalen Staates von 1919 ● Grosse Schlachten. Posada, 9—12. November 1330. Kulikovo, 8. September 1380 ● Grosse Kommandanten ● Die Denkmäler der Vereinigung ● Klärungen. Stellungnahmen. Die Verfälschung und die Verleumdung vermögen die unerbittliche historische Realität der rumänischen Vereinigung von 1918 nicht ablösen. Eine Rehabilitierung Horthys?! ● Das Geschichtsbuch ● Aus der Tätigkeit der Rumänischen Kommission für Militärgeschichte. Helsinki. 30. Mai. — 5. Juni 1988. Das XIII. Internationale Kolloquium der Militärgeschichte. Das rumänisch-italienische Kolloquium der vergleichenden Geschichte ●

Issued under the aegis of the Romanian Commission of Military History as a supplement of magazine „Viața Militară” (Military Life)

Address: Romanian Commission of Military History, Bucharest, 5—7 Drumul Taberei str., tel 31.30.44

Readers from abroad may subscribe to this magazine through the agency of ROMPRESFILATELIA — press import-export department Bucharest Calea Grivitei no. 64—66, sector 1, P.O. Box 12-201, telex 10376



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The printing executed by
I.P. 13 Decembrie 1918