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**Romanian - Jewish relationships during 1940-1944. A reopened and over politicized wound**

**by  
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The problem of the holocaust is one of the most sensitive and one of the most important themes in the contemporary history of The European Continent, which never ceased to be a topic of interest, of a very high intensity, not even after sixty years after the end of the Second World War. The international politicizing of the problem of the holocaust became a very important political problem for those involved in it, and the fact that it is sustained by some of the chief rulers of our world, gives unique valences to this phenomenon. Never before the sufferance of a nation had been so mediated, sympathized, reiterated and permanently brought up to date.

The scientific research of this phenomenon needs a strong judgment, some impartial historical researches and analysis, in which the analyst respects and applies the principles of law from *audiatur et altera pars* to *audiatur omnia pars*. In this analysis it is not allowed either to make a preferential selection of the research results', or to make any sentimental additions. Love and hate, sympathy and aversion, pity or any other feeling should not be involved in this process. The socio-political ethics will be represented by moral and law principles, and not by any kind of feelings. Nowadays, the problem of the holocaust has suffered all kinds of approaches, scientific, literary, memorism, over politicized or as a subject of law. Unfortunately, the least mediated were the results of the scientific researches. The scientific approach of the subject implies special conditions, often burdened by the fact that in several European countries, including Romania, punishment normative documents were elaborated, that forbid the critique of the holocaust in public. In Romania the Government issued the *Emergency Ordinance* no. 31/2002, which stipulates imprisonment for the denial of the holocaust, but without giving the necessary explanations regarding the place, the international juridical sentences, so as many other factors, this leaving place for different interpretations, taking in consideration that the Jewish people have suffered in many places of the world, but not everywhere was a holocaust. These confusions could easily make a victim from those who refer to the dimension of the Jewish sufferance and who, by exaggerating the interpretations, can be accused of anti-Semitism, denial of the holocaust and thrown into court and prisons, like the well known Roger Garaudy or David Irving, who, as these pages are written, is in jail. The hardest thing is to accept that the victims are more often researchers, not mentioning writers or other kind intellectuals. Various institutions were founded, in Romania, to study the situation of the Jewish people during the World War II, but before these institutions started the research process, the denial of the holocaust has been proclaimed and the interdictions and the punishments have been clearly stated. So what more can be studied? All the results have to be on the same line, otherwise the jail is not far from us.

There are also low uncertainties concerning the term *anti-Semitic*. The Romanian Academy Dictionary says that an *anti-Semitic* is a person who acts against Jews based on racial and religious criteria, but the term has a wider interpretation, so that those who criticize groups of Jewish people or persons of Jewish ancestry, for various reasons, are more than

often up taken as anti-Semitic and submitted to public disgrace as serious as an authentic anti-Semitic. From November 2005 to March 2006 a Romanian parliamentary committee, tried to find out solutions for a redefining of the holocaust. The legislation regarding anti-Semitism and the likely “boldness” of not recognizing the holocaust, the way it is promoted by some Jewish leaders, hangs over the researchers’ heads as the sword of Damocles.

In the following lines we intend to identify some widespread opinions in the Romanian historical writing, in some political analysis of the Romanian Jewish problems, and also in scientifically opinions, which are promoted in newspapers and magazines with a public scandal hue, or in some actions in the justice.

Personally, due to my profession of historian of the contemporary epoch, I had many occasions to state that the sufferance of the Jewish people during World War II is a reality, which every researcher, even those with a low objectivity, has to admit. The arithmetic of those who died or suffered is not important. From a theoretical point of view, like many others stated, one single Jewish, who suffered seriously and unfair, is enough for this phenomenon to be condemned, morally and juridical. At the same time though, the dimension of the holocaust, as it results from many writings, is often controversial, subject to interpretation, and sometimes unacceptable, from some researchers’ point of view. As we previously shown, some researchers, from other countries, had even lost their freedom in order to sustain their scientific thesis, what I personally consider a huge fault of the political system we live in, no matter if the scientists’ results were wrong or not. There’s no need to mention other names here. Confusions concerning the holocaust rose also from the fact that all kind of writings about this phenomenon have appeared, written by all kind of authors. Artists, chemical engineers, mechanics, musicians, men of letters and other categories that have nothing to do with scientific research, gave their opinions, each one of them sustaining their truth, claiming to be a *taboo*, which the law forbids us to contradict. Personally, I consider that the study of the holocaust must remain a historians’ job, who has to be responsible for the theme, for making objective researches, unloaded of any political encroachments, of any attempts to hush up some cases of breaking the law during the period taking into analysis, and of any over-estimations of some events and phenomena, of analysis made from points of view and coordinates that didn’t belong to the times and places that were researched. These statements are the ones that will pass the test of time, maintaining their validity. The encroachments of numerous persons from other professions in the writings about the holocaust, under various reasons, including the fact that they are victims, a victim’s successor, well informed persons, alive witnesses etc, can only be less significant, or in many cases, unimportant. The pressure of the legislation and the fear of the political persecutions determined that, in Romania, only a small number of Romanian people to approach the theme of the holocaust any more.

The problem of the Romanian Jewish relationship, during the Second World War and the Cold War, became a sensitive ideological problem, like the sensitiveness of the problems of the communist ideology during the dictatorship under the Soviet Union domination. Nowadays, those labeled as anti-Semitic have to undertake pressures like the ones suffered by the ideological critics of the communist regime, which seems to me unacceptable, especially that there are labeled as anti-Semitic not only those who suggest taking measures that are against the Jewish people, but also those who only suggest to some Jews not to exaggerate, to tell the truth, or not to reopen old wounds in their relationship with other nations, among who they are living, they have received political asylum and even to gain welfare over those nations average.

I don’t think that the Jewish people should continue using lawyers and propagandists to retell what they had to suffer in the past, to reiterate for sixty years Germany’s guilt and from fifteen years now Romania’s guilt. I consider these things to be truths belonging to the

history. They have to be studied by historians and have no place in the politicians' agendas of our days. I don't think that the Jewish people have something to gain from the seizure of their sufferance and its monopolization. There were others who suffered too; there were other genocides, too. If we only think of those from the contemporary epoch (Armenians, Serbians, some minorities from Russia, Palestinians, Afghans, Germans, the genocides made by the communists, etc). The Romanians have suffered very much too, along many periods of the history. We can easily demonstrate, with well known arguments, that each one of these nations had suffered more or less the same as the Jewish did, but we consider it to be over mediated, reminded over and over, with a tragic emphasis, and sometimes with aggressive wounds kept open. With a refined ability we are usually told that, in fact, the Romanian and the German people are not to be blamed, and that only the German and the Romanian authorities (central and local)<sup>1</sup> are to be blamed. It's a content inaccuracy. The authorities, the leaders of the states, the governments, so as the local authorities, all over the world, are representatives of their people, no matter if the citizens agree with their rulers or not, if they supported them or not, if they voted for them or not. As the accusations are not just with a moral signification, throwing the blame on these nations is more obvious. Germany has already paid a huge amount of money, about 55 billion \$, damages for the Jewish communities. By the end of the Second World War, the winners of the war had already punished Germany. It had been totally bombed. Everything had been taken from them. Their leader had been sentenced to death, so as many soldiers who were proved to have taken actions against the Jews. All the treasures, that have been found, were confiscated. All the factories had been dismantled and repurchased. All the scientific discoveries were stolen. The most important archives were also stolen. Every single drawer was checked. A part of the German people has been deported to Siberia. The cruelty, with which the Germans had been transferred from Czechoslovakia and Poland, through a brutal uprooting, followed by many deaths was in itself a great sufferance. Is there someone who thinks that it was easier for Germans than Jewish? If so, he is wrong. Under these circumstances, who else is there to be accused, to pay and to constantly apologize? The Germans of the next generations. They have paid and they are still paying the damages from their work, not from what their ancestors, guilty for the Jewish people sufferance, had put aside. They were taken everything by the conquerors, the Jewish allies. In the Romanian gulag of the soviet military occupation, mostly run by Jews wasn't any easier. Those who had to suffer for the communist experiments at the penitentiary from Pitesti, at the beginning of the 50's, and for other horrors during soviet military occupation, with the approval of the heads of Security, the Jews Pantelei Bodnarenko and Boris Grünberg, had both died, so there is no one left to testify. However, there are documents in the Romanian archives about what happened there and measures had been taken for these traits not to disappear.

By everything that has been told before, we don't intend to be like those who deny the holocaust and the great sufferance of the Jews during the Second World War. We are breaking apart from them. However, we think that the Jewish sufferance was emphasized, from country to country, from one period of the war to another and that not all the crimes against the Jews can be looked upon as genocide. From crime to genocide (holocaust) is a long way to go, juridical, so as morally. Those who must study the nuances of this problem and who must interpret them are only the professionals of the history, and on no account the politicians, journalists, propagandists, NGOs, or any other institutions. The testimonies must be given in a court of law where their validity is verified and confirmed or not through final and irrevocable sentences. The period of time that followed 1945 offered all these people

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<sup>1</sup> See Marcu Rozen, *Holocaust sub guvernarea Antonescu*, Asociația Evreilor din România Victime ale Holocaustului, Bucharest, 2004, p. 1

various occasions to reclaim the crimes, the persecutions, the tortures, and the personal or group sufferance etc. We are witnessing today testimonies given for the first time by decrepit persons, about events that happened over 65 years ago, and which bring serious accusations to persons, groups of persons, even to some countries, such as Romania. There are Jewish people who strongly believe and speak about the existence of the holocaust in Romania during the Second World War, but no one asks them if they had filled any civil charges regarding the holocaust at the international and national courts of law after World War II. Why are they talking about the Romanian holocaust only after 65 years? Some authors even say that “ Today, more than ever, the recalling of the tragic events from the Second World War is necessary...”<sup>2</sup> Personally, I’ll have to admit that I don’t understand why is it now more important than ever to reiterate the Jewish sufferance, taking also the opportunity to reformulate the charges up to the accusation of holocaust. Since the Second World War the Jews have regained all their rights, have a state of their own, which didn’t have before 1948, the Jewish communities from U.S.A. are stronger than ever, and the Jewish banks are more loaded with money than they’ve ever been. Why then, is it so important to reopen these old wound of the history now, in the third millennium? In what Romania is concerned, I think that the late testimonies of some Jewish people, from the post-communist period, do not reflect the true meaning of the conflicts between Romanian and Jewish. Nowadays, due to this strafe of testimonies and accusations, the mission of the historians is very hard to complete, taking also in consideration the fact that can’t see any possibility for our politicians, the rulers of our days, to accept any other results than the ones they are already spreading. Also difficult is the mission of the justice that has to investigate and give solutions for possible charges arisen from over 60 years belated testimonies, when all the witnesses and the evidence disappeared. Why haven’t they given their testimonies on time? The answer to this question could also be the cause of the many exaggerations.

Regarding the way the Jews situation from Romania was perceived in the 65 years since the beginning of the world war II, locally and internationally, a double approach, totally different, of the problems of the Jewish in Romania is clearly and very easy to identify. The former was sustained from the end of the Second World War until 1989, and the latter from 1989 until present. Personally, I think that the picture presented by the Jewish communities from Romania, U.S.A. and Israel, and by the Romanian authorities, during 1945 -1989, is much more objective than the one presented today by the same communities.

Until 1989, Romania was told to be the only country from the German group of states, which was merciful with the Jews. It didn’t send them en masse into the concentration camp. It didn’t hand them over to the Germans. Not all the Jews were confined, but only the ones who were communists and their upholders, acting against Romanian state and army, or representing a threat behind the front line. Jews form most of the Bolshevik intelligence from Kremlin in Romania. The leaders of the Romanian Communist Party, whose platform plead for the autonomy of each region up to their separation from the Romanian state, were, mostly Jews. It’s obvious that there was a clear perception of the Jews as Romania’s enemies, allies of the Russian Bolshevik enemy, by the political and military class, and also in the eyes of the public opinion. However, some of the Romanians, and the Romanian state, including its leader, helped Jewish to escape from North Transylvania, which was a part of Hungary at that time, to Romania, and from there to Palestine. Even after of the end of the Second World War Romania had the biggest Jewish community in the Europe, conquered by Germany during the war. It’s well known that along the whole period of Antonescu’s regime, the Jews children could go to school, that the Balaseum Jewish Theatre kept on functioning, financed by the Romanian state, that the Jewish firms went on doing business, including with the Romanian

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<sup>2</sup> Idem,ibidem.

state. “Gazeta Evreiasca” went on being published, a real miracle in a Europe that didn’t want them anymore. Most of the Jews kept their properties, and those whose properties were confiscated received them all back through a Royal Decree, in December 1944.<sup>3</sup>

It goes without saying that the Jews, who committed serious crimes on the Romanian territory during the war, including sabotages of the Romanian front or aggressions against Romanian soldiers, had been imprisoned or sent to Transnistria, along with their families. From the Military Secret Services documents, after the Jews’ deportation in Transnistria, we can see that the sabotages and diversions from the Romanian territory decreased to a large extent, this leading to the necessity of the N.K.V.D. and the G.R.U. infiltration over the Nistru river, that were more difficult, had less chances of success and were easier to defeat by the Romanian military authorities. As a matter of fact, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1944, Marshal Antonescu wrote in a letter that he regretted letting the Jewish free in Bukovina, demonstrating that they immediately formed the 5<sup>th</sup> column of the Bolshevik regime.

Concerning the ghettos, it was considered that the children couldn’t be left without their parents, or any other members of the family without their breadwinners. In Transnistria, under harsh war conditions and persecutions, the Jews wanted to stay together in order to help each other. This is the way they arose. The number of those imprisoned was overwhelming. Researching the military archives, gendarmeries archives, State Security and prisons can show it. So far many documents have been investigated. The historians will have to bring this process to an end.

The Jews deported to Transnistria benefit, to certain extent, of clemency. There is a series of measures taken by the Romanian authorities who prove that, after the Jews’ deporting to Transnistria, there was no intention of killing them, but only of keeping them under control and putting the communist focus away. Those who were leading Romania at that time tried to seize this historical opportunity to banish as many Jews as possible that were not liked anymore, as in most of Europe. In this respect we’ll have to mention Ordinance no. 1344 from July 30<sup>th</sup> 1941 and the decision of taking hostages among the Jews (permissible by international settlements). On September the 5<sup>th</sup> 1941, the president of the state, Ion Antonescu, in a meeting of the Council of Ministers, talked about the Jews and about other Slav minorities, showing that they had to determine them to emigrate. On the other hand, Ion Antonescu stated that the deportation of the Jews in Transnistria saved them from the Romanian’s revenge for their behavior in June-July 1940, when the Soviet Union army occupied Bassarabia, North Bukovina, and Herta Region. There were very few Jewish imprisoned from the old Romanian Kingdom<sup>4</sup>. Jewish people from the territories liberated from the Soviet occupation, who in their majority acted violently against the Romanians after the occupation of Bassarabia, North-Bukovina and Herta Region by the Soviet army, were deported over the Nistru River. The different treatment of the Jews from Romania by Antonescu’s Government shows that actions weren’t taken against the Jews just because they were Jews, and that it was just a response to the attitude of some of them. Many Jews from the Old Kingdom dissociated themselves from aggressive, clearly against Romanians actions of the Jews from the regions submitted to The Soviet Union. This is what the secretary of the Romanian Jewish Community, Horia Carp, wrote: “...these deeds of cruel madness,

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<sup>3</sup> Concerning the guard of the deported Jews’ goods, see Pavel Moraru’s work, *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941-1944)* Chişinău, Prut International Publishing, 2004, p. 172-173. The author shows that all the buildings have been sealed, all their goods being looked in, except those made of wool and the pillows, which were given to the army. These buildings have been guarded. There had been some robberies but those who had rubbed Jewish houses were killed (!), and their names were made public in order to discourage such crimes. This was also a sign that the state wanted to bring the Jews back, when the moment came, and that it had no intention to exterminate them. Moreover, there had been taken measures for returning their goods stolen by the soviets when they deported them, during the occupation from June 1940 till June 1941. See p. 174

<sup>4</sup> Is the popular name used in Romania to designate the territories of the country before World War I.

committed by people who were born and lived in another regime, that didn't have time to attach themselves to the people or to the country, and we do not, and could not agree with their actions, that don't belong to our faith, or to our ancient tradition, whenever and wherever destiny took us."

In December 19<sup>th</sup> 1942, when the deportation process was over, in Transnistria were a total of 83.077 Jews. Starting with December 10<sup>th</sup> 1941, Jewish Communities Union Federation was permitted to officially send money and medicine assistance to the deported Jews, one more proof that their extermination was not planned. There were Jews who tried to make a profit from speculative enterprises with their fellow Jews from Transnistria, extorting money from them in exchange for food parcels and high price liquors. These were sentenced to jail in the Transnistrian's camps. Beginning with 1942 in Moghiliov public canteens were opened for the Jews, also a shelter for the old persons, three hospitals, two orphanages, a dental laboratory, a medical service, a drugstore and three bakeries. The Jewish administration a finance department to collect the taxes, police, a justice department, archives, a census service, post, a hygiene department, a nourishment department, a work department and funeral services. The Jewish good organization, with the support of the Romanian authorities, led to the fact that 70-80% of the Jews from this region survived and came back to their homes, after the fall of Antonescu's regime. The deported Jews were allowed to open their own workshops and stores. A statement showed that they worked in butter mills, soap mills, sausage factories etc., that they were looking good, they were cheerful, were living in houses like the one they had at home, in which lots of them didn't want to return. The journalists Nuntiul Papal and Charles Kolb, the Red Cross International Committee from Geneve representative, also drew such conclusions.<sup>5</sup> None of them perceived any attempts of exterminating the Jews. We have to keep in mind that it was a time o war and all the nations involved in the war suffered of great deprivations, including poverty up to famine, unhealed diseases, restrictions regarding freedom, harsh controls etc. Under these circumstances, it's obvious that the Jews who were upholders of the Bolshevik system and enemies of the right regimes that were spread all over Europe, including Romania, could not possibly have an easy life. Not even today, in democratically political systems, the enemies of the system have hard life. In the first part of the year 1942, as a result of the Soviet army's advance, the Romanian authorities began to retreat from Bukovina. That was the moment when the order of wearing the Jewish star was suspended, in order to save them from being killed by the German and Romanian troops that were retreating. Also a proof of the lack of intention in exterminating the Jews, is marshal Ion Nonesuch's speech before the battle of Stalingrad: "The better the Jews will behave, the better they'll be treated..."<sup>6</sup> The Jewish refugees from Poland enjoyed the same special, tolerant treatment in Romania. Germany insisted that the Jews who were German citizens to be hand over. On March the 7<sup>th</sup> 1942, the government of Bukovina received an order from the Romanian government: "No petitions of the German Consul regarding the German Jewish would be answered."<sup>7</sup> The Romanian government tried to solve the Jewish problem, also by sending them to Palestine. Even from the period between the two world wars, there was an attempt of solving the problem by convincing the hundred-thousand Jews that were illegally living in Romania, had no identity papers or passports, and fraudulently over crossed the borders, to leave.<sup>8</sup> I find it is very interesting that in all the works of this field of concentration, written by Jewish

<sup>5</sup> Pavel Moraru, *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941-1944)*, pp.84, 102, 111-112 and 116-117.

<sup>6</sup> Pavel Moraru, *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941-1944)*, p. 119-120. The author quotes from Radu Ioanid, the director of The Holocaust Memorial Museum from Washington.

<sup>7</sup> Pavel Moraru, *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941-1944)* , p. 121.

<sup>8</sup> See also Corvin Lupu, *Aspecte ale problemelor minorităților evreiești din România interbelică reflectate în documente diplomatice americane*, in "Transilvania", New edition, year XXXI (CVII), nr.1, 2002, p. 98-104.

authors, there is not even a single one who denies the existence of thousands of Jews in Romanian, in the inter-war period, who illegally crossed the borders, had no identity papers and were surreptitiously living there. The Jewish communities were claiming that they should be accepted as such. Connected to this situation, on January 1938, the Law of revising the citizenship was issued, which some Jews consider it to be "...the first manifestation of the racial persecution against Jews."<sup>9</sup> On September 30<sup>th</sup> 1940, Wilhelm Fielderman submitted a complaint to the state authority, to ask the approval of a great number of Jews to immigrate to Palestine. Antonescu agreed immediately. The next month about seven hundred Jewish people of all ages left Romania, on Struma boat.<sup>10</sup> The tragedy of the Struma boat and Great Britain's oppositions, even by the use of force, to the emigration of the Jews to Palestine led to slowing down of the emigration process and to the decision of choosing difficult and dangerous routs to get to Palestine. Until 14<sup>th</sup> December 1942 one hundred forty-two Jews had left Bukovina for Palatine. The German authorities opposed the Jews emigration from Romania, because, in their opinion, they could have created security problems for the Axis. On March 13<sup>th</sup> 1944 the Romanian authorities ordered the protection of the Jews' life by bringing them back from Transnistria, after the Germans retreat fore the Soviets. The advance speed of the Soviet army hindered the operation, and also stopped the Germans from quarrel with the Jews. On June 9<sup>th</sup> 1944 the measures that had to be taken for the emigration of the Jews to Palestine to continue, were discussed in a meeting of the Romanian Government. Therefore, because of the measures taken to protect the Jews, the Romanian Jewish community was less affected than all the other European communities, thing that made rabbi Alexandru Safran to say, in 1945, that he "...gradually understood that the Romanian community was becoming the spiritual Jewish center of the continent from now on..."<sup>11</sup>

In November 1942 The General Staff, second division, counter intelligence department was informing that in Cernauti there were twelve thousand Jewish families that were working in shops and factories. The report showed that "...in fact, they are the real owners of the factories, the Romanians are just a screen for their black out." On the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1942, the government of Bukovina had been asked how was it possible that in the 24 woven factories functioning before the Romanian came, 40% of the workers were Jewish, and after that 55%. There were a lot of shops in which two or three of the workers were Jewish, and no Romanians. Nowhere in Europe was a situation like this.

In the last part of the previous statements, I've referred mostly to the measures taken by the Romanian state to protect the Jews, as much as it could in that moment of the history, when Europe was dominated by Germans, and planned to build a future for itself without Jews in it. However, I would like to remind you that the Romanians gave an important support to the Jews. The Romanian people helped all the Jews who didn't act against their country, even if they were leftists, including communists. At that time helping the Jews was the same as helping now the Iraqi people to fight against the foreign occupation in their country, when the main ally of the Romanians is The United States of America.

The situation of the Jewish people in Romania during the Second World War and the way they had been treated during this period, were highly appreciated on several occasions by the religious and lay leaders of the Jewish community from Romania, starting with Wilhelm Fielderman, a personality with a well-known morality and integrity, that hasn't been argued until now neither by the Jewish communities from Romania, Europe, U.S.A., nor by Israel. Neither the Romanian inter-war rightists didn't contradict him. He was grateful to marshal Ion Antonescu, to the metropolitan bishop of Transylvania, Bălan, and to the

<sup>9</sup> See also Marcu Rozen, *Holocaust sub guvernarea Antonescu*, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> The Romanian authorities guaranteed the safety of the boat until the Turkish territorial waters. For the tragedy of the killed passengers the "democratically" British authorities are totally responsible.

<sup>11</sup> Pavel Moraru, *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941-1944)*, p. 121-123.

Romanian people, more than once. Romania has received repeated thanks from the Jewish communities all over the world. While he was at his house in New York, in 1956, Wilhelm Fielderman wrote, in his testament: "(...) during Hitler's domination in Europe, I had a strong relationship with marshal Ion Antonescu. He did all he could to ease the fate of the Jews exposed to the Nazi persecution. I must underline the fact that the Romanian population is not anti-Semitic, and the insults, which the Jews had suffered for, were the deeds of the German Nazi and of the Iron Guard. I was the witness of some moving scenes of solidarity and mutual assistance between Jews and Romanians during the terrifying moments of the Nazi inferno in Europe. Marshal Antonescu resisted successfully to the pressure made by the Nazi that orders harsh measures against the Jews. I'd mention only a few examples:

- due to marshal Antonescu's interventions, the deporting of over 20000 Jews from Bukovina, was banned.
- he gave blank passports, to save the Jews from Hungary, whose life was in danger, from the Nazi terror.
- thanks to his politics, the assets of the Jews had been put under a special treasury administration regime, which by making them seem lost, made sure that they were well kept until the moment came to give them all back.

I've mentioned all this to emphasize that the Romanian people as long as they had the control of its country, gave the proof of their human feelings and of their politics' moderation."<sup>12</sup>

On the same line with Wilhelm Fielderman, here's what Moshe Carmilly Weinberger was declaring:" When the whole world was insensitively watching the cruel show of the killing of the European Jews, was willing to receive the Jewish refugees and was ready to open its ports. The Jews lost six millions members of their community; but the world lost its human nature as well as the Christian love for it's nearest. The Romanians on the other hand tried to save their human faith. And we, the Jews, will always be thankful for this". Moshe Carmilly Weinberger hopped that the Jews people will always be thankful, but we can see that it isn't so. Barbul Bronstein also shows that:"(...) One of the biggest mistakes and injustice of the history is to consider Ion Antonescu a fascist, iron guardist, an extremist, a man that destroyed the Jews from Romania. None of those who lived in Romania, before and during the war, want to accept the thesis of the massacre of the Jews, moreover, to accept the outrageous numbers that are circulating."

The Jewish historian Nicolae Minei Grüngerg, ex vice-editor in chief at "The Historical Magazine", who emigrated to the west, during the communist dictatorial regime, wrote: "The holocaust didn't take place in Romania exactly because, with very few and insignificant exceptions, the Nazi murderers, not only that didn't have the support of the people, from their own initiative, but also encountered difficulties in finding allies, private or official persona, to organize the deportation or any other genocide actions. (...) The deportations over the Nistru River made by Antonescu's system, didn't have as a goal, known or hidden, the extermination of those involved. The death of some of them has three main causes: the abuses of certain representatives of the authorities who had stolen the money for the nourishment facilities; the cruel excesses of some degenerated elements from the guard service; the intervention of the Nazi professional murderers organized in Einsatzkommandos, which, while the front was retreating east, broke into camps, killing prisoners. The victims belonging to this category represent an important multiple of the total: the Jew colony from Rabnita (Transnistria), for example, was drowned in blood by the Nazi, only two prisoners having survived. But also in this matter, Romania wrote down a unique act in the history of the Second World War: the returning of the survivors in the country, operation that was

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<sup>12</sup> Pavel Moraru, *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941-1944)*, p. 124.

developed without taking into consideration the Wehrmacht, the SS, and Gestapo's firm opposition, the great risk they took by disobeying the Nazi's disposition, the transport and supplies difficulties, etc. (...)” I'll finish this series of quotations with Alexandru Şafran's statements, the rabbi of Geneva, who, between 1941 and 1944, was the great rabbi of the Romanian Jews, regarding one of the personalities unfairly, in many writers opinion, accused of genocide, professor George Alexianu: “(...) During his entire life and professional activity, especially the dark period of the world, George Alexianu has done a lot of things for the Jewish community in Romania totally unselfish, the. He paid a terrible and unfair prize for all this, at the communists' order. All his sufferance to be in his salvation.”<sup>13</sup>

Eugen Cristea was the head Special Intelligence Service during Antonescu's regime. The actions initiated by the Romanian state were known to the S.I.S., which was involved in everything that was officially organized. The fact that S.I.S. was not involved in anti-Jews actions is once more a proof that the actions against the Jews, for the simple fact that they were Jews, had been taken mainly as the “act” of private persons and less of the Romanian state. Here's what Wilhelm Fielderman stated in 1946 about the head of Antonescu's Secret Service, at his trial:” during the war, I, indirectly, addressed the defendant Eugen Cristescu for various matters concerning the Jews and he always shown good will. There were times when he informed me about the measures that were to be taken against the Jews<sup>14</sup>, in order for us to forestall them. I know that how was an enemy of the iron guardists, and had a lot to suffer because of this. I don't believe that the defended had anything to do with the massacres, deportations or the butchery from Iasi. I know that he intervened for the suppression of the destructive sign of the Jews. I know that he pleaded against the deportation and intercede for my returning in the country.”<sup>15</sup>

On what basis should we believe the unknown leaders of the Jewish Communities federation from Romania, who played no important part in the history of that time, and not Wilhelm Fielderman a remarkable, cogent personality of his time, a witness of those times, and a man of vision of the Romanian society, who was among other things Low Master at Sorbonne?

None of the Court of Low from Nürnberg, The Peace Treaty from Paris (1946- 1947) or any other international organisms didn't accused Romania of holocaust, didn't press any other charges against the country concerning the Jews and also didn't establish the necessity of paying any compensations. And this in spite of the fact that Romania had lost the war along with Germany, and was under the occupation of those who won the war and were the protection of the Jews. In my opinion if such a trial would have existed, in which Romania would have been accused of genocide, the Romanian realities and the testimonies of the thankful Jewish, many of them being alive at that time, would have been enough for its acquittal. Today, after 60 years and one more defeat, in the Cold War, an absolution would depend only on the courts objectivity and on the need of respecting the government ordinances. We have reasons to doubt this.

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<sup>13</sup> The quotations had been taken from Ion Coja, *Holocaust in Romania?*, Bucharest, Kogaion Publishing House, 2002, pp. 5, 8-9, 13-14. Regarding the defalcation of the funds that were addressed to the Jews, from Transnistria, which the historian Nicolae Minei Grünberg talked about, showing that it also implies funds embezzled by the Jews who were “tithing” the money sent by Joint and other Jewish international organizations.

<sup>14</sup> It refers to the actions initiated by the Germans, iron guardists, local public civil servants, etc. The Romanian Government did not initiate them. As a matter of fact in April 1941, a group of iron guard intellectuals stated that the iron guard rebellions was namely against Eugen Cristescu and Alexandru Riosanu, who they accused of defending the Jewish. See Cristian Troncota, *Eugen Cristescu asul serviciilor secrete romanesti*, Bucharest, Roza Vanturilor Publishig House, 1994, p.75.

<sup>15</sup> Cristian Troncota *Eugen Cristescu asul serviciilor secrete romanesti*, p.8

In the first years of the existence of the Israel, as a result of their respect to Romania for the way the Jews had been treated during the war, the govern from the Tel Aviv accepted the violation of the embargo imposed by USA, on the states from the communist zone for oil drilling equipment imports. The Jews helped the Romanians and sold them secretly these equipments, which they brought from USA, to hold them to rebuild the installations destroyed by the bombing, especially British-Americans. As a matter of fact Romania and Israel signed several secret agreements that are still unpublished. Normally at least some of these documents fulfill the legal time conditions, so they could be left on the researcher's disposal. We have various reasons to believe that these agreements could contradict many statements that are made today about the Romanian-Jewish relationship, from the past.

Immediately after the Second World War, a great number of Jews were members of the leading class in Romania and had some of the most important positions in the state and in the intelligence and repression services, as we shown before. These Jews, as well as the Romanian communists, Hungarians and Rom (those time called Gypsy) had no reason of protecting Marshal Antonescu and his regime, who they accused of many real and unreal deeds, some of them exaggerated and others objective. Why is it that all this top activists, security generals, prison commander, ministers, top activists of Communist Party Central Committee, etc. Didn't bring the accusations that are brought today about Antonescu's epoch? Isn't it because these accusations are false? Isn't it because in that time the Jewish leaders couldn't afford to turn the truth upside down, due to the fact that the majority of the witnesses were alive? Isn't it because too many ordinary Jewish people were still alive, Jewish who enjoyed the protection of the authorities and wouldn't have accepted these leaders to spread such lies? Isn't it because the real leaders of the Jews, those like Wilhelm Fielderman, who was also deported, wouldn't have accepted such a blasphemy? Isn't it because in those times the Jewish communities didn't have any hope of gaining 50 billion \$ from such an accusation, like they have today? Isn't it because the process of turning the real sufferance of the Jews into an enormous business didn't begin yet?<sup>16</sup>

I'll resume to a problem taken into discussion earlier, connected to the serious accusations that are brought today to the Romanians, based on the testimonies given by some persons who declare themselves as survivors of the deportations in Transnistira during the war. Can they be considered as evidence today? At that time, after the war was over, nothing from what these Jewish survivors of the Transnistrian deportations pretend to have happened could have been forgiven. So I repeat the question: Why is it that they didn't accuse in due time, even if the genocide wasn't banned by any limitation from the juridical point of view?

After CCCP had occupied Romania and had started the process of introducing a soviet dictarship into the country and of destroying the national elite, many important positions in the state had been occupied by representatives of the national minorities, especially Jews, but also Hungarians, Russians, Gypsies and others. Most of them changed their name, pretending they are Romanians. This phenomenon of disguising is from a moral point of view questionable, especially in a political regime in which the first international communists were the Jews. By hiding their real identity in many cases, they had in view acting under a Romanian name against the Romanians. Those Romanians, for who was easier to make a political career were those who had Jewish, Hungarian and Russian wives. Later on, when Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej unleashed the politics of national communism, and most of all during, Nicolae Ceausescu's rule, the activists, the politic militiaman and the military staff, who were educated in Moscow and had wives belonging to the national minorities, were no longer "in fashion". They will feel left aside and "betrayed" and will be the

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<sup>16</sup> see the important work of Norman G. Finklestein, *Industria Holocaustului. Reflecții asupra exploatării suferinței evreiești*, Filipeștii de Târg, Prahova, ANTET Publishing house, 2005

representatives of a group that was hostile to the independence of the country politics, especially from Moscow. It will always be waiting for the moment of rebellion and of regaining the state power, moment that came after the coup d'état from December 1989.

The elements belonging to the national minorities, especially Jews played an important role in leading the Romanian society. Their role and their influence in the party, political militia, administration, and ministries were way bigger than the weight of these minorities in the Romanian society. Most of the times their Bolshevik eager, the hatred against the “enemies of the communism”, or “the petty bourgeois” elements, the “kulaks”, the Romanian intellectuals, was overreacted. This Bolshevik eager was, in many cases, determined by some national resentment, against the Romanians, resentment, that was coming from the past.

Studying the Romanian society under the soviet absolute domination (1945-1958), we can see that the communists' repressions were indeed done by the representatives of the national minorities, especially Jews. For the scientific researcher this thing is obvious, even though some representatives of the Jewish minority and some allies among the Romanians stated in the media “this is not true”. The list of the Jewish Bolshevik “personalities” is very long. It contains hundreds of high magistrate of party, of the state, security and militia officers.<sup>17</sup>

The relationship between Romanians and Jews, Romania and Israel, Romania and Jewish communities from USA, reached their highest point in the period after 1967, when Romania was the only communist country that still had very good diplomatic relations with Israel, after its attack against Egypt. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1967, after the end of the “Six Days War”, the party's and the government's communist leaders meeting took place in Moscow. The statements of the Romanian representatives, Ceausescu and Maurer, as it comes out from the documents of the meeting, doesn't look even a bit with those of a state submitted to a political bloc.<sup>18</sup> Romania didn't accept the condemnation of Israel, the actions against it and maintained close relationships with this country, including by high level visits. In 22-23 June 1967, George Macoveanu, deputy minister at the External Affairs Ministry, made a visit to Tel Aviv, this being the highest contact until then between Israel and the only communist country in Europe, which still had diplomatic relationship with the Jewish state, after the Six Days War. There followed others, more important, but which we won't insist upon. With the occasion of such important visits to Bucharest, the Israelite prime minister Gildo Meir was the target of a terrorist attack.<sup>19</sup> On these occasions there weren't made any accusations against the Romanian people for the treatment of the Jews, but, on the contrary, they had always thanked the Romanians for protecting them during the Second World War, and after the war, and also for letting them immigrate to Palestine or USA.

During his rule, Ceausescu, the president of Romania, was received by the USA Jewish Communities, and was also visited by their representatives from Bucharest. Each time, this Jewish state men came to our country, didn't forget to remind us the traditional friendship between this two nations, and the goodness of the Romanian people in the hard

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<sup>17</sup> Such a long list is published by Corvin Lupu, *Impactul problematicii Holocaustului asupra României contemporane și aspecte ale relațiilor dintre români și evrei*, in TRANSILVANIA, no. 3/2005

<sup>18</sup> See Petre Otu, *Ceausescu rebelul din tratatul de la Varșovia*, in „*Dosarele istoriei*”, Anul II, nb.10 (15), 1997, pp. 34-50. The document is entirely published.

<sup>19</sup> In the second day of the visit, on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1972, due to a piece of information received from Beirut by the National Security department, the four Arabian terrorists, armed with guns and hand grenades, have been arrested near the Choral Temple in Bucharest. They didn't have time to use the guns. D.I.E. identified Abu Daoud, the famous commander of the terrorist attack against the Israelian Olympic team at the Olympic Games from München, from the same year, as the organizer the attempt. He acted in the name of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine. The Romanian authorities kept this attempt hidden. See also Teodor Filip, *Secretele U.S.L.A.*, Craiova, 1999, p.33 sq

moments of the World War. These representatives of the Jews, from Israel or from U.S.A., have made not even a single reproach. Even is it is a known fact that the ex-president Ceausescu didn't permit anyone to offend his people, in any way, how is it that there wasn't even a single one who referred to the serious accusations that are brought today? Rabbi Moses Rosen was a close, important consultant of the president, sometime having to fulfill the missions of an external affairs minister. Rabbi's influence in the Romanian society was very high. He didn't accuse the Romanian people either, before 1989.

The highest top of the relationships lasted until 1979, when Israel and Egypt signed the Peace Treaty, at its mediation the Romanian president at that time having an important contribution. The good relationship had been kept until the events from December 1989. The Jewish museums showed a very good image of the Romanian-Jewish relationship, corresponding to the reality presented in the Romanian historiography and in the foreign works. This reality is disputed and reformulated today.

After the events from December 1989, Rabbi Moses Rosen radically changed his opinion and gave a new verdict, totally surprising, stating in 1990 that: "The Holocaust started in Romania!" Subsequently, the Romanian sector from "The Memorial Holocaust Museum" in Washington was reorganized and, to the Romanian officials' surprise, the old concept was modified. The Romanian sector presented Romania as an important starting point of the Holocaust, the second after Germany. The Romanian authorities reacted, by protesting. It was in vain. The orientation and the goals of Jewish communities' politics toward the new Romanian country, that wasn't under Ceausescu's dictatorship anymore, but submitted to the west, had been changed. President Ion Iliescu tried, as well, to remove the texts that accuse Romania of holocaust from the museum. Also, without any success. At the entrance of the Romanian sector there is a big photo of a train with cattle wagons guarded by Romanian soldiers. There were only two trains totally filled with deported Jews. Usually, the deported were transported in small groups, as they were identified as dangerous citizens to the security of the Romanian state army that was fighting against Soviet's Union Bolshevism. The deported persons were the propagators of anti-Romanian and anti-German acts, dangerous elements behind the Romanian and German front lines, and other convicts of that time system of justice.

The accusation against the Romanian people had spread in the course of the decade of the last century and had been unleashed from different parts. It reached the point where Romania was said to have sent to death almost 400.000 Jews. This number is also written on the inscription from the Choral Temple, in Bucharest. This is an enormous figure. How come nobody knew about this, even though we have military, police, gendarmeries and secret services archive?

One of the situations in which the number of the dead Jewish is exaggerated is Bukovina and Bassarabia. At the last census before the occupation of the Romanian territories by the Soviets, in June 1940, there were 274.036 Jews registered. Until the Romanian deporting operation, their number diminished to 126.434. The difference between the two figures is in some scientist, like Matatias Carp, opinion, caused by the killings made by the Romanians, when, in fact the Jews had been deported by the Soviets in June 13<sup>th</sup> 1941 or they had retreated from the Romanian and German army's offensive, starting with June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1941. There had also been Jews who left Bassarabia and Bukovina with other destinations, including other parts of Romania, when they hid as much as they could.<sup>20</sup>

Such an accusation hasn't been made not even in that period when the hate towards Antonescu's regime was tremendous and they were looking everywhere to find reasons that might justify the measures taken against that regime. I'm not referring just to the murder of

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<sup>20</sup> Pavel Moraru, the work quoted, p. 113.

the leaders, but also to the deportation from the Danube-Black Sea Channel, to the Moorland, the imprisonments, the confiscations of the fortunes, sending the people to do “hard labor”, the political persecutions, etc. Time has made the majority of the witnesses, soldiers to disappear, nowadays in Transnistria the hate against Romania is pretty big, our country having supported the anti-Smirnov fighters in The Transnistrian War, in the first part of the last decade of the last century. Romania supported mainly the organizations with a Romanian origin, among the minorities from the Moldavian Republic. Under this circumstances, the accusation from these regions, made so late, are very hard to verify and the most powerful and the one that has international media under control hold the truth. This is not the case of Romanians, but unlike them the Jewish are. The Jews can accuse Romanians because being anti-Romanian is not punished. Romanian can't do the same because the law punishes anti-Semitism. With prison. It is certain that Romania was on the side of those who lost, both the war with Germany, and the Cold War. It won its democracy, but it lost the Cold War. Not all the Romanian citizens can bear the defeat. The national minorities are excluded from the guilt of bringing in, maintaining and developing the communism. In some politicians' opinion, “analysts” and “historians”, the Romanians are the only ones that are guilty. Therefore one of the repercussions of this lost stands upon the Romanian national spirit.

It was easy to see that some Jewish communities or some Jewish personalities have a coherent strategy regarding accusing Romania: 1. Romania was accused of complicity to genocide, i.e. holocaust; 2. Romania was forced, through the representatives of the country, to recognize committing the holocaust; 3. Romania was asked to pay 50 billions dollar as damages; 4. Romania has the start discussing the problem of its financial obligations, this meaning partially admitting them; 5. Romania must admit the guilt and the financial obligations; 6. To take charge for its guilt by paying the sums solicited and other compensation rights.

Without making references to Romania, except a small one, Norman G. Finkelstein explained, with the rarely encountered ..... to a Jews that had suffered in the Nazi camps, the way some Jews acted in organized groups for the exploiting of their sufferance.<sup>21</sup>

It's surprising, upsetting and unaccepted, the way in which some Jewish citizens, but also some pseudo-Romanian” analysts” having a strong feeling of “servants”, rushed into publicly declaring the same as their contemporaries, that the Jews had been sold piece by piece”.<sup>22</sup> Beyond the horrible expressions, stays the unreal, false content. It's far from me the thought of transforming myself into the defender of a political regime that wasn't liked by the Romanians, among which I find myself also. As a researcher it's impossible for me not showing that the Jews, the Germans and other categories of persons, which were emigrating, represented a great loss for the future Romanian community. Everything was planned. The best specialists, technicians, foremen, etc. The Romanian state gave money to each citizen from the moment of his birth until the graduation of the university. I won't insist on this matter. The sums that had been cashed, covered not even a small part of what the state was

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<sup>21</sup> See note 11 from the present work.

<sup>22</sup> Such an affirmation was made at Realitatea TV, at the end of January 2005, this expression being use also in the promoting the show, several times a day, in the period before the broadcasting of the show. During it, Stelian Tănase, stated, among other thing, that after the Second World War the Jews was anti-communists, which is an absurdity. There were Jews persecuted after 1945, first of all the several hundreds of Jews, informers of the State Security, that had been under covered in the communist groups. Some of them have been discovered and they had to suffer the consequences. Others, that weren't anti-communists, but maintained strong relations with U.S.A. or Great Britain, which draw the attention of the Politic Militia officers, suffered too. Anyway their faith was always better than that of the Romanians accused of the same crimes. In similar crime situation , a Romanian was harshly punished, unlike the Jewish people, other minorities, in general. This thing can be also observed in the case of some court trials, when the punishments for the same crime were different, so as in the case of some administration measures that time all of them were being controlled by the Communist Party.

spending for breeding and educating the citizens until their emigration, for health, education, free transportations, school camps, school books, various subventions, etc. Moreover, for each emigrant, the state was left with an uncovered job, for which it had to prepare another man. I don't consider an abuse the fact that the state was asking those for a partial returning of these expenses. It was obvious then that the Romanian state didn't want to finance the education of some valuable specialists for USA, Germany, or Israel, as it happens today, when these countries or others are taking the best of our teenagers, already prepared with our money. The present situation seems to me a disadvantage for Romania, and not that one. In a serious, scientifically analysis we must ourselves return to those times and situations. There are no way the sums cashed by the Romanian state, can be considered the result of selling the Jews "one by one". The Jews and Germans' emigration from Romania wasn't allowed because they wanted to obtain that money, which didn't represent much at that time. We should only calculate the real PIB of the country, the money that the state had at its disposal, to see that the money obtained from emigrants were insignificant. Let's think of the dimension of the investments that were made, or at the fact that Romania afforded to drop, in the spring of 1989, the clause of the favorite nation from USA, the that represented 700 millions dollars per year, in its attend to forbid any mixture in the Romanian political system promoted by the dictatorship of that time and which the Romanians didn't approve with.

The emigration was definitely not permitted for the money. The Jews and the Germans were given the permission to emigrate because of strong relations that were between Romania, on one hand, Israel, Germany and USA on the other hand. There were political and economical interests that supported Bucharest's decision of permitting the emigration. Those, who had access to information and knew the essence of the phenomena from back then, understood these statements very well.

I think that the lack of credibility of that Jews who accuse Romania beyond the limits of the historic truth is caused also by the big differences between what was said in the first 45 years after the events and what it is said after the removal of Ceausescu's regime. Who had lied and who had told the truth? One thing is sure, the image of Romania was wrongly and with bad intensions presented, and anyway those who did it are identified as history forgers.

What has been started to circulate after 1990 regarding the supposed holocaust brought about by the Romanians, from some points of view, a series of figures and events being exaggerated, in an unspeakable way that has to be rectified, it's clear mystification of the contemporary history, which seriously compromises the Jews, officials and unofficials, who make accusing statements, after more than 60 years from the events and after years and years of thanking us for the opposite of what they declare today. Are there the Romanians really that stupid to deserve such a treatment? I believe that are some who think so. Saul Brukner (Silviu Brucan), ex-propagandist of the communist system during the military soviet occupation, presently a pro-capitalist propagandist, after the coup d'état from December 1989, told us a long time ago that we are *stupid people*.

The sufferance of the Jews was an unquestionable thing, as we have shown before and we can even admit that it was bigger than many other nations'. This thing can under no circumstances be an excuse for the exaggerations made today, can't motivate the permanent accusation of some nations for the authorities that lead then in a certain historical epoch, can't motivate the money extort of some nations, more precisely from the following generations or born long after the events. These attitudes are very dangerous in the future too. Instead of having respect and consideration for the sufferance of the Jews, the exaggerations, the aggressive accusations, the attempts or continuing the money extorts, can cause adverse reactions towards the Jews and therefore had to a constant reopening of the wounds and a constant "pay back". The Universal History offers us many examples like this.

Those who dare to make an impartial analysis and don't accept the exaggerations of the Jews are being accused of "anti-Semitism", along with other accuses from the ex-communist camp: "communist", "politic militia man", "nationalist", "nostalgic", etc. The ones who tell the truth are annoying. But, not everything can be accepted. After the coup d'état from December 1989, Romania lost the external and internal economic markets, our economy was alienated and given to strangers, the material support of the society, the natural resources (the gold from Apuseni, the oil, pine trees and oaks), the land was given to foreigners. Willing, or unwilling we accepted everything. In the name of the fragile and, so contestable democracy. How we've past on to a new phase? Even the national identity has been taken from us. By many measures taken the history is being stolen from us. This is too much. After the death of the economy "followed the human factor". This is unacceptable. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 2005, president Basescu reminded us that the Romanian authorities are going to make the people realize our guilt of having committed genocide against the Jews. This thing will be taught in schools. Compulsory. For 15 years the study of the Romanian and world history in school has been reduced, but instead, we should teach our children the story of the Jewish people, now when in Romania the Jews represent just a very small collectivity. For sure that the Romanians, finding out in an official way, from school, from well thought school book, that Romania committed and is guilty of holocaust, will therefore believe this and will accept paying for it. For 2000 years, except for a few periods of dignity and prize, Romania has been paying to its masters.

What would happen if others sufferance would be thought in schools? What would happen if the Romanians would constantly recall, the horrors committed by the Hungarians against them throughout the history? What would happen if the Hungarians that suffered because of the Romanians would also remember their sufferance and would tell us over and over, including in schools, what had Iuliu Maniu's groups of fighter done at the end of the Second World War? This way we could go back into history until the day the Hungarian people come in Europe. If we are to follow this pattern we should start teaching at school the study of the Romanian people sufferance during the Jewish domination in the Romanian Political Militia, in the prisons and the Communist Party, or from the past centuries, the sufferance of the Romanians deported to Siberia, the sufferance of the Saxons living in Transylvania, deported to Russia, the sufferance of the Romanian Serbians during the conflict between Stalin and Tito, etc. Isn't this the way the hatred between nations is maintained? In 2002 in Romania there are registered only 5870 Jews, who represent 0,02% of the population of the country<sup>23</sup> and another few thousand disguised in various minorities, whose member is hard to establish, but the problems that appeared in connection with their sufferance are not caused by Romanians, together with all the other minorities. The high and middle class of our population can feel this situation today. Tomorrow the one from the low strata of the society will feel it too. This way the negative reaction against the injustice made to some Jews will be more and clearer. Then, all the Jews will be seen from the light of the negative reactions of those who accuse the Romanians of genocide. While the Jews will strife, with their known tenacity to recall the sufferance of their people and to ask as many damages as possible, the Romanians will remember as well, more and more the causes that generated the anti-Semitism. The wounds of history will open again. In that time, in the evolution of the society, I anticipate that the Romanians will be blamed again and new punishments and damages will be suggested, because, the powerful ones are always right, and Romania can be easily punished, because all its economy, the power of the state and the national freedom are lost.

Rememberings after rememberings... what good can possibly come out of this?

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<sup>23</sup> Silviu Cristache, *Evreii din Romania. Aspecte geografice*, Bucharest, TOPFORM Publishing House, 2003, p. 60

I wouldn't like our readers to believe that I'm suggesting hiding the historic facts. On the contrary. Still, the historic facts must not be used as political weapon, to dominate through accuses and extortions. The historic truth should not be the prisoner of politics, which itself gives verdicts of truth and untruth, justice and injustice. Unfortunately, at the end of the Second World War, such as at the end of the Cold War, the winners shared not only the zones of influence, but also the control over the historic truths and since then the researchers of the history are often deprived of their fundamental right: to establish when, where and what really happened.

I want to remind an event that is both significant and serious, and happened in 1994. A group of well known and valuable, through what they wrote in their career, Romanian historians, all of them researcher in the Romanian Army, finished and published "Situatia evreilor din Romania", vol. I (1939-1941), part one. The work has a scientifically and an unquestionable probity. Everything is sustained through 128 original documents. A day before the publication of the book, in an unacceptable way for a country that sacrificed everything for its democracy, it was ordered that the book should not be sold and that all the editions should be melted down! This shouldn't have happened for any reason. If we accept the censorship at a high intellectual level, what is this country's culture and intellectual left with? What about the researchers, would they be still interested in finding the truth, or, for not working in vain and seeing their work burnt, they would start writing what the masters of this permanently stabled in the back country want. Augustin Buzura, who ordered this measure, motivated the burning of the book by the fact that he did it under the pressure of some leaders of the Jewish community. The fact that he recognized that should be appreciated, but is not enough to forgive his guilt of Stalinist censorship. Personally, I can't understand what could even make Augustin Buzura immediately give in to the pressures. He should have resisted one more day and the book would have been sold. What could have happen to him? He was a personality of the Romanian country. For this gesture, he received the despise of a part of the intellectuals who didn't accept the censorship on one hand, and made himself a accomplice to the attempt of putting out of the circuit some arguments that could save the national dignity of our country. This is one of the examples of the failure of the Romanian democracy after December 1989, which by a series of event brought to the leading, a few foreign spays who, after the crimes committed, had taken the lies from the first day, had created a precedent and a school of the Pharisees. I wonder what made Mister Buzura melt a book, which he was convinced it's worth publishing. No prize could be too big to refuse melting the book down. Could he have some hidden weaknesses through which he could have been easy to control? Could it be for the serious threats? Could have been only a weakness of the character? This could be it. Even if Augustin Buzura were a Jew, he couldn't have burnt the truth, but with the prize of compromising himself in the history of the culture. What a huge difference between integrity and the character of Wilhelm Fielderman and the sad faces from 1994 and after that, who want to burn the documents in order to hide the historic truth.

We've talked about teaching about the holocaust in school. Is this the way some Jewish leaders want the holocaust to be studied in schools? By hiding some truths that can be proved with authentically documents and replacing them with some doubtful truths and with memories, hard or even impossible to verify? Is this the way our children and grandchildren will learn history during the classes of "Holocaust in Romania", or whatever they will be called? Is it that will be taught only one point of view, the one that incriminates Romania? Will they mention anything about the causes of the anti-Semitic phenomenon? Will the children find out about the guilt of some Jewish leaders, some Jewish institutions and some Jewish political doctrines, in starting and maintaining the anti-Jews politics? When they will talk about the Jews deported to Transnistria, will they mention the motives of the Romanian

authorities? It would be said what they did against Romania? Normally, the teaching of the holocaust in our school should be accompanied by some themes regarding the sufferance that Jews caused, aware, on purpose and some times well planed to the Romanians.

There are very many questions and many answers to be given by the analysis of the theme brought into discussion in these lines.

In my opinion, and that of many others intellectuals, stopping the document of this book from being published, first being burnt and then reprinted in 2003, proves more than any other historical testimonies that the argue around the accusation of genocide brought against the Romanians, of the Second World War, is politically controlled. At the same time burning of some authentically documents proves the fact that those who ordered this are perfectly aware of their false statements, based on lies. This could be the only way they've come to protect themselves from real documents, to want them burnt. This is the pattern promoted about Romania, with the assistance of the Romanian political class. A well known Romanian professor, Ion Coja, shows that on a fight ring in such a moment of the match the referee stops the match, declares the one that commits forbidden and unfair procedures defeated, and throws him out of the sport life.

Such gestures and positions taken by some Jewish leaders make us be more careful and more attentive to our own history. Personally, as a researcher of the contemporary epoch, I often wondered about the right framing of the Romanian-Jewish relationship from this period of the history. I drown the conclusion with all the objectivity that I feel I have, trying to put myself in a judge's place, with maximum good-faith, with a total lack of interest, not being politically involved nor having any political sympathies, voting only because our duty of citizens tells us so, like in the communists time, without seeing any chances for my political, national and human aspirations to come true. According to these conclusions, as to the conclusions of others researchers, the idea that Romania committed genocide (holocaust) against the Jewish people has to be further studied. In my opinion, beside the murders committed against the Jews during the World War II, in Romania, the Jewish people should be thankful to the Romanian people, as it was for several decades throughout the voices of the most authorized persons. This opinion is in concordance with that of the laic and religious Romanian leaders of the Jews and from everyone in the world, before the coup d'état from December 1989, when with the help of those who came in power, a strong aggression against the Romanian national spirit, started.

Among the ones that had access to the printed book were also persons who saw burning some copies, thing that made possible, that after 9 years, in 2003, the executive committee of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union to decide republishing the book. It appeared with the initial title, "Situatia Evreilor din Romania", vol. I, first part, coordinated by Lieutenant-Colonel Alesandru Dutu, PhD. Constantin Botoran, Bucharest, "Tara Noastra" Publishing House, Vatra Romaneasca Union, 2003, having 408 pages.

The contemporary phenomenon of censorship is dangerous. The freedom of speech is on a slippery field. The ways of influencing the ones that write or publish history are numberless. The powerful men of the world would want to hear only what suits them. The censor of the documents has at its starting point a fundamental problem. What was the cause of the violent anti-Jews Romanian reactions from June-July 1941 and from the following period? Why have the Romanian committed so many murders against the Jews? Where did this need of revenge of the Romanians rise from? Where does the cause of these rebellious, besides the old lack of sympathy of some Romanians towards the Jews, lie in?<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The expression "lack of sympathy", can be rewritten in several kinds that could express a variety of feelings, from aversion, to resentment, to misunderstandings, to dispute, until hate. All these were not representative for the entire Romanian and Jewish communities, but only for some persons or groups.

The author of these lines answered all these questions in a called “65 de ani de la evacuarea fortata a Basarabiei, Bucovinei de nord si tinutului Herta. Pozitia evereiasca” (“65 years from the forced evacuation of Bassarbia, North Bukovina and Herta Region. The Jews position.”), that appeared in “Transylvania” magazine, new edition, year XXXIV (CX), no. 9/2005. To make a long story short, I’ll insert here some ideas that sustain this work.

On June 28<sup>th</sup> 1940, short after 2 P.M., the Red Army crossed the Nistru River, beginning the occupation of the above-mentioned regions. The Soviet mechanized troops advanced very quickly, reaching the Prut River on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, when they had planned to be there on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July, 1 o’clock. The soviet troops had a very hostile attitude, behaving like it was a war, opening fire, taking hostages, disarming the Romanian military units that they had encountered, taking the lands of the institutions and capturing war material in worth of 2.750.900.803 lei.<sup>25</sup> Today is very clear that a Soviet aggression<sup>26</sup> took place then, and this should lead to an important change of conclusions regarding the juridical and moral sentence of the events from June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1941, when the Romanian army started the military operations of saving the territories that had been occupied by the soviets one year ago. We won’t insist, but, as everybody knows, there are historians who consider the Romanian attack against CCCP, from June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1941 not an aggression, but a continuation of the aggression started by the Soviets in June 28<sup>th</sup> 1940, through the implication of the Romanian country in setting free its territories. The conflict had already been opened by the soviet aggression.

In these territories that Romania had to evacuate for the Soviet Union, Bassarabia, Bukovina and Herta region, many Jewish people were living. Many Jewish people from the territories that were evacuated had communist, Bolshevik, pro-soviet feelings and beliefs, they were outspoken upholders of the communist movement, being active members of the movement, and more than that, belonging to the espionage and diversion net, of the Soviet secret services in Romania.<sup>27</sup>

The historian Alex Mihai Stoenescu shows that on the Romanian territory, in Bassarabia, so as over the Nistru river, the Jews became a part of the Romanian-Soviet conflict, the Jews being used as “aggressive military maneuver troops”. As soon as the Soviet troops entered Bassarabia, the Jewish minority took their sight, being against the Romanian state and especially against the Romanian Army, enthusiastically receiving the communist Soviet troop, helping them to accomplish the occupation mission. In many places, the Jews attacked the Romanian Army that was retreating, taking advantage of the order, given to the Romanian soldiers, of not using the armament. The plan of the Soviets to occupy the whole Moldavia if the Romanians would fight back was known by everybody. The Jews committed many crimes, “indulging themselves to tortures and mutilations, bringing out the human losses and wounded men”. The author quotes a document from the National Defense Ministry archives, which says that: “ In every Bassarabian and North-Bukovinian town groups of armed Jews had been formed mostly teenagers of both sexes, who immediately started the

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<sup>25</sup> See Alex Mihai Stoenescu, *Armata, Maresalul si Evreii*, Bucharest, RAO International Publishing Company, 1998, p.59

<sup>26</sup> *The convention for defining the aggression*, adopted on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1933 in London, so as *The convention for defining the aggression* signed by Romania, C.C.C.P., Czechoslovakia, Turkey and Yugoslavia, on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1933, were stipulating (both in the 3<sup>rd</sup> article) that: “No economical, political, military or of any other nature reason can be used as an excuse or justification for the aggression mentioned in article 2.” This article, second paragraph, stipulated: “as a consequences, will considered an aggressor in an international conflict, taking in consideration the valid agreements between the states in conflict, the state that will commit one of the following actions, first:...2. Its army is invading, with or without declaring war, the territory of another state.” There are other technical and juridical arguments that motivate the accusation of aggression of the Soviet’s actions at the end of June 1940. See Alex Mihai Stoenescu, the work quoted, p. 63-64.

<sup>27</sup> See Ion Coja, *Scurt istoric al “HOLOCAUSTULUI”*, in Gheorghe Buzatu (coordonator), *Maresalul Antonescu la judecata istorie*, Bucharest, Mica Valahie Publishing house, 2002, p. 201.

terrorist action: They killed with predilection those who worked in the justice system, in police, church men, so as in the administrative systems, the last being killed after sacking different cash registers, because, apart from their revolutionary zest, the terrorist gangs showed, while the actions were in full development, an acute inclination towards gathering capital, this being in a glaring contradiction with the anti-capitalist principles of the movement, they were acting for. The army wasn't left aside either, and receives daily new information about officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who, even if they didn't contradict the intentions of the communist Jews, were killed and tortured". The Soviet authorities premeditated the whole anti-Romanian operation in the period of the evacuation of Bassarabia, North Bukvina and Herta Region, and after this period, using the Jews and other minorities to prepare the invasion, to pick up the information and even to support their aggression with their logistics.<sup>28</sup> Just between 28 June and 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1940, the Romanian human deaths and missing, the last one being mostly prisoners sent to the Soviet gulag, rose to the enormous 32.000 people. The Romanian public opinion<sup>29</sup>, especially the militaries, the men working in gendarmerie and police, patriotical institutions, devoted to the Romanian people, that protected the Jews also, was shocked by the hard anti-Romanian feelings of these Jews, by their lack of loyalty towards the country and the people they had lived for decades, being accepted by them, in an Europe of a anti-Semitic majority, and many of them making unhindered fortunes. On June 30<sup>th</sup> 1940 a note, which was telling everything about the hospitality of the Jewish population towards the Romanians, was sent from Bassarabia. This note showed that, while the Romanian civil and military authorities were conjuring up the province, the Jews stayed and accepted the Soviet authorities. Only on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1940 not less then 3000 Jews passed through Reni from the Old Kingdom of Bassarabia, the same thing being registered the following days too. The Jews tries to challenge the Romanians to hostile manifestations against the refugees and mainly against the army. The refugees from Bassarabia, after the arrival to the Old Kingdom, reported the hardships they had to overcome from the local communists, mostly Jews, that had been submitted to tortures, bit them with stones, stolen their luggage, stopped their transportation, ruined their cars and taken their animals. In Chisinau the Jewish lawyers raised red flags, even before the arrival of the Red Army, and molested the Romanian public workers. The same way acted the Jewish intellectuals from Reni, Ismail and Cahul. The Jews from Chisinau demonstrated on the streets, blocking the roads to the station, to stop the Romanians from taking refugee. They've also occupied the buildings of the states' institutions. With this occasion the Jews executed in plain street the commissars: Pascal Nicolae, Mateescu Constantin and Stol. A group of Romanian refugees that got to Bucharest on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, talked about a communist gang that had shoot several Romanian public workers from Chisinau. Other Romanian refugees, from Cernauti, declared that before the Red Army entered the town, the Jews destroyed churches and killed many Romanians and officers of the Romanian Army. The 15-16 years old Jewish communists committed savage acts, disarming some soldiers that were isolated from their officers and from police, stabbing them with their bayonet . All the refugees from Bukovina declared that these acts had been committed by the communist Jews and by some Ukrainians. In Balti, under the protection of the Soviet tanks, which crossed the established front line, the Jewish population was disarming the Romanian soldiers. The army trains had been robbed. All the Jews asked for the support of the Soviet army to disarm the Romanian soldiers and officers. In Rascani-Balti the Jews were walking around with red flags and red rosettes at their buttonhole, and on their houses red flags had been rose up. In Soroca, the

<sup>28</sup> Alex Mihai Stoenescu, *Armata, Maresalul si Evreii*, Bucharest, RAO International Publishing Company, 1998, p.65 and 68-69.

<sup>29</sup> Ion Coja, the work quoted, p. 202. The author quotes the article published by Nicolae Iorga in "Universul", called "*De ce atata ura?*"(Why so many hate?)

Jews formed a committee which in the “Note” was referred as “terrorist”. Being armed, the Jews attacked the trucks prepared for the evacuation, being against the evacuation of the public workers and the families of the soldiers. In Soroca the Jewish lawyer Flexer killed the police inspector Murafa. There had also been killed the financial administrator Gheorghiu, lawyer Stanescu, and captain Georgescu. In Soroca the truck carrying the treasury of the Finance department was robbed, 157.000.000 lei being stolen and, the administrator being killed. Regarding other anti-Romanian manifestation of the communists, the “Note” says that Jews make the majority. “The Note” refers also to other anti-Romanian actions committed by the Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian minorities. Talking about the disarming of the Romanian military unities by the Soviets, “The Note” shows that the Jewish population has helped them. At the end of these documents we are told that the Romanian population was profoundly hurt by these events committed by the Jews and that even from that phase of the conflict, the Romanians reacted.<sup>30</sup> The Romanian military authorities didn’t encourage the reaction of the Romanian people against Jews. This way on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1940, the 10<sup>th</sup> squad of the Romanian Army reported to the Romanian General Staff, through the Major Badarau, that the Soviet troops reached the separation line on the entire length of the front, talking also about some incidents. Regarding the Jews, the report was showing that their hostile actions against the Romanian soldiers, determined the Romanian population and the low rank soldiers to take repercussions against the Jews: fights, throwing them out of the carriages, etc. The report was talking worriedly about these abuses made by the Romanians and was suggesting “urgent measures to stop such acts”.<sup>31</sup>

After the news about the murders and the abuses committed by the Jews against the Romanians in the territories that were being evacuated, had spread up, the Jews were suddenly worried about the reprisals that could come. The groups of the Jewish communist started a new series of discussions about the diversionist strategies that had to be promoted to offer reasons for the intervention of the Red Army in Romania, which had also to support the communist revolution that had to start at the same time. The document presents the positive attitude of the Jewish leaders Wilhelm Filderman and Rabbi Alexandru Safran, who advised the people of their religion to withhold from any manifestations that could challenge the Romanians. The fear of revenge made a lot of Jews emigrate in the Romanian territories occupied by the Russians. In the document it is shown that the Jewish Leaders, Wilhelm Filderman, Rabbi Alexandru Safran and the writer Horia Carp, supported the Jews emigration from Romania to other territories, considering it’s a way of slackening the Jewish crisis from Romania. On the other hand, it shows that the socialist circles were against it, sustaining only the emigration of the Jews to Palestine. Even the Jews that didn’t show their feelings were anti-Romanian. During the evacuation of the Romanian territories occupied by the Russians, the Jews from the rest of the country tried to sabotage the fisc by refusing to pay their debts to the state, following the example from Goga-Cuza gubernation, from the first part of the year 1938. The document present with objectivity an exception from the anti-Romanian behavior of the most of the Jews, represented by the Jewish group called “Mutualitatea” (Mutuality), with the headquarters at no. 15, Spătarului street, harshly criticized the action of their people in Bassarabia, deciding to participate “with all their forces” in the action of helping the Romanian refugees. The document gives explanations about the social categories of the Jews that were leaving Romania for Bassarabia, and Bukovina, which were occupied by the Russians. Most of them were handicrafts men, shopkeepers, land agents, students and people of the profession, people with a poor material situation. The documents mentions that the main causes of the Jews emigration to Bassarabia

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<sup>30</sup>Ibidem, doc. 10, p. 152-157.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, doc. 15, p. 170.

and North Bukovina immediately after the beginning of the evacuation process from the Romanian authorities are the Russians propaganda, promising a better life than the one they had in Romania and the fear of the Romanian reprisals, because of the Jews' excesses in those territories. Generally speaking, about 10.000 Jews were crossing to Bassarabia, each day. The Romanian Communist Party ordered severe interdictions about leaving the places where the communist had missions, without the approval of the leaders of the Party. Those who didn't respect the orders were considered traders.<sup>32</sup> Regarding the situation from North Bukovina, a report of the Chief of the Romanian General Staff, from the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1940, shows that as soon as the evacuation order was given the Jews started the anti-Romanian manifestations, tearing apart and spiting the Romanian flag and rising up the red communist flag on the Union Monument from Cernauti. There were shootings in the streets, devastations, and the local communists occupied the telephone exchange before the arrival of the Soviet troops in town.<sup>33</sup> In a telegram sent to Bucharest from this territory, it has been reported, among other things, that the Jewish population everywhere had an hostile attitude against the Romanians, being defiant, mocking at the public workers, even killing some of them, stilling the treasuries of the institutions of the state, and this way confirming the information received to Bucharest from Cernauti and Chisinau, so as the ones received from the Romanian refugees, from Bucharest or other parts of the country. References were made about the groups of Jews led by the lawyer Michel Flexer, who occupied the police station and the Town Hall from Soroca, searching all the places. Besides the assassination of commissar Mustafa, about which we find out from other documents, lieutenant – colonel Ion Palade's telegram talks about the fact that Michel Flexer also murdered someone called Eustate Gabriel. The population of the evacuated territories was under an intense anxiety.<sup>34</sup> The hostile attitude of the communists Jews against the Romanian army and the Romanian population can be demonstrated by many documents.<sup>35</sup>

It's obvious that all those who accuse the Romanians of holocaust against the Jews during the Second World War, start their accounts with the moment of the liberation of Bassarabia, North-Bukovina and Herta Region, by the Romanian army, in July 1941, when these territories were being reorganized and included in the territory of the country again, under the war conditions in which the country was finding itself. These persons, jewish in their majority, but also of other nationalities, including Romanians drawn by privileges, by personal, mean interests, propagandists, because we can't call them scientists, deliberately avoid the events from June 1940 – July 1941, when those who first opened the series of aggressions the institutions of the Romanian state and some Romanians, were Jews. This thing gives only a partial excuse to the anti-Jews reactions that some of the Romanians had had, to the persons from different political groups or social positions that committed violent acts, even murders, or any kind of persecutions, against Jews that weren't responsible for the anti-Romanian acts. One thing is for sure, the Romanian anti-Jews reactions were a response to the aggressions started by the Jews against the Romanians.

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<sup>32</sup> Alesandru Dutu and Constantin Botoran (coordinators), *Situatia evreilor din Romania*, vol I(1939-1941) first part, Bucharest, Tara Noastra Uniunea Vatra Romaneasca Publishing house, 2003, doc 16, p.171-177.

<sup>33</sup> Alesandru Dutu and Constantin Botoran (coordinators), *Situatia evreilor din Romania*, vol I(1939-1941) first part, Bucharest, Tara Noastra Uniunea Vatra Romaneasca Publishing house, 2003, doc 8-9, p.151.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, doc 11, p. 157-159.

<sup>35</sup> See, among others, Alesandru Dutu and Constantin Botoran (coordinators), *Situatia evreilor din Romania*, vol I(1939-1941) first part, Bucharest, Tara Noastra Uniunea Vatra Romaneasca Publishing house, 2003, p. 150, a book that was initially forbidden and destroyed in 1994, under the pressure of some leaders of the Jewish Communities Federation in Romania. Alex Mihai Stoenescu, the quoted word, p. 79-85 (for the situation from Bassarabia and Bukovina), p. 84-113 (for the Jews from the rest of Romania and the east of Nistru Soviet territories), Ion Coja, *Holocaust in Romania?*, Bucharest, Kogaion Publishing house, 2002, p. 22.

The Jews devotion to the Soviet Union, their attachment to the Bolshevism and the hate against the Romanians, from that historical moment,<sup>36</sup> is today avoided by some Jewish leaders, in a way that totally defys the objectivity needed in every research. This is the starting point of the extraordinary mobilization of some Jews, including leaders, act against yours truly, in various magazines, at the authorities and in the justice, as a result of my publications on this theme.<sup>37</sup>

Maybe, one day, when Europe will be stronger, Germany, Hungary, Romania and all the other defeated countries of the war, will put an end to this permanent prolongation of the holocaust's process. It's already enough. It's over exaggerated. The humanity has to deal with more serious problems of the present generations, that can't be solved, and some Jews are still preoccupied with maintaining in the light, only in the living room, of the bones of the holocaust. A continue death watch, stressing , with a negative vibe, discouraging and disturbing. We have to let Jewish dead, so as those of all the nations that suffered along the history, to rest in peace and they must not be permanently dug up, their sufferance speculated, under the pretext of obtaining money, accusing other nations and forging the history, under the unimpressed or accomplice eyes of some representatives of the politics, of a period in the history of Romania which, for now, has validated very few performances, besides a lot propagandists talk but nothing is done.<sup>38</sup>

Maintaining this harmful climate of making accusations, after 65 years from the World War, leads to other aberrant actions. Here is one of them. In the fall of 2004, The State Philharmonic orchestra from Timisoara, financed with public fond, decided to stop performing the works of the German composer Wagner, for 50 years (!), being known the fact that he didn't really loved the Jews. It's an inexcusable model of cultural censorship. I've also wrote, on other occasions, that such actions should not be accepted by the public opinion, and the Romanian intellectuals, no matter their ethnic roots, should totally isolate this institution. It disserves to sing only in empty halls, to the walls. How do the people who finance the institution accept such a thing? The Jewish leaders also shouldn't accept such a situation.

In the public debates on the theme of the historical differences between the national minorities, such as the Romaian - Hungarian ones, the necessity of promoting the French German example of closing the wounds of the history, is vehiculated. Why the intellectuals of our days, Jews and leaders of the Romanians, don't apply the same solution for the Romanian -Jewish problem? It's obvious that each one of these two has its own truth, when justifying its history. Not only the Jews are right, as some of their leaders try to convince us, counting on the right of the most influent. Under these conditions, hoping for better days, we can only do one thing: to defend our history, our culture, our civilization and our national dignity. It's clear that those accused by some Jews of crimes against humanity, are less guilty than what they are accused of. Their main guilt is of having lost the World War, and their successors the Cold war.

There had been periods of good inter-ethnic Romanian -Jewish relationship along the history. The Romanian hospitality, the chance of making a good life for themselves that the Romanian land offered them, so as the Romanian's tolerance, way over other European

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<sup>36</sup> In the period of my researches that lead to the publication of *Eforturi politico-diplomatice romanesti de iesire din al doilea razboi mondial in lumina arhivei diplomatice a S.U.A.*, Tribuna Publishing house, Sibiu, 2003 (188 p) and *Romania, Axa si Aliatii*, "Alma Mater" Publishing, Sibiu, 2003 (210 p), I've studied a lot of materials that helped drown my conclusion regarding the problems of the Romanian-Jewish relations during the Second World War.

<sup>37</sup> See the newspapers "Averea", from 8<sup>th</sup> June 2005 Bucharest, "22" from Bucharest, "Clujeanul", from Cluj-Napoca, "Sibianul", from Sibiu, and "Tribuna" from 9<sup>th</sup> August 2005, From Sibiu.

<sup>38</sup> You can also see the Norman G. Finkenstien shares the same opinion in the quoted work

people, made in certain periods, hundreds of Jews to cross the Romanian borders without identity papers, consents, claiming afterwards citizen rights and accusing of anti-Semitism the politicians who wanted to clarify and solve the problem of the Jews who entered Romanian illegally, by returning them to their home.<sup>39</sup> With an overwhelming majority the Jews didn't want to leave the country before the WW II, they wanted to leave during the war and on dangerous times when this people were mostly up holders of Romania and Germany's enemies, especially Bolsheviks. The Romanian state and the Romanian citizens were the ones that helped them leave.

At the end of the Second World War, the Jewish community from Romania had about 400000 declared members, not taking in consideration the Jews that declared they were belonging to other nationalities. It was the biggest Jewish community from the states of the German coalition, a community that became a real cradle of the Jewish people. It has been destroyed by the emigration of its people, to Israel and U.S.A. and by the good will of the Romanians governants that allowed this emigration.

In history everything passes: the power, the economy, the hate, even the upper-state conventions, including the so long waited for European Union. The national spirit can be saved through culture, traditions and historic truth. All the more now, when the scientists do not foresee the disappearing of the national conscience, despite the globalization process, that can develop its positive effects without canceling the traditional civilization. The existence of some citizens with atrophied national feeling, who despise their own fellows, work for those who hares their nation, it's not a sign of the disappearing of the national conscience. There still are people that enjoy hearing that in the country, in the important structures of the state, there are people preoccupied about Romania's future and that they are watching that the national flame from the Romanians heart not to disappear.

I think though, with all my heart, that the expected good climate between the European nations, for which Romania offers a traditional frame is shadowed and threatened by the actions of the Jewish leaders who accuse Romania of genocide. Their actions could bring about defensive Romanian actions, followed by resentment, which shouldn't be brought. The slippery field of this problem is not exactly right for the inter-ethnic relationships. The historic truth and only it can save this situation.

I will confess, to my well-intentioned readers, that I'm not an anti-Semitic, even though, by the conviction with which I've made the above statements, I could be regarded as one. All those who ask only the truth and nothing more, could be regarded as such.

Personally, I hope that the fear of the Romanian scientist and intellectuals, that lead a decent life, one day after another and don't feel safe in the Romanian post-communist democracy, will disappear. Their duty is to save the truth and to try not to use lies as arguments.

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<sup>39</sup> See Corvin Lupu, *Relatii diplomatice intre Romania si S.U.A. pana la cel de al doilea razboi mondial*, TRIBUNA Publishing house, Sibiu, 1999, p. 207