

UNIVERSITATEA „BABEȘ-BOLYAI” CLUJ-NAPOCA
INSTITUTUL DE ISTORIE ORALĂ



ANUARUL DE ISTORIE ORALĂ

VII

Cluj-Napoca 2006

**UNIVERSITATEA “BABEȘ-BOLYAI” CLUJ-NAPOCA
FACULTATEA DE ISTORIE ȘI FILOSOFIE
INSTITUTUL DE ISTORIE ORALĂ**

AIO

**ANUARUL
INSTITUTULUI DE ISTORIE ORALĂ**

VII

***PRESA UNIVERSITARĂ CLUJEANĂ*
CLUJ-NAPOCA
2006**

AIO

ANUARUL INSTITUTULUI DE ISTORIE ORALĂ

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Tiparul și distribuția: Editura **ARGONAUT**
Tel./Fax: 004-0264-598.391; 0740-139.984, 0740-454916

Coperta: arhitect Tiberiu TRENEA

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SUMAR

Doru RADOSAV

Holocaustul între istorie și memorie. Câteva considerații / The Holocaust – Between History And Memory. Some Points Of View 5

Maria ALDEA

L'Éthique de la mémoire. Un point de vue 24

Sidonia NEDEIANU GRAMA

Imaginar social și mitologie politică. Repere teoretice (II) / Social Imaginary and Political Mythology: A Theoretical Framework 35

Marius BORZAN

Valea Agrijului în timpul ocupației maghiare (septembrie 1940 – octombrie 1944) (II) / The Agrij Valley During the Hungarian Occupation (September 1940-October 1944) 57

SZABO Levente

Prizonieratul în memoria individuală / Captivity in Individual Memory 93

Aura COMANESCU PINTEA

Al Doilea Război Mondial în memoria colectivă a germanilor din Orăștie / The Second World War in Collective Memory of the German Community of Orăștie..... 126

Dorin DOBRINCU

„Frontul Apărării Naționale. Corpul de Haiduci” în luptă contra regimului comunist în sud-estul Munților Apuseni (1948-1952) / „Frontul Apărării Naționale. Corpul de Haiduci” [National Defence Front. Outlaws’ Body] Fighting Communist Regime in South-Eastern Apuseni Mountains (1948-1952)..... 140

Florin STAN

Mărturii despre o istorie eroică - istorie tragică. Rezistența anticomunistă din Munții Apuseni (Muntele Băișorii). Grupul „Diamandi Ionescu” / Testimonies of a Heroic History - Tragic History. The Anti-Communist Resistance from The Apuseni Mountains (Băișorii Mountain). The „Diamandi Ionescu” Group 183

Maria RIȚIU

Desființarea Bisericii Române Unite (1948) în memoria elitei bisericești / The Dissolution of the Romanian Unitarian Church (1948) in Memory of the Church Elite 197

Grațian CORMOȘ

„Supraviețuirea” și „evadarea” prin logos în detenția feminină reflectată în memorialistică / “Surviving” and “Escape” by Vocabale in Feminine Incarceration Memories 224

JANOSI Csongor

Procesul colectivizării agriculturii în localitățile Dămieni și Călugăreni (județul Mureș) / The Process of Nationalization of Agriculture in the Settlements of Dămieni and Călugăreni (Mureș County) 244

Marius CRISTEA

Procesul de naționalizare din România. Studiu de caz: exploatarea aurifere din Roșia Montană / The Nationalization Process in Romania. Case Study: The Exploitation of Gold in the Roșia Montană Region..... 294

Gheorghe GORUN, Hadrian GORUN

Revolta minerilor din Motru (19 octombrie 1981) (II) / The Revolt of Miners from Motru (19 October 1981) (II) 307

Ion XENOFONTOV

„Dedovșcina”. Raporturile ierarhice între combatanții sovietici din războiul sovieto-afghan (1979-1989) în memoria colectivă / Rank Relations Between the Russian Militaries During the Afghanistan War (1979-1989). „Dedovșcina” 335

Eduard BOBOC

Aspecte bizare ale războiului de pe Nistru (II) / Peculiarities of the Transnistrian War 367

Valeska BOPP

„Ne descurcam.” Despre penuria economică și strategiile de supraviețuire din România anilor '80 / „We Manage Ourselves” On the Economic Hardship and Survival Strategies from the '80s Romania and Current Modes of Remembering 399

Autori 427

THE HOLOCAUST – BETWEEN HISTORY AND MEMORY SOME POINTS OF VIEW

Surrounded by a historiography climate, populated with sententious phrases, there is- about the problematic of the Holocaust- a variety of eccentric opinions, from thorough analyses towards interpretations that should be argued by methodical doubts and wise circumspections. Thus, some researchers, historians or philosophers claim that Holocaust should be either entirely history, or memory.

From the theoretical point of view the Holocaust may be perceived in the memory plan, from two different perspectives, that express a certain balance between ethics and history, or between history and ethics. The first perspective may be qualified as reprobative - *damnatio memoriae*, while the second perspective is a historical, reconstituent one - *commendatio memoriae*.

Even though the historiography have brought consistent but not enough contributions to the Holocaust as a historical subject, we state that there should be thought upon the way in which this phenomenon of maximum tragicalness *cannot escape memory* and *get in history*, because of the survivors and its *singularity and uniqueness* that hugely marked the collective memory. Memory and rememorate (not memorialize) of Holocaust individualize themselves in a series of myths that persists in the psychological and historical dimension of the witnesses. Among these we may mention: the passivity, the self-imposed silence, the so-called “syndrome of survivors” (transferring to pathological dimension), the guilt, the defense of the survivor. These myths organize the identity of the victims and induce certain aloofness of those who weren’t in the Holocaust towards the victims of it.

Another feature of the Holocaust may be the impossibility of having a *global memory*, in terms of already being a Jewish memory, a Christian one, so, implicitly a Romanian, a Hungarian, German, Polish one, etc.

Holocaust appertaining to memory is induced by the unsaid tendency (theoretically and historiographically) to consecrate *the uniqueness of Shoah*. In S. Friedlander’s view (*Limitele reprezentării. Nazismul și Soluția Finală-Limits of Representations. The Nazism and Final Solution*), the Shoah cannot be historiographically represented, because there are language limits for reconstituting this kind of tragicalness, limits for representations (the impossibility of reunifying the points of view of the victims, executors and spectators of the Holocaust in a “super-history”), and the past events belong to some limit-situations, so, out of the historical continuum represented by language. As a consequence, the Holocaust must be abandoned to memory and disfavoring history as historiography, because memory is able to establish an

authentic relationship to the past, without “completely shutting down historical novel” (Kervin Lee Klein).

Opposing to the memory thesis about Holocaust there was established the opinion according to which this phenomenon must “become historic” (M. Foucault considered it to be a building-up of the Nazism, and E. Nolte sees it in the extension of the communist Gulag). P. Ricoeur argues that Shoah cannot be pulled out of the historiographical comparativeness, but, at the same time it maintains “an ethical singularity”.

The Shoah remains an “exemplum” for collective opinion, which supposes no repeating it. Its delivery from the memory and history plan to the conscience and *ethical* collective attitudes plan, we believe that it is the essence of any discussions on Shoah.

L'Éthique de la mémoire. Un point de vue¹

« Lorsqu'on montait, la vie du village, la musicalité du village, la nature, le crissement, le bruit des herbes, et tout ça, le bruit des pas sur la route, tout s'inscrit dans notre mémoire. »²

« Comme mon présent vivant ouvre sur un passé que cependant je ne vis plus et sur un avenir que je ne vis pas encore [...], il peut aussi ouvrir sur des temporalités que je ne vis pas et avoir un horizon social de sorte que mon monde se trouve élargi à la mesure de l'histoire collective que mon existence privée reprend et assume »³.

De cette perspective, la mémoire est celle qui relie le temps et l'espace, les événements qui se succèdent et les événements qui coexistent. Donc, parler d'un événement, se souvenir, témoigner, c'est reconstruire le passé en faisant appel à la mémoire.

Car la mémoire est un phénomène qui se conjugue, qui s'emploie au présent et qui se définit comme « la présence ou le présent du passé, une présence reconstruite ou reconstituée qui s'organise dans le psychisme des individus autour d'un écheveau complexe d'images, de mots, de sensations et qui articule des souvenirs, des oublies, des dénis, des refoulements et donc leur éventuel retour »⁴.

¹ L'ouvrage a été présenté dans le cadre du Symposium international « Trecutul aprop(r)iat și istoria orală » [Le passé aprop(r)ié et l'histoire orale], organisé par l'Institut d'Histoire Orale et la Faculté d'Histoire et Philosophie de l'Université « Babeș-Bolyai », le 9-10 novembre 2006, à Cluj-Napoca. Je remercie M. Pierre Paul Muzy, pour la confiance de m'avoir donné cette interview, et M. Pierre-Paul Calendini, pour m'avoir facilité le contact.

² Pierre Paul Muzy, fragment de l'interview.

³ Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception*, Paris, Gallimard, 1976, p. 495.

⁴ Henry Rousso, *La Hantise du passé*, Paris, Textuel, 1998, pp. 16-17.

Cette mémoire – qui garde des événements, des souvenirs et qui peut être examinée en tant que souvenirs, événements, relecture du passé – cette mémoire est mise en évidence par le témoignage. Autrement dit, par le témoignage en fait renaître la mémoire des événements passés; la réalité passée se retranscrit et s'institue nouvellement. Car, selon Paul Ricoeur⁵, le témoignage constitue « la structure fondamentale de transition entre la mémoire et l'histoire ». Ou, selon Giorgio Agamben⁶, le témoignage est « le système de relations entre le dedans et le dehors de la langue, entre le dicible et le non dicible en toute langue – donc entre une puissance de dire et son existence, entre une possibilité et une impossibilité de dire ».

En ce sens, on peut dire qu'un témoignage n'a pas comme but la codification d'une réalité pour la faire hermétique ou de la décodifier. Mais, celui de chercher, en se basant sur le langage, de faire lumière, d'éclairer.

A cause de son caractère oral, le témoignage est une énonciation (est rapportée à son instance d'énonciation) qui implique directement le sujet qui témoigne. Par conséquent, chaque témoignage est subjectif, même s'il est fait avec force et conviction.

Porter un témoignage ne signifie en aucun cas la restitution correcte des informations. Aucune raison n'oblige pas à croire « sur parole » le témoignage subjectif d'un individu. Selon Jean-François Lyotard⁷, si un individu parle, « [...] il ne peut témoigner que de l'expérience singulière qu'il a eue, et il reste à établir que celle-ci était une composante de la situation en question ».

Par conséquent, l'information qu'un témoignage nous apporte est une information de type subjectif. Mais c'est cette subjectivité qui représente le centre de notre intérêt, parce que de cette façon on peut connaître la mentalité, le contexte culturel d'un individu et implicitement de son milieu.

Pour en revenir à notre sujet, j'affirme que la dimension éthique de la mémoire peut être vue aussi bien comme un désir et un devoir de faire connaître, de divulguer, de révéler l'histoire (personnelle) pour pouvoir la réécrire (soit l'histoire personnelle, soit celle collective), que comme la

⁵ P. Ricoeur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2000, p. 26.

⁶ G. Agamben, *Ce qui reste d'Auschwitz. L'archive et le témoin. Homo sacer III*, trad. de l'italien par Pierre Alferi, Paris, Éditions Payot et Rivages, 1999, pp. 189-190.

⁷ J.-F. Lyotard, *Le différend*, Paris, Éditions de Minuit, 1983, p. 16.

condition de fidélité par rapport à un événement, etc. Car, selon Paul Ricoeur⁸, « à la mémoire est attachée une ambition, une prétention, celle d'être fidèle au passé ».

En nous basant sur les éléments d'analyse pragmatique du discours, le but de notre intervention est, d'une part, d'identifier les moyens qui articulent, qui configurent cette dimension éthique de la mémoire, et, d'autre part, de chercher, de découvrir si cette double perspective se vérifie. Par conséquent, notre analyse sera focalisée sur une seule interview, réalisée à Aix-en-Provence, le 07 avril et 02 mai 2005. Comme l'interview dure plus de 3 heures, pour cette présentation, je me suis permis de faire un découpage, c'est-à-dire j'ai pris des séquences que j'ai considérées significatives pour mon approche. Peut-être, dans un autre contexte, j'exploiterai au maximum la richesse de cette interview qui, pour moi, configure un espace de dimension mythique, fabuleux.

L'interview que nous avons prise illustre le type de l'interview narrative et biographique, centrée sur la vie familiale / vie religieuse.

La personne interrogée s'appelle Pierre Paul Muzy. Il est né le 05 novembre 1943 à Bastia en Corse⁹. A 20 ans, il quitte la Corse et s'établit en Normandie, où il est nommé professeur d'histoire et géographie. A 26 ans (1969) il se marie, mariage duquel il a un fils (né 1971). Depuis quelques années, il habite dans le sud de la France.

Après les dates biographiques, l'interview débute par une question qui provoque la mémoire, qui déclenche le retour en arrière: « Quels sont vos premiers souvenirs ? ».

Comme on le verra, les premiers souvenirs de Pierre Paul Muzy se construisent autour de ses parents, de sa maison, autour de cet espace privilégié qu'est la famille : « *C'est assez difficile*. Le premier souvenir, donc, c'est, *je pense* que c'est la mort de mon père qui m'a la plus marquée. Mon père travaillait au chemin de fer à Bastia. Et, donc, moi je suis né en 1943 et c'était pendant la guerre. *Je ne me souviens pas de cette période*. [...] *Je me souviens* donc *d'un homme* qui me prenait dans le train de temps en temps, qui montait sur Ajaccio [...] et, donc, on parlait de Bastia,

⁸ P. Ricoeur, *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁹ Si vous voulez connaître de plus, avoir une image sur la Corse, sur son histoire et sa langue, vous trouverez dans la Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Histoire Orale de Cluj-Napoca le livre de Jacques Thiers, *Papiers d'Identité(s)*, Levie-Corse, Éditions Albiana, 1989.

passait sous le tunnel et on s'arrêtait dans la campagne. Parfois, il réparait de chaussures, il faisait un peu le cordonnier. Il s'arrêtait, il faisait siffler son train, il arrêtait le train en pleine campagne et les gens venaient. Par exemple, ils échangeaient des chaussures contre du fromage. [...] Après, **je me souviens très peu**, ce sont **des images de mon père**. [...] Après, bien sûr, la force la plus grande c'est ma mère. [...] Ma mère, elle était là, qui s'occupait de moi, qui me regardait par la fenêtre monter toute la rue, disons, que j'ai beaucoup plu à ma mère. [...] Ma mère est restée veuve toute sa vie. Un peu, peut-être, par notre faute, à cause de nous, les enfants, pour moi, le plus jeune, on disait: "ce n'est pas bien d'avoir quelqu'un d'autre à la maison". [...] Voilà, ce sont les premiers souvenirs : la peinture, la maison, le bruit de la rue [...], les jeux d'enfants, les courses, les descentes la rue, voilà. »

Comme vous voyez, à ma question, la première chose qui lui arrive dans l'esprit est : « c'est assez difficile ». Par cette phrase, on remarque que le retour au passé implique un certain effort, effort marqué par la distance temporelle : le temps de l'interview et celui du souvenir – les premières années de vie. De plus, la mémoire est sélective, elle retient des gens, des faits, des événements qui nous ont marqués (soit positifs, soit négatifs) : pour notre énonciateur, le point de repère autour du quel s'organisent tous les autres souvenirs d'enfance c'est un événement douloureux. Par l'emploi du verbe « penser » au présent de l'indicatif à la première personne, « je pense », on constate que celui qui parle exprime son adhésion à son énoncé. Autrement dit, nous sommes assurés de la véracité du contenu de ses propos : la mort de son père qui l'a plus marqué.

L'utilisation du verbe (à la voix) pronominal « se souvenir » au présent de l'indicatif dans les séquences : « je me souviens, donc, d'un homme », « je me souviens très peu, ce sont des images de mon père » – ramène de nouveau présent dans son esprit l'image du père, une image qui appartient à une expérience passée, au passé, mais une image qui est une reproduction exacte, un portrait du père. Par l'emploi de l'article indéfini « un » dans le syntagme nominal « un homme », celui qui parle institutionnalise, officialise la place du père, en marquant, en même temps, la distanciation et l'appropriation affective : « un » renvoie donc au terme général, l'espèce « homme », l'être humain mâle (qui a les caractères humains mâles) ; mais ce qui suit « qui me prenait dans le train de temps en temps, qui montait sur Ajaccio [...] et, donc, on partait de Bastia, passait sous le tunnel et on s'arrêtait dans la campagne. Parfois, il réparait

de chaussures, il faisait un peu le cordonnier. Il s'arrêtait, il faisait siffler son train, il arrêtait le train en pleine campagne et les gens venaient. Par exemple, ils échangeaient des chaussures contre du fromage.» vient comme un essai d'effacement de la distanciation, en marquant l'appropriation affective.

L'emploi de l'adjectif possessif « mon » dans « je me souviens très peu, ce sont des images de mon père », met en réel, concrétise ces images. Maintenant, grâce à ce déterminatif du nom, on identifie (à qu'elles correspondent) et on particularise (on connaît le référent : mon père, ce père, pas n'importe quel père ou homme).

Toute cette séquence narrative vient en opposition avec celle qui parle de la mère. Même si la mère n'existe plus en réalité, elle est toujours présente dans la mémoire-souvenir. Le temps verbal utilisé, l'imparfait, marque, d'un point de vue aspectuel, que le procès est encore ouvert, il n'est pas fini. Le souvenir s'oppose à l'oubli.

Ensuite, par la séquence « je ne me souviens pas de cette période », on observe que le « je » parlant reconnaît une impossibilité, une rupture, un manque d'information, concernant ses premières années de vie. Mais ce qui explique et justifie en même temps cet aspect c'est la séquence narrative qui la précède : « moi je suis né en 1943 et c'était pendant la guerre ». Donc, d'une part, c'est l'âge biologique qui ne lui permet pas d'avoir des souvenirs (il était trop jeune), et, d'autre part, ce temps-là, c'est le temps de la guerre, qui pour un enfant présuppose la protection totale, qui coïncide, on peut dire, avec son isolation.

Dans cet espace identitaire, la présence de la mère est ressentie comme étant très forte : « *Pour moi*, c'était une femme donc assez autoritaire. Je le trouvais. Et, en même temps, juste et forte. Il fallait qu'elle fasse à la fois le père et la mère. Elle était d'une discipline assez rude. [...] C'était le martinet avec des lanières en cuir. Et, parfois, elle nous courait autour de la table, en disant : "*Attention ! Ça va mal aller !*". *On savait* qu'il était accroché derrière la porte. Et surtout la menace. »

Par l'emploi de la construction pronominale prépositionnelle « pour moi », dont « moi » est la forme pleine du pronom personnel de première personne du singulier, l'énonciateur veut, d'une part, insister sur lui-même, et, d'autre part, il veut indiquer un changement du point de vue : une spécification, une particularisation.

« Attention ! Ça va mal aller ! » est une séquence qui envoie au discours direct. Le discours direct se définit par le fait qu'il est supposé

indiquer les paroles même de l'énonciateur cité. Dans notre cas, la présence du discours direct ne signifie pas nécessairement que ces paroles ont été vraiment dites. On peut avancer l'idée qu'il peut s'agir d'un scénario, d'une mise en scène qui a comme but l'authentification. Le sujet du discours peut nous dire : voilà, faites attention, ce sont les paroles, les propos qui ont été dites.

Quelques remarques sur la construction « on savait » : « on » s'associe à un verbe à la troisième personne singulier et à cause de son sens – il peut désigner soit une subjectivité, soit un objet qui ne participe pas à l'action – le narrateur prend ses distances par rapport à l'histoire qu'il raconte. Mais, à cause de son emploi à côté du verbe « savoir », l'objet, « le martinet », est présent à l'esprit, il est identifié et tenu pour réel.

A ma question : « qui a été le plus puni ? », la réponse se fait prompte : « Je ne me souviens pas si c'était mon grand-frère ou ma grande sœur. **Moi, je me souviens pour moi.** »

Par la séquence soulignée, le sujet parlant vient nous dire que, pour lui, l'acte de remémoration est un acte singulier. Sa mémoire lui appartient, c'est lui-même qui va la faire partager avec les autres. Personne ne peut vivre ce qu'il a vécu de la même façon et avec le même intensité, personne ne peut savoir ce qu'il a senti quand un tel événement est arrivé dans sa vie et comment il l'a vécu.

Même si l'autorité de la mère s'est fait présente avec une intensité assez forte, l'énonciateur a, en même temps, senti l'affection : « La douceur. Elle nous montrait qu'elle nous aimait. Ma mère était fière de voir que je réussissais à l'école. J'avais le prix d'excellence. Quand elle entendait Muzy Pierre Paul, prix de français, de mathématiques, par exemple, c'était pour elle un moment, je pense, d'émotion assez merveilleuse, de bonheur. Et **je crois surtout** que c'était une maman qui nous aimait beaucoup. [...] Chaque soir elle était là. C'était sa présence qui nous rassurait. »

La séquence qui nous intéresse ici c'est « je crois surtout que ». Par l'emploi du verbe « croire » au présent de l'indicatif à la première personne, la singularité de celui qui parle, qui affirme, qui tient pour vrai ou véritable est évidente. Ce qui attire notre attention c'est le fait que cette séquence se trouve à la moitié de l'énoncé, même si elle marque le début d'une phrase. Pour la première partie de l'énoncé, l'emploi du « je crois » apparaît comme pour corriger la possibilité de faire, d'avoir une mauvaise compréhension. L'emploi du « je crois » à la tête de la phrase de la partie

seconde impose une interprétation de l'ensemble de la phrase qui suit : tous les mots dits sont vrais. De plus, la présence de l'adverbe de modalité « surtout » vient renforcer la véracité de ses paroles.

Tout change quand il retourne au village. C'est le moment le plus attendu, parce que là-bas se trouve toute la famille : « ce qui était fort, c'étaient les moments quand on partait dans le village où on retrouvait toute la famille ». Ces moments sont configurés par Noël, Paques et les vacances : « La fête de Noël c'est le village. On partait au village. Il y avait le moment où nous sommes descendus à la messe, à la cérémonie du Noël. [...] C'était **la nuit** quand on remontait de **la veille de Noël**, on passait devant **un grand arbre**, c'était **un olivier sauvage**. [...] On marchait à peu près une demi-heure pour monter à la maison. Et là, au coin du feu, nous attendait le cabri, un sapin de Noël dans un coin, une crèche [...] et là on trouvait nos petits cadeaux. Moi, je me souviens du plus beau cadeau : c'était un fusil en bois et au bout de trois jours il ne fonctionnait plus. [...] Noël c'est la fête où on égorge le cochon. Nous on avait deux-trois cochons [...] et quand on les tuait on envoyait les enfants avec une assiette donner une part à ceux d'à côté, qui n'avait pas les moyens d'en avoir. [...] Et le repas. [...] Ça c'était un des moments les plus goûteux. Voilà, c'est ce qu'il me reste de Noël. »

Les marques de temps et d'espace – « la nuit », « la veille », « un grand arbre », « un olivier sauvage », « à peu près une demi-heure » – même s'ils sont employés en phrases avec des verbes à l'imparfait de l'indicatif qui (les verbes) normalement indiquent une rupture entre le passé et le présent de l'énonciation, grâce à ces marques, la rupture est annulée.

A côté de ces moments une place inconfondable détient les grands-parents : « Mes grands-parents ont été la gentillesse [...] Je n'ai pas connu les parents de mon père. Mais de ma mère. Mon grand-père a fait la guerre de '14. [...] Il nous a raconté des histoires de revenants, de sorciers. Ça lui plaisait beaucoup. Et, puis, au coin du feu, de temps en temps, **il nous disait**, par exemple, que lui avait tiré sur un fantôme. **Je me souviens, il disait ça** qu'il y avait une forme derrière le monument aux morts, qui l'appelait, qui lui faisait des signes, une forme un peu bizarre. Alors, il a pris son fusil, il a dit : "Si tu es un homme, tant pis pour toi, si tu es un fantôme, prends-toi ça". Il a tiré sur cette forme. **Je me disais : "Est-ce que c'est vrai?" Je crois que c'est vrai. [...] Ce sont des histoires qu'il m'avait racontées.** [...] Ma grande-mère. Une dame. **Je la revois.** Ses

cheveux gris, qu'elle mettait en chignon. [...] Elle y passait presque une heure. Elle était là, tranquille. Elle avait une certaine noblesse. Elle était **une toute petite femme, toute belle, pour moi, toute ridée, une vieille pomme, toute belle, pour moi**. C'est un des plus beaux souvenirs. C'est cette grand-mère. »

Tout d'abord, on s'arrête sur la séquence : « il nous disait [...] Je me souviens, il disait ça ». Marquée par les coordonnées temporelles et spatiales (les déictiques), « au coin du feu », « de temps en temps », la scène fait le passage vers un temps mythique, celui du conte. L'emploi du verbe « dire » ajoute encore un élément à cette atmosphère dominé par l'agitation curieuse : – il nous racontera – qui vient nous dire : maintenant, je vous communique ce que j'ai pensé, ce que j'ai senti, ce que j'ai fait quand cette chose m'avait été arrivée.

A partir de ce moment, par la séquence « qu'il y avait une forme derrière le monument aux morts, qui l'appelait, qui lui faisait des signes, une forme un peu bizarre. Alors, il a pris son fusil [...] », le « je » parlant restitue des choses, des mots qui lui ont sans doute été racontés. Même si les faits ont une dimension irréelle, son grand-père a vu un fantôme, a tiré sur lui, l'énonciateur s'interroge lui-même sur la véracité de cette histoire. En employant le verbe « croire », un verbe d'opinion, au présent de l'indicatif, il témoigne de l'authenticité de l'histoire. De plus, l'emploi du verbe à la fin de la phrase vient renforcer le caractère véridique de ce qu'il a raconté.

Le verbe « revoir » lui ramène de nouveau à l'esprit, par la mémoire, l'image de la grand-mère. Les nombreux adjectifs employés, avec des valeurs affectives et axiologiques, énoncent la réaction émotionnelle et évaluative du sujet parlant : « petite », « belle », « vieille pomme », etc.

La vie de famille est en forte relation avec la vie religieuse. L'image religieuse qui domine la Haute-Corse, « Je pense que chez nous, à Bastia, ce qui domine le plus, pour moi, c'était St. Antoine. [...] Après, **j'ai le souvenir** de la Vierge que nous avons appelé Notre Dame du Grand Retour. Après la guerre, il y a eu un retour un peu plus fort à la fois. [...] **Je me souviens**. C'était une grande statue de la Vierge dans une barque énorme qui a traversé tout Bastia [...] et là les gens envoyaient des pièces de monnaie et des billets pour la remplir et on partait à 8 km de Bastia dans un village qui s'appelle Lavasina et là on était pieds nus. [...] **Je me**

souviens d'avoir fait ça. J'étais avec ma mère, on mettait les bras en croix et pieds nus, en chantant [...]. »

Par l'emploi du syntagme « j'ai le souvenir », le sujet nous informe que tous ces objets concrets – « la grande statue » de la Vierge, « la barque » – ce sont des objets très bien gardés dans son esprit, et, par conséquent, ce sont des choses qui restent comme un témoignage pour lui et pour les autres de cette époque-là : « je me souviens d'avoir fait ça ».

Un autre élément qui le définit et qui est bien ancré dans sa mémoire c'est l'amitié : « Mes amis. C'était un groupe sur Bastia. C'étaient des copains de lycée, des amis d'écoles. [...] Jacques Thiers est un de mes amis. *Quand je le revois*, donc, *j'ai des souvenirs, des souvenirs de fêtes, des souvenirs de promenades à travers Bastia*. [...] On avait des amitiés assez fortes. [...] *Je parle pour moi*. ».

La rencontre avec l'autre, le fait d'être de nouveau en présence de son/ses ami(s) déclenche dans son esprit des expériences passées, des réminiscences qui l'ont marqué. La présence, encore une fois, de l'expression « je parle pour moi » marque que l'expérience est singulière, que le souvenir est unique, que ni l'un, ni l'autre ne peut être transférés aux autres : « Je sais ce que j'ai vu ».

Jusqu'à maintenant nous avons essayé d'identifier des éléments d'analyse pragmatique du discours qui configurent, qui marquent cette condition de fidélité au passé.

L'autre perspective – le désir et le devoir de faire connaître ce qu'il a vécu – envoie aussi à cette dimension éthique de la mémoire.

Comment se vérifie-t-elle ?

Tout d'abord, cet aspect est soutenu par l'acceptation de donner l'interview, de parler de soi-même, de témoigner et de partager son expérience.

Ensuite, on ajoute son implication dans la vie de l'Amicale Corse d'Aix-en-Provence – Amicale¹⁰ qui se fait un devoir d'un travail apolitique, ayant des buts bien précis : la promotion de la Corse, de la langue corse, de la culture corse – où il donne de cours de chants : « *Je ne connais pas* la musique, donc *je peux pas dire* que je suis un professeur de chant. Mais, *je transmets* tous les chants, *tout ce que je peux transmettre actuellement* j'essaie de les faire passer. Ce que j'ai appris quand j'étais

¹⁰ Voir le site de l'Amicale Corse d'Aix-en-Provence : <http://amicalecorseaixoise.free.fr>

donc adolescent, lorsque j'étais sur le continent. Des chants simples. Les berceuses, des chansons quand on allait au bal, des sérénades. »

La phrase déclarative « je ne connais pas » est un argument fort qui souligne la déontologie professionnelle de celui qui parle. Même s'il n'a pas une attestation universitaire en musicologie, il utilise son don, son talent qui combiné avec sa mémoire devient des moyens importants dans cette transmission de son héritage culturel. De plus, l'emploi des verbes au présent de l'indicatif indique l'ancrage au présent. L'utilisation du passé composé et de l'imparfait vient pour renforcer ce devoir moral et culturel qui met en évidence la transmission. La transmission de sa mémoire se fera par ses projets musicaux, parce que « en transmettant par le chant ça passe ». Le premier projet s'intitule « Voyage en Corse » : « On va débarquer à Ajaccio, je vais raconter ça et j'aurai un premier chant, les pêcheurs d'Ajaccio, i piscadori d'Aiacciu, et après nous passerons dans la vallée d'à côté, en entrant on retrouve les muletiers d'Olmetto, chanterons des chansons sur les muletiers, je raconterai une histoire ; le public m'accompagnera jusqu'à Bastia. On passera par la montagne avec des chants de montagne, avec des chants qui sont moins connus [...] ».

Le deuxième projet portera sur son nom de scène « Petru Memoria » : « Dans un chapeau je veux mettre une centaine de noms et plus, *des noms qui se rapportent à ma mémoire*. J'ai pensé au début faire remplacer des mots par des autres, par le public. S'il met 'un aspirateur', 'une machine à couper', *ça me parlera pas, ça leur parlera peut-être à eux* ; donc moi je mettrai mes mots et je demanderai au public de tirer une dizaine de noms et ce sera mon spectacle. Je vais essayer. C'est un projet. Il faut toujours essayer. »

Par les séquences soulignées, l'énonciateur met encore une fois en évidence le fait que la mémoire est singulière. On peut se souvenir d'événements plus ou moins importants, mais ce sont des événements qui, pour nous, sont parlants, qui nous ont marqués. Mais ce qui est parlant pour moi, ne l'est pas obligatoirement pour un autre.

En guise de conclusion... Le but de notre intervention a été d'offrir une autre perspective sur l'éthique de la mémoire par rapport à celle avec laquelle nous sommes habitués, celle de la morale. Donc, selon nous, l'éthique de la mémoire peut être vue aussi bien comme un désir et un devoir de faire connaître l'histoire personnelle pour pouvoir la réécrire, que comme la condition de fidélité par rapport à un fait passé. Mais, même si nous avons laissé à côté l'approche morale, on peut affirmer que les deux

points de vue se présupposent réciproquement, parce que les deux configurent l'éthique : « viser à la vraie avec et pour l'autre dans des institutions justes »¹¹.

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¹¹ P. Ricoeur, *Soi-même come un autre*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1990, p. 211.

SOCIAL IMAGINARY AND POLITICAL MYTHOLOGY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Translated by *Sidonia Nedeianu Grama*

The paper attempts to outline the large area of research on *symbolism*, as focused in social sciences, primarily in history and social psychology, as well. It elicits different meanings and features of this field - which has been lately an attractive, though highly demanding object of study-, pointing out some clarifications on the *fuzzy concepts* it deals with. In what concerns the relevance of this topic for oral history, the implicit assumption of the paper is that collective memories, at the core of the oral history approach, are inextricably mixed with social imaginary. Therefore, a prior comprehension of the vast world of symbols and a peculiar awareness of their complexity and subtleties are needed.

The first part of the paper presents a general theory on imaginary, particularly Gilbert Durand's work on *mythodologie*. In the meantime, outlining the world of symbols, with their characteristics and social functions, an emphasis is put on their dual nature, as both benign and malign potentiality, which might carry unexpected effects on human personality and cultures.

The study considers as well the imaginary in the history, and the historical imaginary. Drawing mainly on the work of Jacques Le Goff, it suggests that the approach on mentalities and imaginary - the fruitful, even though rather ambiguous and vaguely defined concepts of the „new history”- could be usefully focused at the level of social representations, a more concrete and nuanced notion borrowed from social psychology.

In the second part of this study, which is to be published in the next issue of the Annual of Oral History, I am going to describe some classic characters of the political mythology, such as the *savior* or the *charismatic leader* in history. As a matter of fact, this recurrent and powerful myth of the Romanian social imaginary played a crucial role in the 1989 Romanian revolution, as it is largely analyzed in a previous article that I published, based on my 1996 BA thesis.

In conclusion, this paper advocates a comprehensive approach on social imaginary, as a constant dimension of humanity and therefore, an important object of social sciences. Since it warns of the symbols' mixed benign and malign effects on both individuals and cultures, the paper finally suggests a balanced attitude in approaching the world of symbols, neither enthusiastically overwhelmed by their power, nor reluctantly neglecting them as mere non-rational forces.

participat Dinu Giuruțan și Augustin Ghiuruțan, aproximativ 55-60 de ani, Românași, fără să-și dea datele personale. Interviuul a fost realizat pe 14 mai 2004 de Marius Borzan.

21. Stânean Mitrofan - s-a născut în 1 decembrie 1922 și locuiește în Romita. Naționalitatea română, religie ortodoxă, 7 clase, agricultor. Interviuul a fost realizat în 30 noiembrie 2003 de Marius Borzan.

22. Taloș Simion - s-a născut în 1921 și locuiește în Jac. Naționalitatea română, religie ortodoxă, 4 clase, agricultor. Interviuul a fost realizat în 16 noiembrie 2003 de Marius Borzan.

23. Taloș Traian - s-a născut în 1920 și locuiește în Romita. Naționalitatea română, religie ortodoxă, 7 clase, agricultor. Interviuul a fost realizat în 24 iulie 2003 de Marius Borzan.

THE AGRIJ VALLEY DURING THE HUNGARIAN OCCUPATION (SEPTEMBER 1940-OCTOBER 1944)

The events that occurred between August and the beginning of September 1940 are renowned and have been comprehensively debated by both the Romanian and the foreign historiography. Facilitated by the development of the international context of that period, they have been the result of the event which took place in Wien on the 30th of August 1940, an incident that has not only had significant consequences for the future unfolding of history, but that has also generated numerous debates and interpretations coming from expert historians in the field of historiography.

The study therefore aims to accomplish a reconstitution from the perspective of oral history of the manner in which the Hungarian occupation (September 1940-October 1944) has conducted itself in some areas from the basin of the Valley of Agrijului. The topic under discussion can be deemed as justified if we bear in mind the painful reality of the Hungarian occupation (Treznea), reported from man to man, region to region, together with the tradition of the common man's spiritual universe, whose aspirations, dreams and beliefs, as an embodiment of his respect for the departed loved ones, who died for freedom and peace, have always represented essential traits that have ultimately gained an aura of myth or legend. Since then, the tragic tale of the events that took place in some parts of the Valley of Agrijului during the Hungarian occupation has been passed on from man to man, generation to generation.

The starting point of this research, carried out by means of oral investigation, are these genuine but nevertheless not entirely unravelled historical facts, as well as the already born and spreading legends. These testimonies are essential primarily because they convey another kind of history, one that is

explained through examples.

On the other hand, I consider that the frankness of the witnesses can not be questioned even though in some cases their partiality is obvious, in the sense that they blame only the other part. Nevertheless the majority subscribes to the principle stated by Pușcaș Ioan from Treznea: „I tell you, I ain't joking' cause I'm accountable for what I say”. (roughly translated)

Another noticeable aspect is the fact that in most cases the typology of the situations portrayed by the people who were interviewed can be traced down in archive documents and in the published bibliographical references on the subject.

Regarding the contribution of the study, two things are worth mentioning. To start with, it illustrates for the first time a reconstruction of the general aspects of the hungarian occupation, from various spheres, in some of the parts of the Agrijului Valley, portrayed by the accounts of the local folk. Subsequently it advocates for a more reflective and detailed research on the causes that have led to the tragic events that took place in the settlement of Treznea, the county of Salaj during its occupation by the Hungarian troops, since a certain biased approach in the historiography dedicated to this subject is noticeable. Even so, although there are numerous examples taken from the testimonies of the people who were interviewed that confirm this fact, we are far from considering that a final solution capable of explicitly revealing the causes of those events has been found, because legends generated by the people will keep on surviving and being passed on to the future generations.

To sum it up one can assert that the acquired verbal information is abundant, the witnesses being able to reconstruct in detail the events related to the period of the Hungarian occupation, basically because this episode stands for one of the most emblematical moments of their lives, a moment that has had a definite impact on their lives.

CAPTIVITY IN INDIVIDUAL MEMORY

The captivity is an immediate consequence of wars as well as death and injuries. Still, no status of war prisoners existed until the end of 19th century. This means that war prisoners and civilians in the occupied territories were at the disposal of the winner. The captivity is an important problem especially for the young generation because it is a part of the history of humanity and it is not an exhausted subject yet.

This study deals with the testimonies of the former soldiers imprisoned in the ex Soviet Union. Their stories are related to the beginning of the captivity, first experiences with Russians, ritual of catchments, the way to the prison camp, life during prison, nourishment, medical assistance, work in the camp, escape attempts, propaganda, sexual aspects, literary preoccupations, correspondence, the way back home. Those who survived proved that miracles exist and faith and the strength to resist are more important than body condition. Their stories are incredible but entirely true.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF THE GERMAN COMMUNITY OF ORĂȘTIE

The German community of Romania may become an oral history subject quite because the official history has serious lacks on this regard due to the political regime of the 20th century and the unknown less convenient part of the problem, ignored most of the time, could become more of interest.

We had in mind for this study the German community of Orăștie, where due to industrialization of the 60s and 70s local Germans from the neighborhood went together, as well as in other towns as Blaj, Arad, Sebeș, Lupeni. Most of them settled down right where they worked. Although their traditions, told events, even language or religion differ they form a community whose values are respected. They suffered together with the others and the single matter that counted was that they spoke another language than the official one for they were local Germans.

The aim of the study is to integrate individual memory to a collective one, of the native place. We took 15 interviews with people born between 1917-1954, most of them women who had lived the experience of the Second World War and after that deported, but also people who analyze the German community and the changes in time. Their testimonies can be considered historical sources and also points of view on the events lived and told about because after decades the events are viewed within other experiences receiving new meanings. The refreshing process is integrated to a social framework due to numerous political coercions local Germans were confronted with but also implies the process of almost living again the event as well as justifies, understandings and interpreting.

Ultimii supraviețuitori ai grupului Dabija – Traian Ihuț și Nicolae Salagea – au mai rezistat o perioadă. Ei au încercat să supraviețuiască, însă, în cele din urmă, au fost uciși în timpul unor ciocniri cu forțele de urmărire (primul dintre ei în 1952).

Rezistența armată anticomunistă din zona Muntele Mare, în special a grupului condus de maiorul Nicolae Dabija, a avut parte și de recunoaștere publică după căderea regimului comunist. În memoria celor uciși în luptă, executați cu sau fără judecată, precum și a celor deportați, la 19 august 2001 a fost inaugurat un monument – o cruce – în comuna Bistra, județul Alba.¹⁹¹

**„FRONTUL APARARII NATIONALE. CORPUL DE
HAIDUCI” [NATIONAL DEFENCE FRONT. OUTLAWS’ BODY]
FIGHTING COMMUNIST REGIME IN SOUTH-EASTERN
APUSENI MOUNTAINS (1948-1952)**

(Translated by author)

The communist regime’s sustained offensive, meant to obtain a total control of the Romanian State and society led to responses. At the end of the 1940s, numerous anticommunist armed resistance groups appeared; one of the most important areas where this phenomenon manifested itself was the Apuseni Mountains. Among the most important organizations of this region there was „Frontul Apărării Naționale. Corpul de Haiduci” (National Defence Front. Outlaws’ Body), under the direction of Major Nicolae Dabija and engineer Traian Macovei.

The organization was founded in 1948, the action area being situated on the Eastern flank of the Apuseni Mountains, in Muntele Mare, near the communes of Bistra and Câmpeni. In the autumn of 1948, a group settled in Muntele Mare, where they built a fortified shelter (a „blockhouse”). At the same time, in the localities down the mountains, supporting groups were made up (for instance „Liga Apuseană a Moșilor”/Moși’s Western League) and a genuine network providing information about the authorities’ actions. Major Nicolae Dabija was the constructor of one of the most ambitious plans that the Resistance in Romania had made, comparing with Colonel Ion Uță’s one, the leader of a Resistance group in the region of Banat. The goal was to start an insurrection in 1949, when the war between the Soviets and the Americans was expected to begin; the armed actions were then meant to occupy the State institutions, the armament and ammunition deposits, as well as the strategic

¹⁹¹ Dana Țăranu, „Un nou monument în memoria victimelor...”, p. 235.

points (the defiles of Mureș, Someș, Olt, Prahova and Dorna). The group created and spread anticommunist handbills, for the population's mobilization. Furthermore, it made up an information network in Bucharest and tried from there to establish connections with the western diplomatic milieus. All these underlined the existence of a strategic, not only a tactic, vision, although the external factor was probably too much relied on.

Well informed about the activity of the „National Defence Front. Outlaws' Body”, the authorities started, at the beginning of March 1949, an ample action against the group. In the fight taking place in Muntele Mare were killed or caught several partisans. At the same time, members and people who had supported the group, from the localities around or from Bucharest, were arrested. A trial taking place in October 1949 at Sibiu had as a result the sentence to death of several members of the group in the mountains, including Major Dabija, as well as numerous and hard imprisonment decisions. Securitate did not execute only the ones who had received the capital punishment, but also many of those sentenced to prison, in which case we can speak of real assassinations. The same thing happened to some of the partisans caught in the mountains, or to their supporters, who were executed on the spot, without mention of a trial. The repressions against the families of the Resistance members were also hard. The members of the supporting organizations were also tried and convicted.

The last survivors of Dabija's group – Traian Ihuț and Nicolae Salagea – resisted for a while. They tried to survive but were finally killed while being pursued by the authorities (the former in 1952).

10. Iustin Vârtan - s-a născut în 13 octombrie 1926 în Muntele Băișorii, naționalitate: română, religie: ortodoxă (fost greco-catolic), contabil și apoi secretar la Primăria Muntele Băișorii, pensionar. Interviu a fost realizat de autor în 12 ianuarie 2005, în satul Cornești, comuna Mihai Viteazu, județul Cluj.

**TESTIMONIES OF A HEROIC HISTORY- TRAGIC HISTORY
THE ANTI-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE FROM THE APUSENI
MOUNTAINS (BAISORII MOUNTAIN)
THE „DIAMANDI IONESCU” GROUP**

Between 1948-1949 a group of partisans led by aviation captain Ionescu Diamandi operated in the region of the Lower Ariesului Valley and Ierii Valley (the villages Cheia, Moldovenești, Ocoliș, Lungești, Lunca Largă, Cheile Runcului, Agriș, Mașca, Iare, Băișoara, Muntele Băișorii). According to the written as well as oral sources, the main operations were conducted around the settlement of Mount Băișorii. They ranged from attacking a store and the tourist lodge to capturing the authorities, locking them in a cellar and declaring the township of Mount Băișorii as one that is „liberated from communism and submitted only to the will of the people”. Following the armed confrontations with the repression armies (summer of 1949), the group scattered and, soon after, the adherents together with their followers were arrested and sentenced to hard years of prison. From those that were captured by the State Police, 12 men were executed: 8 were executed in public, in order to set an example, at Mount Baisorii, Cheile Runcului and Mașca, and other 4 men were executed in prison.

Following these events, a myth emerged in the region of Mount Baisorii (probably fabricated by the State Police), according to which the leaders of the group of partisans were in fact members of the State Police sent in the area to investigate the peasants' position towards the communist regime and to determine those hostile to it to act openly so that they could be identified and arrested or eliminated. The idea lacks obviously consistency, taking into account that these leaders were shot and there are no proofs in this respect. That is why we have attempted to uncover the birth mechanism of such a myth, its diffusion and endurance throughout time.

Another significant matter that we addressed was that of the adhesiveness of the formula of anti communist resistance to the population

of the investigated villages. It seems that, in the context of the soviet reality that had reached the Transylvanian villages in the form of accounts of the formers combatants on the eastern front, townsmen supported in great numbers the anti communist activities.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ROMANIAN UNITARIAN CHURCH (1948). IN MEMORY OF THE CHURCH ELITE

-resume-

The present study attempts to highlight certain aspects regarding the manner in which the dissolution the Romanian Unitarian Church was perceived by part of the church elite. Consequently we have chosen to consider as an elite the best part of a community, that is those who contribute to the opinion creation, without disregarding also the meaning of organized minority, whose certain superiority and capacity to influence the social setting in which it resides is acknowledged at a social level.

The study focused on a relatively small number of people, coming from various regions and backgrounds (bishops, vicars, monks, priests) and which we deemed as representative in order to illustrate the impact of the dissolution the Romanian Unitarian Church in 1948, as well as the sacrifices that were made for preserving the faith, in spite of all the constraints imposed by the repression authorities.

Part of the information was retrieved from the field literature, archive sources, but also from oral sources coming from the area of the man who has suffered, who was forced to endure incarcerations, house arrests and a clandestine spiritual life in the "Underground Church" for decades.

After 1948, when the Act of 1st of December gained a permanent and irrevocable meaning, the Unitarian Church became a thing of the past. The Romanian Unitarian Church pursued nevertheless its activity clandestinely, a fact which came also to the attention of the State Police leading thus to a more and more suffocating surveillance. The majority of the hierarchs and clerics of the Church United with Rome followed the path of prisons, labor camps and house arrests. Some of the priests managed to maintain their freedom by camouflaging their pasts, religious belonging and by continuing to hold the Greek-catholic religious sermons clandestinely. It was with great sacrifices that the regeneration and enhancement of the group of Greek-catholic priests was achieved, enabling thus the pursuit of their clandestine activity.

In spite of all the restrictions against it, the "Underground Church" endured. The communist regime collapsed in 1989, but unfortunately the same cannot be concluded about the relationship it imposed among Christians. The bitter fruits that were seen among them have led to the perpetuation of the conflict between the adherents of the two denominations (Orthodox and Greek- Catholic).

“SURVIVING” AND “ESCAPE” BY VOCABLE IN FEMININE INCARCERATION MEMORIES

In order to resist within the communist Inferno, the female prisoners were forced to elaborate strategies of psychological resistance. The survival and escape from detention Inferno take into account the following meanings: resistance to the consequences of re-education and depersonalization, a high level of elation, intransigency, and in a general way the idea, even dreamlike, of a certain liberty.

Two major types of escape, depending on backgrounds, could be possible: the soundless escape (look on Lena Constante' memories) and the social escape, full of acts.

This study deals with “language escape”, understanding the resistance against re-education with stories, chats and faith inside the women prison of communist Romania. Of the most used forms of escape experimented by women, narration and faith were the most genuine and successful. The stories unburden in an evident way the stress of detention. They were based on memories and oral teaching. In prisons the intellectuals were respected and admired by the others. All along the detention famous or less known novels or even questionable literary products were told, as well as fairy tales, poems, proverbs, some of them fabricated right away.

The most important virtue of the stories and talks was a temporary forgot of repression and a building of another universe: *they* (the oppressors) having the ideologically paltry world, *us* (the imprisoned) with an entire fictional, above time universe, antidote to lies, beating and abuse.

18. Salat Géza - născut la 2 octombrie 1923 în Călugăreni, naționalitatea: maghiară, religia: romano-catolică, studii: șapte clase, pensionar. Interviu a fost realizat de Janosi Csongor în Călugăreni, la 14 iunie 2004.

THE PROCESS OF NATIONALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE SETTLEMENTS OF DĂMIENI AND CĂLUGĂRENI (MUREȘ COUNTY)

The present paper attempts to re-enact the nationalization process which occurred in the villages of Damieni and Calugareni, situated on the bank of the Upper Niraj, settlements which were administratively integrated in the last phase of transformations in the Targu Mures rayon, in the Mures Autonomous Hungarian Region.

The conducted research focuses on two main topics: the consequences of the communist legislation, its impact on the investigated settlements and the evolution of the socialist agricultural structures in consonance with the Stalinist pattern. The legislation of the quotas and the suppression under any form of those considered to be „chiaburi” (wealthy people), led to a certain flexibility on behalf of the townsmen, who would first join associations (a mass phenomena at Damieni) throughout the year 1960, until the Collective Agricultural Household was established by the end of 1962 in both settlements and encompassed them both almost entirely.

The merger of the „30th December” collective agricultural household from Damieni and that of „Lenin’s Way” in Calugareni, in August 1962, represented the first phase of this process and did not bring about any major changes.

To investigate the facts we resorted to an innovative material from the National Romanian Archives, the Mures branch, as well as to a less conventional source of oral history, the testimonies, completing 18 interviews with the persons that were directly involved in the analyzed process.

The present study represents to a certain extent a history of the nameless, which means to round out in detail the conventional official history.

4. David Sabin - s-a născut în 26 august 1920 în comuna Bucium. A venit la Roșia Montană în 1927, unde s-a familiarizat cu munca în mină, lucrând în diferite exploatari particulare. După 1948 s-a angajat la Exploatarea *Minaur*.

5. Ivășcanu F. Gheorghe - s-a născut la Roșia Montană în 5 mai 1931. Naționalitatea română, religia ortodoxă. A lucrat în mină de la vârsta de 12 ani și jumătate. Familia sa a deținut mina „Coloja” și două șteampuri și jumătate pe valea „Foișș”. După naționalizare a fost exmatriculat de la școală sub acuzația că era „reacționar și exploatare” și a plecat pe șantier la Teliuc. A participat la prospectări la Șoimoș și la Highiș și, pentru o vreme, a lucrat și în Valea Jiului. Ulterior a revenit și s-a stabilit la Roșia Montană unde a devenit maistru minier. A lucrat timp de doi ani și în Algeria. În prezent locuiește în Roșia Montană.

6. Mignea Carol - s-a născut la Roșia Montană în 26 iunie 1930. Naționalitate română, religie greco-catolică. A lucrat în mină alături de tatăl său de la vârsta de 13 ani. După naționalizare a devenit maistru electromecanic la Exploatarea minieră de la Corna, jud. Alba.

THE NATIONALIZATION PROCESS IN ROMANIA CASE STUDY: THE EXPLOITATION OF GOLD IN THE ROSIA MONTANA REGION

Following the establishment of the communist regime in Romania and after the appointment of the Petru Groza government, one of the most significant laws that led to the definite institution of communism throughout the whole country was the Law no.119 of June 11th 1948 referring to the nationalization of the industrial, banking, insurance, mining and transportation units.

The imposition of this law represented an impairment for both the owners of these units, who represented an important segment of the romanian postwar society, as well as the main opponents to the communist ideology, and for the economic community. Such was the situation which occurred at Rosia Montana (county of Alba), a region where the sole occupation was the exploitation of gold deposits.

The material investigates on the basis of reference documents and verbal testimonies of those who experienced and where directly affected

by nationalization, the impact the process had upon the community of Rosia Montana. In this particular case, the process of nationalization led to the disappearance of the group as an entity as well as to the loss of the material means and cultural identity at an individual level.

**THE REVOLT OF MINERS FROM MOTRU
(19 OCTOBER 1981) (II)**

Translated by authors

There are not many collective revolts during the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceaușescu. Unfortunately, the uprisings which took place are not thoroughly known. Romanian scholars wrote about the strike of Lupeni (August 1977), about the revolt of the workers of Brașov (November 1987). But no word was spoken about the events that had taken place in Motru. A short length in time of this political and social revolt could be a reason of the silence.

The revolt of the miners took place in Motru in October 19, 1981.

From the beginning, we must underline the anticommunist nature of this uprising. On the other hand, this movement had a social nature, but the political nature is more important. This nature of the revolt is preponderant. The favorite slogans of the miners express undoubtedly this reality. Among the most meaningful slogans were: „Down Ceaușescu”, „Down the dictator”, and even “Down the communism”. Other slogans, as “We want bread”, also prove the social nature of the revolt.

The “spark” of the uprising was the decree number 313 of 17th October 1981. That decree introduced the ration books of the bread into the miner towns.

The communist authorities denied any political nature of the revolt. They judged and condemned the leaders as ordinary prisoners. The leaders were not condemned for their political activity. Some miners were thrown into prison.

The revolt of the miners of Motru represents the most important moment of the collective resistance against the late communism. There was a real blow for the communist regime. It also proved the weakness and the incompetence of the regime. It was the consequence of the cold, of the fear, of the hunger of Romanian people. A strong reason of the revolt was the low living standard in the communist Romania.

**RANK RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN MILITARIES
DURING THE AFGHANISTAN WAR (1979-1989).
„DEDOVŠČINA”**

The present article focuses on the study and analysis of the rank relations which were established between the Russian soldiers during the Afghanistan war, reflected from both a vertical and a horizontal perspective. The inter human relations between the Russian militaries were established in a tense context and they were enhanced by a series of traditions, regulations as well as by an inherent metamorphosis induced in a new social and cultural environment, and a lifestyle that was most of the times brought about at the very brink of infamy, of the multi national mixture and of the psychological profile of the soviet militaries. The young recruits perceived their military superiors as a leaning point, an idealized image shifted towards a patriarchal one. In spite of this fact, the exhibition of hierarchy was at the same time not ruled out, a fact that is noticeable if one observes the background of divergences which sometimes led to tragic consequences. The hardest mechanism of communication between the soviet militaries was generated by the institution known as *Dedovščina* (familiar among both soldiers and officers), which instituted an informal, hierarchical structure, which was based on consuetude and presented a specific terminology. At times it was employed more intensively in Afghanistan than in the USSR. Unlike the *Dedovščina* established in the USSR, the one encountered in Afghanistan was even more excessive due to the war circumstances. *Dedovščina* was an embodiment of an unrealistic dimension and it inflicted a system of intense physical and moral sufferings. Moreover, the arbitrary pattern of the relations which were established outside regulations led to suicides and the desertions from the garrisons. But the most extreme form of human degradation and proscription was outlined by the group of subsidiary soldiers.

PECULIARITIES OF THE TRANSNISTRIAN WAR

The „white stains” of the „bizarre transnistrian war” represent a less transparent aspect for both the press of that period and for reference documents. It is even more controversial and difficult to comprehend for anyone who wants to gain an insight into the essence of the events that took place in the spring and summer of 1992, as well as a significant challenge for resolute researchers that aim to get to the bottom of the investigated issues, to the very core of the entire transnistrian conflict, a conflict that spans a decade without having been clarified in spite of the international dimension it took. The illustrated material questions the statements made by the leaders of the separatist nistrian enclave and as well as those made by the heads of state of the Moldavian Republic, who are sometimes involuntarily portrayed as string-puppets in the hands of a third party, a party whose implication during the entire conflict has become more and more obvious. Due to the valour, commitment, patriotism and bravery demonstrated during the military actions, the moldavian police officers and combatants have triumphed in the war of positions that took place on the banks of the Nistru River, but the interference of the military incompetent politicians has had an ill-fated effect on the final outcome. Even the so called common diplomacy has often had a more feasible and efficient impact than the actions undertook by the platoon commanders.

The crimes committed during the war call for an ample investigation on behalf of the international organizations, and those guilty of acts of genocide against the people of the Moldavian Republic must be handed over to justice and convicted according to the legislation in effect.

The author would therefore like to express his appreciation to all those who have contributed to the publication of the material and especially to those who have had the fortitude to acknowledge some „peculiar” features related to the transnistrian war.

**„WE MANAGE OURSELVES”
ON THE ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND SURVIVAL
STRATEGIES FROM THE '80s ROMANIA AND CURRSENT
MODES OF REMEMBERING**

This paper is based on the master thesis of the author „Ne descurcam...” Mangel- und Überlebensstrategien in Rumänien in den 1980er Jahren“, handed in at the University of Leipzig, Institute for Cultural Studies in 2003. The thesis as a whole focuses on the economic shortages in the 1980ies in Ceaușescu’s Romania, which are described in the first part with the help of Western newspaper articles and archive material from RFE. There is also taken a glance at the official discourse in Romania, reflected in *Scînteia*, where prosperity is proclaimed, and only between the lines can be found some hints of existing problems. As all this material still gives no information on how the “real” situation was like and if it was as “alarming” as described for example in the Western press, I started asking people in Bucharest about this period and the project became in its second part an oral history project - which results are presented here. I was talking to 15 people of different age, most of them from an intellectual milieu, but also a saleslady and one woman being actively involved in black-market-activities. All persons questioned lived in the 1980ies in Bucharest, a condition for being questioned, because circumstances varied a lot between the countryside and the capital.

The interview material permitted not only an insight into necessary day-to-day practices of the city-dwellers, but also showed, how people structured and interpreted the last period of Romanian Communism, starting in their memories with the earthquake in 1977 and interpreting it as “beginning of the end”, mentioning secondly the program for “rational alimentation” and the anger about it, as there was nearly nothing available, as glimmer of hope for a better socialism the visit of Gorbaciov in 1987, and finally the year 1989, when Ceaușescu despite the announcement that Romania was free of its debts, did not change his attitude towards consumers needs. After presenting this, how I call it, “subjective chronology” - as there was no strict connection to my question about economic shortages in the 1980ies which I expected to begin with the first rationing orders in 1980 - I am describing in a detailed manner the ways of obtaining the necessary goods. And one, even if the most unloved way, was queuing, hence a phenomenon deserving a more detailed look. While people were forced to spend a lot of their time in lines before magazine doors, they yet managed to organize it “well” in the sense, that the kept places for each other, lent each other children to obtain more etc. – and represent themselves so as active social actors. Another way to obtain necessary goods were certain socio-economic positions: While the position of the

saleslady was one of the most profitable, also civil servants had to be satisfied in order not to report bad fulfilling the states plans. Academics were forced to exchange their “intellectual capital” for food, which could become a payment for private lessons. As people always knew other people working in one or the other area – which the persons questioned individually interpret as personal “luck” – they all managed to provide themselves, or, as they pronounce it in Romanian, a se descurca.

In its final part, the article includes today’s attempts to explain why people endured this degrading system, both from the persons questioned as from some media articles. They mention, that they got used to that system of “portions” (always gaining a little bit of everything) and being already happy, if things turned out better than expected; that they had no comparison; that there were always small room for manoeuvre; and finally that there used to be as a kind of refuge cultural events or holidays in the mountains or the Black Sea Cost.

Today’s situation has for most of my interviewees not become much easier, which explains to some extent appearing nostalgic emotions. More interesting to note is that they still have more confidence in the old mechanisms than the state, but as these do not work out as good as before, and the state does not fulfill the gap of “providing” its habitants, they experience a kind of displacement. But, and this is an argument of the whole paper, they still present themselves as active recipients of political and social events and draw their conclusions not only from former experience, but also from disappointments about Romanian politics after 1989.