

Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România – Cultul Mozaic
Centrul pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România „Wilhelm Filderman”

**REVISTA DE ISTORIE
A EVREILOR DIN ROMÂNIA**

Nr. 4-5 (20-21), 2019-2020

**DISCURS ȘI VIOLENȚĂ ANTISEMITĂ
ÎN ROMÂNIA MODERNĂ**

EDITOR:
Adrian CIOFLÂNCĂ

COLEGIUL EDITORIAL

Lya BENJAMIN (Centrul pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România „Wilhelm Filderman”)
Carol IANCU (Universitatea „Paul Valéry”, Montpellier, Franța)
Ștefan Cristian IONESCU (Theodore Zev and Alice R. Weiss-Holocaust Educational Foundation, Department of History, Northwestern University, SUA)
Andi MIHALACHE (Institutul de Istorie „A.D. Xenopol”, Academia Română, Iași, România)
Lucian NASTASĂ-KOVÁCS (Institutul de Istorie „George Barițiu”, Academia Română, Cluj, România)
Ion POPA (Center for Jewish Studies, University of Manchester, Marea Britanie)
Liviu ROTMAN (Școala Națională de Studii Politice și Administrative, București, România)
Michael SHAFIR (Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj, România)
Vladimir TISMĂNEANU (University of Maryland, SUA)
Aurel VAINER (Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România – Cultul Mozaic, România)
Felicia WALDMAN (Universitatea din București, România)

DIRECTOR: Adrian CIOFLÂNCĂ

SECRETAR DE REDACȚIE : Irina WEINER-SPIRESCU

COLEGIUL DE REDACȚIE: Ildiko GALERU, Maria Mădălina IRIMIA, Natalia LAZĂR,
Diana MĂRGĂRIT, Anca TUDORANCEA, George WEINER

EDITARE: Ildiko GALERU

REDACTARE ȘI CORECTURĂ: Claudia BOSOI

PROOFREADING ENGLEZĂ ȘI FRANCEZĂ: Diana MĂRGĂRIT

TRADUCERI: George WEINER

GRAFICĂ ȘI TEHNOREDACTARE: Irina WEINER-SPIRESCU

SECRETARIAT ADMINISTRATIV: Andreea BALABAN, Cătălin BONTAȘ

ASISTENȚĂ JURIDICĂ: Camelia ÎNTORSURĂ-MOLDOVEANU

Coperta I: Fotografie inedită din timpul pogromului de la Iași, cu evrei escortați, în 29 iunie 1941, pe strada Vasile Alecsandri către clădirea Chesturii de Poliție (Sursa foto: Colecție personală Adrian Cioflâncă).

Coperta IV: Fotografie inedită din timpul pogromului de la Iași, cu primul „tren al morții” ajuns în gara Târgu Frumos, pe 1 iulie 1941. Imaginea apare pe afișul filmului documentar „Ieșirea trenurilor din gară” (regia: Radu Jude, Adrian Cioflâncă, 2020). (Sursa foto: Colecție personală Adrian Cioflâncă, donație Aurelia Ieșan).

Fragment din mărturia depusă de Leon Haimovici, după război, în procesul pogromului de la Iași (Sursa: CNSAS).

Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România - Cultul Mozaic
Centrul pentru Studiul Istoriei Evreilor din România „Wilhelm Filderman”

REVISTA DE ISTORIE A EVREILOR DIN ROMÂNIA

Nr. 4-5 (20-21), 2019-2020

DISCURS ȘI VIOLENȚĂ ANTISEMITĂ ÎN ROMÂNIA MODERNĂ

EDITOR:
Adrian CIOFLÂNCĂ



HASEFER
București, 2020



Evrei din Maramureș, autor Iosif Berman.
Sursa foto: Arhiva de imagine a Muzeului
Național al Țăranului Român.

SUMAR

Aurel VAINER, *Cuvânt înainte*

p. 12

IUDEOFOBIE ȘI MODERNITATE

Silvia MARTON, *De la construction de l'État au racisme: judéophobie et antisémitisme en Roumanie avant la Grande Guerre*

p. 15

Lya BENJAMIN, „Sunt sau nu folositori ovreii Principatelor Române?”
Analiză istorică a unei broșuri antisemite

p. 34

Maria Mădălina IRIMIA, *Violența antisemită în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Pogromul de la Iași din 1899*

p. 45

Carol IANCU, *Momentul antisemit din 1902. Vizita lui Bernard Lazare în România. Documente inedite*

p. 94

Emanuel BĂLAN, *Evreii din județele Neamț, Roman și Bacău în timpul răzcoalei de la 1907*

p. 116

APORIILE EMANCIPĂRII

Lucian-Zeev HERȘCOVICI, *Reprezentarea literară a persecuțiilor antisemite din România. Romanul ebraic „Dima'th ashuqym”, de David Yeshayahu Silberbusch*

p. 127

Lidia TRĂUȘAN-MATU, *Iuliu Barasch – profil biografic și discursiv*

p. 164

Lucian DRAGOMIR, *Rabinul Chaim Shmuel Schor. Istoria unui disident*

p. 174

Emanuel GREC, *“Full of Horror, but not Desperate”: Reflections on Social Violence in Mihail Sebastian's Journal*

p. 188

Cristian PREDA, *Descoperiri recente privitoare la biografia și scrierile lui Mattei Dogan (1920–2010)*

p. 197

AVATARURILE INTERBELICULUI

Lucian NASTASĂ-KOVÁCS, *Premisele discursului antisemit interbelic
în mediul universitar românesc*

p. 207

Andrei CORBEA-HOIȘIE, „Dezertorul” Ițic Ștrul.
Comentarii pe marginea nuvelei lui Liviu Rebreanu

p. 219

Ion POPA, *Miron Cristea, patriarhul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române: influența sa politică și
religioasă cu privire la soarta evreilor din România (februarie 1938 – martie 1939)*

p. 228

Emilian DRANCA, *Asociațiile studențești din Bucovina și cultul martirilor, 1918–1938*

p. 247

PERSECUȚII ȘI VIOLENȚĂ SISTEMATICĂ

Marius TURDA, *Rasism, eugenie și biopolitică în România,
în anii celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial*

p. 263

Philippe Henri BLASEN, *L'évacuation de la Bessarabie et de la Bucovine du Nord
(juin–juillet 1940): la création d'un cliché antisémite roumain*

p. 271

Viorel ACHIM, *Fotografii ale pogromului de la Iași păstrate în Bundesarchiv și o investigație
în legătură cu ele făcută la Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, în 1965–1966*

p. 311

Adrian CIOFLÂNCĂ, *Antisemitismul și Holocaustul din perspectivă comunistă.
Un caz de distorsiune ideologică (I)*

p. 327

Diana DUMITRU, *Genocid în scopuri „sanitare”? Crimele de la Bogdanovka în lumina
documentelor din timpul proceselor postbelice*

p. 354

Irina WEINER-SPIRESCU, *Situația medicilor și a farmaciștilor evrei din România în perioada Holocaustului*
p. 376

METANARAȚIUNI ALE HOLOCAUSTULUI

TIBORI SZABÓ Zoltán, *Autorefecții ale inteligenței evreiești în perioada post-Holocaust*
p. 411

Michael SHAFIR, *Four Pitfalls West and East: Universalization, Double Genocide, Obfuscation and Competitive Martyrdom as New Forms of Holocaust Negation*
p. 443

Cristian VASILE, *Scriitorii români de origine evreiască în discursul antisemit al Securității din anii 1970-1980*
p. 476

Florin LOBONȚ, „Gândind cu sângele”: *psihanaliza freudiană și Holocaustul*
p. 490

REFUGIUL MEMORIEI

Ștefan IONESCU, *On the Use and Abuses of Oral History as a Method of Investigating Recent History*
p. 509

Maia MORGENSTERN, *Bunicul tău nu voia să spună Kadiș*
p. 517

Anca TUDORANCEA, *Așteptându-l pe Mondy. Amintirile Lidei (Liba) Waldingher Burihovici Havas (1921-2011)*
p. 522

NOTĂ DESPRE AUTORI

p. 539

SUMMARY

Aurel VAINER, Foreword

p. 12

JUDEOPHOBIA AND MODERNITY

Silvia MARTON, *From State Building to Racism: Judeophobia and Anti-Semitism in Romania before the Great War*

p. 15

Lya BENJAMIN, *“Are the Jews Useful to the Romanian Principalities or not?”
Historical Analysis of an Anti-Semitic Pamphlet*

p. 34

Maria Mădălina IRIMIA, *Anti-Semitic Violence in the Second Half of the 19th Century.
The pogrom of Iași, 1899*

p. 45

Carol IANCU, *The Anti-Semitic Moment of 1902. Bernard Lazare’s visit to Romania.
Unpublished documents*

p. 94

Emanuel BĂLAN, *The Jews of Neamț, Roman and Bacău Counties during the 1907 Uprising*

p. 116

THE APORIAS OF EMANCIPATION

Lucian-Zeev HERȘCOVICI, *Literary Representation of Anti-Semitic Persecutions in Romania. The Hebrew Novel “Dima’th ashugym” by David Yeshayahu Silberbusch*

p. 127

Lidia TRĂUȘAN-MATU, *Iuliu Barasch – a Biographical and Discursive Profile*

p. 164

Lucian DRAGOMIR, *Rabbi Chaim Shmuel Schor. The Story of a Dissident*

p. 174

Emanuel GREC, *“Full of Horror, but not Desperate”: Reflections on Social Violence
in Mihail Sebastian’s Journal*

p. 188

Cristian PREDA, *Recent Discoveries regarding the Biography and Writings of Mattei Dogan (1920–2010)*

p. 197

THE AVATARS OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Lucian NASTASĂ-KOVÁCS, *The Premises of the Interwar Anti-Semitic Discourse in the Romanian University Environment*

p. 207

Andrei CORBEA-HOIȘIE, *Ițic Ștrul, “Defecter”. Comments on Liviu Rebreanu’s Short Story*

p. 219

Ion POPA, *Miron Cristea, Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church: His Political and Religious Influence on the Fate of Jews in Romania (February 1938 – March 1939)*

p. 228

Emilian DRANCA, *Student Associations in Bucovina and the Cult of Martyrs, 1918–1938*

p. 247

PERSECUTIONS AND SYSTEMATIC VIOLENCE

Marius TURDA, *Racism, Eugenics and Biopolitics in Romania, in the Years of the Second World War*

p. 263

Philippe Henri BLASEN, *The Evacuation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina (June–July 1940): the Creation of a Romanian Anti-Semitic Cliché*

p. 271

Viorel ACHIM, *Photographs of the Iași Pogrom Kept in the Bundesarchiv and an Investigation about Them Made at Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, in 1965–1966*

p. 311

Adrian CIOFLÂNCĂ, *Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust from a Communist Perspective. A Case of Ideological Distortion (I)*

p. 327

Diana DUMITRU, *Genocide for “Sanitary” Purposes?
The Bogdanovka Murders in Light of Post-war Trial Documents*
p. 354

Irina WEINER-SPIRESCU, *The Plight of Jewish Doctors and Pharmacists in Romania
during the Holocaust*
p. 376

META-NARRATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST

TIBORI SZABÓ Zoltán, *Self-Reflections of Jewish Intelligentsia in the Post-Holocaust Period*
p. 411

Michael SHAFIR, *Four Pitfalls West and East: Universalization, Double Genocide,
Obfuscation and Competitive Martyrdom as New Forms of Holocaust Negation*
p. 443

Cristian VASILE, *Romanian Writers of Jewish Origin in the Anti-Semitic Discourse of
the Securitate in the Years 1970–1980*
p. 476

Florin LOBONTȚ, *“Thinking with the Blood”: Freudian Psychoanalysis and the Holocaust*
p. 490

THE REFUGE OF MEMORY

Ștefan IONESCU, *On the Use and Abuses of Oral History as a
Method of Investigating Recent History*
p. 509

Maia MORGENSTERN, *Your Grandfather Would not Say Kaddish*
p. 517

Anca TUDORANCEA, *Waiting for Mondy.
Memories of Lida (Liba) Waldingher Burihovici Havas (1921–2011)*
p. 522

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

p. 539

Copii evrei din Maramureș,
autor Iosif Berman.

Sursa foto: Arhiva de imagine a
Muzeului Național al Țăranului Român.



ABSTRACTE

RIER NR. 4-5/2020

IUDEOFOBIE ȘI MODERNITATE

De la construction de l'État au racisme: judéophobie et antisémitisme en Roumanie avant la Grande Guerre

Silvia MARTON

Abstract: The article contributes to the scholarly debate and research on the “Jewish question” and on anti-Semitism before World War I in Romania. It shows, firstly, that the period from 1866 to 1878 laid the foundations for the state policy of bureaucratic discrimination against Jews, a time when the „Jewish question” was not the work of simple demagogues or political agitators, but a state policy whose objective was to demonstrate state capacity, based on a homogeneous national identity. Ancient and latent Judeophobia was brought to light by state policy in the name of modernity, with an open background of discrimination against Jews. Secondly, the article examines the elements of continuity and rupture after the Congress of Berlin of 1878, until later on, in the eve of the Great War, in what was henceforth to be called anti-Semitism. Thirdly, this study shows the often latent and implicit presence of Christian contempt against Jews in the political and intellectual discourse, as well as in anti-Jewish measures, throughout the period from 1866 to 1914.

Keywords: “the Jewish question”, anti-Semitism, Judeophobia, national identity, Romania, 19th century

„Sunt sau nu folositori ovreii Principatelor Române?” Analiză istorică a unei broșuri antisemite

Lya BENJAMIN

Abstract: This paper seeks to provide an analysis of a few booklets published in Romania between 1865 and 1867 which reveal the contradictory positions of political elites on the Jewish question. Moreover, I pinpoint that Jewish issues were perceived as a hot potato in many high political circles, with electoral, economic and intellectual stakes for all the actors involved in those debates.

Keywords: Jews, foreigners, emancipation, Romanians, commerce, industry

Violența antisemită în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Pogromul de la Iași din 1899

Maria Mădălina IRIMIA

Abstract: *This study approaches a little known episode in the history of Iași: the pogrom of May 16, 1899. At the end of the 19th century, Iași was a center of the anti-Semitic movement in the Old Kingdom. Anti-Semites complained that Jews had become more numerous and more influential than Christians in the local economy. The 1899 pogrom was preceded by other Judeophobic turbulences in several cities, Bucharest included. This article points out the viral character of the idea that violence was an instrument to „solve” – or to speed-up the solution to – the Jewish question. International events, such as the Dreyfus Affair or Russian pogroms, also played a role in the dynamic of events. The perpetrators of the 1899 Iași pogrom were involved in previous incidents and tried to unite in a national or regional anti-Semitic movement. The Iași pogrom was the peak of violence and resulted in numerous injured people and widespread devastation. The atmosphere changed forever in Iași and Jewish-Christian cohabitation became extremely difficult afterwards. Because of this pogrom and other similar incidents, thousands of Jews left the country – they are known as „fussgeyers”. A conclusion of the study is that the anti-Semitic discourse and the appeal to violence had a local tradition, this feature being under-researched, in spite of the fact that it proved influential to the 20th Century history of Iași, which was devastated by another pogrom, in 1941.*

Keywords: *pogrom, riot, anti-Semitism, anti-Semitic violence, the Dreyfus Affair, Jewish intelligentsia, Jewish emigration*

Momentul antisemit din 1902. Vizita lui Bernard Lazare în România. Documente inedite

Carol IANCU

Abstract: *At the beginning of the 20th Century, the mass emigration of Romanian Jews, with its aspect of saddest fame – the pedestrian migrants, “fussgeier” in Yiddish – drew the attention of diplomats, the press and the public opinion of many countries. The most important Western reactions in their favor came from the French journalist Bernard Lazare (1855-1903), the first defender of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, and from the US Secretary of State, John Hay. This article describes the anti-Semitic outburst that took place in Bucharest on the occasion of Bernard Lazare’s visit, against the background of the promulgation of the Trades Law (1902) and the Jewish exodus. Forced to shorten his trip, following the anti-Semites’ violence and threats, he sent a letter of protest to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Théophile Delcassé. Lazare’s articles and writings, translated into several languages, revealed the persecution of the Romanian Jews, rendered “foreigners not subjected to a foreign protection” by a despotic legislation. Numerous newly discovered documents from the archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Alliance Israelite Universelle bring new and precious information in regard to the Romanian authorities’ policy towards Jewish emigration, as well as the reaction to this policy of the Western governments and main Jewish organizations.*

Keywords: *Jewish emigration, Trades Law (1902), anti-Semitic violence, Bucharest, Romanian diplomacy, European press, France*

Evreii din județele Neamț, Roman și Bacău în timpul răscoalei de la 1907

Emanuel BĂLAN

Abstract: *This paper offers an insight into the uprisings that took place in the Neamț, Bacău and Roman counties, in the spring of 1907. The fact that most of the estates in northern Moldavia were managed by Jewish ethnics caused the rebellion to have an anti-Semitic character. Unfortunately, this episode was marginalized by later Romanian historiography. The 1907 uprisings were repeatedly described as a confrontation between peasants and local landlords. However, the uprisings also had a strong anti-Semitic character, especially in respect to wealthy Jews. This paper offers a chronological perspective of the events that took place in March 1907, by emphasizing the dynamics between the peasants, local authorities, and the Romanian and Jewish landlords. It aims to prove that the 1907 peasants’ uprising had not only social claims – the end of feudal relations –, but also strong anti-Semitic implications.*

Keywords: *the 1907 riots, social uprising, anti-Semitic violence, peasantry, Jews*

APORIILE EMANCIPĂRII

Reprezentarea literară a persecuțiilor antisemite din România. Romanul ebraic „Dima'th ashuqym”, de David Yeshayahu Silberbusch

Lucian-Zeev HERȘCOVICI

Abstract: This paper provides an overview of the political, religious and popular anti-Semitism specific to the mid-19th century Romanian society, as reflected in the novel „Dima'th ashuqym”, written by David Yeshayahu Silberbusch. The novel succeeds in highlighting the tumultuous condition of the Jewish community members, torn apart between the struggle to be formally recognized as Romanian citizens, and their resistance to the discrimination and violence that was widespread among the political-administrative agents – starting with the government and ending with the mayor of the village – and within the larger society, at a civic level – neighbours, friends, customers and so on.

Keywords: political anti-Semitism, religious anti-Semitism, popular anti-Semitism, violence, Jewish nationalism

Iuliu Barasch – profil biografic și discursiv

Lidia TRĂUȘAN-MATU

Abstract: This study focuses on the biography and cultural activity of one of the most renowned Jewish intellectuals in modern Romania – Doctor Iuliu Barasch. Along his spectacular career, Barasch remained a staunch supporter of the granting citizenship rights to Jews, as well as a moderate promoter of integration, for which he provided his personal example of involvement in different types of activities, institutions and jobs. Barasch was a founder of institutions and contributed in person to the advancement of education and medicine. This research relies on a (re)reading of primary sources.

Keywords: religious tolerance, civil and political emancipation, Jewish identity, legislation

Rabinul Chaim Shmuel Schor. Istoria unui disident

Lucian-Marius DRAGOMIR

Abstract: In the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century, the Ashkenazi Jewish world in the Kingdom of Romania underwent progressive changes of identity, as, on the local confessional background of Galician inspiration, modernization tendencies of the cult of Central European origin were gradually grafted. These new orientations were not unanimously accepted. In the years following the founding of Greater Romania, after the Government stated its willingness to regulate the rite breakdown of the mosaic cult, Jews who disliked reshuffles in ritual practice showed a keen desire to split from their more liberal co-religionists, who had developed certain inclination towards modernization. After the Great Union, communities that had evolved in distinct historical regions, with organizations and cultural traditions not entirely superimposed, were forced to cohabit and function according to unitary rules. At the same time, Romanian Jews gained the right to send their representative to the country's Senate, but the process of appointing the person worthy of this position, in the context of major differences of opinion, was not without difficulties. Rabbi Chaim Shmuel Schor from Bucharest was one of the leading protagonists of these events, and this article aims to integrate an absent fragment, at this time, in the written history of the Jews in Romania, as it is the first to explicitly approach his personality and activity.

Keywords: cult reform, schism, Orthodox Jews, rabbis, Jewish Senator, Rabbinical Court

“Full of Horror, but not Desperate”: Reflections on Social Violence in Mihail Sebastian’s *Journal*

Emanuel-Marius GREC

Abstract: This article examines the ways in which social violence of the interwar Romanian society was reflected in the *Journal* of Mihail Sebastian. The Jewish Romanian author, writing in terms of his deep personal connection to both Romanian society and his own Jewishness, felt betrayed by the escalation of violence that had taken grip of his beloved Bucharest and country. His diary is much more than a personal recollection of events and feelings. Rather, it stands as an examination of Romanian society in its entirety: its eclectic moods, political scandals, social relations, as well as its propensity towards violence. An odyssey of suffering and a quest for hope, the *Journal* shows, more than any other historical document, the moral decay and rationalization that befell a society under the influence of authoritarian thinking. In this short piece I look at how the *Journal* reflected the tenors of Romanian society. In this sense, I examine the main themes and ideas of the work, as well as what it represented for the author himself and what it came to mean for those that engage with it. Furthermore, I show how the *Journal* links up with other works of Sebastian to expose the escalation of violence in interwar Romania and its increased acceptance among both the intellectual elite and wider population. In other words, the paper looks at how Sebastian’s work dealt with the darkness that started falling over Romania and Europe in the 1930s and ‘40s.

Keywords: Mihail Sebastian, *Journal*, social violence, Holocaust, Romanian society

Descoperiri recente privitoare la biografia și scrierile lui Mattei Dogan (1920-2010)

Cristian PREDA

Abstract: The article is an homage to the political scientist Mattei Dogan, one hundred years after his birth. I used documents from the University of Bucharest and ACSIER archives in order to recover a part of the biography of the French scholar of Jewish Romanian origin. The text reveals one of Dogan’s unknown article, dated 1946, and the review written by G. Călinescu for Dogan’s first book, the only one he published in Romanian.

Keywords: Mattei Dogan, political science, Bucharest University, Colegiu pentru Studenți Evrei (Jewish Students College), Universitatea din București, anti-Semitism

AVATARURILE INTERBELICULUI

Premisele discursului antisemit interbelic în mediul universitar românesc

Lucian NASTASĂ-KOVÁCS

Abstract: The present paper is an incursion in the structural evolution of the anti-Semitic discourse in the Romanian academic sphere of the interwar years. This evolution and its routes are complex and beyond simple political and social acts. It is mostly an evolution with deep historical background and a contextual evolution of the Romanian society and academic life. The interwar years were very active from the perspective of the anti-Semitic discourse and anti-Semitic actions, having culminated in the rise of several political movements and the establishment of a political party whose doctrinal pillar included the radical discourse. The paper is following and drawing a map of these evolutions and tries to present not only the dynamic, but also the actors and the ideas that dominated the anti-Semitic discourse in Romanian universities of the time.

Keywords: Anti-Semitism, interwar years, Romanian universities, student movements, *numerus clausus*, LANC

„Dezertorul” Ițic Ștrul.

Comentarii pe marginea nuvelei lui Liviu Rebreanu

Andrei CORBEA-HOIȘIE

Abstract: *The paper analyzes the relevance of one of the best known short stories of Romanian prose writer Liviu Rebreanu, „Ițic Ștrul, dezertor” from the perspective of the historical moment after the First World War, when Jews in Romania were collectively granted Romanian citizenship. The deep humanity of the simple Jew, who did not understand why Romanian society rejected him, was on a collision course with anti-Semitic, brutal and ultimately murderous prejudices.*

Keywords: *First World War, literary representation, anti-Semitism, minorities*

Miron Cristea, patriarhul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române: influența sa politică și religioasă cu privire la soarta evreilor din România (februarie 1938 - martie 1939)

Ion POPA

Abstract: *Miron Cristea (1868-1939), who was the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church (1925-1939) and Romanian Prime Minister (1938-1939), had an important contribution to spreading anti-Semitic statements and policies. Even though he had sent similar messages before 1937, it is the interview that he gave to the Curentul newspaper, on August 19, 1937, that marked his open affiliation to that group of politicians who were looking for radical measures against the Jewish community. When he was appointed Prime Minister, he also became a militant promoter of anti-Semitic policies. This paper is structured in four parts, as follows. The first one provides an analysis of Patriarch Cristea's anti-Semitism before 1937, by emphasizing his political role as Regent (1927-1930) and his association with various politicians and groups with similar views. The second part focuses on the period between his interview to the Curentul newspaper and his nomination as Prime Minister, characterized by extremist nationalism and support for the anti-Semitic policies of the Goga-Cuza Government. The third and the fourth parts, which are more substantial than the previous ones, explore his contribution, as Prime Minister, to the promotion and the implementation of anti-Semitic measures, including the citizenship cancellation of more than 200.000 ethnic Jews.*

Keywords: *anti-Semitism, the Romanian Orthodox Church, The Iron Guard, Patriarch Cristea, the Goga-Cuza Government, King Carol II*

Asociațiile studențești din Bucovina și cultul martirilor, 1918-1938

Emilian DRANCA

Abstract: *This paper presents a perspective on the political affinities of student associations in Chernivtsi during the interwar period. In my research, I seek to highlight the characteristics of the nationalist and anti-Semitic current among students. I took into consideration not only the case of Romanian and German students, but also other similar cases, such as the Polish one. It can be considered that anti-Semitism and nationalism were more than a trend, more than a fashion. This can be seen as a first possible conclusion which assumes that, against the background of ethnic diversity, there were also extremist currents that dynamited the society.*

Keywords: *Bukovina, nationalism, anti-Semitism, martyrdom, Burschenschaft, Cartelverband, Studentenverbindungen*

PERSECUȚII ȘI VIOLENȚĂ SISTEMATICĂ

Rasism, eugenie și biopolitică în România, în anii celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial

Marius TURDA

Abstract: This paper discusses racism, eugenics and biopolitics in Romania during WWII. The anti-Semitic and anti-Roma attitudes of prominent Romanian eugenicists were not the exception, but the norm in a period during which the Romanian state pursued policies of ethnic purification, ultimately leading to the Holocaust.

Keywords: Romania, WWII, racism, eugenics, biopolitics, Holocaust

L'évacuation de la Bessarabie et de la Bucovine du Nord (juin-juillet 1940): la création d'un cliché antisémite roumain

Philippe Henri BLASEN

Abstract: The article discusses the origin of the cliché according to which, during the evacuation of the Romanian troops from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, in June-July 1940, Jews had perpetrated violent acts against the Romanians, out of hatred. Firstly, the article examines which part of the local population was involved in actions for the benefit of the USSR, against Romania, and who was purely opportunistic. This analysis is based on testimonies which suggest that most ethnic groups, including Jews, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, Gagauzes, and Bessarabian Romanians, initiated or participated in such actions, although Jews did play a more important part. The testimonies also indicate that the Jews in question belonged in particular to the disadvantaged social classes and/or to the younger generation. Secondly, the article provides several possible explanations for these actions. It analyses, among others, the impact of an anti-Semitic regulation dated June 26, 1940. Thirdly, the article argues that the above-mentioned cliché stemmed from a racially-biased article published on June 29, 1940 in the Italian newspaper *Il Messagero* and later quoted by the official newspaper *România*.

Keywords: anti-Semitism, racism, violence, minorities, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Royal Dictatorship

Fotografii ale Pogromului de la Iași păstrate în Bundesarchiv și o investigație în legătură cu ele făcută la Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, în 1965-1966

Viorel ACHIM

Abstract: The German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) contain nine photographs of the Iași Pogrom of June 28-30, 1941. The photographs are part of a file belonging to the Bundesarchiv-Außenstelle Ludwigsburg. The original photographs were taken by an unknown photographer, on July 1, 1941, at the train station in Târgu Frumos, where one of the two “death trains” stopped, by which the Jews arrested in those days in Iași were transported and in which many of them died. Now, they are kept in the Photo Archive (Bildungsarchiv) of the Bundesarchiv Koblenz. This article makes a presentation of the nine photographs, by comparing them with the photographs kept in other archives in Romania and abroad and by placing them in the context of the events of those days, and publishes two of these pieces, from which one can be found only in the Bundesarchiv. At the same time, the article describes an investigation into these photographs and the person who possessed them (a former Wehrmacht soldier) carried out in 1965-1966 by the Central Office of the Judicial Authorities of the Federal States for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Ludwigsburg (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung Nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen). On that occasion, this German judicial institution became interested in the Pogrom in Iași and it is understood that the documents created by it mention this tragic event.

Keywords: the Pogrom of Iași, Jews, Holocaust, mass killings, death trains, photographs, Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg

Antisemitismul și Holocaustul din perspectivă comunistă. Un caz de distorsiune ideologică (I)

Adrian CIOFLÂNCĂ

Abstract: This study follows the biography of a leftist militant who, as a communist and a Jew, confronted antisemitism and state persecution during the interwar period, the Holocaust and the communist regime. The biography of Emanoil Safir is unremarkable; he was not an important character in the history of Romania, but his encounters, memoirs and photos of atrocities display relevant information about the interplay of antisemitism and anticommunism, in the interwar period, and the competitive narratives of the Holocaust. Safir witnessed the Legionary rebellion and the Bucharest pogrom and kept a detailed, unpublished diary, stacked at the National Archives. After the war, he worked for the People's Tribunal as an investigator and documented several massacres perpetrated during the Holocaust, in Iași (June, 1941), Odessa (October, 1941) and Râbnița (March, 1944). He was particularly interested in photos of atrocities and collected hundreds, which are kept in archives, and some of them remained unpublished till today. Although he was a privileged witness of important historical episodes, his perspective is not an exact reflection of history, but a refraction through the ideological filter of communism. This introduces a discussion of how communists militants and the communist regime treated topics such as antisemitism and the Holocaust.

Keywords: antisemitism, anticommunism, communism, Holocaust, narratives, Emanoil Safir, photos of atrocities.

Genocid în scopuri „sanitare”? Crimele de la Bogdanovka în lumina documentelor din timpul proceselor postbelice

Diana DUMITRU

Abstract: Drawing on Soviet and Romanian postwar trial material, this study offers a renewed exploration of the Bogdanovka mass murder, while highlighting the extemporaneous character of the most deadly single episode of the Romanian Holocaust. As this case demonstrates, even when there was no initial intent to slaughter Jews in a given area, other local circumstances and actors linked up to cause the obliteration of over 45,000 Jews in a matter of days. In the winter of 1941, the Romanian authorities' search for solutions to two separate problems – a man-made sanitary crisis and Bucharest's intention of removing Jews from the territories under its control – closely intertwined to spark a genocidal decision. The documentation reviewed for this study provides rare insight into Romanian and German micro-cooperation on the ground, and reveals the “double functionality” logic, which former the basis of the Axis powers' jointly planned and implemented murder operation. Simultaneously, the paper discusses the entanglements between the issue of Jewish property, “sanitary considerations,” and the rationale for mass killings.

Keywords: Holocaust, genocide, Romania, ethnic cleansing

Situația medicilor și a farmaciștilor evrei din România în perioada Holocaustului

Irina WEINER-SPIRESCU

Abstract: The creation and development of Greater Romania entailed, on one hand, the gain of civil rights for the Jewish population in Romania during the first two decades of the 20th century and, on the other hand, it entailed the gradual increase of the various anti-Semitic currents that would turn into effective measures of discrimination and exclusion, plans of population displacement, forced deportations, and mass murders. As of 1938, Romanian authorities actively implemented anti-Semitic policies, through the numerous regulations and measures taken by the Goga-Cuza government, by the governments of the royal dictatorship and by the Antonescu dictatorship. The Jewish population, left without civil rights, dispossessed and lacking sources of income, was excluded from public institutions and from Romanian or forcibly “Romanianized” companies, having faced political, social, economic and cultural discrimination. Excluded from military service, they were forced to work for free in the “public interest” and to pay additional taxes. Thus, Jewish military doctors were eliminated from the sanitary service of the Romanian Army, taken over by the Draft Circles and distributed to forced labor detachments, prison camps, as well as to various military formations. This paper seeks to provide an overview of the harsh conditions that the Jewish medical staff was forced to endure because of discriminative Romanian official policies. The wide range of persecutions, from eviction, losing jobs to imprisonment, forced labor and executions, bear witness to the absurdity of the anti-Semitic governments that persecuted a vital category of Jewish people relevant not only for the health of the Jewish community, but also of the entire Romanian society, that is Jewish medicine staff.

Keywords: doctors, pharmacists, dentists, health professionals, Jews, Holocaust, Romania.

METANARAȚIUNI ALE HOLOCAUSTULUI

Autorefecții ale intelighenției evreiești în perioada post-Holocaust

TIBORI SZABÓ Zoltán

Abstract: After the tragedy suffered during the Holocaust, the identity conscience of those Jews who survived the hell of the Nazi and Fascist camps underwent a profound metamorphosis, in which Auschwitz symbolically became the point of origin of identity assuming strategies. Faced with the hardest questions, including the issue of the meaning of life after the Holocaust, the possible identity and community strategies, and that of the continuing anti-Semitic manifestations, the intelligentsia, the intellectual elite of the surviving European Jewry repeatedly tried to analyze what had happened and to draw the necessary conclusions. Self-reflection had, for some of them, serious consequences, since the conclusion they reached was that life could not be continued after Auschwitz. For others, however, it was the starting point for building the new Communist society, the “possible world”, which would eventually disappoint them in their vast majority. My study reviews the main stages of this process of self-reflection and focuses on the most important conclusions.

Keywords: Auschwitz, Communism, Fascism, Holocaust, identity, intelligentsia, Jews, Nazism, self-reflection

Four Pitfalls West and East: Universalization, Double Genocide, Obfuscation and Competitive Martyrdom as New Forms of Holocaust Negation

Michael SHAFIR

Abstract: *There are four new forms of negationism. The first (Universalization of the Holocaust) knows no geographic boundaries. The other three – the Double Genocide theory, Holocaust Obfuscation and Competitive Martyrdom – are encountered mainly in the former communist countries of East Central Europe. This study focuses mainly on the latter three. Examples from Croatia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Serbia illustrate this revised attempt of negationism taxonomy.*

Keywords: *Holocaust negationism, Double Genocide theory, Competitive Martyrdom, Holocaust Obfuscation, collective memory, traumatic collective experience*

Scriitorii români de origine evreiască în discursul antisemit al Securității din anii 1970-1980

Cristian VASILE

Abstract: *This paper aims to tackle with the Communist political police surveillance in the case of a few very influential Jewish intellectuals (literary historians and critics) in the more general context of the Securitate actions of monitoring the writers' milieus during the last two decades of the Romanian Communist regime. It emphasizes the anti-Semitic trends of the 1970s and 1980s which characterized most of the Securitate's activities, carried on in the process of close surveillance of prominent Romanian Jewish writers – Paul Cornea, Zigu Ornea, Ovid. S. Crohmălniceanu and others. Many of those mentioned above were former pro-Communist cultural journalists or publicists of the 1950s who became, recalcitrant writers after 1965/1970 – from the communist perspective. As a consequence, they were placed under the strict informative surveillance by the Romanian secret police. Although the 1950s Stalinist methods of terror were avoided after 1964, the Securitate tried to viciously exploit and instrumentalize the (allegedly) Zionist past of some of these Jewish authors. Mostly after 1971, in the context of Ceausescu's Cultural Revolution (the well-known „July 1971 Theses”), the secret police also attempted to use the accusation of cosmopolitanism against them.*

Keywords: *anti-Semitism, Securitate (political police), the Communist regime, Romanian Jewish writers, Zigu Ornea, Paul Cornea, Ovid S. Crohmălniceanu*

„Gândind cu sângele”: psihanaliza freudiană și Holocaustul

Florin LOBONȚ

Abstract: *Holocaust historians and philosophers have been repeatedly confronted with the finding that the Shoah's unspeakable horrors cannot be rationally reckoned as being most plausible. This study argues that one of the alternatives to the established epistemological paths of historical reconstruction of the Holocaust is increasingly represented by psychoanalysis which, until recently, has played a relatively minor role in the study of the psychology of genocide. It is only relatively recently that scholars, researchers and analysts such as Jacques Semelin, Slavoj Žižek, Dominick LaCapra, Dan Stone, Judith Kerstenberg, Steven Baum, or Karyn Bell, have joined towering figures such as Saul Friedländer, Hans Mommsen or Peter Loewenberg in looking at genocide in ways derived – more or less directly – from psychoanalysis. Their purpose is to deepen and diversify our understanding of social “decontamination” phenomena, whose extreme forms have been regarded by many as incomprehensible. Such a goal requires the rethinking of modern genocide and mass murder, firstly by moving them from the space of exception, into the very fabric of modern societies' ethos and cultural frameworks. To the Freudian concepts already employed by specialists, the present study adds negative transference as a present collective psychological experience of hostile emotions of an unconscious past origin and singles out the Romanian Holocaust's powerful revelation of these mechanisms.*

Keywords: *Holocaust, genocide, psychoanalysis, negative transference, transgression, social decontamination*

REFUGIUL MEMORIEI

On the Uses and Abuses of Oral History as a Method of Investigating Recent History

Ștefan Cristian IONESCU

Abstract: This article offers an overview of the advantages, uses, and abuses of oral history as a method of historical investigation, by focusing on major traumatic events, such as the Holocaust. It argues that, in spite of some of its shortcomings, oral history has become an important and widespread method of historical investigation that gathers valuable primary sources – useful for reconstructing historical events, but especially for the meanings revealed even in the case of erroneous recollections and what they tell about the interviewees and their interests. Oral history seems to be especially useful in cases of marginalized and under-represented groups and cases of mass violence that leave no, very few, or distorted documents.

Keywords: oral history, memory, eye-witnesses, survivors, the Holocaust

Bunicul tău nu voia să spună Kadiş

Maia Morgenstern

Abstract: This excerpt of an autobiographical work evokes the story of a Jewish family during the Holocaust and the Second World War. It focuses on feelings and attitudes towards catastrophe that have undeniably shaped the ties between the members and the families of the Jewish community. Thus, remembrance, reverence towards tradition, the constant evocation of the forefathers who lost their lives and suffered simply for being Jews are some of the core values that need to be further transmitted.

Keywords: Jewish tradition, patience, suffering, remembrance

Așteptându-l pe Mondy. Amintirile Lidei (Liba) Waldingher Burihovici Havas (n. 1921 – m. 2011)

Interviu realizat de Anca TUDORANCEA

Abstract: In 2006, I recorded the memories of a woman who survived the camps of Domanovka, Bogdanovka and Golta, a very rare survivor of Transnistria. Lida Havas was a warm person with a great sense of humor, despite having experienced harsh events during her life (the death of her parents and first spouse during the Holocaust, the death of her second spouse and of her only child, during communism). Recalling them was painful, but it was also a form of liberation. Lida Havas refrained from sharing her dramatic experiences for decades, due to a severe post-traumatic shock. However, following a medical condition that threatened her life, in 2004, she decided to write a few pages about her experience, for people to know about her story. She gave them for safe keeping to Liviu Beris, president of the Association of Jewish Victims of the Holocaust in Romania. Most of this paper includes the following interview, that she gave in 2006 (uncompleted and unpublished, edited in Centropa format), and some of her personal photographs.

Keywords: Galatzi, Mondy (Raymond Waldingher), Ismail, Domanovka, Bogdanovka, Golta