

ELECTORAL PRACTICES AND BEHAVIOUR IN WESTERN ROMANIA DURING THE ELECTIONS OF NOVEMBER 19TH, 1946

Gabriel MOISA

University of Oradea, Faculty of History and International Relations, History Department,
1 Universitatii St., 410087, Oradea, Romania, e-mail: gabimoisa@hotmail.com

Abstract: Among the electoral strategies mainly used by the communists in order to take over power for the elections of November 1946 was that of forming alliance with the so called “doctrine comrades” who belonged to the left political spectrum in particular. Frontul Plugarilor was from its beginning one of the Romanian Communist Party’s most obedient political organizations, obedience that became more intensive after World War II. Probably it was the communists’ most loyal organization in their attempt of taking over power. Communists saw and had in Frontul Plugarilor the most efficient antidote against the national peasants in the countryside where the latter had a serious influence. Frontul Plugarilor was an organization artificially developed after the war in order to counterattack the national peasants in rural areas.

Key words: Electoral Practices, Western Romania, Elections, Frontul Plugarilor, Propaganda

* * * * *

Among the electoral strategies mainly used by the communists in order to take over power for the elections of November 1946 was that of forming alliance with the so called “doctrine comrades” who belonged to the left political spectrum in particular. Nevertheless, there were also cases when these comrades were recruited from the ranks of right-wing parties. The cases of dissidents Tătărescu and Alecsandrescu¹ are representative in this respect. But the left-wing parties were closer to the communists’ ideals. These parties were predominantly used to win the elections. Among them, Frontul Plugarilor (Ploughmen’s Front) was the closest to the ideals of the Romanian Communist Party, probably because of Petru Groza’s role in establishing communism in Romania.

Frontul Plugarilor was from its beginning one of the Romanian Communist Party’s most obedient political organizations, obedience that became more

¹ *Democrație occidentală și democrație populară. Evoluția spectrului politic în nord-vestul României: (1944-1950)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2004, p. 102-169 (coord. I. Zainea)

intensive after World War II. Probably it was the communists' most loyal organization in their attempt of taking over power. Communists saw and had in Frontul Plugarilor the most efficient antidote against the national peasants in the countryside where the latter had a serious influence. Frontul Plugarilor was an organization artificially developed after the war in order to counterattack the national peasants in rural areas.

Beginning with September 1944, Frontul Plugarilor spread at the level of the entire country. Until then it only acted in a few counties, especially from Transylvania. The Romanian Communist Party² had a decisive role in this by indicating the actual spread of the organization as well as its future purpose. From that moment on, Frontul Plugarilor became an obvious annex to the Romanian communists. By the end of the fall of 1945, this action was concluded. Thus, at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of Frontul Plugarilor on November 20-25th, 1945 it was decreed that the organization had to access a new level, that of labour "in depth"³ meaning the all members had to be checked and impregnated with the qualities of a genuine revolutionary. This issue was clearly outlined at the Plenary of the Central Committee of R.C.P. on January 25-28th, 1946 where it was underlined the fact that certain "exploiting elements" sneaked at the head of some of the organizations of Frontul Plugarilor and that the relations between R.C.P. and Frontul Plugarilor were not the appropriate ones⁴. This represents a conclusive proof that the Communist Party was the one coordinating this organization. At the same Plenary of the Central Committee of R.C.P. it was established that the representatives of the Communist Party should support, under any circumstance, the representatives of Frontul Plugarilor for the elections that would take place in the fall of 1946. As a matter of fact, R.C.P. tried to keep Frontul Plugarilor under its close influence, as it was convinced that the peasant class would play a decisive role if attracted from the national-peasant spectrum. That is the reason why Frontul Plugarilor started to reconstruct several rural organizations and to appoint trustworthy members where there were doubts regarding their current leaders. In fact, that meant appointing members on which they could count for the falsification of the number of votes taking into consideration the fact that many of the leaders of Frontul Plugarilor were also presidents of the polling stations. Beginning with the spring of 1946, communists started to prepare their electoral strategy for what would happen in November 1946.

This phenomenon was also present in the region of Crişana-Maramureş, with the headquarters in Oradea. Here Frontul Plugarilor was led by Ştefan Oprea, secretary of the region, and Alexandru Rîţiu, head of the propaganda department. They immediately began to carry out the new objectives. In a first stage, they reorganized the county committees of Frontul Plugarilor, then the rural and the communal ones. On January 13th, 1946, as a response to the directions formulated at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of Frontul Plugarilor on November 20-25th, 1945, Bihor was already holding the meeting of reorganizing the county committee in order to elaborate the strategy for the

² N. Ceauşescu, *Cuvântare la adunarea festivă cu prilejul celei de-a 25 aniversări a instaurării a guvernului democratic de la 6 martie 1945*, Editura Politică, Bucureşti, 1970, p. 11

³ Gh. I. Ioniţă, Gh. Ţuţui, *Frontul plugarilor*, Editura Politică, Bucureşti, 1970, p. 215

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 219

electoral battle in the small rural districts of the county⁵. The meeting also set up a working program in two phases. Firstly, they had to convene the meetings for the reorganization of the rural committees, followed by that of the communal committees in compliance with the new commandments of the organization as follows: on January 18th, the meeting of the rural committee of Tileagd, on January 19th, the meeting of the rural committee of Vașcău, on January 20th, the meeting of the rural committee of Beiuș and Ceica, on January 21st, the meeting of the rural committee of Tinca, on January 23rd, the meeting of the rural committee of Beliu and Sălard, on January 24th, the meeting of the rural committee of Aleșd, on January 25th, the meeting of the rural committee of Marghita and on January 26th, the meeting of the rural committee of Săcuieni. They convoked to these meetings all the presidents of the rural committees of Frontul Plugarilor as well as the intellectuals who wanted to adhere to the organisation since new leaderships had to be elected for the rural committees where terms dictated that. On this occasion, the delegation sent from the centre would check all the records, registers, invoices of fees and donations as well as the rural committees' incomes and expenditures. All these measures were needed since the county leadership from the region of Crișana-Maramureș established that the amount of collected dues was too low and functioning expenses were very high. This meant that the rural and county committees were not operating as their leaders and communist patrons would have wanted to. And last, during these meetings of the rural committees, civil servants were reminded that they had to join one of the parties composing N.D.F. (National Democratic Front) or collaborating with the Govern⁶. Each rural committee was instructed through a form letter upon the reorganizing procedures⁷. In this carousel of reorganization, in Bihor there were held 1 county meeting, 12 rural meetings and 237 communal meetings of the 421 existing in Bihor⁸. In fact, of the 421 communes, only 375 had organizations of Frontul Plugarilor at the end of January 1946.

In Bihor, headquarters of the region, the reorganization of the committees did not go according to the plan elaborated on January 13th, 1946. The reorganization took place only in 3 of the 12 rural committees and in 237 of the 375 communal ones, without mentioning the 46 communes where Frontul Plugarilor didn't even have an organization. At the end of January 1946, the Bihor organization⁹ counted 36,957 members of which only 330 were intellectuals, extremely sorrowful for the leaders of Frontul Plugarilor. However, the pressures and the ultimatums according to which all civil servants should join one of the parties composing N.D.F. or its allies, more intellectuals became members of Frontul Plugarilor such as Gheorghe Lapedatu și Ioan Brătescu, president and vice-president of the Chamber for Agriculture, Ioan Sârbu, president of "Bihorul" federal directorate, Dumitru Săveanu, chief veterinary surgeon of Bihor county or Iosif Bodros, forest county inspector.

The president of Bihor county organization was Floruțau Moise. Several other departments were organized: the Economic Department, led by Floruțau

⁵ Arhivele Naționale Direcția Județeană Bihor, *Fond Comitetul județean Bihor al Frontului Plugarilor*, Dos.7, f. 1 (în continuare ANDJBh)

⁶ *Ibidem*

⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 6-9

⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 76

⁹ *Ibidem*

Moise, the Press and Propaganda Department, led by Remus Dragomir, journalist at *Viața nouă* (future *Crișana*) who worked under the close supervision of Alexandru Rîțiu, chief of the Press and Propaganda Department of the region of Crișana-Maramureș, the Organizational and Mass Department, led by the same Floruțău Moise, the Financial Department, led by Sava Curticeanu. Besides these departments there were the Department of the Progressive Ploughman Youth, led by Ilie Butuza and Women's Department, led by Elena Vitel.

By the end of April 1946, another 5 of the 12 rural committees were reorganized (Centrală, Salonta, Tinca, Săcuieni and Sălard) and the number of members grew to 46,107. Reports of the county organization show that civil servants did not want to join Frontul Plugarilor motivating that they were apolitical. The rapporteurs' explanation was that civil servants belonged to those reactionaries who did not wish the establishment of communism. The most criticized ones were the priests, especially the Greek-Catholic ones, who canvassed for Maniu and Brătianu¹⁰.

The reorganization of the county political committee took place on April 7th, 1946 at the congress of Frontul Plugarilor Bihor¹¹. The committee consisted of Alexandru Rîțiu, president, Nicolae Costea, vice-president, Florian Linca, vice-president, Gheorghe Țepelea, vice-president, Constantin Militaru, political secretary, Marin Panaitescu, organizational secretary with a great influence in the county organization, Floruțău Moise, in charge with the economic, financial and administrative departments¹².

On May 17th, 1946 the central committee of Frontul Plugarilor disposed, at the proposal of R.C.P., to have common lists at the elections that would take place that year. Consequently, on the same day, Frontul Plugarilor adhered to the platform proposed by R.C.P. and decided to become a political party¹³ in order to adhere to the Bloc of Democratic Parties, coalition dominated by the communists and that included only political parties. Consequently, Frontul Plugarilor, engaged itself in the election campaign on the side of the communists.

The new context also brought changes to the region of Crișana-Maramureș and its activists had to travel though the region in order to canvass in this respect. The purpose was clear, to explain the platform elaborated by B.D.P. to which their political organization had adhered¹⁴.

In June 1946, they reorganized the last rural committee, that of Tileagd, when Nicolae Ile¹⁵, president of the rural committee, was expunged since he was considered as one of the reactionaries who got infiltrated into the organization. To solve this problem, a commando formed of activists Adrian Stana, in charge, since April 7th, with the Department of Press and Propaganda of the County Committee of Frontul Plugarilor, Gh. Pop and D. Petrescu was sent to Tileagd. But things did not work out as they had imagined. After several visits to the villages, they summoned a meeting for the reorganization of this rural committee on June 14th, 1946. Constantin Militaru, county political

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 79

¹¹ *Idem*, Dos.8, f. 3

¹² A.N. D.J.Bh., *Fond Comitetul județean Bihor al Frontului Plugarilor*, Dos. 7, f. 79

¹³ Gh.I. Ioniță, Gh. Țuțui, *op. cit.*, p. 225

¹⁴ A.N.D.J.Bh., *Fond Comitetul județean Bihor al Frontului Plugarilor*, Dos., 8, f. 12

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, Dos. 7, f. 79

secretary of the organization, attended this meeting. Finally, a new rural committee formed of people entirely devoted to the central directions was elected¹⁶.

The reorganization of the rural and communal committees and the removal of the “reactionary” elements from Frontul Plugarilor led to a significant decrease in the number of its members. At the end of April 1946, the organization counted 46,107 members while on July 25th, 1946 it counted only 33,760. Most members belonged to the rural committee of Marghita (7,821), while the rural committee of Sălard counted only 9 members¹⁷. But, during the following months, the number of members started to grow at a high rate, so that by September 1st, 1946 there were 37,351 members¹⁸ and by October 1st, 1946 there were 46,860 members¹⁹.

Bihor County responded most promptly to the central directions of reorganizing the county organization for the elections that would take place that autumn. This was not accidentally since the organization’s headquarters for the region of Crişana-Maramureş was in Oradea. The others responded less promptly to these directions. Sălaj County began the reorganization of its county, rural and communal committees only in July 1946²⁰. This county represented the fiefdom of the national-peasant party and the reorganization was going very slow, especially in the communes where the inhabitants were supporters of Iuliu Maniu who was born in Bădăcinul Sălajului. That is why Ştefan Oprea, head of Frontul Plugarilor from the region of Crişana-Maramureş, was personally in charge of this action. He was assisted by Iacob Ungur, secretary of the local organization. The first rural committee to be reorganized in Sălaj was that of Valea lui Mihai, the least influenced by the national-peasant ideology. In order to give an impulse to the activity of reorganization, Miron Bele, member of the Central Committee from Bucharest of Frontal Plugarilor, was also present in July 1946²¹.

Also beginning with July same year, they began the reorganization of the county, several rural and communal committees from Satu Mare County²². Here Frontul Plugarilor had less powerful territorial structures than in Bihor County. The fact that at the end of July 1946 the political leadership of the region of Crişana-Maramureş from Oradea had vague information on the development of the action represents a living proof. As far as Satu Mare is concerned, it is known fact that several rural committees were reorganized, without knowing exactly which ones. Not even Ştefan Oprea was too familiar with the exact number of party members from Satu Mare and Sălaj. The only thing they could assess was that the number was growing²³.

In fact, the situation tended to become chronic. Bihor was the only county where this party existed and functioned at acceptable parameters, despite the fact that the county committees of R.C.P. ²⁴ supervised the proper course of the

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, Dos. 8, f. 10

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 26

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 28

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 37

²⁰ *Ibidem*, Dos., 7, f. 85

²¹ *Ibidem*

²² *Ibidem*

²³ *Ibidem*

²⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 86.

party's activities and organization. The purpose of the communist party was to infiltrate itself into the rural areas. But even then, things were not conform to the wishes of the Central Committees of Frontul Plugarilor and of R.C.P. At the end of July 1946, only 70% of the total number of committees from Bihor were reorganized²⁵. According to the activity reports of the region of Crişana-Maramures, the county organization had not yet pursued a planned propaganda work, in spite of some obvious intensification. The hiring of an activist for each rural district would be required. Financial support was down, the organization failed to collect fees or other funds, running out of money several times. Not even the county leadership followed the party orders. Ioan Cismaş was set example. Responsible for the press and propaganda, he refused to participate as delegate to the meeting of reorganizing the rural committee of Salonta. Most of the county executives of Frontul Plugarilor responded promptly to requests of any kind. Most notably vice-presidents Florian Linca, Nicolae Costea and Gheorghe Ţepelea, but the most active was the political secretary Constantin Militaru, who personally handled the reorganization of five rural committees, although he had been allocated only three²⁶.

In Satu Mare the county leadership was restructured in the second half of June 1946, followed by the reorganization of the rural and communal committees. The volume of activity was very small here compared to that from Bihor County. During the second part of June and most of July 1946, there were only 5 meetings of the rural committees and 39 of the communal ones. There was an obvious discrepancy between what was going on here and what was happening in Bihor. Several members were remarked for their hard work. Among them Vasile Tulba, county secretary of Frontul Plugarilor, Ioan Breban, Vasile Lupşa, Ioan Ardelean or Ioan Covaciu, all leaders of the county organization. We can say that in Satu Mare things were dragging on instead of moving forward, despite the support given by the county organization of R.C.P., which also included a vehicle in order to make travelling in the field faster²⁷. This situation was also caused by the fact that the among the leaders of the county organization things were not exactly bright, as it comes out in the report set up by Ştefan Oprea, responsible for the region of Crişana –Maramureş and Iacob Ungur, secretary of the region²⁸.

In Sălaj, things were worse than in Satu Mare. Despite the restructuring of the county leadership of Frontul Plugarilor, the situation did not improve significantly. According to the county leadership, the only one who put heart and distinguished himself was Ioan Roşca, political secretary of the county, notary public in Valea lui Mihai. He was among the few members who were continuously in the field, making efforts to expand the organization in the territory²⁹. The other leader members did not follow the instructions received from the region, an *anarchic spirit* reigning there³⁰. To straight things up, Ştefan Oprea sent at the end of July 1946 a trusted man to spend more time in Zalău in order to make things right.

²⁵ *Ibidem*

²⁶ *Ibidem*

²⁷ *Ibidem*

²⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 85-86

²⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 86

³⁰ *Ibidem*

One could not compare the situation from Maramureş to that from Bihor. If in Bihor the number of members at the end of July 1946 was 33,760 in Maramureş, in the same period, the number of members was of 7,728 men and 1,320 women despite the serious efforts made in this regard in the months of June and July 1946, when, according to official figures, the number of members of the county organization increased by 30%³¹. The county committee was reorganized on July 3rd, 1946 when Vasile Țiplea and Ioan Rednic, both loyal to the organization, were elected vice-presidents. They received the task to continuously stay at the County Committee to resolve any problem arising. On July 7th, 1946, during a women's meeting in Sighet, they elected the Women's County Committee of Frontul Plugarilor from Maramureş. Petru Moiş, Catalina Moiş and Vasile Sima were highly praised by the most notable leaders of the region for their achievements in setting up the organisation's structures in Maramureş.

Beyond these issues specific to each county organization, there were other problems, the most serious being the failure in collecting contributions or other types of income, which made some of the activities scheduled by the region impossible to render. Another problem faced by the region was the lack of professional politicians. Therefore, they underlined the need of setting up schools at the region and afterwards at the county committees in order to train capable political mentors with solid theoretical and practical knowledge in politics. The school of supervisors held at the C.C. of Frontul Plugarilor in Bucharest was given as example. A few of the representatives of the region of Crişana-Maramureş attended this school, including Marin Panaitescu and Adalbert Stana from Bihor, Vasile Anderco and Grigore Petraş from Satu Mare, Ioan Albini and Rob Lazăr from Sălaj³². The lack of funding represented the main reason for not being able to increase the number of political mentors. The publication of "Plugarul", the official newspaper of Frontul Plugarilor in the region, of some propaganda materials, party cards or the purchase of vehicles necessary for travelling in the territory also suffered from lack of funds³³.

For the following period, until the elections of November 1946, the leadership of the region aimed at achieving concrete actions to contribute to the election victory of the parties constituting the Bloc of Democratic Parties. Thus, meetings would be organized in each rural committee with delegates from the county and from the regional committee. They attracted as many intellectuals from the historical political parties as possible, continued to verify the members of *Frontul Plugarilor* as to remove *undesirable elements*, reorganized departments by increasing manpower and political mentors in the region, county and the rural committees, trained the staff in order to prepare and manage "Plugarul" (the official newspaper) which was about to be published, and last but not least, set up a school for instructing the regional and county party members³⁴. All these measures were necessary to combat what was called *the Maniu and Brătianu reaction* by the communists and by Front Plugarilor (as the communists' annex). Even party reports from the counties in the region of Crişana-Maramureş admitted that although the party was created to counter the

³¹ *Ibidem*

³² *Ibidem*, f. 85-86

³³ *Ibidem*, f. 86

³⁴ *Ibidem*

Maniu and Brătianu influences in rural areas, this only happened in a few places, as "Maniu's political propaganda was being heard"³⁵ everywhere, and "our political situation is not favourable to us"³⁶. This is clear evidence that the organization recognized, only three months before the election, the failure of its approaches in the villages of the region of Crișana-Maramureș.

Following the same order of ideas, as instructed at the Conference of the Ploughman Youth from Bucharest on February 6-8th, 1946³⁷ they tried hard to strengthen the organization of the Ploughman Youth from the region of Crișana-Maramureș and to set up women's committees in each county that would have an important role in winning the elections³⁸, but this was doomed to failure. The situation was explicitly recognized on August 15th, 1946 by Marin Panaitescu, organizational secretary of Bihor organization which was the most well-established organization across the region, and who painfully admitted in a report submitted to the regional leadership that "*women's and youth organization appear weak. In most parts of the county, women and youth refuse to join Frontul Plugarilor*"³⁹.

The period to the elections of November 19th, 1946 was very agitated and mobilizing for Frontul Plugarilor from the Region of Crișana-Maramureș. An aggressive campaign started in September 1946 in favour of B.D.P., in fact R.C.P. Nothing was left to chance. The *Democratic forces* had to win over *the reaction ones*. Under the direction of the representatives of the Communist Party, *Frontul Plugarilor* began in September to set up the tables of those who would represent the party on the lists, of those who would observe the elections in the polling stations, of the observers in the election offices, of the party's mayors and deputy-mayors. People had been thoroughly checked up as to eliminate all deviations from "*our democratic guideline*"⁴⁰. They even made an official assessment regarding the percentage that *Frontul Plugarilor* would win in the elections. On October 6th they estimated that about 40% would vote for *Frontul Plugarilor*, 10% for the Communists and other parties from B.D.P. and the remaining 50% would vote for the National Peasants' Party (P.N.Ț.) and for the National Liberal Party-Brătianu (P.N.L. Brătianu)⁴¹.

Throughout October and November 1946, the propagandists of *Frontul Plugarilor* went through every rural district for electoral propaganda. Despite their efforts and optimistic statements, the reports submitted by them and by the party's political county secretaries emphasized the fact that P.N.Ț. preserved its great influence in the rural areas. Moreover, some leaders of the rural committees in the region joined P.N.Ț. This was the case of the rural committee of Vașcău from Bihor County which changed its policy options shortly before the election⁴². There were also problems with the leadership of the rural committees of Tinca, Tileagd, Salonta and Ceica. They were accused of not having done enough to counter the national peasant and liberal propaganda.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, Dos., 8, f. 4

³⁶ *Ibidem*

³⁷ Gh.I. Ioniță, Gh. Țuțui, *op. cit.*, p. 223

³⁸ A.N.D.J.Bh., *Fond Comitetul Județean Bihor al Frontului Plugarilor*, Dos., 7, f. 16

³⁹ *Ibidem*, Dos. 8, f. 25

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 38

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, f. 35

⁴² *Ibidem*, f. 37

The region and county leadership of *Frontul Plugarilor* was not discouraged by these failures and, supported by R.C.P., they worked hardly on behalf of B.D.P. In the last minute of the electoral campaign, the propagandists of *Frontul Plugarilor* turned their attention to the women in the rural areas who were considered to be more easily attracted by *Soarele (Sun)*. Thus, they planned an aggressive propaganda on November 5-17th, 1946 in order to convince women to vote for *Frontul Plugarilor*. This plan also established the details for the election day. Among other things, each commune had to prepare a horse carriage for the transport of those women that were sick, pregnant or with small children to vote for *Frontul Plugarilor*. Communes had to send one representative of the ploughman women to the polling stations in order to urge women to vote for *Soarele*⁴³. The action was successful because, according to reports on the elections, women were present in large numbers to vote and they voted for *Soarele*⁴⁴. Things were not the same with the youth who participated in small numbers to vote, or with the intellectuals who voted, according to sources coming from the representatives of *Frontul Plugarilor*, with the historical parties of P.N.Ț. and P.N.L.⁴⁵.

Immediately after the elections, county reports set up by the Front's political secretaries of the Region of Crișana-Maramureș showed, without saying explicitly, that the results were below expectations. They admitted that *the reaction*, without the support of the police and of the gendarmerie, without posters and propaganda materials got a result "*which we saw unfolding before our eyes*"⁴⁶. They implicitly recognized that elections had been won by the historical parties and thus the falsification of the elections by communists and their allies. Marin Panaitescu, political secretary of *Frontul Plugarilor* from Bihor County, recognized that "*in those rural areas where we had no honest presidents [that is willing to falsify the result of votes n.n G.M.] and no good rural committee, results were disastrous*"⁴⁷. This happened quite frequently since, according to the same political leader, most of the rural districts registered disastrous results⁴⁸, admitting that even the Front's own members voted for the historical parties, because the number of votes obtained by *Frontul Plugarilor* in Bihor, the county with the largest number of members, was lower than the organization's number of the members. A disastrous result meant a very small number of votes, and the *honest presidents and the good rural committees* were undoubtedly responsible with falsifying the votes. Thus, Marin Panaitescu recognized that, where they had no people working for them directly, the Front obtained disastrous results, measured in an extremely small number of votes.

Consequences occurred without delay. All county organizations from the Region of Crișana-Maramureș had to reorganize themselves again to the last village in order to avoid further surprises. Each member of the party from all villages had to be scrupulously verified, and those who had not voted for *Soarele* had to be removed. Individual records were elaborated for all party members, from presidents to the last member. All these measures had to be performed by the Christmas of 1946, because people were generally at home in that period.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, Dos. 10, f. 3

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, Dos.8, f. 41

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 42

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*

This action proceeded with incidents. One incident happened in Hidişelul de Jos, Bihor County, where many villagers, about 15 in number, revolted against the instructors who arrived on December 8th, 1946. The head rioter was forester Ioan Moca. He was questioned and arrested on December 31st, 1946 after several days of search⁴⁹. As for the activists, they had to be re-schooled, while others had to be removed. For the future they would accept only instructors with a solid general education, able to fight the much better trained activists of *the reaction*⁵⁰.

REFERENCES

- CEAUŞESCU , N., (1970) *Cuvântare la adunarea festivă cu prilejul celei de-a 25 aniversări a instaurării a guvernului democratic de la 6 martie 1945*, Editura Politică, Bucureşti;
- FEJTO, Fr. (1966), *Histoire des democraties populaires*, Seuil, Paris ;
- IONIŢĂ, Gh. I., Ţuţui, Gh., (1970), *Frontul plugarilor*, Editura Politică, Bucureşti;
- TĂNASE, S. (2006), *Elite si societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu Dej 1948-1965*, Editura Humanitas, Bucureşti;
- ZAINEA, I. (coord.) (2004), *Democraţie occidentală şi democraţie populară. Evoluţia spectrului politic în nord-vestul României: (1944-1950)*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea.

Submitted:
February 13, 2012

Revised:
May 5, 2012

Accepted:
May 10, 2012

Published online:
May 11, 2012

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 45

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 42