

INTEGRATION DIFFICULTIES OR THE CONSEQUENCES OF IDEOLOGICAL EXTREMISM: ORADEA 1927

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Abstract: Even though there were extremist organizations, Oradea seldom knew situations that proved the intolerance of the people. Such an incident took place on December 4-6 1927, during the National Student Congress, when several shops and Jewish places were devastated. The incidents were extensively presented by the media of that time. It even had a negative international echo. About what happened in Oradea with this occasion, we find out more from the Municipal Monitor and from the media of that time.

Key words: Oradea, Roumanians, Jewish, Students, Disorder

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During the first decade of the interwar period, the population of Oradea, encountered a constant growth. If in December 1920 Oradea had 68,081 inhabitants, in 1927 there were 81,123 inhabitants and in 1930 Oradea had 82,653 inhabitants, so the result was an annual growth of the population with about 1,450 people¹.

Under the new circumstances given by the creation of the Romanian united national state, and according to the numbers given by the 1930 census, the number of the Romanian inhabitants had reached 22,945 (27.7 %), that is a considerable growth, taking into account that in 1918 there were only 5,734 Romanian inhabitants², and in December 1920, 8,441 inhabitants³. Spite all this things, the Hungarian population was still the majority – 42,200 inhabitants (51%) in 1930. In 1920's the Jewish population was also numerous: 20,262 people registered in 1927 and 14,640 (17,7%) in 1930. Apparently the massive decrease of the Jewish population between the two censuses would seem odd, if we didn't take into account the fact that the 5,500 people difference, can be found almost completely in the difference given by the registration of the Hungarian population: 36.779 people in 1927 and 42.200 people in 1930⁴.

¹ L. Borcea, Gh. Gorun (coordonatori), *Istoria orașului Oradea*, Oradea, Editura Cogito 1995, p. 356 (to continue *Istoria...*)

² Gh. Tulbure, *Problema orașelor*, in „Familia”, no. 1, 1929, p. 2-4

³ A. Horváth, *Ghidul orașului Oradea Mare*, Oradea Mare, 1923, p. 243

⁴ *Istoria...*, p. 356

Oradea also had other nationalities. The only ones who outrun the 1% of the city population, were the Germans with 910 people, followed by the Roma population (595 people), the Ruthenes and the Ukrainians were 410 people, the Russians were 317 people, the Czechs and the Slovaks were 232 people and other nationalities such as Armenians, Italians, French, Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarian, Turkish, Polish were about 404 people.

Each and every nationality that inhabited the city, used freely their mother tongue. The civil servants had to know the official language of the state. The local authorities prepared themselves for this kind of situation, so since the summer 1919, they organized courses to learn the Romanian language⁵.

In a religious classification, according to the census from 1927, the majority of the people were Protestants – 21,079 (25.9%). The Mosaic community were following the Protestants, with almost a quarter of the city population – 20,261 people. The Roman-Catholic community also had an important role with 21.5% from the city population, which meant a number of 17,462 people in 1927. The Orthodox community (13,914 people) were only 17.1 % from the city population in 1927. And finally, the last religious community that was important in the city from the numeric point of view was the Greek –Catholic community – 7,659 people (9.4%). In the 1920's the first Baptist communities appeared in Oradea too. In 1930 this communities had no less than 2,800 members.

After the Great Union, the political life in Bihor County suffered some substantial changes, absolutely necessary so they can fit better in the new administrative structure of the Great Romania. Under the political aspect, from the beginning of the 1920's, the majority of the Romanian population from Bihor were members of the most important Transylvanian political party, the Romanian National Party, while the Hungarian population adopted immediately after the Union a passive political attitude. After this period, the political life will diversify very much, due to the offensive of the political parties from the Old Kingdom in Ardeal, while the Hungarians will interfere step by step in the political matters of the city and country.

If at the end of the second decade of the last century and at the beginning of the third decade of political spectrum from Oradea and Bihor County was pretty much polarized⁶. After that period things took an interesting turn for the Romanian community. The involvement of the political parties from outside the Carpathian arc, gave birth to different organizations, with different political beliefs. This thing contaminated the local political class with political ideas that came over the Carpathians, ideas that lead to a dissociation and a division of the Romanians from the Bihor County and through this the national cause was put in danger⁷. In spite all these, with few exceptions: Romanian National Party, National Peasant Party and Hungarian Party, the new political organizations could not make up a solid electoral base in Bihor.

The Hungarian Community from Oradea and Bihor had a different political characteristic. First of all we have to say that the Hungarian and the Jewish population from Oradea, could not get accustomed to this new situation that easily. After a period in which they refused to interfere in the political life, in the

⁵ P. Dejeu, *Așezămintele culturale din municipiul Oradea și județul Bihor*, Oradea, 1926, p.53

⁶ L. Borcea, *Partidele politice din Oradea până la sfârșitul primului război mondial*, in "Familia", no. 12, 1994, p. 63-71

⁷ I. Zainea, *Spectrul politic bihorean în primul deceniu al perioadei interbelice (1919-1930)*, in "Crisia", an XXVIII, p. 95 (to continue I. Zainea, *Spectrul...*)

20's they adopted a new attitude. They started an offensive activity, looking to take advantage of the demographical growth that took place during the old regime, in order to monopolise the local administrative structures. They presented Oradea as a Hungarian town, which was unjust given to Romania after the Peace Conference in Paris⁸. During this decade the Hungarian and Jewish Community put a mark on the political life in Oradea, making it harder for the Romanian administrative structures to establish here.

Against this state of affairs many Romanian politicians took an action trying to get things to normal between the Romanian and the Hungarian politicians. Aurel Lazar was one of these politicians. He thought that passivity shown by the Hungarian politicians, alters the good relations between the Romanians and the Hungarians. Seldom, Aurel Lazar addressed to the Hungarians and to the Jews from Oradea, telling them to give up this state of passivity and to try to integrate in the new state⁹, assuring them that they have no reason to fear for their future in Big Romania.

After the Union, the most powerful local political organization continued to be the Romanian National Party, lead by Aurel Lazar. The local body press was first *Tribuna*, then *Glusul Bihorului* and finally *Dreptatea*. In 1926 the Romanian National Party merged with the Peasant party, which lead to the disintegration of this political structure on the local ground. In 1927, an important part set up the organization the National Peasant Party, with Aurel Lazar as it's leader. This organization dominated many years the local political life. Another important local political organization that was formed because it's president Octavian Goga insisted to, since the first months of the year 1920, was the People Party. The members of this organization were important local people. Gheorghe Tulbure was one of them. His left from the Romanian National Party was a big stroke, since he took with him the paper *Tribuna*¹⁰.

Another party that tried to form a local organization in Oradea in 1920's, was the Liberal National Party. Nicolae Zigre had an important role in founding the P.N.L. organization in Bihor County in 1921. He was also the resident of the organization during the 1921-1924¹¹. He was also part of the Ion I.C. Brateanu Government, in 1922, as an undersecretary of state for minority problemes in Ministry of Interior¹². The Peasant Party organization was also part of the political spectrum in Oradea. The professor Andrei Craciun founded this organization in 1925. Teachers and professors were the election base. Victor Felea, Ioan Silaghi, Gheorghe Popescu – Ceica, Iuliu Kurutz and others were the important members of the organization.

National Peasant Party was founded in 1926, from the merge of the Peasant Party with Romanian National Party, and became one of the most important party in Oradea and Bihor, from the political point of view. With an election base inherited from the Romanian National Party, the new organization proved that its roots were very well anchored in the everyday reality, especially of that in Transylvania. The president of the national-peasant organization from Oradea and Bihor, between 1926-1930, was of course Aurel Lazar. The same

⁸ *Ibidem*

⁹ "Nagyvárad", no. 37, 31 august 1920, p. 1

¹⁰ I. Zainea, *Spectrul...*, p. 93

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 204

¹² S. Neagoe, *Istoria guvernelor României de la începuturi, 1859, până în zilele noastre*, București, Editura Machiavelli, 1995, p. 88

Aurel Lazar, who led the local organization of the Romanian National Party, until 1926. From 1930, the lawyer Gheorghe Crisan¹³ will become the president of the National Peasant Party from Oradea. He was an important local person, known since 1918-1918.

In the third decade of the last century Oradea, had numerous political organizations from the left side and the extreme left. Social Democratic Party, which was part of the first category, was a grouping of syndicated workers. The leader of the organization was Emil Bösörményi, and Lajos Jordaky, Stefan Raffay, Francisc Újhelyi, I. Hubschenberger, Ludovic Lenkey etc, were also members of the organization. The Workers Block was part of the second category. This was a communist organization with legal activity even after 1924, the year when the Romanian Communist Party became illegal. The leader of this organization was the lawyer Eugen Rozvan, and Alexandru Szenkovits, Alexandru Ullman, Eugen Kovacs, Nicolae Gyarmati, Francisc David, Artmin Reder etc¹⁴ were some of the members.

In 1920's in Oradea were also parties that were organized on ethnic bases. The most important was the Hungarian Party. Until 1922, the Hungarians from Oradea and Bihor, did not have a political life, being under the sign of passivism. The local organization of the Hungarian Party was founded in 1925, and the leader was the lawyer I Kocsán János¹⁵, followed in 1929 by the lawyer Soós István. Even after the Hungarian Party entered the political life, there were political leaders that sustained the idea of passivism. During the years of the economical crisis, on this topic was born a new debate. The moderate wing being a supporter of a more malleable attitude towards the state and the Romanian authorities, won this debate¹⁶.

Immediately after the Great Union, at the beginning of the 1919, in Oradea was founded the Zionist Movement. At the beginning it was shy, but after a while was more and more free¹⁷. The exact name of the organization was *A Nagyvarady Chevrót Jisuv Erec Jiszráel Palesztinai Telepítő*¹⁸. At the beginning the soul of the movement was Simion Fuchs, the son of the last rabbi of Oradea and the brother of the rabbi depending, Fuchs Benjamin, the one who sustained the movement. For a while this organization even had its own paper called *Jövendő*, and the first issue was published in March 1919.

Concerning the national problem, the movement had a position similar to that of the Hungarian Parties. The movement was militating for keeping the integrity of the great Hungary. In Oradea's case they considered that it was absolutely necessary that the border settled by the Peace Conference from Paris should leave the town to the Hungarian part. This thing was strongly sustained even by the Fuchs Benjamin, the rabbi of Oradea, at the World Conference of Jews, in the matter of Zionism, at Zürich in 1919¹⁹.

There was a local branch of the Hebrew Party in Oradea. This was founded in 1923, and I. Mittelman and the lawyer Bárdos Imre were the presidents,

¹³ "Steagul Nostru", no. 24, 26th of January, 1930, p. 1

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 93-94

¹⁵ "Nagyvárad", 26th of January 1926, p. 1

¹⁶ I. Zainea, *Spectrul* ..., p. 93

¹⁷ Schön Dezső. *A Tegnap Városa: A Nagyváradai Zsidóság Emlékkönyve*, Tel-Aviv: Kiadta a Nagyváradról Elszármazottak Egyesülete Izráelben, 1981, p. 103

¹⁸ *Ibidem*

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 104

while the doctor Klein Ernós was the general secretary²⁰. As a general political orientation, the Hebrew Party was pretty much just like the Hungarian Party, but still with a more pragmatic and realistic attitude²¹. Both minority parties were aware that their political option could favour the balance for one or the other of the parties.

As all over in Romania, local organizations of the extreme right were founded in Oradea too in the '20. Anti-Semitic League was one of them, and the professor Ioan Busita from Beius and Petru Popa, Mihai Gherlan, Coriolan Maniu, Gavril Bardoş were among the leaders. The professor Petru Fodor from Oradea, one of its members founded the local organization of the League of National Christian Defence, lead at the central level by the A.C. Cuza²².

During this period in Oradea and Bihor there were even publications with serious anti-Semitic accents. One of these publications was *Acțiunea românească*, which was published at Valea lui Mihai, and the lawyer Liviu Mihali was the director and Dimitrie Bob the editor. The paper tackled various problems regarding the economy, the trade the justice, all of these being of a high interest for the locals, but the articles were written most of the times from the anti-Semitic point of view.

Even though there were extremist organizations, Oradea seldom knew situations that proved the intolerance of the people. Such an incident took place on December 4-6 1927, during the National Student Congress, when several shops and Jewish places were devastated. The incidents were extensively presented by the media of that time²³. It even had a negative international echo²⁴.

About what happened in Oradea with this occasion, we find out more from the Municipal Monitor and from the media of that time. In Oradea, during the days of 4-6 of December 1927 took place the National Student Congress in the big hall of the theatre and it was approved by the Council of Minister of Romania²⁵. Most of those who were present at Oradea, were members of the Orthodox Christian Students' Association of Romania²⁶. According to the information given by the media of that time, at the event there were approximately 5,000 students from the important universities all over Romania. The great number of the participants made Eugen Rozavan, the municipal councillor, member of the Communist Party from Romania, a party that was illegal, during the meeting of the Municipal Council from December 19th 1927, say that: „... to debate students' problems it was no need for those 5000 students. One can easily see from this that they are planning something...”²⁷. At his turn, municipal councillor Schwartz wondered „... which is the reason why they agreed to held the 5000 students congress at the theatre, since the maximum capacity is of 1000 sits and so 4000 students had to stay home?”²⁸. On this occasion they found out that the City hall Of Oradea was pretty much involved in organizing

²⁰ *Bihorul strajă la hotare*, Oradea, 1933, p. 145-146

²¹ I. Zainea, *Spectrul...*, p. 93

²² *Ibidem*, p. 94

²³ “Frontiera de Vest”, Ist year , no. 1, 1927, Ist year, no. 2, 1927, Ist year, no. 3, 1927; “Dreptatea poporului”, IIIrd year, no. 37, 1928, etc.

²⁴ A. Călinescu, *Memorii*, Bucureşti, Editura Humanitas, p. 76

²⁵ “Monitorul Comunal”, Ist year, no. 6-7, 1927, p. 5

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 8

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 4

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 2

the event. Accommodation for students from different universities from all over Romania, was possible due to the intervention of the local administration, individually to different inhabitants of the city.

Everything started in a calm and normal atmosphere, *“they discussed different and interesting things about the students’ needs, in the hall of the theatre”*²⁹. On the 4th of December 1927, congress debates were very constructive. Things have developed in the same way and the next day through to night. Then, after the end of the meeting from the hall of the theatre, students came out and were still discussions on the plateau in front of the institution and the Astoria Hotel, located across the street from the theatre. This is the moment when *“students were ginger up, a rock fell in the middle of students playing Romanian round dance She fell from the top floor of the Astoria, disposed of the Jew Keller”*³⁰. After that challenge students reacted bitterly whereas *“ according to a new tradition from the students’ life after the war, they took their revenge and while revenging they broke everything and they even bit some Jewish citizens”*³¹. Even the students admitted that besides the event told earlier, they were *“provoked, insulted and even hit by the Jewish communists”*³². This was the moment that have triggered violence against Jews from Oradea, the latter showing, in the opinion of the local media of that time, a defying attitude towards students since the first day of student congress.

Nicolae Cristofir, director of the *Frontiera de Vest* weekly, who reported as complete as possible what happened in Oradea, highlighted: *“But on this occasion happened blamable and absolutely regrettable things. In the middle of the winter and in the middle of the night, stones and bats were flying in towards the heavy windows of the cafe shops and luxurious shops. They even broke windows from the private houses. During this time Oradea lived days of great panic”*³³. About those days even the municipal councillor George Bota, talks as an eye witness. He says that: *“there were 5000 students, and at the devastation took part about 300 plus all the tramps from the suburbs. I saw those who devastated, but most of all I heard them shouting, and I honestly confess that they were shouting a lot in Hungarian too. Which proves that the devastators were not only students and not only Romanians. The rage was so big as it was continuously inflamed by those who had all the interest to do so. The students had truncheons, but I saw tramps with hammers and bats in their hands. Let’s not say that they were communists, but they weren’t students either”*³⁴.

The city of Oradea and the county were in the course of events along with the prefect Emil Lobonțiu, who *“with a lot of cadence tried to calm down the spirits that were so agitated”*³⁵, while the police prefect Bunescu *“acted heroic. With his body he covered the bodies of some Jews. He received some buffets, but he definitely saved the life of those Jews. Also safety leaders, General Gusi, Maimuca and Rodovici have watched with great skill the movements, giving orders to prevent other disorders. The army also did her job, Colonel Badescu and Major Caragea defended with their bodies the crowd of Jews escaping them from the arms of the*

²⁹ “Frontiera de Vest”, Ist year, no. 1, 1927, p. 1

³⁰ “Monitorul Comunal”, Ist year, no. 6-7, 1927, p. 3

³¹ “Frontiera de Vest”, Ist year, no. 1, 1927, p. 1

³² *Ibidem*

³³ *Ibidem*

³⁴ “Monitorul Comunal”, Ist year, no. 6-7, 1927, p. 3

³⁵ “Frontiera de Vest”, Ist year, no. 1, 1927, p. 3

*students*³⁶. The violences started in the evening of the 5th of December 1927 and they continued until evening next day, when the local authorities and the army calmed down the troublemakers. Student leaders who have devastated synagogues, homes and Jewish shops were detained. They estimated the damages. They were made by a committee headed by the minister of cults and arts himself, Alexandru Lepadatu³⁷. The damages were in value of approximately 7,000,000 lei. Following discussions held with leaders of the Jewish community from Oradea, was decided that the damage should be paid by the Romanian state.³⁸ The leaders of the Jewish community from Oradea, were not satisfied with the money they were to receive, and through the voice of municipal councillor, Schwartz, they requested neither more nor less than 100,000,000. lei damages. Obviously the demand was very high and on 16th of December 1927, in spite of the discontent, sustained even by the leaders of the Hungarian community from Oradea, the minister Lepadatu announced that 2,000,000,000 lei will be given to them, the rest amount will be allocated in the budget year 1928³⁹.

Events have not left without trace. The first who paid for this, was police prefect Bunescu, even though he tried to quiet down the conflict. In the order of dismissal that came in from Bucharest he was charged that he was not able to prevent the incidents from Oradea⁴⁰. On December 17th 1927, Bunescu was replaced by the former police prefect from Satu Mare, Traian Puticiu. The same day, the Mayor Gelu Egy has convoked an extraordinary session of the Council on 19 December 1927. The mayor's statement underlined that "*during the Council he expects to be clashes between the moderate majority and the ultranationalist right*"⁴¹.

On December 19th 1927, took place the extraordinary session of the Council. There were 37 councillors out of 50, as such assembling the absolute majority in order to declare the meeting open. There have been intense discussions between the representatives of the Jews from Oradea, supported by the Hungarians and Romanians members of the board. Invariably, the Jew and Hungarian councillors criticized harshly the government from Bucharest, because he approved holding this conference in Oradea, a city near the border, where according to them, there are large groups of co-inhabiting nationalities. The mayor Gelu Egy was also attacked because he was not able to assure the safety measurements, as "*the quarterage between the students was artificial*"⁴². According to the representatives of the Jewish and Hungarian community, 5000 people, that were in Oradea for that congress, were too many for just a congress. Both councillor Bardos, the spokesman for National Union of Jewish, and especially Schwartz, who spoke on behalf of Jewish traders and industrialists, proposed granting a vote of confidence for the mayor and the permanent delegation. A similar position had the councillor Ioan Kocsan, the representative of the Hungarian Party. He "*protest against insinuations that either the Hungarian minority, or Jewish minority caused the event*"⁴³, such rally to

³⁶ *Ibidem*

³⁷ *Ibidem*

³⁸ *Ibidem*

³⁹ *Ibidem*

⁴⁰ "Frontiera de Vest", Ist year, no. 2, 1927, nr. 3

⁴¹ *Ibidem*

⁴² "Monitorul Comunal", Ist year, no. 6-7, 1927, p. 2

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 3

communist councillor Eugen Rozvan who drew attention to the fact that not the workers have been guilty of what happened as claimed Oradea City Hall secretary, Ioan Voștinar. The rest of the councillors who have taken the floor had moderate positions fearing to be trenchant in a matter so sensitive.

Romanian councillors: George Bota, Dragomir, Aurel Lazăr, Anastase Mavrodin or arch-priest Maior, drew attention to the deliberate exaggeration of Jewish and Hungarian councillors stressing that good as the others were guilty of what happened in Oradea, not students. Still they accept the evidence that shows that about 2-300 students were part of the rabblement, but at the same time, the councillors, most of the eye witnesses, were saying that the majority of those trouble makers were not students and they were talking especially Hungarian.

They released a call to ask the Jews and the Hungarians from Oradea to give up on making such a big fuss on the events, since there were not by far as big as those provoked by the Jews and by the Hungarians in 1877, 1893 and 1918 at the moment of three important historical moment. Finally, it was suggested to the Jewish and Hungarian press that there is no need to exaggerate on the events, because they *“give water to die to the enemies of our country”*⁴⁴.

The echoes of the events from 4-6 of December 1927, have long dwelling in the local press. Sever Delacerna, a publicist from Oradea, was wondering in one of the numbers of the magazine *Frontiera de Vest*, if they found the true guilty of what happend in Oradea: *„I wonder if the true guilty were found? Were determined precisely the responsibilities?”*⁴⁵, still him came to the conclusion that *“is it possible that without any reason, without any instigation, but only in its impulse, that army of students with great souls and endowed with clean souls, to manifest in such a way. It must have been a gangrene that influenced and poisoned the souls of the Romanian people. There were the challenges of our enemies that stock us at every moment and that reached the climax. Romanians are sweet-tempered, hospitable, friendly, bided, sees and shuts up, but when the knife has reached the bone he knows to answer to the enemy. Forgive us because we play fair (...), because it is appropriate for the minority population of Oradea, to express itself, when they heard that a general student congress will be held: what will the student be looking for in Oradea, which is a Jewish and Hungarian city”*⁴⁶. From Sever Delacerna’s poit of view, the guilty ones were those who led them to devastation, because *“...there’s no smoke without the fire! And those ones couldn’t be but communist Jews with the help of Hungarians”*⁴⁷.

In the pages of the same magazine from Oradea, *Frontiera de Vest*, is published a very acid article regarding what happened. The author, who signed with the penname Nicris the article entitled: *“What external investigators do in our country”*⁴⁸, criticizes very hush the attitude of the Romanian government who allowed to some strangers to come and investigate what happened in Oradea, on request of the Jewish and Hungarian community from here. Nicris was not completely against these things, but, he was saying that *“it’s not right to allow some middleman with monitorist ideas, or to some ten hand politicians, who outside the borders mean nothing, and to some journalist with freckles (...) to come*

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*

⁴⁵ *“Frontiera de Vest”*, Ist year, no. 2, 1927, p. 3

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*

⁴⁸ *“Frontiera de Vest”*, Ist year, no. 3, 1927, p. 2

to our country and investigate every time a flea bites somebody. The case of some journalist from our neighbour country (Hungary) is quite illustrating. In the case of the student congress, happened what happened. After some days, a few journalists send by some daily Hungarian newspapers, (...) those knaves, who were treated with respect and kindness, when they went back home they started to tell in their country the most horrified imaginary things: carnage, dead, wounded, revolution and the most trivial insults never missed columns of the press in Budapest⁴⁹.

At the beginning of the February 1928, it was published a album with photos representing the consequences of the events that took place on December 4-6, 1927. As we find out from the weekly newspaper *Dreptatea poporului* the album was the work of the Jewish community from Oradea, since on the cover of it one could clearly see the ritual signs of this community. The album contained 7 photos taken in the interior of the devastate synagogue. One picture in particular leaves a special impression to the viewer. The picture contains some books of worship destroyed and a rabbi with clothes torn by students, according to author the article⁵⁰.

With the “help” of the media controlled by the Jewish and Hungarian community from Oradea and with the “help” of the journalists from Hungary, who presented what happened here, falsified information reached several European newspapers. They increased the consequences of those events. So, some of the newspapers from Hungary called Romanians barbarian and ill-behaved, sustaining, against the reality, that the Hungarian journalist were not allowed to enter Oradea during those three days of the students congress and even the following days. The same Sever Delacerna underlined the lack of honesty of those sustaining this point of view, drawing attention to the fact that:

*“hundreds of packages with daily Hungarian newspapers like: Magyar Hirlap, Esti Kurir, the magazine Panorama, edited by hyenas like Rossay Karoly, editor at Esti Kurir, who as a member of the Hungarian parliament, who through an interpellation, compared the disorder from Oradea with the massacres against Armenians and Hungarian Bolshevism in 1919, requiring the Romanian government to protest in Geneva”*⁵¹. Echoes of the events in Oradea had reached other European countries, through the same media channel: the Hungarian newspapers. We talk here about several newspapers from Italy, but especially from England. The last one is part of the trust *“owned by Rothermere”*⁵².

Over the time, the echoes of the events from Oradea were extinguished, both in Romanian and in international media. Still, the image of Romania outside the borders suffered a lot. Armand Călinescu, himself admitted later in his memoirs that: *“the events had a painful repercussion abroad”*⁵³. Romania was in process to chose with Hungary and the moment Oradea 1927, was fully used by the Hungarian propaganda against Romania, in the context of that process and in general with the revisionist policy of the neighbour state.

As regards those who were guilty of the devastation produced, they were identified and sent to justice, and so: *“the government gave the biggest satisfaction to those who suffered material and moral damages during the*

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*

⁵⁰ “Dreptatea poporului”, 3rd year, no. 37, 1928, p. 1

⁵¹ “Frontiera de Vest”, 1st year, no. 2, 1927, p. 1

⁵² *Idem*, 1st year, no. 3, 1927, p. 3

⁵³ A. Călinescu, *Memorii*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1991, p. 76

*regrettable incidents that took place in Oradea during the students congress*⁵⁴. We talk here especially about Jews, since they were the target of the attacks, besides the moral satisfaction given to them by sending to prison the leaders of the disorders from Oradea.

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⁵⁴ "Dreptatea poporului", 3rd year, no. 37, 1928, p. 2