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CHRISTIAN MERCY AND PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIORS IN THE MEMORY OF
THE DEPORTATION OF GERMAN ETHNICS FROM
ROMANIA TO THE SOVIET UNION

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Abstract: If the classic history of events is written in the spirit of winners, the approaches of collective memory reveal that wars are disasters and collective traumas for all of the involved communities. In the following pages we will present the decantation in long term memory of a relevant fact – the deportation of German ethnics from Romania to forced labor in the Soviet Union (January 1945). On the basis of a secret directive, sent by Stalin, approximately 75 000 Romanian citizens of German ethnicity were forced to work three-four years, some even more, at the reconstruction of the “Soviet country”. The source of the decision, its place and extent, and also the way to atone for the “collective guilt” was hidden from the deportees. At the end of the punishment, they were forbidden to speak about the deportation in the public and private space. When they returned home, all of their material evidence of the years spent in the Soviet Union was confiscated and destroyed. In a project financed by the European Union (coordinated by Lavinia Betea), 50 interviews with survivors of deportation and their descendants were published. The resulting accounts allowed this psycho-sociological analysis of the memory of deportation, centered on ethical and religious aspects of the behaviors and attitudes of victims and their descendants.

Key Words: collective guilt, deportation, forced labor, collective memory, exemplary memory.

The context and the design of the research

Concerning The Second World War there is a vast specialty literature and belletristic. The operations theatres of the conflagration had unprecedented extensions in the history of mankind. The number of deaths – military and civilians- exceeds 70 million people. About the horrors of the gas chambers, classic and nuclear bombarding has often been said that it exceeded the imagination of the human mind.

But history is written in the service of winners, according to a popular witticism. In the post-war years, the sufferings, losses and destructions were attributed to the Nazi ideology, practices and decisions. After the war, the propaganda of communized countries and Soviets imposed the dichotomy between Nazism and communism, obscuring from the historiography of the 20th century the events and situations contrary to this vision of history¹. It wasn't until the perestroika era that the publication of victim's testimonies which endured the tortures and trauma from captivity and soviet deportation began. Except for enlightening documents about the extent of the repressions, according to one of the German historians with Romanian origin (see **Annex 1**).

However, the Soviet government did not publish the statistics of deaths and frightening destructions of war. The loss of human lives were estimated at 20-25 million Soviets, and the value of destructions at approximately five and a half times more than the national income of the Soviet Union from 1941². As if it would not be enough, the Kremlin added the tragedy of deportations to some ethnic communities. For the "collective guilt" of not manifesting "reassurance" that they would stand against Nazi troops, in august 1941 German ethnics were deported from Volga (approximately 380.000)³. Or to have survived under Nazi administration the population of Karachi (75.000), Kalmuks (124.000), Cecens (408.000), Ingush (92.000), Balkars (43.000) and Tartars from the Crimea Peninsula (300.000)⁴. Along with the advance of the Red Army in Europe, from the occupied territories were deported German ethnics in the USSR.

The objectives of the program *Europe for Citizen*, launched in 2004, boosted the research of crimes and collective traumas produced by Nazism and communism. In this context, it was conducted the project *The memory of forced labor of German ethnics from Romania deported in the USSR*⁵. The project was finalized among others things with the editing of some "life stories"⁶.

In a brief historical retrospective, we mention that in January-February 1945, according to Romanian archives, approximately 75 000 German ethnics from Romania⁷ were taken to do forced labor in the regions of Donbas and Ural from the Soviet Union. According to historian

Pavel Polian, who used soviet sources, from the territories under the control of the Red Army in 1944, there were deported 111 831 Germans ethnics (from Romania 67 332 people, from Hungary 31 920, and from Yugoslavia 12 579). The following year another 155 262 German ethnics from former territories of East Germany and Poland⁸ were deported for forced labor in the Soviet Union. From the 271 672 people, 66.456⁹ had deceased until 1949. Other statistics offer an even more tragic presentation on the deportation.

The decision was taken in Moscow and formulated through an order of the Committee of State for the Soviet Defense, dated in December 16th 1944. According to it, men and women of German ethnicity with ages between 17 and 45 years old, and 18 to 30 years old from Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, were to be taken to the “reconstruction work” of the USSR¹⁰.

Given the conditions of the *Truce Agreement between the government of the United States of America, the United Kingdom on one side, and the Romanian government on the other side*, signed at Moscow in September 1944, the Allied Commission of Control from Bucharest, through its Soviet representatives, ruled in fact Romania. Thus, the deportation was put into practice through verbal notices to be present in a specific place, on a specific date, with travel luggage for a longer period of time. People were not informed as to where they were going, with what purposes or for how long. They worked three-four years, some even longer, among Soviet citizens in the mines, in construction, kolkhozes, chopping woods... They endured exhausting chores, hunger, cold, filth, physical illnesses and sufferings from being alienated from home and surviving on the territory of former enemies¹¹. The majority did not have any news from their families during the period of deportation. Many died or got sick carrying for the rest of their lives the scars of deportation.

In the end, the material proofs of the years spent in the Soviet Union were taken away from the deportees and destroyed. They were forbidden to speak about deportation in the private and public space. They returned to a Sovietized Romania. And the reinsertion in the family was not always easy, and sometimes impossible (see **Annex 2**).

All these aspects of the deportation trauma were followed through the interview guide to which 50 survivors of deportation and their descendants, Romanian and German citizens responded.

Collective memory and “exemplary memory”

Probing the collective memory of the deportation of German ethnics from Romania to the Soviet Union targeted many aspects. Through constructing the narrative of a historic fact deemed taboo, it was also pursued the deceleration of certain *behaviors* and *exemplary attitudes*.

Although in the plan of psychological researches memory drew less attention to the experimentalists preoccupied to eliminate the social factors deemed as “undesirable variables”, in the field of collective mental studies some of their conclusions are required. Thus, since the first experiments it was found that time “erases” detail elements. Those who are connected to the essential of a meaningful message are the ones that persist a long period of time. Because meaning is essential in memories. Initially, it derives from the culture to which the individual belongs to. And, implicitly from the beliefs and religious practices which leave a mark on this culture.

Memories “alter” as time passes, not necessarily through the process of forgetting some particularities and elements, but through a restructuring of meaning. Memorizing, like perceiving, means giving a meaning, but this meaning is both social and personal. In fact: memory is a function of the individual and at the same time a function for the individual; it submits to some *rules of transformation*, being simultaneously *selective and cultural*; it incorporates experiences, ending fabricating new coherences as the events take place, are stored and are updated¹².

The analyses of certain phenomenon and political decisions that made the 21st century a “century of mass crime”, according to the expression of Tvetan Todorov¹³, brought the theme of collective memory in the public scene. Since the present and the future of society flow from the essence and characteristics of the past, the memory of war, the gulag and deportations endured extensive *re-signification processes*. Determined, mainly by some restrictions and political prescriptions. Thus, at the global society’s level coexist what specialty literature calls historic memory, partisan memory, symbolic memory, literary memory, exemplary memory and so on¹⁴.

Next we will refer to *exemplary memory* articulated on moral imperatives which determine the necessity of certain memories. They stem from a traumatic event for the existence of the group, situated at times in the middle of the political game. This was the case of the German ethnics from Romania, deported for forced labor in the Soviet Union. The past requires in this case also a treatment, a reconstruction in order to be assimilated – not just by the group itself, but by the other groups- to prevent other traumas. But, also to identify “the temptation of good” in a “memory of evil”¹⁵. Under the blinding spotlights of history, the human being reveals itself in an uncertain morality and simultaneity of good and bad examples. Evil can be memorized literally, so a tragic segment of the individual or group’s past is kept in its uniqueness. Mourning is, of course, a duty. But he, who cannot escape the obsessive commemoration of a painful past, refuses the living of the present. In a second stage, marginalizing the trauma and taming the memory, a painful fact metamorphosis into a life example from which collectivity can help itself.

The operation is double and is a reminder of psychoanalysis, *exemplary memory* being potentially liberating.

In this regard, the interview guide conducted the accounts of deportation in the USSR toward the meanings of the *exemplary memory*. We assumed from the beginning that the registered testimonies will constitute themselves into a documentary base of the new research, with new objectives and analyzing techniques. About a third from the requirements formulated by the interviewers targeted the “guilt” and the “teachings” of the trauma, the characterization of the relationship between deportees, guards and locals, identifying the moral imperatives around which memories are articulated.

In essence, the story of the journey to the unknown contains the same “details”¹⁶. During the voyage, people were locked up in cattle wagons. Together, men and women, bearing the first “exercise” of depersonalization: for all, a whole in the floor for “necessities”. The train sets arrived at destination in a period that varied between 10 and 30 days. During this time they faced the misery in which they could have immersed themselves: cold, hunger, filth, lice, digestive and infectious diseases. In addition, they endure an effective method of destroying self esteem: their individual beings receive a strictly quantitative value. When at the train stops two-three “travelers” escape, they are being replaced with the same missing number of random people from the train stations. As a matter of fact, in the writings of the barracks and in the fieldwork they are given numbers, not names.

Their newspaper in the Soviet Union reproduces the known elements from the memoirs of deportation. Except that Germans are called “admitted” and work together with the natives. In order to perfect the illusion of equity, starting with the second year, the deportee’s labor was remunerated to cover maintenance and meager groceries.

The end of deportation left similar memories to the interviewed. Unpredictable, much like the decision of deportation, the news was brought to their attention by petty politicians from concentration camps. Feverish were also the preparations for the journey, the loss of material memories being the turning point.

After (the commander of the camp, A.N.) communicated the order that we will return home, he disrobed us. The arrangement was that in one room you would leave your clothes and everything you had. You would then step into another room where there were officers and doctors sitting at a table. They would look, turn around, bend over...they would look even in your bottom. Afterwards, you would go to the bathroom. Meanwhile, the clothes were disinfected from lice and a whole pile with all of your belongings-if you

had letters from home, if you had your crucifix, books, they gathered everything you had. We received the empty backpack, with two pairs of underwear. And then there was my cloth wrapped notebook. Between the cloth and the cover I put this letter. While we were getting dressed I saw that pile. They did not give anything back to us, nothing. No trace of our life there remained¹⁷.

What followed the deportation is found particularly in the stories of the deportee's descendants which take the form of *familial memory* centered on the exemplary destiny of the parent or grandparent. In this case, the stories of the children born in deportation are exceptional (see **Annex 3**).

A special note in the memory of deportation is the persistence of a historic forgery owed to the Soviet propaganda: the causes of this traumatic experience are passed to Romanians.

Who are the guilty ones? First of all - those who lost the war. Second of all, the Romanian state who sold us. We were 60.000 souls or even 80.000, by a different account. All the men born from 1928 until the age of 45, and the women born from 1928 until the age of 35, disregarding the fact that they had small children¹⁸.

What do I know about how the deportation was made? That Stalin demanded people. And then Petru Groza and Ana Pauker said: "Look, here we have these lousy Germans. Let's send them!" This is what my mother told me, and this is what my father told me. They were both deported to Russia¹⁹.

Just three out of 50 interviewed proved to be informed of the decision making process of deportation²⁰.

At first, we thought that the Romanian state was to blame. They said that the Soviets requested Romania 100.000 workers and that Romanians gave us, the Germans from the country. It wasn't until 1990, when Moscow's archives were open that we found out the truth. It was the German Home Office minister communicated to us that Stalin requested us from the Romanian state. They ordered the Romanians to help them and they made the lists. They had no other way. They were also defeated in war²¹.

“As we forgive those who trespass against us...”

As a method of oral history or as a technique subsumed to the case study, the megatrends method or the ethno biographical method, the interview maintains its place in the researcher's baggage.

It is in the specific of the qualitative investigation methods of the socio-human that after elaborating the objectives and operating research concepts, certain hypothesis to be formulated in the field. A first unpredicted situation in our research was the refusal to be interviewed by most of the former deportees²². It is an explainable fact through psychoanalyses theories. According to them, the account of a trauma is a therapy key and a way to relate of the self with current values. The interdiction to approach this theme, functional for four decays, determined the former deportees to practice the therapy of forgetting.

If you sit and think every second, “oh, how bad it was, oh, what a shame you lived”, you destroy yourself. And if you say, the others say you were a Nazi, you were a Hitlerist). It is better to stay quite. The worst was that my little girl died (...) I look, I put out flowers for myself, I look how beautiful it is outside...I'm too old and I cannot do it this way...I suffered too much to make jokes...I cannot do it this way...I do not want to...²³

In some cases the interview guide was dropped, the subjects freeing themselves from memories according to the selectiveness operated by their own experiences. Freed at times through strong emotions, transmitted empathically to the interviewer. In some other cases, the account focused on an “island” of the interviewee's memory: a special occurrence, a character or a visual image of great strength.

The people who died ended up in the snow. But we could not dig through that frozen ground more than a few fingers. We would disrobe the bodies before we buried them. With some we had friendships, with other we were colleagues...In all that amount of time we got to know each other somewhat. And we would each draw straws on what to wear, clothes, shoes if they fit...Any rag would be good to wear to keep us from getting so cold. We would pile up the bodies. As they died, we would put a pile of people, a layer of lime, then another pile of people and so on...This was the layout of the cemetery-a big whole which during the spring, as the snow melted, dogs would swarm and they would eat from our dead. The dogs ate from our

dead which were improperly buried in the frozen ground. It was not easy to see all those things, not to mention living them...²⁴

The characteristics of the “grand old age” pattern also generated some particularities. At the time of the deportation, the youngest of the interviewed were 17 years old. When they spoke they were close to or they turned 84 years old not so long ago. The particularities of their thinking and their memory echoed in the depiction, forgetfulness and resignification of information and memories. And last, but not least, in communication, also marked by old age. But also by forgetting the Romanian language by those who emigrated in Germany or lived for many years in nursing homes²⁵.

An unexpected conclusion was the “taming” of the deportee’s memories. However, the symbolism of evil, focused on exceptional circumstances and details, appears significantly in retold memories of the descendants. There are family memories which left a deep impression in childhood or teenage years, redefined at a mature age in contrast with their own experiences.

A cousin told her grandmother what she saw at Chişineu-Criş when the deportation was made. The parents left with the deportation luggage on the cart toward the train station. And their children where coming out from school. And they met each other. The soldiers did not let the parents get close to their children. And the children were driven away with a whip. What pain, the screams and cries that were there! ...²⁶

There were all kinds of strange stories. With my father’s aunt. My grandfather’s sister. She was in the camp too. But not at Krivoi Rog, at Dnepopetrovsk. She gained weight when I met her. She would say: “I’m so happy we have what to eat . At the Russians it was horrible-you had nothing to eat. It’s terrible how much hunger we endured and how many died from hunger. And now I shouldn’t eat? I do not care how much weight I put on. There was a very sick and weak woman there. And she would ask me to give her out of my portion. No one wanted to give out from their small portions. “Give me something to eat. I will die here anyway. But when you return, you can take my husband. “Leave me alone, I said. I do not need your husband! And when I came back from Russia, it was that woman’s husband I took...”²⁷

Without exception, the interviewed that told about the experiences they lived, declared themselves to be Christian practitioners. The deportation cause itself is put in the account of dictators without faith in God.

For what happened I blamed Hitler and his fascism. He started the war, he took Russians to work in Germany and Stalin was a good apprentice of Hitler. He did the same thing. They were both people without God. (...) To prevent this kind of tragedies from happening again, people should have faith in God first. If he does not, men forges himself other gods-money, power... And these gods degrade him.²⁸

In the flow of public communication, the memories of former deportees entered in a purified and faithful manner.

I never blamed anyone for what happened to me. And I could not be upset at the Russians I met because they were people just like us. And they had no blame.²⁹

It even occurs that deportation is considered a punishment from God for the sins committed by German combatants.

I did not put the guilt label on anyone for what happened. I never said this, or that. When they took us, we went. Just like men before us went to war. Why did they take us? ... For our sins they took us (...). The memories have been forgotten. But may God forgive us and may it never be this way ever again. Why should I think about it now? Something like this was given by God ...³⁰

The theory known as locus of control, elaborated by Julian Rotter (1966), discerns between the perception of the sources of success and failure in terms of “externality” and “internality”³¹. In general, the witnesses of deportation attribute external causes for their survival: their chance was destiny. And destiny is identified as will of God.

I left at a young age, but when I returned I thanked God for being alive and well enough to start life all over again. Up until that point, faith was the only thing that gave me strength and power to move on. Man's destiny is in the hand of God and I can only think Him for giving me days to move past all of it!³²

That time began as a beautiful garden with flowers, where a bomb fell. Following the disaster a river sprung also. That river was the faith that kept us alive and made us stay normal. Our destiny was in God's hand³³.

When they make this type of affirmations, the interviewed relate implicitly to their long and vast life experience. A life in which they survived not only the war and deportation, but also the pain and mourning after their loved ones—parents, husbands, children. The old age years with the confessions, prayers and introspections in the spirit of the biblical commandments imprinted in their thought a fundamental judgment of Christianity, often repeated in the prayer *Our Father*: “And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.”

The Evil and the Good

The context which produced the memories of deportation belongs to a certain narrative time—the period of war. A time which from the distance of a fourth generation may seem as distant and unreal as a fairytale. It was back when they had not invented the television or the Internet...On the narrative schemes identified by Vladimir Propp³⁴ in the construction of fairytales, were also erected propagandist representations of the second global conflagration: during the first stage, there was a balance of the community; it was then destroyed by the elements of Evil; against these, heroic actions were initiated; as a consequence, the Good triumphed; peace and harmony were restored in the grateful community of the heroes.

As a matter of fact, Evil and God are archetypal categories of the collective mental and therefore of the individual one. In psychological literature, Evil can be appointed through the concept of aggressiveness. Defined as a behavior that produces voluntarily and consciously physical and/or mental pain to a living being. The opposite is assigned through altruism, behaviors and pro-social attitudes that aim to help peers in need or/the greater good of the community.

But is aggressiveness an innate or an acquired behavior? Nature has endowed the superior species from the animal kingdom, like it did with man, with a potential violence concerning the purchasing of food and mating rituals. The ethology inspired theories correlate the instinct of protecting the territory from the animal world with variables of the human environment, such as property, certain cultural and psychological facts. A vast scientific literature theorizes the circumstances, mechanisms and consequences of aggressiveness. The frustration-aggressiveness theory, experienced by John Dollard in 1939 and developed in time by psycho-sociology personalities³⁵, explains a comprehensive range of situations and social conflicts. In essence, as Dollard and his collaborators

postulate, aggressiveness is caused by circumstances and events which interpose between individuals and their goals, generating frustrations. However, light frustration does not seem to lead to aggressiveness. But the consequences of an armed conflict of big proportions and the effects of the combatants' propaganda from both sides can degenerate into the catastrophe of anomy when moral, religious and ethical values are abandoned by the community.

The deportation of German ethnics from Romania to the Soviet Union at the beginning of 1945 can count as a social experiment to validate this theory.

During the war, the Good and the Evil are defined in both sides. Since the invasion of the USSR in June 1941 by German troupes and their allies (among which Romanians), the Soviets lost approximately 20 million military and civilians. It has been said that no family was left without grieving. On the Soviet territory, Germans were the face of absolute evil.

Around four fifths of the German losses occurred on the East Front. German ethnics from Romania also had brothers, sisters or parents killed, injured or still combatants in war. And the Nazi propaganda created evil representations for the "judeo-bolchevique" from the Soviet space. At the time of the arrival of the deportees, the faith of the conflict was clear. The British-American troupes and the Soviet ones forged ahead toward German territory to clench the remains of the Nazi army. In such circumstances, the locals received the deportees with hostility.

There were below 38 degrees Celsius back then (when they got them off the train upon arrival A.N.) And the people, the population of Iss, received us with stones, life balls, cuss words... And yelled Germans, death to the fascists... This is probably how they were trained! Some groups yelled, some were silent³⁶.

But the journey of the deportees cushioned the shock of this receiving.

In Donbas, people were so poor they had nothing to eat. I mean the Russians. The war went through there. Larger cities were destroyed, the buildings. That is what I saw as soon as I entered. All of Ukraine, where I passed, where there were settlements, you could see the extraordinary traces of war. And on the field ... I passed by masses that wanted to be mass graves, but meanwhile, where there was not much snow, you could see a leg, something. You could not bury so many people³⁷.

I know that when we arrived in Russia the train wagon's floor started to freeze during the night. Those who had bread in their luggage got wet during the day and dirty from the frozen water. We were not taught to eat like this. And I threw that dirty bread over the window. A Russian woman picked it up and did this to us (she sucks in her cheeks and point her index fingers at them A.N.). Which meant we will end up looking like that, with sunken cheeks, like them³⁸.

They found out early on that the Soviets live almost as bad as they did. A bitter reality, but with fertile meanings in the relationships intertwined between "slaves" and "masters".

The Russians did not have any (food A.N.). There was a war, not even free women who worked did not have any. Women were good there. The Russians. We were also at collective work where we worked with them. They talked to us. They had no food either³⁹.

At first, people cussed us: fascists, Nazis. The population was filled with communist propaganda. Because we were Germans meant that we were Hitlerists. Then, during the years, we got to know the people. We worked only with Russians. They saw who they were dealing with, saw how we behaved, what we do⁴⁰.

Engel's thesis according to which labor made the man found its expression in the Soviet pedagogy of education and reeducation through and for work, through and for the collective. The forced labor of German ethnics for the "reconstruction" of the Soviet Union was, without doubt, included in this program of forming the "new man". Unlike the treatment given to Soviet political detainees from camps and prisons, where torture was allowed and the relationships with others forbidden, German ethnics were camped in special regimen settlements, but worked among locals. They knew them not as "deportees", but as "admitted".

In the end, we got along well with the population. We worked with Russians in the factory. We were always in contact with them at work. At first, they were apprehensive toward us, the "fascists". After a while, we became friends. The first who got close to us were the Russians that had been taken to work, at the beginning of the war, in Germany (...) Our

friends were Russian soldiers that returned from war. Friendlier than the citizens there⁴¹.

The relationships with the Russians were a matter of luck. I had a very good brigadier. You have to understand them too. Their husbands were either prisoners, or dead in war. And all of the sudden they saw some German women, considering that your relatives were killed by Germans...⁴²

These kinds of accounts also contain the effects of the “processing” of Soviet work colleagues. Persuaded and constricted by the communist propaganda, they have exteriorized behaviors consensual to the “class fight” theory. It postulated solidarity between all workers of the world with the end of the slogan “Proletarians from all countries, unite!”. The Nazi leaders and the “exploiters’ class” were found guilty for the horrors and sufferings of war. This way the relationships and communication between locals and deportees got smoother.

I met a very nice lady doctor that took care of me. She asked me if I am upset at the Russians since I was there because of them. And I asked her if she is upset at the Germans. I told her that nobody from that room where we were was guilty for what happened to us, and that I could not be upset at her because she took care of me⁴³.

And the Russians were very poor, but if there was left a boiled potato, after the meal they would bring it to me and to another girl. We were the youngest. They cut it in two and gave it to us. There I learned that there was no hostility, there are only people that are divided in good and evil, in every nation⁴⁴.

The solidarity and cooperation articulated naturally on the account of the advantageous mutual relationships.

If there was something to fix, they would call us at home. They cannot open the door, cannot open this, it does not close, whatever. There was no one to do this. We were mostly handy workers. They took us to them and we fixed what was broken. They lived the way we did, with us in line, and they received what they needed for food there⁴⁵.

The deportees also suffered, more or less explicitly, an indoctrination program, in order to insert them into a Sovietized Romania. Once they were home, they should have promoted the representation of the “new”

Soviet “man”. Therefore, among the activities imposed there also viewings of Soviet films. The spirit of communist holidays was also not forgotten.

On the 1st of May we received white bread. For as it was cake. And they gave us this political speech that the Soviet Army will win, we will be free and we will return home. But those who will not work and will not respect the political rules will stay some more. That we have camps for another 40 years. It threatened us⁴⁶.

A special indoctrination program endured the deportees selected by the camp’s political commanders. More than likely, a version of the denazification program applied to some war prisoners in view of their transformation into combatants against their own armies⁴⁷.

After the end of the reunion, we were called to the red corner, young people that did not pass 20 years of age. I think we were about 30 people. And the politic commander gave as a dialectic materialism speech. He told us there, and it suited me, that Germany is not only fascists, it is also democratic. Is has a future too. Then a young professor came. We were studying natural sciences with him. He started with Darwin, with the evolution theory. I did not realize where he wants to end up, but it was very interesting. At first it was twice a month, then every week. And each time we would receive a liter of milk⁴⁸.

Prayers and life teachings

In the beginning of the Soviet state, its leaders turned Marx’s affirmation that religion is opium for the people into a slogan. In 1918, Lenin declared that electricity will replace God. And if peasants want to pray, they can worship the god of electricity. Churches were demolished, and priests and monks were banished. But in the years of the war, Stalin remembered the guiding force of faith. The former orthodox seminar boy allowed processions with miracle icons, and freed from prisons leaders of Russian orthodoxy. Therefore, at the end of the war, the deportees who noticed Soviet atheism are singular cases.

We could not hold any holiday, we were working. The Russians did not hold them either. Only old Russians would tell stories, lit a candle, they had more faith. Out of fear, poor people. The town’s church was closed, we could not go. We saw that

the entrance was blocked with big pieces of wood. In the last or penultimate year I took a dry branch and decorated it, as a Christmas tree. I had nothing else. But I knew when it would be Easter, because some of us had a calendar on them, a 150 year old one, and we knew⁴⁹.

The vast majority of the former deportees said that they were allowed to have religious manifestations.

Of course, there were some beautiful moments there... We always celebrated Christmas and Easter; then we would all sing⁵⁰.

Sunday, if we worked in the afternoon, before lunch, we had time, we would go into a room, stand next to each other, one of us sang, another one prayed, and we would say a prayer, to rescue us, to be able to return home. So I went to the girls from Arad, the officer in charge came and looked at us. He did not say that we are not allowed to pray⁵¹.

At Christmas we would give each other gifts, especially those of us who could get out and shop. We had little money, they would pay us, but we did not need the money anyway, we had nothing to do with it. At Christmas we would put up a tree, improvise Christmas decorations. We sang Christmas carols, talked, gathered around the table and spoke in Romanian. We worked on Sundays too, because the day off would not always fall on a Sunday⁵².

In the first year, in December 1945, we celebrated Christmas. An officer and a soldier guarded us. We sang song, carols, made a Christmas tree out of a tree branch, which we decorated it with carrots and potato peelings. These two people, who stayed outside, cried with us⁵³.

From stories that confess punishments for religious manifestations, we conclude that in the regulations of Soviet commanders and guards there were never clear restriction orders for religious manifestations. But those who were far too zealous punished them.

A nephew of mine was also deported. They took him at 17 years old. He was a student. At Christmas, he organized a small sermon, sang religious songs, two soldiers came; they took him to a punishment

camp. Instead of five years, he stayed seven years in Russia. They took him to a punishment camp, he worked at a coal mine⁵⁴.

Roman-catholic priest Ignat Bernhardt Fischer who spent 4 years in Zaporozie (Ukraine) especially insisted on the benefits of faith and prayer in moments of turmoil. Still a student, he was taken from the boarding school. Among the few things he had during the journey there was a Bible. In the years of deportation he managed to reread it many times. But also to obtain lenience from the Soviet guards to hold Christian holidays.

The most special moment I lived was the first Easter. Catholic Easter fell on April the 1st. Among us there was no priest and I said to myself let us do something. I went to our folks who knew Russian in order for them to speak with the Soviets. What, they said, these are atheists?! I do not know how the Russian captain, chief of guards, heard. And he called me to him. A woman was a translator. After I told him, he said “do your sermons, but pray for us to win the war.” “We will pray for a rightful peace!” I said. “Fine!”. “We had rehearsals for songs with women, men... It was then that I held the first sermon in my life. In a foreign country, during the war... The “nacealniks” came to see what we were doing. They convinced themselves that it was quiet and they left. On the first Christmas I was at work. But in the second year, when the Russians heard it is our Christmas they left us at “home”. Their Russians went to work, but they let us hold our holiday. Which means we went from room to room, read the gospel, prayed that God gave us strength to make it through⁵⁵.

“Faith in God gives you spiritual strength”, was the priest’s conclusion about the resorts of surviving in extreme conditions.

Meaningful events

One point of the interview guide requested the interviewed to tell a special occurrence or happening from deportation. Included in the limits of Maurice Halbwachs’s⁵⁶ classic theory, the relationship between individual and collective memory is assured by certain *social frames*. But the sociological dominates over the psychological: the meaningful individual memory-of an event or life period-is “given” to collective memory.

In the long term memory of deportation many pro-social behaviors were remembered. It is in man's nature to help another one in suffering, it was one of the primary explanations.

For instance, I have an interesting book of a philosopher that says why people help each other. Precisely because I found ... It is hard to explain this thing and it would take long. But these helping genes are innate. If elephants protect their youngest ... It is in our nature⁵⁷.

A short popular anecdote, from the full of whit category, tells the story of a sinner arrived in the After World. Sent to Hell, the man asked for Saint Peter's help. Show me a good deed from your life and I will get you out of there, the Saint told him. I pitied a poor man with an onion thread, the sinner remembered. I now give you the onion string to climb to the gates of Heaven, Saint Peter said with pity. This type of popular parable with religious sub-strata shaped the collective mental of Christian communities.

There were situations when fellow Romanians offered help and support from the very first moment of deportation rumors.

Germans hid in other villages in Romanian families. But it was dangerous, they would shoot them too. Many bad things happened. But in our villages there were no Romanians. You must not make this mistake, to compare the political regimen with the country's population. It is a very different thing. The Romanian man, subjugated along the centuries, was more yielding, more humane⁵⁸.

I hid at Romanian families; I sat hidden in the attic, in hay. Herendeștiul is a Romanian settlement. My mother, my family had the idea to hide me, to save me. If they took my father, they tried to save me⁵⁹.

There were even more risky behaviors.

I was 17, skinnier, this way I looked younger. And the Romanian soldier looks at me and at my school report card and says: "Son, go home. Be careful, they will deport you, prepare yourself or run, hide!" The Russians saw he is speaking to me, but did not understand anything⁶⁰.

In order to save a young German woman from deportation, a Romanian soldier offered to marry her.

A sub officer was there to deport us, one named Zamfir, I do not remember the other name, he came to me and asked me: "Don't you want to marry me, to save you?" And then I told him that all my life I said that you must marry out of love. Not get married to escape, and then to blame all my life that he saved me⁶¹.

Group solidarity seems natural. But given the limited conditions, giving another one from your thrifty belongings can jeopardize your own existence. The received help can be remembered as a lucky threshold of life.

I remember perfectly a single day from that period, the worst of all my days of deportation. It was the day I got sick with malaria. I did not benefit from medicine or medical assistance. With me there was a medical nurse from Timișoara, deported to a camp, and she helped me. We came together with the same transport. Without her I would have stayed there-dead at 20 years old⁶².

The behaviors of certain employees of the Soviet state are epiphanies of life and humanity for those who were helped in critical moments. About them you cannot say anymore that they helped the deportees by following propaganda prescriptions, they risked their own freedom. An enormous risk, unmotivated by material benefits. The heroines of some exceptional cases are lady doctors. Their brave altruism comes from inner motivations, heightened by the Hippocratic Oath. One of them "closed her eyes" at the attempts to survive of a sick detainee.

(My grandfather A.N) got sick with dysentery and was taken to Lazaret. Now healed, he had to return to work. So he imagined he could prolong his hospital stay so he rubbed the thermometer until the mercury showed a high temperature. Sometimes it was too high, so he shacked it to lower down. The lady doctor found out about the cheating, but he did not betray him, on the contrary, he declared him incapable to work and put him on the list with those who were about to live camp with the next transport⁶³.

Another lady doctor got into a conflict with the political superior trying to prevent the transfer of a deportee to a punishment camp where his survival became even more critical.

Five-ten minutes everybody looked at me without

asking anything. And all of the sudden, the lady doctor comes to me. And she says to the Russians - I am not allowed to let anyone out of the prison until I give him a consult. And I cannot let anyone go if he is sick. I will take him to the infirmary and see what he has. If he is fine, I will sign and he can leave. This commanding officer that replaced the commander, who was gone to Moscow, says: How do you want to command? Do you want to say something other than me when you are paid by me? No, she says, but I am a doctor first, and your subordinate second⁶⁴.

What you do not like, do not do to others is also a functional ethic in the Christian communities' minds. It proves its persistence, despite the efforts of Nazi and communist leaders to present their ideology as the only valid faith. Although the profit of the "denunciation" would be substantial in the misery of deportation, the deportee also "conceals" a "political crime".

It was May 1st. You know how it was in Romania too back then. They would put up Stalin. Sometimes on large two by two cartons. And I caught one that spit on Stalin. A Russian. About 50 something years old. /You did not tell on him?/ No, how could I do such a thing?! I never thought about doing this. On the contrary. Back then I was still indoctrinated by Nazism. But afterwards he would come by everyday at my lathe. And he tried to explain to me why he did that thing⁶⁵.

Other accounts say that in extreme conditions people's personality is revealed.

I remember that once at the factory they did not give us food for two days. The Nacealniks told us to stop going to work if they do not give us food. Go to town, in the village and ask from people, they said. And we went. Me and a woman. We were both scared to go like this at Russians homes. The first who left received more. If we were scared...for us they did not have any more. We wound up outside the village, at a distant house. There was no one there, but the house was unlocked. There was no fence, no garden. They had two rooms, one was better, with iron beds. In the table, in the fioc (closet, A.N) - a plate full of fried meat and a plate

with bread. Tiotinka, tiotinka! (Aunt, A.N.)-, we yelled. But no one answered. We went to another house. It was empty. Upstairs there was a boy who started to cuss us. We went back again at that empty house, but with food. And we yelled again. No one answered and again we took nothing. We were scared... We ended up at another smaller house. They had potatoes there, onion, cucumbers. They gave us some. This is what we returned to the factory with ...⁶⁶

Occurrences with ambivalent meaning were also imprinted forever in memory. The good did to another can - and was-interpreted as Evil. And over the years, as a betrayal of fellow countrymen in the favor of the "enemy".

There was a woman in my brigade that had two children at home. She worked with the wheelbarrow. She took soil because we made some piers for the dredger. And once I saw she was missing, I went looking for her. And I saw she took her felt boots off and put her feet in the water. When I saw that I yelled at her: What are you doing? She says: I want to freeze my feet so they would send me home. I slapped her, got her out of the water and rubbed her feet with snow. She screamed and I told her that if she does not stop I will beat her again. And if I tell on her to the Russians they will put her in prison. But I only cared that she had two children at home and she would come home with her feet frozen, that is if she does not die ill in Russia. Indeed, when I came home, I was recently married, I was with my wife and I met her in the bus. And she yelled: he sold us to the Russians! He beat me! You can imagine how I felt!⁶⁷

Who am I? What good deeds have I done and with what sins will I pass into the other world? These are dilemmas that disturb the elderly reflections. By entrusting the answers as censored memories, given to the "frames" of Christian ethics, they enter in the heritage of collective memory. For instance, a life fact as this one could appear in school manuals with the poli-semantic of life teachings.

It was March; we were in the night shift. They had to take us in the mines. On the road came an incredible blizzard and the sentinels ran to the

camp to get help. They left us in the snow. We stayed in a row. Out of 16 people, three died. Those who did not held hands. The snow buried them. The sentinel who was supposed to take us went to the camp to get help and returned with about 8 people. But those three were already frozen. We prayed. As long as we could speak, we said “pray and we stick together, we will not let go of our hands”. We moved as much as we could. But this is how it was meant to be⁶⁸.

Apparently, accounts like these are “good teachings” at the level of “small history” - or individual and family memory. Integrated in the other sources of historiography, and also to the facets of qualitative methodology of psycho sociology, they confer strength and concreteness to a series of tragic events. More so when they were “white spots” of historiography and of the official speech from the “cold war” years, and in post communism they were taxed as “ethno-genocide”.

If archive documents, historian analyses and politician’s speeches can present the phenomenon of deportation of German ethnics to the Soviet Union as an epiphenomenon of communist or Nazi ideology, the life memories of survivors send to the essence of totalitarianism: the annulment of the individual. Under the imperative of a dictatorial politics, people’s lives lose their value and their injustice and sufferings do not matter.

In the space of collective memory, the memories of those who survived a collective trauma also induce examples of solidarity, altruism, faith and good deeds, carriers of subliminal messages. With the power of parable’s pedagogy, such “exemplary memories” plead explicitly for a democratic ethic.

Annex 1

Walter Tonta (Germany)⁶⁹:

I studied history in Cluj, graduating in 1983, and as you know the problem of the Germans’ deportation in the Soviet Union was a taboo issue during communism. Of course, inside the community we talked about it, but officially it was a taboo issue. As a historian I could not address the problem of deportation in that time.

I became aware of the dramatic dimension of the issue only after I arrived in Germany in 1991. In Germany a lot was written about it, they are writing even now. During the next period of time I read a lot about this subject. In 1995, in Munich, there was a large assembly where 3.000 people participated. We had publications. “Banater Post” newspaper of the *landschaft* published many chapters about this subject. There are some associations of Swabians from Banat organized by originating settlements

who also print their own publications. And in these publications the theme of deportation is an ever-present issue. Much is written based on memories, especially in the community publications. I believe a part of them intend to work scientifically. Of course, you also need documents.

The problem of deportation must be looked at under the aspect of the collective blame by which the German community was affected after August 23rd 1944. They were deported only because they were German ethnics. Social-democrats and communists from Banat were also deported. The responsible ones, those who had positions of responsibility during the Nazi period-let us call it this way-took refuge in Western Europe and were not affected by this problem. So they involved ordinary people who had no blame.

I think many times the issue of involvement or the measure of involvement from the Romanian Government and the Soviet part in this affair was raised. I think in the latest publications it was clearly proven that this order came from the Soviet authorities, and that the Romanian authorities were compelled in many ways to fulfill it. But the orders came from the Soviet part. The Rădescu government protested officially, but these protests had no effect.

It is important to present in history manuals this chapter from Romania's history and from the history of the German community from Romania. I think it is not so important to present the causes of this tragedy. But the fact that it took place, that so many people were affected by it, the deportees, almost 70.000, but also the families, the ones left at home. And to underline that there was an interruption in the history of the German community. Both for the Saxons from Transylvania, and for the Swabians from Banat.

Annex 2

Erika Renz (Germany)⁷⁰:

My grandmother told us a bit when we were children. But not too much. They never spoke about it back then. Not even between neighbors. Especially because we were curious about what was like with the Russians. I read literature... But she still told me a bit. She said it was terrible, they had no food. That it was cold and very many died. She ended up having problems with her joints. (...) She was deported to Krivoi Rog.

Meanwhile, because her children were very young, her husband took a housekeeper. He eventually lived with her. A war cripple could not handle a four year old girl, he did not have a chance. And he could not keep that woman there like that, from one day to another without getting close to her...

When she returned from deportation, my grandmother had an even harder time. She did not say much about it. But I understood it from my father. When she returned, the children did not want her. And at home

there was this woman. She did not have a place to stay. With her husband there was nothing left. It was a disaster. She wanted to keep both children, but none wanted her. She took them but had nothing to feed them. She had no money. In the end, the boy left her for a pencil box and ran to his father. Such bitterness!... I know she did not talk about it. It was a disaster for a woman. You can imagine, the family destroyed and the children who do not want you anymore! They want that woman that was not their mother, but took care of them while she was deported.

Annex 3

Ana Szucs (Romania)⁷¹:

I was born on August 4th 1949. In Kadevka Nicolaevka, a place I have never seen. And even if I wanted to see it, I could not. That place is not on the map.

I was not deported, I was born during the deportation of my parents. A few months before, they returned home. But the events were told by my mother, who was 18 years old at the time of the deportation. Before being deported she studied at a school of nuns.

After she got pregnant, my mother could not work in the mine and was left to work in the kitchen. It was interpreted as a benevolence gesture-by her, and by the others from camp. About the effects of deportation, as her daughter I could say that if my mother had not been deported and had not met my father there-also deported from Hungary, I would not have existed.

Upon returning, it was a shock for the family to see my mother come back with an infant in her arms. My father did not want to come to Romania with my mother and me, the baby. He returned to Hungary, to his home. I do not know anything about him and I have never seen him.

Today I would say about deportation that is was like a crying valley for those who survived and a death valley for those who died.

Notes

¹ About the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (August 23rd 1939) secretly signed by the chiefs of Nazi and Soviet diplomacy, for the purpose of sharing Central and Eastern Europe between the two powers there were no public discussions until the period known as Perestroika period (1986-1991). Confessions of the victims of Stalin's decision to deport six ethnic communities because they obeyed the administration installed by Nazis on Soviet territory were also published at that time. The event happened before the end of war.

² Pierre Milza and Serge Berstein, *Istoria secolului XX. Vol. 2. Lumea între război și pace (1945-1973)*, (București: All, 1998), 77

³ It was not until 1965 that the block accusation against German ethnics from the Soviet Union was annulled, but the deportees were encouraged to remain

permanently in the deportation places. ANIC, CC base of PCR-External Affairs Department, file 4/1965, ff.30-31 (Bucharest, 14.01.1965, *Note on the hearing at Emil Bodnăraș, vice-president of the Ministers Council of RPR of Liu Fang, ambassador of the PR of China in Bucharest*)

⁴Jean-Francois Soulet, *Istoria comparată a statelor comuniste din 1945 până în zilele noastre* (Iași: Polirom, 1998), 16.

⁵ Europe for Citizens Program – Action 4, *Active European Remembrance*, Project no. 2011 – 3342/001-001, project manager Lavinia Betea

⁶ Lavinia Betea and all., *Lungul drum spre nicăieri, Germanii din România deportați în URSS* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2012); in German edition, Lavinia Betea and all., *Der weite weg ins Ungewisse, Die Deportation der Deutschen aus Rumänien in die Sowjetunion* (München: Banater Bibliothek, 2015)

⁷ ANIC, CC fond of PCR-Organizational, file 61/1945, f. 142 (Archive of the Political Bureau of CC of PMR no. 133/30. XII.1945, *Study on Germans from Romania (under all aspects)*).

⁸ Pavel Polian, *Against Their Will: The History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR* (Budapest : Central European University Press, 2003), 266

⁹ Pavel Polian, *Against Their Will: The History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR* (Budapest : Central European University Press, 2003), 293.

¹⁰ Lavinia Betea and all, *Lungul drum spre nicăieri, Germanii din România deportați în URSS* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2012),15-20.

¹¹ On the 23rd of August 1944, the Romanian army turned its weapons against former German allies. On the date of the German ethnic's deportation, Romanian troupes were fighting on the West front next to the Soviets. However, numerous German ethnics from Romania enrolled in the beginning of war, being active combatants in the German army at the time of their home relative's deportation.

¹² Ticu Constantin, „Memoria socială: cadru de definire și modele de analiză”, *Revista de Psihologie Socială*, 7(2001):140

¹³ Tvetan Todorov, *Memoria răului, ispita binelui. O analiză a secolului* (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2002), 28.

¹⁴ Frederic le Paumier and Marisa Zavalloni, *Memoire collective et systeme identitaire: de Maurice Halbwachs a l'ego-ecologie*” in *La memoire sociale. Identites et Representations Sociales*, ed.Sylvain Laurens and Nicolas Roussiau (Rennes: Presses Unniversitaires de Rennes, 1997), 63-73.

¹⁵ Tvetan Todorov, *Memoria răului, ispita binelui. O analiză a secolului* (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2002), 28.

¹⁶ I mention that all quotes from the answers of the interviewed are reproduced after audio and video recordings we made.

¹⁷ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany) recorded by Lavinia Betea.

¹⁸ The story of Alois Weill (Romania) registered by Mărgărit Pițurescu and Alexandra Ungur.

¹⁹ The story of Stefan Mlynararzek (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea

²⁰ Accurate information were provided by: Walter Tonta (Germany), historian, Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), author of four memoir books about deportation and Anton Ignat Fischer, Roman-Catholic priest and president of the Association of Former Deportees from Romania in the USSR.

²¹ The story of Ignat Bernhardt Fischer (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea

²² The German Democrat Forum from Reșița was the indicated partner in the project with the role of identifying former German ethnics deported in the USSR

that live in Romania. In the noted situation, the research extended to other places in the country.

²³ The story of Maria Ferenschutz (Germany), recorded by Lavinia Betea.

²⁴ The story of Rounald Wiest (Romania), registered by Cristina Nistor.

²⁵ Although I had a translator at my disposal, some of the former deportees admitted in the nursing homes from Germany, from Casa Adam Muller Guttenbrun nursing home from Timișoara and its subsidiary from Sântana (Arad) refused the interview, motivating that they do not know how to speak Romanian anymore.

²⁶ The story of Karina Reinert (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.

²⁷ The story of Erika Renz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.

²⁸ The story of Ignat Bernhardt Fischer (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea.

²⁹ The story of Rita Peter (Romania), registered by Darina Mariș.

³⁰ The story of Rozalia Buttinger (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea.

³¹ Michel Hansenne, *Psychologie de la personnalité*, De Boeck Université, 2006, p. 162.

³² The story of Ana Mikowz (Romania), registered by Mădălina Păunescu.

³³ The story of Ana Szucs (Romania), registered by Andrada Bejan.

³⁴ Vladimir, I. Propp, *Morfologia basmului* (Buharesti: Univers, 1970, 78-79).

³⁵ Jody C. Dill, Craig A. Anderson, „Effects of Frustration Justification on Hostile Aggression”, *Aggressive Behavior*, 21 (1995) : 359–369

³⁶ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.

³⁷ The story of Matilda Jica, born Ehlinger (Romania), registered by Florin-Răzvan Mihai.

³⁸ The story of Rozalia Buttinger (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea.

³⁹ The story of Rozalia Buttinger (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea.

⁴⁰ The story of Hans Bohn (Germany), registered by Ilarion Țiu.

⁴¹ The story of Ignat Bernhardt Fischer (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea.

⁴² The story of Barbara Klug (Romania), registered by Cristina Diac.

⁴³ The story of Rita Peter (Romania), registered by Darina Mariș.

⁴⁴ The story of Elisabeth Glassman, married Maltry (Romania), registered by Florin-Răzvan Mihai.

⁴⁵ The story of Ianos Krccsmar (Romania), registered by Cristina Diac and Florin Răzvan Mihai.

⁴⁶ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.

⁴⁷ “Horea Cloșca and Crișan” and „Tudor Vladimirescu” divisions were constituted by Romanian war prisoners on the Soviet territory in the Fall of 1943.

⁴⁸ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.

⁴⁹ The story of Ecaterina Coman, born Klein (Romania), registered by Cristina Diac.

⁵⁰ The story of Elisabeth Glassman, born Maltry (Romania), registered by Florin-Răzvan Mihai.

⁵¹ The story of Ecaterina Coman, born Klein (Romania), registered by Cristina Diac.

⁵² The story of Maria Asembrener (Romania) registered by Alexandra Șandru.

⁵³ The story of Elisabeth Glassman, born Maltry (Romania), registered by Florin-Răzvan Mihai.

⁵⁴ The story of Iuliana Becker, born Weber (Germany), registered by Florin-Răzvan Mihai and Cristina Diac.

⁵⁵ The story of Ignat Bernhardt Fischer (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea.

⁵⁶ The paper *Cadrede sociale ale memoriei* published by Maurice Halbwachs in 1925 fundaments the study of social memory from a psycho-sociological perspective.

- ⁵⁷ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.
- ⁵⁸ The story of Hans Bohn (Germany), registered by Ilarion Țiu.
- ⁵⁹ The story of Ecaterina Coman, born Klein (Romania), registered by Cristina Diac.
- ⁶⁰ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.
- ⁶¹ The story of Ecaterina Coman, born Klein (Romania), registered by Cristina Diac.
- ⁶² The story of Elena Becker (Romania), registered by Paula Vesa.
- ⁶³ The story of Emanuella-Luisa Schneider Kevelaer (Germania).
- ⁶⁴ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.
- ⁶⁵ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.
- ⁶⁶ The story of Rozalia Buttinger (Romania), registered by Lavinia Betea.
- ⁶⁷ The story of Anton Ferenschutz (Germany), registered by Lavinia Betea.
- ⁶⁸ The story of Matilda Jica, born Ehlinger (Romania), registered by Florin-Răzvan Mihai.
- ⁶⁹ Story registered by Florin-Răzvan Mihai.
- ⁷⁰ Story registered by Lavinia Betea.
- ⁷¹ Story registered by Andrada Bejan.

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