

===== Csongor Jánosi =====

/// *Transylvanian Hungarian dissent in the 1980s*

**Forms of expression: samizdat, individual attitude,
underground scientific circle¹**

I would begin the present study with a definition and an ascertainment. First of all, who can be considered a dissident? According to Roy Medvedev, a dissident is a person who disagrees with the ideological, political, economic and moral foundations of a given society, but beyond sharing different views, he/she also expresses this publicly, that is, not just in the family or among close friends.² How could we characterise the people with different opinions in Romanian society in the 1980s? It seems that the Éva Cseke-Gyimesi's³ definitions are the closest to the truth, since we are talking about conscious resistance fighters (lone or in groups), opponents who cannot be labelled as 'innocent' people or 'victims,' as they voluntarily committed themselves to a certain view of the world, belief, religion and assumed the consequences of their opinions and actions. These included surveillance, intercepted

1 == The present article is a revised and improved translation of the material appeared in Romanian language as Jánosi, 'Disidența maghiară ardeleană în anii 1980: Forme de exprimare: samizdat, atitudine individuală, cerc științific subteran'.

2 == Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev (1925), Russian human rights activist, dissident, political writer. In this topic see Medvedev and Shriver, *Let History Judge*; Medvedev, Ostellino, and Saunders, *On Soviet Dissent*, passim.

3 == Éva Cseke-Gyimesi (1945–2011), linguist, university professor, literary critic and writer, a staunch defender of the Transylvanian Hungarian's minority rights. About her activity, see the researches carried out in the COURAGE project—*Cultural Opposition: Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries*—financed by the European Union within the Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under grant agreement No. 692919. More precisely COURAGE Registry, s.v. 'Éva Cseke-Gyimesi Collection at BCU Cluj-Napoca,' <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n25187> (Access on 22 August 2022); and COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Éva Cseke-Gyimesi Ad-hoc Collection at CNSAS," <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n45705> (Access on 22 August 2022).

calls, home searches, banned publications, disciplinary measures, dismissal from institutions and, in certain cases, physical violence and even imprisonment. All this was done with an awareness that the most they could accomplish was to continuously draw attention to the violation of rights in the given dictatorship.⁴

The Transylvanian Hungarian civic opposition began with a study by Sándor Tóth⁵ and Zádor Tordai⁶ entitled 'Jelentés Erdélyből' [Report from Transylvania], published as an appendix to the March/April 1977 issue of *Irodalmi Újság* from Paris, which exposed the minority conditions in Romania to the Western public.⁷ This was followed later in the year by the petitions of Károly Király,⁸ Lajos Takács⁹ and András Sütő,¹⁰ who were familiar with Party politics from the inside. The most comprehensive initiative was undoubtedly the 62-page document of 25 May 1978, entitled 'Malomkövek között: Levél a román értelmiségiekhez' [Between Millstones: Letter to Romanian intellectuals], signed anonymously, for fear of retribution, by 62 people, many of whom are still unknown. The copy sent to Hungary led to action of the Secret Services, but the version sent to the United States through Király was submitted by Congress as an official document.¹¹

4 = = See Cs. Gyimesi, *Szem a láncban*, 31.

5 = = Sándor Tóth (1919–2011), Hungarian philosopher, university professor. He lived most of his life in Romania. From 1949, he worked at the Bolyai University in Cluj and, after the merger, at the Babeş-Bolyai University. In 1988, he moved to Hungary, continuing his work as a professor at the Institute of Sociology of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. See from his work Tóth, *Dicsőséges kudarcaink a diktatúra korszakából*, passim.

6 = = Zádor Tordai (1924–2010), Transylvanian Hungarian philosopher, Kossuth Prize-winning writer. In 1960, he moved to Hungary and worked as a staff member of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. See Tordai, *Egyszertencia és valóság*, passim.

7 = = The writing was also noticed by the American Hungarian emigres. See 'Megszólaltak az erdélyi magyarok,' 1.; Gellért, 'A kisebbségi elnyomás új dimenziói,' 1, 4.

8 = = Károly Király (1930–2021), Transylvanian Hungarian politician, economist, journalist. His Romanian secret service materials are rather incomplete and contain mostly wiretapping documents and street reports from the interval 1983–1987. See File no. 203543, vol. 1–3, passim, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania; furthermore Király Ibolya, *Emlék-repeszek*, passim; Király Károly, *Nyílt kártyákkal I*, passim.

9 = = Lajos Takács (1908–1982), Transylvanian Hungarian lawyer, the last rector of Bolyai University in Cluj, communist politician. See from his work Demeter et al., *A Román Népköztársaság alkotmánya*, passim.

10 = = András Sütő (1927–2006), Transylvanian Hungarian writer, journalist, dramatist, politician. See *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R.*, 553.; Sütő, *Létvégi hajrában*, passim; Idem, *Csipkerózsika ébresztése*, passim.

11 = = On the subject, see Király Ibolya, 'Egy tiltakozó beadvány,' 105–110; Kósa, 'Malomkövek között,' 47–70.; Vincze, *Történeti kényszerpályák*, 362–366.

On a political level, despite the positive results of the Hungarian–Romanian meeting in Debrecen–Oradea in 1977, bilateral relations were drowned in press polemics correctly interpreted by the general public in the years that followed.¹² The ineffectiveness of Hungarian party and state leadership in relation to Ceaușescu's nationality policy in the early 80s naturally contributed to tougher manifestations of Transylvanian Hungarian civil dissidence outside Party structures, and which, in addition to individual opposition,¹³ primarily took the form of activities of small groups of intellectuals, who operated in several locations in Transylvania and in Bucharest.

This study deals with the most vocal dissidents in terms of human rights in the Ceaușescu dictatorship. I will argue, firstly, that the case of the Oradea-based samizdat publication known as *Ellenpontok*, following its authors' acquittal, became the turning point for the cultural opposition activities carried out by the linguist Cseke-Gyimesi and the poet Géza Szőcs¹⁴ (both from Cluj), the Limes Circle and the *Kiáltó Szó* samizdat from Cluj. Secondly, they integrated into a natural evolutionary process, and by means of the example they provided, they encouraged civic resistance among the Hungarian minority intelligentsia in Romania. These cases correspond to Kacper Szulecki's ideal-typical model of dissidentism and the 'dissident triangle', which encompasses three factors that allow for dissidentism: 1. open, legal, non-violent dissent, facing repression; 2. domestic infamy and fame; 3. Western attention, transnational ties and empowerment from outside.¹⁵

This paper is more a descriptive text on the dissidents of Transylvania than an analysis of the above-mentioned topic. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, analysis leading to general conclusions cannot take precedence over accurate knowledge of the facts. So, I preferred a limited summary of the hitherto unknown documents of the Romanian secret services about the actors understood so far according to their professional activities, according to the memoirs they wrote or through the public roles they engaged in. Secondly, being involved in a regional research (regarding Harghita county) partial results regarding local dissent push me in the direction of not drawing broad conclusions at this time.

The approach is overwhelmingly based on the information files drawn up by the former Securitate about people involved in opposition actions, studied at the

12 == Földes, 'A román nemzetiségpolitikai hátraarc,' 82–92.

13 == Here we include the life itinerary of the actor Árpád Visky, who was in close friendship with contemporary Hungarian poets and writers socialized in the intellectual environment of Cluj. See Jánosi, 'Erdélyi magyar disszidencia,' 45–83.

14 == Géza István Szőcs (1953–2020), Kossuth Prize and József Attila Prize winner Transylvanian Hungarian poet, dissident, politician. See Szőcs and Farkas Wellmann, *Amikor fordul az ezred*, passim.

15 == See Szulecki, *Dissidents in Communist Central Europe*, passim.

National Council for the Study of Security Archives (CNSAS), namely Antal Károly Tóth, Géza Szócs, Éva Cseke-Gyimesi, Gusztáv Molnár and Sándor Balázs, and is to a lesser extent based on oral history interviews conducted with some of them, as well as on memoirs.

= = = The samizdat *Ellenpontok* from 1982

One of the most important questions we should ask is: why did this underground magazine appear in Oradea? This required several circumstances, and one very important one was the existence of the Endre Ady Literary Circle in the locality, whose events represented an opportunity to discuss the works of local writers and authors. Moreover, such meetings also offered the possibility of inviting prominent intellectuals and cultural figures from the Hungarian community, who gave presentations about their field of activity to an often 100-strong audience. Philosopher Attila Ara-Kovács¹⁶ and secondary school teacher Antal Károly Tóth¹⁷ also attended these events. The latter, as president of the Endre Ady Literary Circle in 1976–1978, helped to organise the events and activities of the Circle, which had to respect the rules of the local authorities.¹⁸ The experience encouraged Tóth to become more and more involved in public life and, from 1979, to ‘radicalize’.¹⁹ However, before February 1982, this attitude was manifested only through actions that were limited

16 = = Attila Ara-Kovács (1953–), philosopher, politician, journalist and editor. On 26 April 1978 the Oradea Securitate opened a file under the cover ‘Bastionul’ (Bastion) with the aim of keeping under surveillance the members of the Endre Ady Literary Circle. Here we also find data about the person tracked under the code name ‘Kos’. See File no. 210560, vol. 1: 27 (front back); vol. 2: 200; vol. 5: 12, 15–16; vol. 6: 9–31, 184–186 (front back), 232, 265, 362–363; vol. 7: 1–6, 10–15, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania; Attila Ara-Kovács’ blog, ‘Diplomáciai jegyzet: Rólam (Diplomatic note: About me),’ <https://arakovacs.wixsite.com/jegyzet/rolam> (Access on 25 August 2022).

17 = = Antal Károly Tóth (1942–), Transylvanian Hungarian essayist, editor, dissident. In the seven-volume ‘Bastionul’ surveillance file, his name was only included in 1979, but he eventually became the main figure. Until their emigration in July 1984, the Tóth family was under constant surveillance by the Securitate. After the emigration, the political police monitored the lives of those involved in the case as well as the contacts maintained with family members at home in the framework of the operational plan bearing the cover name ‘Oponentii-83’ (Opponents 1983). See File no. 210560, vol. 1–7, passim, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

18 = = See Gittai and Szűcs, *Péntek esti szabadságunk*, 116–147.

19 = = In December 1979, together with his wife, Tóth initiated and participated in a series of events referred to as the ‘circle explosion,’ which resulted in the dismissal of Róbert L. Nagy, the leader of the Endre Ady Literary Circle, on grounds of the latter’s unprincipled compliance with the cultural authorities. At the same time, they managed to make the authorities approve the change—a victory for circle members—which meant that from then on, the literary circle was administered by a board of directors. Interview with Antal Károly Tóth and Ilona Tóth.

to the legal framework of the era, that is, to memoirs of protest without success addressed to the Party leadership.²⁰

The second important component was the lack of a Hungarian-language cultural magazine in Oradea, such as *Korunk* (Cluj-Napoca) or *Igaz Szó* (Târgu Mureş). At the joint initiative of the leader of the Literary Round Table in Oradea, Sándor Bölöni,²¹ chemical engineer Gábor Varga²² and journalist Imre Robotos, a motion was submitted to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party as well as to the Writers' Union in Bucharest, requesting authorisation to establish an independent journal. Assuming they might be rejected, they came up with a second alternative, specifically that the proposed cultural magazine should be created in the form of a supplement (or 'sister paper') to the Romanian cultural and literary magazine *Familia*. This initiative enjoyed support from the members of the Endre Ady Literary Circle. Furthermore, the Tóth family took part in the nationwide effort to collect signatures, which involved travelling to various places (Cluj-Napoca, Baia Mare, Satu Mare, Carei, Valea lui Mihai, Săcueni) and asking local public figures to support the cause.²³ Tóth's radical position should be mentioned. On 5 April 1981, in Cluj-Napoca, at the meeting of the editors of the youth sections of the county's Hungarian-language newspapers, speaking about the topics to be addressed in the youth sections, he stated that 'they pretend they do not know about the most important problems, namely that of Hungarian-language schools, which are always decreasing in number, although the official version is different'. He believed journalists should primarily focus on this issue and on the chances of self-fulfilment of Hungarian youth in Romania.²⁴

20 = = On 27 November 1979, as a teacher at School no. 1 on Cluj Street in Oradea, Tóth addressed a memorandum of protest to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Ministry of Education and the Bihor County School Inspectorate, in which he drew the attention on the unpaid salaries covering the summer exam session at his former working place (School no. 7 on Griviței Street). In a motion submitted earlier, he had raised the deplorable state of the surrounded castle in Oradea and the partial destruction of the moat. See File no. 210560, vol. 1: 158–163, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania; Tóth, Károly Antal, *Hovátovább*, 17–21.

21 = = Sándor Bölöni (1939–1982), Transylvanian Hungarian journalist, translator, literary organizer. About his activity from 1978 to 1982, until his suicide, see the documents of the political police: File no. 625167, vol. 1–3, passim, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

22 = = Gábor Varga (1948–), Transylvanian Hungarian chemical engineer, politician, dramatist. About his pursuit by the Securitate between 1971–1987, see File 123357, vol. 1–6, passim, Fond Informativ; File no. 1108, passim, Fond Penal, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

23 = = Interview with Antal Károly Tóth and Ilona Tóth; File no. 210560, vol. 1: 254–262 (front back), Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

24 = = See the address no. 0031973 of 18 May 1981 of the Timiș County Securitate Inspectorate to the Bihor County Securitate Inspectorate. File no. 210560, vol. 2: 126, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

The lack of effectiveness of motions and letters of protest, the failure of Transylvanian Hungarian cultural leaders invited to the Endre Ady Literary Circle to provide answers to concrete problems faced by the Hungarian minority (the role of minority as a ‘bridge’, the importance of individual responsibility), led to the search for other forms of expression—samizdat, the product of a handcuffed society. In February 1982, Attila Ara-Kovács, member of the directory board of the Literary Circle, spoke to the Tóths about his plan to launch an underground paper that would carry the name *Ellenpontok*. He had already mentioned this to the Cluj-based poet Géza Szócs as well as to János Molnár,²⁵ a Reformed priest serving at that time in Tămașda (Bihar County). Both Szócs and Molnár promised to offer active support. At that time Tóth still believed that he had not entirely exhausted the possibilities of legal action. However, his wife Ilona’s positive reception of the idea of a samizdat and the Romanian writer Ion Lăncrănjan’s book *Cuvînt despre Transilvania* [A word about Transylvania], written in a hostile tone towards Hungarians, eventually convinced him to become involved in the project.²⁶

The actual editing work of the samizdat began in February 1982.²⁷ For the most part, the texts were acquired by Ara-Kovács with the help of his own contacts. Apart from editing and reproduction, the Oradea-based editors also undertook the distribution of the magazine both in Oradea and in Hungary (by lending the paper to different people). Géza Szócs agreed to distribute the samizdat mainly in Cluj-Napoca and Târgu Mureș.²⁸ The basic concept behind was to openly discuss the everyday life conditions of the Hungarian community. Ara-Kovács wrote a text conveying a general message, which appeared on the second page of each edition, the first half of which could also be interpreted as an *ars poetica*: ‘COUNTERPOINTS is a samizdat magazine. It is issued occasionally. Its purpose is to spread knowledge about the deprivation of human rights in Eastern and Central Europe, and, more particularly, about the political, economic, cultural oppression of Transylvanian Hungarians.’ The paper had been inspired by Hungarian and Polish samizdat publications existing at the time. Although its creation was justified by the need to defend ethnic interests, it aimed to achieve more than that by high-

25 == János Molnár (1949–), Transylvanian Hungarian reformed theologian, church writer, poet and prose writer. About his activity see Molnár, *Szigorúan ellenőrzött evangélium*, passim.

26 == Interview with Antal Károly Tóth and Ilona Tóth.

27 == The private collection in Gothenburg owned by the Tóth family comprises the most comprehensive materials related to the Hungarian-language underground magazine. See COURAGE Registry, s.v. ‘Ellenpontok—Tóth Private Collection,’ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n55720> (Access on 25 August 2022.).

28 == Interview with Géza István Szócs.

lighting the inhuman character and destructive nature of communist ideology, at the same time displaying sympathy with the Romanian opposition. The first six issues were reproduced in five copies with the help of a typewriter secretly acquired from Hungary. Since the machine was not registered with the Militia, identification by letter type was not possible. The first five issues were edited by Ara-Kovács and Ilona Tóth helped with the reproduction. The sixth edition was typed and edited by Antal Károly Tóth. The seventh and eighth issues were reproduced by the Tóths in 50 copies in their underground flat, using stencil paper and a Polish 'ramka' duplicator. Published in January 1983, the ninth edition was the work of Attila Ara-Kovács, who, after the events of November–December 1982, made sure that the articles included in the last edition reach Hungary.²⁹

For the most part, the nine editions can be considered thematic in that they focus on the situation and the specific problems faced by the Hungarian minority in Romania. Their length varied between 14 and 56 pages. The articles were organised under columns such as 'Documents,' 'On this Side of Censorship' and 'Reportedly'.³⁰ András Keszthelyi,³¹ who at the time was a student in Cluj, also contributed to the edition of the latter column, which was dedicated to news that could not be published officially. The eight issues published in the span of March to October 1982 feature a total of 65 articles on 293 typed pages. This number grew with the ninth edition, which counted 24 pages. One third of the texts consisted of documentary material and articles borrowed from foreign publications. More than half (almost two-thirds) of the articles consisted of first publications by Transylvanian authors.³²

Given the limited number of copies, *Ellenpontok* did not owe its wide reach to local distribution. It was mostly due to the Hungarian opposition, the Hungarian emigration press, the Western media and primarily Radio Free Europe, which in November–December 1982 broadcast the texts of both the 'Memorandum' and the 'Programme Proposal' on multiple occasions, which even reached the participants of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Madrid, triggering open international criticism against Romania, contributing to the isolation of the Ceaușescu regime. Although the Securitate's interventions in November–December 1982 were followed by investigations which led to the 'acquittal' of the editorial team

29 == See Tóth and Tóth, *Egy szamizdat az életünkben*, 36–67.

30 == See Tóth, *Ellenpontok*, passim; Interview with Antal Károly Tóth and Ilona Tóth.

31 == András Keszthelyi (1961), political scientist and political advisor. See Keszthelyi, 'Széjjegyzetek egy évfordulóhoz,' 23.

32 == See Tóth, *Hova-tovább*, 52–53.

of *Ellenpontok* in May 1983, the experience did not have a reassuring effect on the editors who eventually chose to emigrate.³³

Crucially, the clandestine magazine ‘independently published’ in 1982 dared to defy official ideology and ‘break the wall of silence.’ Its editors proved that thinking differently was possible even in Romania amidst the escalation of repressive measures and that it was not only the solitary hero who could represent the opposition.³⁴ The fact that the system, thanks to the influence of international public opinion, failed to subject the samizdat editors to criminal proceedings, made it possible for *Ellenpontok*—beginning in the mid-1980s—to serve as a reference, strengthening civil courage among the Hungarian minority in Romania.

= = = Minority intellectual life. The activity of university professor Éva Cseke-Gyimesi and poet Géza Szócs in the mid-1980s

As a staff member at the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature of the Faculty of Philology of Babeş-Bolyai University, Éva Cseke-Gyimesi was assigned in 1977 the position of teaching Transylvanian Hungarian literature. The study of the original sources (newspapers, periodicals, secondary literature) from the interwar period radicalised her attitude towards the dictatorship at a particular time when the number of annually admitted Hungarian students to the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature was declining. This came as a direct result of the system of so-called ‘relocation’ at the end of university studies, which meant a two to three-year assignment to a compulsory workplace in Romania. This applied to all graduates, regardless of ethnic origin, but what discouraged Hungarian graduates was the hypothetical ‘relocation’ to a place beyond the Carpathian Mountains, outside their familiar milieu of Transylvania.³⁵ In this context, she

33 = = The *Ellenpontok* Ad-hoc Collection stored in the CNSAS Archives comprises, beside the records of the Securitate, the written evidences of the system-criticizing activity of the samizdat editors and their struggle against the violation of human rights and ethnic oppression. See COURAGE Registry, s.v. ‘*Ellenpontok* Ad-hoc Collection at CNSAS,’ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n39270> (Access on 26 August 2022).

34 = = Molnár, *Az Egyetlen*, 5.

35 = = The term ‘relocation’—the act of assigning a professional job to university graduates requires some explanation. Prior to 1989 university graduates in Romania were assigned to a working place by the Ministry of Education through a centralized system. The position assigned as a result of ‘relocation’ could not be abandoned by the freshly graduated student for three years in the majority of cases, otherwise the respective person could not continue working in his/her field. Quite often this led to the destruction of projected marriages, as the future husband and wife to be could not get a place together, unless they were already married before the ‘relocation.’

began giving lectures that were devoid of myths and ideological connotations. Her lectures began to attract Hungarian students from other faculties as well.³⁶ For her, the publication of the samizdat *Ellenpontok* brought a decisive turn in 1982. When in December that year one of the editors, poet Géza Szőcs, returned home with a plastered leg, Gyimesi initiated a fund-raising action at the Cluj branch of the Writers' Union.³⁷ Not long after, on 17 May 1983, she was questioned by the Securitate about *Ellenpontok* and its editors, and on this occasion she 'confessed' that she agreed with the samizdat's contents.³⁸

She was considered the 'moral author' of the petitions addressed by the graduates of the 1983 class of the Hungarian section of the Faculty of Philology to the Ministry of Education and the Central Committee (CC) of the RCP, in which they protested against the relocations beyond the Carpathian Mountains. The petition was personally sent by Gyimesi through Gusztáv Molnár³⁹ from Bucharest, to be delivered to 'a comrade secretary of the CC of the RCP'.⁴⁰ The graduates' complaints regarding the free places proposed by the ministry began on the first day after they were posted, namely on 3 July 1983, when they drew up and submitted to the Secretary of State Iuliu Furo (Furó Gyula)⁴¹ a collective petition entitled 'Contestation,' signed by each of them. The signatories asserted that all graduates were of Hungarian nationality and showed that only 8 places were offered to them in specialty 'A' (Hungarian language), the others being modern languages and in Romanian-language schools. They reasoned, further, that there were both Hungarian- and modern-language sections, the latter also in Hungarian-language schools, sections that were not declared free. In the end, they requested that the list of posi-

36 == See the proposal of the Cluj County Inspectorate of 25 August 1983 to the Directorate of State Security, the First Directorate in Bucharest, according to which on 20 August a note with a similar content was forwarded to the local party organs, proposing the removal of Gyimesi from higher education. File no. 17980, vol. 3: 56, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

37 == Cs. Gyimesi, *op. cit.*, 44–45.

38 == File no. 17980, vol. 3: 55 (front back), Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

39 == Gusztáv Molnár (1948–), philosopher, political scientist, editor. About his pursuit and relationship with the political police see File no. 64739, *passim*; File no. 236674, vol. 1–4, *passim*, Fond Informativ; File no. 11763/BH, roll 79, Fond Rețea, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

40 == The most eloquent petition regarding the 'relocation' of university graduates is the one addressed on 8 March 1988 to Viorică Nicolau, deputy minister of the Ministry of Education. See File no. 17980, vol. 1: 247–249; vol. 5: 70–73, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

41 == As a result of the minority attraction policy after 1968, from 1969 the Directorate for Nationalities in the Ministry of Education was re-established, the Hungarians being represented by two inspectors and a state secretary, in the person of Gyula Furó, who held the position in the 80s too. See Hencz, *Bucureștiul maghiar*, 204, 225.

tions initially published be amended to include places both according to the specialty in which they trained and their mother tongue. In the second petition, which they drew up on 6–7 July 1983, they noted that they were not satisfied with the answer given to their initial appeal, specifying that they could not accept the distribution according to the published list of places and requested again—unsuccessfully this time too—that their grievances be resolved favourably.⁴²

According to the information of the Securitate, the protesters were also supported by the poet Sándor Kányádi,⁴³ editor of the Cluj-Napoca magazine *Napsugár*. He had been visited by two of the graduates, who handed him a copy of their memoranda. Kányádi told them not to give in, arguing that what was being done to them was against the Party's national policy. He also urged the visitors to enlighten their parents to send letters to top Party and state leadership expressing their displeasure at the inadequate situation their children have found themselves in. The poet also tried to call Géza Domokos,⁴⁴ vice-president of the Ethnic Hungarian Workers' Council,⁴⁵ to ask him about the issue, but without success, the latter being preoccupied with an American delegation.⁴⁶

In the gloomy atmosphere following the abolition of Hungarian-language classes in elementary and secondary schools, compounded by the cancellation of the possibility of taking a degree or final exams or being admitted to universities and polytechnics in the mother tongue,⁴⁷ like in 1983 and 1984 before them, the 1985 graduates wrote a petition and, encouraged by professor Gyimesi, as a sign of protest, they did not show up on the day of the 'relocation'.⁴⁸ Following this abortive attempt, labelled 'instigation' and which later led to the emigration of

42 == File no. 17980, vol. 3: 60 (front back), Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

43 == Sándor Kányádi (1929–2018), Transylvanian Hungarian poet, prominent figure of contemporary Hungarian poetry. About his pursuit by the Securitate from the 1950s until the end of the communist regime see File no. 203447, vol. 1–10, passim, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

44 == Géza Domokos (1928–2007), Transylvanian Hungarian writer, literary translator and politician. See COURAGE Registry, s.v. 'Documentation Centre—Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities,' <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n20753> (Access on 28 August 2022).

45 == About the activity of this organ see Novák, 'The Intellectuals of Politics,' 90–115.

46 == File no. 017980, vol. 3: 61, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

47 == *Ibid*, 145–146.

48 == Hungarian students of the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, Faculty of Philology, almost exclusively opted for the specialization Hungarian paired with a foreign language, respectively, a foreign language as major paired with a minor in Hungarian language. In 1985 graduates of the department Hungarian and a foreign language (English, German, French, Russian) were offered 5 places in Transylvania (two of these in cities) and 16 positions in the other regions of Romania, all of them in the severely deprived countryside. *Ibid*, 136–144.

the majority of the year, Gyimesi confronted not the Securitate, but the leadership of his own university, with the vice-rector Nicolae Edroiu, with the Party secretary of the university Vasile Vesa, respectively with the dean of the Faculty of Philology, Georgeta Andreescu.⁴⁹

In 1983, Gyimesi published her book *Teremtett világ: Rendhagyó bevezetés az irodalomba* [Created World: An Unorthodox Introduction to Literature], which, due to its non-conformism—the principles reflected in the book being incompatible with the official ideology—made it very well known even in Hungary. Being widely popular professionally made the communist authorities refrain from harassing her, and they limited any countermeasures against her, including public criticism of her work. However, she found herself in the situation where, from 1986, all publishing houses in Romania refused to print her works.⁵⁰

Ellenpontok, like a red line, divided Géza Szócs' life in two: before⁵¹ and after 1982.⁵² After the samizdat case had been closed, the poet stayed in Romania, but for quite a long while he was unemployed and faced existential difficulties. The Securitate followed up on Géza Szócs's persecution with an operational plan with the cover name 'Oponenții-83'. They subjected him to regular interrogations and made him write declarations. Coordinated from Bucharest, the Cluj-Napoca Securitate sought to compromise him under the cover-name of 'Sabău' by means of moral discrediting—inter alia, by letters forged in his name and sent abroad, in which he supposedly declared the problem of nationalities in Romania as solved—as well as by discouragement and isolation both in and outside the country. On 26 June 1985, they searched his parents' house and on 1 October, they conducted a search in his home as well. From time to time, they approved the publication of his works in order to use this as a compromise made with the government. His employment as a researcher at the Cluj-Napoca Institute of Literary History and Linguistics as of May 1985 also divided the Hungarian

49 == Cs. Gyimesi, *op. cit.*, 57–58.

50 == *Ibid*, 62.

51 == He graduated the Faculty of Philology, Hungarian-Russian specialization, within the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca in 1978. His first volume of poems, entitled *Te mentél át a vízen?* [Was it you who crossed the water?] and published in 1975 instantly earned him a place in the frontline of his generation's and the Hungarian poetry in Romania. In his poems he touched upon the major issues of the oppressed Hungarian minority with ever increasing clarity, and his subsequent volumes brought him fame in the universal Hungarian literature as well. See File no. 160234, vol. 3: 236–237 (front back); vol. 4: 50 (front back); vol. 5: 385–388; vol. 6: 211–244, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

52 == About the monitoring of the poet from Cluj since the late 1970s, as well as about his harassment and tracking during the 1980s, see the volumes of the informative files with the code name 'Sabău'. File no. 160234, vol. 1–16, *passim*, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

intellectual elite in Cluj-Napoca.⁵³ Apart from being continuously shadowed, his correspondence was intercepted and his foreign telephone conversations were—as his number was connected directly to the call centre—always interrupted. Moreover, they regularly changed his number without him knowing, in order to make him unavailable.⁵⁴ Dated 2 December 1985, his letter to Ara-Kovács in Budapest conveys his state of isolation and daily humiliation, at the same time denying allegations of his agent activity: ‘I have become aware of the fact that whatever I say makes me a scoundrel, and my silence makes me a scoundrel, too.’⁵⁵

However, Szócs continued his dissident activity. First, on 14 July 1984, he addressed a 14-page petition to the Central Committee of the RCP, in which he pleaded for the rights of the Hungarian minority and also for the rights of the Germans.⁵⁶ In this petition, in the spirit of ‘political morality and humanism’, he pleaded for the political convicts’ philosophy professor Ernő Borbély, as well as economist László Buzás, who were just serving sentences of 7 and 6 years respectively. The reason for their conviction was not made public, but since their arrests took place on 23 November 1982 and 25 February 1983 respectively, public opinion had it that they were related to the appearance of the samizdat *Ellenpontok*—which was not in fact true.⁵⁷ ‘In this context, their conviction would overshadow the immense generosity with which the case of the editors of *Ellenpontok* was finally closed’, wrote Szócs.⁵⁸

On 10 February 1985, Szócs finalised the proposal for the creation of a world alliance of minorities. A few days later, on 15 February, in Bucharest, the writer Dorin Tudoran⁵⁹ joined him and signed the proposal, as did the economist and politician Károly Király, on 27 March 1985 in Târgu Mureş. In April, Szócs submitted another petition to the Central Committee of the RCP, dated 28 March 1985, to which he also attached the signed proposal regarding the creation of a world alliance of minorities. The petition represented not only an organised action, but also a joint Hungarian–Romanian demonstration. Later, the material also reached Radio Free Europe and became the subject of articles in the Western press.⁶⁰

53 == File no. 160234, vol. 3: 78, 84, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

54 == *Ibid*, volume 4: 13 (front back).

55 == *Ibid*, volume 1: 106.

56 == *Ibid*, 124–137, 372–373 (front back).

57 == About this chapter of the Transylvanian Hungarian civil opposition see Borbély, *Academia politică de la Aiud*, passim.

58 == File no. 160234, vol. 4: 137, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

59 == Dorin Tudoran (1945–), Romanian essayist, poet, journalist, dissident. From his work see Tudoran, *De bună voie*, passim.

60 == File 160234, vol. 5: 71–79, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania; Szócs and Farkas Wellmann, *op. cit.*, 61–70.

Finally, Szócs reached the conclusion that although it was possible to live (as one should) in Romania, carrying out an intellectual activity was impossible, and, eventually opting for emigration, he left the country on 31 August 1986.⁶¹ Up to the change of regime the Securitate closely monitored his professional and public activity, especially his interviews and speeches related to Romania in various forums and radio broadcasts. They were aware of his excellent contacts with Western Hungarian immigrants and knew that, on 5 May 1987, he was interviewed by the US Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee about the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, Romania. He gave several interviews to Radio Free Europe and it was he who, on 16 June 1989, presented on live broadcast the reburial ceremony of former Prime Minister Imre Nagy. According to the state security archives, his correspondence and phone calls to relatives based in Romania were intercepted, messages delivered through intermediaries and packages were checked. They tried to learn his intentions, control and 'positively influence' him through agent provocateurs, and, in parallel to this, as they wanted to keep up the appearance of him being a Securitate agent, measures were taken, with the help of the informant network and Department D in Bucharest in charge of disinformation, to compromise him in the eye of the world. As a 'precautionary' measure, they subjected his family members and friends to close supervision and occasionally issued warnings to these people and to foreign citizens visiting the country, whom they suspected of carrying out courier missions on his behalf.⁶²

=== The Limes Circle (1985–1987)

The years 1985–1987 are linked with the Limes Circle, which was a sort of debate club for authors denied the right to publish, an inspiring community that provided a public stage and feedback to marginalised intellectuals. The circle was formed under the leadership of the editor of *Kriterion* from Bucharest, the philosopher and political scientist Gusztáv Molnár. In the summer of 1985, he came to the conclusion that, according to the ideology of the Party, they wanted to completely transform the publishing house, in the sense that standalone values in the publishing plan were no longer tolerated, as had happened at the magazine *Korunk*, led

61 == He first emigrated to the German Federal Republic, then to Switzerland. Between 1986–1989 he worked as a journalist in Geneva, and later, between 1989–1990 he held the position of head of the Radio Free Europe's Budapest office. See Géza Szócs's blog page, <http://szocsgeza.eu/hu/> (Access on 28 August 2022).

62 == See File no. 160234, vol. 1: 16–25; vol. 13: 20–25, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

by Győző Rácz.⁶³ Molnár eventually initiated the establishment of a creative community of people, who were his friends and with whom he had been in contact as a publisher for years. The members of the Circle included, among other people, Béla Bíró,⁶⁴ Gáspár Bíró,⁶⁵ Éva Cseke-Gyimesi, Péter Cseke,⁶⁶ Sándor Balázs,⁶⁷ Sándor N. Szilágyi,⁶⁸ Károly Vekov,⁶⁹ Ernő Fábián,⁷⁰ Levente Salat,⁷¹ Csaba Lőrincz⁷² and Imre Pászka.⁷³

During its existence of a year and a half, this community produced about 900 pages. Its members proved to be viable and creative, with their texts published in the 1980s becoming part of the process in which Hungarian intellectuals in Roma-

63 == Győző Rácz (1935–1989), Transylvanian Hungarian philosopher, essayist, literary critic, publisher, university professor. Between 1971–1983 he was deputy editor-in-chief of *Korunk* magazine, from October 1984 being appointed editor-in-chief, replacing Ernő Gáll. His behavior in this position was marked by complete loyalty to the party. See Kántor, 'Birtok és hatalom,' <https://www.helikon.ro/bejegyzesek/birtok-es-hatalom> (Access on 29 August 2022.).

64 == Béla Bíró (1947–), Transylvanian Hungarian journalist. See personal sheet, File no. 0236674, vol. 1: 120 (front back), Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

65 == Gáspár Fazekas Bíró (1958), Transylvanian Hungarian lawyer. *Ibid*, 119.

66 == Péter Cseke (1945–), Transylvanian Hungarian literary historian, journalist, poet, sociographer, university professor. See Cseke and Molnár, *Nem lehet*, passim.

67 == Sándor Balázs (1928–2022), Transylvanian Hungarian philosopher, university professor. About his monitoring by the Securitate, see the informative surveillance file with code name 'The Sociologist': File no. 161638, vol. 1–3, passim, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

68 == Sándor N. Szilágyi (1948–), Transylvanian Hungarian linguist, editor, publicist, university professor. From his scientific activity see Szilágyi, *Mi-egy-más*, passim.

69 == Károly Vekov (1947–2020), Transylvanian Hungarian historian, university professor and politician. From his scientific activity see Vekov, *Istoriografia maghiară*, passim.

70 == Ernő Fábián (1934–2001), Transylvanian Hungarian pedagogue, philosopher, critic. From his scientific activity see Fábián, *Naplójegyzetek*, passim.

71 == Levente Salat-Zakariás (1957–), Transylvanian Hungarian essayist, specialist in philosophy and political science, university professor. From his scientific activity see Salat, *Kulturális megosztottság*, passim.

72 == Csaba Lőrincz (1959–2008), publicist, university professor, politician. Because of his activities in the Limes Circle, he was harassed by the Securitate and as a result moved to Hungary in 1986, where he joined the political movements that preceded the change of regime. Founding member of Fidesz, expert on minorities and foreign affairs and at the same time one of the ideological authors of the Bálványos Free Summer University. About his activity see Lőrincz, *A mérték*, passim.

73 == Imre Pászka (1949–), Transylvanian Hungarian sociologist, university professor. Between 1980–1988 he was an employee of the Timișoara political daily called *Szabad Szó* [Free Word]. From his activity during that period see Pászka, *Struktúrák és közösségek*, passim.

nia formed the identity of their own community.⁷⁴ From the beginning, their debates were organised around a few strong pillars, such as: the opposition and context between Transylvaniam⁷⁵ and the Hungarian view as a whole; ideological orientation, as well as the duality of a purely theoretical, philosophical attitude; the common commitment to the liberal, popular and social-democratic tradition originating from Marxism, in addition to which a new attitude appeared in the debates, which can be called post-ideological.⁷⁶

The CNSAS files mention four meetings of the Limes Circle between 1985 and 1986: between 20–21 September 1985 in Bucharest,⁷⁷ between 2–3 November 1985 in Braşov,⁷⁸ on 3 May 1986 in Braşov,⁷⁹ on 30 August 1986 in Ilieni, Covasna County,⁸⁰ the one of 10 November 1986 from Bucharest being missing from the documents. On 6 February 1987, a meeting was held in Cluj-Napoca by order of Colonel General Iulian Vlad, with the participation of the heads of the I/B Departments concerned with ‘Hungarian nationalists’ from the counties of Cluj, Mureş, Covasna, Harghita, Bihor, Satu Mare and Timiş; of the Securitate of the Municipality of Bucharest; as well as 5 people from the profile service of the First Directorate of Bucharest, on which occasion the informative action ‘Editorul’ [The Editor] was analysed.⁸¹ Subsequently, on the next day, 7 February 1987, Gusztáv Molnár’s apartment in Bucharest was searched by local militia and several ‘materials of operative interest’⁸² were confiscated, an event that marked the end of the Limes

74 == See Fábíán, ‘A LIMES – múlt és jelen időben,’ 6–7.

75 == On the subject of Transylvaniam must be noted the manuscript from that time of Éva Cseke-Gyimesi, entitled *Gyöngy és homok: Ideológiai értékjelképek a magyar irodalomban* [Pearl and sand: ideological value-symbols in Hungarian literature], published in 1992.

76 == See Törzsök, ‘Bretter és a tanítványok,’ 19–40.

77 == Participants in the meeting: Vilmos Ágoston, Béla Bíró, Gáspár Bíró, Ernő Fábíán, Gusztáv Molnár, Károly Vekov. File no. 236674, vol. 4: 3, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

78 == Participants in the meeting: Béla Bíró, Ernő Fábíán, Gusztáv Molnár, Levente Salat. File no. 236674, vol. 3: 62–389, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

79 == Participants in the meeting: Sándor Balázs, Ernő Fábíán, Gusztáv Molnár, Károly Vekov. *Ibid.*, 58–61.

80 == Participants in the meeting: Sándor Balázs, Béla Bíró, Ernő Fábíán, Csaba Lőrincz, Gusztáv Molnár, Levente Salat. File no. 236674, vol. 4: 4–381, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

81 == See File no. 161638, vol. 1: 17, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

82 == See the minutes of the home search, as well as the supplementary note which, among other things, specified that the confiscated items ‘are subject of sorting, translation and analysis to determine their content,’ respectively that ‘control measures are ensured over the objective’s activity and his connections in Bucharest and in the country.’ See File no. 0236674, vol. 1: 13–21, 32 (front back), Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

Circle meetings. As a result, on 16 March 1987 Molnár lost his job, and on 18 April he was also expelled from the Party. On 9 April 1987, he submitted his documents for emigration, and on 30 March 1988, together with his family, he went to Hungary. Later, from November 1988, he also ended up on the black list of persons considered undesirable in Romania.⁸³ The consequences for the other members of the Circle and those who knew about its meetings were expressed especially in the work collectives, in the form of reprimands and warnings, as in the case of the *Ellenpontok* editors, forgoing criminal actions. On 23 February 1987, retired publicist Edgár Balogh⁸⁴ was warned by the first secretary of the Cluj-Napoca Municipal Committee of RCP, Nicolae Preda. On 6 March 1987, Lajos Kántor⁸⁵ was held accountable in front of the *Korunk* editorial team and warned by Ioan Sasu, propaganda secretary at the Cluj County Committee of the RCP. On 10 April 1987, professor Éva Cseke-Gyimesi was invited and warned by Aurel Negucioiu, the rector of Cluj University, which was repeated on 21 October 1987. On 2 June 1987, professor Sándor Balázs was called and warned by Nicolae Preda. This was done in the presence of Petre Berce, secretary of the Party Committee on the University Centre and Constantin Drondoe, secretary of the Office of the Basic Organisation. On 9 January 1988, Balázs was also warned by the rector Aurel Negucioiu. Following a joint analysis between Colonel Gheorghe Rațiu, the head of Directorate I, and Colonel Nicolae Ioniță, the head of Cluj County Securitate, it was decided that Gusztáv Molnár should be issued a warning by the militia. On 25 August 1987 in Cluj-Napoca, Molnár was notified ‘that through his preoccupations he is polluting the social life’ of the locality. On 15 December 1987, retired Ernő Gáll,⁸⁶ former editor-in-chief of *Korunk* magazine, was also called and warned by the first secretary Nicolae Preda.⁸⁷

The documents of the Circle were fully published in 2004 by the founder, after he managed to recover part of them from the Securitate files in the CNSAS archive.⁸⁸

83 == *Ibid.*, 47, 67, 69, 86, 101 (front back).

84 == Edgár Balogh (1906–1996), initially based in Slovakia, later moved to Romania, was a Hungarian publicist, editor-in-chief, university professor and rector. His first, ‘615-day’ arrest occurred in the autumn of 1949. On 30 August 1952, he got arrested again; on 26 April 1954, the Bucharest Military Tribunal sentenced him to 7 years of forced labour on charges of capital treason. He served his sentence in the prisons of Pitești, Jilava, the Oradea and Cluj court prisons as well as in the Văcărești jail. He was released from his ‘1000-day’ confinement on 27 May 1955. See Edgár Balogh’s data sheets, Fond Fișe Matricole Penale, AANP, Bucharest, Romania.

85 == Lajos Kántor (1937–2007), Transylvanian Hungarian philologist, historian and literary critic. From his scientific activity see Kántor, *Titkosan – nyíltan*, passim.

86 == Ernő Gáll (1917–2000), Transylvanian Jewish Hungarian editor, sociologist and philosophical writer. See Földes and Gálfalvi, *Nemzetiség – felelősség*, passim.

87 == See File no. 161638, vol. 1: 55–59, 221–222, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

88 == See Molnár, *Transzcendens remény*, passim.

= = The samizdat *Kiáltó Szó* between 1988–1989

The reunions of the Limes Circle always took place in private homes. The last meeting, scheduled for 20–22 February 1987, was supposed to be held in the house of philosophy professor Sándor Balázs in Cluj-Napoca. However, this did not happen, and the suspension of the Circle created a great vacuum. Balázs, who was familiar with the events, came up with the idea of filling this void and suggested that a samizdat paper be launched. He suggested the title of *Kiáltó Szó*, inspired by the 1921 Hungarian pamphlet of the same name. After discussing the idea with the linguist Éva Cseke-Gyimesi, they reached the conclusion that, unlike the *Ellenpontok*, which was edited in Oradea, this samizdat should be published in Hungary.⁸⁹ After they had managed in autumn 1987 to establish contact, they found Hungarians willing to support the project, mostly through contributions to the technical side. They sent Balázs a Sinclair ZX Spectrum 48K personal computer, which counted as a rarity in 1987-1988. He connected the PC to a small television set, which served as a monitor and to the tape recorder that allowed the storage of data. Then he typed in the collected manuscripts. The small device could not memorise more than a line and a half at a time, so the text had to be saved over and over again onto the tape. After the entire text had been typed, he encrypted it. After encryption, the five-page text turned into a single paragraph of doodle, which became accessible upon entering the code. Balázs copied the encrypted material to tapes containing folk songs. Then the tapes were sent to Hungary through young people whose names he deliberately failed to learn. He did not know who designed the general layout of the samizdat, who transcribed the texts, nor did he know the editors themselves. After the first issue had been printed, in the autumn of 1988, the samizdat material returned to Transylvania and was distributed. Later, in the spring of 1989, a second issue came out, and it is not known whether the next seven were published or not. Since Balázs did not know who was in charge of editing them, he had no one to ask about them. There will probably never be a conclusive answer to this question.⁹⁰

Balázs divided the staff of the samizdat in two categories. One group was that of the editors who performed the actual tasks of sorting manuscripts, translating them, etc. The second category included the so-called external collaborators who simply sent in the manuscripts. The close team of editors consisted of 8-10 people, for the most part university staff and journalists. In this respect mention must be made of Éva Cseke-Gyimesi and her husband; Péter Cseke; Sándor Balázs and his second wife; the philosopher György Nagy;⁹¹ journalists László

89 = = Interview with Sándor Balázs.

90 = = Balázs, *Kiáltó Szó*, 16–20.

91 = = György Nagy (1938–1998), Transylvanian Hungarian philosopher, university professor. See Tonk, 'Nagy György emléke,' 147–148.

Pillich⁹² and Árpád Páll,⁹³ writer György Beke,⁹⁴ the chemist Róbert Schwartz⁹⁵ and his wife Anikó Schwartz. External collaborators included, among others, former members of the Limes Circle, historian Ernő Fábián, literary critic Lajos Kántor, politologist Levente Salat and linguist Sándor N. Szilágyi. Balázs includes also the dissident Doina Cornea⁹⁶ and Marius Tabacu⁹⁷ in this category. As for the former, they translated several of her letters broadcast by Radio Free Europe and also published a personal interview made with her. From Marius Tabacu they published a letter addressed to Cornea.⁹⁸ It must be mentioned that all articles appeared under fake or ‘coded’ names in the samizdat.

In the period after the magazine came out, the Hungarian desk of Radio Free Europe broadcast the *Kiáltó Szó* programme-launching article entitled ‘A Ceaușescu-korszak után’ [After the Ceaușescu Era], in which the editors presented their views of post-dictatorial times. Jointly formulated by the editors, the programme-launching text named as a goal the creation of a society functioning in a multi-party system and based on private property. Balázs and his peers did not see the solution in a single political party, but preferred democracy. They did not elaborate a party programme and had no intention of forming a political party. They were working on a broader scale, which included political issues, matters of the church and a little literature as well, among others. Beyond this, the purpose of the samizdat was to start a dialogue, eliminate isolation, present the situation of Hungarians in Romania and form an alliance with Romanian democratically oriented individuals and groups as far as was possible.⁹⁹

92 = László Pillich (1951–), Transylvanian Hungarian economist, sociographer, journalist, politician. From his scientific activity see Pillich, *Városom évgyűrűi*, passim.

93 = Árpád Páll (1927–1997), Transylvanian Hungarian writer, journalist and theatre critic. From his scientific activity see Páll, *Színházi világtájak*, passim.

94 = György Beke (1927–2007), Transylvanian Hungarian writer, journalist and translator. From his scientific activity see Beke, *Tolmács nélkül*, passim.

95 = Róbert Schwartz (1944–), chemist, publicist, politician. He is the president of the Jewish Community of Cluj-Napoca since 2010. From his activity of publicist see Balázs and Schwartz, *Funar-korszak Kolozsváron*, passim.

96 = Doina Cornea (1929–2018), Romanian university professor, publicist and dissident. About her activity see COURAGE Registry, s.v. ‘Doina Cornea Private Collection,’ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n122650> (Access on 30 August 2022.); and COURAGE Registry, s.v. ‘Doina Cornea Ad-hoc Collection at CNSAS,’ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n8306> (Access on 30 August 2022.).

97 = Marius Tabacu (1952–2020), Romanian literary translator, film director and pianist. From his scientific activity see Bánffy, *Trilogia transilvană*, passim.

98 = See COURAGE Registry, s.v. ‘Kiáltó Szó – Sándor Balázs Private Collection,’ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n75466> (Access on 30 August 2022.).

99 = See Balázs, Sándor. ‘Political Statement, *Kiáltó Szó*, no. 1/1988,’ <http://courage.btk.mta.hu/courage/individual/n49113> (Access on 30 August 2022.).

The collaborators of the samizdat—helped by the short time left until the change of regime—remained unidentified by the political police. According to the CNSAS files seen so far, the Cluj Securitate were the closest to the truth in the case of professor Cseke-Gyimesi, who had been, since December 1988, suspected and investigated for involvement in drafting the samizdat.¹⁰⁰

= = = In lieu of conclusions

Although until now no enlightening works have been published about the Transylvanian Hungarian intelligentsia as a whole during the communist years, there is a tendency among historians of the subject to present some of the left-wing Hungarian intellectuals as opposers of the communist regime in Romania. It is about personalities who, after 1989, sought in their retrospective writings to ‘work’ for ‘posterity’ and thus improve their own image in public opinion. They presented their activity in those years as resistance and tried to make arguments that they served the Hungarian cause better from positions of power than if they had chosen to confront the authorities.¹⁰¹

For a better understanding of what happened in the years 1970–1980, we must be reminded that on 28 June 1968, a meeting of the representatives of Hungarian minority intellectuals with the higher echelons of the Party took place in Bucharest. Later, some of the complaints were accepted, and as a result, Hungarian-language newspapers were established—for example, the Hungarian-language Bucharest social-cultural magazine *A Hét*, the Kriterion Publishing House, broadcasts in Hungarian and German on Romanian Television, etc. Some of these intellectuals ended up occupying various positions, which came with the obligation (at that moment without being very visible) to occasionally express loyalty to Party leadership. Consequently, when the Hungarian Writers’ Union, following a debate at a round table in May 1968, made assessments about the double connection of Transylvanian Hungarian literature—claiming that, on the one hand, it is connected to Romanian literature, but at the same time it is an integral part of Hungarian literature—Bucharest demanded that this be denied. Among those who responded to the request were Géza Domokos in *Előre*, Sándor Huszár in *Utunk*, Zsolt Gálfalvi and Győző Hajdu in *Igaz Szó*.¹⁰²

100 == See the status note of 12 December 1988 drawn up by the I/B Department of the Cluj County Inspectorate in the case of the pursued ‘Elena’. File no. 017980, vol. 4: 72–78; File no. 161638, vol. 1: 40–46, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania.

101 == See in this sense the thematic table of the opposers during the communist regime in the truly impressive traveling exhibition implemented by Blos-Jáni et al., entitled ‘Elmúlt Jelen: A romániai magyarok 1989-90-es rendszerváltása [The past present: the Hungarians in Romania in the context of the regime change from 1989–1990],’ <https://elmultjelen.ro/kiallitas> (Access on 31 August 2022.).

102 == See Novák, *Aranykorszak*, 33–81.

Following this ‘cultural compromise’ of 1968 between the Romanian Communist Party and this generation of intellectuals, the latter wielded power and were fully indebted because of the positions they obtained. It is also true that in the late 1960s and early 1970s they contributed to the enrichment of Hungarian cultural life in Romania and made minority destiny more acceptable. However, as a result of the theses of July 1971 and following the change of Party policies, starting from the mid-1970s, they became tolerated elements on the Bucharest political scene, and even if they were listened to, their suggestions for improving the life of the Hungarian minority were no longer taken into account. This ‘in-house’ status-bearing generation, who protested under the so-called official rules, mostly went with the flow until the regime change, performing questionable activities and rarely managing to openly/publicly confront the Party’s ideology.

On the other hand, those born in the 1940s and 1950s, who in the early 1980s were in their 30s and 40s, were also related to the status-bearing generation. Thus, the young people developed intellectually in the environment of literary and philosophical circles—the Gábor Gaál Circle, the Diótima Circle—or in the Cluj ‘Echinox galaxy’. They found that the ‘in-house’ generation had an ideological commitment, as well as a constant availability and desire to compromise, an attitude that has become the essence of their lives. In these conditions, young people aware that they have a limited margin of manoeuvre, have moved to other forms of expressing their ‘different’ way of thinking.¹⁰³

Under these conditions, it is unacceptable to mention the ‘opposers’ from the generation of status holders—who at the same time enjoyed the graces of the Party and the higher state leadership¹⁰⁴—together with the names of those who, according to certain documentary sources, as a result of oppositionist/dissident activity were forced either to emigrate or, staying at home, endure daily persecution.

103 = Nándor Bárdi distinguishes five different Transylvanian Hungarian generations of elites starting from 1920, attributing to them properties that vary from era to era. For the studied period the 4th and 5th generation elites are relevant, alongside with the generational differences between them. See Bárdi, ‘A romániai magyar elit,’ 41–66.

104 = Serving power can never be an ‘ambivalent discourse,’ a semantic problem. From the 70 volumes of surveillance materials of ‘retired publicist’ Edgár Balogh (see File no. 0259212, vol. 1–70, passim, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania), approximately 60 volumes contain almost exclusively wiretaps documents. The situation is the same with Géza Domokos, who from 1970 was the director of the Kriterion Publishing House, and in whose case out of the 33 volumes of surveillance materials (see File no. 0203541, vol. 1–30, passim, Fond Informativ, ACNSAS, Bucharest, Romania), 29 volumes contain interceptions of all kinds. All this shows that although the Securitate watched their activities with a magnifying glass, and even if they sometimes grumbled, they always received credit and were able to keep their privileges in the regime until the last moment.

These ‘in-house’ individuals must be studied separately, and the researcher who graduated a controversial ‘hero’, must accept that someone will always be able to dispute the correctness of his finding. In this context the question must be asked: why is it so important for those who served the regime and were employed in positions of power to be seen as opposition after 1989? Because in the meantime, communism in Romania, along with its servants, was condemned? Because this is the recipe for keeping a halo over the past, that they were important individuals and therefore can be in the present too? Why is it not enough for them (recognition) that, being good communists (who often believed in this ideology), they defended their community (sometimes successfully) from their position? As a good communist and not as an opposer. Why is it so necessary for them to try to obtain the attribute of ‘opposer’ from posterity?

The 1982 *Ellenpontok* case and other opposition activities must be analysed in this context. In the 1980s they went on to form the backbone of what today we call civic resistance among the Hungarian minority in Romania. Those listed in this study did not go beyond the framework of the democratic opposition, their protest against the Ceaușescu regime being marked by a truly anti-communist and pro-European perspective. In practical terms, their names are associated with the main achievements in the fight for human and minority rights in communist Romania, illustrated by letters of protest, memoirs, pamphlets and samizdats.

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