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Meeting of the Council of Ministers  
held on Tuesday, July 8, 1941

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## THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

held on

Tuesday, July 8, 1941

- The meeting began at 16:40 hrs. presided by Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council of Ministers and ad-interim President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of National Propaganda, and ad-interim Minister of Foreign Affairs.

- The participants were

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs;

General I. Sichitiu, Minister of Agriculture and Fields;

Professor Doctor Petre Tomescu, Minister of Labor, Health and Social Protection;

Ion Marinescu, Minister of National Economy;

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state to the Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Protection;

Professor Gh. Alexianu;

Professor N. Cornateanu;

Professor I. C. Petrescu;

Petre Alexandrescu Roman;

Petre Strihan;

Doctor Octavian Lupu;

Paul Sterian;

Doctor C. Lisievici;

Laurentiu Preutescu;

Al. Dadauta.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Gentlemen, Mr. Pflaumer, one of the Ministers of Interior of the Reich came to see me and we discussed certain matters.

From the beginning, I would like to draw your attention to one thing our legal advisors omitted and that still represents a vital part of today's legal circumstances that we must consider first as being a significant reality. As long as the hostilities continue, as long as the Romanian State has not drafted a Decree of Annexation of those territories, that we are now organizing, we are witnessing a state of military occupation and not a state of occupation as a manner of acquiring new territories. Consequently, we exercise the sovereignty of the occupying state but not as a sovereign state. Until we will be able to express a formal Declaration of Annexation, which will be the time when the hostilities will be over or when we will reach a point allowing us to engage in formal annexation, until then, from the legal standpoint, we will be just in a state of military occupation. The laws of war will rule the legal regime. Therefore, the army leads and the rules of war guide all operations and all functions the army fulfills, while preparing the annexation action.

Those are preparative actions, which must not rely on any special Decree or formal approach. That is because until the date the annexation will take place we exercise no sovereignty, which would allow us to rule over those lands.

This is not a territory regulation of Bessarabia and Bukovina as long as we are in a state of war and we cannot implement such a regulation for a territory we do not rule yet, not even from a military point of view because we have not occupied the entire Bessarabia.

On the other hand, as long as the hostilities continue, irrespective if they existed the Romanian soil, we are in a state of war in which the law of war prevails, with all its formal institutions and consequences.

Due to that fact, until that period will end, the legal regime is military occupation in which the functions you fulfill prepare the annexation. The army and you develop a series of actions that the occupying state can develop and all you actually do is prepare all reforms and the organization that we will then render official by law. Until then the legal regime of military occupation continues according to the laws of war. Based on those laws we can exercise at once all sovereignty elements for police and secret services. According to the rules of classic occupation and pragmatic occupation we can exercise all sovereignty attributes but not as a sovereignty holder, but as a temporary holder of the sovereignty beneficial interest.

Until the time the hostilities will have ended, the de jure state is that of a military regime. You prepare everything and you can take some de facto measures. You do not need any legal framework for doing that. Thus, the ordinances and all laws that will be enforced in those territories will enter in force only after the military occupation will have ended and by a Decree we will have annexed the territory; or by a Decree introducing those norms, they or we will have declared that, that territory is belonging to Romania.

Thus, for the time being I am asking you not to occupy yourselves with formal matters. I will go to Cernauti and Chisinau later this week aiming to comprehend, while considering the evolution of hostilities, which will be the adequate period of time to go from the state of military occupation to the state of occupation and acquisition of sovereignty and then, that matter will be raised. Until now, the army had exercised the sovereignty and, according to the laws of war, the army could take any measure compatible with its position as holder of the sovereignty beneficial interest.

Only the army can give ordinances. They cannot be given in the name of political sovereignty considering that it is not set out on the territory concerned. Thus, for the time being, give no ordinance aside of those on the public order which will be issued by the military commandment. Aside of those, take no measure that would act as a law or formally because we would be moving away from the elementary rules in the annexation matter.

It is vital that we act from the beginning for accomplishing the aims we have envisaged.

General Antonescu informed me that the matter of rubles has been raised in a very persistent manner and the commandments are unaware what to do with the rubles now in circulation.

On the other hand, General Antonescu informed me that our property in Bessarabia and Bukovina has faced many changes since 1940 and that the deserted properties have been divided and took the form of kolkhoz organizations or small individual properties. As such, aside from all other problems, we will have those of dosages and political, social and economic psychology of the manner of evaluating de facto situation and de jure situation, which we must create.

We will have the problem of restoring the rights of those who lost their proprieties, while considering the right of possession of those who acquired the properties in the meantime.

In many villages in Bessarabia, the Jewish population was found owning rural properties without any legal status. That population is now deserting all our rural settlements. The entire Jewish population is leaving Romania and promptly deserting its assets. We will see for how long that population will remain in the cities. For the time being, all villages must be cleansed; we must use that favorable solution which provides us with the opportunity to have vacant properties with the aim to engage in rural property circulation, so that we would not create social conflicts with holders of assets acquired during the year 1940.

What we must do at once is introduce administration and police in Bessarabia and Bukovina.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior:

I have sent the administrative and police staff but the Combined Chiefs of Staff forbade them from entering Bukovina. They kept them in Radauti for two days.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

For Bessarabia, I will take measures that such a thing never happens again. Those sent to Northern Bukovina will be stationed in Iasi, and those sent to Southern Bessarabia in Galati.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior:

They are all there.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

I was told there are no public guards in Bukovina.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior:

We have over 300 guards active in Cernauti; there are guards in other towns of Bukovina too. For Chisinau, I have sent 360 guards with commissioners and commanders, and they are all stationed in Iasi.

General N. Stoenescu, Minister of Finance:

When the ministerial bodies discussed, in connection to the matter that the German army would use the Romanian lei up to the Nister River, I was asked: Do you think that Romania's eastern border is going to be in the future, where you believe it to be right now?

Maybe it would be more cautious to use rubles in Bessarabia too, East of Nister River. Because the use of currency is an act of sovereignty and I must issue a Decree-law for that operation or authorize the National Bank to do that. I was suggested that we should leave the change of rubles for later on.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

However, the problem of changing rubles can be solved without any sovereignty actions. It so happens that the professional information provided by the [communist] internationalism representative helped me. The occupier itself can issue currency in the occupied territory. Since one is entitled to issue currency, of course that one is also entitled to withdraw the currency in circulation. In the domain in which I have been working for ten years, one thing I can state with some authority; I am stating it with the confidence of a scientist.

Withdrawing the currency and replacing it is not a benefit of sovereignty. Hence, that operation can be done at once without hindering the general legal regime of that province.

However, the need to take measures for not reaching a ruble crisis, which would complicate the financial matter, adds to this. In a similar manner, the purchasing power of rubles on that territory can create the opportunity for an everlasting ruble infiltration from the adjacent territories, which is normal given the fact that we would finally withdraw rubles from a territory and we would create certain exchange circumstances for the population from another territory.

This matter troubles me. Last night, General Antonescu telephoned me and told me that I failed to organize services attached to the army in Bukovina, which would immediately implement the change of currency.

General N. Stoenescu, Minister of Finance:

I did not say that change is not appropriate. I said a Decree-law is needed and a Decree-law must also authorize the National Bank.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

No Decree is required.

I will provide the solution. Without any status, the Ministry of Finance would make available to the military commandment in Cernauti an amount corresponding to the volume that we believe to cover the exchange needs, according to our initial information: 1 leu for 1 ruble. For the time being, the military commandment would issue an ordinance and indicate the amount it has available, which would not be available according to a law, nor have a special monetary purpose, but would rely on an administrative order. It would engage in the exchange, giving 1 leu for 1 ruble and recording in registries the amounts the commandment has received. There is a necessary deposit in the commandment for which an advance would be paid and the remaining money and the entire monetary issue of the ruble, in connection to the international exchange, would be solved at the time the annexation is made on an international level and from a legal standpoint.

Therefore, please do everything in your power for the military commandments in Cernauti and Chisinau to develop an initial assessment of the currency volume required, so that we would make available such amounts to the commandments, for the needs connected to war; based on an ordinance, the commandments would be able to engage in that exchange procedure.

General N. Stoenescu, Minister of Finance:

We will draft a Decree, publish it in the Official Bulletin and issue it only in several copies. Only the concerned body will become aware of it.



We cannot give 1 leu in exchange of 1 ruble; that would mean we would mock the peasants for the second time. Let us give them 6 lei, as the Germans do.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

The Germans just pass by and move on; they are interested in purchasing rubles and want to buy the merchandise easily, by leaving marks behind, which they would then absorb according to the sovereignty rules they implement. However, when we would give 6 lei in exchange of 1 ruble, we would be left with that final exchange rate and the entire volume in our fiduciary transfer for covering the rubles we took out of circulation.

On the other hand, the German monetary system does not rely on monetary coverage, but on something else.

For us, it is something different to create inflation with the aim to enrich some of the peasants. From the information I have, the peasants have no money; only the Jews and several merchants that developed trade for the communists have money. Is that the purpose in which we are interested?

Certainly, each minister enjoys political autonomy, but there are several directives in the general politics that the State Ruler exercises. I issued the 1 leu – 1 ruble decision, I informed General Antonescu of it, who agreed with that system, and we will comprehend the social consequences subsequently, after we will receive the rubles. We will see if we must support the peasants for the social best interest by giving 6 Lei in exchange of 1 ruble or by other means, which would provide compensations for loss without creating monetary problems.

On the other hand, I believe that we have a duty not to acknowledge the purchasing power of the Russian currency and Russia's sovereign right aiming to buy the Romanians. We have the obligation to do that given that Russia threw Romanian billions in a bottomless basket, together with the goods they looted, and because for one year we did not get anything back, not even one leu. Russia devastated the Romanian land, emptied and stole everything from the territory of Bessarabia and Bukovina.

I believe we have a political obligation to riposte with an identical policy, regardless of the German standpoint. And I informed the leaders in Berlin of that because they envisage having a purchasing power of the currency for the army passing by and an easy trade system and being able at all times to negotiate the great monetary issue with Russia. Meanwhile, we cannot deal with the monetary issue while being guided by the same principles and rules.

Thus, for the time being it is settled. Pay 1 leu for 1 ruble. Record in the Romanian registries the rubles received. Subsequently, we will see what the exchange rate adopted by the Romanian State will be, as well as what compensations will be given to persons having ruble deposits to cover for the possible differences.

General N. Stoenescu, Minister of Finance:

From my standpoint, it is the same. However, the consequences are social. The Russians took 40 lei from the peasants in exchange of 1 ruble and the peasants now see that they are given 1 leu in exchange for 1 ruble. The Germans use only lei and thus, two armies will exist: one that pays 6 lei for 1 ruble and the other that pays 1 leu for 1 ruble.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

On the contrary. I will give you a solution for doing good business for the peasants and for the Romanian state.

Give lei to the Germans by using the rate of 6 lei for 1 ruble. Remove the rubles from that land and request the Germans to engage in purchasing and exchanges by using our exchange offices. We will agree to receive German marks using the rate of 6 Lei for 1 ruble, so that we will have to solve next the ruble issue in connection to the ruble holders in Bessarabia and Bukovina.

What is Germany's interest? It is to be able to use a currency on our territory and that currency to have purchasing power. They set out the purchasing power according to the exchange rate of which you have been officially informed, that of 10 ruble for 1 mark. We agree with that exchange rate and give the corresponding lei amount to the Germans; they will come and will need money and will make those marks available to us.

Then, there is no issue of correlation coefficient or of impoverishing the population, or of the German army passing by and lacking purchasing tools.

Mr. Petre Strihan:

If delays occur, the deposits will increase.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

If we will dawdle, we will certainly reach that situation.

Nevertheless, we have the experience connected to crowns [Austro-Hungarian krone]. We are aware of what went on between 1918 and 1921. At least we should be more careful now in order to avoid that experience.

Professor G. Alexianu:

If the Germans purchase 1 ruble for 6 lei and we purchase 1 ruble for 1 leu, everybody will go to them and we will have to buy rubles from the Germans.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Where would the Germans get rubles if we would remove rubles from the market and replace them with lei?

Mr. Laurentiu Preotescu:

The population will go to take German marks and then sell them to the Romanian State.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Since we would forbid all other currencies on the Romanian territory, other than the Romanian one, why would you be asking such questions?

That is why the rubles must be removed; if the rubles circulate, then we would have to accept the German marks too.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

The German army must have only lei given by us.

Your honor, you decided that we would go to Cernauti and instructions for the activity we would have to perform there were sent too. I would like clarifications on our impact there because we will be only information bodies given that the military authorities will do everything. You said that we are bodies meant to inform and take measures on the spot.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

That situation will last just a few days. You will aid the military administration, being engaged in de facto administration, and not de jure during that initial phase; like that, we will save time.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

What is our position in connection to the military authorities?

We will go there and submit proposal, but who are we?

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

We are discussing too many formal matters and that is why you are raising such problems.

When you will arrive in Iasi, General Antonescu will order the military commandment in Cernauti and the one in Chisinau to liaise with you, indicating that you are the future administrative leaders who will be unable to exercise the attributions until the military circumstances will allow it.

Also, all operations that the army will accomplish must be agreed with you.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

Very well, your honor.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

For that, we require no decrees, no laws, and no letters of accreditation.

When I came with General Antonescu on September 6, I governed without any type of decree for seven days. General Antonescu had a decree, but I was not even the private secretary of the State Ruler. However, I assure you that I governed for seven days without any decree, without any official document, and that I exercised sovereignty powers.

That obsession for formal documents delayed and brought us where we are now; for every move, we wait for the shell of a formal order.

The administration is a reality. The existence of a State is a vital expression. Consequently, that is of paramount importance especially during times of war, when the rights are obtained by means of violence and when the state is consolidated by means going beyond the formal order.

If we would linger on formal order, we would have to make war unlawful, to disband the army, and consider all its approaches as opposed to our Christian spirit and human ideal. However, a nation does not live by those rules.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

Mr. Riosanu is in Cernauti; he was sent there with a delegation.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

He holds no written paper, no travel approval form.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

Then I have a request. Ask him to come to Bucharest.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

I cannot do that because General Antonescu sent Mr. Riosanu in Cernauti with a mission and I cannot cancel it.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:  
Anyway, it is not connected to our mission.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:  
Oh yes, it is connected to your mission.

You will speak with General Antonescu tomorrow, in Iasi.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:  
We are not traveling via Iasi, but Roman.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:  
Then I will telephone General Antonescu and you will probably meet him in Roman.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:  
Very well, your honor. We will receive specific orders.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:  
In consequence, you will engage in the information and coordination operations.  
Your main function is agriculture-related because the Minister of Interior has already sent police and secret service staff. The second important function is financial, for withdrawing the rubles. Other matters than these, would be to immediately research the economic situation and local economic possibilities and to immediately research the situation of the rural and urban properties, so that we would see the approaches to be made for regulating their condition, as well as the social measures, which we must apply for fighting the possible traces of communism.

In regards to the sanitary measures, are the sanitary supplies we discussed leaving with tonight's train?

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:  
Two railway cars filled with medicines will depart.

Dr. Petre Tomescu, Minister of Labor, Health and Social Protection:

A laboratory will also be leaving. It will immediately settle in Cernauti for developing water testing and researching various toxic substances, which might have been left there. I heard that the Russians left many tin cans due to having departed in a rush or for other purposes. Anyway, we must have a laboratory with staff we can trust, who would do the tests required.

I also sent sanitary supplies to cater for our first needs.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Minister of Interior, did you receive any information from the police and secret service?

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

I did. Moreover, Dr. Lupu is here and he has several interesting data concerning the situation in Chisinau.

What matters is that all water and power facilities have been damaged.

Dr. Octavian Lupu:

They have been blown up.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

A large part of the Romanian population in Bukovina has been deported. Several communist Jews shot our army in the back.

Dr. Octavian Lupu:

They shot in the city too, when we entered.

General I. Sichitiu, Minister of Agriculture and Fields:

There is only one remedy to get rid of those bedbugs: burn them to the ground.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

That remedy has been implemented already. The guilty persons were caught in the nearby forests and the legal punishment was enforced on them.

Mr. I. Marinescu, Minister of National Economy:

Another “lawful deed”, your honor.



General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

The police have settled in. Public buildings are in a terrible condition all around Bukovina.

Dr. Octavian Lupu:

Very dirty and unmaintained.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

They are not just dirty; they are destroyed.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Therefore, this evening at 23:00 hrs. the train with the necessary clerks for completing the administration in Bukovina, for the three counties in the North and Hotin County will depart.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

They are leaving the headquarters. The others are in Iasi.

The clerks of the Ministry of Interior assigned to Bessarabia are in Iasi. The others are missing.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

Clerks belonging to my ministry are stationed in Iasi, Husi, and Galati.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

I gave no order to the others.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Give orders to all of them. Clerks from all departments assigned to Northern Bessarabia and Central Bessarabia must go to Iasi, and those assigned to Southern Bessarabia must go to Galati.

Professor Petre Tomescu, Minister of Labor, Health and Social Protection:

For doctors, I made the decision that primary care physicians from the counties and doctors from hospitals would depart on tonight's official train, together with Dr. Lupu.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

The Railroad Directorate collects railroad cars according to our military system and adds them continually, as the train travels on.

Professor N. Cornateau: Agronomists, silviculturists and viticulturists will depart this evening. The others will depart tomorrow evening or later.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:  
Issue the orders. We should pay attention to organizing another special train to Iasi.

Professor Gh. Alexianu:  
Mr. Cornel Popescu could be in charge with that operations and he is also present.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:  
However, the Presidential Administration must issue an order.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:  
I will speak with the Railway Directorate General but first I must understand how many persons will go.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:  
The staff of my ministry are all near Prut River. Only the other ministries must supply information.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:  
Then the secretary general of the Presidential Administration will inform the ministers this evening that the entire staff designated to work in Northern Bessarabia, Central Bessarabia and Southern Bessarabia must leave Bucharest and head to Iasi and Galati beginning tomorrow. Those assigned to go to Iasi may depart tomorrow evening.

Each department must communicate the number of staff that will leave until 11:00 hrs. tomorrow for the Railway Directorate General to be able to organize a train, which would leave tomorrow evening for Iasi with clerks designated to arrive in Northern Bessarabia and Central Bessarabia.

On the evening of the day after tomorrow, a train to Galati will depart; it will carry clerks designated to go to Southern Bessarabia.

Professor Gh. Alexianu:  
There are clerks that must arrive to Bucharest from other towns in Romania, and then travel on to Iasi or Galati.

General I. Sichitiu, Minister of Agriculture:

The Railway Directorate provides for them cars attached to regular trains.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

Cars were added to the trains that departed for Moldavia too.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

As consequence, General Voiculescu, I will try to find out if you will meet General Antonescu in Roman. Anyway, you will travel to Cernauti. You will warn Mr. Riosanu that the army will exercise the sovereignty powers, that your body completes the actions of the army in the first phase, for indicating the manner in which the administration must be made from this day forward, and that your body is in charge with setting out the reorganization regime of Bukovina and Bessarabia, the general regime of those provinces. Thus, you will work in Bukovina at first and then move on to Bessarabia.

Furthermore, I will telephone or send him a telegram myself for providing all clarifications on that matter and, anyway, I will speak with General Antonescu. Thus, he will order the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Military Commandment of Cernauti and all garrisons in Bukovina, as well as the troops in Bessarabia for all military authorities there be informed on your mission and the function you will fulfill.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

Your honor, what to do with the garrisons missing troops? Storojinet has no army and only one infantry regiment is stationed in Cernauti.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Has not the gendarmerie settled in? Where there is no army, the gendarmerie has the power. That is the principle.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

Then the gendarmerie is the military authority exercising sovereignty.  
Gendarmerie is settled in all towns.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Please warn the military authorities that the gendarmerie exercises authority where there is no army.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

Your honor, I must tell you that someone came to me asking for various amounts of money from the Ministry's secret funds.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

I asked the Ministry of Finance to open a credit line and make available to General Voiculescu ten million lei for the initial expenses necessary to the administration and the action he is developing.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

I would like to emphasize something else. I was asked for funds from the Public Order budget. At first, I had 18,000,000 lei, which was then decreased to 15,000,000 lei. Now, I did not ask any extra money for Bukovina and Bessarabia, but I cannot give any additional money for other expenses because I do not have any extra funds. Thus, Mr. Pacurariu came to me and asked for some money for various expenses but I was unable to meet his demands.

General Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

I will solve that matter.

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Those expenses will be recorded as general expenses.

Gentlemen, Minister Pflaumer and Mr. Elgering are representatives of the German army, attachés to the Romanian Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Antonescu wishes to employ them directly not only for the liaisons they can fulfill as attachés to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Antonescu, but also, given their social experience, for the civil functions they held and even for the military functions each of them has held.

Mr. Pflaumer is one of Germany's Ministers of Interior. He implemented colonization in many German regions and was in charge with administrative regulation related to German occupation in many provinces.

Mr. Pflaumer is experienced especially in population exchanges and forced migration. Mr. Pflaumer is well experienced in new administration organization, which would render the local functions effective.

He informed General Antonescu of the approaches he applied in collaboration with the German army in the places where he worked, and the General believed them to be extremely important pieces of information, which we should take into account during that first occupation phase of Bessarabia and Bukovina.

As consequence, Mr. Pflaumer and his collaborators (formally speaking, Mr. Pflaumer is authorized to act as liaison officer next to General Antonescu) will be good counselors, who will show us the manner of solving many of the problems we will encounter in Bessarabia and Bukovina too. Especially, on that occasion, we will have to fulfill a common mission on certain migration processes in connection to territories subject to German sovereignty and territories subject to Romanian sovereignty. Therefore, they will be our collaborators. Thus, please cater for Mr. Pflaumer's every need and put him in contact with General Antonescu anytime he asks that, given that he and General Antonescu had a long conversation several weeks ago.

General D. Popescu, Minister of Interior Affairs:

He provided very important information in connection to occupation, which I have used. Everything he told us was practical.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labor:

I believe that where a military commander with a lower rank operates, I should take over his attributions. If, for example, I would go to Cernauti and find a colonel there, how could I obey his orders?

Professor Mihai A. Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

Given that you are acting as general, you will become commander in the first days.

General M. Stoenescu, Minister of Finance:

You will perform phase-like actions.

Professor Mihai Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

In fact, what we are doing is a phase.

It is the first stage given that the hostilities are still in progress.

General I. Sichitiu, Minister of Agriculture:

I hope that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have not organized the phases already.

Professor Mihai Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

They have not.

General Iacobici came to organize the phases but General Antonescu said that he no longer saw the need for organizing phases given that the administration, which would become operational, would organize them.

Consequently, I wish you to just leave all formalities aside and, considering the grand objectives, to begin immediately a collaboration with the military authorities for warning them on the measures to be made without too much debate and useless discussions. In the past, discussions have led us to losing territories and not to winning them.

You must take immediate measures for the harvest, for withdrawing the rubles, as well as the other preliminary approaches for economy and public order of which I have been speaking. That would be the first phase.

Prior to the second phase, I will go to Cernauti and Chisinau together with General Antonescu and then, considering the actual data we will have, we will be able to set out the quantity and date for introducing the legal status. I believe that if we would introduce that legal status too early, instead of strengthening it, our power would be weakened, as will the prestige of the law.

As a consequence, in the first phase: implementation, organization for harvest, organization for property revision, organization for withdrawing the rubles, and for the first economic settlements. I will not speak of the safety and public order approaches that the army must accomplish and for which you will be helping by providing all information to us to be able to take the necessary measures or, together with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to ensure the required collaboration for a perfect order in the entire territory.

With the risk that some traditionalists among you might fail to understand me, I am in favor of the forced migration of the entire Jewish population from Bessarabia and Bukovina; they must be thrown over the borders. Also, I am in favor of the forced migration of the Ukrainian population, which does not belong there at this time.

I am in favor of the radical revision concerning property, as well as regarding the organization of production and labor discipline.

Only relying on those matters, we will be able to cleanse our nation of foreign infiltrations and disintegration that once led us to border collapse.

It is vital to win peace and we cannot win peace but by doing just that.

I do not care if history will label us as barbarians. Evaluated by today's humankind, the Roman Empire did several barbarian actions and still, it was the biggest and greatest political structure.

I do not know after how many centuries the Romanian people will enjoy complete freedom to act again and the possibility to engage in ethnical purification and national revision that so many centuries have destroyed through several infiltrations.

When we proceeded to urban expropriation at the time when the situation was different, I said I could not care less of what people would say. I am interested in using this historical moment for giving those rights to the nation that nobody would ever dare to take back without facing popular uprising. Our concerns must rely on fundamental institutions such as ownership, commerce, industry, all manifestations of the economic life, which strengthen the moral life of a nation.



I say the same now. There is no other favorable, broader, vaster, freer time for our history for accomplishing complete ethnic liberation, national revision and purification of our kind with the aim to withstand other centuries of forced rule or foreign intrusion. Even if those times will come, let us take advantage of this historical time and set out new struggle foundations for the future.

Therefore, I am asking you to be relentless. Mushy vaporous philosophical kindness does not belong here. I too believed for one second that such kindness could be honest. Soon after, I realized what lied beneath: humanitarian philosophy hid the most acute race interest belonging to a race that wanted to rule everywhere and some abstract principles hid a religion taking advantage of the misery of an impoverished nation. And there were many nations like ours.

As a consequence, let us use this historical time and cleanse the Romanian soil and our nation of all the misfortunes that time has brought onto this land that we were not allowed to rule. The time has come for conquering our territory. Let us use it. If need be, fire your machineguns. If the Romanian soldiers and officers will be shot in the back, spit on, or hit, as they have been hit last year, spare no one. We cannot allow that the Romanian soldiers be generous again with those bastards that respond to Romanians' centuries-old hospitality and generosity with treason, infamy and crime. We will react to that as needed. Even the Romanians that lost their way and entered the anarchy and darkness wave of Bolshevism, even they will be completely eliminated. You will show them no mercy. We cannot build a country and cannot ground a people unless their bases are set out from the beginning, given the toughness they can display.

Therefore, I wish you with all my heart that from the beginning you would dwell as little as possible on formalities.

When you will encounter military obstacles or some administrative approaches that require the support of the Government, telephone me and I will be at your disposal anytime. When the difficulties will be greater, I will come there by plane to eliminate, at once, any difficulty.

I am asking you with all my heart to create a team spirit in your group, considering the historical mission you have because you do have a historical mission.

The Government cannot watch over the maintenance of order on our territory, maintenance of borders and organization of a war and national reform regime and care for all province organizations at the same time, especially when we want to lay new foundations for Romania.

As a consequence, you are completely accountable and it all depends on your power to create, on the initiative you want to display and on what you will establish there.

Once more, I want to repeat to free yourselves of the spirit of traditions and formalities and think that we are witnessing a historical time in which you must act quickly.

As soon as we will accomplish freeing Romania of several heavy burdens, will reach the matters of reconstruction on serious bases, of imposing harsh principles, and executing the obligations derived from them. Until then you are completely free to act accordingly. Let us restore the economic strength of this people. That is the fundamental concern.

That is why I asked Mr. Strihan to convene the entire legislative commission tomorrow and to draw, from the principles of these two meetings of Councils of Ministers and from the norms issued here on the initial activity of the administration, a summary of principles and rules. Like that, all prefects, magistrates, engineers, and agronomists going there will be aware that if they will follow the old spirit and work according to the old methods, nothing will be accomplished.

I accept full accountability and say there is no law. There was no law for centuries in a row in favor of this people; there was only law against it. As there was no law last year, 1940, for the Romanian people to give in its lands to a foreign sovereignty, to destroy its property, religion and life under Bolshevik domination, there is no law today for the Romanian people considering its sacred rights to take shape and rebuild its life. No law. For two to three weeks, it will mean not a single law for Bessarabia and Bukovina. We will deal with all conflicts of law that will occur, such as matters of criminality, repression, and the punishment system. We will create special laws for being able to solve the matter of conflict with the provincial laws, but we will not be deterred by drafting legal provisions, which we would introduce today and be required to break tomorrow.

Therefore, no formalities, but complete freedom.

For the administration: do the same; do not ask yourselves formal questions. You have a mission to accomplish. Where there is no military commandment, inform the Joint Chiefs of Staff of that. Where the administration staff do not obey, tell me and I will ask the Minister of Interior to take the necessary measures for your orders to be implemented without hesitation.

Therefore, have a safe trip.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Labor:

Your honor, we thank General Antonescu for having chosen us to accomplish this work in a solemn moment in the life of the Romanian people.

Thank you for the suggestions you were so kind to offer us and we assure you that we will do everything in our power to accomplish our mission.

Professor Mihai Antonescu, Vice President of the Council:

God speed! I wish you with all my heart to redeem everything we have lost on so many occasions.

General C. Voiculescu, undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Labor:

I accept all responsibility.

- The meeting was adjourned at 17:45 hrs.

Stenographers

D. Fierascu – I. Vasilescu

For conformity,

*Illegible signature*    *Illegible signature*

The shorthand verbatim report of the meeting of Council held on July 8, 1941 has 26 pages.

Head of Department of Councils of Ministers

*Illegible signature*

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*Official round stamp*

*Official seal*

*translated by Sabina Manta*