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SELECT COMMITTEE ON

COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION

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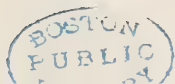
COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND
OCCUPATION OF RUMANIA

SPECIAL REPORT NO. 11
OF THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
UNDER AUTHORITY OF
H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 438



DECEMBER 31, 1954.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

UNITED STATES
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HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST
AGGRESSION AND THE FORCED INCORPORATION OF THE
BALTIC STATES INTO THE U. S. S. R.

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INTRODUCTION

The committee wishes to express its appreciation for assistance in the preparation of this report to Georgetown University, its faculty and to the group of experts from various parts of the United States who cooperated with the university. The record of hearings of the committee, together with individual sworn depositions from eyewitnesses, documents, exhibits and other authoritative evidence formed the basis for this report.

The purpose of this report is to telescope the essentials of the history of Rumania and its people; including the period of Communist take-over and occupation of that nation. It is hoped that this report will help the American people to understand better the nations and people enslaved by communism and thereby to more fully appreciate the true nature, tactics and final objectives of the criminal conspiracy of world communism.

COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF RUMANIA

DECEMBER 31, 1954.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin, from the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, submitted the following

R E P O R T

[Pursuant to H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 438]

COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF RUMANIA

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first significant moment in the history of the Rumanian nation coincides with the establishment of a necessary eastern frontier of the Roman Empire. The aborigines of the Rumanian lands, the Getae and Dacians, after Emperor Trajan's expeditions of A. D. 101 and 105 became a part of the Roman world.

The military and political realism of Trajan assessed the strategic position of Dacia as of primary importance for the security of the Roman European dominion. This country bordered by the Dniester, Tissa, the Danube and the Black Sea, was in fact a gate of Europe through which the Barbarian invasions from the East could advance toward the heart of Europe. Once Dacia was open to the eastern invasions it was almost impossible to prevent their penetration to the center of Europe.

During the following 1,000 years Dacia suffered from a series of invasions of Goths, Vandals, Huns, Avari, Slavs, Bulgarians, Magyars, Petchenegs, Cumans and Tartars. The Rumanian people fled before the invaders up into the Carpathian Mountains and maintained themselves as shepherds, while their families dwelt in scattered farms and villages along the upper watercourses preserving their language, customs, and traditions.

The population was Christianized before the fourth century through the Roman colonists who came to Dacia. Their language remained

essentially Latin and the remembrance of the Roman organization was not completely lost and served them well in the political foundation of their first principalities.

In the 13th century the Rumanians appear organized in the two principalities of Vallachia and Moldavia, the eastern frontier of which was the Dniester. The name of Bessarabia, which was given to the eastern part of the province, came from the dynasty of the Bessarabs, founders of the Vallachian principality. Their rulers kept in contact with the declining Byzantine Empire and took part in the crusades.

The resistance of the Rumanian principalities against the advance of the Turks after the fall of Constantinople, succeeded in preserving to a certain extent their independence. After the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, at the zenith of the Ottoman push into Europe, when even the Kingdom of Hungary became a Turkish province, the Rumanian principalities, although paying tribute, were not occupied by the Turks and continued to be ruled by their own national Christian dynasties. Then arose in Moldavia one of Europe's most remarkable rulers, Stephen the Great. During his whole reign, 1457-1504, Moldavia was a powerful state. His services in defending Christendom against the Turks were so conspicuous that from Pope Sixtus IV he received the title of "athlete of Christ"—*Atleta Christi*. Their opposition to the Turks continued through princes like John the Terrible of Moldavia and the great national hero Michael the Brave of Vallachia, at the end of the 16th century, who inflicted several defeats on the Turkish armies.

The fights of the Rumanians against the invasions have besides their specific importance a general historical significance. Historians have pointed to the fact that the development of western civilization has been made possible thanks to the heroism and the sacrifices of the eastern European nations who bore the brunt of the invasions and even if they did not break the shock they at least reduced it; as in the case of the two greatest invasions, that of Genghis Khan and that of the Turks. It is therefore proper in appraising Rumanian history to remember this buffer function, as well as the geographic position of Rumania at the crossroads of the great imperialistic drives. In the 17th century the exhausted Rumanian lands were finally forced to submit to the Turks, becoming more and more the object of Turkish exploitation.

With the stabilization of the Turkish power in Europe began the epoch of bargaining and clashes between the three powerful empires, Russia, Austria and Turkey, the epoch in which the principalities situated between the three of them served as battlefield, subject to depredations and partitions. Thus Austria annexed Bukovina and Russia commenced its unrelenting moves to subjugate the Rumanian principalities. In fact, since that period until today the crucial problem in Rumanian history has been to preserve her freedom from the Russian imperialistic drive.

The despotism of the Czars, nourished by the tradition of two centuries of Mongolian rule, employed as a hypocritical cover for their aggressive intentions the "protection of the Christians" under Turkish suzerainty. Under these and other pretexts, they have made inroads on Rumanian territory 13 times. Sometimes, as in 1711, when Peter the Great signed a convention with the Rumanian Prince Cantemir, guaranteeing the independence of Moldavia, they

came as "allies". But these "allies" had to live on the land and whether friends or enemies, the consequences for the country were almost the same. In 1736 they occupied the principalities and remained for 3 years; they came again in 1769, during the reign of Catherine the Great, in the war against the Turks and remained 5 years until the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardjy. Czarist Russia claimed a "religious" interest in that area, whereas in fact it was scheming to take the Rumanian lands. During another armed conflict with the Turks, the Russians again occupied the country for 5 years and withdrew over the Dniester after the Treaty of Jassy in 1792. They returned again in 1806. General Kutusov, commander of the Russian Armies, boasted that he would leave the Rumanians with nothing but "eyes to weep with." In 1812 the Russians retired their troops but annexed the Rumanian province of Bessarabia, which was subjected to the usual techniques of Russification, deportations, and other methods of thwarting national life.

The Russian devastations added to the exploitation of the agents of the Porte, roused the Rumanian people and the revolution of 1821 was the beginning of a national revival, which led eventually to Rumanian independence. But the road was still thorny. In 1828 the Russians, once more at war with the Turks, invaded the principalities and although after a year the peace of Adrianople was signed, they continued to occupy the country for another 5 years. Every Russian act points to their intention of incorporating the principalities. One of the main factors causing the failure of the 1848 revolution was Russian opposition. The Russians then concluded with the Turks a convention establishing a condominium of the two powers over the principalities. The country was once again under Russian occupation until 1851. The Russian expansionist drive could not be stopped by a mere "convention". Under the wornout pretext of "protecting the Christians" they invaded the principalities in 1853. This time France and England opposed the Russian barely veiled annexation of the principalities, which marked the beginning of the Crimean War.

The defeat of Russia and the support of France made possible in 1859 the union of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the Rumanian Prince Alexander Cuza, and their political autonomy under the guaranty of the European powers. The Treaty of Paris in 1856 gave back to Rumania the southern part of Bessarabia and the guardianship of the mouths of the Danube.

The new national rule in Rumania under Cuza started with the abolition of serfdom, peasant ownership of the land, and political and parliamentary franchise, establishing free institutions and compulsory education. In 1866 Prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was chosen for the throne of Rumania and a constitution of liberal principles was adopted. For the first time in almost two centuries began a breathing spell for Rumania development. Rumanian resurgence had again to meet with Russian imperialistic techniques in 1877. On the eve of the war between Russia and Turkey 1877, Rumania signed a convention with Russia, article 2 of which had the following text:

In order that no inconvenience should result for Rumania from the fact of the passage of the Russian troops through her territory, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of all Russias, pledges himself to maintain and to make

respected the political rights of the Rumanian State, such as derived from its internal laws and the existing treaties, as well as to maintain and defend the present integrity of Rumania.

Prince Carol took command of the United armies before Plevna, routing Osman Pasha's forces. The "reward" for this cooperation came very soon. In 1878 the Congress of Berlin sanctioned Russia's demand for the districts of southern Bessarabia, which had been returned to Rumania by the Treaty of Paris, 1856, over the protests of Rumania's delegates.

Rumania was recognized as a sovereign kingdom in 1881 and proceeded to concentrate its efforts on the interior development of the country, which had been retarded by the interference of her powerful neighbors from the north, east, and south.

In the First World War Rumania fought on the side of France, England, and America, and brought about the freedom and unity of all Rumanians. The Rumanian campaign was made at great sacrifice. In the last weeks of the imperial tzarist regime the Russian generals made no secret of their intention that Moldavia would go the same way as Bessarabia. When the Rumanian General Vaitoianu protested to the Russian General Zacharoff at their lack of aid to the Rumanians against the Germans, the Russian replied:

My orders are not to help the Rumanians, but to occupy Moldavia; and I have done so.

After the "Revolution" the Russians received orders not to fight at all, thus leaving the Allied line exposed and the whole brunt of the war on the Rumanians. Within Rumania's borders were a million Russian soldiers, straggling and thieving through the countryside and preaching Bolshevism. The Bolshevik campaign of disruption and subversion was a serious concern of the Rumanian Government, which did not hesitate to take uncompromising measures. The Communists were eliminated within the borders of Rumania.

II. WORLD WAR II AND RUMANIA

In the period between the two world wars Rumania gravitated politically and economically towards the Western democracies, being a member of the League of Nations, whose Assembly twice elected as its President Nicolae Titulescu, head of the Rumanian delegation. Rumania also played an important role in the Eastern European organizations such as the Balkan and the Little Ententes. But with the rise of the two totalitarian imperialisms, the National-Socialist and Communist, Rumania again was put in an impossible position. In 1939 with the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of August 23, which divided Europe between the two totalitarian military powers, it was a foregone conclusion that Rumania's fate was sealed.

The desire of the West for coexistence with Hitler, expressed since 1936 in a sequence of appeasement moves and concessions compelled the small powers of southeastern Europe to come to terms as best they could with Germany.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, besides having led to the partition of Poland and to the annexation by the U. S. S. R. of the Baltic States, gave the Rumanian lands of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to Russia. Immediately after the fall of France in May 1940, the Soviets demanded the cession of Bessarabia and Bukovina in

fulfillment of their agreement with Hitler. In typical Soviet manner they delivered an ultimatum on June 22 to the Rumanian Government. Rumania had to yield and was given officially 3 days to evacuate the provinces, but on the second day the Russian troops had already moved in. Numerous vexations and acts of brutality took place and great numbers of the panic-stricken population fled and took refuge in other Rumanian provinces. This aggressive action was followed on August 30, 1940, by the Vienna award.

At the moment when this new territorial loss was imposed on Rumania, the Soviets staged frontier incidents, followed by threats which may have been an indirect warning to the Axis. This pincer-technique of Russia and Germany, as well as the general political situation, reduced Rumania to a policy of trying to keep afloat and preserve as much as possible of the national life. The German campaign against the Soviets, 1 year after the humiliating occupation of Bessarabia, was regarded by the Rumanians as an opportunity to retake the lost provinces. The war against Russia involved inevitably Rumania further than this primary objective. The Rumanians were deeply worried when the United States and Great Britain became the allies of Russia. However, the Soviet danger was so imminent for Rumania that they continued to fight against the Soviets up to August 1944. But when it became clear that at the end Germany would be defeated, the Rumanians decided to disentangle themselves from the war.

The armistice and the attitude of the great powers

In March 1944, Prince Stirbey arrived in Cairo on a confidential mission as a mandatory of the King and of the Rumanian political leaders, with full authority to discuss an armistice with the Allied Powers. The major concern of the Rumanians was to obtain from the United States and Great Britain a guaranty of independence. The guaranty was not given, but the Russian Government issued the Molotov declaration of April 3, 1944, pledging noninterference in Rumanian affairs.

The Soviet Government declares that it does not pursue the aim of acquiring any part of Rumanian territory, or of changing in whatever manner the existing social order in Rumania. It equally declares that the entry of Soviet troops into Rumania is solely the consequence of military necessities and of the continuation of resistance of the enemy's troops.

Concomitantly with this declaration the American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, endorsing the Soviet pledge declared:

This statement (i. e., Molotov's) makes clear to the Rumanian people that the main business of the armies of Soviet Russia is to defeat the enemy in the field. The political assurances which the statement contains could help the Rumanians to see that their own ultimate interest requires that German forces be driven from their country.

On April 4, 1944, in the House of Commons, Churchill expressed the "admiration" of the British Government for the Soviet guaranty. It is on the strength of these pledges that the Rumanians reversed through a coup d'etat their position and joined the Allies on August 23, 1944.

Meanwhile, behind this facade, political arrangements were being concluded. Already in May 1944, the British Government proposed to Russia a division of areas of "predominant" interest, whereby "in the main Rumanian affairs should be the concern of the Soviet Gov-

ernment and Greek affairs the concern of the United Kingdom." Having first answered in the negative, President Roosevelt agreed to the Churchill-Stalin bargain on spheres of domination with the limitation that his approval was valid only for a trial period of 3 months and under the conditions that no postwar spheres of influence should be established. The Roosevelt agreement thus qualified was given on June 12, 1944. But the pressure brought to bear on Rumania was not a mere "trial"; it was the implementation of the Soviet plan of enslavement. Russia was demanding the inclusion of Communists in the Rumanian democratic representation, which was to reestablish relations and conclude agreements with the Allies. For the Rumanians the principal difficulty in the fulfillment of the desire of Russia was the small number of Communists in the country, of which there were at that moment but a few hundred. Testifying on this problem in London on June 15, 1944, King Michael of Rumania told the House Committee on Communist Aggression the highlights of these events.

After the expiration of the 3-month limit, fixed by President Roosevelt, the British-Soviet bargain with regard to the spheres of influence, instead of being terminated, was reconfirmed and consolidated. Winston Churchill recalls in his sixth volume of *The Second World War*, page 198, how the bargain was strengthened and deepened on the occasion of his interview with Stalin on October 9, 1944.

The moment was apt for business—

wrote Churchill—

so I said "Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Rumania and in Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have 90 percent predominance in Rumania, for us to have 90 percent of the say in Greece and go 50-50 percent in Yugoslavia?" * * * It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set it down.

On October 12, 1944, Churchill was cabling to his Government:

Thus it is seen that quite naturally Soviet Russia has vital interests in the countries bordering on the Black Sea, by one of whom, Rumania, she has been most wantonly attacked with 26 divisions and with the other of whom, Bulgaria, she has ancient ties. Great Britain feels it right to show particular respect to Russian views about these two countries, guiding them in the name of the common cause * * * Soviet Russia will be ready to concede this position and function (i. e., control over Greece) in the same sort of way as Britain would recognize the intimate relationship between Russia and Rumania.

Churchill wanted to give the impression to the United States that the Russians were responsible for this sellout. He cabled the same day—October 12, 1944—to Hopkins:

They (i. e., the Russians) claim fullest responsibility in Rumania, but are prepared largely to disinterest themselves in Greece.

On August 25, 1944, immediately after the cessation of hostilities against Russia on the part of Rumania, Molotov declared once more:

In the face of events in Rumania the Soviet Government considers that it would not be without value to confirm the Declaration it made in April of this year, to the effect that the Soviet Union does not intend to appropriate any part of Rumania, or to change the established social regime in that country, or furthermore to limit in any way whatever the independence of Rumania.

These declarations were made in order to lull the fears of the Rumanians, their awareness of the Russian danger and to insure the

advantage of their collaboration. Meanwhile an event took place in Bucharest which, according to an expert on Eastern European questions (R. W. Seton Watson) was one of the decisive facts of World War II, being followed by the defection of Bulgaria and the liberation of Belgrade. On the 23d of August 1944 the King of Rumania had the pro-German Premier Antonescu arrested and published a proclamation in which a cease-fire was ordered and the end of the war against the Allies announced. This action opened the way toward southeastern Europe to the Red army.

From then on Stalin's well-devised plan to subjugate Rumania becomes evident. (Premonitory signs of Russian intentions with regard to Rumania have been seen by some in the remark made by Stalin in December 1941 to Eden, that Rumania should give Russia special facilities for bases; and in a statement made by the Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, Maiski, in March 1943 that the U. S. S. R. probably would not oppose a Balkan Federation, provided it excluded Rumania.) Relying on his understanding with Churchill and knowing that the Rumanian people were against both communism and Soviet rule, Stalin used every means at his disposal in order to thwart Rumanian independence. The first problem was to reduce the country militarily to a defenseless position. Two methods were used to this effect: (a) After the Rumanian cease-fire was ordered by King Michael and the armistice declared on the Rumanian side, August 23, 1944, the Russians—while taking advantage of this situation—nevertheless considered Rumania, who was opening her gates to the Red armies and receiving them as friends, as still at war with the U. S. S. R. Thus 130,000 Rumanian soldiers, who had received orders to cease fire after August 23, were made "prisoners of war" and "captured" by the "victorious" Red army. Stalin prolonged this situation until September 12, 1944, when the Armistice Convention was finally signed in Moscow.

Meanwhile, between August 23 and September 12, 1944, the Russian Army, entering a country ordered to receive them as friends but which they had instructions to plunder and destroy, took an immense "war booty" and were busy delivering "war communiques" in which they described how they had "liberated," "after heavy fighting" Rumanian centers, which were in fact free and receiving them with "bread and salt," after an ancient custom of the land, when reception of friends and allies is involved. The Red army responded by robbery, murder, rape, and wanton destruction. This aspect of the Soviet Army's behavior in Rumania was emphasized in the committee's hearings in Washington, D. C., on December 2, 1954. The witnesses, among them Mr. Farcasanu and Mr. Romanos, described the comportment of the Soviet soldiers as that of—

savage bandits, ravaging the countryside, shooting livestock, even cows, setting fire to farmhouses, stealing cars by stopping them on the roads and throwing the drivers into the ditches * * *.

They ascribed these acts of vandalism to Moscow's specific orders. They also reported that editors of newspapers which expressed astonishment at the fact that cities held by the Rumanian Army were declared "liberated after heavy fighting" by the Russians, were being persecuted by the Soviet authorities.

Through the instrumentality of the armistice convention Stalin demanded that the remaining Rumanian Army be sent to the front

to combat the Germans (the armistice convention provided that " * * * for the purpose of restoring Rumanian independence and sovereignty, for which purpose she provides no less than 12 infantry divisions with corps troops") which was fulfilled beyond the letter of the convention. More than 15 Rumanian divisions fought alongside the Allied troops through northern Hungary and Slovakia. The Rumanian Army suffered about 150,000 casualties in this campaign.

Having disposed in this way of the Rumanian armed forces, the Russians proceeded to prepare the Communist seizure of power in Rumania, using for this purpose their position as absolute masters of the country. Article 18 of the armistice convention provided that—
An Allied Control Commission will be established, which will undertake until the conclusion of peace, the regulation of and control over the execution of the present terms.

But the name of "Allied Control Commission" did not correspond in the slightest degree to the facts. The Control Commission was a purely Soviet institution which acted without any consultation whatsoever with the American and British representatives. The Soviet Commission was thus invested with absolute dictatorial powers over the internal Rumanian developments. The Soviet handling of the Rumanian situation was ruthless.

An American writer, Henry L. Roberts, in a book on Rumania, writes the following in connection with this problem:

In Rumania the question of communism was completely entangled in the issue of Soviet-Rumanian relations. More than in most European countries communism and high treason were regarded as completely synonymous terms * * * The Third International was founded in the hope and expectation that the disasters and havoc of the First World War would create sufficient social upheaval to bring about the proletarian revolution. But: while revolution threatened to gain the upper hand in many Eastern European states, Rumania stood fast. As a result Rumania, perhaps more than any state of Eastern Europe, regards itself as the bulwark against bolshevism, both against Soviet territorial advance and against the Communist revolutionary doctrine.

And further, the same author writes:

While it is true that Hungary for a time, at least, was permitted to enjoy the fruits of a free election, that Czechoslovakia preserved a relatively independent internal status until 1948, and that Finland, though at one time associated with Hitler, is still free of Communist control, there is little evidence that Rumania would ever have been permitted such freedom or such a long leash * * * Since 1947, with the reinforcing of the Iron Curtain, Rumania appears to have become the most tightly sealed and impenetrable of all the Soviet satellites. However, of all the nations of Eastern Europe, Rumania offered perhaps the least promise of voluntary cooperation with the Soviet regime. There were the unresolved territorial conflicts, the absence of any Pan-Slav feeling and a miserably weak Communist Party * * *.

III. THE SOVIET SEIZURE OF RUMANIA

Once the Rumanian Army was on the front, fighting alongside the Allies, the Russians had the country at their military and political mercy. They tried at first to put in power their Communist agents through the usual Soviet techniques of intimidation, pressure, and menace. The Rumanian Communist Party, according to a statement of Ana Pauker, numbered at that time less than 1,000. The Soviet occupation forces intervened in the building up of a controlling Communist apparatus. They openly supported the Communist Party, attacking and threatening the democratic parties. At the hearings

of the committee on December 2, 1954, in Washington, D. C., it was clearly brought to light that if anybody was attacking the Communists, the Russians intervened immediately in order to show that whoever was anti-Communist or had an anti-Communist feeling, was considered as anti-Soviet and that kind of thing was not to be allowed. Any criticism in the press directed against the Communist Party's activities was followed immediately by punitive measures of the Russian Allied Control Commission.

Moscow's radio and press were cooperating in this campaign, which developed rapidly from intimidation to terror. But in spite of all this pressure the Rumanian resistance to Soviet communism was so great that these methods proved inadequate. The governments of Generals Sanatescu and Radescu, while under heavy Soviet military and political pressure, did not lose control of the country. Finally in January 1945, Gheorghiu-Dej and Ana Pauker, leaders of the Communist Party, were called to Moscow and given orders to proceed with the overthrow of the legal government and to seize power. Accordingly, the Communists prepared their coup for February 24, 1945. Large groups of Communist Party shock detachments were massed in the center of Bucharest and the forceful taking over of key positions in the capital was attempted, together with the assassination of the Prime Minister, General Radescu. Both attempts failed and the same evening the Prime Minister denounced to an indignant country the Communist plot to overthrow the Government. This defeat of Moscow's puppets forced the Kremlin to discard all pretense and to take overt action. Vishinsky and Malinovski were sent to Bucharest and through the famous 2-hour ultimatum given the King by Vishinsky, combined with an impressive display of military force, the Kremlin imposed the Soviet-controlled Groza government. This brutal act of violence took place 2 weeks after the Yalta declaration. Mr. D. Negel, former marshal of the Royal Court in Rumania, testifying before the committee, recounts details of these dramatic events:

On February 28, 1945, at 3 p. m., Vishinsky requested a new audience with His Majesty. He was received at 3:30 p. m. * * * This time, arrogantly rising and striking the table with his fist, he asked the King to answer whether General Radescu had resigned or had been dismissed. When His Majesty answered that he was awaiting consultations, * * * Vishinsky requested that the resignation of General Radescu be published by 6 p. m. and that within 2 hours the name of the person charged with the formation of the new government be announced * * * He then left slamming the door violently * * * In addition, as a method of pressure and intimidation Soviet troops and tanks paraded through the streets. Under the pretext that the rear of the Red Army was no longer secure because of the "disorders" in Rumania, the Soviet Marshal Malinovski, was recalled from the front. I was informed that if the new imposed government was not installed by March 6, preparations had been made to occupy the government agencies, during the night, and to install the Groza government by swearing the oath "in front of the people" the next day. They were also prepared to stage a so-called military plot against the Soviets under the alleged leadership of General Radescu, in which the King would also be implicated. The last direct pressure was made in the afternoon of March 6; I was called by the Soviet Embassy and notified that Marshal Malinovski had come to Bucharest from the front and that he wished to be received by the King together with Vishinsky. I asked when they wished to be received. They answered as follows: "That depends on the issuance of the decree for the formation of the new Groza government," and I was asked "At what time would the decree be issued"? At 9 p. m. Marshal Malinovski was received by the King together with Mr. Vishinsky.

The puppet government of Groza was not immediately recognized by the United States. At the Potsdam Conference (July 17–August 2, 1945), when free elections in Rumania and Bulgaria were suggested, Stalin replied—according to P. E. Moseley:

A freely elected government in any of these countries would be anti-Soviet, and that we cannot allow.

In order to bring about American recognition of the Groza government so obviously put into power by violence, a face-saving compromise was devised at the Moscow Conference (December 16–26, 1945). It was arranged to give immediate recognition to the Soviet Government of Groza if the Communists "promised" to hold "free elections" in the future. Consequently on February 4, 1946, the United States recognized the Groza government. Eight months later, after a period of terror and denial of political freedom through methods extending from censorship to arrest, torture and Soviet-style trials (the great pre-election political trial of the "Rumanian National Resistance Movement," for instance, implicated about 100 men, among whom were the most prominent anti-Communist leaders of the democratic parties) on November 19, 1946, elections were held. The declaration by the Department of State, of November 26, 1946, regarding these elections states:

The Department of State has now received extensive reports concerning the conduct of those elections and the information contained therein makes it abundantly clear that as a result of manipulations of the electoral registers, the procedures followed in conducting the balloting and the counting of votes, as well as by intimidation through terrorism of large democratic elements of the electorate, the franchise was on that occasion effectively denied to important sections of the population. Consequently, the United States Government cannot regard those elections as a compliance by the Rumanian Government with assurances it gave in implementation of the Moscow decision * * *

The committee hearings brought ample evidence as to the fraud and violence used by the Communist government in these elections. In its session in New York on May 7, 1954, the committee heard conclusive details on this problem from several witnesses, for example:

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you have any comments to make with reference to the procedure that was followed by the Communists during that particular election?

Princess ILEANA of RUMANIA. I will tell you, for my own village where I was, that they voted 100 percent against the Government and the votes came out 95 percent for the government, and that I know from the people there, who were there at the time * * *

At the committee hearings in Washington, D. C., on December 3, 1954, the following details came to light as to the methods of terror employed:

Mr. ONACA. I was carried * * * to the office of the chief of police * * * who struck me again on my left jaw with his pistol, breaking one more tooth, although he saw that I was bleeding from the previous blows. * * * Then cursing me terribly he said: "We are going to shoot all reactionaries and show you what you will get for your American and British sympathies." Nevertheless on election day, November 19, 1946, I was present at the voting precinct Ceanul Mare in order to supervise the voting for my party. There were 49 Communist "delegates" under the leadership of the murderer Basca Dumitru. They all had Russian pistols in their pockets, and in order to scare the voters they let the butts show. Most of these Communists were ordinary criminals. They threatened to kill me if I did not leave the voting hall. Then they struck me with their pistols * * * When the judge asked the Communist "delegates" to treat me more humanely, Basca Dumitru, chief of the Communist "delegation", cursed him and told him that he would be dismissed the following day, which actually happened after the election. Then the Communists, led by Basca, tried to kill me.

In spite of the clear identification by the State Department of the Groza stooge government as not representing the Rumanian people, the treaty with Rumania was signed in Paris on February 10, 1947. The British Government even took precautions in order that the signing be not disturbed by the intervention of a witness of such authority as General Radescu. The former Rumanian Prime Minister had fled Rumania in June 1946, landing on the island of Cyprus. When after some time he wanted to leave, the British prevented it. Hearings of the committee in Washington, D. C., on December 2 1954, dealt with this question in the following way:

Mr. NICULESCU. The secretary of the island colony said that his departure might endanger his life, because the Communists might be in a position to kill him somewhere in the western part of Europe, while on Cyprus Island he was sure of his life because they controlled the situation. The plan was of course that the general could not leave the island until the peace treaty with the Communists was approved by the Western Powers, on February 10, 1947.

Mr. McTIGUE. Thereafter you and the general came to the United States?

Mr. NICULESCU. The treaty was signed in Paris on February 10, and we were able to leave the island on the 11th, the day after.

The peace treaty was indirectly an official recognition of the Soviet seizure of Rumania. The Western Powers granted the Soviet demands, including the continued Russian military occupation of Rumania, even in time of "peace." The Soviet armies had entered Rumania with Molotov's express pledge to withdraw them at the conclusion of "military operations." The same Molotov refused nevertheless to include this provision in the armistice convention. In the hearings of the committee in New York on May 7, 1954, this question was discussed by witnesses:

Mr. VISOIANU. I asked that in the text of the armistice be included a particular article saying that at the end of the military operations the Allied troops had to withdraw from Rumania. Mr. Molotov answered that it was not necessary to put this in the text of the armistice convention because, of course, it was natural that at the end of the military operations the Russian troops will withdraw from Rumanian territory. I insisted. Mr. Harriman asked me not to insist any longer because this was the right interpretation of this point, that at the end of the military operations the Allies, particularly Soviet troops, would withdraw from Rumania. * * * Then I asked the assurance that this was now the interpretation of the Allied Commission that at the end of operations the Russian troops would withdraw. Molotov replied, "Yes, yes." And Mr. Harriman said "Yes." The British said "Yes," but the Russian troops are still in Rumania.

When the military operations ended on the entire European front with the fall of Germany in May 1945, the Soviet troops did not leave Rumania; they did not leave in 1946 either. In 1947, their illegal presence on Rumanian territory was further supported by the insertion in the "peace treaty" of a clause, which provided for their remaining under the pretext of guarding their "lines of communication," with Austria. It is a matter of elementary geography that the "lines of communication" between Russia and Austria do not pass through Rumania. Once the Soviet Communist seizure of Rumania was thus accepted by the Western Powers, the Soviet agents proceeded rapidly to the radical communization of the country. During the second half of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, the democratic parties, which represented more than 90 percent of the electorate, were abolished either through judicial or de facto measures and their leaders thrown into prison. On December 30, 1947, King Michael was forced to abdicate by the Soviet-controlled govern-

ment, and immediately afterwards, in April 1948, a new "constitution" on the pattern of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 was voted upon and put into force.

IV. THE PROCESS OF COMMUNIZATION

The meaning of the Communist state

This total seizure of political power by the Soviet-directed Communists in Rumania was accompanied before and especially after 1948, by an entire system of measures aimed at the absolute regimentation of the national life on the pattern of a subjugated Soviet "republic." The main objective of the legislation is now: (a) the avowed destruction of the "class-enemy," which means in the last analysis the elimination of all those who are not converted to Communist ideas; (b) destruction of free thought; (c) destruction of freedom in all its aspects; (d) destruction of free economy by the Communist state. The legislative and judicial powers are now mere administrative offices for the implementation of the orders issued by the Government, which is in its turn the subordinate of the party. The so-called Great National Assembly, result of the rigged and falsified elections of November 1946, is a body of terrorized yes-men, which "votes" invariably by unanimity the "laws" fabricated by the Government. It is the typical Soviet kind of "parliamentarism." A complete reversal in the conception of the "law" has taken place.

The law is no more an expression of legality but of "revolutionary legality", i. e., a purely political instrument with a view to liquidating the political adversary, as class or as individual. As expressly stated by the Communist officials and in an overt manner in the preambles of important "legislative" acts, men are no more considered equal; they are viewed as grouped in antagonistic classes, the state establishing privileges for one class and reducing the others to bondage. An accurate idea of the meaning of the state in the Rumanian popular republic is to be found in a Government report of 1949. The state is now "the instrument of oppression of the enemies of the people". It is well established by now that the concept "people" is equal in the Communist language with that of "Communist Party". "Of course"—goes on the report—"that even after the turn we are making now, strong capitalist remnants exist in commerce, small industry, especially in the villages. We will have to fight also the remnants of the capitalist ideology and morale, which will manifest themselves for a long time to come within the popular masses and even within the working class". It is easy to see from this quotation that the "enemy of the people" is not circumscribed to a definite social class, the "enemy of the people" could be everywhere within the working class, in small enterprises and especially among the peasantry.

The judiciary and the law as instruments of policy

The principle of the legality of incrimination—*nullum crimen sine lege*—which is the foundation of the penal law in the democratic conception of the juridical order, is flatly rejected by the Communists. Incrimination, sentences, and penalties are to exist from now on without any law, which would foresee the offenses or crimes and their correlative punishment. The "analogical infraction," taken out of the Soviet Penal Code, is introduced in the Rumanian popular republic.

lie as an instrument to combat and to suppress the class enemy "when the class-enemy feels the approach of his death." We are touching here the core of the so-called Socialist juridical order. Its mot d'ordre is omnis crimen sine lege, because its logical and necessary substance is the arbitrary power, the absolute domination through all possible means, without regard to their morality or juridical foundation. The "habeas corpus" principle is completely wiped out by dispositions which admit a practically indefinite period of detention without any appearance before the judge (in the "interest" of the "investigation" the detention is prolonged without any limit of time).

How the Communist "justice" functioned from the very start in Rumania was made evident at the committee hearings in Washington, D. C. on December 2, 1954:

Mr. GHEORGHIU. In the winter of 1944-45, one of the best known leather-shop owners was arrested under the charge of economic sabotage; the actual reason was that sometime before the Attorney General, a Communist, had been in prison with a shoemaker, who now wanted to have the shop and the millions of this merchant and urged the Attorney General to "act". The court tried and acquitted the victim. But 24 hours after he went home he was arrested again. The members of the appellate court who absolved him were punished by the Communist Minister of Justice. Under an ordinary legal regime it would have been impossible to charge a man a second time for the same offense. However, the man was accused on the same charge, thrown in prison, beaten by the Communists, and while in a coma had to appear on a stretcher before the court.

Mr. McTIGUE. What was the outcome of this trial?

Mr. GHEORGHIU. He was sentenced to 5 years. He died in prison.

Every "action or omission," considered without any legal provision, through the device of the "analogical infraction," by the agencies of the totalitarian party as "socially dangerous" can be punished with the various penalties existing now in the Rumanian "popular republic" and extending from 6 months' imprisonment to the death penalty. The decree 132, of 1949, provides in article 2, that the obligation of the judiciary is to consolidate and promote the Communist regime. And article 64 provides for the designation of the "popular assessors" by the Communist Party. New basic concepts, as "the social origin" and "devotion to the Communist Party," inheritance from father to son of the punishment for "reactionary" activities are now determining the "laws" in the "popular republic." "Reactionary" is obviously equivalent to anti-Soviet and anti-Communist. Deprivation of rights for the "reactionary" means consequently a general sentence for the Rumanian nation, sentence which is more and more applied in practice in every field of human activity, through misery and starvation.

The Various Techniques of Enslavement

At first look conditions in Rumania reveal a striking resemblance with the way of life in prison. Thus a most important feature of the panorama are the particular attention given by the Communist state to keeping its citizens inside its borders. Nobody except reliable Communists are permitted to leave the country. The frontiers are severely guarded and special precautions are taken. Those who try to leave without permission, if not killed during their attempt to escape, face a sentence of up to 17 years imprisonment. Within the country regulations concerning the movement of citizens are also very rigorous. The obvious intention of the Government is to control

every change of place of each citizen and finally to confine him to a certain fixed area, where he will be followed in his every move by the files of different governmental agencies. He will have assigned to him by the Government a progressively narrow Lebensraum. This system starts with the control and direct assignment by the Communist agency of the house and room where he has to live. The Government will decide upon the distribution and thorough control of the "habitable space" by the creation of Communist let-offices. (Infractions to these dispositions are punished with from 4 to 12 years of imprisonment.) In this way the Communists destroy the privacy of individual life and their ring of spies and informers tighten their hold.

As for the means of existence of the population: A "monetary reform" of August 1947 confiscated all financial assets, personal bank and saving accounts and all other moneys, giving in exchange to the peasant family \$1.67, to the worker family \$1, and to the rest \$0.50. So from one day to the other, everybody, no matter what his income, savings, etc., may have been, was left with the utmost \$1.67. In this manner the already impoverished population was left completely at the mercy of the Communist bosses. Another devaluation took place in 1952 putting a further strain on the population. The armistice convention obliged Rumania to pay the Soviet Union as "reparations" \$300 million. On September 23, 1946, Mr. Willard Thorp, United States delegate, stated to the "peace conference" in Paris that the actual charge imposed by Russia and already paid by Rumania amounted to approximately \$1,050 million. By July 1948, General Radescu, former Prime Minister of Rumania, declared that since the Thorp statement another \$735 million has been paid. It is estimated that until now \$2,200 million has been paid.

The press and all conceivable media of communication have been seized and totally transformed into organs of the Communist Party propaganda apparatus. The Communist "laws" and "constitutions" guarantee "freedom" of the press, "freedom of speech," etc., but these Communist mock-texts do not mention the fact that all material means of expression are under the absolute control of the Communist state as are also the men themselves. Meanwhile the "purge" of all books in Rumania, the "democratization of written thought," became a vast conspiracy against the national culture, an attempt to separate it from its traditions, and from occidental connections and to deprive it of its national character. This operation is intended to wipe out every remembrance of the true national past, especially in regard to Rumano-Russian relations and to the Rumanian territories occupied by Soviet Russia.

All criticism of the U. S. S. R., communism and the like, as well as any pronouncement in favor of freedom and democracy are rigorously suppressed from the very start. The regimentation of thought is implemented in every field of activity and through all possible measures of coercion and constraint. By the end of 1947 the last vestiges of the heavily pressured and censored opposition newspapers were definitely and finally liquidated. Hearings of the committee in Washington, D. C., on December 2, 1954, revealed many details concerning the measures applied to the press.

Mr. McTIGUE. During that 5 months' period while you were continuing to publish critical articles against communism, was your personal life threatened?

Mr. FARCASANU. Yes, sir.

Mr. McTIGUE. By whom?

Mr. FARCASANU. I was threatened continually in the Communist papers and I was informed that at a special session of the Communist Youth an attempt on my life had been decided. In fact all anti-Communist journalists were threatened. * * * Any attempt to use American journalistic material or the mere mention of anything connected with the United States, even in the cultural field, was considered as a crime and a damning thing for those who did so. * * *

The freedom of the mind cannot seek refuge either in plastic arts, movies or theaters. The film industry becomes a Communist monopoly. The pictures which the Rumanian citizen now sees are invariably Russian: Alexander Nevski, The Train Goes East, The Young Communist Guard, U. S. S. R. News Reel, Story of True Man (of course a Soviet man), A Realized Dream (of course a Soviet dream), etc, which stupefy the unfortunate who is obliged "to show his interest" in the "progressist" art. A decision of 1948 provides that all stage-production be submitted for reading and control to the Director of Theaters. The state is the only publishing house, together with the "Russian Book" (an agency for the Russification of the intellectual life in Rumania). By a decree of 1949 any operation connected with writing, selecting, publishing and spreading of "literary, scientific and didactic works, as well as that of pamphlets, almanacs, maps and whatever publications of this kind," comes under control of the Communist state. Another decree of 1949 declares flatly that the state "informs, directs and controls the press."

Every school, college or cultural institution has fundamental studies on: Marxism-Leninism, dialectic and historical materialism, political economy (viewed from the Communist angle) and Russian language. The admission to school is now definitely a political matter. Certificates proving that the candidate is a "democratic" element and is recommended by a "syndicate" are required. He will be expelled from school for an "antidemocratic" attitude. The program for civic and labor education contains the following subjects: the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., classconsciousness, dependence of all social relations on the production mode, exploitation of labor, capitalism, the unity of labor parties and imperialism, etc. Teachers will be distinguished on the basis of their "educational activity for the democratization of public instruction." Schools will have from now on "education counselors," who will perform the same function as the "educators" in the army, i. e., carry out Communist propaganda and depreciate the Occidental and national cultures. Rumanian textbooks will be rewritten from top to bottom in order to extirpate every trace of the former way of thinking and to inculcate in the young generation the Soviet Russian spirit. A decision of 1947 provides that there will be used—

only * * * the adapted textbooks * * * which have been thoroughly reconstructed in conformity with the demands of the actual development of our country.

Therefore, Rumanian schoolbooks will contain Communist and Russian propaganda. This process of communization of education is enforced through the Communist method of spying and denunciation, which is now introduced in the school system. The pupils are ordered to spy on each other, on the teachers and on their own parents.

Hearings of the committee in New York on May 7, 1954, illuminate these developments as follows:

Mr. McTIGUE. Referring back to your statement concerning your son and his education in Rumania, I think you left off on a note that there was a complete system of spying in the school and a complete system of reporting.

Princess ILEANA. Yes.

Mr. McTIGUE. As a consequence of this system of spying and Communist infiltration in the educational system, what was the reaction on the boys?

Princess ILEANA. The boys resisted it with really remarkable force. Some of them went as far as committing suicide. Two of my son's classmates committed suicide because they could not face the idea of spying on their comrades nor being responsible for the misfortune of their families.

An Institute of Rumano-Sovietic studies was created together with other Russian agencies and no expression of culture alien to the Russian Communist will be permitted to exist in the country. A decision of 1948 provides: "All foreign schools in RPR's territory * * * will be discontinued * * *" Every channel through which occidental culture has a chance to enter Rumania is equally barred and the stronghold of that culture in Rumania destroyed, for instance the French Institute of Advanced Studies, which had great prestige in Rumania. The school has become a training center for future Communists. The decree of 1948 for the reform of public instruction puts it in the most unequivocal manner: Article 1 "Public Instruction is organized exclusively by the state, on the basis of the unity of structure (i. e., Communist)". The Russian language is a required subject. Article 35 declares: "Confessional or private schools of every kind become state schools". Those who would hinder this measure will be punished with 5-10 years of hard labor and confiscation of their entire property. The highest cultural institution in Rumania, the academy, is of course integrated in this deadly process. "The RPR's Academy has for its objective the consolidation of the popular democracy on its way towards communism". The whole "academic" activity is ordered to promote communism and vilify the West. The "honorary" members are nearly all Russians, with the addition of a "westerner", Joliot Curie.

On the basis of a decree of 1948, practically all university chairs will be given to members of the Communist Party without professional qualifications. The Communist Party has an intense "cultural" activity. Radios and loudspeakers beat unceasingly the same monotonous propaganda into the brains of the people. Destruction of religious freedom followed the Communist pattern. The first move was done toward the enslavement of the Orthodox Church. Being dependent upon the state, the Orthodox Church was highly vulnerable. The Communists made a start by forcing the priests, who are paid by the Government, to enter a "democratic priests' association", "purged" the clergy, and appointed "hierarchs of the people". Stooze spokesmen of the Orthodox clergy declared that the "church" will fight "reactionaries" from the pulpit, as Government orders enjoined them to do. A dubious personality, Justinian Marina, was appointed by the Communist regime "patriarch" of the Rumanian Orthodox Church in May 1948 in the presence of delegates of the Russian hierarchy. He pledged himself publicly to serve the Government, after which he went to Moscow in order to seal his allegiance to the "patriarch" of the All Russian Eastern Orthodox Church, Alexei.

On July 17, 1948, the Council of Ministers announced the abrogation of the law of June 12, 1929, concerning the approval of the concordat with the Vatican. The Government passed a law instituting a general right of supervision of the religious denominations. This "law" provides that "religious cults in order to have the right to organize themselves and to function, must be recognized by a decree of the presidium of the Great National Assembly." All appointees of the churches, from the metropolitans and archbishops, to administrative vicars, in order to perform their functions, have to be approved by the "presidium" through a "decree". In addition they have to swear allegiance to the state. Congresses and meetings, as well as pastorals and circulars have also to be authorized by the Communist government.

No religious cult or representative of same will be permitted to entertain relations with religious cults outside the country's territory . . .

Hundreds of priests who opposed this Communist control were thrown into prison and concentration camps under inhuman conditions.

The abolition of the Greco-Catholic Church in October 1948 was overtly prepared through State propaganda, all the campaign being accompanied by acts of police terror, which went as far as attempted murder as in the case of Father Hyerominus Sussman, who was shot down by police agents. Finally a decree concerning the exercise of religious cults of 1949 establishes prerogatives for the Communist government, which will "supervise" and "control" from now on: (a) All religious cults; (b) religious education; (c) religious art; (d) all property and funds of religious groups, etc., having also the absolute power to decide on the establishment of new communities, parishes, and religious administrative units. Religious freedom is consequently denied to the Rumanian citizen.

The same denial of freedom characterizes the attitude of the regime as regards the right of association. The Communist administration has dissolved all free associations, confiscating their property. The range of this denial of the right to associate, reaches every field of human interest, religious, cultural, sport, charitable, scientific, etc. Only Communist, State organizations can function in the RPR.

Sovietization of economy

In June 1948 "nationalization" of all industrial, mining, banking, insurance, and transports concerns was decreed. In November of the same year "nationalization" was extended to health institutions, hospitals, sanatoria, film industry, and in April 1949, to pharmacies, laboratories, drug factories, etc. This process was accompanied by a continuous operation of "liquidation" through fake trials of all those who formed the backbone of Rumanian free enterprise. The Communist seizure of the economy followed a well-organized progressive pattern. Hearings of the committee in Washington, D. C., on December 3, 1954, illustrate those problems:

A WITNESS. The pattern was: The period of harassment, going up to the end of 1947; the period of strengthening of pressure, going on to June 1948; the big act of seizure when physical possession of equipment and machinery was taken over by the Government; and last, the period of physical destruction of the owner class. That the final aim was fulfilled and the next step was to subject completely the workers. This was done the second day after the taking over of the industries.

All the advantages granted to the workers during the previous periods, in order to confuse them, were canceled the second day after the nationalization. The workers have been told previously that they will become the owners of industries. On June 12, 1948, they learned they were not the owners, not even workers, but slaves and they had to work even overtime without getting more than the normal pay, and that was the beginning of the complete enslavement of Rumanian workmanship.

This nationalization was a means to expedite the thorough Soviet exploitation of the country through the economic dictatorship of a Moscow-controlled government, had been preceded by establishment of the so-called joint Soviet-Rumanian companies, the SOVROMS, which the Kremlin imposed on Rumania. The Russians apportioned for themselves 50 percent of the value of the 14 SOVROMS and exploited them accordingly. These SOVROMS started in 1945; their management was in Russian hands, they covered all the fields of economic activity, such as petrol, natural gas, coal, timber, metals, chemicals, the transports (air, sea, and rivers), banks, insurance, building, film, production of tractors, etc. The SOVROMS were constituted both through pressure and fraud. Hearings of the committee in Washington, D. C., on December 3, 1954, throw light on these questions:

Mr. CORBU. During the debate on the formation of the Air-Transport-SOVROM, the Russians seeing that with 15 new planes and some 10 small buses they will not balance the Rumanian participation; with the support of the Communist Secretary Gheorghiu-Dej, at present President of the Rumanian Communist Government, they succeeded to add to the treaty the item that the new airlines will operate not only on Rumanian territory but also on a part of Russian territory, bordered by the Rumanian frontier and in area about as large as the Rumanian territory itself. So the Russians included in the balance: "Russian airfields" and "airport facilities" just to show the Soviet participation to be equal to the Rumanian side. During the discussion period, the Russian Commission was free to travel and estimate the value of the Rumanian airfields, but not one of the Rumanian members of the Commission has been allowed to enter Soviet territory and check at least the existence, if not the value, of the "airfields" and "facilities" indicated by the Soviets as their participation. This "Soviet participation" had never been carried into effect. Nevertheless the new airlines started to work.

In other cases the Soviet Government used more direct methods in order to furnish their token participation, e. g., hearings of the committee in Washington, D. C., on December 3, 1954:

Mr. BACIU. In regard to the Rumanian Oil Co. "Creditul Minier," in 1945 in spite of the fact that this company was a private one and the Government had not a single share of stock in it, the Communist government bargained it away in Moscow by forming a new company with the Soviets, without consulting the owners. Instead of confiscating the shares from the private Rumanian shareholders, the Russians decided to "buy" and each day in the stock market they "bought," but in order to force people to sell they sent during the night the police, who told them to sell their stocks because otherwise they will be imprisoned.

Mr. KERSTEN. The police were sent to the homes of the stockholders?

Mr. BACIU. Exactly.

These "companies" were actually channels for the removal of goods and equipment from Rumania to Russia. In 1954, after almost 10 years of exploitation of Rumanian resources, the Soviets are "selling" their "part" in these companies to their Communist stooge government in Rumania. Through this new stratagem 50 percent of the value of Rumanian industrial capital is being transferred to Russia under the pretext of "buying" the "Soviet part" in these companies. That part has been always a fiction as no real Soviet contribution

ever materialized. The new orientation for the country's industry was directed toward heavy industry for Soviet war purposes.

The peasant problem has been and continues to be particularly difficult for the present Soviet rulers of Rumania and their Communist tools. In order to confuse and utilize the Rumanian peasantry, the Soviets staged a new insignificant land distribution in 1945, which proved a total failure. This fake land reform was immediately replaced by the Soviet policy of agricultural collectivization. In fact, of the 796,000 peasants who were given a small lot of land, 600,000 have refused to enter the kolkhozes. As regards the general agricultural situation, only 23 percent of the arable land of Rumania is in the hands of collective and state farms; the remaining 77 percent is still in the hands of the Rumanian peasants. There are approximately 5,200,000 peasants in Rumania who have individual holdings and have refused to join the kolkhozes. The problem of collectivization of agriculture is the greatest failure of the regime, in spite of over 8 years of forceful measures, and administrative pressure of discriminatory taxation, judicial persecution, and obligatory deliveries to the State, irrespective of the output, which were brought to bear on the peasant. The peasant standard of life has fallen to less than one-quarter of that of 1938. The Rumanian Communist state is pushing this spoliation of the peasantry to the extreme limit, but nonetheless the peasants refuse to yield to this Communist pressure. As a result of the collectivization and coercion measures, the agricultural output is steadily declining. Among the acts of persecution it may be mentioned that on March 2, 1949, 17,000 families were evicted from their farm homes in the dead of night.

The Soviet rule in Rumania makes large use of deportations and slave labor. The latter is organized on the pattern of the Soviet "Kulag" and directed by the "General Direction of Labor Reserves," which is closely connected with the secret police. It is estimated that there are at least 250,000 persons in concentration camps. There are more than 40 such camps in Rumania. In addition there are in Russia at least five camps where Rumanians who are condemned to forced labor are sent. There are in Russia still at present about 230,000 Rumanian prisoners of war, used for work in forced labor camps; another 107,000 Rumanian citizens of German origin (Volksdeutsche) are in Russian slave labor camps since January 1945, when they were brutally deported from Rumania. The committee hearings in Washington, D. C., on December 3, 1954, illustrated that point:

Mr. BACIU. The Soviets asked the Rumanian Government to interpret the armistice convention in such a way that all Rumanians who for a couple of days or hours had a position in Bessarabia, before 1940, be turned back to the Soviet Union. We had lots of suicides among these people. Of course we knew that they were to be deported to Siberia, as they did with other people from Bessarabia, but we could do very little about it."

Between 1940 and 1941 and after 1944 at least 850,000 Rumanian citizens were deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina. From Moldavia have been deported in 1944-45, at the time when this region was under direct Soviet administration, about 20,000 and some other 60,000 political men, functionaries, officers, specialists, and students were sent to Russia in the same period. Consequently, we have at least a mass of 1,267,000 human beings deported from Rumania

to the U. S. S. R. to work in the forced labor camps. In the Dobrudja, the southeast part of Rumania, has been organized the largest concentration camp in Europe, outside of the Soviet Union, with 30,000 prisoners, assigned under inhuman conditions to work 12 hours a day in the Black Sea-Danube Canal project, as slave laborers. About 200,000 more persons were removed from the towns of Rumania under various pretexts. Towards 1952 the Soviet domination of the country had imposed upon Rumania similar Communist characteristics as those of the Soviet "autonomous" republics. A new constitution almost identical with theirs, was adopted by Rumania. The preamble reads:

The Romanian People's Republic is born from the historic victory won by the Soviet Union over German fascism and from Rumania's liberation by the glorious Soviet Army * * *. The Foreign policy of the RPR is a policy * * * of friendship and alliance with Soviet Russia * * *

At the same time the Russian star was ordered placed on the Rumanian flag.

As regards Rumania's "liberation" by the "glorious" Soviet Army, quoting again from the committee hearings in London on June 15, 1954, the following information is given:

King MICHAEL OF RUMANIA. We managed to clear the whole of Rumanian territory of German troops. We managed to capture about 50,000 to 60,000 men, including all the generals and then the Russians, of course, came because we gave up fighting. They just poured down through Rumania and there was absolutely no fighting of any kind because there was nothing to fight.

The process of slow liquidation of the former middle class

Article 75 of the new Rumanian Penal Code gives special attention to "vagrants and beggars," who may be "interned for a 6-month to 10-year period in a labor house." That category of citizens who do not have a home and means of support is numerically unimportant and may be found in every country. It is by now, in Rumania, virtually a new social class, the size of which is continuously increasing. The methods through which the Communist regime creates that class are ruthless and various. The most usual are: the so-called administrative "compression," the nationalization-expropriation without compensation—the "requisitioning" and "blocking" of all kinds of goods, the absolute control of the Communists over the "field of labor" and the arbitrary arrests and indefinite detention of citizens. The Army, the magistrature, the police gave at the beginning the greatest percentage of the "compressed," then all the departments, offices, and institutions controlled by the state suffered the same thorough political "purge." To mention only two examples from the committee hearings in Washington, D. C., on December 3, 1954:

Mr. MANOLESCU. On April 23, 1948, the bar associations were transformed into so-called lawyers-colleagues. The Communists admitted as members only the lawyers who were affiliated in one way or the other with the Communist Party. Out of 11,500 lawyers in the Bucharest Bar Association there have been expelled 10,500. Only 950 were allowed to be members, in other words only lawyers who were loyal to the Communist Party.

And further:

Mr. CARP. In 1946 they purged from the Rumanian Army about 9,000 officers and 5,500 noncommissioned officers * * * because of their anti-Communist political beliefs.

Mr. KERSTEN. The greater part of the Rumanian officers?

Mr. CARP. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERSTEN. So actually then, the Communists succeeded in doing in Rumania what they also did in Poland when they massacred the officers' corps and a large part of it was found in the Katyn forest * * *.

To that category of disinherited another was rapidly added, the group of those whose goods and property have been expropriated or nationalized, blocked, or requisitioned. They never received any compensation or counterpart for the goods taken by the State. On the contrary the expropriation and nationalization brought to those who suffered them, not only impoverishment but also a stigma which extends to their children (those children are excluded for this reason from college—fellowships and all school advantages).

This systematic destruction of the small enterprise created obviously a new group of candidates for the "vagrant and beggar" category. They have been indeed, little by little, deprived of their instruments of work, of their professional capital, of everything which could have been a means of earning their livelihood. Hundreds of thousands were thus reduced to live through precarious expedients, as the selling of furniture or personal belongings. "It is understood"—reads a report of the New York Times—"that in Bucharest alone almost 200,000 former 'bourgeois' elements and functionaries of the pre-Communist regimes are reaching the end of their tether. They are being expelled from their homes, and since they have been declared ineligible for bread-ration tickets, have had to exist by selling personal possessions and furniture to buy food on the black market. Although technically they are eligible for the lowest category of work, in reality this does not work out because of the complex biographical data they must fill out before receiving such jobs. When Communist officials review such applications they generally find plenty of material in them, providing 'reasons' to refuse them."

The "field of labor" is under absolute control of the Communists. Nobody can be employed, i. e., nobody can work, without the express approval of a Communist agency, the "Office for the Distribution of Labor Forces" or its branches, the "district bureaus." The labor problem has become an exclusive domain of the state. The worker is now faced with an omnipotent employer, the state. His rights vis-a-vis this employer are denied him, because he is considered "owner" of the "means of production," he is supposed to be his own employer. In fact, he is still the employee of a boss, the most absolute and exacting he ever had, i. e., the Communist state.

He is controlled and ruthlessly exploited by the Communist management and by the Communist syndicates. It is certain that the workers do not easily bear this burden. Frequent acts of sabotage have, ever since the Communist seizure of power, menaced the "construction of communism." A State report as early as 1947 declares that "cases of grave endangering of the national patrimony have occurred" in the enterprises. Special measures of "interior defense" of the enterprises will be taken. Law No. 16 for the punishment of certain crimes which endanger the security of the state and the development of national economy is indicative of a fright on the part of the Government, which resorts now to the death penalty. The main concern of this law is the repression of sabotage acts by the workers. Article 2 mentions as punishable by death: "intentional nonaccomplishment of duties or careless performance of duties in the

enterprises," while article 3 applies the same penalty to individuals or groups organized for sabotage, as well as those guilty of hiding the saboteurs. These are clear signs of the abyss which exists between the workers and their oppressors a chasm which is underlined also by the heavy punishment for any individual or collective violation of the "collective contract." The objective of the Communist government is to ensure through ruthless, often disproportionate punishment, a servile obedience of the workers and public servants. No means is left to the worker to express his claims, to disagree with the management or to strike. Attempts to do so will be punished with sentences up to the death penalty.

As the main task of the government is to get rid of its opponents, an intense activity was undertaken for organizing political prisons and concentration camps for their gradual liquidation. Witnesses describe living conditions in the more than 40 Rumanian concentration camps as inhuman. The food allocation for the prisoners was insufficient. It consisted of a watery vegetable soup and a piece of corn mush. This starvation diet explains the high mortality existing in prisons, concentration, and labor camps. A former inmate of one of these camps tells of the terrible conditions and the attempt of the Communists to fool the West on this subject in the committee hearings in Washington, D. C. on December 2, 1954:

Mr. NICULESCU. * * * There were priests, professors, peasants, workers, and young students. Among the detainees were lots of women too and young people of 15 and 16 years of age. Once in a while the Communist guards took women out of the camp under the pretext that they had to be investigated. Women came back later, crying and badly beaten, telling us that they were raping many of them. Many of the women who were pregnant died. I remember that at the beginning of December 1945 everybody was excited that the American Government had decided to send a representative to Rumania, namely Mr. Mark Etheridge * * *

Mr. McTIGUE. Mr. Mark Etheridge?

Mr. NICULESCU. Yes, a well-known American journalist, who was to go to Rumania to investigate and witness the situation over there in order to report back to the American Government. Immediately that news was brought in the Communists decided to send all the people away from the camp. * * *

Mr. KERSTEN. They wanted to get things set up for the Etheridge visit?

Mr. NICULESCU. Yes * * * After we were taken away from the camp we were put in railway cars, locked in and proceeded to travel around * * * for about 2 weeks * * * During this time life was terrible. There was no real food and we could not have water and many people died * * *

Thus the Communists were able to prove to Mr. Etheridge that there were no longer any concentration camps in the country.

V. FRUITS OF COEXISTENCE

Inhabitants of Rumania are alined today in a certain number of categories, ranging from political convicts and deportees of labor camps to party leaders, categories subject to discriminatory treatment which can reach the most inhuman level. As for alimentation, the population is also divided into categories. The Communist state distributes food through ration cards of different standards. There are six categories of ration cards granted to the workers and functionaries. Those who are not in the "field of labor" receive no ration cards. All that is left to them is the black market, at five times the regular price, a black market which is itself controlled by the Communist agents. But as this large category of people has no property,


income, or other means of support, they cannot buy on the black market. Thus they are doomed to inevitable physical destruction through starvation. Even the rationed category of goods is often unavailable and ration cards are not honored often for weeks and even months. Open protests in the factories and food riots are recurring manifestations of a widespread discontent provoked by this situation.

The pressure exercised upon the Rumanian people in order to break their spirit of resistance, is aimed in particular at the destruction of the family and the perversion of moral values. The children are removed from the parents' moral and educational authority at a kindergarten age and as soon as possible they are politically indoctrinated and organized. The "pioneer" organization, the "Komsomol" and "Communist Youth" mold the young generation in the pattern of Soviet Russian communism. The first "educational" operation of these organizations is to pervert the feeling of allegiance of the child, in order to destroy the affection and respect for the parents and the religious beliefs. An effort is undertaken to turn the children into informers who spy on their parents. The story of the young Soviet "hero," who betrayed his father and mother so that they were put to death becomes the symbol of heroism. A persistent technique of discrediting and ridiculing religion adds to the moral perversion program. At the earliest age of puberty a most ruthless method is used, inciting the youth to sexual anarchy, in order to demoralize and insure absolute control over them. This process of moral disintegration is underlined by the appointment of prostitutes as administrative heads of "educational" institutions. An eloquent example of this reversal of moral concepts was the case of the most notorious Rumanian murderer, a double parricide, called Sile Constantinescu, who was liberated from prison and appointed director of the prison. The committee hearing in Washington, D. C., on December 2, 1954, brought clear evidence on the use of criminals by the Communist government:

Mr. BOTOSANI. The Communist agents were very often former criminals. From the first days of the arrival of the Red army in Rumania, the Communist Party which did not have even a few hundred members, used former criminals freed by the Communists. During the winter 1944-45 the leaders who trained the workers in the factories for the Communists, were chosen from among these ordinary criminals * * * I knew that at a certain moment in one factory in Bucharest, belonging to our corporation, there was appointed by the Communist Party, as chairman of the factory committee, an individual who recently was freed from jail and who had been sentenced for murder * * *

The persecution and moral sufferings of the people have not been able to thwart their opposition and resistance to Soviet occupation and communism. Groups of patriots hiding in the mountains are keeping alive the spirit of resistance and sabotage under appalling conditions, as they lack arms, food, clothing, and medical supplies. The whole of the Rumanian population is opposing the regime through its passive resistance. It is of course a fact that any resistance entails the most horrible reprisals. At the committee hearings, in Washington, D. C. on December 2, 1954, an illustrative incident on the occasion of a national demonstration on November 8, 1945, in Bucharest, was mentioned:

Mr. BOTOSANI. I know that after the manifestation many young people, boys and young girls, were arrested by the Communists. The girls were abused, raped by the Communists and sent back to their parents.



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The Rumanian people, together with other nations of central-eastern Europe, were brought into the Soviet orbit due to circumstances accompanying the military victory of the Allies. The Western democracies believed in the possibility of a "peaceful coexistence" with Soviet Russia and did not realize, at the time of the armistices, the true nature of Communist imperialism. The results are appalling for the peoples involved; ruthless regimes of terror and secret police activities are destroying the very roots of national cultures and traditions. The youth is indoctrinated and prepared, by powerful means of propaganda, to hate the West and to fight against it—if ordered by Moscow. The armies of the captive nations have been increased well beyond the numbers provided for the peace treaties. The truth about the problem was clearly stated in the committee hearings in Washington, D. C., on December 3, 1954:

Mr. CARP. After the peace treaty in Paris, February 1947, the Rumanian armed forces were allowed to have 137,000 officers and soldiers, but at the end of 1952 the Rumanian Communists had about 548,000 officers and soldiers, which is about 400,000 more than they were allowed by the Paris "peace treaty."

The determination of Soviet communism to attack and destroy the United States is not only a Communist theory, it is a practical, well-organized plan. It is enlightening in this respect to read the transcript of the committee hearings in New York on May 7, 1954:

Mr. McTIGUE. During the course of your conversations with Ana Pauker, did she from time to time make any observations with reference to this country?

Princess ILEANA. Yes, she did. She explained to me how it would be a battle that would not last too long, that they were not worried about "A-bombs," because they had a much stronger weapon within the United States and this was the American people and their industrial system. Especially she went to great length to explain to me about the electric systems of America, how much America depended upon its electric systems.

Mr. KERSTEN. Electric, you say?

Princess ILEANA. Electric, yes * * * and that so much of American life turned around electric power, that they will keep a series of small strikes going on through all the industries of America just to keep their hands in and to know who they could count on and who not.

Mr. KERSTEN. Did she say anything about the desirability of having some kind of control over the electric industry?

Princess ILEANA. Yes, and she assured me that they had it, but they were not going to make any big strikes until the moment came, because that would betray them; they counted very much on immobilizing the whole system, so that they would only need to walk in, and with their usual methods they would take over the key positions and proceed as they had in all the other countries * * *.

This being the plan the Communists are working to prepare the new generations in the subjugated countries for the fight against the West. At the same hearings, Princess Ileana added the following:

Ana Pauker explained to me that you looked at a country as at a field which you wanted to plant with new seed, and therefore you had to work it all over and burn everything on it and then plant new seed. And she said, "Of course this takes a long time. Therefore we have to terrorize the older generations into silence, so that they do not dare to speak to the young ones and to remember, so that the young ones would not have any memory whatsoever of times past; that their minds should be absolutely empty of anything but what the Communist regime wanted to plant in it. And that is why," she explained to me, "they had to use torture, imprisonment," because I asked her whether she thought she was convincing anybody. She said she was not interested in convincing anybody, that that was a waste of time, that they did not try to convince. That was a thing they used only in the so-called free countries but in the country which they occupied, they were not going to be bothered with convincing. They only wanted

silence, so they could bring up the young as they wanted to, quite indifferent to any kind of human feeling * * *

Such are the monstrous purposes of Soviet communism. These aims have been greatly promoted by the forced coexistence with Moscow into which the subjugated nations have been thrown.

In the records of the committee hearings in Washington, D. C., on December 2, 1954, can be found interesting statements and ideas concerning coexistence in Rumania.

Mr. KERSTEN. In view of your experiences, what is your opinion on the advocates of peaceful coexistence?

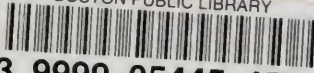
Mr. FARCASANU. Peaceful coexistence meant for Rumania the destruction of the country as a free and independent nation. Peaceful coexistence meant the murder of the innocent, the criminal persecution of the church and of the clergy, the destruction of free thought, the destruction of free economy, the destruction of family, and the national destruction through deportations. These things are still going on today.

Mr. KERSTEN. Have you seen any example in the experience of your country * * * or from your observation of other captive nations or the Soviet Union itself, an example of attempted coexistence with the Communist organism wherein that did not mean the ultimate defeat of the non-Communist organization or government and the taking over by the Reds ultimately?

Mr. FARCASANU. * * * Coexistence with the Communists means without question and in every case, the destruction of those who want to peacefully coexist. Coexistence, "peaceful coexistence," means at the same time helping in the preparation of a major war at the most favorable moment for the Communists. Coexistence means a spell of tranquillity for the Communist world, during which they will endeavor to destroy your free economy, through economic treacherous means, to destroy the morale of the free countries and to prepare militarily for a showdown with you; for your destruction is their ultimate objective. * * *



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