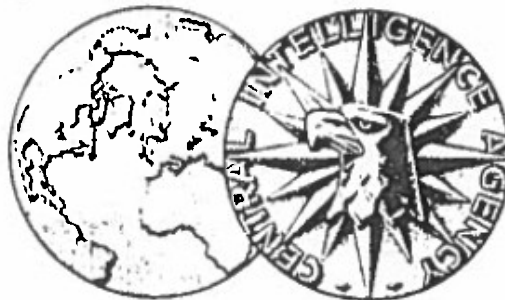


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SUMMARY

After the collapse of Axis resistance in 1944, Rumania was overrun by the armed forces of the USSR and subjected to a military domination which soon governed all phases of its political and economic life. Under the Armistice Agreement, Rumanian forces still in the field were diverted to join the Soviet advance into Hungary. Rumania became a rear area of the Soviet Army. Once military domination was assured, the USSR openly favored the organized efforts of the few Communists in the country, aided by opportunists and politically compromised elements, to undermine the King and the established order. Moscow-trained Communists were available to take over key positions in influential public organizations and the government itself. Every cabinet formed by King Mihai was unsatisfactory to the Soviet Union. Communist maneuvers to install a left-wing government under their control culminated in the formation of the Groza Government on 6 March 1945, under direct Soviet pressure. It was then believed that the USSR was motivated only by the desire to guarantee a friendly government on its borders and to ensure Rumania's fulfillment of its Armistice obligations, with no thought of imposing Communism on the Rumanian people. At the end of hostilities in Europe, and after the conclusion of the Rumanian Peace Treaty in 1947, the USSR continued to maintain garrisons in the country on the pretext that it must protect lines of communication with its troops in Hungary and Austria. Despite the Molotov statement of 2 April 1944, on the eve of the Red Army's crossing of the Prut River, that "the Soviet Government declares it does not pursue the aim of acquiring any part of Rumanian territory or of changing the social system existing in Rumania," the net result of Soviet occupation has been a far-reaching modification of the political, economic, and social structure of the Rumanian state. Kremlin-sponsored Communists now hold a

dominating position in Rumanian affairs and are shaping the country's future to their own ends.

Internally, Rumania has been proclaimed a People's Democracy and is being reorganized into a Communist state modeled after the Soviet Union. A Rumanian People's Republic was declared on 30 December 1947, and a new constitution was adopted on 13 April 1948. These provide the legal facade behind which the Communist Party extends its control over all political life. Although the constitution includes broad safeguards for basic civil liberties, these provisions are ignored in practice. The administrative structure at the top has undergone thorough and effective reorganization, particularly since the end of 1948. Local government is being progressively reformed on the pattern of "soviets" or People's Councils. These People's Councils, called into being by the Law of 12 January 1949, were initially set up as provisional committees consisting of Communist appointees. Although theoretically established as organs for mass participation in government, they will, in practice, function merely as "conveyor belts" of Party policy, in conformity with the Communist principle of "Democratic Centralism."

In foreign relations, Rumania has undertaken mutual assistance pacts and other agreements with the USSR and its Satellites which have created a solid, Soviet-controlled bloc in international affairs. The agreement signed in Moscow on 18 January 1949 setting up a Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) between the Satellite countries and the USSR, reportedly for a period of twenty years, will integrate Rumania increasingly into the political and economic Soviet masterplan for Eastern Europe. All of these agreements commit Rumania to undeviating support of Kremlin aims and automatically align it against the Western Powers. The campaign of vicious propaganda directed against the

Note: The intelligence organizations of the Departments of State, Army, Navy, and the Air Force have concurred in this report. This report is based on information available to CIA as of dates indicated at the beginning of each Chapter.

West and particularly the United States, continued and deliberate violation of Peace Treaty provisions, and open defiance of formal protests indicate Rumania's pursuit of this course.

The principal economic problem in Rumania is one of rehabilitating the basic elements of the economy (agriculture and petroleum) which were exploited to the maximum by the Axis, and, during the occupation, by the USSR. Drafting of industrial plans was begun in October 1948. A one-year experimental plan for recovery and development was announced at the end of December, and went into operation on 1 January 1949.

The major difficulty lies in the fact that critical items of equipment and machinery must be obtained from sources outside Rumania. Since many of these items are also needed in the USSR as well as in other Satellites, it is doubtful that Rumania will receive more than a token amount. The relatively slow progress achieved in meeting the production goals already established is largely the result of the failure to obtain these critical materials.

The military importance of Rumania to the Soviet Union arises from its strategic location which makes Rumania significant in the Soviet defense in depth. Additional factors of military importance are: the security of supply lines passing through Rumania; the construction of airfields for Soviet offensive or defensive use; the maximum use of oil fields and other petroleum installations.

Development of Rumanian Armed Forces will be governed by the decision of the Kremlin as to what share in Soviet strategy can be entrusted wholly or in part to Rumanian troops. This decision will be based in part on the most efficient use of Rumanian manpower as well as on the political reliability of Rumanian units.

The appointment in December 1947 of Emil Bodnăraș as Minister of National Defense marked the beginning of a program of rehabilitation and revitalization of the armed forces. Under this program definite steps are being taken to improve morale and to equip the various units with standardized weapons. Emphasis is being placed on political reliability,

particularly in the selection and training of a new officer corps. Some concrete results of the reorganization are already evident. Future progress will depend upon the political and economic development of the country as well as strategic considerations governing the employment of the army.

Rumania's importance in the East-West struggle is closely related to the degree of its subservience to the USSR. Rather than seeking the establishment of a "government friendly to the Soviet Union," Soviet moves have been designed to eliminate or minimize all factors which detract from the full use of Rumania's potential by the USSR and to exploit those elements which increase Rumania's value as a Soviet Satellite. In subjugating the Rumanian people, in establishing a Communist dictatorship and in erecting the framework of a planned economy, the Kremlin has moved methodically, without deviation. Such vital questions, from a national point of view, as the rehabilitation of the country, the establishment of a modern democratic order, and the organization of a defensive army, have been wholly subordinated to the seizure and consolidation of Communist political control. As this control became secure, the timing of specific measures to transform Rumania into a replica as well as appendage of the Soviet Union was based on a policy of gradualism and expediency. The implications of the new order being established in Rumania were revealed to the people step by step. The theory of "class warfare" was first publicized in June 1948; the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was publicly proclaimed in January 1949, and it was not until March 1949 that the Party formally announced its program for collectivization of agriculture.

In the face of constant Soviet pressures, the Rumanian people have remained hostile, restive and withal essentially impotent. Surface cooperation with the regime is the price of survival. Although estimates place the opposition as high as 90 percent of the total population, it has been thoroughly muzzled and suppressed. Resistance to the regime is not likely to become significant until the threat of overwhelming retaliation is removed.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL SITUATION

1. Genesis of the Present Political System.

Rumania today is a police state controlled by fanatical Communists who follow the Moscow line in its entirety. While the key positions in the government are in the hands of trusted Communist party members, the cabinet still contains a small number of fellow-travelers who are being replaced as they outlive their usefulness.

a. Historical Background of the Present Political System.

Soviet subjugation of Rumania is but the latest of a long series of foreign conquests of its lands from the time in 101 AD, when Emperor Trajan's Roman legions conquered and colonized Dacia, north of the Danube. Roman colonization was thorough and its effects can still be seen in the language and culture of Rumania. Although little authentic historical evidence is available on the period from the departure of the Romans in the latter part of the third century until the end of the 13th century, it is generally believed that the area was successively invaded by Germanic, Asiatic and Slavic tribes. In the latter part of the tenth century, the Magyars invaded the Banat and Crişana province, finally penetrating and colonizing Transylvania. Magyar oppression in Transylvania resulted in the migration of Rumanian nobility eastward to found the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These two principalities were the scene of frequent conflicts with Hungary, Poland, and Turkey. In the fifteenth century they became the tributaries of Turkey. Frequent wars and the economic decline following them weakened the country and, with the Turkish defeat of Hungary in 1526, the Rumanians could no longer avoid complete Turkish domination. The three centuries of Turkish rule that followed were characterized by corruption and general economic deteriora-

tion. Although corruption, which is commonplace in Rumania today, undoubtedly had its foundation in this period when Greek agents ruled for the Turks, the Greek satraps did expose Rumania to French culture and Western ideas. From the end of the Russo-Turkish war in 1774 until the treaty of Paris in 1856, Russia exercised "protection" over the provinces, although the Rumanians still acknowledged the suzerainty of Turkey. In 1812, Russia annexed Bessarabia, laying the groundwork for strong Rumanian irredentism.

Rumania was established as a unified state in 1859 when the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia elected the same prince, Alexander Cuza. Under Cuza's administration several reforms, including compulsory education and land reform, were inaugurated. Opposition by the wealthy landowners to the land reforms caused Cuza's downfall and in 1866 Carol Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen took the oath as Prince Carol I. During Carol's rule the constitution of 1866 was adopted, setting up a bicameral legislature and guaranteeing certain civil liberties, but providing for absolute royal veto.

The Kingdom of Rumania was proclaimed in 1881. In spite of some reforms adopted during Carol's rule, his failure to improve the welfare of the peasants led to the peasant revolt of 1907, which was followed by a minor agrarian reform.

Although Rumania was neutral in the first Balkan war (1912), at its conclusion it received the Danube port of Silistra and following the second Balkan war (1913), in which Rumania participated, it was awarded southern Dobrudja. In the years preceding World War I, Rumania was an ally of the Central Powers through the triple alliance of 1883. However, in 1916 Rumania entered the war on the side of the Allies, because of promises of territorial rewards and the pro-French atti-

Note: This Chapter is based on information available to CIA as of 1 May 1949.

tude of the ruling class. Although it was early overrun by the Germans and did not contribute notably to Allied victory, Rumania was doubled in territory and population on the basis of subsequent peace treaties. Rumanian irredentism was satisfied by the annexation of Bessarabia from Russia, Transylvania from Hungary, and Bucovina from Austria. With this increased territory, however, Rumania inherited the social problems connected with the administration of large national minorities. The war left Rumania with the need for social and administrative reforms and the desire to maintain the international *status quo*. Consequently, Rumania undertook to guarantee its national security against the demands of Hungarian revisionism by joining the French-sponsored Little Entente in 1920 and, in 1934, the Balkan Entente.

At the end of December 1925, Crown Prince Carol left Rumania and renounced his rights to the throne. Because of the precarious condition of King Ferdinand's health and the extreme youth of Carol's son Mihai, a provisional council of regency was appointed which took over after the King's death on 29 July 1927.

Crown Prince Carol returned on 6 June 1930 and became King with the consent of the government and all major parties except the National Liberals. For the next eight years, Carol laid the groundwork of a personal dictatorship. He encouraged the pro-German Fascist Iron Guard (founded in 1927 by the Polish-German, Corneliu Codreanu), and used it to terrorize the Rumanian democrats and weaken the two "historical" parties—the National Peasants and National Liberals. However, when the Guard's strength became a threat to Carol's power, it was outlawed and its leader Codreanu assassinated.

Carol proclaimed a personal dictatorship on 10 February 1938. A new constitution was announced on 20 February 1938, all political parties were dissolved and constitutional freedoms suspended. On 15 December 1938, the King founded the National Renaissance Front as an all-Rumanian political party to support his government. On 24 March 1939, a five-year economic treaty was signed with Germany.

To counteract growing German influence, on 12 May 1939 a treaty was signed with Great Britain, which guaranteed Rumania's territorial integrity and independence in the event of German aggression. The year 1940 saw Rumania forced to relinquish Bessarabia to the USSR, Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria and Transylvania to Hungary. Britain, with the Wehrmacht on the English Channel, could do nothing to help Rumania, so Carol sought to align his regime with the seemingly invincible Axis. Under German pressure, Carol liquidated his National Renaissance Front and established the Party of the Nation, admitting into it many recently released Iron Guardists. The Germans remained dissatisfied with and distrustful of Carol and on 6 September 1940 he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Mihai. General Ion Antonescu, the prime minister, who enjoyed the confidence of the Germans became the undisputed dictator.

In 1941, under German pressure and with the expectation of regaining Bessarabia and additional territory, Rumania entered the war and crossed the Prut River to attack the Soviet Union. When Rumanian troops were sent beyond the Dniester, losses at Stalingrad and other factors caused mounting opposition within Rumania against continued participation in the war. On 23 August 1944, King Mihai and the opposition staged a successful *coup d'état* against the Antonescu regime and Rumania capitulated to the Allies. Soviet troops occupied the country and an Allied Control Commission, under Soviet chairmanship, was established to implement the armistice and advise on the administration of the nation until the peace treaty became effective.

The first postwar cabinet, headed by General Constantin Sănătescu, was a coalition of the Communists and Socialists and the "historical" Peasant and Liberal parties. The second Sănătescu cabinet installed on 4 November did not include representatives of the "historical" parties. The hostility between the pro-Communists and those of opposite views led to a prolonged crisis which was temporarily resolved by the appointment of General Nicolae Rădescu as Premier on 6 December 1944. The truce, however, was shortlived; with the New Year, the Commu-

nists made plain their intention to undermine the coalition and obtain sole power. A campaign to oust Radescu culminated in a demand by the USSR that Dr. Petru Groza be appointed. On 6 March 1945, Groza formed a new left-wing cabinet which was dominated by the pro-Soviet National Democratic Front established in 1944.

The US and UK, maintaining that the Groza Government did not fulfill the requirements of the Yalta agreement, because there was no opposition representation in the cabinet, became deadlocked with the USSR. The Moscow agreement of December 1945 attempted to resolve this difficulty by calling for an election, which was held on 19 November 1946, and a "broadening" of the government to include opposition elements.

In the election campaign the Communist-dominated "Bloc of Democratic Parties" supported a single electoral slate. The National Democratic Front credited itself with a sweeping victory in an election characterized by intimidation and falsification of results. The opposition, which is estimated to have received approximately 75 percent of the votes, was allotted only 35 of the 414 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

During the succeeding year the government steadily undermined the King's prerogatives, and on 30 December 1947, demanded his abdication. On the same day, the Rumanian Popular Republic was created by proclamation of Premier Groza and his ministers, and "unanimously" agreed to by the Chamber.

b. Consolidation of Communist Power.

The proclamation of the republic marked the successful culmination of the Communist drive for complete control and enabled them to concentrate in the months that followed on altering the form of the state to permit a perpetuation of their power and to purge their own ranks of elements considered not entirely obedient to the Kremlin's orders. With the King removed and Communists solidly entrenched in the government, the new regime was able to turn to the task of revising the organic structure of the Rumanian State and the consolidation of political power in the hands of one party.

2. Political Parties.

a. Workers Party.

A congress of Communist and Social Democratic parties was held at the end of February 1948 which organized a single Marxist party called the Rumanian Workers Party. Its Secretary General, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, laid down the basic political creed of the new party and served notice that it would be purged of all dissident elements. While Gheorghiu-Dej said other political parties would be permitted, he made it clear that they would exist in name only and that the only real political force in Rumania would be the Workers Party, which would be the guide and master of the peasants as well as the workers.

The congress also announced that a new political grouping known as the People's Democratic Front would be formed to offer a common list of candidates for election to a constituent assembly scheduled for 28 March. The Front included the Rumanian Workers Party, the Plowmen's Front of Prime Minister Groza, the National Popular Party, and the Hungarian Popular Union. This grouping included all Communist elements and opportunists faithfully following Communist directives. The National Popular Party was disbanded on 6 February 1949, and its newspaper, *Națiunea*, suppressed on the grounds that the present political structure in Rumania left no place for a "middle-class party." While the membership of the Plowmen's Front is fairly large, it is actually a rural branch of the Communist organization tolerated solely to attract peasants who distrust anything overtly labeled Communist. In the Resolution of the Rumanian Workers Party of 3-5 March 1949, the Plowmen's Front was, for the first time, openly referred to as a "mass organization" subsidiary to the Workers Party. Since the March 1948 election, the whole concept of a "Democratic Front" has been completely moribund. In effect, Rumania is a one-party state.

Rumania has thus reached a point where an organization known as the "Party," claiming a membership of approximately 1,500,000, has become the most important factor in the everyday life of the country's 16,000,000 inhabitants. Although the official appellation

of this organization is the "Rumanian Workers Party," behind this facade is a solid wall of Communists, reported at the end of 1947 to number 600,000, who follow classic Marxist-Leninist dogma. Total membership of the Communist Party did not exceed 1,000 when it emerged from the underground in 1944. The Party has not yet become the rigidly exclusive organization that its foster parent, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, continues to be. New members are being carefully screened, however, and since November 1948 a large-scale investigation of all Party members has been undertaken, with the reported aim of reducing this membership to a hard core of 170,000 loyal pro-Moscow Communists. In all probability Party membership will not fall below 500,000, with the completely faithful not exceeding 50,000.

It has been disclosed that the Secretariat of the Party consists of seven members: *Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej*, the First Vice Premier of the Cabinet, *Iosef Chişinevschi*, *Ana Pauker*, Foreign Minister promoted to Vice-Premier in April 1949, *Vasile Luca*, Minister of Finance, promoted to Vice-Premier in April 1949, *Teohari Georgescu*, Minister of Interior, *Alexander Moghioros*, Deputy to the National Assembly, and the Socialist *Lotar Rădăceanu*, Minister of Labor. *Gheorghiu-Dej* was reported in eclipse late in June 1948 although subsequently his position in the party hierarchy seems to have been considerably regained. *Iosef Chişinevschi*, however, is believed to have emerged as number one man in Rumania, although he has been relatively unknown in Rumania and only recently was formally appointed to the Secretariat.

While the Secretariat is very powerful, the Executive Committee of the Party, or Political Bureau, is the real power in Rumania today. The following are the members of the Rumanian Politburo: *Iosef Chişinevschi*, *Ana Pauker*, *Vasile Luca*, *Emil Bodnăraş*, *Miron Constantinescu*, *Teohari Georgescu*, *Alexander Moghioros*, *Gheorghiu-Dej*, *Gheorghe Apostol*, *Gheorghe Vasilichi*, *Lotar Rădăceanu*, *Stefan Voitec*, and *Teodor Iordăchescu*.

b. Other Parties.

The three legal opposition parties which offered candidates in the parliamentary elec-

tions of 19 November 1946—the National Peasant Party of *Juliu Maniu*, the National Liberal Party of *Constantin Brătianu*, and the Independent Social Democrat Party of *Constantin (Titel) Petrescu*—have been broken by arrests and fear of arrests and do not exist as political entities, although the last two have never been officially suppressed by the government.

The government has not been content with merely destroying the three opposition parties, but has also taken steps to eliminate potential focal points for political opposition such as the rich capitalist elements centered around *Gheorghe Tatarescu*.

3. Basic Structure and Operation of the Present Government.

a. Constitution.

The People's Democratic Front issued a draft constitution, which, with a few minor changes, became the constitution of the Rumanian Popular Republic on 13 April 1948. It promised nationalization of industry and commerce, freedom of speech, worship and assembly, the suppression of parochial schools, and guaranteed to Rumania's minority groups the right to use their own languages in schools and courts and to preserve their ethnic integrity within the framework of the Rumanian state.

Nationalization of Rumania's industry was enacted on 11 June 1948. Educational and Church "reforms" have been instituted which render all schools and churches completely subservient to the State and the Communist Party. All public and private organizations, religious, cultural or welfare, have either been subverted or openly taken over by the Party. Since the end of 1948 the entire administrative system of the government has been purged and revamped, with Communist control becoming more apparent at every step. The courts have been taken out of the hands of professional jurists and made instruments of the Party class policy. The State has continued to enter those spheres of small business overlooked in the Nationalization Law of 11 June. Collectivization of agriculture has now been placed on the agenda as the next most urgent task by the Resolution of the Rumanian Work-

ers Party, which was published on 15 March 1949.

b. Presidium.

With the enactment of the constitution, the nominal Chief of State, the High Presidium, was enlarged from five to nineteen members presided over by the senile and addled C. I. Parhon. The powers of this presidium technically include the authority: (1) to convoke the Chamber of Deputies at the Cabinet's request; (2) to sign all laws enacted by parliament; (3) to grant pardons; (4) to nominate and dismiss Ministers at the request of the Cabinet; and (5) to accredit and recall Rumanian diplomatic representatives and to receive letters of credence and of recall of foreign diplomats.

c. Council of Ministers.

All executive powers not specifically granted to the Presidium are invested in the Cabinet, or Council of Ministers. The Cabinet is composed of the President of the Council (Premier), three Vice-Premiers, the President of the State Planning Commission, and eighteen Ministers. Dr. Petru Groza, leader of the agrarian Plowmen's Front Party, has nominally served as Premier of Rumania since 6 March 1945 but is totally without influence. The chief spokesman of the Rumanian Workers Party has long been First Vice-Premier Gheorghie Gheorghiu-Dej, Secretary General of the Party and President of the Supreme Economic Council. Since mid-April 1949, other key Communist figures in the Rumanian Workers Party have been promoted to Vice-Premier, replacing non-Communist fellow travelers. Consequently, the Party high command has become even more closely identified with the top posts in the government. Groza's tenure of office is, therefore, more problematical than heretofore, since it is now apparent that the Workers Party has progressively dropped all pretense of a coalition government and will, at the propitious moment, assume open charge of the Presidency of the Council as well as all government departments. The few non-Communist Ministers who remain in the government are all dependable fellow travelers, if not secretly members of the Communist Party.

d. Grand National Assembly (Legislative).

The Grand National Assembly, consisting of 414 members, is completely subordinated to the directives of the Communist Party. Theoretically the Prime Minister and the Cabinet are responsible to the Assembly. In practice, however, the Assembly is merely a rubber stamp, approving all legislation originating in the Council of Ministers, and electing to the Presidium persons selected by the Communist Party.

e. Judiciary.

Legal reforms preceded the Constitution by a few months. Their most noteworthy feature was the creation of a corps known as "popular assessors" whose task was to assist the regular magistrates in the dispensation of justice. These assessors were chosen from the trade unions and approved by the General Confederation of Labor. A new law on court organization was applied beginning in 1949 which greatly enlarged the powers of the people's assessors, who now sit in all penal and civil courts except the Supreme Court and actively participate in the functions of prosecutor as well as those of judge. Control of the court's decision is assured by the predominance of assessors over regular judges. The elections of people's assessors under the 1949 law were to begin on 16 May 1949. All present or former employers of labor were disenfranchised in the elections. The underlying purpose of this system, adapted from the People's Courts of the Soviet Union, is to insure that cases are decided by political expediency on a class basis and in conformity with the objectives of the Communist Party, rather than by legal precedent or judicial discretion. A 1949 revision of the penal code embodies many concepts taken from Soviet legal theory. The most flagrant example of Communist control of the judiciary and their flouting of the elementary principles of justice is found in the trumped-up trial and conviction of Juliu Maniu, the National Peasant leader, as early as 1947.

Under the Decree for the reorganization of the Rumanian courts which came into effect on 7 April 1949, the ordinary court system is divided into People's Courts, which may be classed as urban, rural, or mixed, Tribunals,

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Courts, and the Supreme Court. In addition, there are numerous special courts set up to handle fiscal, agrarian, labor, church, and army and navy matters.

f. Party Influence.

The conduct of Rumanian offices is dictated by the Central Committee of the Workers Party without attempts to conceal the origin of directives, although the Rumanian Politburo probably initially decides all major policy questions in line with Soviet directives. The most striking example was seen on 11 June 1948 when the government obtained the approval of a special session of the Chamber of Deputies to nationalize almost all of Rumania's industrial and commercial enterprises. The communique informing the Rumanian public of this drastic undertaking announced that the request for its enactment was made the day before its passage by the Central Committee of the Party. The Cabinet meeting which acted on the Party's request lasted a bare half hour. Similarly, the Party Resolution of 12 December 1948 established government policy toward national minorities, the Resolution of 23-24 December 1948 introduced the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Rumania and outlined the duties of the trade unions, while the Resolution of 3-5 March 1949 described the steps to be taken under Party direction toward collectivization of agriculture.

In effect, the Party has become a super-government under which the Grand National Assembly and its High Presidium, the Council of Ministers, the Militia and Armed Forces, as well as all public and private organizations, function as mere agents of the Party and its Politburo. Since the elevation of Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca and Miron Constantinescu to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in April 1949, the trend has been to identify the Party high command with the top functions of State. The Party no longer operates in the background, under the facade of a coalition government, but represents both the State and a power apart, responsible only to the Kremlin. Regional and local government, whose function it is to implement Party decrees, will administer rural areas and municipi-

palities under the watchful eye of responsible Party organs.

g. Effects of the Cominform Resolution.

From the internal Rumanian point of view, the publication of the Cominform resolution against the Yugoslav Communists was the signal to complete the purge of bourgeois and "compromising" elements from the Party's ranks. It served to show Rumanians, who had previously engaged in wishful thinking about the intentions and life expectancy of the regime, exactly what the Kremlin intended for their country. The determination to permit no deviation from Moscow directives, no matter how slight, was revealed at the same time.

4. Pressure Groups.

a. Public Opinion.

The Rumanians are generally considered to be an admixture of the Latin and the Oriental. This may be offered as an explanation of their many-sided national character. Volatile and emotional in moments of stress, they are, nevertheless, adept at exercising patient guile and wily strategem to serve their long-range ends. Their high degree of sinuous adaptability and political opportunism partially explains their survival as an ethnic entity and as a nation, and these factors probably play a strong role in the Rumanian reaction to their current domination by the Soviet Union.

Most of the Rumanians live in anticipation of the day when the Russians are gone and the present leaders in Rumania are liquidated. They are not capable, however, of making any moves to upset the regime, and at present their attitude toward it is one of hostile inertia. They see no possible hope for deliverance, except through a war in which the Western nations would defeat the Soviet Union. Hence the Rumanians are delighted over every new incident marking a further deterioration in USSR relations with the West.

Although the great majority of the Rumanian people hate their present masters and hope for deliverance, the firm entrenchment of the present government and its vigorous, unremitting endeavors to suppress and erase

all Western ideas and traditions can be expected with the passing of the years to wear down to negligible proportions the will to resist. Hatred may give way to helpless tolerance and the Rumanians may resignedly accept the new order as their blood brothers in Soviet Moldavia have had to do for three decades. Only if some bright hope of deliverance is held out to them will the Rumanian people be inspired to contrive effective obstacles and resistance to the Communist subjugation of their nation. Their history demonstrates that they have a rare talent for confounding their oppressors when independence or deliverance from tyranny is an attainable goal.

b. Resistance Groups.

There is no information available to indicate that an effective and organized opposition in the form of resistance groups is in being or is contemplated in Rumania. The absolute police powers of the government are sufficient to discourage individuals or groups of individuals capable of organizing and carrying out such a program. Introduction of the death penalty in mid-January 1949 for violation of national security even in peacetime, economic sabotage, and group or individual acts of terrorism have provided the government with ample power to stamp out any incipient gesture of revolt.

There has been, however, a number of reports which are sufficient to confirm a pattern of small-scale and more or less spontaneous resistance. These efforts are more in the nature of reactions against the low wages and long hours of the workers, particularly in the railroads. The resulting acts of sabotage, in the form of fires and disruption of railroad traffic, are sporadic and disconnected. While they undoubtedly irritate the government, their value is more as a nuisance than a threat. It is expected that such incidents will continue and perhaps increase in scale when the government begins its program of collectivization of agriculture. Coordination of the various small groups and their development into an organized resistance cannot be effected under present conditions, however, and this factor will remain a potential rather than an actual threat to the government as

long as its ability to control the focal points of such opposition remains intact.

c. Religion.

Until the beginning of 1948, limited freedom of religion existed in Rumania, although it was steadily weakened by the gradual installation of pro-Communist priests in the higher echelons of the Rumanian Orthodox Church. Since that time there has been a rapid and ruthless drive to make religious bodies fit into and advance the program of Communists.

It has not been difficult for the government to remold the Rumanian Orthodox Church into a docile instrument because it was a national church with no support from outside the country. The government resorted to strong measures to bring the Roman Catholic population into line, an end not yet attained. In this connection, the Uniate Church (Greek Catholic), which acknowledged the authority of the Vatican, has been brought back under Orthodoxy, severing a 250-year affiliation with Rome.

Lesser sects such as the Lutherans and Baptists have all felt the pressure and, for the most part, have conformed. The Jewish Community, numbering some 350,000, has been subjected to terrific pressure and its recognized organizations have had to toe the government line in political and religious matters. This pressure has been exerted despite the fact that the Jews anticipated preferential treatment. Consequently, the desire of the Jews has been to get out and, with the assistance of various international Jewish charitable agencies, thousands were able, after being screened by the Communist-dominated Jewish Democratic Committee, to emigrate to Israel. However, following their attack against "Zionist nationalism" in the Workers Party Resolution of 12 December 1948, the Communists began early in 1949 to restrict the number of Jews permitted to leave the country. This has amounted to virtual cessation of all emigration to Israel. Strenuous efforts have been made to "integrate" the Jewish population in the framework of a sovietized Rumania. On 4 March 1949, Rumanian Jewry's most valuable tie with the West was severed through the forced liquida-

tion of the American Joint Distribution Committee's assets in Rumania. The Jewish Democratic Committee, thoroughly purged and reorganized under the direction of the notorious Bercu Feldman, and the Federation of Jewish Communities are now the twin instruments of Communist control of the Rumanian Jewish population.

d. Cultural Institutions.

To break the hold of non-Communist culture, the Rumanian Government has taken strong measures especially aimed at the youth. The working youth, followed by school children and students, were among the first to be organized. A resolution adopted at the Unity Congress held in Bucharest on 19-22 March 1949 fused all youth organizations into a single revolutionary Union of Working Youth, patterned after the Soviet Komsomol and directly subordinate to the Rumanian Workers Party. Likewise, the organization of children between the ages of 9 and 14 into Pioneer groups, also imitating the Soviet model, was undertaken shortly thereafter. This regimentation of the Rumanian youth is designed to make certain that leisure hours are used for Communist indoctrination, rather than recreation. Pressure is exerted to induce them to join "voluntary" labor brigades engaged in reconstruction work throughout the country. Despite the hostility of the majority of young Rumanians to this type of coercion, the Communist program will undoubtedly succeed in winning over to Marxist ideology an appreciable proportion of the youth if they continue to have no access to other views. The Communists, certainly, place great hopes on the future of their "thought-control" program as it will affect large numbers of the younger generation.

The Rumanian Government has, in effect, given every indication that all influences except that of the Soviet Union and its Satellites are to be extirpated and prevented in the future from reaching the Rumanian people. All institutions representing the West, whether cultural, religious or welfare, have been progressively liquidated or taken over by the Rumanian State. Denunciation of the 1929 Concordat between Rumania and the

Vatican in June 1948, abrogation of the Franco-Rumanian Cultural Agreement and the closing of the Institut Français in Rumania were severe blows dealt at two of the most potent Western influences in Rumania. Likewise, on 2 August 1948, all foreign-operated schools were closed and their property confiscated by the State. The school reform carried out at the same time made the study of Russian obligatory in all Rumanian schools. On a broader front, bitter campaigns have been waged against Western literature, motion pictures, drama and, to a lesser extent, art and music, all of which were formerly considered a staple of life by educated Rumanians. The printing and publishing enterprises are now a State monopoly, with tons of printed propaganda being disseminated through the mass organizations under Communist control. The book stores have been purged of "capitalist" literature, which has been supplanted by newspapers and books eulogizing the Soviet way of life, Soviet achievements and Soviet culture. Daily indoctrination in Communist ideology is mandatory for every worker in Rumania. Zealous Communist censors scrutinize every literary work, every production of the theatre, concert hall or cinema for tendencies that could be associated with the "decadent and reactionary" West. Even the Rumanian Academy has been nationalized on the Soviet pattern. Whereas Rumania is now linked by a whole series of Cultural Agreements with its neighboring Satellites and the Soviet Union, direct and unofficial contact with Westerners is a charge serious enough for imprisonment and under the law of 13 January 1949 may even incur the death penalty.

By the use of terror, propaganda, legal reforms, and widespread purges in every walk of Rumanian life, the present government is midway in the course of successfully eliminating Rumania's tradition of Western culture. Through the security police (Sigurantza), the government has virtually suppressed all freedom of thought and expression, not merely to insure the security of the regime, but to revolutionize and reorient the ideological concepts of the people.

5. Goals and Stability of the Present Regime

Since the installation of the first Groza Government on 6 March 1945, it has become steadily more apparent that the Rumanian Communists are motivated by two basic desires: to prove their fidelity to the USSR and to transform Rumania, as rapidly as is feasible, into a facsimile of the Soviet Union. There is still fear, perhaps, on the part of the Communist leaders that their loyalty and indispensability to the USSR have not yet been fully proved. In return, the Kremlin is probably well aware that its Rumanian minions can look for support only to the Soviet Union, that imposition of the Soviet way of life on the alien and profoundly hostile Rumanian people is possible only so long as the Communist hierarchy is able to maintain its unity and absolutism. Although the revolution in

Rumania is by now virtually complete, much of the Communist program still remains to be implemented, particularly in the rural areas which comprise the overwhelming majority of the Rumanian population. Consequently, under the continued direction and control of the USSR, Rumania will proceed in its domestic affairs toward the Communist goal of a collectivist state, supporting no ideas or policies which conflict with the wishes of the Kremlin. Control of the organs of government, the police and judiciary, all public organizations and the armed forces themselves constitutes a lever of such power in the hands of the ruthless Communist minority that any remaining opposition can be suppressed, and assures that the present masters of the country will be able to maintain, by force whenever necessary, the stability of their regime.