

**THE  
RUMANIAN  
PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC**

**AN ACTIVE FACTOR  
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR  
A LASTING PEACE**

**BUCHAREST  
1 9 4 8**





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One of the most powerful blows suffered by Hitler's Germany during the last stages of the war was undoubtedly Rumania's withdrawal from the system of Hitler's military and political alliances. Although Rumania withdrew from the war after Italy, she did not simply "leave the Axis", but immediatly and actively joined the United Nations.

In the night of August 23rd, 1944, the Rumanian army received orders to cease all military operations against the forces of the Soviet Union. On the following day, this same Rumanian army turned its weapons against Hitler's troops. This was a courageous action and it was effected without any kind of defection. It took place at a time, when the end of the war was not yet in sight, and when Hitler had an army of 612,507 men in Rumania, including 390,873 officers and men, that is 26 divisions; and another 36,243 officers and men of his airforce and navy which were front-line troops. The German army immediatly reacted to Rumania's action. During three consecutive days, German bombers raided Bucharest almost without interruption. These raids caused huge damage, whilst German troops were advancing towards Bucharest.

Immediatly after August 23rd, 1944, Rumania not only declared war on Germany and on her Hungarian ally, but immediatly deployed all her armed forces and all her economic



resources. 18 Rumanian divisions totalling 285,000 men, supported by aircraft, started fighting against German and Hungarian troops. Within only eight days, all the territory south of the Carpathians was cleared of enemy troops, after heavy battles. The Germans lost 5000 dead and 53,159 prisoners, including 14 generals and 1,224 officers. When, on September 12th, 1944, Rumania signed the Armistice Convention at Moscow, the Rumanian army was in full action on the side of the United Nations, fighting alongside the Soviet armies, under Soviet command.

Under the Armistice Convention, Rumania obliged herself to participate in the war alongside the United Nations with no less than 12 completely equipped divisions. As a matter of fact, Rumania gave no less than 15 divisions between August 23rd, 1944, and May 10th, 1945. Under the orders of the Soviet High Command, the Rumanian army fought for 260 days, under very heavy conditions. Rumanian soldiers advanced 1000 kilometers into enemy territory: first in Rumania, then in Hungary up to the gates of Budapest, and then in Czechoslovakia as far as Prague. The Rumanian army in fierce battles, captured 103,214 prisoners.

In the war alongside of the United Nations, Rumania suffered considerable material damage and also lost 111,379 dead and wounded on the battlefield. Some military units often lost all their troops.

At the Paris Peace Conference, Mr. A. I. Vyshinsky declared that participating in the war of the United Nations, *"Rumania has helped the United Nations and in the first place the Soviet Union, which has suffered more from the military attacks of Germany and her satellites than any other country. The subsequent development of military events has confirmed the importance of the Rumanian people's action, an action which consisted in the fact that the Rumanian people overthrew*

*Hitler's "branch office" — the government of Antonescu — and joined the democratic countries, thus becoming one of the most active participants in the struggle against Hitler's Germany and against the satellites which had remained loyal to her."*

Of all the countries allied to the United Nations during the last stage of the war, none was in a position to contribute to the victory, as Rumania did. Among all the powers fighting against Germany and Hungary, Rumania occupies the fourth place, as far as her military contribution is concerned.

Rumania's important contribution to the military victory of the United Nations was recognized by the General Headquarters of the Soviet Armies. Generalissimo Stalin praised Rumanian troops in several Orders of the Day: the Rumanian First Army once, the Fourth Army twice, the Airforce three times and the Second Tank Regiment three times. 21 Soviet war communiqués mentioned successes of the Rumanian army.

On January 24th, 1945, Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Commons that *"Rumania has substantially aided the cause of the Allies, maintaining 14 divisions on the anti-Nazi front."*

The London Paper "Sunday Times" wrote at that time, that *among the armed forces fighting against the Third Reich, Rumania, which after Italy was the first European country to join the United Nations, occupies the fourth place.*

Therefore August 23rd, 1944, is a memorable date not only in the national history of Rumania, but also in the history of the war of the United Nations against Hitler's Germany: this date marks an important change which the Rumanian people helped to effect by its contribution, to the destruction



of German imperialism and to the liberation of the nations from the Nazi yoke.

This contribution of Rumania to the victory of the United Nations was mentioned on August 6th, 1945, when the government of the Soviet Union reestablished diplomatic relations with Rumania and motivated this step with the fact that *"starting on August 23rd, 1944, Rumania has actively participated alongside the Allies in the war against Hitler's Germany, and has loyally carried out its obligations under the Armistice Convention"*.

The same reasons prompted the governments of Great Britain and of the United States of America, on February 5th, 1946, to resume diplomatic relations with the Rumanian government.

The Preamble of the Peace Treaty also mentions the contribution of the Rumanian people to the victory over Hitler's Germany and to the destruction of Fascism in general, and continues by describing the international position of Rumania, to whom it opens the vista of joining the family of the United Nations, in the future.

The Preamble of the Peace Treaty states:

On August 24th, 1944, Rumania entirely ceased military operations against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, withdrew from the war against the United Nations, broke off relations with Germany and her satellites and having concluded on September 12th, 1944, an Armistice with the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, acting for the interests of all the United Nations, took an active part in the war against Germany..."

## A PAGE OF HISTORY

The splendid victories of the Soviet Armies enabled the Rumanian people not only to overthrow Antonescu's fascist régime and to contribute with its armed forces alongside the Soviet troops to the liberation of Rumania from Hitler's and Horthy's troops of occupation, but also to shoulder and determine its own destiny.

The exploiting classes of Rumania had prevented its people from leading a life worth living, from fashioning their life according to democratic principles.

August 23rd, 1944, was preceded by a long and miserable period of oppression and exploitation, Antonescu's dictatorship being only the climax of a whole development of domestic policy at the height of which all elements had accumulated which showed the dominant features of Antonescu's fascist dictatorship all along the period September 6th, 1940, till August 23rd, 1944. Between the two World Wars, the Rumanian governments were characterized by their ruthless exploitation of the working class and by their most barbarous persecution of its vanguard, the Rumanian Communist Party.

This Party was obliged to go under-ground as early as 1924, after a series of strikes and demonstrations of the workers — for some of their elementary material and a minimum of civic rights — which had been drowned in blood.

Between 1924 and 1944, the terror against the militants of the Communist Party and against all those suspected of "subversive ideas" did not cease for a moment. Its intensity grew and its field of action was extended over the



whole working class. Many workers were killed at Lupeni in 1929, and at the Grivița railway workshops in 1933, when Iuliu Maniu's National Peasant Party was in power. Many leaders of the working class were thrown into prison, where they lost their lives or their health. Martial law and censorship had become "normal" means of government, which were not even specially announced or "legalized". The Trade Unions led an illegal, or at best, a nominal existence, and traitors to the working class, agents of the Secret Service and other people readily subservient to their masters were in big demand.

The exploitation and oppression of the working class was paralleled by that of the working peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia. An agrarian reform had been carried out, but only in order temporarily to satisfy the land-hunger of the peasants and not to give them the possibility of leading better lives. The peasants were enslaved by the banks belonging to Brătianu's oligarchy, and the Governments of the National Peasant Party badly disappointed the peasant's hopes. The biggest part of the arable land was thus taken by the big landlords and kulaks.

Such a régime had no interest whatsoever to let the progressive intelligentsia, the press, literature and the arts express themselves freely; it had to encourage obscure theories and mystic practices. Whilst progressive intellectuals were persecuted and progressive papers banned, the universities were invaded by an anti-scientific spirit, by racialism and chauvinism and by banditry. The reactionary pro-fascist press received subventions from the governments.

The non-Rumanian nationalities were oppressed. The State was built on the principle of intolerance and practiced the theory of the "dominant nation". Denationalization was practiced in the whole educational system, from the elementary school up to the university, and in administration, from the

village council up to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. Especially in Transylvania, this policy assumed forms which in the end proved to be extremely dangerous to "the unity of the Rumanian State", in whose name they were perpetrated.

Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand Rumania's foreign policy. Home and foreign policy interpenetrated: one determined the other. The factor determining Rumania's foreign policy was its common frontier with the Soviet Union, towards whom however, the successive Governments of Bucharest between 1917 and 1944, assumed a Chinese Wall attitude. From the point of view of the Rumanian ruling classes which were prompted by reckless hatred against the Soviet régime, the relations between Rumania and the Soviet Union were determined by this neighbourhood, whose existence they considered "catastrophic". This explains the policy of the "cordon sanitaire" which Rumania pursued towards the Soviet Union between the two World Wars. This explains the frequently provocative character of this policy. It explains the existence of a hotbed of aggression which was implied in such a policy and which in the end, found expression in the climax of the anti-Soviet complex fostered by the imperialist and reactionary circles, who called the tune in all the States of the cordon sanitaire.

The anti-Soviet "mission" of Rumania determined her anti-democratic and anti-working class policy at home. Only terror and oppression could prevent the Rumanian people from knowing *Soviet reality*. Only by blinding it, could it be prevented from looking to its eastern neighbour, where the workers and peasants were fashioning a new life. Only lies and slanders about the Soviet Union could maintain the waning authority of the régime. Only by turning her back



on the east, or if need be, behaving in the ostrich-way, could Rumania—in the opinion of her governments—fulfil her mission of defending the interests of the privileged and exploiting classes at home, and the interests of international reaction whom they were serving.

Just as the anti-working class policy of these governments determined their attitude towards the whole people, so their anti-Soviet policy determined their attitude in the field of international politics.

This particularly applies to their relations with Rumania's neighbours. Rumania's relations with Hungary and Bulgaria were rather hostile. The governments in Bucharest, Budapest and Sofia indulged for the rest in imperialist veileities. This attitude found its expression in Rumania in a régime of oppression imposed on citizens of Bulgarian and Hungarian nationality. As for Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, for instance, Rumania considered herself bound to these States by the "Little Entente", based on certain common interests.

The policy of racial discrimination and of chauvinism at home, and Rumania's relations with its neighbours clearly outline the country's real position in the field of international politics. The country depended on international reaction; it was a tool of imperialism and as such it pursued a hostile policy towards the Soviet Union and one of mutual mistrust towards its Hungarian and Bulgarian neighbours. Thus, it easily fell pray to the *Drang nach Osten*. Ribbentrop's and Ciano's "Vienna Verdict" of August 30th, 1940, clearly attested to the value and character, the sovereignty, independence and national integrity of Rumania hostile to the Soviet Union and serving as a tool of imperialist aggression which in its most barbarous form — Hitlerism — threw itself upon Poland, then upon France and just prepared to wage an aggressive war against the Soviet Union.

The climax of reactionary anti-working class policy at home and of its anti-Soviet foreign policy was the fact, that Antonescu's fascist dictatorship dragged Rumania into the anti-Soviet war which started on June 21st, 1941.

Already on September 6-th, 1941, the Rumanian Communist Party launched a call to the Rumanian people, declaring that "*the armed struggle against Hitler is the duty of every Rumanian patriot who loves the freedom and independence of the Rumanian people*". The Communist Party consistently nourished the flame of resistance and hope, and launched the slogans: "*Let us save ourselves from catastrophe! Break with Hitlerite Germany! Overthrow Antonescu and his group of traitors! Withdraw from the criminal German war! Join the peoples who love freedom and turn your weapons against the invader!*"

The Central Committee of the Communist Party proposed the establishment of a *Patriotic Front*, and its appeals for the unity of all patriotic forces found an echo in the hearts of those progressive elements of the workers, the peasantry and the intelligentsia which already several years before had begun to support the anti-fascist struggle of the vanguard of the working class. Under its firm and courageous leadership, the country's patriotic forces prepared for Rumania's withdrawal from Hitler's war, whilst waiting for the decisive moment in which the liberating *coup d'état* could be carried out.

This moment was hastened by the victorious advance of the Soviet armies, whose offensive between the Prut and the Siret, crushed the German front; it also crushed the opposition of those who inside Antonescu's clique acted on Hitler's orders, and of those other representatives of the ruling class led by Michael of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who protracted the negotiations for an armistice and were occupied with the preservation of their cast-and class-privileges.



But all these base plots and calculations were brought to nought by the terrific advance of the Soviet armies, creating the long expected conditions for which Rumania's patriotic forces led by the Communist Party, had been waiting.

And this is how the event of August 23rd, was brought about and how this important act was carried out.

## RUMANIA HEADING FOR A NEW LIFE

The struggle for the great change effected on August 23rd, 1944, was a hard and tenacious one. So were the efforts for the consolidation of new Rumania which had started on a new path, — a path which must never lead back to the past of exploitation and oppression at home and of aggression abroad.

Rumania's new road is that of a *people's democracy* which entertains good relations with its neighbours and which is an active factor in the struggle for a *lasting peace*.

Only after the Government of democratic concentration had been formed on March 6th, 1945, could Rumania really start to carry out this policy. The reforms carried out by this Government both before and since the conclusion of the Peace Treaty, show how loyally Rumania has translated into facts all provisions of the Peace Treaty.

Rumania's policy at home and abroad proves how firmly Rumania has adopted a new path which makes it impossible for her to return to the sort of fascist dictatorship existing under Antonescu, or to participate in an aggressive war such as the war against the Soviet Union, into which she was forced by and alongside Hitler's Germany.

*Article 5 of the Peace Treaty* states clearly that "Rumania, which in accordance with the Armistice Agreement has taken measures for dissolving all organizations of a fascist type on

Rumanian territory, — whether political, military or paramilitary, — as well as her organizations conducting propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union or to any of the other United Nations, shall not admit in future of the existence and activities of organizations such as aim at withholding from the people their democratic rights."

The Government formed on March 6th, 1945, fully applied these provisions of the Armistice Agreement, which actually became an intrinsic part of the Government's program. The defascisation of the country was, however, not an easy task. By keeping the Rumanian Communist Party, that is the only consistent enemy of Fascism, underground, the exploiting classes created the principal conditions favourable to the policy of the disciples of Hitler and Mussolini in Rumania. The Third Reich started by penetrating into Rumania economically, continued by expanding its interests and ended up by appropriating the country's major resources of wealth. German export capital merged quite naturally with other foreign and Rumanian capital which was the real master of Rumania's economy. The story of the economic penetration of Rumania by the Third Reich is the story of the penetration and the development of Hitlerism in Rumania, and of her transformation into an agency of imperialism. The declaration of the leader of the „Iron Guard“ who had announced that within 48 hours after seizing power he would have the country join the Rome-Berlin Axis, was promptly carried out, when Antonescu and the Legionaries seized the reins of government on September 6th, 1940. From that moment onward, Rumania not only gravitated towards German imperialism: she became an integral part of Hitler's system of satellites. After the gross violation of Rumania's territorial integrity through the imposition of the „Vienna Verdict“, German economic exploitation rounded off the picture by robbing the country of its sovereignty and national independence.

German economic domination determined and imposed fascisation in the administration and in the army, education, press and literature. Hitler transformed Rumania into a fully equipped basis, from which he could launch his war against the Soviet Union. The final preparations for this anti-Soviet war included a furious fascist propaganda-campaign which grew and prospered on the soil prepared for it by the successive governments of the two principal political parties of Rumania — Brătianu's Liberal Party and Maniu's and Mihalache's National Peasant Party — during the 20 years of anti-working class and anti-Soviet policy.

That is why Rumania's defascisation could not be limited to the dissolution of organizations of a fascist type. It had to go the depth and include the purge of administration, army, education, press and literature.

In order to be really effective, defascisation had to go to the very roots of the matter and eliminate the possibility of fascist revival, by focussing upon the two "historical" parties, whose policy had always tended to polarize fascist elements. The attitude of these two parties towards the Soviet Union and especially the attitude of their leadership, was a flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement and of Article 5 of the Peace Treaty. In accordance with their well-established tradition, the leadership of these two parties encouraged anti-Soviet, racial and chauvinist policies. Most active in this field was the leadership of the National Peasant Party. Its actions and its methods of propaganda increasingly adopted the theory and practice of Fascism. Its leader Iuliu Maniu welcomed the Iron Guard leader Horatiu Comaniciu and his band into his party and thus openly violated Rumania's obligation to dissolve organizations of a fascist kind. Previous to that, there was a public exchange of letters between Maniu and Comaniciu.

This policy of Maniu's party transformed it into a conspi-



rative organization which aimed to overthrow Rumanian democracy and entangled it into preparations for a plot relying on promises of support from some foreign States. Under these circumstances, the application of Article 5 of the Peace Treaty obliged the Government to double its vigilance and take strong measures against those whose actions, if left unchecked, would have resulted in both the *denial to the people of their democratic rights*, and in a serious threat to the building of peace, to which Rumania had pledged herself to contribute under the Treaty.

The plotters, including the leaders of the former National Peasant Party, were tried and condemned in November 1947.

The sentence passed on the plotters was both an act of justice and a defensive action of new Rumania against the manoeuvres directed against her from inside and outside. This sentence completed Rumania's international commitments, to dissolve organizations of a fascist kind, to try and to punish war criminals, to purge the administration, army and public life in general of fascist elements and of subservient collaborators of Antonescu's dictatorship.

The *Agrarian Reform* of March 22nd, 1945, gave land to poor and to landless peasants. This reform was an act of social justice, but its provision reducing maximum holdings of land to 50 hectares also resulted in the reduction of the economic power of the big landlords, who were among the main pillars of reactionary régimes and eventually Fascism, and of aggressive war.

The new *Statute of the Nationalities* put an end to the former racial, chauvinist and intolerant policies. It proclaimed and guaranteed the application of the principle of absolute equality of all citizens before the law, indiscriminate of their nationality, race, language or religion, a prin-

ciple the application of which was secured by it. It went further than that: any propaganda advocating hatred or contempt against any race or nationality is considered a crime and is punished with imprisonment and fines.

The new Statute of the co-inhabiting Nationalities was a strong point in favour of Rumania during the Peace Conference which definitively settled the question of Northern Transylvania. The British delegate to the Conference, Mr. Gladwin Jebb, declared during the session of September 5th, 1946, that "*the wise legislation on the minorities put into application in Rumania, had determined the decision*" (of the Peace Conference concerning the restitution of Northern Transylvania). During his visit to Bucharest in November 1947, the Prime Minister of Hungary declared: "*We consider that the Peace Treaty which is binding for all of us, has definitely solved the Transylvanian question. Democratic Hungary knows and tolerates no kind of chauvinist movement which aims to revise the clauses of the Peace Treaty. The quarrel between Rumania and Hungary is definitely closed, all the more so as the Hungarians of Transylvania have every possibility to develop nationally, as a result of the Rumanian government's policy. Hungarian public opinion expresses its gratitude to the Rumanian government for the national and civic rights which are granted and guaranteed by Rumanian law, to the Hungarians of Transylvania.*"

The new Statute of the co-inhabiting Nationalities is a striking example for the way in which Rumania's home policy safeguards its orientation and attitude in the field of foreign policy. To-day, the nationalities of Rumania are no longer causes of troubles and chauvinist passions. The Resolution passed on November 20th, 1947, by the Third Congress of the Hungarian People's Union, declares: "*We fully*



*support our democratic Government. We unreservedly accept not only our common rights, but also our common duties. All our organizations will extend our sincere collaboration with the Rumanian democratic forces."*

In the Grand National Assembly and in the Presidium of the Rumanian People's Republic, the co-inhabiting nationalities are well represented. There is an Under-Secretary of State with the rank of Deputy-Minister in the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, responsible for the affairs of the co-inhabiting nationalities and designated by them.

The *functioning of religious bodies* has also been reformed in the spirit of the new democracy and in full concord with the Statute of Nationalities. *"Freedom of conscience and religious freedom are guaranteed by the State. Religious bodies are free to organize and can function freely, if their ritual and their practices are not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, to public security or to public morality"*, declares Article 27 of the Constitution of the Rumanian People's Republic, promulgated on April 13th, 1948. In accordance with the Constitution, a new law was passed, which regulates the life of religious bodies in the light of the great changes which have intervened in Rumania's home policy and in her international position. The way in which religious bodies functioned in the past was not a contribution to peace, but on the contrary, served the aims of imperialism. The Concordate with the Vatican represented one of the principal aspects of the old policy. From the political point of view, this treaty violated the nation's sovereignty and made her a vassal. At the same time, the Concordate granted huge advantages to the rulers of the Catholic Church in Rumania, and was the cause of dissensions between the Churches, while the cultural and educational activity of Catholic schools

simply denationalized many of the people's sons and daughters. To be sure, the advantages of the Concordate were not enjoyed by the large masses of the Catholic believers, but profited only a small group of people with vested interests, whose actions and attitude were opposed in every respect to the new democracy in Rumania.

The Rumanian Orthodox Church, however, to whom the great majority of the Rumanian people belongs, has turned more and more to the new ideals of the people, and is actively working for peace and for brotherhood among all nations.

And indeed, due to this just orientation of the Catholic Church, an assembly of Greco-Catholic priests delegated by the majority of their clergy in the counties of Transylvania and the Banate, resolved on their return to Orthodoxy, issuing to this effect a proclamation and addressing an appeal to their clergy and believers.

The *Reform of Education* of August 3rd, 1948, is inspired by the ideals which are being served by the home and foreign policy of the Rumanian People's Republic, and pursue to safeguard the formation of a new kind of citizen who is educated in the spirit of constructive peace and progress.

The Rumanian schools have eliminated from their teaching everything that could engender racial or national hatred. Chauvinism and intolerance which used to prosper in the schools of the governments of the two so-called historical parties, are actively opposed in the schools of new Rumania. Even poetry and prose containing malevolent allusions to certain characteristics of other nations have been banned from textbooks. Thus, the future citizen of Rumania is brought up and educated in the spirit of international concord, opposing wars and the ideologies and practices of reaction leading to war.



The *army* has a special department for education and culture, which is engrossed in the soldier trained so as to become a conscious defender of his people and of peace, an active fighter against warmongers and their supporters.

The army was first purged of all fascist and pro-fascist elements. And when the effectives of the army were reduced in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Treaty, a thorough selection of the cadres was carried out. The educational and cultural organization of the army prepared these cadres who, in their turn, educate all the soldiers in that new spirit which inspires the educational and cultural work of new Rumania.

The *intelligentsia, science, arts, literature and press* in the Rumanian People's Republic are all serving the ideals of humanity.

They are active factors in the struggle for peace and progress. This was clearly demonstrated at all the international meetings and congresses which were attended by the representatives of new Rumania. Rumania's participation at the Geneva Conference which discussed Freedom of Information, and at the Wroclaw World Congress of Intellectuals for the Defence of Peace are eloquent examples.

The *trade unions* and the *women's and youth organizations* of Rumania have developed rapidly since the country's liberation. Their multiple activities in the international field are carried out under the guidance of the World Federations to which they belong. Rumanian delegates have attended the various meetings of these Federations and have essentially contributed to their actions. The press of the trade union, women's and youth organizations in Rumania, as well as their cultural and artistic movements are inspired by the spirit of proletarian creative interna-

tionalism and by its examples. The international departments of these organizations are in close contact with similar organizations abroad, asserting thus Rumania's presence in all fields of international activity, and contributing to a growing flow of mutual information and to mutual understanding among the peoples.

## RUMANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Rumania's home policy is that of a new democracy, whose aims are peace and progress. Rumania's foreign policy corresponds to these aims and takes account of certain factors, whose validity was strikingly demonstrated in the course of the Second World War and since the victory of the United Nations.

Between the two World Wars, Rumania passed through a sad experience in what regards the maintenance of her national sovereignty and independence. The successive Rumanian governments during this period were simply executing the policy of the exploiting classes using them as their policemen. These governments' policy was the policy of Rumanian and foreign reaction whom they served. As Fascism extended, Rumanian reaction changed its master and on September 6th, 1940, when the dictatorship of Antonescu and the Legionaries began, it became a tool of Hitler with all consequences involved in this subservience.

After August 23rd, 1944, the representatives of the exploiting classes sought solely to turn back the wheel of history. Fascism had suffered a military defeat, but they tried to revert to their old reactionary orientation. Their hatred against the Soviet Union was unlimited.

And towards this Soviet Union, whose armed forces had liberated Rumania and thus also the forces of the people, the exponents of the exploiting classes pursued a policy of "accommodation" and not a policy of sincere collaboration, the only one adequate towards the USSR, Rumania's neighbour and an outstanding factor among the world's big



Powers. This explains why up to March 6th, 1945, the advent of the first democratic government, the foreign policy of Rumania still showed the vestiges of the policy carried out in the past, and in the main opposed to the will of the working people which desired a decisive and determined rupture with the traditional hostile foreign policy of Rumania towards the country's powerful neighbour in the east, the country of Socialism.

March 6th, 1945, marked a turning-point in Rumania's foreign policy. A policy of good vicinage, friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union began to develop on ever more solid lines. This sound development was favourably influenced by the way in which the Soviet Union supported Rumania on her new path. The Soviet Union again and again reduced Rumania's obligations under the Armistice Agreement. Taking into account the two consecutive years of drought in Rumania, she agreed to the postponement of certain Rumanian deliveries and even sent cereals to Rumania, in order to help her tide over her plight. A series of Soviet-Rumanian economic agreements provided for delivery under very favourable conditions, of raw materials to Rumanian industry, which was threatened with unemployment. Thus, the Soviet Union became not only Rumania's liberator, but also her best and most generous friend and her warmest and most valuable supporter.

In the field of international policy, the Soviet Union has always turned out to be the most consistent and most active supporter of democratic Rumania. The Soviet Union was the first Big Power which resumed diplomatic relations with Rumania and recognized the Government of democratic concentration. She steadfastly worked for the recognition of Rumania's rights in Transylvania, for whose liberation Soviet armies have shed their blood alongside of Rumanian troops. In the Council of Foreign Ministers and at the Confe-

rence of Peace, she advocated with all her might the rights of Rumania. She was the most inspired defender of Rumania's national sovereignty and independence, and her representatives convincingly opposed the excessive economic demands put forward by some Powers during the Peace Conference. It was Mr. A. I. Vyshinsky who, in the name of the Soviet delegation, maintained during the session of the Peace Conference of August 13th, 1946, that indirect payment of damages must be partial and in accordance with the country's possibilities. "To present demands which cannot be satisfied, is both unjust and irrational", said Mr. Vyshinsky who stressed that the Soviet Union had relied upon the principle of partial compensation, even during the application of the provisions of the Armistice Agreement, when considering Rumania's objective position, she had granted her a series of facilities, prompted by the same spirit of understanding. Thus, the Soviet government has prolonged the space of time for the payment of reparations provided for under the articles 10, 11 and 12 of the Armistice Agreement, from 6 to 8 years. On June 7th, 1948, the Soviet government agreed to the Rumanian government's request, to reduce the payment of war reparations due to the Soviet Union by Rumania, by 50 per cent as from July 1st, 1948.

These proofs of friendship and assistance have deepened the Rumanian people's affection for the USSR, and have strengthened still further the good relations existing between the two countries.

*The Treaty on Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid* concluded at Moscow on February 4th, 1948, is the very expression of these relations. At the same time, the Treaty records also the progress made by Rumania since her liberation. This Treaty is the main foundation of the system of alliances which Rumania and the Rumanian people have joined as active factors in the struggle for peace and pro-



gress. Thus, this Treaty is the very basis of Rumania's foreign policy and exactly defines her orientation. As Mr. V. M. Molotov declared at the time: "*The Treaty of February, 4th 1948, with the Soviet Union, was signed by Rumania as an equal partner. This treaty corresponds to the interests of the Rumanian people and represents a new contribution to the cause of consolidation of democratic peace throughout the world.*" The Soviet-Rumanian Treaty also constitutes a guaranty that there will never be a return to the days when, as Mr. Molotov declared, "*the enemies of peace and progress prevented the establishment of friendly relations between these neighbouring States — the Soviet Union and Rumania — and sought to transform Rumania into a seat of anti-Soviet intrigues, against the interests of the Rumanian people.*"

The international significance of the Soviet-Rumanian Treaty is all the greater, as its principal point, set out in article 1, is the obligation of the two countries to take in common "all measures in their power, to remove the threat of a new aggression on the part of Germany or of any other nation possibly allied to Germany in a direct or in any other way."

After being forced into the anti-Soviet war by aggressive German imperialism, Rumania's foreign policy, thanks to this treaty which more than anything else marks a radical change, put her on the international chess-board, as one of the militant factors against the threat of a repetition of German aggression and thus, as one of the active factors in the struggle for the defence and the consolidation of peace. By the obligations assumed by Rumania under this treaty, Rumania is to join all the peoples who are struggling against the threat of a new German aggression and for a lasting peace.

The Soviet-Rumanian Treaty was preceded and followed

by similar treaties concluded by Rumania with her neighbouring countries. These treaties are an expression of the good relations which Rumania maintains with her neighbours and at the same time, they complete Rumania's system of alliances mirroring her new attitude in foreign policy. Simultaneously, they increase her possibilities to take action alongside other nations, for peace and democracy.

With this position and with these possibilities in the international field, Rumania has ceased to be considered as a quasi-vassal lacking a foreign policy of her own, whose national sovereignty and independence could be systematically violated.

Rumania has also ceased to be a State with a hostile and aggressive policy towards its neighbour in the east. She no longer looks apprehensively to the west and the south, from where all the matters regarding territorial problems and the treatment of nationalities were always arising.

The development of the new democracy in Rumania which is leading to the laying of the foundations of Socialism, and the new foreign policy resulting therefrom have determined the fact that in the field of international policy, Rumania has ceased to be a *negative* factor. Rumania has withdrawn from the ranks of the imperialist States, has joined the camp of anti-imperialist States and has taken up there its position as a *positive* factor. As such, other States call upon her to join them and to make her contribution to the solution of important international problems. Thus, Rumania attended the Warsaw Conference of June 23rd and 24th, 1948, and signed the Declaration of the eight Foreign Ministers which, in the words of Mr. Molotov, constitutes "*a program concerning Germany, which is in accordance with the interests of all peoples and which serves in fact the cause of peace, of democracy and of Socialism.*"

Rumania's active participation at the Belgrade Danube Conference in August 1948, clearly expressed both her



foreign policy and the determination with which her representatives struggle for the full respect and the full application of her national sovereignty and independence in face of those who tried to impair them in the name of so-called "acquired rights".

The contribution of Rumania's Foreign Minister Ana Pauker to the struggle waged by the delegations of the riparian States for the new Convention, was among the most fruitful and it also was highly significant from the point of view of showing that the policy of the Rumanian Peoples Republic was strongly linked to the truly democratic principles which ought to determine the relations among the peoples.

When Mrs. Ana Pauker took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on November 13th, 1947, she stressed that *"the foreign policy of Rumania can no longer be, as it was in the past, the exclusive privilege of people holding a book sealed with seven seals and inaccessible to the people"*.

All treaties signed by Rumania since then and Rumania's participation at the above-mentioned international conferences have confirmed Foreign Minister Ana Pauker's declaration that *"Rumania is deeply interested in the establishment of relations between nations, relations based on peaceful and democratic foundations, and without imperialist tendencies or possibilities of war-like aggressions"*.

Rumania's foreign policy is the result of her new structure. *"The Rumanian people, the working class, the progressive intelligentsia, the working peasantry are deeply interested in the maintenance of peace"*, said Mrs. Ana Pauker, *"in order to be able to remove the serious consequences of the war, to rebuild national economy and to enjoy the fruits of social, material and cultural progress in peace."*

The bases of this policy are close relations with the Soviet

Union. *"The historic experience of the last years"*, declared the Foreign Minister of the Rumanian People's Republic, *"has fully confirmed the conviction held by all democrats and by all patriots of Rumania, that friendly relations with the USSR which accords magnanimous material and diplomatic aid on all occasions, are dictated by the very national interests of our country."*

The Soviet-Rumanian Treaty of February 4th, 1948, has definitely and definitively settled all these relations, and similar treaties with the other new democracies have settled the relations with Rumania's neighbours.

Everything that Rumania has achieved since August 23rd, 1944, both at home and in the field of foreign policy, attests in every respect to the correctness of the foundations and the aims of Rumania's foreign policy, as defined by Mrs. Ana Pauker. These foundations and these aims attest to Rumania's part as *an active factor in the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the democratic countries led by the Soviet Union*.

The Rumanian People's Republic makes this contribution with the full conviction that the part played by her in the consolidation of peace and democracy will be duly recognized by the United Nations' Organization, to whose membership Rumania is fully entitled.

