

persecutions of persons for so-called "anti-democratic" statements or for "inciting against democracy," a choice of words which would be amusing if it did not cloak injustice and tragedy for many innocent human beings. The opposition newspapers have vanished one by one and freedom of the press has ceased to exist. The process of perverting the judiciary for political purposes proceeds apace. And the Communist regime, having no further democratic opposition to destroy, is now busily engaged in wide-scale purges of Communist collaborators who have become suspect and of the cadres of the Communist Party organization itself. The recent trial of so-called spies and traitors in Budapest was not, properly speaking, a trial at all but a phase of the political strategy of the Cominform with intended effects far beyond the borders of Hungary. Whatever may have been the character and the record of the accused, the point which concerns us here is that the entire procedure, with its staged denunciations and recited confessions and its ludicrous falsifications (and here I need only to refer to the supposed conspiracies involving American officials), illustrates the fact that in Hungary today the individual citizen, whether a Communist Party boss or anyone else, cannot obtain justice, a fair trial, or any recognition of his rights as a human being.

#### Bulgaria

Essentially, the same situation prevails in Bulgaria. In that country also the regime has continued to strive to consolidate its power through the suppression of all independent opinion.

The campaign designed to reduce the freedom of the Churches has continued. My government has received a number of reliable reports that early in July of this year a second group of Protestant ministers was tried, this time in secrecy, perhaps from fear of a world-wide reaction such as followed the trial of the 15 pastors the preceding March. The usual paraphernalia, including "confessions" recited by the defendants, were again present. These trials are a further manifestation of the obvious determination of the Bulgarian Government to destroy the independence of these Protestant sects and the integrity of their religious faith and to break their normal ties with their fellow Christians in other parts of the world.

In Bulgaria also there have been elections, the local elections of May 1949 featuring a single ballot of candidates nominated only by organizations associated with the Fatherland Front, which is dominated by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The elections were held under the direct supervision of the electoral committees appointed by the same Fatherland Front.

Bulgaria remains without democratic opposition parties, without a press free to criticize the

#### Rumania

Since the question of the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Rumania has now been added to our agenda, I shall comment briefly on the actions of the Rumanian Government which, in the view of the Government of the United States, also constitute deliberate and persistent violation of article 3 of the treaty of peace.

Freedom of political opinion, one of the basic freedoms guaranteed in the treaty, has virtually ceased to exist in Rumania. As a result of a systematic campaign, the Rumanian regime succeeded in destroying all democratic political parties. The largest of the opposition parties, the National Peasant Party, was officially suppressed following the arrest of its leaders. The National Liberal Party and the Independent Social Democratic Party, while never formally suppressed, were effectively blocked from all political activities through arrests of most of their leaders and through intimidation.

The Rumanian Government did not hesitate to convert the country's judicial system into an instrument of its oppressive policy. The most widely known, although by no means the only demonstration of this policy, was the trial, conviction, and sentence for treason, of Maniu and other leaders of the National Peasant Party in October and November 1947. In a note delivered to the Rumanian Government at the time, my government pointed to the transparent political motivation of this so-called judicial proceeding. The defendants were denied a fair trial before an independent and impartial tribunal and deprived of the guarantees necessary for their defense. They were denied, for example, the right of counsel of their own choice and were subjected to a violent government-inspired campaign of public excitation against them both before and during the trial.

The subjugation of the judiciary has now been made complete through the abuse of the authority of the Government to control the transfer and tenure of judges, through intimidation of judges, and through the system of politically controlled "people's courts."

The police power of the state has been exercised in disregard of those basic civil liberties of the peoples in Rumania which the peace treaty was to safeguard. In the prisons are many men and women arrested without warrant, held indefinitely without charge and without trial.

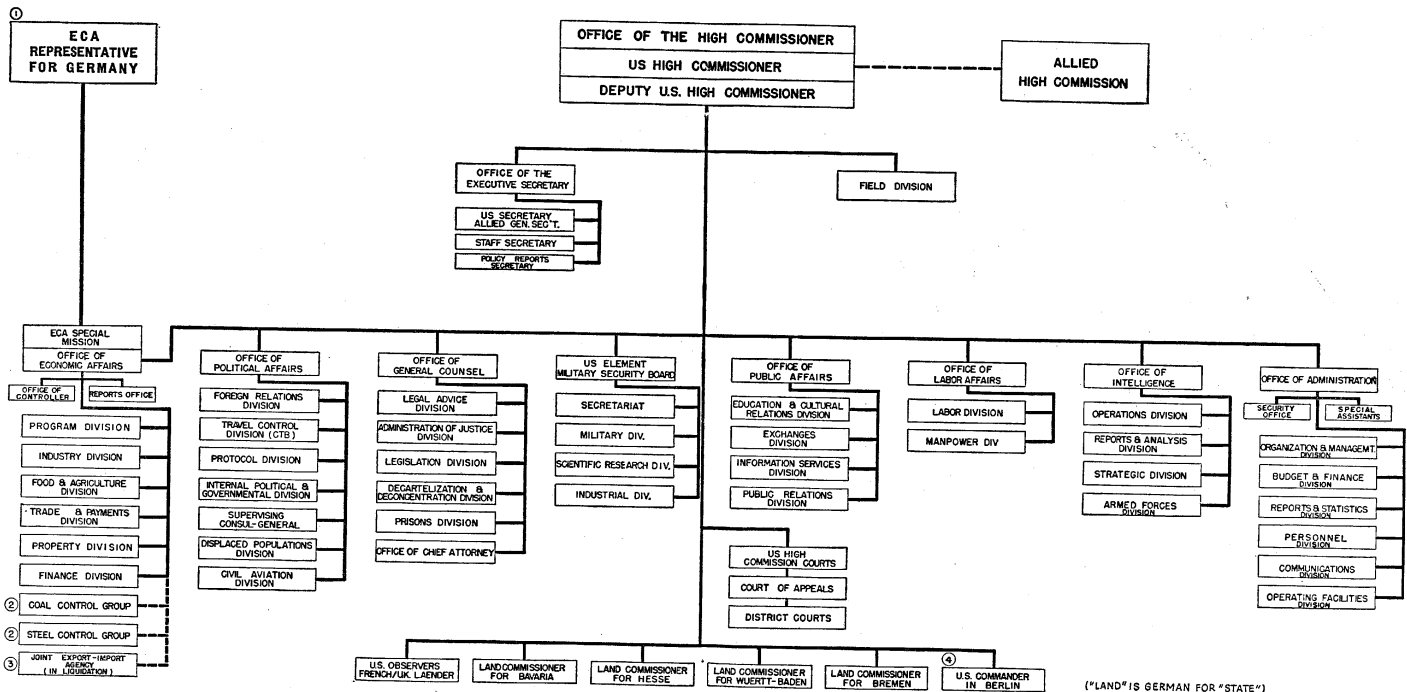
Freedom of press and publication, guaranteed by the peace treaties, is nonexistent. By official censorship, by discrimination in the distribution of newsprint, by governmental ownership or monopoly control of printing establishments and radio facilities, and by other devices, any substantive criticism whatsoever of the Government has been prevented. Only those public media

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# ORGANIZATION CHART OFFICE OF THE US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY



① ECA REPRESENTATIVE FOR GERMANY - BY EXECUTIVE ORDER, MR. JOHN J. MCGLOTHLY, AS US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY, ALSO SERVES AS ECA REPRESENTATIVE FOR GERMANY, UNDER THE IMMEDIATE SUPERVISION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND IN COORDINATION WITH THE US SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR EUROPE (SUBJECT, HOWEVER, TO CONSULTATION WITH AND ULTIMATE DIRECTION BY THE PRESIDENT.)

② US ELEMENTS, COAL CONTROL GROUP AND STEEL CONTROL GROUP, RECEIVE POLICY GUIDANCE FROM DIRECTOR OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS; FOR TRIPWIRE ACTIVITIES, THESE GROUPS ARE RESPONSIBLE TO THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, ALLIED HIGH COMMISSION.

③ US ELEMENT RECEIVES POLICY GUIDANCE FROM DIRECTOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS; AGENCY IS ADMINISTRATIVELY RESPONSIBLE TO FOREIGN TRADE AND EXCHANGE COMMITTEE, ALLIED HIGH COMMISSION, DURING LIQUIDATION.

④ THE US COMMANDER, BERLIN SERVES AS THE REPRESENTATIVE IN BERLIN OF THE US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY; FOR MILITARY MATTERS HE REPORTS TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, EUROPEAN COMMAND.

which are responsive to government direction and render active service to the purposes of the regime are permitted to operate.

This prevention of the free expression of opinion is extended to public meetings, which in practice can be held only by organizations approved by the regime.

Finally, in its determination to bring all aspects of Rumanian life into the totalitarian pattern, the Rumanian Government has been employing many forms of pressure to compel subservience by religious groups. Religious worship, guaranteed by the peace treaties, means, in our view, more than a formal participation in religious ritual. It requires freedom to teach and express views based on religious precepts, freedom to associate with those of like belief, freedom to worship with clergy chosen without arbitrary governmental interference. The decree concerning the activities of cults in Rumania, of February 11, 1949, vests in the Government an unprecedented degree of control over all religious groups and activities, and the Government has not hesitated to exercise it.

The Rumanian Government has purged large numbers of priests of the Orthodox Church and seen to it that persons devoted to the Communist Party are appointed to high church offices. Similarly, the Roman Catholic Church in Rumania has been subjected to such persecution that, at present, none of its bishops is in a position to exercise his rightful religious functions. The Catholic Church in Rumania today has been reduced to virtual inactivity by a variety of measures calculated to cripple its organization, such as the arrests of priests, dissolution of religious orders, and prohibition of normal activities in the field of welfare and education.

The most glaring example of the Government's infringement of religious freedom has been the official dissolution and absorption by the Rumanian Orthodox Church of the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church. This dissolution was accomplished by a governmental decree following a virulent campaign and a sham procedure designed to show a voluntary change of allegiance. What has become of the freedom of more than one million communicants of the Greek Catholic Church to worship God as they please?

The Jewish religious community in Rumania has been subjected to similar oppressive treatment. Its former chief rabbi was forced out of office, to be replaced by a Communist sympathizer with little religious training or standing in the community.

#### U.S. NOTES OF PROTEST

I have limited myself here to an outline in broad

contours of the deliberate policies which in the view of the United States are contrary to the treaty obligations of the three governments.

As I have said, the General Assembly is already on record as favoring the settlement of these issues through the machinery provided in the treaties of peace themselves for the resolution of disputes arising out of the interpretation or execution of the treaties. The United States continues to support this approach and believes that we should follow it through to a clear and definite conclusion.

In its resolution of April 30, of this year, the General Assembly expressed the hope that the signatories of the peace treaties would diligently carry out the procedures envisaged in the treaties. The Government of the United States has asked the Secretary-General to circulate to all members of the Assembly copies of the diplomatic correspondence disclosing the efforts on the part of my government, in accordance with the Assembly resolution, to put the treaty machinery in motion.<sup>3</sup> Analogous efforts were made by several other signatories of the peace treaties, whose delegations will, no doubt, wish to describe to the Committee the steps they also have taken in this matter.

On April 2 of this year the United States formally charged Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania with violations of the human-rights clauses of the treaties and requested that remedial measures be taken. The three governments denied that they had violated the treaties and indicated their unwillingness to adopt remedial measures. It was obvious from the replies of the three governments that they were not prepared to explore the matter further through diplomatic channels. As a next step, the United States Government informed them that in its view disputes had arisen concerning the interpretation and execution of the treaties of peace. In notes delivered on May 31, by the United States Legations in Sofia, Budapest, and Bucharest, the United States invoked the relevant treaty articles, providing first for the settlement of such disputes by the heads of diplomatic missions of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States in the three capitals. The United States chiefs of mission requested their British and Soviet colleagues to meet with them to consider the disputes in accordance with the procedure clearly specified in the treaties. The British Ministers indicated their willingness to do so. However, the Soviet Government declined to authorize its Ambassadors to discuss the matter on the ground that the three ex-enemy states had fulfilled their obligations under the treaties, and that the measures complained of were justified under the treaties and, in any case, were within the domestic jurisdiction of those states. The Soviet Government rejected a further request by the United States Government to reconsider its position.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1949, p. 541.