

THE POLISH REVIEW

AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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Yuletide Messages to the Polish People

WITH the approach of Christmas there comes to us the picture of Christmas in Poland of other days. The beautiful Catholic customs with which through the centuries the Polish people have garlanded their celebration of Christmas are an expression of their deep faith and devotion.

This year there will be Christmas in the hearts of the Polish people and they will show as best they can their age-old Christmas customs. Before the crib they will pray and they will ask the Holy Infant full freedom to practice their religion and for blessings on their country.

Across Bethlehem's crib there fell the shadow of the cross and across the crib this year the Polish Catholics will see that deep dark shadow, and with their minds and hearts attuned to God's will they will offer themselves again. We shall be united with them and we shall pray their prayer with them and we shall ask the Holy Infant to give this ancient Catholic people full freedom to realize ever and ever more fully in their lives the ideals of the Gospel of Christ.

To them across the ocean we say thanks for the example of courage that they are giving us and we are confident with them that their prayers will be answered.

—SAMUEL ALPHONSUS CARDINAL STRITCH
Archbishop of Chicago

THE Polish Nation was betrayed not only by the Germans and the Russians, but also by the Western Allies. They defaulted on the Atlantic Charter which had been held out as the faith and hope of all peoples.

The Polish Nation has fought for its independence and the freedom of its people for over 1000 years. It has often succeeded only to be eclipsed for long periods by aggression of its neighbors. That spirit in the Polish race cannot be submerged forever. There lies in the soul of this Nation those inspirations for freedom and independence that will yet redeem it from this bondage.

—HERBERT HOOVER

AS THE pages of history are turned, perhaps nowhere will be found a record as brilliant — yet as tragic — as that of Poland in its thousand years of constant struggle for freedom.

Caught in a vice between totalitarian nations, its history pages are splattered with the blood of wars and wars. Poland's heroic martyrs of liberty fill mass graves all over Europe — miserable monuments to inhuman cruelty.

Time after time the iron hand of tyranny has stolen and divided Poland's land. Many of its people slaughtered — much of its resources ruined — the Poles' courage and determination to secure a government of their own choice never diminished.

One great thing that America and Poland have always had in common is love of liberty. Hence, it is readily seen why the peoples of both countries have been drawn together in genuine friendship and mutual understanding since the very beginning of the United States. It can be said that our ties with its people are as close today as when the first immigrants of Poland settled in our land.

Various religious groups, welfare organizations, and other public-spirited agencies composed of a generous American citizenry have aided residents of Poland in the past, and are continuing the endeavor to provide relief for needy there.

May I add that America has good reason to be proud also of her several million citizens of Polish origin. Nearly 1,000,000 American boys of Polish ancestry fought valiantly in this nation's defense in both World Wars.

The Polish nation made up of people such as these, with God's aid, will be strong, free and independent.

Let us hope and pray that the hearts of men everywhere will be imbued with the true spirit of Christmas and that in the not too distant future peace and brotherhood will prevail throughout the earth.

—TOM C. CLARK
*Associate Justice
Supreme Court of the United States*

Yuletide Messages to the Polish People

I AM deeply grateful for the opportunity afforded me by The Polish Review and East European Affairs to convey a message to the people of Polish ancestry in the United States and to those in the old country.

A strong bond of friendship has existed between the peoples of both countries since the courageous Polish pioneers helped to found the Jamestown colony, the first English settlement on American soil.

The historical records of that colony give an insight into the great battles for freedom which were in the offing, for it was then and there that the Polish pilgrims, artisans in glass and soapmaking, demanded and secured the right to vote. Some authorities consider the attainment of that privilege at Jamestown as the first victory in America for the fight of suffrage.

Today distinguished Polish names grace the Halls of Congress, Governors' chairs and other lofty places.

We will ever remember that approximately 1,000,000 American boys with the Polish blood in their veins fought valiantly in two world wars, in a single generation, which we were forced to wage in defense of our democracy. They fought with the freedom-loving spirit of General Casimir Pulaski who gave his life in the Siege of Savannah, Georgia, in our war for independence.

General Pulaski was not an American, but was a fighting exponent of the kind of freedom that Americans were fighting for, and his country loved. The pages of history prove that no nationality, no race, no creed has exclusive ownership of freedom. Freedom cannot be divided into parts. It is universal. It is the birthright of every human being. God intended it so to be.

As we celebrate Christmas, would that the rulers all over the world realized that the flame of liberty which burns in man's heart and soul can never be extinguished — that war and more war will never bring about "peace on earth good will to men" — for which humanity has yearned and struggled since the dawn of time. Only mutual understanding — mutual respect, education and cooperation with unflinching faith in the Almighty will lead mankind to the coveted goal. As President Harry S. Truman so wisely said, "If civilization intends to avoid destruction, nations must learn to live together in harmony with each other."

At this holy time of 1949, with the aid of Divine Providence, let us resolve to march forward united in the determination to make the world a better and brighter place in which to live for peoples everywhere.

Let us hope that during the coming New Year mankind all over the earth will be imbued with the spirit of the good neighbor and will bring forth a united world of peace.

—J. HOWARD McGRATH
Attorney General of the United States

IT IS a pleasure to send cordial Christmas Greetings to the readers of the special issue of The Polish Review. It is good to know that Americans of Polish origin who enjoy the privileges of liberty and the other great blessings inherent in the American way of life are thinking at this season of the unhappy people of Poland. Their plight meets with especial sympathy on the part of the American people.

The men and women of Poland long ago identified their fight for freedom with the freedom and justice of the entire world. More than one hundred years ago their forefathers carried on their fighting banners the words "For your freedom and ours" placing the word "yours" before the word "ours." They have ever followed the tradition of Kosciuszko and Pulaski whose valiant services were of such immeasurable help to our own forefathers in their fight for independence.

The heroic sacrifices of the Polish people have not yet brought them the freedom and independence they deserve. But they may be sure that they have the moral support and sympathy of all just people in this world. I join you in your prayers that Poland will yet again be free and independent and occupy the place which awaits her among the free nations of the world.

—THOMAS E. DEWEY
Governor of the State of New York

THE thousands of courageous Polish nationals in exile, as well as those in the homeland, lay claim to the heart and attention of the world. It is one of the purposes of the National Committee for Free Europe to move along the road leading toward the realization of Polish national hopes, of freedom and of well-being.

There is no more fitting time than Christmas for me to send greetings to Poland which is now, as it has been before, a bulwark of the Christian West against pagan conquest.

—JOSEPH C. GREW
*Chairman of the Board
National Committee for Free Europe, Inc.*

Vuletide Messages to the Polish People

AS AN ardent admirer of the Polish people and their courage over the years of adversity and foreign oppression, I gladly take advantage of the columns of *The Polish Review* to send a message of Christmas greetings. Nobody who knows the Poland of today, or who has relatives or friends in Poland today, can enjoy what we in the United States customarily regard as a "Merry Christmas." But we can, in the spirit of the teachings of the Prince of Peace, prayerfully hope that Poland may on some early day again enjoy the four freedoms which she was promised.

From a practical point of view, a first step can be taken to achieve that aim. This would be for the Congress of the United States to repudiate the Teheran and Yalta decisions on the ground that, having been unilaterally violated by the Soviet Union, they are no longer binding on the United States. Repudiation of these decisions which are unconstitutional, never having been ratified by the Senate of the United States, would give hope to the people of Poland and to the other peoples behind the Iron Curtain. It would show them that the duly elected representatives of the people of the United States are sympathetically thinking of the day of liberation of those oppressed by Soviet terroristic domination.

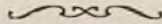
Constructively, we can all help by urging our Congressmen and Senators to introduce and support a resolution in Congress repudiating these decisions, made in the stress of war time, which violated the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

May I express the hope that all Polish-American organizations in this country will bring their unified strength to bear so that this first step towards the liberation of Poland will be effected, and that candidates for election or re-election to Congress will understand that their support or rejection by American citizens of Polish descent will depend upon their stand on this vital question regarding Poland's future.

Let us not forget the promise we made to Poland during the last war: this Government stands for "a strong, free and independent Poland."

—ARTHUR BLISS LANE

Former American Ambassador to Poland



IN THE city of Washington, D. C. are two impressive statues of Polish heroes, Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Count Casimir Pulaski. Both of these statues have prominent locations within the shadow of the White House. Kosciuszko's Memorial is located in LaFayette Park across from the President's official home; Count Pulaski's is a few blocks away, at 13th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue.

All Americans have a deep appreciation of the heartening aid which these two young Polish patriots gave to the struggling American colonies in the Revolutionary War of 1775-83, at a time when the only hope of reward lay in the personal satisfaction of defending the nobility of a cause.

Since the very beginning of our national existence, Americans have continued to enjoy not only a mutual friendliness with Poland's people, but also a warm regard for their outstanding contributions to world culture and world peace.

Poland was a free land from 1918 to 1939, when her people were the first to resist the Axis stab. The Polish nation holds the respect of the democratic world not only for its deep traditional will to fight for right and freedom, but even greater perhaps are her people admired for their peaceful industry, their steady application to the doctrine of neighborly living.

Five million loyal Americans of Polish extraction — quiet, hard-working citizens devoted to highest principles of friendship in war and peace alike — will live to see their homeland freed again from the yoke of foreign conquest. The spirit of the Poles who helped to free America a century-and-a-half ago is the spirit of those who will again rise to wrest themselves from the heavy hand that lies across the Poland of today.

America is proud of her citizens who have kept alive the spirit of Poland. At this Christmastide, when the entire Christian world is inspired to look ahead to a permanent Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men, I send you the warmest greetings from the Republican Party in the United States with the hope and the prayer that inevitably justice will triumph, and the Polish nation will once again resume its rightful place among the blessed free nations of the world.

—GUY GEORGE GABRIELSON

Chairman, Republican National Committee

Yuletide Messages to the Polish People

AT THIS season of the year as the whole Christian world prepares to celebrate the Birth of Christ, we would do well to remember that the advance of Christianity has not been achieved without dedicated effort and noble sacrifice. Prominent in history among the defenders of Christianity has been the brave people of Poland.

Today when the threat to the spirit of freedom and the dignity of the human individual has never been greater, Poland is again in the forefront of the battle. Together with the peoples of the other countries where liberty and independence have temporarily succumbed to the anti-Christ, the Poles have the sympathy and blessing of the civilized world.

In the hope of a brighter future of peace and freedom and in appreciation of the feeling of fellowship and Christianity which so characterize Polish people, we spiritually break the wafer with them on this Christmas Eve.

—ALLAN W. DULLES

THE NAME of Poland in Eastern Europe stands for the cause of freedom as we know it in the United States. For centuries, a small nation, surrounded by great totalitarian states, has fought bitterly and consistently to maintain its national freedom and the individual freedom of its people. Over and over again, the Poles fought against domination by Austria, by Germany, by Russia. They have been divided and oppressed, but the spirit of freedom has remained alive.

Spurred on by this inspiring example of the Polish people, let all Americans at this Christmas time resolve to sell again to the world a doctrine of liberty and free government. History shows that where advocates of this doctrine of liberty and freedom are endowed with the same religious fervor as communism, they have a far more appealing cause.

The greatest triumph of this doctrine was in the establishment of the American Republic and the French Republic. From there the idea spread until it dominated the thinking of the world in the 19th century. People accepted the idea of liberty who never enjoyed the fact. But in the 20th century, the theory that every problem can be solved by government and government only has come to dominate the thinking of too many Americans, and even more Europeans.

The philosophy of liberty which I advocate is in full accord with the ideas and interests of the Polish people. It is the only hope of restoring an independent Poland. By joining hands to spread this philosophy we can play a great part in the crusade of America to establish liberty throughout the world.

—ROBERT A. TAFT
Senator

IN MARKED degree, the Christmas season of 1949 must bring to enslaved peoples throughout the world a mixture of deep feeling. In one sense, it occasions a very natural nostalgia for a far happier past and revives sacred memories of loved ones and friends now gone. In another sense, this season of the year should offer new hope and courage to those who still believe in Christmas and in the spirit of Christmas.

The people of Poland, now enslaved and persecuted, must inevitably experience this same feeling — a combination of sorrow and hope. But I urge upon them and their families and friends everywhere to look mainly upon Christmas this year as an occasion symbolic of new hope and faith which are stirring in the world and which carry more than a mere promise of better days to come for all who are now the victims of tyranny.

Though the road to peace and freedom has been, and is, rough and treacherous, the world has nevertheless made progress on this road during the past year. The cooperative, collective effort of the free peoples of the world already is producing beneficent results. The free peoples themselves and their government are now stronger than at any time since the recent war. The sinister forces of totalitarianism gradually are being brought to a halt, and mankind's struggle forward toward freedom is gaining headway.

So at this 1949 Christmas season, I extend to the people of Poland and to their relatives and friends wherever this message may carry, not only warm greetings and felicitations, but a sincere word of encouragement. With renewed hope and faith and determination they can look confidently toward the future, assured that the time will come when they will be freed from the yoke of oppression and that a great, liberal, just, and happy Poland will rise again.

—IRVING M. IVES
Senator

Tempo of Sovietization in Poland Stepped Up

IN NOVEMBER the president of the puppet government in Poland announced that the three-year goal in industry had been reached and that before the date fixed for such achievement. The regime press publicized this with a wealth of comment and praise, as it did also in connection with the report that the workers had broken all production records during the third quarter of 1949. In some instances, it was stated, goals had been exceeded by as much as 85%.

Figures for comparison were not given. Instead we have the percentages. The reason, Poles assume, is that if figures were given, the workers could determine just how much of what they produce is going to other countries and how much is left for Polish consumption. And as for "other countries," they know that Russia stands at the top as the recipient of Polish exports.

The regime's official figures for trade with the Soviet Union are as follows: in 1945, \$66,100,000; in 1946, \$141,200,000; in 1947, \$167,900,000; in 1948, \$215,000,000. The Polish regime press extols this continuous rise, but it is altogether silent on the subject of prices the Soviets are paying for Polish rural and industrial products and the quantities of such products.

Poland is reported to be short of the simplest necessities of life. Poles, according to the regime's own press, stand in long queues in order to get meat, fats, salt, matches, washing powder, and the like. Even so they do not always get these articles. In the case of meats and fats, only government officials and trade union members are entitled to the ration cards that are required for these items.

The regime papers also write scornfully of the manufactured goods to be found in the government stores. Private enterprise has been to all intents and purposes done away with through the establishment of such government shops, but these, complains the press, have goods out of season or utterly useless. There is plenty of absorbent cotton and gauze but it is in the storerooms of the factories because there is nothing in which to pack such articles. The same is true of string, safety pins, and shoe polish.

In connection with the last-named item the paper *Trybuna Wolnosci* has this to say: The factory "Dobrolin" was nationalized under the present regime. Production then went on apace, but there was nothing in which to put the product. And yet right under the nose of the factory stood the idle tin box factory "Peg," idle because the various "centrals" could not agree as to which should have it!

The cooperatives are doing the part assigned them in forcing private business to the wall. The movement, if a Soviet-directed tool can be termed a movement, is controlled by a Supreme Cooperative Council, which stands as the executive body of the seven centrals, namely: the Rural Peasant Self-Help Association; the Consumers' Cooperative; the Milk and Egg Cooperative; the Horticultural Cooperative; the Labor Cooperative; the "Creative" Cooperative; and the Craftsmen's Cooperative. According to statistics given in the press these cooperatives now number more than 30,000 with some 5,000,000 members.

If you consider that figure with the number of adults in a population of roughly 26,000,000, you will be able to estimate the influence of this Communist-organized

and manipulated institution. The person heading this institution is Professor Oscar Lange, the man who renounced his acquired American citizenship to become first the puppet regime's ambassador in Washington, then its representative in the United Nations, then some office of lesser importance, until now he is held in Poland in a relatively obscure position.

Much speculation has attended the making of Rokossovsky a marshal of Poland, commander of the Polish army, Minister of National Defense, and member of the Polish State Council. Such a move has been long foreseen by observant Poles, and was openly predicted as early as last July by Poles in London.

Rokossovsky is of Polish origin, but where he was born is not certain. Some say near Warsaw, others say in Eastern Poland, still others claim that Zytomir in the Soviet Ukraine was his birthplace. But of this it is said there is no doubt — "he graduated from the aristocratic officers' school in Tsarist St. Petersburg and never admitted any ties with Poland during his career in the Tsarist and Soviet armies."

Stalin is quoted as having ordered him to become more familiar with his native tongue; it is known that in the early days of the Soviet domination of Poland Rokossovsky's command of Polish was exceedingly slight. But by July of this year, when he spoke at the opening of the great East-West thoroughfare in Warsaw — a thoroughfare of immense strategic importance to Russia — he was able to speak Polish fluently. Then it was that the Poles began to be certain that he was slated for the role to which he has been assigned, that of virtual Soviet administrator of Poland.

As for the so-called Polish army, it has been under the command of Soviet officers in Polish uniforms from the beginning. It remained only to remove the Pole who served as a front in the office of Commander in Chief. That he has been commander in name only has long been recognized. But even such a perfect puppet had to be removed. The time had come when Moscow could openly take over Poland, secure in the knowledge that the world would not protest such insolence and boldness.

But to return to the reason for this ominous move on the part of Stalin. It is certain that Rokossovsky is not sent to Poland to carry out the sovietization of that unhappy country. That is being done already. Does it mean that Moscow may force Poland to give back to the Germans the once German lands to the east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers, in which case there might be trouble? Does it mean that Poland will soon be ordered to ask for admission into the USSR as the 17th Soviet Republic?

One thing is fairly certain. The men in the Kremlin feel sure of Rokossovsky. Despite his Polish origin he is Russian to the core. Bolshevik Russian. With him in command there will be no Polish Tito. Furthermore, the purge of possible Polish nationalists can go on without danger of uprisings that would make trouble difficult for Moscow to handle.

The people of Poland are being provided with plenty of Soviet reading matter. The daily *Zycie Warszawy* carries the information that "in the five years ending July 1st last, 259 Soviet publications totalling 4,699,610 copies had appeared in Poland . . . Among the translations belles lettres held first place with 129 books, political

literature second with 77. Natural science had 24 — this also included mathematics — while industry, agriculture, engineering and the like had 16." But there are no statistics on how much of this is read.

In the magazine *Kuznica* we find an article from which comes this passage: "In the People's Poland there is a constantly growing interest and need of translations of Soviet poetry. There is not a social center workers' meeting or a youth gathering where works of the Soviet poets would not be recited. . . . The entire Polish press and literature contribute to the making of the new Soviet poetry known to the Polish people by publishing it in translation. . . ."

To encourage translation of Soviet works the Polish puppet regime has established a number of prizes for the best translations. The prizes are not inconsiderable, ranging in amount from 50,000 to 100,000 zlotys. The regime-controlled Society of Children's Friends also offered a prize for literary work, this to take the form of a poem praising Polish-Soviet friendship. The award was high, 100,000 zlotys, but the result could hardly be considered worthy of being classed as literature.

Polish publishers are not treated so kindly. On October 14th they were reminded by notices in the regime press that all publishing permits had expired and that new permits must be obtained at once. Publications unregistered would be taken off the list. But no permits would be granted until the police had made a thorough check on the publisher's political opinions. The term publisher is applied to anyone who publishes a book, a periodical, pamphlet, leaflet, map, music, artistic reproduction, mimeographed letter — even though such "publication" is for private non-commercial use.

The Polish people are being forced to prepare a great celebration of the 70th birthday of Stalin, which falls on the 21st of December. Tragedy, as we know, is next door to comedy, so comedy this must be for the Poles to pay the homage of serfs to a man who has done more than any other in all history to destroy them individually and as a nation. For this celebration, for which preparation was begun in October, the regime has divided the people into groups that will pay tribute to their executioner at separate mass meetings. Stalin is to have great gifts from the Polish people. *Trybuna Ludu* says: "Workers, peasants, working intellectuals, women and children all over Poland will pledge individually and collectively to hasten the fulfillment of production plans. They will prepare gifts and collect signatures for messages."

Members of the Union of Polish Teachers have pledged to organize school meetings to honor Stalin, to create Marxist-Leninist libraries, and to plan special courses which will implant in youth the Stalin cult. Celebration committees are holding meetings all over Poland. Resolutions adopted everywhere are the same in tenor; "We pledge that we will become thoroughly acquainted with the life of the great leader and teacher of the people and of youth, Joseph Stalin, that we will study the history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), that we will start courses in Russian everywhere, that we will publicly express our gratitude to the greatest of all leaders of the people."

Note that promise to "start courses in Russian everywhere." Russian is to become the world language. But this is the only connection in the puppet press in which the word "Russian" is used. Not even in discussing Russian literature is it employed. Always it is the Polish word for "Soviet." The word "Russian" sets off an

unpleasant train of thought in the mind of the Poles, Moscow fears. Brings up tsarist days and insurrections and Siberia. One wonders if "Soviet" connotes anything more pleasant in Polish thought, wonders if it might not even stand for worse nightmares.

To make sure that Stalin gets as many gifts as he should, students and teachers in Polish schools have been taxed to buy selected presents. Trade unions and factories have likewise had the pressure applied. There is little chance of any organization in Poland escaping a levy. All must "express their gratitude to the greatest of all leaders of the people" for the happy life into which he has led them.

If they refuse, they well know what awaits them. Poles are disappearing daily. What becomes of them nobody can say for certain but the conviction prevails that they are taken to Russia; in other words, deportation to forced labor camps in Russia still goes on. Not en masse but arrests or disappearances one by one. But deportation does go on en masse in the Polish area incorporated into the USSR in 1939. Travellers report seeing over 4,000 men, women, and children with shaven heads last September in the Brest-on-Bug station. They were observed leaving a freight train, where under the eyes of an MVD (Soviet secret police) guard they were closely examined and then herded into another waiting train of freight cars.

Frontiers are everywhere carefully guarded. This is true not only of the present Polish-Soviet boundary but to the pre-war. To cross that line one must have a special permit. As for the Czech-Polish frontier, that is the object of special attention on the part of the police. Southern Poland is the great resort for Poles who love the mountains and the sport winter provides. Heretofore there have been many persons who have taken part in excursions to this area and later appeared in "capitalist" lands. To prevent such escapes in future the government has ordered that every excursion group must undergo strict examination in the military centers of the area visited; that the leader of the group will give a detailed list of the members of the group, each of whom will leave some piece of personal evidence in exchange for which he will receive a metal disc with a number. The police will mark out the route of the excursion and select two members who are to be responsible for the return of all to the center. Excursions may take place only during the day. In case one of the members of the group escapes or does not follow the designated route, the others are arrested, the leaders heavily penalized.

"The whole Russian-Polish border, with the exception of one entry point, the town of Brest-on-Bug," says a dispatch from Berne, "is closed to civilian traffic. The western frontier of Poland is also closed, with one point only open, in Frankfort on the Oder. These are paradoxes which can exist only in totalitarian countries, bent on conquering the world and where the life of the citizens is regulated according to military requirements."

The "military requirements" are those of the Soviet Union, which is increasing the number of its troops in Poland, for whose accommodation and support the puppet regime is amply providing. The Russian troops are located in the "new" Polish areas, from which run two broad gauge rail lines linking these regions with Moscow. In addition Soviet officers and officials travel on regular Polish trains, which are completely under Soviet control. These officers go in and out of Germany, and it is reported that this travel is very heavy.

IS COMMUNISM A RELIGION?

By DR. BELA FABIAN*

Former Member of Hungarian Parliament

ARE definitions, labels important? In communist terminology, democracy is double-talk for dictatorship, progress is double-talk for retrogression.

It is important to discuss the question: what is communism? Is it a religion? Or is it an economic, political, philosophical system? Or is it only clever theoretical double-talk to denote a conspiracy striving for world-conquest, and world-oppression?

The first time I heard the question discussed was in 1918, in Leningrad. The Communist Party had been in power then for five months. The terror of a revolution had continued as a terror of organized government.

Members of the Russian intelligentsia had suffered severely under Czarism. Now the revolt of the intellectuals was subject to further persecution.

I remember an incident that happened in Eupatoria, a small Crimean town. Bolshevik sailors loaded the intelligentsia on trucks, took them out to the Black Sea, tied stones on their feet and then threw them into the sea. The wife of one of these men went to the local Soviet, offering her life savings to have the body of her husband recovered. A diver was sent down. No one could get a sensible word out of him when he came up. The second diver too, came up with a distorted face. He had seen the bodies of 500 men, standing in the water, held upright by the stones tied to their feet, their arms moving in the tide as if they were talking with one another.

At mass meetings in Leningrad and Moscow the crowd roared "bej intelligentov! Beat the intelligentsia!"

And yet the intellectuals and the workers had still not surrendered. Intellectuals debated their problems in their organizations and clubs. It was at one of these lectures that I first heard the discussion of this question: "Is communism a religion?"

Constantly, in the United States and other countries one hears that communism plays the role of a religion in the life of communists. This also was the viewpoint of many of the intellectuals in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Now they are learning how wrong this theory is.

When I escaped from Russia in 1918, I gave lectures and wrote articles about Bolshevism and the tragedy of the intelligentsia. The revolutionary-minded intellectuals of my native land did not want to believe a single word I spoke. When Bela Kun came to power, those intellectuals followed me to prison.

The liquidation of the intelligentsia behind the Iron Curtain has now begun. The Russian conquerors are liquidating those intellectuals who tried to maintain the independence of their personal views.

Phoney confessions of the faked trials again raise the question, what is communism?

If I try to find the answer in a dictionary I am forced to conclude that communism is not a religion. On the other hand, if I consider the number of its blindly unquestioning adherents, I am tempted to say that it has many aspects of religion.

In America as in Europe, we saw this blind acceptance of the party-line during the Hitler-Stalin pact. When I

look at communism as a religion, I have in mind its appeal to a definite class of people within the party. I am not speaking of the members of the secret police, the professional party-secretaries and paid organizers. They are mere paid agents of the communist world-conspiracy. On the contrary the people to whom communism makes a kind of religious appeal are bewitched intellectuals.

There must be a kind of perverted religious impulse behind the unswerving submission of these intellectuals to the party line. For these men know what communism means in practice. They know first that there are concentration camps under Stalin, just as there were concentration camps under Hitler; that in Russia today 15 million are in slave labor camps; that in the Russian occupied countries the first institution to be re-established was the concentration camp.

These communist fanatics know in the second place, that the party has everywhere abolished the right to strike. They know full well how unhappy the workers are in the Soviet paradise. They know that 1-2 hours have been added to every working day; that the workers are compelled to labor through a daily period of voluntary overtime; that the workers are compelled to attend propaganda classes at night at the sacrifice of necessary sleep and recreation; that the secret police has absolute power over life and death everywhere behind the Iron Curtain.

Finally, they know that even the minimal requirements of freedom are missing, freedom of education, the press, of assembly, of religion, the liberty to choose my own occupation and to change it as well as the right to move freely from place to place.

There are numerous communists of foreign origin now living in the United States. They know in detail the facts I have just presented. How do they answer such facts? They say, "Of course. But after all the revolution is in its childhood. These still are its growing pains. The situation will be better in the future."

We are told, "When America becomes Soviet-America, there will no longer be an opposing political and economic power on the international scene. Measures of oppression in communist land will no longer be necessary."

There are four different types in the species which the political scientists recognize as communists.

First: there is the orthodox Marxist. His faith is based on the sanctity of the Marxist dogma. He marched in the ranks of the communists until he discovered that there are basic contradictions between Marxism and Stalinism. Many of these orthodox Marxists leave the party or are driven out, unless they are "captives" of the party. The "captives" are those who perpetrated crimes on orders of the party bosses, crimes for which they could be prosecuted under the law. As the party has knowledge of these crimes, the captive communists fear that they might be handed over at any time to the authorities.

The number of those who do change their minds is proved by the decrease in communist votes in France, Italy, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. This decrease does not show in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, because in these countries there are no free

* Condensed from an address delivered at Town Hall, New York, November 15, 1949 under the joint auspices of The Town Hall, Inc., and The National Committee for Free Europe, Inc. Dr. Fabian is the author of the book "Cardinal Mindszenty" recently published by Scribner's.

elections. But the workers of these countries do manifest their feeling more and more frequently, in the factories, on streetcars and buses, at the risk of the concentration camp. Here is a small but characteristic example:

Between Budapest and one of its suburbs stands the Armament Factory. Like all other factories it bears the inscription: "This factory is ours. We work for ourselves!" The streetcar stops before the factory. The conductor calls out: "Armament Factory! Factory owners get off!" The whole streetcar roars with laughter. Then a little insignificant man, who turns out to be a member of the secret police, gets up, requests everyone to show his identification card, and takes away the conductor in handcuffs.

To the second class of communists belong those who remained true communists even while disapproving many things connected with communist rules, hoping that changes will take place in the party line which will resolve their doubts.

The third class of communists includes the paid agents. To such a man "sale" of communist doctrine means the same as the sale of vacuum cleaners does to the demonstrator. The number of these paid professionals is very considerable.

In the fall of 1947, the Communist Party put up a life and death fight against the Marshall Plan in France and Italy. The Communist Party spread the news at that time that they were going to take over power. I was walking in the streets of Paris with a friend of mine. Everywhere communist posters were stuck on the walls, not a single poster of any other party.

People in Paris were asking, "What kind of currency is the dollar? Is it Russian or American?" Why were the people of France asking that question? Because only the communists had the funds for huge posters and expensive political campaigning.

It is a matter of indifference to the paid professionals what goes on inside the party. They are mere salesmen, who sell their merchandise.

Yet even among these careerists one can find some who turn away with disgust. Two police officers who guarded Cardinal Mindszenty are now dead. One of them, Colonel Osko, was shot while trying to escape over the Austro-Hungarian frontier. The other, Colonel Biedermann, was found dead in the headquarters of the secret police at 60 Andrassy Street.

The fourth category in the species of communists is the one which interests us most. It is those who are the really staunch believers. The Hitler-Stalin pact, persecution of Christians or Jews, Tito's revolt, jailing of friends and comrades, the suffering of their families, all these mean nothing to them. Those who show the slightest doubts toward the party they accuse of heresy. Yet even in the lines of these convinced communists breaches have been recently observed, as came out at the trial of Rajk and his companions.

Laszlo Rajk, former Minister of Interior, later Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the No. 2 leader of the Communist Party in Hungary. While he was president of the party, so the accusation ran, he was at the same time also a Nazi spy. While Minister of the government, the accusation continues, he became an American spy and conspired with Zionists. More damage still was done by the Tito affair.

Now back to the central question: Is communism a religion? It seems to me basically unimportant what

label is attached to the menace which is communism. What is important is whether communism works for or against the ideas which live in the hearts of religious men and women everywhere.

Communism denies the existence of God. It declares war against the very idea of God. The great religions proclaim the power of love. Communism advocates hatred.

In Soviet Russia alone, there are at least 15 million people in the concentration camps. That is no less than 6-8% of the population, which means that almost every Russian family has at least one relative in the concentration camp. Is this the product of a religion?

Religions proclaim strict moral codes for all men to follow in their relations with all other men. In communism only that is good which advances the aims of the party. Bad is what retards party progress.

All religions seek the truth. In communism "the truth" is what the party leaders tell their followers they must believe.

Religion teaches forgiveness. The communists do not know the meaning of this word.

Every religion teaches honesty. Communism teaches that one of the highest virtues is to lie and bear false witness in the service of the party.

Communism is devoid of the fundamental principles of all religions: that God rewards the righteous and punishes those who sin. Communism considers crimes committed in the interest of the party as virtues.

Communists on one hand fiercely persecute religious denominations. At the same time, — and I wish to emphasize this — they use religious groups for their own purposes. In Russia, as in occupied countries they use every church and every priest they can subvert to serve their own political purposes. Religious ceremonies do not worry them as long as communist ideas are proclaimed in the churches.

Through the Russian Patriarch, Pravoslav, priests in Eastern Europe and in the near East have become the instruments of the struggle for Russian world domination. In seized territories, Catholic and Uniate priests have been exterminated, their churches closed. In Czechoslovakia the transformation of priests into civil servants is under progress. The communists offer the Church the bargain the Devil made with Dr. Faust; for their tolerance, the souls of the priest and his congregation. In Rumania the Rabbis received the order to recite prayers for Stalin and the Communist Party in their synagogues on the Jewish New Year and the Day of Atonement in 1949. They were told to preach sermons against the State of Israel and Zionism.

A system which wishes to infiltrate the Churches of other religions cannot itself be called a religion.

Communism therefore is not a religion. It is a gigantic conspiracy for world power, all the more dangerous because everywhere it is intent on exploiting all institutions for its own evil purposes. Communism delights to make use of religion. It is very happy to magnify the tragic rivalry which exists among religions throughout the world and even among denominations within religions.

What label we, as religious people, attach to communism is not important. The important question is this:

Will the free and religious world become aware in time that its only defense against the greatest anti-religious force is a common, impregnable front?

HOW THESE ELEVEN COMMUNISTS WOULD BE TRIED IN POLAND

The U. S. Department of State's International Broadcasting Division, popularly known as the Voice of America, beams two Polish-language programs to Poland daily. One of the objectives of the Voice of America is to acquaint its listeners in the Iron Curtain countries with the aspects of life in a real democracy such as the United States. Another objective is to counteract the communist propaganda of the controlled press and radio of the satellite countries with authentic uncensored reports about the sovietization of life in the so-called "People's democracies."

Shortly after the conclusion of the eight-months long trial of the eleven communist leaders in New York, the Voice of America presented a round table discussion for its Polish listeners comparing trials for a similar offense in the United States and Poland. Following is a summary of the chief statements made during the half-hour broadcast:

JOSEPH GIDYNSKI of the Voice of America introduced the participants in the round table discussion: Judge Joseph Glebocki, of the Magistrate's Court in Brooklyn, an expert on American law; Dr. Romuald Szumski, formerly a member of the Cracow bar, an expert on contemporary Polish law; and the moderator, Kazimierz Wegrzecki.

Replying to the question regarding the charges brought against the communist leaders in the New York case, Judge Glebocki stated that they were indicted for a conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction by force and violence of the Government of the United States and of consciously and wilfully teaching the duty and necessity of so doing. And such teaching and action is forbidden by the Smith Act passed by Congress in 1940.

When asked if such activity is contrary to the laws of present day Poland, Dr. Szumski answered in the affirmative. A decree of June 13, 1946 and article 88 of the Polish Army penal code make it a crime even to be a member of any group whose purpose is the overthrow of the government by force.

Judge Glebocki explained that the communists were tried in a regular criminal court. But in today's Poland, said Dr. Szumski, such an offense would come before a military tribunal. Even though the persons on trial are civilians and the war is over. Political offenders, civilians or not, must face military courts during the national reconstruction period and are tried for violation of the articles of an Army penal code.

The moderator next brought up the question of the indictment of the communists. Who brought it in? The grand jury, said Judge Glebocki — 22 American citizens whose names had been drawn by lot and who had studied the evidence for more than a year. Could the prosecutor bring in an indictment — the prosecutor alone? Oh no, replied the Judge. His business is the presentation of the evidence of guilt to the grand jury — nothing more.

Dr. Szumski was asked how such an indictment would be brought in Poland today. The military prosecutor took care of that, civilian cases as well as military. Yes, the military prosecutor must carry out orders of his superiors. The regime's military courts have been instruments of terror, instruments for the destruction of actual or potential political opposition from the very beginning. They are meant to be such, and with the Security Police are the foundation on which rests the present regime in Poland — the so-called "People's Democracy."

The moderator asked Judge Glebocki when the communist leaders were arrested, before or after indictment. They were free and did not have to give bail during all the months while the grand jury was studying the evidence against them, was the reply. After the indictment they were still free but had to give bail, five thousand dollars for each of the eleven. Only an independent court, whose duties are outlined and restricted by the constitution of the United States, can decide on the arrest of a person charged with an offense. As for bail, it must not be excessive. Hence, as is to be seen, the communist leaders were arrested only after they were pronounced guilty by the trial jury, that even then through a decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals they were allowed to go free on bail pending the decision to be handed down by the appellate court.

The moderator wanted to know if Judge Harold Medina did not order the arrest of some of the defendants during the trial. True, said the Judge, but these arrests were ordered because of the conduct and deliberate efforts of those defendants to interfere with the trial.

Summing up the above replies, the moderator called the listeners' attention to the fact that the defendants were at liberty both before and during their trial and that now after conviction they are still at liberty on bail. After which he asked Dr. Szumski what would be the situation in a similar case under the "People's Democracy" in Poland.

A suspected person is arrested immediately, put into prison, and kept there, was the reply. The military prosecutor has the say about the arrest. A person may wait in prison for years even before he is taken into court. While the arrested are held in prison they are subjected to both mental and physical torture in an effort to extort confession — a practise followed in general in communist-ruled lands.

The moderator then asked Judge Glebocki who tried the eleven communist leaders, and was told that they were tried by a jury presided over by a federal judge. The jury, on the evidence presented, decided upon the guilt or innocence of the defendants. The presiding judge is not allowed to take part in jury deliberations but is empowered only to rule on strictly procedural points as the case progresses and pronounce sentence after conviction by the jury.

The jury, said the Judge, had twelve members chosen from the several thousand citizens eligible. The defense used to the full their right to challenge without cause fifteen of the talesmen, and their further right to challenge for cause an unlimited number. Each juror was examined under oath to establish his objectivity in the case and lawyers for the defense exercised to the full their right to closely question each of them.

Nothing like what has just been described is to be found in today's Poland, said Dr. Szumski. No jury, but a court consisting of three army officers, one or more of whom may have been until very recently a citizen of Soviet Russia. These three men hear the evidence, decide all legal points, and themselves pass sentence.

But the communist defense in New York violently attacked the jury system, declaring that Negroes, poor folk, and women were kept out of jury service. What would you say about that, the moderator asked Judge Glebocki.

The reply could be summed up in two words — communist trickery. The presiding judge gave the counsel for defense opportunity to prove their charges and of course they could not. The composition of the jury in the case in which they were involved showed the absurdity of their charges. For the forewoman was a Negro, in addition there were two other Negroes, eight of the jury were women, six out of the twelve were wage earners.

What about the composition of the military courts in present-day Poland. Perhaps it is possible to bring the charge against some of them that they have only recently changed their citizenship from Soviet to Polish. Dr. Szumski thought the moderator was surely not speaking seriously, since such charges would certainly result in the disappearance of the person bringing the accusation, or if not that then a long term in a forced labor camp.

Leaving that, the moderator took up the matter of rights enjoyed by the defense, asking Judge Glebocki what those rights were in the case of the communists on trial in New York. They could plead guilty or innocent, answered the Judge, after the indictment. The date of the trial was fixed well in the future, thus giving the defense several months to prepare for it. The men on trial had the privilege of engaging any lawyers they chose to defend them and they employed men who were either communists or strongly sympathetic to communism. No restrictions were placed upon the counsel for the defense and the freedom thus given was shockingly abused. They cross-examined at wearying length each witness for the prosecution. They occupied 109 days, that is more than two-thirds of the entire time of the trial. They brought in 37 witnesses while the prosecution had only 15.

It was now Dr. Szumski's turn to speak on the rights of the accused in such cases in Poland today. He may not even see the indictment, only hear it read in his cell if the military court rules that the case requires secrecy. He has three days for engaging a lawyer and calling witnesses — and the evidence these give may not be allowed. If he secures a lawyer, he must see that this lawyer's name is on the list of those prepared by the Minister of National Defense who may plead before a military court. But this actually makes it impossible for him to get proper counsel, as all the attorneys approved by the Minister must be pro-regime.

Moreover, the court may try the case without defense counsel, since there is a decree stating that "participation of defense counsel is necessary only if the court does not declare the presence of defense counsel inadvisable for reasons of national security." In the so-called Polish People's Democracy a civilian accused of a political offense may be brought to trial before a military tribunal, may be denied counsel, and sentenced to death. That, in essence, presents the rights of a citizen under the present Polish regime.

But if a United States citizen is brought into court on a criminal charge — what about his right to counsel, Judge Glebocki was asked. According to a ruling of the United States Supreme Court, came the ready reply, the accused has an inalienable right to counsel. Unless he has what is adjudged competent counsel the criminal court is not in a position to try the case. The right of the defendant to counsel means the right to experienced

counsel, with all the time necessary for the preparation of real and proper defense, and every opportunity to confer with counsel, not just adherence to the form and letter of the law.

Then Dr. Szumski was asked about the freedom an attorney in present-day Poland enjoys when defending an accused person before the military court. Since there is no freedom in today's Poland, responded Dr. Szumski, there is no such thing as real defense in the courts. Real defense could well result in the defense counsel becoming himself a defendant. Besides, the attorney assigned to the defense must always keep in mind the regulations that govern practice before military courts. If, for instance, he is three times adjudged by the court to have been guilty of conduct unbecoming to an attorney before the court, his name is taken off the list of lawyers approved for practice before military tribunals.

The moderator now turned to the verdict and asked Judge Glebocki to tell how it was arrived at in the New York communist trial. Easily told — for the verdict was unanimous — no opposition — all twelve jurors agreed that the defendants were guilty. Opposition of one juror alone would have made the verdict of guilty impossible, the jury would have had to be dismissed and a fresh trial with a new jury ordered.

Very different is the procedure in "democratic" Poland, said Dr. Szumski, where unanimity of the three officers who form the court is not necessary. Two votes can convict, even when the penalty is death. For that matter, death is the penalty for most political offenses under the Polish puppet regime.

Comparison of the weighing of the evidence in an American court and in a present-day Polish court brought excerpts from Judge Medina's charge to the jury: "You must consider and weigh the evidence carefully, calmly and dispassionately, without the slightest trace of sympathy or prejudice for or against any party to the proceeding . . . You will bear in mind at all times that these 11 men are charged here as 11 individuals . . . The presumption of innocence remains with the defendants . . . until you, the jury, are satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt . . . of the guilt of the defendants as charged . . ." And more in that tenor.

Quoting article 3 of the Polish Army penal code, Dr. Szumski did not elaborate. That quote is: "The judges will hand down a decision on the basis of a conviction reached by a free weighing of the evidence and inspired by a sense of democratic respect for law." But the moderator wanted to know what that last phrase meant. ". . . sense of democratic respect for law," said Dr. Szumski, simply means the interest of the Soviet Communist Party.

The moderator then closed the discussion with a two or three sentence summary, to the effect that a defendant in America always enjoys the rights and privileges that have emerged in the centuries of endeavor to maintain not only order but the freedom of the individual. In present-day Poland, on the other hand, the defendant does not have the rights regarded by people of Western lands as absolutely fundamental in the administration of justice. The 11 communists on trial here in New York enjoyed rights and privileges they would never have had even in the slightest degree under any communist regime.

THE ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY OF THE SATELLITES ON SOVIET RUSSIA

By ARTHUR KARASZ

From 1923 to 1946 member, 1945-46 Governor of National Bank of Hungary. Chief economic delegate at Paris Peace Conference. 1947-48 professor at Economic University of Budapest.

AT THE end of World War II Soviet Russia took over the Central and Eastern European area from Germany, along with the area, the economic penetration practised by Germany since 1934. Nazi Germany developed economic enslavement of neighboring countries. After 1934 she became the most important customer of Central and Eastern Europe. By a second important step she took over huge companies located in the Central and Eastern European countries. The Reich intended to take over the domestic phase of the trade circle and to make the domestic profit also flow to Berlin.

The Soviet procedure is based on the German: first satellite foreign trade monopolized by Russia, second the area's internal trade.

(1) **Foreign trade** first consisted of reparation deliveries by Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. The Soviet Union demanded reparations that amounted, on paper, to 700 million dollars. In reality, owing to the very vague text of the respective armistice agreements, Soviet Russia was thus entitled to demand the delivery of every product she wanted and their real equivalent represented more than two billion dollars.

Industrial products are 80 per cent of Hungarian reparations, while those of Rumania and Bulgaria are mainly raw materials. Soviet Russia is entitled to supervise those companies that manufacture reparation goods, thus since 1945 she has been in effective control of the most important undertakings in the economic life of those countries. Moscow has the right to claim a *monthly* five per cent interest for default and this alone entitles her to remain indefinitely in the area.

The reparations agreements were closely followed by trade agreements concluded between Soviet Russia and the later satellites. The main purpose of these was to exclude Western influence from the area. This was assured by the extension of the agreements obligating delivery of quantities surpassing all previous exportation. Moscow knew that the agreements were unreal. However, by the establishment of obligations concerning such extraordinary quantities a sort of Soviet option was created on every available delivery and nothing was left for eventual Western transactions.

Monopolistic trade agreements were concluded with ex-allies like Czechoslovakia and Poland as well as with ex-enemies like Rumania and Hungary. Their basic idea was the strengthening of the Russian industrial capacity.

The results of this brutal economic policy are astounding. The exports to Soviet Russia by the satellite countries rose from 24 million dollars in 1938 to 295 million in 1948⁽¹⁾. These figures do not include exports made on the basis of the reparations agreements.

The Economic Survey of Europe predicts for 1949 a further evolution of this tendency: "The trade of the USSR with Poland is scheduled to rise by some 35 per cent, that with Czechoslovakia by more than 45 per cent, while trade with Rumania is to be more than doubled and that with Hungary to be trebled."⁽²⁾

Parallel to this evolution is the decline of exports directed toward Western Europe.

What Moscow is seeking is in effect Soviet colonies.

(a) The area's only important customer, the Soviets, will dictate prices and make them serve its purposes.

(b) The satellite exports include the equivalent of raw materials needed for the production of reparations. These raw materials are sold at high prices by the Soviets who thus also collect a commercial benefit on reparations.

(c) An important item of the trade agreements is the delivery by Soviet Russia of raw materials to be transformed into finished goods by the contracting partner. This is extremely advantageous to Soviet Russia, the price of Soviet raw material being much higher than that on the world market.

(2) **Inside the area.** The trade agreements are in form agreements between two equal partners. Yet Soviet Russia began to destroy the domestic sovereignty of her partners:

(a) **Joint companies** were founded to exploit the natural wealth of the satellites. Russian joint companies for Rumanian oil, Hungarian bauxite, Danubian shipping and airlines.

Yugoslavia has liquidated her joint companies. The Yugoslav delegate to the UN Assembly has declared that Soviet Russia "failed to invest her share of fixed capital" and caused Yugoslavia "a loss of about 38 million dinars" in one year (Lake Success, October 7, 1949).

The companies are classical examples of what is actually colonial exploitation. They have obtained complete immunity as far as taxes and currency restrictions are concerned and give immense power to Soviet Russia.

(b) **The nationalization of industry** gave the party reason for liquidation of all possible "reactionaries" in industry and to complete political panic by economic terror.

The nationalization moves were carried out to "secure the fulfillment" of the 3 and 5 year plans tied with hastened remilitarization. Every satellite made magnificent programs — not based on reality. Nevertheless, one part of them will be fulfilled, *that concerning remilitarization under Russian command.*

Finally, the planning of satellite economies leads to the ultimate phase:

(c) **Centralized foreign trade**, governed by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This organization, founded in Warsaw as a propaganda weapon against E.R.P., has become an important authority in completely centralized totalitarian trade. Apparently it is under the control of Anastas I. Mikoyan, former Soviet minister for Foreign Trade and its purpose is the complete integration of satellite planned economies.

Its goal is no longer secret. Hilary Minc, member of the Polish Politburo, states:

Our "main task is to secure such all-around development of a country's productive forces as is most favorable for the abolition of capitalist elements . . . As for foreign trade . . . with the capitalist countries, the task of planning in the people's democracies is to (strengthen) the country as a link in the international struggle."⁽³⁾

It shows what distance the satellites have covered on the road to slavery and the danger that is inherent in any further development of East-West trade.

(1) For these and the following data cf. Economic Survey of Europe in 1948, prepared by the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations.
(2) Cf. op. cit. p. 147.

(3) Cf. November issue of "For Lasting Peace" quoted by the New York Times Nov. 26, 1949.

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May our Country — the United States — in 1950 through its influence and leadership bring about a just and lasting peace, and may America help Poland — the Homeland of our fathers and ancestors — to regain her complete freedom, true independence and rightful boundaries, and may the Polish Nation fully rejoice the creation of a better future in the spirit of their thousand-year-tradition.

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