

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## EAST EUROPE

● Poland  
28 March 1966

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#### Polish Party Delegation to the Soviet CP Congress

The Polish Party delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is composed of Party First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka; Politburo member and Prime Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz; Politburo member Zenon Kliszko; Politburo member and Katowice Voivodship First Secretary Edward Gierek; CC member and Polish ambassador in Moscow, Edmund Pszczolkowski.

It is a strong delegation and the inclusion of Gierek is interesting. But Polish delegations to a CPSU congress have always been strong and one, therefore, should not see anything unusual in the strength of this delegation.

#### West German Peace Plan Rebuffed by Poland

The Note of the German Federal Government, dated March 25, suggesting the exchange of formal declarations with Poland pledging not to use force to settle international disputes and suggesting also a bilateral agreement with Poland on the exchange of military observers to attend maneuvers of the armed forces, was promptly branded as "anti-Polish" by Radio Warsaw, or as "Erhard's bluff" by Zycie Warszawy. So far there has been no official government statement on the Note.

#### A New Phase in Church-State Quarrel

"A new and perhaps critical phase" seems to have started in the bitter Church-State quarrel, Edward J. Shields reported for UPI from Warsaw on March 27. The Communists have, he said, indicated that they do not want either the Pope or any foreign bishop present at the Church's celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Poland.

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Regarding a possible trip by the Pope to Poland, it is still uncertain whether the regime's actions are meant as a clear and irrevocable refusal, or as part of a bargain which the Polish Communists may hope to strike. In this respect, it is intriguing to note that the official Party mouthpiece Trybuna Ludu has chosen a rather odd way of expressing the official Polish views, by reprinting from the Italian CP daily L'Unità an article written by Franco Fabiani, the paper's Warsaw correspondent.

On March 19 Fabiani referred in L'Unità to two sermons of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, one in Warsaw on March 12, another in Lowicz on March 13, in which the Polish Primate expressed the hope that "numerous cardinals" would come to Poland for the Millennium celebrations, "encountering no obstacles, and [that] among them will be Pope Paul VI." Commenting on this statement, Fabiani stressed at least three main obstacles making such a visit "extremely problematical." Firstly, the Pope could not travel as a simple pilgrim, for he is the head of a state with which Poland has no diplomatic relations; secondly, the Holy See still recognizes the Polish government-in-exile and accredits its ambassador (Kazimierz Papée, cf. SR August 19 and September 9); thirdly, the Vatican questions the definitive character of the Oder-Neisse border and retains a provisional Church administration in the Western and Northern Territories.

Trybuna Ludu printed on March 23 an extensive summary of the L'Unità article, thus implying that the views expressed by Fabiani were either identical with those of the Polish CP leadership or supported by it. There still remained the question whether the three points raised by Fabiani were meant merely as an explanation of "difficulties" or as elements of a bargain. There seems to be little doubt, though, that this part of the article was addressed to the Vatican rather than to the Polish Episcopate.

At almost the same time "rumors" started circulating in Warsaw to the effect that Cardinal Wyszynski, "in the name of the conference of the Polish Episcopate, has sounded out government authorities on the possibility of inviting the Pope to the religious ceremonies on May 3." A report on these rumors appeared in L'Unità of March 23, the very day Trybuna Ludu published Fabiani's three "conditions".

Earlier, on March 21, Reuter correspondent Vincent Buist and CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr quoted reliable sources in Warsaw as saying that the Church hierarchy "had asked government blessing on its plans to stage celebrations on May 3." Also Hans-jakob Stehle reported in Die Zeit (March 25) that "shortly before the pastoral letter was printed in Trybuna Ludu," i.e. before March 17, Cardinal Wyszynski had sent a personal letter to First Party Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka, trying, "in a friendly tone," to come to some understanding and to pave the way for the Pope's visit.

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As if in answer to such entreaties, Trybuna Ludu published on March 24 a strong attack on the Cardinal accusing him of planning "big demonstrations" which would be "contrary to the assumptions of the all-national celebrations of the Millennium." Trybuna Ludu also stated quite unequivocally that the Polish Episcopate had encroached "on the realm of foreign policy" by inviting to Poland bishops from 56 countries. In this respect the paper quoted from the letter of March 5 of Prime Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz to the Polish Episcopate:

"While not going into the essence of the matter, we must in this connection remind the Episcopate that all international congresses and conferences which take frequently place in our country, may be convened by their organizers only with the approval of the appropriate state authorities. "

In other words, as stressed by Shields, the Polish Communists have in effect "called the Church's elaborate program of Millennium observances illegal."

So far, they have also acted as if they meant business by considering these observances illegal. Thus RFE correspondents reported from Vienna and London that the Polish travel agencies advised local travel agencies to cancel planned trips of pilgrims to Cestochowa on May 3 under various pretexts, one of these being "anticipated increased travel within Poland during the period."

Another shift in the regime propaganda against the Episcopate consists in the fact that, while the "message" to the German bishops is mentioned only by the way, the stress is on the "reactionary" and "backward" character of Cardinal Wyszynski himself, and of "some bishops" or of "part of the Episcopate." Recent examples of this kind of propaganda have been supplied by two weeklies, Kultura of March 27 and Polityka of March 26. The gist and the tendency of these articles transpires clearly from Polityka's statement that more and more people in Poland are referring to Cardinal Wyszynski as "a Polish Mindszenty."