

Church-State Relations

The current issue of "Tygodnik Powszechny" carries a full page feature article by Kisielewski on "mass culture" versus "individual" culture written in Kisielewski's brilliant and polemical style. More importantly it seems to presage or infact underlines a split in the ZNAK group between that faction which is politically "engaged" (Kisielewski, Stomma and Zawiewski) and the editorial board of T.P. Feeling here is that the board is giving Kisielewski room to air his views and then later to distance itself from his personal views. It will be a difficult maneuver to pull off since the nature of the subject is such that too sharp a polemical tone with the article could be interpreted as direct polemics with the official philosophy of the regime - i.e., the collective versus the individual. The stand taken by Kisielewski also touches directly on the issue of being "loyal" to the state and as a Catholic becoming engaged in support for the regime. This issue was allegedly defined by the Cardinal Primate as the difference between "loyalty" and "loyalism." Although there have been a few reports touching on the line of division running through the ZNAK group and the differences of opinion reported to exist between the Cardinal and the political "engagé" faction of Znak, not enough is known at the present time to report definitely on the split. The coming debate in T.P. will no doubt help clarify the situation. The article will be translated.

Berlin

Recent reliable information suggests once again that a clear distinction must be drawn between the concern felt in the political circles of the "Warsaw establishment" over the Berlin crisis and the apparent indifference seemingly obtaining among the population at large. The indifference of the latter is a departure from previous public sentiments in times of political crisis when especially the peasantry succumbed to panic buying, rumor mongering, etc. There may be two reasons for this state of affairs. Firstly, it may be a result of the deliberate playing down of the true dimensions of the crisis by the regime press and the seriousness of the situation has yet to hit home. But this argument is weakened by the fact that Western radios have been insisting for some time on the crucial issues surrounding the Berlin crisis and the importance attached to them by both East and West. Secondly, it has been suggested that the general feeling in Poland is that the West will back down and that therefore there will be no real crisis and hence no war. This line of arguments rests on the assumption (a very pessimistic

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one indeed) that there is definite "reorientation" going on in the public mind in favor of the East and to the detriment of the West; that the belief in Poland that the East will win the global struggle is gaining ever more adherents. It is said that the Cuban debacle and the poor Western showing in Laos were major contributing factors to this change of mind. It is believed here that there is a certain validity in the second argument but that it is impossible to tell how widespread it is or how lasting such a state of mind will be.

Warsaw Pact Communique

That all the ruling secretaries of the Warsaw Pact were present in Moscow for discussion of the Berlin question although not entirely unexpected is of course of interest especially in respect to the present strained relations between Albania and the Soviet Union. It is assumed that Hoxha was present. His movements of the last days are now being checked out here. It should be noted that contingency planning as regards the possible negative effects of a Western economic embargo on East Germany and/or the rest of the socialist camp was one of the main themes of the conference. The document is calm in tone but quite inflexible in objectives. It repeats the intent to sign a peace treaty with the so-called DDR by the end of the year. Coming as it did in the middle of the foreign ministers' conference in Paris it underlined once again the gulf separating East and West on this issue.

Moscow Youth Forum

The "Le Monde" dispatch telexed to you today is of utmost importance since it underlines again the differences within the world communist movement as well as confirms that the Sino-Soviet dispute is still very much alive. The dispatch also suggests that there is also a "color line" emerging which can be roughly and relatively defined as a division between the "haves" and "havenots." Note the reported absence of Albania and China from the debates.