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## EAST EUROPE

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### S I T U A T I O N     R E P O R T

- \* Polish Delegation to Italian CP Congress
- \* Kliszko's Mission to the Vatican?
- \* Two-Pronged Propaganda Against the Episcopate
- \* School Fund to Continue

#### Polish Delegation to Italian CP Congress

Zenon Kliszko, Politburo member and CC secretary in charge of ideology, Party relations and Church affairs, arrived in Rome this morning to head the Polish Party delegation to the Eleventh Congress of the Italian CP, starting tomorrow. Two other members of the delegation are: Andrzej Werblan, head of the CC Education and Science Department, and Zdzislaw Grudzien, Katowice Voivodship Party Committee secretary for propaganda affairs.

Their departure from Warsaw on January 22 was reported by PAP and by Radio Warsaw. These agencies added that Kliszko had been invited by the Italian CP to attend the Congress. The group made a short stopover in Vienna in the morning of January 23, "for conversations with the Polish Ambassador, Jerzy Roszak," an RFE Special explained.

#### Kliszko's Mission to the Vatican?

Kliszko's departure for Rome (see above item) brought about a new wave of speculation about his possible "mission" to the Vatican.

"Although Pope Paul's visit to Poland now seems unlikely, the visit of Mr. Kliszko to Rome will be closely watched," Reuter reported from Warsaw January 23. The Pope's visit is just one of the problems the Polish regime faces in its relations -- or, strictly speaking, in its lack of relations -- with the Vatican. As a matter of fact, the Polish government would welcome a broader understanding with the Vatican, not excluding diplomatic relations, provided such an understanding could be made without the intermediary of the Polish Primate. "In some Polish official circles there

24 January 1966

is a feeling that better understanding between Catholics and Communists can be achieved only by direct contact with the Vatican and over the head of the Polish Primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski," Reuter explained.

Kliszko has been linked with the regime intentions vis-à-vis the Vatican since at least December 1962, when he delivered a lecture in Rome on "Church-State Relations in Poland." In that lecture he stated that a Concordat with the Vatican was "not unlikely" (cf. SR 13 and 17 December 1962).

"The death of Pope John put an end to conjecture about this," Reuter commented. On the other hand, a more recent "flare-up between the Catholic Episcopate and the State has all but ruled out any such understanding." Nevertheless, Kliszko "has the authority to revive suggestions of Vatican contacts if the Poles still believe these useful," Reuter stated.

The Poles may, however, feel that it might be useful to sound out the possibility of beginning direct contacts, in connection with the possible intention of the Pope to go to Poland, in spite of the recent "flare-up." This intention has been repeatedly and insistently reported by reliable Western sources. The Vatican, however, has refused to be committed.

In this connection an RFE Special from Rome (January 18) reported on a "sudden one-day visit to Warsaw, last week," of Msgr. Agostino Casaroli, undersecretary for the extraordinary affairs of the Church in the Vatican. The report was based on "sources in Rome close to the Vatican," who stated that Casaroli had had a meeting with Cardinal Wyszynski and that the reported visit had taken place "after the Polish regime refused to issue a passport to the Primate." These sources did not reveal the nature of the talk Casaroli had with Wyszynski, but the Special referred to the statement made on January 16 by John Carmel Cardinal Heenan, archbishop of Westminster, that Cardinal Wyszynski had been expected in Rome to discuss with the Pope the prospects of the latter's possible pilgrimage to Czestochowa next May. "It was felt by these Rome sources," the Special reported, that Casaroli's visit "might have touched on some aspects of this proposed trip."

A few hours after this report, a Vatican denial of Casaroli's trip was carried by Reuter and by another RFE Special. "Msgr. Casaroli was in the Vatican every day last week and did not go to Poland," the official Vatican spokesman stated. "I saw and talked to him every day," Dr. Luciano Casimirri, chief of the Vatican press office, insisted. "I saw him and I talked to him again today, yesterday and Sunday of this week also," he specified. In spite of all these assurances, Casimirri seems to have left some benefit of doubt to the attentive readers of denials. He did not say whether he had seen Msgr. Casaroli on the Sunday preceding the "Sunday of this week," i.e. during the weekend immediately following the refusal of passport to Cardinal Wyszynski, (the letter of refusal was dated Friday, January 7).



Irrespective of whether Msgr. Casaroli -- who is known as chief Vatican negotiator with Communist countries -- made the reported trip to Poland or not, Robert C. Doty reported from Rome to The New York Times (January 16) that the Pope and the Vatican "obviously were seeking to minimize the damage" done by the regime's refusal of passport to Cardinal Wyszynski and were trying to "leave the door open for a reconciliation that would make the papal visit possible." Doty saw a sign of such an attitude in the fact that, during the Polish Millennium celebration in Rome on January 13, the Pope avoided any reference to the ban, except to send blessings to the Cardinal, who was "with us in spirit."

### Two-Pronged Propaganda Against the Episcopate

After the definition of the offense of the Polish bishops by Wladyslaw Gomulka on January 14 (cf. SR January 17) and particularly after his admission that the Episcopate could not be accused of "making border concessions," it was to be expected that the regime propaganda media would revise their previous charges against the Church. This expectation has materialized to a certain extent only. True, the volume of accusations has decreased substantially, particularly in the central press, but they are still raised in the provincial press.

This is particularly true of the mass circulation daily, the Katowice official Party mouthpiece, Trybuna Robotnicza. Since the last review of regime propaganda on this score (cf. SR January 17), this paper has not changed the character of the daily contributions it has been carrying, purported to come from various representatives of local society. For example, a contribution carrying the question: "Why does a group of Polish bishops use revisionist formulations regarding our Western Territories?", was made by the deputy to the Sejm, Wladyslaw Matys, in Trybuna Robotnicza on January 19, five days after Gomulka's speech. "With my whole family I cannot understand that there could be people who, through their doings, act against the most vital interests of the nation," Matys complains. A similar statement from a responsible reader, Prof. Dr. Witold Niepolomski, principal (rector) of the Silesian Medical Academy, appeared a week after Gomulka's speech, on January 21. "Even practising Catholics cannot agree with the political content of the bishops' message. Yes, with the political content, for it was the unfortunate formulations pertaining to our frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse that gave rise to clearly political comments in the German Federal Republic, comments running against the Polish raison d'etat," Prof. Niepolomski lamented. "One cannot agree with an assessment of the problem of our western border which would allow even the smallest shade of hope among the revisionist circles of the GFR that any discussion on this subject could be initiated with certain circles in Poland," the Silesian professor stated.

The last instance of this kind of propaganda could be registered in the central press on January 14 when Zycie Warszawy -- obviously not briefed in advance about the speech of Gomulka on the same day -- put 18 "Questions to the Authors of the Message." Once again these questions summed up the political sins of the bishops, since that were either of commission ("Why did you do this or that?"), or omission ("Why didn't you do this or that?") The questions pertained to historical, moral, but mainly political aspects of the bishops' letter.

Question No. 16 was intended to appeal to the nationalistic, not to say chauvinistic instincts of the Polish reader. "Is it true that the text of the letter was written in German?" (Zycie Warszawy editors must have known that it was a rhetorical question since, for the sake of courtesy, the Polish bishops wrote their letter in German. These editors should have also known that the German answer to the Polish bishops was written in Polish. However, Zycie Warszawy did not ask whether it was true that the text of the German bishops' letter was written in Polish.) Another propaganda ploy used by Zycie Warszawy was an allegation that Karol Wojtyla, archbishop of Cracow, had talked as if he had had no part in the drafting of the letter to the German Episcopate. (As a matter of fact, Wojtyla could in no way have talked thus since he had a considerable hand in the letter.)

Generally, however, since Gomulka's speech, there has been a more dignified and matter-of-fact approach in the campaign of the central press against the Episcopate. Thus Trybuna Ludu (January 19) produced extensive excerpts on the issue from Western sources, notably from L'Aurore of Paris, from AFP, as well as from the Canadian Toronto Globe and Mail. Again, on January 21, Radio Warsaw reported that the "Polonia" Publishing House -- specializing in advertising Poland abroad, with an attentive eye on Polish emigrants -- had released a special publication entitled The Message of Polish Bishops to German Bishops. The issue runs into 100,000 copies and contains, not only the documents exchanged between the two Episcopates, but also "various press publications, containing opinions of political parties as well as various social circles of our country." Radio Warsaw added that excerpts from some sermons on the subject by Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, as well as by Bishop Zygmunt Choromanski, are included in the book. This last circumstance was commented upon by Henry Kamm writing from Warsaw for The New York Times (January 22) as follows: "It was noted that the 176-page volume contained not only the strong criticism of the Church documents but also extensive extracts from a sermon by Cardinal Wyszyński bitterly replying to the attacks."

#### School Fund to Continue

One of the tangible results of the meeting of the All-Polish Committee of the Front of National Unity on January 14 was the decision to continue collecting voluntary contributions for the building of schools. As anticipated on the occasion of the completion of the previous program of building 1,000 schools for the Millennium (cf. SR September 9), the regime did not stop at that figure. Indeed, it seems to have a good chance of having another thousand schools built from the society's contributions in the not too distant future. "Instead of 1,000 schools, 1,200 schools were ready a year before the end of the celebrations of the Millennium, with 200 more abuilding and about to be completed within the next few months," according to Czeslaw Wycech, chairman of the respective school building committee, when reporting to the delegates of the Front.



24 January 1966

However, the regime might have felt that the burden involved was considerable, since, at the same time, it has decided to wind up another "action," similar to the school program, called the "Social Fund for the Reconstruction of the Capital and of the Country," known to every Pole by its abbreviation SFOS.

The history of SFOS and its achievements were described at the meeting of the Front by one of its former deputy chairmen, Jerzy Grabowski. It was on the 8 May 1945, Grabowski, said, that the people of Silesia called to life a committee for the reconstruction of Warsaw, and it was from Silesia that the action spread all over the country, so that by 1 September 1946 each voivodship had its committee. The slogan "The Whole Nation Reconstructs Its Capital" found the expected response, and, within the just over 20 years of its existence, SFOS managed to collect 5,500 million zloty from which about 10,000 buildings were constructed, not only in Warsaw but also in the whole country. On January 13, an extraordinary congress of the delegates of SFOS resolved to end the organization's activities and to transfer all its assets and liabilities to the newly created SFBS, the "Social Fund for the Construction of Schools (and Boarding Houses)."

Thus the new school fund begins its existence through the merger of two previously existing funds, the Millennium school fund and the Warsaw reconstruction fund. As explained by State Council Chairman Edward Ochab (who delivered the main report at the Front's meeting), the new action will be carried under a new slogan: "The Whole Nation to Its Youth."

However, in order to assure that it is the whole nation which contributes to the Fund, certain norms should be established, Ochab suggested. "Despite the whole voluntary character of the contributions," Ochab said, "it is desirable and justified to fix certain orientation norms for the contributions." This was the case with the previous fund, which thus managed to collect, within the seven years of its existence, no less than 8,500 million zloty. Ochab appealed to the "worker class and to the employees of the nationalized economy" to contribute from 0.3 to 0.5 per cent of their monthly wages to the Fund; he also appealed to the peasants to offer, for the same purpose, from 0.7 to one per cent of the yearly income of their farms, and to the artisans and "free professions" to contribute on the "previous level." (Artisans and other representatives of the so-called private initiative have been contributing through a surcharge on income and turnover taxes. As a rule the minimum surcharge was five per cent on these taxes.)