

other European programs, it would be difficult to argue that Mikoś's work provides both students and teachers with a long-overdue academic tool for (no longer widely offered) survey courses in the history of Polish literature. Moreover, though the poems and short prose pieces can be used selectively in various other academic classes, the translated fragments are not suitable as stand-alone teaching materials. This, combined with the availability of works by many major Polish writers in English translation, poses the question of the purpose of the volume and its intended audience. But the academic limitations also mean that the dissemination of Polish literature and the instruction of literary and cultural processes have to be done also outside of colleges and universities, or at least outside of their major programs and courses. Mikoś's work should be warmly welcome for this reason alone. As in any world literature, in Poland there are great writers of international esteem, and there are those of local or limited fame. Great Polish poets, such as for instance Szyborska or Herbert, are quite well known in the West, but not necessarily understood within the context of their own native literary and cultural background. Let me add here that before translating and publishing his own poems, indisputably the most famous Polish poet in the English speaking world, Czesław Miłosz, prepared a selection of contemporary Polish poems that familiarized English-speaking readers with the literary tradition from which he comes. This is exactly what Michael J. Mikoś's impressive anthology continues to do. ◇

The Church and the Communist Power

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Twenty years after the fall of communism we look back at its dark history with a clear vision of the right and the wrong sides in the struggle that ended with the victory of the former. But such clarity was far from common in 1945, at least for the average person. We won and we lost the war. The West betrayed Poland; socialism, though imposed by the Soviets, in our version might work well. The brutality of the regime is appalling but it will ease, and social reforms are beneficial. The new order may be short-lived, or it may last for generations. . . . The only force that held fast to

nonambivalent opposition was the Catholic Church. Its premise, as well as its weapon, was starkly simple: the communist ideology is altogether a lie, proved by its practice. Therefore, the ever-resilient truth of Christianity will persevere.

There were obstacles, of course; the struggle was tough. The regime had all the material power, the Church only the spiritual. There were many victims among the faithful, but also some traitors. That none of the aspects in the history of those struggles should pass from memory is the theme of a discussion and of several articles in this issue of *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* (Bulletin of the Institute of National Memory). For the leading article, "Przejście przez Morze Czerwone" (The Red Sea Crossing), the Bulletin's editor, Jan Ruman, invited two historians of twentieth-century Polish Catholicism, professors Jan Żaryn (Institute of National Memory) and Ryszard Terlecki (Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences). They recall a gradual approach in post-World War II Poland of the communist regime toward its goal of full control over the Church's activities and influence. At first, personal persecutions were rare because the first item on the agenda was brutal destruction of armed political resistance. But from 1947 until the so-called "thaw" after Stalin's death in 1953, the Church became the main target. Professors Żaryn and Terlecki discuss delegalization of all social and charitable organizations affiliated with the Church, the closings of Catholic schools, the much-lamented order to remove crosses from classrooms (I remember!) and hospitals, and of terrorizing parishes and monasteries (the notorious arrest of a group of Jesuits headed by Father Tomasz Rostworowski).

Slight differences of opinion appear in the discussion of Catholic publications. Professor Żaryn's highest praise goes to the openly defiant *Tygodnik Warszawski* (closed in 1949), while the more flexible *Tygodnik Powszechny* whose editors resigned under pressure in 1953 (they were replaced by another set of editors, and the original team regained the publication in 1956), is given a good if guarded review by both discussants. They share scorn for collaborationist *Słowo Powszechne* and *Dziś i Jutro*, a daily and a weekly published by PAX, an organization created by prewar militant nationalist Bolesław Piasecki with the intention of providing a platform for nonadversarial coexistence of the Catholic and communist ideologies, but also to save his neck (his choice was collaboration or death). Although Żaryn and Terlecki admit that the PAX periodicals and its publishing house gave employment

to many marginalized members of Catholic intelligentsia and published books by Catholic writers (which was unthinkable elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain), their judgment is unforgiving. The price paid for those positive achievements was, Professor Żaryn concludes, “monstrous.” Professor Terlecki is more apologetic: everybody hated PAX but loved the books. Even Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, Terlecki notes, who forcefully opposed PAX, had his liaison man for contact with Piasecki. The society at large understood the game: it had been played before, during over one hundred years of partitions.

The discussants continue on the theme of collaboration, as they bring up the story of so-called “patriot priests” (an expression introduced by the communist authorities) from the early period of PRL, then move to the much longer chapter on recruitment by the security apparatus among members of the clergy in a variety of ranks and positions. If the latter subject has already attracted enormous publicity—the former seems, at least psychologically, far more interesting. Who were these priests who dared to disobey the entire hierarchy of the Church and allow themselves to be seduced by the arch enemy, and did it openly? Professor Terlecki recalls that at the core of that group were priests who during the German occupation experienced camps, often torture, and came out broken men. Others served as army chaplains and would therefore have been particularly sensitive to the prospect of further violence. But one wonders if fear and indoctrination were the only motives, if some of those priests—perhaps sons of poor peasants, perhaps readers of too many books—might not have become genuinely attracted to socialist ideals or influenced by the stampede of the intelligentsia (notable prewar Catholics among them) to support “new reality”? The Church, Professor Terlecki notes, allowed such renegade priests to remain at their posts but, ostracized by the faithful and of little use to their communist handlers, they ceased to matter. More sinister methods of recruitment of “confidential collaborators” (*Tajny Współpracownik*, or TW) would soon be employed. In addition to blackmail there were tangible rewards, such as much-desired passports for travel to Rome.

Other topics in this discussion include a profile of the Catholic Club (feeble) in the Sejm and the rise of legitimate Catholic communities. From the 1960s onward, Poland developed an increasingly vocal Catholic intelligentsia and an active movement of young Catholics. In a few paragraphs the discussants compare the different styles of leadership of the two

great cardinals, Wyszyński and Wojtyła. They end the conversation on two notes: that no circumstances excused those clergymen who agreed to work for the security apparatus—and that despite some weaknesses, the Church did carry the millions of faithful Poles “across the Red Sea” and significantly contributed to the defeat of communism not only in Poland but worldwide.

The communists used a gradual approach in their goal of full control over the Catholic Church in Poland.

Following the discussion are scholarly articles that focus on specific battlegrounds in the regime’s war against the Church. In “Likwidacja salezjańskich zakładów wychowawczych” (Liquidation of the Salesian Educational Institutions), Father Jarosław Wąsowicz, PhD, a Salesian archivist and educator, chronicles the harassment, then closing of Salesian schools and orphanages. One of the destructive methods that failed to work was an attempt to enroll students and wards into communist youth organization. This fascinating article includes personal stories of educators and the institutions’ alumni. In “Różanystok 1954” Father Adam Szot, PhD, the director of Archdiocese Archives in Białystok among other functions and distinctions, tells a heartbreaking story about the creation in 1949, and brutal liquidation in 1954, of the Różanystok seminary. Moved from Wilno, the seminary, run by Salesian Brothers and Sisters, schooled candidates for priesthood, but also boys whose parents desired a Catholic education. Situated in the eastern part of Poland and employing former residents of the territory that was annexed by the Soviets, the seminary was of particular concern for the regime and its Kremlin supervisors.

In “Metoda stopniowego werbunku duchownych” (The Method of Gradual Recruitment of Clergymen), Filip Musiał, PhD (IPN Kraków), presents a review of SB (Security Service) pamphlets that provided its functionaries with detailed instructions on how to lure priests into collaboration. Blackmail, psychological manipulation, and a variety of material rewards that could include vital necessities such as medicines for ill relatives, are analyzed with keen attention to the torments of guilt and denial experienced by the renegades. Much attention has been paid to this sore subject, but less well known are betrayals on the government side. In her well-researched and entertaining “Przecieki i wycieki” (Leaks and

Drippings), Łucja Marek, PhD, (IPN Katowice) describes a large number of instances in which functionaries of government, and security provided useful information to offices of the Church.

In “*Tygodnik Warszawski i jego środowisko*,” historian and musician Mirosław Biełaszko (IPN) profiles the brief and turbulent history of the most principled Catholic newspaper in postwar Poland. Two of its founders, Father Zygmunt Kaczyński and Antoni Antczak died in prison; others—all remembered here—endured long incarceration. The article includes Cardinal Wyszyński’s notes about his efforts—and grief—to intervene on behalf of Father Kaczyński.

“Ryzykowna Gra. Jak Aleksander Bocheński przyczynił się do powstania tygodnika *Dziś i Jutro*” (Risky Game: How Aleksander Bocheński contributed to the founding of *Today and Tomorrow*) is Ryszard Mozgol’s (IPN Katowice) profile of a prewar nationalist in communist Poland who attempted to wed his radical right to the radical left. Quoted here—among other sources—is Czesław Miłosz, who called Bocheński “a quintessential collaborator.” But the ground prepared by Bocheński would be delivered to Bolesław Piasecki, and thus was born *Dziś i Jutro*, a quasi-Catholic weekly sponsored by PAX. From the dark corridors of Warsaw and Kraków the reader is transferred to the countryside in Robert Derewenda’s (PhD from the Catholic University of Lublin and an archivist) “Bezpieka wobec ruchu oazowego” (Security Apparatus vs the “Oasis” Movement). The movement, initiated in the late 1960s by Father Franciszek Blachnicki, was a loose congregation of grass-roots Catholic communities whose activities evolved around retreats, pilgrimages, and various ecumenical endeavors. Intense efforts to undermine its growing popularity by infiltration and provocation—reaching to the offices of Cardinals Wyszyński and Glemp—failed, though there remain questions until today about who had been used in the campaign of smears.

The last article, “Komunistów wizja Kościoła” (The Communists’ Vision of the Church) by Jacek Żurek, situates the policy of the communist state toward religion, organized and not, within the framework of the one-party system of government. He points to historical precedences, in France after 1789 and in Nazi Germany. The Soviet model went farther: what could not be subdued must be destroyed. Initially there were attempts at different approaches to different denominations (e.g., the Eastern Rite Catholics, *unici*, or the Protestants), but eventually obligatory atheism

was to replace all religions. In this article Professor Żurek returns to the subject of collaborators.

Provided with this issue of *Biuletyn* is a DVD of *Kryptonim “Pożoga”* (Cryptonym “Blaze”), a documentary on the persecutions of the Polish population in Volhynia by Ukrainian nationalist forces in 1939–1945, and the counter offensive by units of the AK (Home Army). ◇

BOOKS and Movies Received

Stanisława Orzechowskiego i Augustyna Rotundusa debata o Rzeczypospolitej [1564] (Stanisław Orzechowski’s and Augustin Rotundus’s debate about the Polish state), translated from Latin by Elwira Buszewicz and edited with an introduction by Krzysztof Koehler. *Humanitas: Studia Kulturoznawcze Series*, vol. 1. Kraków: WAM and Ignatianum Publishing House (wydawnictwowam.pl), 2009. 284 pages, illustrations. ISBN 978-83-7614-008-7 (Ignatianum) and ISBN 978-83-7505-362-3 (WAM). Paper.

This tome consists of five related items: two imaginary conversations between a Catholic, a Protestant, and Orzechowski himself; two polemics between a Pole and a Lithuanian in which the Pole argues for the superiority of the Polish system of government based on law, as opposed to the Lithuanian one based on the prince’s absolute rule; and a bilingual (in Latin with a Polish translation) apology for the *Quincunx*, or the primacy of spirituality over executive power in a properly conceived state. These Latin essays were first published ca. 1564 and had never before been translated into the vernacular. Professor Koehler is to be congratulated on his efforts to bring together translators and archivists to produce this volume that unveils a bit of Sarmatian Poland which the communists strove so fiercely to uproot and drop in the memory hole.

In his introduction the editor stresses the dialogic character of Polish political thought; unlike say the Germans, Polish theorists did not present a “seamless” system that called for abandoning previous systems, but rather tried to engage their adversaries in a dialogue. Hence the Pole tries to persuade the Lithuanian to adopt a better political system, while at the same time listening to his adversary’s argument in favor of a principality ruled by an absolute sovereign. At the same time, the Polish system and its spokespersons (such as Orzechowski) argue from a Catholic position to the effect that a system not based on a *Quincunx* (here symbolizing the cross) will not stand. Characteristically, Orzechowski writes in the Second