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*The Activities of the So-Called Patriot Priests and Catholics
Collaborating with Communists in the Lublin Voivodeship during
the Stalinist Period (1950–1956)*

Działalność tzw. księży patriotów i katolików kolaborujących z komunistami w województwie lubelskim w okresie stalinowskim (1950–1956)

SUMMARY

After the Second World War, since 1949, the organisations were established in Poland with the aim to gather priests and Catholics and support the communist authorities. Members were recruited by the political police using terror and various discrediting materials. The organisations were created, financed and supervised by the communist party and the political police. Their task was to break up the Church from inside and subordinate it to the totalitarian state. The Catholic Church punished canonically the clergy who acted within the structures of these organisations as they were committing treason. These organisations gathered nearly 10 percent of all Catholic priests in the Lublin voivodeship. They ended their activity when de-Stalinization started in Poland in 1956. The clergy who supported the communist regime in Poland were popularly called patriot priests. It was an ironic term used by Poles. The article shows the organisational structures and analyses the motives and conditions that led the priests to collaborate with the communist authorities.

Keywords: Catholic Church; clergy; Lublin Voivodeship; communist party

The term “patriot priests”, notoriously used in the Stalinist propaganda of the 1950s, has settled in the Polish language. It began to function when the communist authorities established structures which gathered the so-called progressive clergymen (*Komisja Księży przy Związku Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację* – Priestly Commission of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy

[hereinafter: KK ZBoWiD], *Komisja Intelktualistów i Działaczy Katolickich* – Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists [hereinafter: KIiDK] of the *Polski Komitet Obrońców Pokoju* – Polish Committee of Peace Defenders [hereinafter: PKOP], *Komisja Duchownych i Świeckich Działaczy Katolickich przy Froncie Narodowym* – Commission of Clergy and Lay Catholic Activists of the National Front [hereinafter: KDiSDK]). Clergymen participating in their activities referred to themselves as patriot priests. This term was meant to define every Catholic priest who was involved in organisations founded and controlled by the state authorities against the guidelines of the hierarchical Church, publicly manifesting their support for the communist system. The term “patriot priests” was quickly adopted by other clergymen and the faithful, but it was universally treated as ironic. The term “progressive Catholics” used by the Stalinist propaganda had a similarly pejorative meaning in people’s perception¹.

The post-war administrative structure of the Lublin province included the Lublin diocese, while its northern part, traditionally referred to as southern Podlasie, belonged to the diocese of Siedlce (Podlasie), which encompassed four districts (*powiat*): Radzyń, Łuków, Włodawa, and Biała Podlaska. Additionally, there were in the area a few parishes from the diocese of Lubaczów and Sandomierz. Until the outbreak of the Second World War, the diocese of Lublin had 233 parishes which gathered 1,131,000 of the faithful. In 1939, it had 17 deaneries (of Bełżyce, Biłgoraj, Bychawa, Chełm, Hrubieszów, Janów, Krasnystaw, Kraśnik, Kurów, Lubartów, Lublin, Łęczna, Opole, Piaski, Puławy, Szचेbrzeszyn, Tarnogród, Tomaszów, Turobin, Tyszowce, Zaklików, and Zamość). There were 524 secular priests and 98 monastic priests working in the area in 1950. There were also 670 nuns in the diocese².

After the Second World War, the Bishopric Curia was initially in a difficult situation with the personnel. Bishop Marian Leon Fulman died in December 1945. He was in charge of the diocese from November 1918. Arrested in the autumn of 1939 by Germans, he was interned in Nowy Sącz in 1940–1945. On 9 February 1945, he returned to Lublin ill. He was succeeded by Fr. Stefan Wszyński, PhD in March 1946. As the Bishop of Lublin, he was in charge of the diocese for 2 years and 8 months, until November 1948 when he was elected the Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, and the Primate of Poland. In May 1949, Fr. Piotr Kałwa, Professor of the Catholic University of Lublin (*Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubleski* – KUL) became a new bishop, and he was in charge of the diocese until his death

¹ J. Wrona. *Władze państwowe wobec Kościoła katolickiego*, [in:] *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny, aspekty polityczne*, eds. T. Osiński, M. Mazur, Lublin 2016, pp. 333–384. The analysed issues are presented on pp. 359–370.

² J. Wrona, *Duszpasterska działalność Kościoła katolickiego*, [in:] *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny 1944–1956. Aspekty społeczne, gospodarcze, oświatowe i kulturalne*, eds. T. Osiński, M. Mazur, Lublin 2017, p. 172.

in July 1974. In the analysed period from March 1947 onwards, the duties of the diocese's suffragan bishop were performed by Fr. Zdzisław Goliński, PhD until he was chosen the Ordinary of Częstochowa Diocese in April 1951. The next suffragan bishop in 1952 was Fr. Tomasz Wilczyński, PhD, the Ordinary of Olsztyn Diocese from December 1956³. In the analysed period, a significant role in managing the diocese and personnel policy was played by the closest associates of ordinaries – the Vicar General, Fr. Piotr Stopniak, PhD, and Chancellor (temporarily a notary public), Fr. Wojciech Olech. PhD⁴.

Intensifying the ideological offensive by the communists in 1948 meant the end of the so-called policy of mutual omissions of the state's authorities and the Church. Until 1949, "there was almost no work with the clergy on the part of the state's administration and socio-political factors" in the province of Lublin – as Aleksander Borkowski – Director of the Department for Religion of the Presidium of the Provincial National Council (PWRN) in Lublin – wrote in his analysis⁵. In August 1949, Bolesław Bierut received from Joseph Stalin new guidelines regarding the fight against the Catholic Church in Poland, postulating its rift through implementing disintegrating activities among the clergymen. Similar policy began to be applied in all the countries of the Soviet Bloc⁶.

In accordance with these suggestions, a plan was prepared to penetrate the Church's structures in order to make it – with the help of obedient priests – another tool of the communist state. A numerous questioning of the new authorities' systemic practices by the hierarchs became a pretext for the attack. From 1947, the party's (PPR/PZPR) and state's authorities, as well as the security apparatus, subjected the clergy to their own hierarchisation. Attitude towards the post-war reality and to the current policies implemented by the communists were used as the point of reference. The circles of clergymen were identified during numerous interviews, to which priests were summoned to the state offices. The failure to attend was punished administratively. District and civic party structures created characterisations of the clergymen in their areas. As part of the campaign to prepare opinions on individual clergymen, a category were created for the so-called positive priests; it included priests who were defined as follows: "loyal", "demo-

³ M. T. Zachajkiewicz (ed.), *Dzieje Archidiecezji Lubelskiej 1805–2005*, Lublin 2005, pp. 56–58, 63.

⁴ J. Wrona, *Ks. Wojciech Olech, kanclerz kurii biskupiej w Lublinie – szukanie modus vivendi*, [in:] *Od Piłsudskiego do Wałęsy. Studia z dziejów Polski w XX wieku. Księga jubileuszowa w 70. rocznicę urodzin prof. Andrzeja Paczkowskiego*, Warszawa 2008.

⁵ Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (hereinafter: APL), KW PZPR, 1183, c. 164. Assessment of the progressive Catholic movement in the Lublin province 06.10.1955.

⁶ J. Żaryn, *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944–1989)*, Warszawa 2003, p. 64; *Reprezje wobec Kościoła w krajach bloku wschodniego. Komuniści przeciw religii po 1944 roku*, ed. J. Marecki, Kraków 2001.

cratically oriented” or “oriented favourably to the present reality”⁷. One of the basic criteria for belonging to this group was to follow the authorities’ recommendations and to participate in various propaganda activities. The natural qualities of a priest being manifested by fervour, by spreading the faith, were treated by the communists as a dangerous vice that testified to his religious fanaticism. The political party consistently applied this policy in the next years of Stalinism⁸.

In August 1949, the First Secretary of the Provincial Committee (KW) PZPR in Lublin, Stanisław Łapot, submitted to the Central Committee (KC) a list of 12 priests who were classified as positively oriented towards the communist government⁹. The list of the clergymen was the effect of interviews mainly with the parish priests held in the province on 8–9 August 1949. The campaign was of a nationwide nature, was prepared at the briefing of provincial governors and heads of districts on 7 August 1949 in Warsaw. Activists from PZPR in the Lublin province met with 347 priests. The discourse had two major topics: Pope Pius XII’s decree from 13 July 1949 imposing excommunication on all the members of the communist parties and the government’s decree on protecting the freedom of conscience and religion from 5 August 1949, which in its aim became an important instrument in limiting the rights of the Church and religious people in Poland¹⁰. In the former case, the priests were required to declare that they would not announce the papal decision on excommunication, in the latter – the decree’s positive results for the Church were argued, contrary to the facts. This initiated the constant practice of cyclical meeting of the clergy with the secular authorities. In 1949, only 14 priests did not come for the meeting as summoned, but they submitted written justifications, which was considered by the PZPR as a fact testifying to “a serious authority of the people’s power”¹¹. The meetings provided the authorities with the first positive consequences¹². It was estimated that there were

⁷ J. Wrona, *Postawy adaptacyjne duchowieństwa wobec władzy w okresie PRL*, “Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Politologica” 2013, no. 9, pp. 46–55.

⁸ APL, KW PZPR, 1161, c. 8.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 1137, c. 31–33. The following priests were present there: Waclaw Staniszewski, Dymitr Filipowicz, Stanisław Zawadzki, Jan Piotr Orzeł, Aleksander Miszczuk, Stanisław Konrad, Stanisław Witkowski, Andrzej Suchara, Stefan Szcotkarz, Antoni Szyszko, Mieczysław Michalski, Stanisław Krynicki, Jan Adamczyk, Antoni Nowak and Piotr Gonder.

¹⁰ Journals of Laws 1949 no. 45, ref. 334. <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19490450334/O/D19490334.pdf> [access: 02.01.2020].

¹¹ APL, KW PZPR, 1137, pp. 22–30.

¹² *Ibidem*, 1137, pp. 24, 28; 152–153. On 10 August, Fr. Marcei Szymon Matuszelański, a parish priest from Hańsk (1936–1961), reported to the head of the district, confirming his support for the authorities and declaring that he would discuss every serious matter with him, at the same time, he reported to him the attitude of parish priests after their conversations that “they boasted about their militant stand and they all claimed that they categorically and briefly told the current head of the district ‘I would have declared excommunication’. They tried to outdo one another in their heroism. All the parish priests wanted (it could be felt) the bishop to receive the report that none of them broke”.

111 priests in the province who were positively oriented or hesitant, and needed to be worked on in order to make them “positive”. As was assessed by the party’s interviewers, these were mainly priests from poor village parishes, in the party’s nomenclature referred to as the so-called “lower clergy”. In this period, the secretary of KC PZPR, Franciszek Mazur, who was responsible for the party’s religious policy, in a special letter “regarding the fight against the reactionary clergy”, made a postulate to “boldly win over the good priests”. He declared, “we will help them financially and we will fight for their good authority and respect towards them. We want to engage part of the clergy to rebuilding our State”¹³. The whole gamut of coercive measures and incentives was applied for this purpose in order to induce them to start cooperating with the communist regime. Priests were summoned to the MO stations, given surcharges and fines, all their requests in offices were refuted. In the meantime, “the opposite method was applied to positive priests, helping them in various issues they addressed [...], their various economic matters were complied with, they were allowed to teach religion at schools, etc.”¹⁴. Particularly disobedient priests were effectively pacified by summoning them to interrogations at the Security Bureau (UB), “after the interrogation they would cease to act hostile from the pulpit”¹⁵. This was often an effect of a mental or physical breaking of a priest by the UB, which used a threat of arresting a priest due to his negative political attitude and implemented show trials that ended with prison sentences. Some of the convicted agreed to cooperate at the price of remission of sentence. The reason for cooperation was also due to blackmail which resulted from the possession of materials that were compromising for a priest. It mainly referred to moral and ethical issues, i.e. inobservance of celibate, alcoholism, gambling, or excessive focus on material things¹⁶. The group of priests who had problems with the church discipline – and thus staying in conflict with the bishop – was taken under particular care by the authorities.

In January 1950, the party’s activists and the UB employees once again had 130 conversations with the clergymen from the diocese of Lublin and part of diocese of Siedlce. Their purpose was to examine the attitudes and to select a group of priests who could be included in the planned subversive activities. Apart from a group of people who were demoralised and recruited to cooper-

¹³ APL, KW PZPR, 1140, pp. 43–47.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 1183, p. 182.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 181–182.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 222. The district religious clerk explained how priests were recruited to it in the province: “if the priest’s weaknesses were discovered, such as drinking vodka, playing cards, erotic relations, greed, then these arguments, used in a proper way, facilitated the work, and they were often useful in breaking the resistance, in shifting towards the basic line of cooperation with the Government, with People’s Poland, in a sense that following this, or other recommendations was refused”.

ate with the security apparatus, the group of the so-called progressive priests included a relatively large number of military chaplains, most likely connected to the Military Information¹⁷ and clergymen who were victims of the German terror during the period of occupation. Between 1939 and 1943, the prison at the Lublin Castle had around 200 diocese priests, friars, and clerics, among whom 56 were sent to the German concentration camps. Towards the end of April 1945, the American troops liberated 27 of them, including those who had stayed in Dachau where the Germans imprisoned clergymen of various nationalities, the highest number of which were Polish priests¹⁸. Many of them left this period with a halo of martyrdom, but they were emotionally broken. After traumatic war events, they frequently experienced the stress disorder which was a psychological ailment and medical condition that modern clinical psychology define as “post-traumatic stress disorder” (PTSD). One of the symptoms of this disease is the feeling of alienation and the lack of perspectives for the future¹⁹. They will be the core of the group manipulated by the post-war security apparatus.

Priests who were school prefects also decided for cooperation. Many of them treated the so-called social campaigns as the last chance to be approved as teachers of religion by the state authorities. It was of great importance in the face of a mass removal of this subject from schools in the first half of the 1950s. These expectations were not always realistic. However, in the following years, the possibility to restore the rights to teach religion was more effective for such a candidate²⁰. There was also a group of priests whose attitude towards life was very practical, if not conformist. An opinion of one of the priests should be regarded as symptomatic; after participating for the first time in the convention of the so-called progressive priests, he stated that “he would participate now in all the conventions because this way he would have the authorities’ respect and he could receive everything that was needed for Church and his personal needs”²¹. This diverse community will be the basic personnel foundation for the movement of the so-called patriot priests in the Lublin province, similarly to the whole country. However, it should not be forgotten that despite instances of collaboration with the post-war authori-

¹⁷ R. Dmowski, *Podstawy prawne działalności chaplainów wojskowych w Ludowym Wojsku Polskim (zarys problematyki)*, https://repozytorium.uph.edu.pl/bitstream/handle/11331/261/Dmowski.R.Podstawy_prawne_dzialanosci_chaplainow_wludowym_wojsku_polskim.pdf?sequence=1 [access: 10.02.2020].

¹⁸ A. Lewandowska, *Represje wobec duchowieństwa katolickiego z diecezji lubelskiej w okresie okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, “Annales UMCS. Sectio F” 2012, vol. 67, no. 1, pp. 77, 84.

¹⁹ M. Lis-Turlejska, *Psychologiczne konsekwencje traumatycznego stresu – współczesne kierunki badań*, „Nowiny Psychologiczne” 2000, www.psychologia.edu.pl/czytelnia/60-nowiny-psychologiczne/576-psychologiczne-konsekwencje-traumatycznego-stresu-8212-wspolczesne-kierunki-badan.html [access: 16.02.2020], p. 2.

²⁰ APL, KW PZPR, 173, pp. 1–5, 138.

²¹ *Ibidem*, 1151, p. 28. Characterisation of Fr. Zdzisław Witkiewicz, parish priest of Mircze.

ties, the clergymen were a hostile group for them, which was aptly put by one of the PZPR activists: “Comrades, we must remember that even the most positive priest is always a priest and he does what his ideology tells him to do. And it is our task to carry out a worldview work in the society in order to break it away from the clergy’s influence”²².

The activity of the patriot priests was supervised by the Department of Mass and Separate Organizations (ROMiW), functioning from mid-1950s as part of the Organisational Department of KW PZPR in Lublin, then the so-called party of Three, which from the February 1954 operated as the so-called Provincial Team of the KW PZPR. Its major task was to implement tasks and guidelines of the Executive and the Secretarial of the KW PZPR regarding the section of the state’s religion politics²³. Apart from usually classified activities of the Provincial Bureau of Public Security (WUBP) and the District Bureaus of Public Security (PUBP) directed against priests from April 1950, the official supervision over the clergy of all religions was executed by the Department for Religious Affairs of the PWRN Presidium and its district units by the District Presidia of the National Councils (PPRN)²⁴.

REGIONAL COMMISSION OF PRIESTS (*OKRĘGOWA KOMISJA KSIĘŻY* – OKK) OF THE SOCIETY OF FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY (ZBOWID) IN LUBLIN (1950–1955)

The starting point of building a rift in the Church was effectively used veteran rhetoric associated with the recent tragedy of the Second World War. In 1948, 15 more priests who survived the German concentration camps joined the Lublin diocese. The war trauma left permanent mental marks in all of them. They were the first, basic group of priests who were placed in the ranks of the ZBoWiD²⁵, which was created from joining 11 veteran organisations in September 1949. Its first convention was attended by 45 clergymen, 16 of whom were informants of the Ministry of Public Security (MBP)²⁶. The security apparatus chose Fr. Jan

²² *Ibidem*, 1162, p. 37.

²³ *Ibidem*, 1275, p. 11.

²⁴ A. Nowakowski, *Administracja spraw wyznaniowych w powojennej Polsce*, “Kościół i Prawo” 1998, vol. 13, pp. 27–39; M. Krawczyk, *Organy państwowo-partyjne odpowiedzialne za wytyczanie i realizowanie polityki wyznaniowej PRL*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UPH w Siedlcach” 2011, vol. 16, p. 211.

²⁵ Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Lublinie (hereinafter: AIPN Lu), 0-13-186-3, p. 65. Document (copy of a copy) of the chancellor of the episcopal curia of Fr. Wojciech Olech to the province’s governor (*wojewoda*), 02.04.1948.

²⁶ J. Żaryn, „Księża patrioci”. *Geneza powstania formacji duchownych katolickich*, „Polska 1944/45–1989. Studia i Materiały” 1995, vol. 1, pp. 123–149; J. Żurek, *Ruch „księży patriotów” w województwie katowickim w latach 1949–1956*, Katowice–Warszawa 2018, p. 27.

Mazur²⁷ and Fr. Ludwik Litwerski²⁸ as the convention participants from Lublin. The former was assessed by the UB as a positively oriented priest, the latter clergyman did not get involved in the talks and, as it was assessed, he came to the Convention “for external pretences”²⁹. Fr. Mazur actively participated in the debates and interviews, in which he commended the policy on religion conducted by the communist authorities³⁰. Other participants were also Fr. Antoni Nowak³¹ and Fr. Jan Orzeł³², but ultimately they did not attend the sessions. Fr. Mazur will

²⁷ ¹² Jan Mazur (21 December 1897–24 August 1957), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1922, in 1928 suspended by Bishop Leon Fulman due to alcoholism, from 1930, a parish priest in Mircze, a prisoner of the German camp in Dachau (1943–1945), a parish priest in Horyszów Polski, Trzęsiny (1953–1957), member of ZBoWiD from 17 September 1948, participant of conventions of the so-called progressive priests: in Wrocław, Warsaw, Lublin; awarded the Golden Cross of Merit (1954). Archiwum Archidiecezji Lubelskiej (hereinafter: AAL), Rep. 60 II b, personal files of Fr. Jan Mazur; APL, KW PZPR, 1131, c. 7; *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1939*, Lublin 1939 (hereinafter: *Spis 1939*), p. 139; *Spis Kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1948*, Lublin 1948 (hereinafter: *Spis 1948*), p. 182; *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1955*, Lublin 1955 (hereinafter: *Spis 1955*), p. 142.

²⁸ Ludwik Liwerski (20 January 1890–29 April 1970), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1917, from 1927, a chaplain of the WP reserve, a parish priest in Moniatycze (1927–1928), Łukowa (1929–1940), Krasnobród (1945–1969), arrested on 19 June 1940, a prisoner of the German concentration camp in Sachsenhausen and Dachau, from 1948 a canon of the Zamość Chapter Collegiate, papal chamberlain, died (*Spis 1939*, p. 183; *Spis 1948*, p. 183; *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1966*, Lublin 1966 (hereinafter: *Spis 1966*), pp. 29, 32, 202); M. T. Zahajkiewicz (ed.), *Diecezja lubelska: informator historyczny i administracyjny*, Lublin 1985, p. 411 (hereinafter: *Diecezja lubelska: informator 1985*); R. Kulik, H. Kulik, *Ogólny wykaz księży rzymskokatolickich, polskokatolickich, greckokatolickich, prawosławnych i ewangelickich*, www.rodzinakulik.eu/ogolny_wykaz_ksiezy/ogolny_wykaz_ksiezy_1_cz_2_k_1.pdf [access: 29.01.2020], p. 152.

²⁹ Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Warszawie (hereinafter: AIPN BU) 01283/1404, Register of priests participating in the Congress, pp. 148–152, 160–161, 166.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, AIPN BU 0648/151, pp. 30–31, 139, 152.

³¹ Antoni Nowak (6 February 1902–12 October 1980), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1926, a school prefect in Lublin, in 1939, imprisoned by the Germans at the Lublin Castle, in the Second World War he was a chaplain of the BCh, chaplain with the rank of Lt. Col. in the I Polish Army, demobilised in 1948, once again a school prefect, a vicar of the parish church in Nałęczów, a director of high school of the Cannonesses Congregation in Lublin (1953–1960), retired from 1961 (*Spis 1939*, p. 32; *Spis 1948*, pp. 41, 148; *Spis 1955*, p. 39; *Spis 1966*, p. 211; *Diecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 414; W. Jacewicz, J. Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1978, p. 267).

³² Jan Szczepan Orzeł (23 December 1884–29 July 1963), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1908, a parish priest in Lipiny Górne, in 1924 dismissed for “immoral life and grave demoralisation”, a priest of parish churches in Stężycza, Czartowiec, and Olbęcín. In September 1944, the Episcopate’s Curia withdrew his jurisdiction to hear the confessions of the faithful in the Lublin diocese “due to constant complaints and demoralisation that the Father gives to his penitents”. From 1945, a rector of church in Momoty Górne, where a chapel of Janów’s parish was situated, awarded the Golden Cross of Merit (1954) (AAL, Rep. 60 II b 024, personal files of Fr. Jan Szczepan Orzeł; *Spis 1939*, p. 120; *Spis 1948*, pp. 96, 222, *Spis 1966*, p. 216).

soon become of the most active members of the movement of the so-called patriot priests in the Lublin province.

On 12 January 1950, at the initiative of the MBP, the Chief Commission of Priests (*Główna Komisja Księży*, GKK) was established as a separate structure within the ZBoWiD in Warsaw. It was meant to gather the clergymen, the veterans of the Second World War, the former prisoners of concentration camps, and the anti-German resistance participants. In March 1950, this formula was extended and a principle was adopted, according to which every priest could become a member of the organisation, who presents a positive attitude towards People's Poland, which meant that a clergyman was assessed by the communist authorities as a person supporting the post-war governance³³. It practically meant the implementation of postulates put forwards by the communists on the so-called "democratisation" of Church in Poland and its distancing from the allegedly anti-Polish policies of the Holy See³⁴. The Chief Commission of Priests at the ZBoWiD in Warsaw published a periodical "Clergyman's Voice" ("Głos Kapłana") and its subsequent modifications: "Priest Citizen" ("Ksiądz Obywatel") and "Clergymen Kuźnica" ("Kuźnica Kapłańska"), which did not have nihil obstat religious authority. Canonical sanctions used by Fr. Primate forbade to read and disseminate these periodicals, sanctioning the probable breaches in the ban by *latae sententiae* suspension. This caused real concerns of patriot priests. Thus, despite various suggestions, none of the Lublin clergymen expressed a willingness to publish in the above-mentioned press bodies belonging to the GKK³⁵. The Commission of Priests did not formally announce the clue for collaboration. Its functioning was justified by "pretty well-constructed – from theoretical perspective – ideology of the so-called Christian realism, and the Commission's members referred in their attitudes to Christ's commandments and their care for the Church's well-being", as stated by Fr. Piotr Stanisław³⁶.

The first provincial convention of the ZBoWiD in Lublin took place on 13 October 1949. It was attended by 180 people, including priests: Aleksander

³³ J. Dębiński, *Z dziejów Kościoła w PRL w latach 1945–1956*, "Ateneum Kapłańskie" 2002, no. 557, p. 141.

³⁴ J. Żaryn, „Księża patrioci”. *Geneza...*, pp. 123–150; T. Markiewicz, „Księża patrioci” w latach 1949–1955, [in:] *Stosunki między państwem a Kościołem rzymskokatolickim w czasach PRL*, eds. A. Chojnowski, M. Kula, Warszawa 1998, pp. 69–125.

³⁵ APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 56. On 13 November 1950, Fr. Primate Wyszyński issued a ban on any propagation or support for the journal "Głos Kapłana" ("Clergyman's Voice") in the areas of archdioceses he was in charge of; he also banned participation in editing and issuing the periodical "Ksiądz Obywatel" ("Priest Citizen") under the penalty of excommunication.

³⁶ P. Stanisław, *Przywileje członków Komisji Księży przy ZBoWiD: 1949–1955*, "Resovia Sacra. Studia Teologiczno-Filozoficzne Diecezji Rzeszowskiej" 1998, No. 5, p. 294.

Szulc³⁷ – a school prefect in Lubartów, Marcei Matuszelański³⁸ – a parish priest in Hańsk, district of Włodawa, Fr. Ludwik Zalewski³⁹ – director of the Ursulines Middle School in Lublin, and Fr. Jan Mazur. The following priests were also invited for the convention but were unable to attend due to organisational reasons: Antoni Nowak from Lublin, Czesław Dmochowski⁴⁰ and Piotr Gąder⁴¹ from the district of Kraśnik⁴². Clergymen who joined the ZBoWiD in the Lublin province are presented in table 4. The next step of the UB and PZPR authorities was to establish the Regional Commissions of Priests as part of the ZBoWiD at the pro-

³⁷ Aleksander Szulc (23 May 1892 – 28 February 1965), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1915, worked in parishes in Częstoborowice and Łabunie, from 1919, a vicar of parish church in Lubartów. As a military chaplain in the rank of captain he took part in the September Campaign and then was involved in the conspiracies of the Home Army (AK) and National Military Organization (NOW). After the Second World War, until 1958, he was a school catechist in Lubartów (*Spis 1966*, p. 216; *Fr. Kanonik Aleksander Szulc (1982–1965)*, http://lubartow.pl/informator/102367/2012_Szulc [access: 24.01.2020]).

³⁸ Szymon Marcei Matuszelański (28 October 1879 – 1961), a priest of the Siedlce diocese, ordained in 1902, admin at a parish in Hańsk (1936–1940 and 1945–1948), a prisoner of the gestapo (1943) (*Register of Churches and Clergy of the Siedlce Diocese, i.e. Podlasie for 1938 [Katalog kościołów i duchowieństwa Diecezji Siedleckiej czyli Podlaskiej na rok 1938*, Siedlce, Kuria Biskupia 1938, hereinafter: *Katalog Diecezji Siedleckiej 1938*], p. 110).

³⁹ Ludwik Zalewski (30 April 1878–7 July 1952), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1902, graduated from the University of Fribourg, PhD in Philosophy, professor at the Theological Seminary in Lublin, historian of literature and culture, known bibliophile. In 1939, a prisoner at the Lublin Castle, a canon of the chapter collegiate and/or prelate, scholar, a canon of the Zamość Chapter Collegiate. In January 1950, he became a member of a compulsory board of the “Caritas” Association (*Spis 1939*, p. 19; *Spis 1948*, pp. 19, 20, 24; *Spis 1955*, p. 175; *Wprowadzenie zarządu przymusowego zrzeszenia “Caritas”*, www.prawo.pl/akty/m-p-1950-a-11-112,16800248.html [access: 12.01.2020]; B. Lech-Jabłońska, *Książdz Ludwik Zalewski 1878–1952*, “Bibliotekarz Lubelski” 2012, vol. 55, pp. 7–18).

⁴⁰ Czesław Dmochowski (22 April 1908 – 13 September 1987), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1931, from 1936, a vicar of parish churches in Lubartów and Janów Lubelski (1936–1940), a parish priest of parish church in Godziszów (1937–1967) and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church in Biłgoraj (1967–1976), a prisoner of the German concentration camp in Oranienburg and Dachau (1940–1945), recruited to collaborate with the SB in July 1963 as TW “Grzegorz” (AIPN Lu 014/287, pp. 40_43; *ibidem*, 0268/16, part 1–2, pp. 288–299; *Spis 1939*, p. 109; P. Tylec, *Represje Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa wobec księży podejrzanych o współpracę z podziemiem w okolicy Janowa Lubelskiego w okresie stalinowskim*, “Studia Sandomierskie: teologia, filozofia, historia” 2013, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 181–196.

⁴¹ Piotr Gąder (1914–1993), a priest of the Lublin and Sandomierz dioceses, ordained in 1940, a parish priest in Rzeczyca Ziemiańska, Chrzanów, and Olbiciń. Recruited for the work with the UB as TW “Władek”; awarded the Silver Cross of Merit (1954) (IPN Lu 00268/18, part 5, p. 481; P. Tarnowski, *Śp. Fr. Piotr Gąder (1914–1993)*, “Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej” 1994, No. 3–4, pp. 189–192; J. Marczewski, *In die tribulationis. Święcenia kapłanów dla diecezji lubelskiej w okresie drugiej wojny światowej*, “Roczniki Teologiczne” 2017, vol. 64, no. 4, pp. 99–131).

⁴² AIPN Bu, 01283/1399 (LVII/D/3), c 13. Report of proceedings of the 1st provincial convention of the ZBoWiD, Lublin 17.11.1949.

vincial level⁴³. Closing of the Church charity organisation, “Caritas”, after the malpractices which took place in its Wrocław branch, by the communist authorities in January 1950, was used as a pretext to convene the clergymen meetings. In its place, “Caritas” Association of Catholics was established. This was treated by the hierarchy as an extremely hostile and unfriendly act towards the Church, which was protested against many times and unsuccessfully. In the meantime, the new “compulsory board” of the nationalised association included two clergymen from the Lublin diocese: Fr. Stanisław Krynicki, PhD⁴⁴ and Fr. Mitred Prelate Ludwik Zalewski, PhD which was a great insubordination towards a stance taken by the Bishopric Curia in Lublin that did not recognise the new organisation as the Church structure. The ZG of the new “Caritas” also included a Catholic activist from Lublin, Leon Halban, a professor at KUL in 1944–1949, which also triggered disapproval of Bishop Piotr Kałwa. The clergymen who cooperated with the authorities were taking over the local authorities of “Caritas” in individual dioceses. The first meeting regarding this matter was prepared by the KW PZPR in Lublin, providing, i.a. means of transportation. Officially, as described by the authorities, the meeting “was convened at the initiative of priests and activists from »Caritas«” and took place on 26 January 1950. It was attended by 72 people, and 10 speakers, i.e. Prof. Halban and 7 priests (Filipowicz, Mazur, Szubartowki, Czekański, Krasuski, Adamski, Przyłucki). Malpractices in the Wrocław “Caritas” were condemned and solidarity with the actions of the state authorities was expressed. The most pro-government stand was presented

⁴³ APL, KW PZPR in Lublin, 1194, p. 117–124. Statute of the KK at ZboWiD. The Commission’s authorities were as follows: National Convention of the Priests Commission, Plenum, Presidium, Executive Department. At the OKK level, the structure of authorities was created by: KK District Convention, Regional Convention, District Presidium.

⁴⁴ Fr. Stanisław Krynicki (16 September 1903 – 25 February 1962), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1927, a vicar of Saint Paul’s Parish Church in Lublin (1927–1929), in Lubartów (1932–1934), admin of cathedral parish in Lublin (1945–1947), a KUL graduate, received a doctoral degree (1932), an auditor of the Bishop’s Court in Lublin (1934–1939), awarded the Silver Medal of Merit (1938), a prisoner at the Lublin Castle, then imprisoned in the concentration camps in Sachsenhausen and Dachau. After the Second World War, he started collaboration with the UB as agent “Bągiński”. In autumn of 1947, due to the loss of trust of Lublin’s bishop, he was transferred to a parish in Końskowola (1947–1952); a dean of deanery in Biłgoraj (1952–1953) and then an admin at the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary parish in Tomaszów Lubelski (1953–1962), and a dean of deanery, a can. Of the Zamość Chapter Collegiate. In January 1950, he became a member of the obligatory board of the “Caritas” Association, awarded the OOP Officer’s Cross (1948), and then the Golden Cross of Merit (1954), he died in Tomaszów Lubelski (AIPN Lu, 00227/1887, Stanisław Krynicki, work fine of the agent pseudonym “Bągiński”; Archiwum Archidiecezji Lubelskiej (hereinafter: AAL), Rep. 60 II b K 130. Personal files of Fr. Stanisław Krynicki; *Spis 1966*, p. 215; E. Kosobudzka, *Problem agentury wśród księży katolickich diecezji lubelskiej na przykładzie agenta „Bągińskiego”*, “Annales UMCS. Sectio F” 2011, vol. 66, no. 2, pp. 159–174).

by Fr. Aleksander Przyłucki⁴⁵, who called for an active participation of the clergymen in building the People's Republic of Poland; he also prepared a proper resolution from the convention⁴⁶. Analysing the proceedings of the meeting, the First Secretary of the KW PZPR, Stanisław Łapot, concluded that the party and security apparatus had not so far had an accurate assessment of individual priests and sometimes had acted in the dark, and "it should be also said that it is more difficult than the recent experience has proven to mobilise priests from Lublin than from the district areas"⁴⁷. The founding conventions of the new association simultaneously turned out to be organisational conventions of the movement of the OKK all over the country. The meeting constituting the OKK in Lublin most likely took place on 23 March 1950 when the conference of 15 clergymen gathered as members of the ZBoWiD was also taking place. It was attended by the priests who were described as its sympathisers⁴⁸. Among them there were the following priests: Kazimierz Mańkowski⁴⁹, Ferdynand Beigert⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Aleksander Przyłucki (27 January 1910–1 October 1993), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1934, from 1936, a parish priest in Hola and then a Uniate parish in Kostomłoty (1940–1969) (*Katalog Diecezji Siedleckiej 1938*, p. 82; R. Piętka, *Fr. Aleksander Przyłucki*, <http://unici.pl/content/view/33.html> [access: 04.05.2019]).

⁴⁶ APL, KW PZPR, 1157, c. 5. The Episcopal Curias in Lublin and Siedlce were strongly against the priests' participation in this convention; *ibidem* 1192, k. 13. The document written by Bishop of Siedlce, Fr. Ignacy Świrski, to Fr. Aleksander Przyłucki from 14 April 1950: "I hereby categorically forbid Fr. Aleksander to have any office in the present 'Caritas' since the Church 'Caritas' is closed as of 1 February of the current year, and the one existing so far under the previous name is a usurpation of the Church authority. No priest can put his hand to this without taking up a fight against the Church".

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 1157, c. 5.

⁴⁸ Archiwum Akt Nowych (hereinafter: AAN), ZboWiD, Provincial Commission of Priests, reference no. 167, Protocol from the conference of the patriot priests and the ZboWiD enthusiasts that took place on 23 March 1950; K. Szejgiec, *Dwie drogi „postępowego” katolicyzmu w Polsce okresu stalinowskiego. Komisja Księży przy ZboWiD, Komisja Intelktualistów I Działaczy Katolickich przy Ogólnopolskim Komitecie Frontu Narodowego, w latach 1949–1956 na przykładzie województwa lubelskiego*, Lublin 2011 (Master's Degree written under the supervision of Prof. J. Wrona), p. 36.

⁴⁹ Fr. Kazimierz Mańkowski (4 March 1885–12 November 1953), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1911, a parish priest in Wilkołaz (1936–1953) (*Spis* 1939, pp. 133, 222; *Spis* 1948, pp. 116, 176).

⁵⁰ Ferdynand Beigert (4 February 1878 – 19 October 1966), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1905, a parish priest in Żdzanne (1939–1945), Deptułowicze, Klesztów, from 1953, a retired priest and a chaplain of the chapel of Sisters Franciscan Missionaries in Zamość, awarded the Silver Cross of Merit (in the Second Polish Republic) (*Spis* 1939, pp. 122, 262; *Spis* 1948, pp. 76, 10; *Spis* 1955, pp. 170, 172; *Spis* 1966, p. 217; A. Ordyczyńska, *Sylwetki Leżajszczan. Fr. Ferdynand Beigert (1878–1966)*, <http://lezajskiebiogramy.blogspot.com/2013/09/beigert-ferdynand.html> [access: 07.05.2019]).

Stanisław Świostek⁵¹, Ignacy Stachurski⁵², Antoni Nowak, Marian Jabłoński⁵³, Mieczysław Patejuk⁵⁴, Aleksander Przyłucki, Franciszek Surtel⁵⁵, Józef Mastalarz⁵⁶, Stanisław Wolanin⁵⁷, Piotr Chomicki⁵⁸, Józef Myszków⁵⁹, Jan Szczepan Orzeł. Towards the end of 1950, the number of the OKK members reached 13, and the number of sympathisers was estimated at 30. Collecting signatures for the so-called Stockholm Appeal, which was taking place to 18 October 1950, was the mass activity with their participation. It was the aftermath of a great

⁵¹ Stanisław Świostek (8 August 1888–1 August 1959), a priest in the Lublin diocese, born 08.08.1885, ordained 1914, founder and first parish priest of the parish church in Kraczewice, then in Staroścín (1928–1943), Zwierzyniec (1946–1955) (*Spis 1939*, pp. 145–146; *Spis 1948*, p. 156, 222; *Spis 1955*, p. 143; *Spis 1966*, p. 214).

⁵² Ignacy Stachurski (31 January 1900–1968), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1924, a vicar of the cathedral parish in Zamość (1926–1927), Tomaszów (1928–1931), a parish priest in Topólca (1946–1954) (*Spis 1939*, p. 71; *Spis 1948*, p. 154; *Spis 1955*, p. 111; *Spis 1966*, p. 139; *Diecezja lubelska: informator 1985*, p. 410).

⁵³ Marian Jabłoński (14 March 1903–date of death unknown), a priest of the Siedlce diocese, ordained in 1931, an admin of parish church in Horbów (1932–1942), from 1946 – of parish church in Stary Brus, awarded Silver Cross of Merit (1954) (*Katalog Diecezji Siedleckiej 1938*, p. 55; *Register of Churches and Clergy in the Siedlce Diocese, i.e. Podlasie for 1947 [Katalog kościołów i duchowieństwa Diecezji Siedleckiej czyli Podlaskiej na rok 1947*, Kuria Biskupia, Siedlce 1947, hereinafter: *Katalog Diecezji Siedleckiej 1947*], p. 96; [access: 12.01.2020]).

⁵⁴ Mieczysław Patejuk (18 December 1915 – date of death unknown) a priest of the Siedlce diocese, ordained in 1940, an admin of parish church in Lubień (1946–1950) (*Katalog Diecezji Siedleckiej 1947*, p. 97; *Parafia rzymskokatolicka św. Mikołaja w Lubieniu*, www.wyryki.eu/parafia-rzymskokatolicka-sw-mikolaja-w-lubieniu_111,112.html [access: 28.01.2000]).

⁵⁵ Franciszek Surtel (1917–1986), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 08.01.1917, ordained 1943, admin of parish church in Wirkowice (1946–1948), Klesztów (1950–1956), Horodło (1956–1963), Wozuczyn (1963–1970), Silver Cross of Merit (1954). Recruited in 1949 to cooperate with the UB/SB as TW “Andre”, in the 1960s he actively reported on i.a. Fr. F. Osucha, in 1970 he left as a priest to work in the USA, died 20.01.1986. AIPN Lu 00268/18, part 6, c. 149; *Ibidem*, 014 292, c.110–143; *Spis 1948*, p. 188; *Spis 1955*, p. 73; *Spis 1966*, p. 183; *Spis 1985*, pp. 409,428; J. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 128; *Kapłani zmarli w latach 1980–1989 – Archidiecezja Lubelska*. <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-1/> [access: 12.02.2020].

⁵⁶ Correctly – Józef Mastalarz (1884–1950), a priest of the Lublin Diocese, born 16.03.1884, ordained 1906, parish priest in parish church of Mokre Lipie (1938–1948), Krasienin (1948–1950), died 16.04.1950. *Spis 1939*, p. 213; *Spis 1948*, p. 152; *Spis 1955*, p. 174.

⁵⁷ Stanisław Wolanin (1880–1958), a priest of Przemyśl and then Lvov Diocese, ordained in 1907, a military chaplain in the First World War, in 1944 he organised self-defence against Ukrainians in Ostrów, in 1950 – a parish priest of parish church in Ostrów and then in Nowosiółki (1951–1958), Golden Cross of Merit (1954), died 31.10.1958. J. Gajur, *Sakrament czasu – 75 lat istnienia Parafii w Nowosiółkach*, <https://nowosiolkiparafia.wordpress.com/parafia/historia-parafii/sakrament-czasu> [access: 10.09.2020]; uchwała Rady Państwa z dnia 19 lipca 1954 r., nr 0/628, <http://dziennikustaw.gov.pl/M1954108145501.pdf> [access: 10.09.2020].

⁵⁸ Piotr Chomicki, there is information in the document that he came from the parish of Bełż, he is not listed in the registers (catalogues) of priests of the Lublin and Siedlce Diocese.

⁵⁹ Józef Myszków, there is information in the document that he came from the parish in Krystynopol, he is not listed in the registers (catalogues) of priests of the Lublin and Siedlce Diocese.

propagandist battle of the world communist movement. It was the first attempt of the new structure and the so-called Intellectuals Commission at reaching out to the clergymen circles and lay Catholics in the province. In the Lublin diocese the resolution was signed by 469 priests and 557 nuns. Only 75 clergymen and 113 nuns refused to support the initiative⁶⁰. In was a skilful propaganda idea of the GKK in Warsaw to organise a pilgrimage of priests to Góra Kalwaria, in August 1950, which was also joined by the priests from Lublin. The Commission provided transport and accommodation in the nearby estate, “from where they left for Kalwaria in the formations of four”. Nearly 700 clergymen prayed for President Bolesław Bierut, and the country, while the Holy Mary was presented only as the queen of peace. The meeting was filmed by the authorities. The pilgrimage did not have the Church approval. Its participants were harshly criticized by Bishop Kałwa at the conference of Deans in August 1951⁶¹.

The following priests joined the OKK: Jan Mazur, Dymitr Filipowicz⁶² and Mieczysław Michalski⁶³ (see table 2). The latter was dismissed from the position

⁶⁰ APL, KW PZPR, 1192, c. 3.

⁶¹ AAL, 4394. Protocol of the meeting of dean priests on 28.08.1951, manuscript. The ordinary stated i.e. “An unpleasant embarrassment in our recent church life was the issue of ceremonies of Kalwaria [...] The host of these ceremonies were priests from the so-called Commission at the “ZBoWiD” [...] One should be admitted that the religious feelings of people were abused for political purposes! [...] Kalwaria is a further activity to break down the Church”.

⁶² Dymitr (Demetriusz) Filipowicz (1909–1982), a priest of Lublin diocese of the Eastern rite, born 24.06.1909, in 1929 he graduated from the Orthodox theological seminary in Vilnius, then he converted to Catholicism, licensed theologian, ordained 1934, taking care of the Greek Orthodox Catholics in Lublin, 1938 a priest in the parish church of Horodło, in 1939 arrested and imprisoned in the Lublin Castle, dismissed as a result of intervention of the Belorussian Committee in Lublin, from 1945 a vicar of the Parish Church of the Apostles Sending in Chełm and a prefect at the Secondary School of Queen Jadwiga, admin of a parish church in Turowiec (1945–1951), Chłaniów (1951–1958), Boza Wola near Bychawa (1958–1962), Brzeźnica Bychawska (1962–1974), from 1953 the UB’s informant of pseudonym “Stanisław”, retired, died 01.04.1982; IPN Lu 0024/723 vol. 1, c. 20. Personal files of the informant of pseudonym “Stanisław”; *Spis 1939*, p. 226; *Spis 1948*, p. 125; *Spis 1955*, p. 176; *Diecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 414; *Parafia rzymskokatolicka pw. Matki Bożej Królowej Aniołów. Fr. Dmetriusz Mieczysław Filipowicz*. <https://mbanielska.pl/kaplani/odeszli-do-pana/111-ks-demetriusz-filipowicz> [access: 29.01.2020].

⁶³ Mieczysław Michalski (1912–1989), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 05.01.1911, ordained 1938, a vicar of the parish church in Niemce (1939–1942), Lublin Cathedral (1942–1947), admin of the parish church in Kazimierzówka (1947–1948), a long-term rector of Saint Catherine’s Church in Zamość. A member of the AK during the occupation, secret chaplain in the concentration camps in Majdanek, Krochmalna, prison at the Lublin Castle, and Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, arrested after the Second World War, he spent one year at the Lublin Castle, recruited for the UB’s work as an informant of pseudonym Gawron, and from 1985 as TW “Kruk”, from 1956 a president of the “Caritas” club in Zamość and in 1960–1963 a president of the Provincial Branch of this organisation in Lublin, he was active with the FN and FJN, given awards by the KK OOP; *Spis 1939*, p. 28; *Spis 1948*, pp. 39, 45; *Spis 1955*, p. 40; *Spis 1966*, p. 207; *Diecezja lubelska 1985*, p. 411; A. Kędziora, *Michalski Mieczysław (1912–1989) ksiądz, długoletni rektor kościoła św. Katarzyny*,

of the parish priest of Kazimierzówna as “a dangerous demagogue” in the second half of 1948 by Bishop St. Wyszyński. The first guardian of the OKK in Lublin, on behalf of the provincial structure of the ZBoWiD was Paweł Dąbek, the leader of the PWRN in Lublin⁶⁴.

Priests were recruited to the OKK by the UB officers. It was arranged by the 5th Department of the WUBP in Lublin, together with the KW PZPR in Lublin. The procedure of choosing the candidates was conducted as follows. Section 5 of the 5th Department of the WUBP in Lublin kept records on the so-called positively oriented priests for the communist authorities (in a form of individual files that contained detailed characterisations of priests). Then the UB gave the information about these clergymen to the KW PZPR⁶⁵. There were at least 12 priests in the OKK of Lublin who were registered as the UB collaborators⁶⁶, others actively cooperated with the religion apparatus of the PWRN or the PPRN. Some did not conceal their double role and officially admitted to connections with the security authorities. Fr. Demetriusz Filipowicz justified his contacts with the UB by his concern for the faithful: “in 1945 and 1946, I, as a chaplain, thought it my duty to report to the people’s authorities about the illegal guerrilla movements because I thought that many of my parishioners went to prison, and if there was more educational work, such accidents would not take place”⁶⁷. Fr. Piotr Gąder was to cooperate with the communists (People’s Army) during the occupation as a parish priest in Rzeczyca Ziemiańska⁶⁸, while the parish priest, Marek Bajcer, from Zaklików informed the Department for Religion PPRN in Kraśnik about the guidelines the clergy was receiving from the Curia⁶⁹. Right after the war, Fr. Marian Jabłoński was in contact with the KP PPR in Włodawa, and from 1950 – with the

działacz Caritasu, www.zamosciopedia.pl/index.php/mf-mn/item/640-michalski-mieczyslaw-1912-1989-ksiadz-dlugoletni-rektor-kosciola-sw-katarzyny-dzialacz-caritasu [access: 14.05.2019]; AIPN Lu, 003/218 (446/I), Personal files of TW pseud. “Gawron”; E. Kosobudzka, *Diecezja lubelska po II wojnie oraz posługa biskupa lubelskiego Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, www.polska1918-89.pl/pdf/diecezja-lubelska-po-ii-wojnie-swiatowej-oraz-posluga-biskupa-lubelski,4622.pdf [access: 04.01.2020].

⁶⁴ APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 13–16.

⁶⁵ AIPN Bu, 01283/1399 (LVII/D/3), c. 6, Report of the 5th Department of the WUBP in Lublin; *ibidem*, 01283/1399 (LVII/D/3), c. 1–3. Comments on the plan of work in accordance with the positive clergy, Lublin, 10.10.1949.

⁶⁶ These were the following priests: Marek Bajcer, Piotr Gąder, Andrzej Chlastawa, Kosmulski, Piotr Mazurek, Stanisław Niedźwiński, Demetriusz Filipowicz, Czesław Furtak, Henryk Kwieciński, Mieczysław Michalski, Stanisław Krynicki, Franciszek Surtel. More extensive information in biographical works of the priests.

⁶⁷ APL, KW PZPR, 1173, c. 23. Comment at the discussion of the OKK Lublin meeting, 17.02.1954.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, 1137, c. 32. Letter of the 1st Secretary of the KW PZPR to the Department of Reporting KC PZPR from 11.08.1949.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 33.

Department for Religious Affairs PWRN in Lublin⁷⁰. Constant and secret contacts with this body, without the Curia's knowledge, were kept from 1950 also by the following priests: Stanisław Przyłucki, Stanisław Wolanin, Mieczysław Patejuk, Zygmunt Grzegorzewski, Mieczysław Szulborski⁷¹, Jan Mazur, Antoni Nowak, and Czesław Dmochowski⁷². Fr. Jan Piotr Orzeł⁷³, who on 11 October 1944 gave a sermon definitely supporting the new communist government⁷⁴, was also in contact with the KP PPR in Tomaszów after the Second World War. The chairman of the OKK in Lublin was Fr. Aleksander Przyłucki, who held this office until 20 October 1951 when he changed it into office of the secretary of the OKK. The priest showed a great activeness in his political endeavours. In the sources of the religious apparatus he was characterised as a person very conflicted with his superior, Ignacy Świrski, Bishop of Siedlce. His successor was Fr. Prefect Antoni Nowak, who was chosen on 21 October 1952. The analysis of the WUBP material, which scrupulously recorded and assessed the attitude of Fr. Nowak, proves his one significant vice. He had problems with alcohol and his behaviour was at times publicly disconcerting for the faithful. It also did not build up his prestige among the clergymen⁷⁵. He joined the OKK for purely materialistic and economic reasons.

In April 1953, the function of the Commission's head was taken over by Fr. Canon Stefan Kosmulski, who held it until the end of the actual functioning of the OKK, i.e. until July 1955⁷⁶. In March 1952, Fr. Aleksander Przyłucki was

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 1138, c. 2. Report from the activities of the Department of Religious Affairs (PWRN) for the period from the agreement between the Republic of Poland Government and the Episcopate.

⁷¹ Mieczysław Szulborski (1888–1969), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 22.10.1888, ordained 1911, a parish priest in Dorochuczka (1935–44), from 1950 in Kanie, died retired 15.10.1969: *Spis 1939*, p. 162; *Archidiecezja Lubelska 1985*, p. 410.

⁷² APL, KW PZPR, 1138, c. 2.

⁷³ Jan Piotr Orzeł (1912–1983), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 28.03.1912, ordained 1937, Master's degree in law, a vicar in Mamoty, a parish priest of the parish churches in Chodel, Krasnystaw, Krupie, Podhorce (1948–1955), Żółkiewka (1955–1983), died 10.10.1983; *Spis 1939*, p. 28; *Archidiecezja Lubelska 1985*, p. 415; B. Kielbasa, *Wspomnienia o czcigodnym księdzu śp. Janie Piotrze Orle*, <http://wrtr.pollub.pl/artykuly-i-czasopisma/174-wspomnienia-o-czcigodnym-ksiedzu-sp-janie-piotrze-orle.html> [access: 14.02.2020].

⁷⁴ APL, KW PZPR, 1137, c. 32.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, c. 83. Letter of the Provincial Commander of the MO to the 1st Secretary of the KW PZPR from 07.05.1949 on Fr. Antoni Nowak; *ibidem* 1175, c. 126. Characterisation of Fr. Antoni Nowak, "his authority among the clergymen is weak and this is because he likes to drink"; c. 115. Similar opinion in the characterisation of Fr. Zyg. Grzegorzewski.

⁷⁶ Stefan Kosmulski (1891–1957), a priest of the Siedlce diocese, born 04.08.1891, ordained 1915, a vicar of parish churches in Lubartów and Stary Zamość, a parish priest in Życzyn (1925–1928), from 1928 of Kłoczów, Ulan (1947–1951), Radoryż Kościelny (1951–1956), in the Second World War he was a prisoner at the Lublin Castle, after July 1944 he was initially oppressed by the UB, in June 1947 he was recruited as an informant, pseudonym "Szczupły", he worked as one of-

replaced as a secretary by Fr. Lt. Col. Władysław Bodziak⁷⁷, while in June, the function of the OKK secretary was taken over by Fr. Bronisław Kaprański⁷⁸ (see tables 2–6).

Twelve District Commissions of Priests had 249 members nationally in 1950, but the number increased in 1951–1952 to around one thousand people. The agreement signed on 14 April 1950 between the State and the Church, was treated by the OKK clergymen and secular activists involved in the nationalisation of “Caritas” as an approval for their activities. In October 1952, the organisation grew larger, including the following clergymen: Fr. Antoni Lamparski⁷⁹ and Fr. Kazimierz. Mańkowski, a parish priest from Wilkołaz. Fr. Lamparski had at his disposal his own car with a limit of kilometres paid by the Office for Religious Affairs in Warsaw, he was offered help with buying patrol, wheels, and he was given permission to move around the province area⁸⁰. The presidium of the OKK co-opted the following priests: Jan Mazur, Stefan Kosmulski, Antoni Lamparski, Fr. Mikołaj Puacz⁸¹, who joined the movement in July 1952. In the autumn, Marek

ficially until 1956, Golden Cross of Merit awarded twice (in the Second Republic of Poland and in 1954), died 24.09.1957; *Katalog Diecezji Siedleckiej 1938*, p. 97.

⁷⁷ Władysław Bodziak (1911–2001), a priest of the Siedlce diocese, born 7.11.1911, ordained 1931, during the Second World War he was a chaplain of the 5th Heavy Artillery Brigade, a chaplain of prison in Białystok, the KBW unit in Lublin, from 1946 he was a chaplain of the Lublin garrison in the rank of lieutenant colonel, in 1947 a rector of the garrison church in Lublin, a parish priest of the garrison in Puławy, died 31.12.2001; *Spis 1948*, pp. 42, 52. *Duszpasterstwo Wojskowe w Polsce w l. 1945–1991*, Part 1: 1945–1956, collected and edited by T. Kośmider, Fr. M. Wesołowski, Warszawa 2007.

⁷⁸ Bronisław Kaprański (1899–1962), a priest of the Pińsk diocese, then of Lublin diocese, born 29.01.1899, ordained 1921, a parish priest of Horodec, Pińsk diocese, in the LWP from September 1944, from October – a chief chaplain of military churches in Lublin, from 1952 he was a school prefect in Lublin. *Spis 1955*, p. 39; D. Chodyniecki, *Duszpasterstwo w Ludowym Wojsku Polskim w czasie II wojny światowej*, “Saeculum Christianum: pismo historyczno-społeczne” 1995, vol. 2/1, pp. 200–201.

⁷⁹ Antoni Lamparski (1903–1971), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 12.06.1903, ordained 1927, the first parish priest of the parish church in Chrzanów (1932–1939), Stary Zamość (1945–55), Końskowola (1955–1966), Golden Cross of Merit (1954), died 27.03.1971; *Spis 1939*, pp. 106, 107; *Spis 1948*, p. 187; *Spis 1955*, p. 136; *Spis 1966*, p. 164; *Archidiecezja lubelska 1985*, p. 411; www.prawo.pl/akty/m-p-1954-108-1454,16808118.html [access: 08.01.2020].

⁸⁰ APL, PWRN, Department of Religious Affairs, 27, Letter from the OKK to the PWRN, 05.06.1953.

⁸¹ Mikołaj Puacz (1909–1978), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 22.11.1909, ordained 1937, a school prefect in Rejowiec, from 1938 a vicar of the parish church in Rejowiec, from September 1944 a volunteer of the LWP, a chaplain in Zamość, a parish priest of the garrison in Lublin (1944–1945) in the rank of captain, a military chaplain in Puławy, a parish priest of the Garrison Church in Kielce (1953–1961), from 1965 a rector of the garrison church in Zamość, then a parish priest in the rank of a colonel of the Garrison Church in Lublin (1965–1971), died 25.04.1978; *Spis 1949*, pp. 34, 84; *Spis 1948*, pp. 42, 189; *Spis 1955*, p. 173; *Spis 1966*, p. 76; *Archidiecezja lubelska 1985*, p. 413. D. Chodyniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 201; *Historia kościoła garnizonowego w Lublinie*, <http://garnizonowy.pl/historia-parafii> [access: 05.01.2020].

Bajcer⁸², a parish priest, and Fr. Prefect Mieczysław Michalski were introduced to the board. Apart from previously mentioned, the OKK active members were also: Fr. Lt. Col. Józef Świdnicki (treasurer)⁸³ and priests Kazimierz Czekański⁸⁴, Stanisław Krynicki, Ludwik Liwerski, and Aleksander Miszczuk⁸⁵. The latter was the Vice Dean in Nałęczów and his accession to the OKK was, according to the UB, supposed to be accepted by Bishop Ordinary Piotr Kałwa.⁸⁶ In April 1952, the OKK of Lublin declared that it also had 25 sympathisers who were in contact with the Commission⁸⁷. Despite protests and formal bans issued by the bishops regarding the participation in these structures, the numbers in the ZBoWiD commissions were multiplying. According to the party's statistics, the OKK in Lublin had 28 members and 24 sympathisers at the beginning of 1954⁸⁸. Until the end of the functioning of this structure (July 1955), it had only 4 priests from Lublin and the remaining ones were from the areas of the province⁸⁹. In the first months of 1955, the following parish priests were members of the OKK: Józef

⁸² Marek Bajcer (1910–1968), born 25.01.1910, ordained 1936, a vicar of the parish in Zaklików, during the Second World War a military chaplain in the NSZ, an admin of the parish in Boiska, (1943–1956), Czerniejów (1956–1968), Silver Cross of Merit (1954), recruited to work for the UB as an informant, pseudonym “Kot”, died 03.07.1968; AIPN Lu 00268/17, part 2, c. 366–370. *Spis 1939*, p. 133; *Spis 1948*, p. 109; *Spis 1955*, p. 106; *Spis 1966*, p. 78; *Archidiecezja lubelska 1985*, p. 410. L. Kuśmierczyk, L. Meresta, *Ksiądz Marek Bajcer, [in:] Chaplaini Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych w latach 1939–1944 ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Lubelszczyzny*, Warszawa 2000, p. 30.

⁸³ Józef Świdnicki, a priest of the Przemyśl diocese, a military chaplain in the rank of lieutenant colonel, a parish priest of the garrison in Lublin (1946–1965) and a dean of the 7th District; P. Kaczmarek, *Generalny Dziekanat Wojska Polskiego w l. 1945–1964*, “Rocznik Archiwalno-Historyczny CAW” 2010. *Historia kościoła garnizonowego w Lublinie*, <http://garnizonowy.pl/historia-parafii> [access: 05.01.2020].

⁸⁴ Fr. Kazimierz Czekański (1891–1954), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 27.08.1891, ordained 1917, from 1930 a parish priest in the parish church in Wielącz, from 1947 – of the parish in Rudno and then of Końskowola, Golden Cross of Merit (1954), died 21.10.1954; *Spis 1939*, p. 221; *Spis 1948*, p. 125; *Spis 1955*, p. 176.

⁸⁵ Aleksander Miszczuk (1905–1982), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 19.02.1905, ordained 1930, from 1933 a vicar of the parish church in Krasnystaw, an admin of the parish church in Nałęczów (1948–1978). A prisoner of the German concentration camps in Sachsenhausen and Dachau, the reserves' captain of the Polish Army, chaplain, dean, canon, papal chamberlain, awarded with the Golden Cross of Merit, KK OOP, died 02.03.1982. AAL, KBL, Rep.60 II b M 85, personal files of Fr. Aleksander Miszczuk; *Spis 1939*, p. 116; *Spis 1948*, p. 148; *Spis 1955*, pp. 19, 20, 83; *Spis 1966*, pp. 30, 42, 64, 112; *Diecezja Lubelska informator 1985*, p. 414; *Parafia Nałęczów i jej niezapomniany parish priest Fr. Aleksander Miszczuk*, ed. by S. Tarka, Nałęczów 2003, pp. 5–15; L. Cimek, A. Borzęcki, *Ksiądz kapitan Aleksander Miszczuk 1905–1982. W służbie Bogu i Ojczyźnie*, Warszawa 2012.

⁸⁶ AIPN Lu 0017/514, vol. 4, c. 296.

⁸⁷ APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 33; 129–132. Report from the OKK in Lublin in March and April 1952.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 1266, c. 31–35.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 123. Information on the clergy's activity in Lublin area in 1954, 07.03.1955.

Terebus from Rógóžno, Stanisław Kondrat from Serniki, Czesław Derecki from Sitaniec, Antoni Szyszko, PhD from Kosyń (Diocese of Siedlce), Tadeusz Fila-ber from Hrud (Diocese of Siedlce), Franciszek Zapadka from Gnojno (Diocese of Siedlce), Stanisław Grzegorzcyk from Bończa, Canon Bronisław Bromek from Wilczyńska, Antoni Abramowicz from Huta-Dąbrowa (Diocese of Siedlce), and Fr. Stanisław Szubartowski, a vicar and school prefect from Lublin⁹⁰.

Apart from people who were broken, blackmailed, deeply struggling particularly with the traumas of war camps, and who under pressure gave their consent to cooperate with the religious administration or the UB, there was undoubtedly a small group of clergymen who were cynical careerists.

They believed that their commitment to communists would be rewarded with proper positions and church benefits. With the help of the security and religious apparatus, they wanted to open their own way to a quick Church career. It was in this group that hopes were expressed that after categorical requests from the authorities to remove Wojciech Olech, PhD from the function of the Curia's chancellor in 1953, that role would be given to a patriot priest; Fr. Stanisław Krynicki, PhD and Fr. Henryk Kwieciński both saw themselves in that role, but the party's authorities planned to give this office to Fr. Marian Peret⁹¹. In turn, Fr. Krynicki was to receive a function of the Curia's Vicar General. Plans were also made to take over the Higher Theological Seminary (*Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne*, WSD), the Vice-Chancellor of which was supposed to be Fr. Józef Sidor while the confessor – Fr. Mieczysław Michalski. The communist authorities were also aiming to change in 1954 the Cathedral chapter personnel in Lublin. Six trusted priests were planned to be sent there: Marian Peryt, Stanisław Krynicki, Andrzej Chlastawa, Mieczysław Michalski, Józef Sidor (or Józef Gumieniczak)⁹². In practice, it turned out that it was thoroughly unfeasible for the OKK. The political and social context these analysed clergymen from the Lublin province found themselves in, was aptly diagnosed by those interested in the matter, assessing that “When it comes to the Top of the Church Authority, it took on a hostile and suspicious stand, erroneously thinking that the first group of members of the Commission of Priests are units which are trying to break out of the Church discipline, aiming at breaking up with the Church, to create Church heresy, in imitation of national church”⁹³.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 1183, c. 6–7.

⁹¹ AIPN LU, 0-13-186-3 c. 78–80. Information on the Chancellor of Episcopate Curia, Fr. Wojciech Olech, 11.06.1953. The Head of the 1st Section of the 11th Department of the WUBP in Lublin, second lieutenant wrote: “It is also important that in case of removing Wojciech Olech from the office, we have all the necessary data to introduce our agency to the office of a chancellor, through which it will be possible to influence the Curia's politics”.

⁹² APL, KW PZPR, 1129, c. 113–114. Assessment of the Lublin Curia's activities in 1954, 25.10.1954.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, 1194, c. 13. Tasks and guidelines for the work of the OKK members in the field [1952], no daily date.

Lublin's active members of patriot priests collaborating with the post-war authorities was rather closed off throughout the entire period when the movement was functioning. The OKK Presidium was created by eight clergymen in 1951–1953: Antoni Nowak, Józef Świdnicki, Władysław Bodziak, Aleksander Przyłucki, Kazimierz Czeakański, Jan Mazur, Antoni Lamparski, and Mieczysław Michalski (see tables 3 and 5). The Commission appointed 18 district plenipotentiaries, who were supposed to take care of extending the number of members of the organisation. The OKK of Lublin had 37 members and 28 sympathisers in mid-1955, i.e. in the last month of its functioning (see table 1)⁹⁴. The latter were priests who did not officially confirm the accession to the organisation, but from time to time participated in the OKK conventions. It is therefore clear there was a moderate progress in participating in the movement. The security and religious apparatus tried to protect the patriot priests from the canonical sanctions imposed by the Church authorities.

Table 1. Number of members and sympathisers of the OKK in Lublin in 1952–1955

Date	Number of members	Number of sympathisers	Total
1 st quarter of 1952	15	27	42
4 th quarter of 1952	22	25	47
2 nd quarter of 1953	25	24	49
1 st quarter of 1954	28	24	52
2 nd quarter of 1954	29	23	52
3 rd quarter of 1954	30	23	53
4 th quarter of 1955	30	23	53
1 st quarter of 1955	34	20	54
July 1955	37	28	65

Source: APL, KW PZPR: 1173, c. 31–32; 1175, c. 54; 1183, c. 6–8; 1194, c. 137; 1257, c. 88. The OKK report in Lublin for the 1st quarter of 1954; the OKK in Lublin for the 3rd quarter of 1954 from 04.03.1954, report from the OKK Lublin activities from 28.04.1953 to 08.02.1955; The analysis of the Catholic movement progression in the Lublin province 06.10.1955.

Initially, the Lublin OKK received at its disposal a small office room and two full-time office positions: of an office manager, who was Jan Litko⁹⁵ and of a fi-

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, 1173, c. 31–32; 1175, c. 54; 1194, c. 137; 1257, c. 88. Report of the OKK in Lublin for the 1st quarter of 1954; Report of the OKK in Lublin for the 3rd quarter of 1954, 04.03.1954, Report on the activities of the OKK in Lublin for the period from 28.04.1953 to 08.02.1955; Analysis of the progressive Catholic movement in the Lublin province 06.10.1955.

⁹⁵ Jan Litko, a soldier of the Jan Hołoda's 2nd Brigade of People's Army during the Second World War, then an officer of the KW MO in Lublin, in 1950 he worked in the organisational structures of the ZBoWiD in Lublin, after the OKK's dissolution in the religious apparatus.

Table 2. Clergymen – members of the ZBoWiD and OKK in the Lublin province in 1951

No.	Name and surname	Address	Church function	Accession date to ZBoWiD
1	Fr. Nowak Antoni	Lublin	Prefect	20.05.1950
2	Fr. Przyłucki Aleksander	Kostomłoty	Parish priest	23.03.1950
3	Fr. Lt. Col. Świdnicki Józef	Lublin	Chaplain	20.06.1950
4	Fr. Lt. Col. Bodziak Władysław	Puławy	Chaplain	20.03.1950
5	Fr. Mazur Jan	Horyszów Polski	Parish priest	17.11.1948
6	Fr. Czekański Kazimierz	Rudno	Parish priest	29.04.1950
7	Fr. Krynicki Stanisław	Końskowola	Parish priest	18.07.1947
8	Fr. Kaprański Stanisław	Lublin	Prefect	06.02.1952
9	Fr. Filipowicz Demetriusz	Chłaniów	Parish priest	12.02.1951
10	Fr. Miszczyk Aleksander	Nałęczów	Vice Chancellor	08.05.1951
11	Fr. Liwerski Ludwik	Krasnobród	Parish priest	06.08.1951
12	Fr. Jabłoński Marian	Brus-Stary	Parish priest	23.03.1950
13	Fr. Stachurski Ignacy	Topólcza	Parish priest	19.05.1950
14	Fr. Barczak Franciszek ^a	Świerże n/Bugiem	Parish priest	19.05.1950
15	Fr. Orzeł Jan	Podhorce	Parish priest	29.09.1950

^a Franciszek Barczak (1896–1969), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 15.08.1896, ordained 1924, an admin of the parish church in Świerże (1935–1969), died 23.01.1969; *Spis 1939*, p. 253; *Spis 1948*, p. 82; *Spis 1955*, p. 77; *Spis 1966*, p. 107.

Source: APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 2. The Lublin OKK report from the 1st quarter of 1952.

nancial clerk. In mid-1952, the Commission acquired new headquarter which had 2 office rooms and a guest room with beds, which were used by priests from outside of the city, who stayed in Lublin overnight. In the party's sources, Litko is presented as a trustee of the KW PZPR in the Lublin OKK, he supervised its work directly and gave reports, as well as assessments regarding the activity. He participated in the meetings of the party's team, which coordinated on the daily basis the politics of the provincial authorities towards the clergy, in accordance with a decree from 9 February 1953 on filling priests' posts in the Church⁹⁶. The presidium's personnel included A. Borkowski, head of the Department for Religious Affairs PWRN in Lublin, Lucjan Leszczyński, the KW PZPR representative and a delegate on behalf of the WUBP, head of the 6th Department Capt. Waław Toma, and then Capt. Wojciech Kita. They were among those who gave orders to

T. Łobuszewski, K. Krajewski, *Rzecz o dowolności dowodów zbrodni*, www.polska1918-89.pl/pdf/rzecz-o-dowolnosc-dowodow-zbrodni,5675.pdf [access: 07.05.2019], p. 99.

⁹⁶ Dekret z dnia 9 lutego 1952 r. o obsadzaniu duchownych stanowisk kościelnych (Dz.U. 1953, nr 10, poz. 32).

the OKK to make a request to the Council of State to pardon some of the priests sentenced to prison, which was most likely linked to the so-called UB operative game⁹⁷. Throughout 2 years of the OKK functioning, 45% of intervention cases regarded applications to release priests from prisons⁹⁸.

Table 3. The OKK board in Lublin in 1952

No.	Name and Surname	Presidium	Address
1.	Fr. Nowak Antoni	Chairman	Lublin
2.	Fr. Lt. Col. Świdnicki Józef	Vice chairman	Lublin
3.	Fr. Lt. Col. Bodziak Władysław	Secretary	Puławy
4.	Parish priest Przyłucki Aleksander	Member	Kostomłoty, Biała Podlaska district
5.	Parish priest Czekański Kazimierz	Member	Rudno, Lubartów district
6.	Parish priest Mazur Jan	Member	Horyszów Polski, Zamość district
7.	Fr. Canon Kosmulski Stefan	Member	Radoryż, Łuków district
8.	Parish priest Mańkowski Kazimierz	Member	Wilkołaz, Kraśnik district
9.	Parish priest Grzegorzewski Zygmunt ^b	Member	Dorohuczka, Chełm district

^b Zygmunt Grzegorzewski (1888–1957), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 01.01.1888, ordained 1911, a parish priest in Świerszczów (1930–1936), Sawin (1936–1946), Dorohuczka (1946–1957), awarded with the Golden Cross of Merit, and other awards, in the Second Republic of Poland, died 10.05.1957; *Spis 1939*, p. 85; *Spis 1966*, p. 213.

Source: APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 68. Report from the OKK Presidium 17.06.1952.

⁹⁷ APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 8–135. Protocol of the OKK meetings from 1952, 01.10.1952 “request of Fr. Stanisław Ziarko on the arrested son of Fr. Longin was examined. The presidium decided to find out more about the accusation’s nature, and as far as the crime did not harm the wellbeing of the People’s Republic, to ask the authorities for a possible release.” Longin Ziarek (1914–1995), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1940, a prisoner of the Lublin Castle, a vicar of the parish church in Dys (1940–1944), Bełżyce (1944–1948), Biskupice (1948–1950), Garbów (1950–1951), an admin of the parish church in Kryłów (1951–1953), a parish priest in Blinów (1953–1968), Krzczonów (1968–1977). Arrested by the UB on the 25th of June 1953 for breaking the decree from the 25th of August 1949, released after serving a sentence of 1 year and 3 months of prison. From 1977 retired, died 31.10.1995. It is difficult to say whether the intervention by the OKK in Lublin was effective, even though the case was forwarded to the GKK in Warsaw “with a thorough justification [...] with a request of a heartfelt care for Fr. Parish priest L. Ziarko”. See APL, KW PZPR, 1194, p. 111. The OKK protocol from 08.10.1952; M. Piotrowski, *Fr. Ziarek Longin*, [in:] *Leksykon duchowieństwa represjonowanego w PRL w latach 1945–1989*, ed. J. Myszor, vol. 1, Warszawa 2002, p. 327; J. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 128; W. Cioczek, *Fr. Longin Ziarek*, “Krzczonowski Gościniec” 2017, no. 2(39), pp. 15–16; <http://krzczonow.eurzad.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Gosciniac-II-2017-1.pdf>; *Archidiecezja lubelska. Kapłani zmarli w latach 1990–1999*. <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-2> [access: 05.02.2020].

⁹⁸ APL, KW PZPR, 1173, c. 82. Data of the OKK presidium in Lublin sent to the GKK in Warsaw for the period between 21.02.1952 and 31.10.1954; *ibidem*, 1175, c. 151. Protocol of a work meeting of the OKK presidium 02.09.1953. During the meeting a petition was examined regarding the release of the following priests: Dąbrowski, Chmiel, Stańczak, Perskiewicz, Rusek.

Table 4. Priests who were members of the OKK and ZBOWID in Lublin in October 1952

No.	Surname and name	Church function	Residential address	Function in the OKK
1.	Fr. Director Nowak Antoni	-	Lublin, ul. Chopina 29	Chairman
2.	Fr. Lt. Col. Świdnicki Józef	Chaplain	Lublin, ul. Chopina 41/3	Vice Chairman
3.	Fr. Kaprański Bronisław	Prefect	Lublin, ul. 3. Maja	Secretary
4.	Fr. Maj. Puacz Mikołaj	Chaplain	Puławy	Treasurer
5.	Fr. Czekański Kazimierz	parish priest	Rudno	Presidium member
6.	Fr. Canon Kosmulski Stefan	parish priest	Radoryż	presidium member
7.	Fr. Przyłucki Aleksander	parish priest	Kostomłoty	presidium member
8.	Fr. Mańkowski Kazimierz	parish priest	Wilkołaz	Plenum member
9.	Fr. Grzegorzewski Zygmunt	parish priest	Dorohucza	Plenum member
10.	Fr. Mazur Jan	parish priest	Horyszów Polski	Plenum member
11.	Fr. Barczak Franciszek	parish priest	Świerże n/Bugiem	Member
12.	Fr. Filipowicz Demetriusz	parish priest	Chłaniów	Member
13.	Fr. Jabłoński Marian	parish priest	Brus Stary	Member
14.	Fr. Liwerski Ludwik	parish priest	Krasnobród	Member
15.	Fr. Krynicki Stanisław, PhD	Dean	Biłgoraj	Member
16.	Fr. Stachurski Ignacy	parish priest	Topólcza	Member
17.	Fr. Miszczak Aleksander	parish priest	Nałęczów	Member
18.	Fr. Orzeł Jan Piotr	parish priest	Podhorce	Member
19.	Fr. Wolanin Stanisław	parish priest	Nowosiółki	Member
20.	Fr. Bajcer Marek	parish priest	Boiska	Member

Source: APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 108. List of the OKK in Lublin, who had their ZBoWiD membership card.

Table 5. The OKK Presidium chosen on 28 April 1953

No.	Surname and name	Function held
1.	Fr. Kosmulski Stefan	Chairman
2.	Fr. Nowak Antoni	Vice Chairman
3.	Fr. Michalski Mieczysław	Vice Chairman
4.	Fr. Puacz Mikołaj	Secretary
5.	Fr. Czekański Kazimierz	Vice secretary
6.	Fr. Świdnicki Józef	Treasurer
7.	Fr. Mazur Jan	Financial clerk
8.	Fr. Lamparski Antoni	Clerk for plenipotentiaries
9.	Fr. Przyłucki Aleksander	Member

Source: APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 66. Information from the Head of the Department of Mass Organisation KW PZPR on the conference of priests from the Lublin province from 28.04.1953.

The OKK in Lublin offered its members the full package of social services, medical care and refunds for medical treatments, holidays for clergymen, i.e. privileges which were not available for priests who remained outside of the organisation⁹⁹. On behalf of the GKK in Warsaw, Fr. Lt. Col. Zygfryd Stanowski¹⁰⁰ from Kielce became a guardian of the OKK in Lublin. He encouraged the active members to take care of retired priests and to provide financial help to the clergymen, treating it as an important method for attracting people to the Commission. The GKK had at its disposal the “Priests’ House” in Karpacz, and then holiday estates in Sopot and in Krynica (“Echo”). From April 1953 to February 1955, 30 clergymen from the province went for treatments in a sanatorium¹⁰¹. The most important activists who created the OKK board, were permanently supported financially in the form of regular salaries paid as the so-called lump sums, diets, and monthly allowances. These were benefits close to a pension or disability benefits. At first, they were covered from “Caritas” funds and then from the so-called Church Fund, which was at the state authorities’ disposal. In the first half of the 1950s, the amounts ranged from PLN 400 to PLN 1,200, and were distributed to 24 clergymen in the Lublin province. The OKK presidium members received PLN 800–1,200 a month. The highest salaries were paid to the following priests: Stefan Kosmulski, Witold Banczer, Antoni Lamparski, Ignacy Stachurski, Aleksander Przyłucki, Józef Świdnicki, Mieczysław Michalski, Czesław Furtak¹⁰² and Antoni Nowak². Due to the limitation in subsidies from Warsaw, the amounts of allowances were cut by half from April 1955¹⁰³. The suggestions on payments were analysed and approved by the PZPR apparatus¹⁰⁴.

The presidium and plenary meeting of the Commission began and ended with a prayer. Apart from propaganda matters, at the meetings the OKK presidium looked into priests’ applications and requests to restore the right to: teach religion

⁹⁹ P. Stanis, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–294.

¹⁰⁰ Lt. Col. Zygmunt Stanowski, a parish priest of the garrison parish in Kielce (1950–1953).

¹⁰¹ APL, KW PZPR, cap. 1194, c. 4.

¹⁰² Czesław Furtak (1914–1989), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 15.07.1914, ordained 1940, a vicar of the Lublin Cathedral, an admin of the parish church in Kazimierzówka (1948), a parish priest of the parish church in Świerszczów (1949–1955), awarded the Silver Cross of Merit (1954), as a vicar in Lublin he became the UB informant, pseudonym “Magister”, died 19.09.1989; IPN Lu 173/208 Personal files of parish priest in Rudno: Czesław Furtak, father’s name: Jan, born 15.07.1914; *Spis 1948*, pp. 32, 38, 43; from 1947 he held an office of the Lublin diocese coadjutor bishop as an auxiliary bishop to Stefan Wyszyński; J. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 126; *Archidiecezja lubelska. Kapłani zmarli w latach 1980–1989*, <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-1> [access: 10.09.2020].

¹⁰³ APL, KW PZPR, 1173, c. 5–8. Letters of priest receiving stipends and financial help in 1954; *ibidem*, 1175, c. 105. List of financial aids for the members of the commission and its sympathisers, 12.06.1953; *ibidem*, 1257, c. 48. Protocol of the Provincial Team meeting, 03.05.1955.

¹⁰⁴ *ibidem*, 1257, c. 1–48. Protocol from the meeting of the so-called „Three” and then the so-called Provincial Team in 1954–1955.

at schools, financial support, possibility to purchase radio device, obtaining coal for winter, possibility to receive various permits necessary for the church or rectory renovations, and then materials for carrying them out (allocations of sheet metal, planks, cement), reduction of land tax, or redemption of overdue taxation payments, etc. Among intervention issues undertaken by the OKK, the dominating matters regarded “the purchase of building materials by the priests, funds for the renovation of church and rectory [...]”¹⁰⁵. In line with the communist authorities’ policy, the OKK practically monopolized the handling of these matters, which forced – even those clergymen who were sceptical to it – to come into contact with the so-called patriot priests. Fr. Władysław Kieszek, administering the parish in Annopol, who was positively assessed by the authorities for his participation in the conventions and conferences of the movement, explained in a trusted circles that he did this only because he was “building a church and so that he could receive the building materials”, and at the same time he added that he “never agreed with the current regime, that he will remain a loyal son of Poland and the Church”. His anti-communist views made him stay under a constant supervision of the UB¹⁰⁶. Fr. Ignacy Żyszkiewicz joined the movement of the “progressive priests” because he needed materials for building a church. Similarly – with the silent acceptance of the Church leaders – the movement was temporarily joined by Fr. Aleksander Miszczuk and Fr. Paweł Dziubiński, a parish priest of the Conversion of St. Paul’s Church in Lublin¹⁰⁷.

The state authorities offered maximum support for the OKK organisational activities, providing, e.g. cars for the members of the Commission. There also took place the so-called extended plenary meetings, to which the priests from the province were invited. A poor response to these initiatives was the major problem. The Commission had little mobilization ability in those circles, despite a huge logistic help from the administrative authorities and the UB. The reluctance to participate in its works – caused i.a. by fear of canonical sanctions – was characteristic of the vast majority of priests. This issue will occur throughout the entire period when the OKK functioned in Lublin. The local authorities of the party did all they could to send the clergymen from their areas to the conventions organized by the patriot priests. Administrative pressure was used, and various, sometimes even unconventional, methods were applied¹⁰⁸. In theory, the Presidium meetings were supposed to take

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, 1173, c. 82.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, 1162, c. 55, 59. P. Tylec, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁷ AAL, II D 52, c. 30–31, 50, Personal files of Fr. Paweł Dziubiński, 1916–1956; APL, KW PZPR, 1128, c. 19.

¹⁰⁸ APL, KW PZPR, 1259, c. 46–47. The clerk of the Department of Religious Affairs PPRN in Kraśnik described the activities mobilising clergymen to participate in the OKK meetings in Lublin, carried out by the local district governor: “The was this incident, three priests were brought the previous day in the evening when the Convention of priests was to take place in Lublin. Accom-

place once a week and plenary sessions – once a month. The latter ones in particular often did not take place due to the organizational conditions, including the difficulties with transport. Frequent clashes between the proposed date of the meeting and the liturgical calendar were of significance. With time, the priests' attendance at the meetings was getting significantly higher, which greatly worried the diocesan authorities. Fr. Piotr Stopniak referred to it at the deanery conference in Puławy on 30 April 1952: "It should be stated with regret that the conventions organised by the government are attended by the priests voluntarily, without being forced, and every priest explains this participation in a different way"¹⁰⁹.

Table 6. The last OKK Presidium chosen on 09.02.1955

No.	Surname and name	Function
1.	Fr. Kosmulski Stefan	Chairman
2.	Fr. Lamparski Antoni	I vice chairman
3.	Fr. Stachurski Ignacy	II vice chairman
4.	Fr. Bajcer Marek	Secretary
5.	Fr. Przyłucki Aleksander	Vice secretary
6.	Fr. Świdnicki Józef	Treasurer
7.	Fr. Michalski Mieczysław	Librarian
8.	Fr. Furtak Czesław	Member
9.	Fr. Nowak Antoni	Member

Source: APL, KW PZPR, 1266, c. 130–134.

The OKK in Lublin was in close contact with the priests from Kielce, where joint meetings of Commission from both cities were held. The national OKK conventions played an important propaganda role. The first took place on 20–21 February 1952. The meeting of the so-called "positive clergymen", as priests from the OKK were referred to, were publicised by the party's press ("Sztandar Ludu") and local radio station¹¹⁰. There were presented as exceptionally important events in the life of the Catholic clergy in both the diocese and the province.

In March 1952, the Lublin OKK dealt with an appeal to the Lublin province clergymen regarding the sowing-spring campaign. It was sent to 83 priests

modation and dinner, naturally with vodka, was prepared in the building of the then district government. They were accompanied at dinner by the then comrade governor Józef Jarmuł and a few other comrades (I do not remember the names). The plan was to make them drunk, so they do not have time to change their mind. Once the libation started, it took quite a long time, and the opposite happened. All the comrades, together with governor Jarmuł, got drunk and the priests used this moment and skedaddled home".

¹⁰⁹ APL KW PZPR, 1128, c. 3. Material on the Episcopal Curia in Lublin, 07.12.1955.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 1173, c. 137. Report on the OKK activity from the period between 28.04.1953 and 08.02.1955.

from the diocese, and it referred to the sense of the priests' civic duty who were to "summon the faithful now to prepare for sowing spring crops, to stock up on fertilisers, certified and season grains, to use every scrap of land"¹¹¹. The issue of agriculture development in the realities of the Polish People's Republic was numerously continued in the works of the Lublin Commission, i.a. on 22 April 1952 the Report was prepared by parish priests: Fr. Jan Mazur and Aleksander Przyłucki. The former, as characterised by the authorities on religion, "can find forms of propagating productive cooperatives, and without being a religious chauvinist, he managed to skilfully explain to the people in the present parish in 1953 why the cross did not have to be put on the wall in classrooms together with an emblem and portraits"¹¹². Out of 54 invitations sent to the clergymen who were treated as potential enthusiasts of the movement, the plenary session was attended only by 14. The Commission tried to define the priests' attitude towards creating production cooperatives in the countryside. This issue was discussed, i.a. at the meeting of the OKK presidium on 20 May 1952. Views on this matter were divided. Fr. Franciszek Surtel pointed out a justified reluctance of farmers to production cooperatives, particularly in the circles of people displaced from beyond the River Bug, "and this is because during the war they came across with inadequately run a production cooperative". Far-fetching caution in presenting the issue was recommended by Fr. Lt. Col. Zygmunt Stanowski from the GKK in Warsaw. He feared that undertaking this problem would scare off and discourage the clergymen to work in the Commission's structures. In turn, a strong supporter of propagating agricultural cooperatives in the countryside was a parish priest, Fr. Antoni Lam-parski, who expressed the opinion that "team economy is a higher form of the individual one; and discussing this topic with the priests will be timely and will give the priests arguments to rectify the wrong – or even hostile – views regarding production cooperatives". He was very conservative in his opinions: "he encourages people to join Production Cooperatives, whether in private discussion or during sermons" – stated in his characterisation the head of the Executive Department for the PPRN Religious Affairs in Zamość. The cooperative was also supported from the pulpit by parish priests: Stefan Kosmulski and Aleksander Przyłucki¹¹³. A few months later, the OKK got rid of hesitation on the matter. During an extended session on 11 February 1953, 29 priests unanimously adopted a resolution which – in a propagandist convention – accepted the Stalinist practice of agricultural

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, 1194, c. 73–75, 76–77.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, 1174, c. 7. Characterisation of Fr. Jan Mazur.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, c. 62–64. Protocol of the OKK presidium from 27.05.1952; 1259, c. 136. Report of the Department of Religious Affairs, Zamość, 15.09.1953; *Ibidem*, 1174, c. 9–10. Characterisation of Fr. can. Parish priest Stefan Kosmulski from the parish church in Radoryż and Fr. Parish priest Aleksander Przyłucki from the parish church in Kostomłoty.

policy implemented by the PZPR¹¹⁴. The OKK was harnessed in promoting the communist activities among peasants. Priests were meant to persuade farmers to a proper and on-time participation in contingent, harvesting, threshing, and sowing activities, and eliminating badlands, as well as to working on Sundays during harvesting season. The Church was meant to be turned into one more institution promoting among peasants the programme of the communist party. An attempt to get the Church involved in the collectivization of the Lublin countryside was not successful due to a decisive opposition of the vast majority of priests¹¹⁵.

In the eyes of the PZPR authorities, 1952 was an important test for the OKK. It concerned an increased participation in the propaganda campaign before the elections to the Sejm. The chairman of the OKK, Fr. Antoni Nowak, and the professor at KUL, Fr. Mieczysław Żywczyński, became members of the District Headquarters of the Front of National Unity (WK FN)¹¹⁶. Priests “were encouraged to an active pre-election activity among their parishioners, both in private talks as well as in proper speeches from the pulpit, and to participation in the local election committees”¹¹⁷. The issue of taking part in the FN was addressed at the OKK plenary session on 19 September 1952, attended by 21 priests and with a talk suggesting that the Catholics’ participation in the FN was not only a postulate dictated by the Polish national interest, but also a religion and moral duty¹¹⁸. There were 9 clergymen from the province that worked in the FN structure. Several days later, the OKK presidium sent a document to 34 priests with a suggestion to present the FN pre-electoral programme from the pulpits. Several clergymen associated with the OKK called for the “parishioners to go to ballot boxes” during the masses. One year later, in June 1953, the OKK recommended the priests to include the matters on the FN activities and preservation of world peace as topics for sermons. At the district levels, Executive Departments for Religious Affairs monitored the implementation of these recommendations¹¹⁹. In 1954, the OKK

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 1175, c. 17–22; 23–24. Protocol from the conference of priests of the Lublin province, 11.02.1953; *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 34. Priests were “to make the loyal farmers aware that the burdens put on them by the People’s State in the form of obligations and supplies, and deliveries were aimed at the general wellbeing, namely, to increase the living standards in the working world of city and countryside”. Moreover, they undertook to “make the loyal farmers aware of the superiority of group economy, i.a. cooperative production, over individual economy”.

¹¹⁵ AIPN Lu, 013/194, vol. 2. In March 1950, the ordinary was visited by a MBP colonel from Warsaw and he called the bishop to support the cooperative production, “to which Kałwa replied that he would neither help nor disturb”.

¹¹⁶ APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 78, 81–88.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 1194, c. 112 a–113.

¹¹⁸ APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 89–90; 94–96; 100–101. “Participation in the National Front has double justification for Catholics – religious-moral and patriotic. It is based on a foundation of social love which is a cardinal principle of Catholic ethics. Jesus said ‘I give you a new commandment – that you love one another’” – was written in the paper.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 1233, c. 92.

sent its representatives for a conference with people from countryside (farmers, teachers, office workers) as part of the so-called small gatherings, which were supposed to dispel the distrust “towards the government’s action, both among the rural population as well as the intelligentsia”. People were invited to “positively agitate for the authorities”¹²⁰.

Another political action which used the so-called patriot priests were elections to national councils in 1954. Fr. Jan Mazur, the organiser of the OKK in Lublin, was at that time nominated to join the WRN. There were five priests who became part of the PRN¹²¹.

“Socially progressive” priests took part in high-profile anti-Church propaganda campaigns. In January and February 1953, they condemned the participants of the Cracow Curia trial. Its aim was to discredit the Catholic Church in Poland and to present it to the public opinion as a dangerous “reactionary agency of the Vatican”¹²². This was one of the peak campaigns undertaken by the communist authorities, strictly linked to the plans of disintegrating activities in the Episcopal Curia, which were dangerous for the Church. Using the case from Cracow, the GKK presidium of the ZBoWiD adopted a resolution on 30 January 1953, in which it was postulated to take over the seminaries and diocesan curias through eliminating from them the “hostile clergymen” and to stop the repressions against the priests loyal to the People’s Poland¹²³. The UB prepared a plan for the delegations of patriot priests to go to individual curias and force the bishop to make changes in the personnel, which took place, *inter alia*, in Włocławek, Opole, and Płock¹²⁴.

Preparations for these activities started in Lublin already on 7 January 1953 at the OKK presidium meeting and then during a plenary session which took place on 28 January with the participation of the GKK delegate, Fr. Jan Potocki. Unfortunately, due to snowstorms and transport difficulties, there were only 12 people who arrived at the meeting and thus it became not representative enough. Therefore, it was decided to convene another conference on 11 February 1953 and then make appropri-

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, c. 77–78; 116.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, 1148, c. 33 and 1131, c. 7. Candidates to the WRN, 1954. *ibidem*, PWRN, Department for Religious Affairs, 51, c. 36. Report from the clergy’s attitude towards the election campaign 10.12.1954. The following priests became members of the PRN: Marian Peryt, Aleksander Przyłucki, Stefan Kosmulski and Józef Gumieniczek, an admin of the parish church in Surchów (1950–1966).

¹²² APL, KW PZPR, 1175, c. 10. Lublin’s “patriot priests” wrote in the resolution i.a.: “We must state with pain and sadness of a priestly heart that the priests of the Cracow’s Curia misused their vocation and mission placed on them by Christ and the Catholic Church, acting against their fatherland, joining with the enemies and destructive element. We firmly renounce them, and we condemn their hostile activity, which harms the Church’s wellbeing and the wellbeing of our entire State”. The PZPR press organs scandalised readers for several days with reports from the trial.

¹²³ “Książdz Obywatel” 1953 (15 January).

¹²⁴ S. Wyszynski, *Pro Memoria*, vol. 2: 1953, Warszawa 2017, pp. 40–44.

ate decisions. The WUBP in Lublin, the party and religious authorities prepared the entire script for this meeting. The extended OKK meeting took place in the WRN presidium hall, attended by 29 priests. As written in the party's report, "the major aim of the conference was to select a delegation which would go to the bishop and demand the removal of some priests from their posts"¹²⁵. Only a few most trusted clergymen knew about the plan. They were to present at the meeting the material prepared and presented by the UB, which were incriminating the priests-curialists with the alleged collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. It was planned that in view of this presentation an accurate atmosphere would be created for selecting the delegation of priests who would go to the bishop ordinary and demand the removal of men, against whom the accusation were brought forward. Formally speaking, these actions were to be motivated by the good of the Church in order to avoid the situation which supposedly took place in the Cracow Curia. As part of the plan implemented by the UB, priests were selected and prepared for the discussion, and they were also to become members of the delegation sent to the bishop. Just before the meeting, the Security Office in Lublin introduced Fr. Director Antoni Nowak prepared materials that were politically and morally incriminating some priests from the Lublin diocese. It was to be discussed at the meeting and combined with the accusations presented to the public during the trial of clergymen from the Cracow Curia. The Security Office also prepared the composition of delegation of priests who was to go to the Episcopal Curia to present these accusations to the bishop after the meeting. The clergymen gathered in the room were to approve the composition of the delegation.¹²⁶ The first man to strongly condemn the Cracow's clergymen was Fr. Jan Szczepan Orzeł. In line with the role he was given, he addressed the situation in the Lublin Diocese and accused two clergymen of cooperating with the Gestapo during the Second World War and of acting against the new post-war government. His speech was interrupted by shouts and protests from the room: "we do not want to hear it", *nomina sunt odiosa*, 'his is not the place for such offences', 'who told you to read such things'. In this situation Fr. Orzeł, without finishing his speech, left the podium. The gathered expressed their indignation and pointed out that this matter was not on the agenda – they emphasised that it was the security authorities' and prosecutor's problem, and not the Commission's. Ultimately, the delegation to the bishop was not selected and the entire plan of the UB and party-religious authorities was failed. The KW PZPR in Lublin stated that the main purpose of the meeting "was not met because of insufficient organisational and political preparation. The preparation was too conspirato-

¹²⁵ APL, KW PZPR, ref. 1265, c. 33. Report on the conference of the Catholic priests of the Lublin province that took place on 11.02.1953 by the instructor for "K" issues, L. Leszczyński (*ibidem*, 1175, c. 17–22). Protocol from the OKK priests' conference 11.02.1953.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, 1175, c. 23–24. Report by J. Litko from the priests' conference that took place on 11.02.1953.

rial, not enough priests were informed about the issue¹²⁷. At the very same February meeting, the OKK unanimously adopted a resolution which – in the propagandist convention – once again condemned the diversion and espionage of the priests accused in the process of the Cracow Curia. It mentioned i.a.: “we express the opinion that the insane people should be removed from the Episcopal Curia, and their places should be taken by clergymen who are able to implement the principles of proper *modus vivendi* between the Church and the State”¹²⁸. According to Fr. Krynicki, PhD, who as agent “Bagiński” informed the UB about the situation in the Lublin diocese, the priests-curialists: Wojciech Olech, Piotr Stopniak, and Bishop Suffragan Tomasz Wilczyński did not know the next day the exact proceedings of the meeting. However, they recognised at that time that the situation was a disaster for the Church because it took place despite the negative stand of the Episcopate, which was known to the clergymen. At the time, the Curia did not have at its disposal the number of and personal data about the participants of the conference from 11 February 1953. However, it did not plan to impose canonical consequences, apart from admonition¹²⁹.

The entire incident had far-reaching consequences for how the patriot priests were perceived by Bishop Piotr Kałwa. Despite a firm aversion to the priests’ movement, he appreciated that the Lublin Commission did not cross the symbolic Rubicon. As a result of this national campaign, the Head Episcopal Commission issued a letter to the ZG KK ZBOWiD, which informed that all the priests who submitted petitions in the Curia with the requirement to personnel changes and who are the editors of the periodical “Priest Citizen” are excommunicated¹³⁰. According to the available data, none of the clergymen in Lublin was excommunicated, but the possibility of sanctions will affect their discipline. Parish priest Fr. Kazimierz Czekański initially declared that he resigned for that reason from being involved in the OKK works, but he later cancelled this decision¹³¹. The Bishop’s Curia monitored the involvement of priests in the propaganda campaign condemning the Cracow’s clergymen¹³².

Three days after the unsuccessful OKK meeting, on 14 February 1953, the chairman of the Board of the People’s Council of the District (PWRN) in Lublin,

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 33.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, 1175, c. 17–24. It was also written that “to make the loyal farmers aware that the burdens put on them by the People’s State in the form of obligations and supplies and deliveries were aimed at the general wellbeing, namely, to increase the living standards in the working world of city and countryside”. Priests were also meant to “make the loyal farmers aware of the superiority of group economy, i.a. cooperative production, over individual economy”.

¹²⁹ AIPN Lu 0017/514, vol. 4, part 2, c. 206. Report of informant “Bagiński” from 12.02.1953.

¹³⁰ S. Wyszynski, *op. cit.*, p. 43; APL KW PZPR, 1175, c. 45. The issue of this excommunication was discussed at an extended meeting of the OKK in Lublin 18.03.1953.

¹³¹ APL, KW PZPR, 1175, c. 129. Characterisation of Fr. Parish priest Kazimierz Czekański.

¹³² AIPN Lu 0-13-186-6 -070, c. 75. Information discussed materials against Fr. Wojciech Olech in regard to taking an oath, 02.06.1953.

Paweł Dąbek, accepted the following priests as the Commission's authorities: Antoni Nowak, Lt. Col. Józef Świdnicki, Bronisław Kaprański, and Stanisław Szubartowski¹³³, the latter of whom acted as a sympathiser of the Commission. The topic of discussion referred to the decree from 9 February 1953 on filling Church positions, which threatened the Church in Poland with schism that those in power treated as an effective instrument for pacifying the anti-communist attitudes among the clergymen and for building up the grounds for the so-called progressive priests. Paweł Dąbek pointed out the benefits that the implementation of the decree would offer to the priests involved in supporting the actions of the governing communists¹³⁴. The PWRN chairman emphasised that the decree's intention was to support the movement of the so-called socially progressive priests¹³⁵. He called for an immediate communication of any cases of their discrimination by the Curia to the authorities. The interlocutors confirmed that in their opinion, the new law would broaden the possibilities of gaining new members and sympathisers of the OKK; as was stated by Fr. Stanisław Szubartowski, some priests had mocked them and turned the faithful against them in church. He hoped that the problem would no longer be present¹³⁶.

In March 1953, priests who were active members of the OKK observed a minute's silence in honour to the death of Generalissimus Joseph Stalin, and Fr. Antoni Nowak praised his services to Poland¹³⁷. Simultaneously, propaganda activities were continued, the aim of which was the affirmation of the communists in power¹³⁸.

¹³³ Stanisław Szubartowski (1917–1984), a priest at the Lublin diocese, born 07.09.1917, ordained in 1944, school prefect in Lublin, from 1945 a rector at the Holy Spirit Church in Kraśnik, from 1950 a vicar of the parish priest of Saint Theresa of Child Jesus in Lublin, from 1957, an admin of the parish church in Trzęsiny, a participant of the priests' convention in Wrocław 02.12.1952, Silver Cross of Merit (1954), died 26.01.1984; *Spis 1948*, pp. 40, 112; *Spis 1955*, pp. 39, 46; *Spis 1966*, p. 172; *Archidiecezja Lubelska informator* 1985, p. 415; J. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 128; *Archidiecezja Lubelska. Kapłani zmarli w latach 1980–1989*. <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-1> [access: 12.01.2012].

¹³⁴ More broadly on the decree's influence on the functioning of the Lublin diocese see J. Wrona, *Władze państwowe wobec Kościoła katolickiego...*, pp. 371–376.

¹³⁵ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 37–38. Report on the conversations held with the priests from the KK ZBoWiD presidium in Lublin by the head of the PWRN on 14.02.1953. Dąbek stated that the government's aim "is the protection of priests working for the people's authorities, for peace, for building their own fatherland. The decree protects the patriot priests, democrats, it defends those whom the Church authorities threat with degradations, poor parish church, and office. The people's government thinks of the patriot priests and our authorities are quite string to deal with this. I assure the priests that a harm that could have happened to priests for civic attitude will not touch them because we will not let that happen".

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, c. 37.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, 1175, c. 41. Protocol of the extended OKK presidium meeting 18.03.1953.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, c. 91.

The state authorities tried to officially appreciate the patriot priests' work¹³⁹. In February 1952, the OKK Presidium selected the following priests for state awards: Jan Mazur, Antoni Nowak, Kazimierz Czekański, Aleksander Przyłucki and Fr. Lt. Col. Władysław Bodziak¹⁴⁰. Two years later, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the People's Poland, Fr. Stefan Kosmulski was awarded (for the second time) with the Golden Cross of Merit for his services to the People's Republic of Poland; on the same occasion, the Golden Crosses of Merit were given to the following clergymen: Andrzej Chlastawa, Kazimierz Czekański, Stanisław Krynicki, Antoni Lamparski, Jan Mazur, Jan Szczepan Orzeł (in 1946, he was awarded with the Silver Cross of Merit), Marian Peryt, Antoni Szyszko from Kosyń (Diocese of Siedlce). The Silver Cross of Merit was given to Fr. Marek Bajcer and Fr. Franciszek Polewko from Witoroż (Diocese of Siedlce). Officer's Crosses of the Order of Polonia Restituta belonged to Fr. Stanisław Krynicki (1949), Fr. Jan Mazur (1949), and Fr. Wacław Staniszewski, PhD (1946)¹⁴¹. The latter was granted this distinction as a recognition for his actions during the Second World War. He was very critical of the OKK, he openly stated during the talks with the authorities that "these are priests who committed crimes of administrative nature and obey orders, and he by no means considers them priests"¹⁴².

Among the clergymen collaborating with the communists in the Lublin province, the groups of passive members who were participants and audience of meetings, conventions, and conferences organised by the OKK were definitely prevailing. Participating in the movement facilitated the acquisition of materials and financing of parish. It helped to get allowances and financial donations for personal purposes. School catechists were more often employed by education authorities. It provided a relative sense of peace and allowed to avoid the excessive repressions from the religious and security apparatus. In many cases, it was a certain form of a social adaptive attitude, which dominated the Polish society after the Second World War.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, 1218, c. 118. Register of the Lublin province priests awarded in 1945–1952 (*ibidem*, 1265, c. 118). See also www.prawo.pl/akty/m-p-1954-108-1454,16808118.html [access: 08.05.2019].

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 1194, c. 22–23. Protocol of the OKK presidium meeting 11.02.1952.

¹⁴¹ Wacław Staniszewski (1907–1979), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 13.07.1907, ordained 1931, from 1936 a secondary school prefect in Zamość and a rector of Saint Catherine's Church, in the church's basement level, in September 1939 in Zamość, he managed to save the painting by Jan Matejko "Prussian Homage". Arrested by the Germans and imprisoned in the concentration camps in Sachsenhausen and Dachau. Parish priest of the Apostles Sending Church in Chelm (1953–1955), Stary Zamość (1955–1965), Kazimierz Dolny (1965–1969), died 10.05.1979; *Spis 1939*, p. 223; *Spis 1955*, pp. 18, 20, 168; *Spis 1966*, p. 163; *Diecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 414.

¹⁴² APL, KW PZPR, 1216, c. 257–259, Characterisation of Fr. W. Staniszewski from 11.12.1953.

COMMISSION OF INTELLECTUALS AND CATHOLIC ACTIVISTS OF THE POLISH COMMITTEE OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE (1950–1953)

The second centre for priests and the so-called progressive Catholics collaborating with the communist authorities was the Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists (KIiDK), operating by PKOP, which was created on 4 November 1950 at the initiative of Bolesław Piasecki, the head of PAX Association. From October 1953 the new structure was referred to as the Commission of Religious and Lay Catholic¹⁴³. Piasecki wanted to create a counterweight to the clergy with the limited intellectual level and gathered in the GKK ZBoWiD, which would be a group of religious intellectual elite, and to dominate – together with PAX and KIiDK – the circles of Catholics, clergymen and lay people, referred to as socially progressive. According to the data from March 1952, KIiDK had 172 members, including 140 priests working for the Head Commission and ten Provincial Commissions (Wrocław – 26 people; Poznań – 24; Gdańsk – 19; Bydgoszcz, Kraków, Łódź, Opole, Warsaw – 15 people each; Lublin – 11; Olsztyn – 9). The number of priests belonging to the Commission of Intellectuals (KI), did not exceed 200–300 members nationwide in its peak period. The KI's first initiative was to collect the signatures, together with the OKK clergymen, for the so-called Stockholm Appeal, which was officially presented as a declaration of the Catholic intellectuals at the Polish Peace Committee. Instructions regarding the campaign were received by the heads of the WUBP¹⁴⁴.

The KIiDK was to a much lesser extent infiltrated by the MBP than the priests associated with the ZBoWiD. Its activity was based on the concept of multi-worldview socialism created by Piasecki. The competitive centres – representatives of the GKK at the ZBoWiD, Association of Catholics “Caritas”, and editors of Catholic journals loyal towards the Episcopate – were also invited to their meetings.

The first members of the KIiDK in Lublin were most probably selected on 23 January 1951. Fr. MSc Piotr Mazurek from the Bishop's Curia became its First Chairman¹⁴⁵, Fr. MSc Henryk Kwieceński – its first Vice

¹⁴³ Ł. P. Matyjasiak, *Między wiernością Kościołowi a służbą państwu. Działalność katolików „społecznie-postępowych” na przykładzie Komisji Intelktualistów i Działaczy Katolickich przy Polskim Komitecie obrońców Pokoju (1950–1953)*, www.polska1918-89.pl/pdf/miedzy-wiernoscia-kosciolowi-a-sluzba-panstwu.-dzialalnosc-katolikow-s,4664.pdf [access: 10.09.2020].

¹⁴⁴ APL, KW PZPR, c. 1192, c. 78.

¹⁴⁵ Piotr Mazurek (1914–2001), a priest in the Lublin diocese, born 02.06.1914, ordained 1940, a graduate of the war year of the WSD and Faculty of History at the Warsaw University (1949), a vicar of the parish church in Piaski, Bystrzyca near Lublin (1942), and a school prefect, a member of the NSZ, from 10.09.1944 a chaplain of the Polish Army, in the rank of senior captain, a notary public of the General Dean's Office of the Polish Army in the rank of lieutenant colonel, in 1950 dismissed from the Polish Army due to political reasons, a vicar of Saint Agnes Church in Lublin and

Chairman¹⁴⁶, Prof. Aleksander Kunicki (KUL) – the Second Vice Chairman¹⁴⁷, MSc Lech Kosieniak, an editor of “Słowo Powszechne” became the secretary. Among the members of the Commission there were: parish priest Dr Wincenty Łapkiewicz, PhD¹⁴⁸ (Głusk), Fr. Dean Waclaw Banach¹⁴⁹ (Lublin), Fr. Dean Jan Bogudziński (Puchaczów), Fr. Prefect Ignacy Budny¹⁵⁰ (Lublin), Fr. Antoni Mańka¹⁵¹, Director of the Salesians (Lublin), Fr. Prefect Piotr Matyjaszczyk, PhD¹⁵²

an accountant in the Episcopal Curia, a member of the KI and then of the KDiŚDK, on 8.02.1952 recruited by the WUBP in Lublin as an informant “Maz”, in July 1953 he categorically refused further collaboration, died 25.02.2001. AIPN Lu 003/2400, c. 45, 51, 61–64, 66; Opinion of the manager of the Personnel Department MON, 20.03.1950; Report from the recruitment; handwritten CV, report on excluding from the network of agents; APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 219. Personal data for every employee of the Curia from 11.12.1953; J. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 127 *Archidiecezja lubelska. Kapłani zmarli w latach 2000–2009*. <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-3> [access: 12.02.2020].

¹⁴⁶ Henryk Kwieciński (1905–1973), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained 1927, KUL graduate (1930), a secretary of the Episcopal Curia (1930–1933), vice official of the Bishop’s Court (1941–1972), Papal Chamberlain, registered by the UB as an informant, “Filon”, died 29.09.1972; AAL, Rep. 60 II b, personal files of Fr. Henryk Kwieciński; *Archidiecezja Lubelska informator 1985*, p. 411; AIPN, Lu 0268/11, part 6, c. 8–14. G. Bzdyrak, *Pracownicy i absolwenci Wydziału Prawa Kanonicznego KUL w lubelskim sądownictwie kościelnym podczas okupacji niemieckiej*, www.kul.pl/files/1374/public/rmp_2015/nr_4/s_091-111_art_bzdyrak.pdf [access: 10.12.2020].

¹⁴⁷ Prof. Aleksander Kunicki (1908–1984), lawyer, civil law specialist, KUL and UMCS employee.

¹⁴⁸ Wincenty Łapkiewicz (1902–1987), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 30.03.1902, ordained 1927, doctorate in canon law, parish priest in the parish church in Matczyn (1937–1941), Grabowiec (1941–1942), Głusk (1946–1970), died 05.10.1987; *Spis 1939*, p. 62; *Archidiecezja Lubelska. Parish priestowie i administratorzy parafii Głusk*, <https://glusk.diecezja.lublin.pl/starastrona/parish-priestowie.htm> [access: 10.10.2020]; *Archidiecezja Lubelska. Kapłani zmarli 1980–1989*. <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-1> [access: 10.02.2019].

¹⁴⁹ Waclaw Banach (1905–1970), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 14.08.1905, ordained 1931, founder and parish priest of the Saint Theresa of Child Jesus in Lublin (1937–1948), parish church of Saint Agnes (1948–1970), vice dean of the Lublin deanery (1941–1969), a can. of the Zamość Chapter Collegiate, died 23.09.1984; *Diecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 415; G. Bzdyrak, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–102.

¹⁵⁰ Ignacy Budny (1899–1977), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 17.05.1899, ordained 1928, from 1931 he was a prefect of schools in Lublin, a can. of the Lublin Chapter Collegiate, died 16.11.1977; *Spis 1939*, p. 32; *Archidiecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 413.

¹⁵¹ Antoni Mańka (1910–1984), a Salesian, born 30.06.1910, ordained in 1938, a director of the Salesian Institute in Lublin (1942–1952); W. Żurek, *Salezjanie na lubelskiej Kalinie. Kronika 1927–1951*, www.academia.edu/40430583/Salezjanie_na_lubelskiej_Kaline_Kronika_1927-1951 [access: 02.02.2020]; *Nekrolog Salezjanów Polskich*, <https://absta.pl/nekrolog-salezjanw-polskich.html> [access: 02.02.2020].

¹⁵² Piotr Matyjaszczyk (1904–1956), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 07.07.1904, ordained 1928, doctorate in theology, from 1932 a prefect of high schools in Lublin, from 1938 a diocesan moderator of the Marian sodality of male and female schools, the WSD prefect, a judge in the Bishop’s Court, a prisoner in the Lublin Castle during the German occupation, died 02.02.1956; *Spis 1939*, p. 32; *Spis 1966*, p. 213.

(Lublin), Fr. Dean Aleksander Miszczuk (Nałęczów), Fr. Dean Marian Peryt¹⁵³ (Mełgiew), Fr. Dean Marian Staniszewski (Chełm Lubelski), Fr. Dean Franciszek Trochonowicz¹⁵⁴ (Kraśnik), Prof. Kalikst Morawski (KUL), Fr. Prefect Czesław Wiśliński¹⁵⁵ (Lublin), parish priest Fr. Stefan Wrzolek¹⁵⁶ (Piotrawin), parish priest Fr. Stanisław Zawadzki¹⁵⁷ (Kurów), parish priest Fr. Ignacy Żyszkiewicz¹⁵⁸ (Lublin)¹⁵⁹. The post of the chairman of the KIIDK was very quickly taken over by the honorary canon of the Zamość Collegiate Chapter, Fr. Andrzej Chlastawa¹⁶⁰,

¹⁵³ Marian Peryt (1907–1966), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 25.03.1907, ordained 1929, then he studied in Freiburg, the KUL graduate (1933), from 1933 a notary public of the Bishop's Court, a vicar of Saint John's parish church in Lublin, arrested in 1939, imprisoned in the Lublin Castle, then in concentration camps in Oranienburg and Dachau (1940–1945), an admin of the parish in Mełgiew (1946–1955), from August 1955 – in Chełm Lubelski, a dean of the Chełm deanery, in 1954 chosen as the PRN alderman in Świdnik, Golden Cross of Merit (1954), from 1961 he cooperated with the "Caritas" Association, died 30.12.1966. AAL, Kuria Biskupia, ref. Rep. 60 II b P.78, personal files of Marian Peryt. APL KW PZPR, 1174, c. 12. Characterisation of Fr. Marian Peryt, a parish priest in Mełgiew.

¹⁵⁴ Franciszek Trochonowicz (1906–1969), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 23.11.1906, ordained 1932, studied in Lovanium, a vicar of Zamość, a prisoned of camps in Sachsenhausen and Dachau, director of the diocesan "Caritas" (1945–1950), parish priest and dean in Kraśnik (1950–1955) (from where he was removed by the communist authorities) and Janów Lubelski (1955–1969), a canon of the Zamość Chapter Collegiate, died 19.03.1969. *Spis 1939*, p. 220; *Diecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 410; P. Tylec, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–196.

¹⁵⁵ Czesław Wiśliński (1911–1988), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained 1940, a catechist of high school in Zamość (1946–1949) and then in Lublin, died 10.07.1988; J. Marczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 128. *Archidiecezja Lubelska. Kapłani zmarli 1980–1989*. <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-1> [access: 12.02.2020].

¹⁵⁶ Stefan Wrzolek (1905–1987), a priest of the Archdiocese of Lvov and then Lublin, born 20.07.1905, ordained in 1931, a parish priest in Tartaków, Piotrawin (1944–1958), Mełgiew (1958–1962) and of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Tomaszów Lubelski (1962–1987), a prelate, dean of Tomaszów, Golden Cross of Merit (1937), died 20.06.1987. *Spis 1955*, p. 127; *Spis 1966*, pp. 32–34, 65, 182; *Archidiecezja Lubelska. Kapłani zmarli 1980–1989*. <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-1> [access: 12.02.2020].

¹⁵⁷ Stanisław Zawadzki (1907–1969), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 17.03.1907, ordained 1936, a vicar in Końskowola, parish priest in Kurów (1948–1969), a canon of the Zamość Chapter Collegiate, died 03.03.1969; *Spis 1939*, p. 173; *Archidiecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 410.

¹⁵⁸ Ignacy Żyszkiewicz (1901–1979), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 12.08.1901, ordained 1927, a founder and builder of the parish church of the Most Holy Hear of Jesus in Dziesiąta in Lublin (1933–1977), an organiser of help to prisoners of Majdanek, a chaplain of PCK, of a chairman of the Association of Priests of the Lublin Diocese "Unitas" (1948–1959), died 27.08.1979; *Spis 1939*, p. 42; *Spis 1985*, p. 413; H. Danczowska, *Fr. I. Żyszkiewicz*, 2005, <https://gokurzedow.pl/u/gzu05/39.htm> [access: 02.02.2020].

¹⁵⁹ APL KW PZPR, 1183, c. 116.

¹⁶⁰ Andrzej Chlastawa (1900–1969), a priest of the Lublin diocese, ordained in 1925, personal secretary to Bishop Leon Fulman, a diocesan visitor of religious education, prefect of secondary school and a high school of Hetman Zamoyski, a parish priest in Garbów, a prisoner at the Lublin Castle (1939–1940), a recrot of the post-Visitation church in Lublin, a treasurer of the Episcopal Curia, a canon of the Zamość Chapter Collegiate, Silver Cross of Merit (1954), recruited by the UB for

who held this position until 1953. He was in charge of the Department for School Curia and was an editor of “Lublin Diocesan News” (“Wiadomości Diecezjalne Lubelskie”). He was succeeded on this post by Fr. Dean Marian Peryt who supported the activities of the KDiŚDK in Lublin until the end of its functioning. In July 1949, at the time when the revelation of the Mother of God at the Lublin Cathedral took place, he announced during his sermon, and at the request of the security authorities, that “there was no miracle, and asked the people not to make an unnecessary crowd”¹⁶¹. Kosiniak was replaced at the office of the KI secretary by¹⁶² a member of the PAX Association, in 1954, awarded with the Silver Cross of Merit. In 1955, this office was taken over by Czesław Rajca, a history student at KUL in 1951–1955, and from the 1960s – a researcher at the State Museum in Majdanek and its vice director¹⁶³.

An important role was played there by a group of scholars, including professors from the KUL. Fr. Mieczysław Żywczyński was a renowned historian of the 18th- and 19th-century Church. Pro-governmental attitude of Prof. Żywczyński resulted in his dismissal from the office of the Deputy Dean of Theological Faculty at the KUL and his removal from lecturing at the WSD in Lublin. He was a participant of a large convention of religious and lay clergymen in Wrocław on 12 December 1951 formally organised by the KLiDK and KK ZBoWiD, which was in fact carefully prepared and orchestrated by the MBP. He organised the University Committee of the Defenders of Peace (*Uczelniany Komitet Obrońców Pokoju*, UK KOP) at the KUL. Among the members of the KI there were also Fr. Prof. Józef Keller, researcher of the Catholic Church history and its socio-political doctrine, from 1946, he was associated with the KUL and Warsaw University. At that time, the member of the Commission was also the then Rector of the KUL, Fr. Prof. Stanisław Iwanicki and a historian, Prof. Andrzej Wojtkowski, who was then a member of the Polish People’s Republic’s Sejm in its first term and a chairman of the UK KOP at the KUL, as well as Prof. Kalikst Morawski, a Romanist and historian of literature, who held an office of the Dean of the Arts Faculty at the KUL in 1949–1952. Another representative of Lublin’s academic circles was Prof. Leon Halban, a precursor of research in the field of public church law and, after the Second World War, a Dean of the Faculty of Law and Socio-Economic Studies

collaboration as an informant “A” (1947–1948), died 22.01.1969. E. Kosobudzka, *Rozpracowanie Kurii Biskupiej przez aparat bezpieczeństwa w l. 1946–1974*, “Annales UMCS. Sectio F” 2012, vol. 67, no. 1, pp. 107–108.

¹⁶¹ APL, KW PZPR, 1218, c. 261. Characterisation of Fr. Marian Peret.

¹⁶² Adam Śniezek, born 1932, the KUL graduate, during his studies an active member of the Socially Progressive Students Club, an activist at the PAX Association, a member of the MRN Lublin. APL, KW PZPR, 1174, c.13, characterisation of Adam Śniezek.

¹⁶³ APL, KW PZPR, 1271, c. 57 ff., *ibidem*, 1174, c. 20–25; Czesław Rajca, https://werset.pl/36_czeslaw-rajca [access: 20.02.2020].

at the KUL, in 1949 employed by the University of Maria Curie-Skłodowska (UMCS). The employee of both universities, Prof. Aleksander Kunicki, was a lawyer-civilist who, according to the party authorities' assessment, was "not very active" and, in addition, gave lectures in "bourgeois spirit"¹⁶⁴. Gabriel Brzęk, a zoologist, was also a professor at the UMCS. The group of Catholic activists also included Joachim Juhnke, PhD, a well-known paediatrician and social activist, an employee of the Medical Academy in Lublin, and Konrad Bielski, an attorney and a poet¹⁶⁵.

The KIiDK did not have clearly defined membership regulations and admitted people to its ranks on discretionary basis. It did not have its own budget, administrative personnel, and it did not motivate its members financially, in contrast to the OKK at the ZBoWiD. While the KUL was initially treated as a potential base for the KI, Lucjan Leszczyński – the head of the ROM KW PZPR – recognised the functioning of the KUL as an actually great obstacle "hindering work among the clergy, which other provinces did not have". In the party's opinion "the KUL professors do not partake in social works of the Commission of Priests"¹⁶⁶. The employees of the Episcopal Curia were nevertheless involved in the activities of this structure.

The KI gave a great impetus to the National Congress of the Catholic Intellectuals, which took place at the KUL on 16 and 17 May 1951, and gathered over 500 people, including 250 priests. The role of priests in the new political reality was being discussed. There was one final conclusion – a priest must be politically involved in favour of the new authorities. Two years later, on 20 February 1953, another convention of the religious and secular Catholic activists took place at the KUL, which was chaired by Fr. Dean Jan Czuja, the chairman of the Main Commission of the KIiDK. It was preceded by 12-week preparation period, throughout which the representatives of the state authorities visited 22 dean priests and made a few hundred interviews with the clergymen. The aim was to support the so-called February decree of 1953 and propagating the theory that "the condition for a correct functioning between the Government and the Episcopate is an active engagement of priests and lay Catholics in Apostolic activity at the National Front". Members of the Social-Progressive Club of the KUL students were greatly involved in the preparations. According to the plans, the meeting was to be attended by around 500 people, including 100 priests¹⁶⁷. The magnet for participating in the convention was the speech given by Fr. Stanisław Kluz, associated after the Second World War with the conspiratorial organisation

¹⁶⁴ APL, KW PZPR, 1271, c. 51, 64, 57, 98.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 1183, c. 12.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, 1257, c. 80–81.

¹⁶⁷ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 42–43. As noted by the authorities "the exact number of priests was not possible to determine since many priests refused to sign the attendance list".

Freedom and Independence (*Wolność i Niezawisłość*, WiN). Towards the end, the resolution was adopted supporting the works of the KLiDK at the PKOP. As written by Bishop Zygmunt Choromański, the assessment of the decree from 9 February 1953 “contained in the Resolution is inconsistent with the canonical law and the Catholic Church structure”¹⁶⁸. According to the organisers, the convention’s result was the ideological activation of the clergymen in the Lublin and Siedlce dioceses as part of the FN and the development of the “progressive priests’ movement, for which the Provincial Commission of Intellectuals and Lay Activists at the Committee of the Defenders of Freedom is used”¹⁶⁹.

After a favourable assessment of the experiences of introducing the duty to swear an oath of loyalty to the People’s Poland, the party in power extended the area of gathering of the so-called progressive clergymen, pursuant to the decree from 9 February 1953. On 2 July 1953, a convention of 65 priests (32 from the OKK, 7 priests-intellectuals, and 28 without association) and 35 lay Catholic activists took place in the WRN hall in Lublin. The provincial party authorities obliged the active members of the FN and Defenders of Peace to have exploratory talks with priests and lay Catholic activists. The Secretaries of the KP PZPR were obliged to provide means of transport, one car per each district was prepared for the activists who were meant to reach the clergymen. Seven hundred invitations for the convention were sent, among them invitations to nuns, but none of them arrived. The clergymen who initially declared their participation did not show up either¹⁷⁰. In the PZPR’s opinion, the attendance at the conference was reduced by the Curia’s activities (spiritual retreats for priests), a famous indulgence granted in Krasnobród attended by 60 clergymen, and “a spread gossip that the above-mentioned convention would merge the two organisations”. The minimal participation of the Catholic intellectuals from Lublin was considered the greatest weakness¹⁷¹. The organisational committee included Fr. Stefan Kosmulski from the OKK, Fr. Henryk Kwieciński representing the KI, and MSc Czajkowski who was the representative of the lay Catholics. The meeting was chaired by

¹⁶⁸ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 40–41; AAL Dz. III–138, c. 6.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 43. The presidium of the convention included: Fr. Dean Jan Czuj, Rector Fr. Prof. Stanisław Iwanicki, Fr. Henryk Kwieciński as the official representative of the Curia, Fr. Prof. Józef Keller, Fr. Prof. Mieczysław Żywczyński, Fr. Stefan Kosmulski as the OKK representative, Ryszard Reiff, Fr. Lt. Col. M. Puacz representing “Caritas”, professors: Leon Halban and Gabriel Brzęk from the UMCS, as the WKOP representative, Fr. Parish priest Tutlia [probably Ludmir Tutlis, parish priest of the parish church in Górecko – J.W.], Fr. Parish priest Józef Mazurek and Adam Śnieżek, the KUL students’ chairman.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 1259, c. 19.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 109–110. Report on the provincial convention of the clergymen and lay Catholic activists on 2.07.1953 in Lublin.

Fr. Władysław Krawczyk¹⁷² from Hrubieszów¹⁷³. Throughout the proceedings, the OKK representative, Fr. Antoni Lamparski, developed the topic on “Catholics and priests in the fight for peace”, while Fr. Prefect Jerzy Ochalski¹⁷⁴ from Tarnogóra presented the topic on “compatibility of the socio-progressive movement with the spirit of the Catholic tradition”¹⁷⁵.

An important turning point for the so-called socially progressive priests was the arrest of Primate Stefan Wyszyński in 1953 and the pacification of the Polish Episcopate by the communist authorities¹⁷⁶. It was agreed that conditions for consolidating the movement of patriot priests were created. Another conference of the Catholic active members of the FN took place on 29 September 1953 in Lublin. It was attended by 200 people, including 13 priests. The intelligentsia was predominant among the participants, although the authorities also delegated several workers and peasants to the meeting. The presented lecture indicated the so-called aggressive politics of the USA, revisionist tendencies in the Federal Republic of Germany, and “hostile politics of Vatican towards Poland, which was once again confirmed by the process of the anti-state and anti-people centre led by Bishop Kaczmarek”. A statement was expressed that the society enthusiastically accepted the Episcopate’s declaration after the removal of Primate Wyszyński, which would allow for the full implementation of the agreement between the Government and the Episcopate. One of the speakers, a physician, Dr Joachim Juhnke claimed that today the members of the Episcopate “followed the neo-Hitlerism”. Adam Śniezek, as the representative of the KUL students, declared that young people separate themselves “from elements hostile towards the People’s Poland, which reek of capitalist mentality”. The resolution adopted by acclamation at the end of the meeting thoroughly expressed solidarity with the previous actions of the government towards the Church¹⁷⁷.

Aggressive propagandist activity of the KLiDK aggravated the Episcopate’s and diocesan Curia’s negative attitude towards their members’ activities, conventions

¹⁷² Władysław Krawczyk (1904–1973), a priest of the Lublin diocese, born 27.02.1904, ordained 1930, a vicar of Saint Michael Parish Church in Lublin (1934), Opole Lubelskie, from 1947 a school prefect in Hrubieszów and then a rector of St. Kostka Church in Hrubieszów (1947–1967), died 06.01.1973. *Spis 1955*, pp. 39, 88; *Spis 1966*, p. 117; *Archidiecezja Lubelska informator 1985*, p. 412.

¹⁷³ APL, KW PZPR, 1233, c. 111–112.

¹⁷⁴ Marian Jerzy Ochalski (1917–2008), born 17.12.1917, a priest of the Lublin diocese, Master’s degree in theology, school prefect in Tarnogóra, canon of the Chapter of the Lublin Cathedral, died 26.12.2008; *Archidiecezja Lubelska. Kapłani zmarli w latach 2000–2009*, <https://archidiecezjalubelska.pl/kaplani-zmarli-1980-2019-3> [access: 11.02.2020].

¹⁷⁵ APL, KW PZPR, 1233, c. 98. Letter to the 1st secretaries of the KP PZPR from 28.06.1953 (*ibidem*, 1265, c. 109, 116). Report on the provincial convention of clergymen and lay Catholic activists on 02.07.1953 in Lublin.

¹⁷⁶ J. Żaryn, *Aresztowanie Prymasa Polski, okoliczności, przebieg, konsekwencje*, “Studia Prymasowskie” 2007, no. 1, p. 47–69.

¹⁷⁷ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 137–141.

organised by the Commission and resolutions adopted there. However, the Lublin structure of the Commission was not of a mass nature and it did not have great skills for mobilisation. As very small, it remained in the shadow of the activities of the so-called patriot priests from the OKK at the ZBoWiD.

COMMISSION OF THE CLERGYMEN AND LAY CATHOLIC ACTIVISTS AT THE POLISH NATIONWIDE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL FRONT (1953–1956)

After the arrest of Primate Wyszyński, the PZPR's agenda was to address the creation of a platform which would unite the two Commissions running in the circles of the so-called progressive clergymen. The KC PZPR Secretary, Fr. Mazur, responsible in the party for the policy towards the Church, agreed on 29 September 1953 to unite the KK at the ZBoWiD with the KI at the PKOP. In the telegram to the 1st Secretary of the KW PZPR in Lublin from 17 October 1953, Mazur informed that on 12 October a Commission of Clergymen and Lay Catholic Activists at the OK FN was established. The party's activist recommended to create a similar Commission at the WK FN, consisting of personnel agreed upon with the party's authorities. Organisational schedule was presented for these activities, and special provincial conventions of priests and Catholic activists were to take place from 20 October¹⁷⁸. This meant taking the control over some of the OKK circles functioning at the ZBoWiD by the circles of B. Piasecki¹⁷⁹. The unification of both organisations was taking place all over Poland in the atmosphere of a great propaganda campaign. Several hundreds of clergymen took part in the process of creating it, declaring on every occasion that they were loyal to the matters of peace, socialism, asserting their eternal friendship with the Soviet Union. Fr. Prof. Jan Czuj became the head of the Polish nationwide KDiŚDK. The KUL Rector, Fr. Prof. Stanisław Iwanicki, was a member of the presidium at the OK FN, while Fr. M. Michalski was also a member of central authorities. The new organisation still included the GKK at the ZBoWiD and its district structures. This meant the future official functioning of the so-called patriot priests, except that the administrative functions in the Commission – both

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 1233, c. 212–213. Telegraph to the 1st secretary of the KW PZPR in Lublin 17.10.1953. As indicated in the party's directive "These conventions should also be broadly attended, apart from priests gathered by the ZBoWiD and Intellectuals, by priests who are not organised, but who have showed their positive attitude at both the making of oath and the recent activities. It should be aimed at making the majority of priests from your province to participate in these conventions. A particular attention should be paid to not sending the invitations to priests who can cause confusion or organise hostile speeches".

¹⁷⁹ B. Noszczak, *Polityka państwa wobec Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w okresie internowania prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego 1953–1956*, Warszawa 2009, p. 396 ff.

in the central and provincial authorities – were kept by the priests previously associated with the KIiDK. The unique, dualist structure was preserved until the final liquidation of the GKK and OKK at the ZBoWiD in July 1955.

As already mentioned, it was a post-war norm to implement religious policies in Poland by the UB, together with the party and administrative structures. As admitted by A. Borkowski, the head of the Department for Religious Affairs PWRN in Lublin, “this work has often had a lot of administrative pressure used”¹⁸⁰. Creating another structure grouping together the so-called patriot priests required increased organisational activities. It was important that after the arrest of the Primate, many clergymen ceased to be afraid of disciplinary sanctions applied by the Episcopal Curia. Lublin, where the KUL functioned, attracted special attention of the central authorities. It was not a coincidence that the university building was chosen to be a place for the convention when the merging took place. With all the meticulous control from the PZPR, the organised meetings and their propagandist nature, the real measure of success for the communists was the high attendance at the proceedings. The authorities wanted to do everything to have the highest number of priests attending the meeting which constituted the new structure. On 17 October 1953, the so-called *Trójka* (Three) at the KW PZPR in Lublin, analysed the candidates for the KDiŚDK. The head of the ROMiW KW presented clergymen and lay people who were put forward by the central authorities to become members of the new organisation and the proposal to have them take over specific functions (see table 7). Out of 13 clergymen and lay people, only Fr. Dean Aleksander Miszczuk – as a “two-faced man” – was not accepted¹⁸¹.

The so-called provincial merging convention was planned for 28 October 1953 in Lublin. In order to secure the attendance, the representatives of religious affairs in districts and 30 active members of the WK FN held talks with the selected priests on the topic of participating in this propaganda event. The OKK representatives from Warsaw had meeting at the Bishop Curia and they reached all the dean-priests. The party’s activists from the KC and KW PZPR and PWRN were directed to participate in preparatory activities. Deans from Łuków, Hrubieszów, Chełm, Biała Podlaska – who did not accept the invitation for the meeting – had a negative attitude towards the planned convention. In the face of intense psychological and administrative pressure, the vast majority of the clergymen declared their participation in the meeting, not always fulfilling the obligation, “some nuns refused the invitations, returning them with a note that participating in public meeting is not consistent with the regulations of religious life and their Catholic conscience”. All those interested in participating were provided with means

¹⁸⁰ APL, KW PZPR, 1183, c. 165. Evaluation of the progressive Catholic movement from the moment of liberation in the districts. Sources of the WK FN 1954–1955.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*, 1233, c. 1. Protocol from the meeting of the Three, 17.10.1953

of transport, paying particular attention to towns with poor communication network¹⁸². The undertaken organisational measures resulted in increased attendance. The conference was attended by 400 people, including 220 priests¹⁸³. The highest number of clergymen arrived from the districts of: Puławy, Zamość, and Tomaszów, while the lowest – from the districts of: Radzyń, Łuków, and Biała Podlaska, which belonged to the diocese of Siedlce and the district of Hrubieszów. The proceedings were chaired by a curialist, Fr. Andrzej Chlastawa. A paper was given by KUL professor, Kalikst Morawski. In-line with the party's propaganda, the following issues at the congress were positively assessed: references to the September 1953 Declaration of the Episcopate allegedly beneficial for the Church, the problem of the struggle for peace and the question of tasks facing the priest involved in the government's policy. However, in the PZPR's opinion, "the shortcoming of the conference was not raising the issue of the Kaczmarek trial and the photo of Wyszynski in the discussion". Among the speakers distinguished by the party was Fr. Mieczysław Michalski, "who drew attention to a priest's role in making people aware of realising obligations towards the State and fight against poverty"¹⁸⁴.

The management of the new structure was dominated by the employees of the Bishop's Curia in Lublin. The above-mentioned Fr. Andrzej Chlastawa was the head of the established KDiŚDK¹⁸⁵. At the moment of its founding, the KDiŚDK in Lublin had 16 people¹⁸⁶.

One of the first postulates of the Commission, formally addressed to the chairperson of the PWRN in Lublin, was the consent to reinstate Fr. Dr Wojciech Olech, PhD in the post of the chancellor of the Episcopal Curia, who was removed in 1953 as a result of categorical demands from the state authorities¹⁸⁷. After this decision, the former chancellor was formally involved in the works of the OKK and KLiDK GKK. Demands were also expressed to allow the teaching of religion

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 174–175. Information from the DiŚDK conference proceedings on 28.10.1953 (*ibidem*, 1233, c. 215–217). Reports from the conversations held with priests regarding the priests' convention on 28.10.1953.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 174–175. Among the Catholic activists there were 20 professors and assistants from the KUL, 90 students of this university and 70 other activists. A group of monks had 6 people, while a group of around 20 nuns arrived at the KUL building and "after communicating with each other they left and did not participate in the conference".

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, c. 174–175. Information of the KW PZPR from the DiŚDK conference proceedings on 28.10.1953.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 1257, c. 80–81. Protocol from the meeting of the Provincial Team at the KW PZPR in Lublin on 20.10.1955.

¹⁸⁶ B. Noszczak, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

¹⁸⁷ More broadly see: J. Wrona, *Ks. Wojciech Olech, kanclerz kurii biskupiej w Lublinie...*, pp. 179–212. Support was granted to him by priests and lay members of the KI in Lublin. According to the UB, support was denied by clergymen working in the OKK.

Table 7. Members of the KDiŚDK in Lublin suggested by the central authorities of the PZPR and accepted by the party's province authorities in October 1953

No.	Name and Surname	Suggested function
1.	Fr. Andrzej Chlastawa	Chairperson
2	Lech Kosieniak /Adam Śnieżek	Secretary
3	Fr. Henryk Kwieciński	Member
4	Fr. Piotr Mazurek	Member
5	Fr. Władysław Krawczyk	Member
6	Fr. Stefan Kosmulski	Member
7	Fr. Mieczysław Michalski	Member
8	Fr. Antoni Lamparski	Member
9	Fr. Jan Mazur	Member
10	Prof. Leon Halban (UMCS)	Member
11	Prof. Kalikst Morawski (KUL)	Member
12	Gabriel Chromiak	Member

Source: APL, KW PZPR, 1233, c. 1. Minutes from the *Trójka* (Three) meeting 17.10.1953.

by priests-catechists, who were deprived of this right, it was postulated against taking over the house of the Daughters of Charity at Unicka Street in Lublin. What is more, the need for premises for the Commission's activity was also postulated¹⁸⁸.

Taking into consideration the building of prestige of the organisation they created among the religious and lay circles, the party's authorities decided to turn to the KC PZPR for the partial response to some of the requests. A decision was also made on providing the Commission with a room for its office in the PWRN building. The KW PZPR in Lublin soon concluded that the Commission's management is inadequate, and its work should be "set up" anew. There was concern that, for example, there was a threat of taking control over the Commission by Bishop Ordinary Fr. Piotr Kałwa, and thus it was decided after one year to change the chairman of the KDiŚDK. Fr. Andrzej Chlastawa was strongly urged by the Curia to resign¹⁸⁹. As was mentioned, he was replaced by Fr. Marian Peryt. The new structure was based mainly on the OKK patriot priests. Only 4 clergymen from the KI were included: Fr. Andrzej Chlastawa, Fr. Mieczysław Żywczyński, Fr. Henryk Kwieciński, and Fr. Marian Peryt. In 1954–1955, an additional supervision over the works of the OKK and KDiŚDK was given to Stanisław Zgrzyw, the then head of the WK FN office in Lublin¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁸ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 186–188. Letter of the KDiŚDK at the WK FN in Lublin to the PWRN chairman, 29.10.1953. *ibidem*, 1233, c. 4. Protocol of the *Trójka* meeting from 02.11.1953.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 203. The KW PZPR report for November 1953, *ibidem*, 1257, c. 88. Analysis of the progressive Catholic movement from the Lublin province areas 06.10.1955.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 1257, c. 42–48.

The first plenary meeting of the KDiŚDK took place on 25 November 1953 in Lublin, and it was attended by 22 people, including 16 priests (8 from the previous OKK, 5 from the Intellectuals, and 3 without association). Overall, there were 48 people invited to the meeting, including 35 clergymen. The KUL's attitude to this Commission was indifferent, as was assessed by the KW PZPR, apart from the fact of "providing the Commission a room for the meetings"¹⁹¹. Fr. Dean Stanisław Niedźwiński¹⁹² took part in the meeting, "paying particular attention to correct assumptions of the socially progressive Catholic movement". He was released from prison with the full support of the OKK in Lublin¹⁹³. In this new situation, he triggered distrust of Bishop Ordinary Piotr Kałwa, "motivated by the fact that Niedźwiński could have agreed to inform the security authorities about the works in the Curia"¹⁹⁴. A radical change of the political tone of Fr. Stanisław Niedźwiński's statements, after he was released, was revealed in the content of his sermons. This caused an opposition of the faithful and his then vicar Fr. Marian Dwornicki from the Ascension of the Lord Parish Church in Kraśnik, who was to state that whatever the security services suggest "the priest will talk about it from the pulpit"¹⁹⁵. This voice of disapproval was not the only one¹⁹⁶.

Provincial conventions of the so-called progressive clergymen were taking place regularly in Lublin, most often once a month apart from the Church celebrations or celebrations in the Church calendar (Advent, Christmas, and

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*, c. 88. Analysis of the progressive Catholic movement in the Lublin province areas 06.10.1955.

¹⁹² Stanisław Niedźwiński (1904–1970), a priest in the Lublin diocese, born 06.05.1904, ordained in 1930, graduate of philosophical studies in Austria, from 1938 a vicar of the Sending of Apostles Parish Church in Chełm, then its parish priest (1945–1946) and dean of Chełm, a prisoner at the Lublin Castle (1939–1940), parish priest in Tomaszów Lubelski (1946–1950), arrested by the UB 1 on 07.02.1950 under a false accusation of cooperating with the occupant, released on 25.05.1953, while serving his sentence, he was recruited by the UB to collaborate as an informant, pseudonym "Miś". A parish priest of the parish church in Janów Lubelski (1953–1955), Kraśnik (1955–70), a dean in Kraśnik (1955–1970), Silver Medal of Merit (1954), died 05.04.1970; APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 234, Characterisation of Fr. Stanisław Niedźwiński from 11.12.1953; *Spis 1939*, p. 73; *Diecezja lubelska informator 1985*, p. 411; W. Jacewicz, J. Woś, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

^E Kosobudzka, *Rozpracowanie Kurii Biskupiej...*, pp. 107–108.

¹⁹³ APL, KW PZPR, 1175, c. 76. Its chairman, Fr. A. Nowak, and Fr. Major M. Puacz were appointed to personally hand in to the president of the Provincial Court in Lublin a relevant document on this matter regarding the appeal trial, which was to take place on 20.05.1953. Protocol from the OKK meeting 06.05.1953.

¹⁹⁴ AIPN Lu, 013/194, vol. 1, part 2. Report of Fr. Stanisław Krynicki (informant "Bągiński") 29.05.1953.

¹⁹⁵ APL, KW PZPR, 1162, c. 55. Information from the Department of Religious Affairs from Puławy and Kraśnik, and the work with clergy.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, 1162, c. 55. Fr. Władysław Kieszek, an admin of the parish church in Annopol "he reproaches Fr. Niedźwiński's activities that he has sold himself completely to the communist regime".

Easter). They usually had a similar pattern: introduction, report on implementation of the work's plan made at the previous meeting, presentation and discussion on the instructions from the presidium of the National Commission, suggesting and discussing free applications. In November 1953, the party's and religious authorities planned a cycle of 20 meetings, the so-called small gatherings with clergymen, which were meant to acquaint them with the KDiŚDK tasks, allow for selecting "the local priests' assets" and "neutralise" the so-called hostile priests. Ultimately, due to the clergy's reluctance it was possible to have only 7 such meeting with 27 priests. Similar attempt was made next year¹⁹⁷. One year later, on 30 November 1954, a convention of the Commission took place which for the first time was rather collectively attended by "father prefects who arrived in fear of losing the right to teach religion at schools, as well as those whose position is unstable, and they see the previous measures of the authorities, i.e. removal from the office, etc."¹⁹⁸. As in previous years, patriot priests involved in the Commission's structures were obliged by the party's authorities to send appeals in December 1955 regarding the implementation of economic tasks of countryside and mandatory deliveries of grain for the state. Sometimes it caused inadvertent consequences. At the extended plenary session of the KDiŚDK, on 30 April 1954, Fr. Stanisław Wolanin, stated that he had lost this authority among farmers since he called on the peasants to fulfil the obligatory supplies of agricultural products for the state, which meant that they ran out of grain for the spring¹⁹⁹.

While continuing the consolidation of the movement of the so-called progressive clergymen and Catholics, the PZPR decided to abolish the existing organizational dualism. The KK at the ZG ZBoWiD ceased to function on 12 July 1955. The closure also concerned the OKK at the ZBoWiD in the area. Its members still remained in the organisation and used the benefits they had on this account²⁰⁰. Officially, the provincial authorities referred to the entire operation as merging convention. All over the country, the so-called merging conferences were taking place from 14 to 22 July 1955. The KC PZPR set a limit for the Lublin province of at least 30 clergymen who had to take part in this meeting²⁰¹. As motivated among the PZPR activists responsible for the movement of the collaborating clergymen, the consolidation was to be an answer to the Decree of the Holy Office from 28 June 1955 on condemning and banning the book by Piasecki *Important Matters. Articles from 1945–1954 (Zagadnienia istotne. Artykuły z lat 1945–1954)* and endorsed by the PAX Association from "Today and Tomorrow" ("Dziś i Jutro") weekly. The book

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 30–302.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 1129, c. 121.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 1257, c. 123. Protocol of the Provincial Team meeting, 05.12.1955.

²⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, 1183, c. 15. Protocol of the KDiŚDK meeting, 19.07.1955.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*, 1257, c. 124, 141. Protocol of the Team meeting, 11.07.1955; Protocol from the session of the heads of the Departments in the Office for Religious Affairs in Warsaw, no date.

was put on the index of prohibited books by the Church Magisterium²⁰². The merging convention took place on 19 July in Lublin and it was attended by 47 priests and 14 lay people. Fr. Dean Marian Peryt became the head of the KDiŚDK at the WK FN in Lublin, and the already mentioned C. Rajca became its secretary²⁰³. For the previous OKK, a 3-member Closing Commission was elected²⁰⁴. The PAX active members were invited for the KDiŚDK meetings: Professors Kalikst Morawski and Andrzej Wojtkowski (KUL), and Leon Halban (UMCS).

In the reorganised Commission's structure, the most active priests were the following: Antoni Lamparski, Witold Banczer and Mieczysław Michalski. According to the PZPR, in the autumn of 1955, the KDiŚDK in Lublin had around 100 priests and sympathisers, and this group included the clergymen who – in the opinion of active members – spoke in a hostile way about the communist system in Poland in the first years after the war. These were Fr. Bronisław Gromek from the Wilczyńska parish in the Łuków district, Fr. Paweł Zubka from Witulin, the Biała Podlaska district, Fr. Canon Franciszek Trochonowicz²⁰⁵. However, despite the agitation, consistently negative stand towards the so-called socially progressive works was expressed by Fr. Czesław Dmochowski, a parish priest from Godziszowo, who thought that “priests should by no means interfere in political matters. [...] While discussing, he did not want to be persuaded [...] since, as he said, ‘we could not agree anyway’”²⁰⁶. The KDiŚDK assessed that its highest number of co-workers and sympathisers was in the districts of: Biała Podlaska, Kraśnik, Lubartów, Puławy, Włodawa, and Zamość, while it was the most difficult to reach the clergymen from the districts of: Biłgoraj, Łuków, Opole, Parczew, and Radzyń²⁰⁷. There were 10 clergymen from the Lublin area that participated in the Commission's works, which meant the breaking down the isolation that previously accompanied the OKK activities in the city²⁰⁸.

One of the greatest propaganda events towards the end of the functioning of the so-called patriot priests' movement took place on 15 November 1955. It was the so-called Convention of the 10th anniversary of the Catholic movement.

²⁰² B. Noszczak, *op. cit.*, pp. 430–431.

²⁰³ APL, KW PZPR, 1174, c. 120–123. Information on the proceedings of the joint convention of the OKK and KDiŚDK of the Lublin province on 19.07.1955; *ibidem*, 1162, c. 20. Protocol no. 1/56 from the session of the Provincial Team at the KW PZPR in Lublin (no date); *ibidem*, 1183, c. 12. Protocol from the meeting in Lublin, 19.07.1955, *ibidem*, 1175, The OKK sources. To the Priests Commission at the ZBoWiD. Pastoral Warning (no date).

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, 1257, c. 124. Protocol from the Team's session, 11.07.1955.

²⁰⁵ APL, KW PZPR, 1257, c. 90. Analysis of the progressive Catholic-social movement in the Lublin province, 06.10.1955.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, 1183, c. 91. Information from the meeting in Janów Lubelski or at Fr. Niedźwiński's place.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, 1183, c. 127–130. Report from the Commission's activities in 1954.

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, c. 12. Information of the clergy's activities in the Lublin area in 1954 from 07.03.1955.

The organising committee appointed on 5 November consisted of the employees of the provincial apparatus of the party, administration, religion, and of the head of the 6th Department at the Committee for Public Security. Committees of similar structures were appointed in the districts²⁰⁹. In order to receive a declaration of participating in this meeting, the state authorities sent to the clergymen the members of the KDiSDK, activists from the FN – representatives of the intelligentsia, including the employees of the KUL and satellite parties (ZSL, SD), and the state administration officials. Agitation in favour of participating was carried out by 165 FN activists and 23 clergymen. Talks were made with Fr. Bishop Piotr Kałwa and all the dean priests. Each of the province's district was given a minimal limit of priests who had to take part in the convention. Five hundred and forty-six individual meetings were held with the clergymen, some of them were talked to several times, which was an obvious mobbing²¹⁰. For those who agreed, private cars and busses were prepared, which were supposed to provide free transport to Lublin. Out of the total of 603 priests in the Lublin province, 586 invitations were handed out. A few days before the meeting, "rumours circulated among the clergy that the Christian-democratic front was to be created at the convention, that a declaration against Vatican was to be adopted, etc.". The convention was attended by 230 priests, i.e. 39.5% of the total clergy in the province's scale, including the representatives of the Bishop's Curia from Lublin and Siedlce, and 6 deans. The meeting also gathered 120 lay Catholic activists. There were also representatives of Catholics from abroad²¹¹. A day earlier, Bishop Piotr Kałwa left Lublin in order to avoid meeting the state authorities and conversations regarding the participation in the convention of the alumni of the WSD and student-priests from KUL²¹². With the nomination from the Bishop Ordinary, the former chancellor Fr. Wojciech Olech celebrated a mass in the Visitationists Church. A lot of clergymen appeared only at the service,

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 1174, c. 207–211. Evaluation of preparations and proceedings of the convention of the 10th anniversary progressive Catholic movement.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 1148, c. 2, 39, 51. Information from the proceedings of the priests' convention at the 10th anniversary from the Biała Podlaska district. At first, the lay activists from the KUL were sent and then "if someone stated they would not go, once again the activists were sent, even from among the socially progressive priests [...], and finally the vice president of the PRN Presidium and the head of the Department for Religious Affairs, who – for the last time – reached those who refused to go to the Convention after a few talks". Some clergymen, "i.e. Fr. Staniszewski from Stary Zamość told the activists that they came to see him about this matter for the fourth time and it would have been better for them to start working, we are not children, we know this case, and if we decide it is right, we will go". It happened that members' of a priest's family were dragged into agitation.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, 1257, c. 105. Protocol of the session of the Provincial Team at the KW PZPR, 29.11.1955 (*ibidem*, 1239, c. 44–45). Evaluation of the KD and SDK work in the 4th quarter of 1955 from 28.01.1956.

²¹² *Ibidem*, 1128, c. 3. Evacuation of the Episcopal Curia's activity in Lublin, 1955.

but they did not participate in the celebratory academy²¹³. A very small number of priests from Lublin was reported (12 clergymen, members of the OKK, a few prefects, and two monks). Analysing the reason for this, it was assessed that “first of all, [...] the conference was taking place under the slogan of the Progressive Movement, and the name itself puts them off, and second of all – the majority of priests in Lublin is an old-established element, holding the position for several years and negatively responding to everything that is progressive, obediently meeting the directives of the hierarchy”²¹⁴. The party’s authorities signalled a reluctant attitude of the Rector of KUL, Prof Józef Iwanicki, to the convention, who at the meeting of the KK presidium in Warsaw “was one of two priests who were against the organisation of the 10th anniversary convention”²¹⁵. Despite the invitation and conversations held also with the director of the boarding school, Fr. Feliks Gryglewicz, both priests did not take part in the event. Ninety percent of the university professors did likewise. None of the student-priests of the KUL attended²¹⁶. On 24 November, a delegation of 17 clergymen from the Lublin province took part in the central academy in Warsaw, on this very occasion of the 10th anniversary of the so-called socially progressive Catholic movement.

In the last months of the KDiŚDK functioning, the works of the Commission were supposed to be barely effective and only campaign-oriented, it was assessed that it did not meet the tasks and did not implement the plans²¹⁷. The activity was limited to organizing the meetings of the administrative activists with the participation of deputies Konstanty Łubieński and Andrzej Wojtkowski, and to carrying out talks with priests. It also issued two appeals regarding the issue of supporting savings in national economy and fighting alcoholism. Simultaneously, it tried to effectively help the priests since, as was emphasised by the PZPR’s representative “KDiŚDK is increasingly more focused on

²¹³ *Ibidem*, 1174, c. 207–211. Correspondence sent to the KC regarding the life and situation of the Church in the province, 1954–1956 (*ibidem*, 1148, c. 36). Evaluation of the convention’s preparations and proceedings on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the progressive Catholic movement by the Department for Religious Affairs PPRN in Puławy, 15.11.1955. The organisers demanded that Bishop Kałwa holds a mass in the Cathedral and that the Curia’s representative, vicar general Fr. Piotr Stopniak is present. The ordinary refused, he indicated the post-Visitation church and personally appointed Fr. Wojciech Olech as his delegate (*ibidem*, 1162, c. 22–21). Analysis of activity of the Catholic clergy, monasteries, and religious associations in the Lublin province area from the second half of 1955.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 1148, c. 17. Information on the 10th Anniversary Convention of the Progressive Catholic Movement from Lublin, 16.11.1955.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 11743, c. 210.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 1162, c. 22–21. Analysis of activity of the Catholic clergy, monasteries, and religious associations in the Lublin province area from the second half of 1955 (*ibidem*, 1257, c. 106, 110). Protocol of the session of the Provincial Team at the KW PZPR 29.11.1955.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 1162, c. 108–109. Protocol no. 10/56 from the session of the Provincial Team at the KW PZPR from 24.04.1956.

interventions in various matters in the Department of Religious Affairs at the WRN Presidium²¹⁸. The problem of future politics towards the clergymen was discussed at the two-day meeting held in the Office for Religious Affairs in Warsaw on 14–15 May 1956²¹⁹.

One of the final meetings involving the presence of the so-called patriot priests from the Lublin region took place on 9 July 1956. It was attended by 60 clergymen and lay people, including the representatives from the neighbouring provinces of Rzeszów, Kielce, and Białystok. The meeting was dedicated to the local Catholic publications, the paper was given by Jan Frankowski, a member of the PAX Association, a deputy for Sejm of the 1st term. It was emphasised that the purpose of the Catholic press was to “save the ideological foundation of Catholics, young people in particular”²²⁰. The KDiŚDK supported the idea of creating in Lublin a Catholic weekly, which would operate under its patronage. The provincial party authorities opposed this proposal, blocking the initiative in a document from 17 July 1956 to the Office for Religious Affairs in Warsaw. On 25 September 1956, the KDiŚDK held one of its last meetings. It was a plenary session with the presentation of a paper “Catholics in the National Front in the Face of the Recent Transformations”. It was attended by 34 priests and 13 lay activists. Priests criticised the limitations in teaching religion at schools introduced by the authorities, but also said that in the reality of that time a priest had become a citizen of a lower category²²¹.

Political changes in Poland in 1956 caused a gradual withdrawal of priests from the movement of the so-called patriot priests. This was most evident in the case of the leading activist, Fr. Mieczysław Michalski, from Zamość, who already from the end of the 1955, “clearly avoided working for the KDiŚDK”, refused to talk to priests, and “invited the clergymen who give ambiguous sermons”, as written by A. Borkowski, who was leading his Lublin subdivision, to the Office for the Religious Affairs in Warsaw. For this reason, from January 1956, he was

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 1239, c. 44–46, 5, 99–100, 113–115, 125–127. Report and evaluation of work of the KD and SDK in 1955–1956.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 1162, c. 113. Protocol of the session of the Provincial Team at the KW PZPR 17.05.1956. Reporting its results, A. Borkowski stated that “There is no possibility to change politics towards the clergy. The 20th Convention [KPZR – J. W.] did not address the issues concerning religion and clergy, and thus it is necessary to immediately overturn the clergy’s references to the 20th Convention. [...] In regard to the clergy, we act as we did previously”. He appealed that the employees supervising the clergy’s works fulfilled their duties “with dignity” because the management of the KDiŚDK in Warsaw “ordered the gathering of material incriminating the religious apparatus” for its frequently inappropriate attitude towards the clergymen.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*, 1239, c. 131–132. Information on gathering active members of the clergy and lay Catholic activists on 09.07.1956.

²²¹ *Ibidem*, 239, c. 236. Periodic evaluation of the KD and SDK for the 3rd quarter of 1956 from 24.10.1956.

deprived of the so-called “diet”, i.e. the fixed salary which he has been receiving so far²²². Capt. Wojciech Kita, who was supervising the clergy in Lublin on the part of the Provincial Office for Public Security (WUds.BP), a deputy chief of the 5th Department, quite accurately assessed the social and political context of attitudes: “they feel fear in regard to the so-called renewal, and there is a tendency to withdraw from social works and get closer to the Curia”²²³. In February, the Church authorities sent a document to priests from Bishop Zygmunt Choromański, Secretary General of the Conference of the Polish Episcopate, reminding of the Church principles and mode of co-operation with the Departments for Religious Affairs²²⁴. In April 1956, Fr. Piotr Stopniak “advised priests not to take part in sharing egg together, organised on the 26th of April by the priests who were members of the KDiŚDK, saying ‘why go if everything is already falling apart’”²²⁵. In the circles of the involved representatives of the movement it was clear that in favourable political conditions the hierarchical Church would proceed to the assessments and dealing with priests who collaborated with the communists to the detriment of its interests. They have repeatedly heard admonitions regarding this matter sent by the Bishop’s Curia.

Such valuation was personally feared by Fr. Stanisław Krynicki, PhD, (agent “Bagiński”), who, as he himself claims, “enjoyed the favours of the state authorities, received awards, thanks, his activities were assessed in the state press. [...] He fears that due to such moves, it is possible to be compromised [...] as a priest, he will be condemned by the clergy”. Exposure was also feared by an informant “Miś”, Fr. Stanisław Niedźwiński “even more so, since he provided information in writing”²²⁶. In the face of political transformations that were taking place in Poland, the nervousness was also expressed by the leader of movement, Fr. Dean Marian Peryt, whose enthusiasm to work and the so-called socially progressive works were significantly weakened²²⁷.

²²² *Ibidem*, PWRN, Secret information of the Department for Religious Affairs, no ref. A letter of the Head of the Department from 08.01.1956; 1162, c. 1. Protocol of the session of the Provincial Team at the KW PZPR.

²²³ *Ibidem*, KW PZPR, 1162, c. 120. Protocol of the session of the Provincial Team, 17.07.1956.

²²⁴ AIPN Lu 013/194, vol. 1, part 3, c. 27.

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, 013/194, vol. 1, part 3, c. 39. Report of the informant “Bagiński” from 25.04.1956.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, c. 40, 45. Cap. Wojciech Kita, an officer handling the agent, calmed Fr. Krynicki down by “indicating at the same time that just as before his work will be still useful and it will be necessary”.

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, 0017/514, vol. 3, part 1, c. 74–75. While talking to Fr. Krynicki, he stated that in the face of the 20th convention of the KPZR and event in Poznań, there are concerns in Poland regarding their position in the Church “adding that if not now, then in the past we were in the same boat. [...] he takes a position of gradual withdrawal from the previous activity for the socially progressive movement. The situation is similarly accessed by other priests who were active members of the movement [...]”.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE BISHOP'S CURIA TO PRIESTS INVOLVED
IN THE OKK AND KDIŚDK ACTIVITIES

From the very beginning, hierarchical authorities of the Catholic Church were critical of clergymen who cooperated with the communists. On 1 January 1951, the Episcopate ordered the diocesan bishops to give every priest, who was under the jurisdiction of the ordinary, his signed copy of the so-called Pastoral Warning²²⁸. The practice of organising the clergy by the state authorities was strongly opposed by the Episcopate in the memorial “Non possumus”, addressed to the government. Bishops had not illusions about the reasons for establishing the OKK at the ZBoWiD and then the KK²²⁹. For the purpose of monitoring the scale of this phenomenon in the area of the diocese, the Chancellor Fr. Wojciech Olech recommended the deans to “send him data on priests taking part in conventions and the ZBoWiD meetings” in writing, while at a later stage, he collected it by himself during individual talks with the priests. Efforts were facilitated by some of the patriot priests, who cooperated with the Curia for various reasons, working somewhat on both fronts. In the UB opinion, such a role was played by Fr. Lt. Col. Mikołaj Puacz, who – as a member of the OKK presidium and an activist of “Caritas” – had at his disposal information on the actions of both structures, he knew the content of conferences, briefings, and papers of individual priests²³⁰.

The Ordinary in Lublin avoided extreme assessments of their activity or, most of all, a public condemning of clergymen and slogans spoken by them²³¹. This was due to the maximum limitation of confrontation with the party, religious, and security authorities. The fear of the possibility of the Church schism was well-founded. Fr. Chancellor Wojciech Olech was considered the main opponent of the so-called progressive priests in the Curia. The security apparatus and the state authorities, as well as religious authorities, accused him of “meeting the tasks of the diocese’s gendarme”²³². As was stated, “he deals with compromising

²²⁸ AAL, Dz. III 138, c. 1–3.

²²⁹ *Non possumus. Memorial Episkopatu Polski do Rady Ministrów*, [in:] P. Raina, *Kościół w PRL*, vol. 1: *Dokumenty 1945–1959*, Poznań 1994, p. 415.

²³⁰ *Ibidem*, 0017/514, vol. 4, c. 227. “Puacz is clearly playing a double role – he is in close contact with the dean of Puławy, Soroka, and he is in touch with the Curia’s chancellor, Olech, but he is not in direct contact with him, someone is a go-between [...]. He is visibly hostile to the present reality – he says he sneezes on democracy – that he feels he will soon be fired from the Polish Army and therefore he must keep good relations with the priests from the diocese because he will be back to them”; *ibidem* 0-13-186-6-077, c. 82. Information on Fr. Wojciech Olech, 10.07.1953; APL, KW PZPR, 1129, c. 8; *ibidem*, 1128, c. 33–34. Personal questionnaire of the KKiDK member, Fr. Wojciech Olech, an archivist at the Episcopal Curia and his short characterisation.

²³¹ AAL, III-58, A conference of father deans in the WSD building, 24.01.1950.

²³² See more broadly J. Wrona, *Fr. Wojciech Olech, kanclerz kurii biskupiej w Lublinie...*, pp. 179–212.

the priests involved in the activities supported by the state and associated with the progressive movement. He is keenly interested in penetrating our service in this circle²³³. In March 1953, on his initiative and as part of the so-called *pro memoria*, the diocesan clergymen were reminded of relevant Church bans on participating in the political life, which stemmed from the provisions of canon law. It was joined by the copy of decisions on excommunication, based on the decree of the Saint Congregation from 25 June 1950. Documents were presented at the decanal briefings²³⁴.

On the other hand, in 1953, after being prevented to take the oath and being removed from the office of the chancellor by the communist authorities, and with the bishop ordinary's knowledge, he got involved in the works of the OKK and KI, and then the KDiŚDK at the WK FN in Lublin. He took part in a few meetings. His articles were also published in the so-called progressive press on the topic of German revisionism and hydrogen bomb²³⁵. In the opinion of the security apparatus, he wanted to save his unstable professional position in this way. The episode of Fr. Olech's cooperation with the so-called patriot priests had a major impact on Fr. Primate Stanisław Wyszyński's partial loss of trust in him. It seems that, as a consequence, this destroyed his hope for the next promotion in the Church²³⁶.

The official restraint of bishops and curialists was confronted with the information from the intelligence and reaching the UB, party and religious authorities on the harassment of the patriot priests by the Curia. This was one of the more important topics in the talk between the PWRN chairman and Fr. Piotr Stopniak, PhD on 14 February 1953. Questioned about the sanctions used against the OKK

²³³ AIPN LU, 0-13-186-6-009, c. 14, *ibidem*, 0-13-186-3, c. 19, 72. Characterisation of Fr. W. Olech from May 1952 and the summary of material on Fr. Olech, 20.09.1952.

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, 017/514, vol. 4, part 2, c. 209–212, Report of the informant "Bagiński" from 09.03.1953, (copy) "priests, due to their pastoral vocation and duty towards evangelical care for the wellbeing of all the souls entrusted to their care, are strictly no allowed to take part in political or party activities". This ban also regarded all the political public meetings that were not organised by the Church authorities, particularly those "which are aiming at the suppression of the Church institutions and facilities, priests being opposed to bishops", being placed on lists for national councils (unless with the consent of their ordinary) and accepting the Church as well as non-ecclesiastical offices related to the dependency on and responsibility for anyone".

²³⁵ APL, KW PZPR, 1128, c. 2–3, 33. Evaluation of the Episcopal Curia's work in Lublin from 07.12.1955; Personal questionnaire of the KKiDK member, Fr. Olech Wojciech; *ibidem*, 1173. Protocol, reports, work plans of the OKK in 1954–1955; AIPN LU, 0-13-186-3, c. 51–55. AAL, Rep. 60 II b 26. Personal files of Fr. W. Olech, c. 175. Invitation for the meeting of the KK DiŚDK at the OK FN in Warsaw 17–18.11.1954.

²³⁶ AAL, Rep. 60 II b 0 26. Personal files of Fr. Wojciech Olech, c. 194. A letter of Fr. W. Olech to Fr. Cardinal St. Wyszyński from 22.07.1956. He tried to justify his attitude: "From those difficult days for us in 1953 up until now, I was preserved – despite everything – the good Lord's Hand, and I am still working in accordance with vocation for – as I believe – the Church".

clergymen, he denied that they were used, and he added that “there are many activists who are never rebuked, but in turn sanctions are imposed on those from the area whose conduct is immoral or if this is required by the parishioners”²³⁷. In reality, the Church in the province of Lublin treated this activity with a visible disapproval²³⁸. A few months later, the party authorities unsuccessfully called for dismissing the vicar general from his office, *inter alia*, due to the negative attitude towards the clergymen from the OKK²³⁹.

The Curia of Siedlce was similarly critical of the activities of these clergymen. Apart from Bishop Ignacy Świrski, who was to force the priests collaborating with the communists to provide written declarations regarding their resignation from their activities in the OKK, the party and religious authorities believed that the greatest brake in that diocese for the development of the so-called progressive clergymen movement was Fr. Piotr Dragan²⁴⁰, a dean from Łuków, and they postulated to have him dismissed from the Church office. It was stated that because of him “the fathers are afraid to take part in the social life, due to the harassment he uses”²⁴¹.

At the closed Church meetings, Bishop Piotr Kałwa tried to reliably inform on the relations between the state and the Church in Poland. During the conferences for the dean priests, the Ordinary repeatedly and categorically emphasized that “one who wants to work with the government to the detriment of the Church is a wolf in sheep’s clothing”²⁴². He devoted a lot of time to this matter at the meeting

²³⁷ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 36–38. Report on the conversation between the chairman of the PWRN with Fr. Piotr Stopniak, 14.02.1953.

²³⁸ J. Żaryn, *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce...*, p. 132.

²³⁹ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 206.

²⁴⁰ Piotr Dragan (1886–1966), a priest of the Siedlce diocese, born 8.06.1889, ordained 1922, graduated from theological studies in France, in 1924 he returned to Poland. Then he held an office of a parish priest of the parish churches in Suchożebry, Parczew, Sobieszyn, Międzyrzec, and Kulczewice, Garwolin district, in the Second World War he was in the AK/WIN, a dean of the Łuków district and a canon of the Siedlce chapter, died 16.09.1966; *Katalog Diecezji Siedleckiej 1938*, p. 47. APL, KW PZPR, 1218, c. 231–232. Characterisation of Fr. P. Dragan from 09.12.1953.

²⁴¹ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 206, 231–232. A proposal for the changes in the Lublin Curia, no date. Characterisation of Fr. Piotr Dragan from 09.12.1953.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, 1129, c. 81–84. Correspondence sent to the KC regarding the clergy, 1954; *ibidem*, 1143, c. 1–19, Information of a hostile activity of the clergy in the Lublin province, 11.07.1954; *ibidem*, 1164, c. 96. Fr. Bishop Ordinary Kałwa Piotr: characterisation, Lublin, 11.07.1954; AIPN Lu, 0-13-186-3, c. 72. Summary of material against Fr. Olech, 20.09.1952, in a denunciation from October 1951, “Bagiński” forwarded: “Fr. Miszczuk from Nałęczów also said that Bishop Kałwa was to say to Fr. Adamczykowski from Puławy, that those priests who are harassed by secular authorities he will promote, advance, and those who support the government, let them be promoted by the government, let them wait”. At the same time, he informed the UB about the content of his personal conversation with the bishop: “Then Bishop Kałwa said that we should fight to weaken the Commission of Priests at the ZBOWiD and even cease its existence – priests should not express the willingness to belong to this commission any further” (J. Żaryn, “Księża patrioci”. *Diagnoza...*, pp. 123–149).

on 4 January 1954. He condemned the movement's participants, he pointed out that hypocrisy was the foundation of these conventions, the papers given there were biased and prepared beforehand "by forces hostile to the Church", the proceedings were often falsified by the regime "in order to make a fool of ordinary people". Concluding the problem of meetings organized by the patriot priests, Bishop Piotr Kałwa was to say "be sure that those who go for the conventions are safe, but they do not protect themselves for when the regime will be closing the Church, they will also be liquidated, and this is after all the regime's aim"²⁴³. This stand was very consistently followed by the Ordinary in the future years²⁴⁴.

Supporting the communist system was in fact a denial of the doctrine of belief, which was clearly pointed out by Pope Pius XII. This was understood by many clergymen, i.e. dean and parish priest from Tyszowice, Fr. Franciszek Osuch, who stated that "Marxism will not be preached from the pulpit because otherwise he would not be a priest to his faithful"²⁴⁵.

Priests who despite the bans participated in the movement of the so-called patriot priests were removed from important Church offices or moved to worse and more distant parishes in order to limit their travel and departure opportunities²⁴⁶. Vicars were taken away from some of the "progressive" parish priests. This situation was to affect Fr. Parish priest Kazimierz Czekański, so that – according to the UB – "he would work in the parish himself and thus he will not have time to write papers for the conventions of democrat-priests"²⁴⁷. They were also disciplined by the means provided by canon law; they were sent to closed spiritual retreats and they were given penance. These priests were treated coldly, sometimes they had to wait for the meeting with the bishop for a few hours. As a result of a strong pressure from the Curia, some of the priests withdrew from their activity. In 1954, Fr. Andrzej Chlastawa resigned from the office of the KDiŚDK chairman in

²⁴³ APL KW PZPR, 1129, c. 83. In a document based on a denunciation (most likely by Fr. Stanisław Krynicki, PhD) an expression is used that the ordinary speaking of the future of the patriot priests warned them about the fate of the Jewish police in the ghettos during the Second World War. This statement is not present in the protocol from the session of the deans' conference, AAL, dz. IV 4397. Protocol from the session of Fr. Deans from 04.01.1954, manuscript, no ref.

²⁴⁴ APL KW PZPR, 1257, c. 56. Information of the WU for the BP regarding the activity of the Roman Catholic Clergy in the Lublin province 06.06.195.

²⁴⁵ AIPN Lu 014 292, c. 34. An issue of intelligence operation, code name "Starzec".

²⁴⁶ APL KW PZPR, 1256, c. 265. According to the authorities, it was meant to refer to, i.a. Franciszek Surtel – parish priest of the parish church in Ostrówek, the Lubartów district, "who took part in the provincial conference of the "Caritas" in Lublin, he did not read the pastoral letter, he always came for the Commission of Priests. Recently, despite receiving information on being transferred, he came for the "Caritas" electoral conference in Lublin. The above mentioned is transferred to a very poor parish of Klesz[cz]ów, in the Chełm district, where he does not even have a proper accommodation. He addressed the WRN Presidium for help in relocating him. He is very bitter and upset with the transfer".

²⁴⁷ AIPN Lu 0017/514, vol. 4, c. 101–103.

Lublin and he ceased to be active in the movement. Not wishing to oppose the bishop, Fr. Ignacy Żyszkiewicz decided not to run for the WRN alderman, even though the authorities suggested it. Trying to maximally limit the influence of the communist on the offices in the diocese, throughout the entire 1954 the Curia accepted only two personnel applications – out of several dozen – regarding the so-called progressive priests, which was complained about by Lucjan Leszczyński from the KW PZPR in Lublin²⁴⁸. Preventive activities were also based on using a special calendar of the clergymen meetings, which clashed with the dates of the OKK meetings or other steps of the state authorities towards the diocese's priests. At that time, spiritual retreats for priests were prepared (e.g. on 2 August 1954) as well as various briefings and missions (e.g. on the day of elections to national councils)²⁴⁹. On the last days of June 1953, the Ordinary issued an order to bring closer, by two days, the retreat for the clergymen (to 2 July 1953) in order to make their arrival at the convention organized by the OKK and KDiŚDK in Lublin more difficult. The Curia's bans resulted in a reduced attendance of priests at the meetings, which irritated the state apparatus and religious administration.

The Episcopate personally reacted to the collaboration with the communists. In July 1953, the chairman of the OKK presidium in Lublin, Fr. Stefan Kosmulski, and a member of this board, Fr. Mieczysław Michalski, received a letter of the Episcopate's secretary, in which a very critical opinion was expressed about a group paper – “Perspectives on Agreement between the Church and the State”, given on 18 June 1953 in Warsaw at the national KDiŚDK conference – which was tendentiously and falsely assessing the Polish Episcopate. Both clergymen were its co-authors. As the conclusion of the paper, it was stated that “the Episcopate's Commission considers it is its duty to canonically warn the organisers of the meeting, editors of the paper, and its supporters about the canonical process if such presentations, in spite of this warning, were to be repeated”²⁵⁰.

In the documents prepared by Chancellor Wojciech Olech, the attitude of priests in the diocese was generally assessed as good since around three-fourth of the priests was thoroughly loyal to the Church hierarchy and did not collaborate with the religious administrations and the PRL security apparatus. Only a small portion, not more than 10% were submissive to the state authorities²⁵¹.

²⁴⁸ APL, KW PZPR, 1129, c. 112. Information on hostile activities of the clergy in the Lublin diocese, 11.07.1954.

²⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 1128, c. 3. Evaluation of the Episcopal Curia's activity, list of full-time employees, characterisations, 07.12.1955 (*ibidem*, 1128, c. 23–24). Personal questionnaire of Fr. Bishop Piotr Kalwa.

²⁵⁰ APL, KW PZPR, 1265, c. 123–124. Copy of the Episcopate's letter from 02.07.1952.

²⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 1231, c. 6. Opinion on the Episcopal Curia's chancellor, Fr. W. Olech, Lublin, 11.07.1953. AIPN Lu, 0-13-186-3, c. 19–20, 72. In a denunciation from 19.10.1951, Fr. Stanisław Krynicki (informant “Bągiński”) stated: “Fr. Olech said not to get involved in the social works because all of this was stupid – Bolshevism would soon go south, Vatican did not want the agreement

In November 1956, at the meeting of the diocesan deans, Bishop Kałwa overall referred to the activities of the Lublin clergymen in the analysed movement of priests. He assessed them harshly in terms of ethical dimension, calling for self-examination: "Our priestly brotherhood – the Archbishop said – in some part became opportunistic, it was bent. Now they will be able to straighten themselves up in priestly family. We never rejected them from ourselves. A hand was stretched out to them there, and even money was given, but not for free, but for sure for some achievements. Evaluations should be made – it is time". He reminded of priests' attempts to denounce to the UB, using the Church jurisdiction, he talked about the proper assessment of their activities by the faithful and the Church punishments imposed on them, he suggested them to fix their consciences. At the same time, the Ordinary stated that "in one case, the ZBoWiD priests stood up for their bishop and did not break their ties with him". In this sentence, he probably referred to the situation from 11 February 1953 when the OKK priests torpedoed the provocation prepared by the WUBP against the Curia. In the summary, Bishop Kałwa emphasised "Thankfully, these actions did not have harsh forms in our diocese, but *una Mater Ecclesiae*, which is why we are in pain. Today they refrain from responsibility"²⁵². Importantly, the critical opinion of the Ordinary was devoid of personal aspects, which seems to be an intentional approach used after October 1956 towards the priests who collaborated with the communist government in the entire Polish Church, referring to the notion of mercy and forgiveness. This was further confirmed by the work of these priests in the Lublin diocese.

SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF THE OKK AND KDIŚDK PRIESTS

Emergence of the organizational structure, which was supposed to bring together the clergymen by the communist government, triggered distrust and emotions: "the first priests-activists met with a distrustful or even hostile attitude from their brothers-priests. [...] The priests-activists, so-called "patriots" were often exposed to various insults, e.g. not shaking their hands, moving away from them during the decanal conferences, avoiding contact with them, etc." – claims one of the member of this movement²⁵³. Among the clergymen loyal to the Church, they were sometimes referred to as "Iscariots" or "Thugs of ZBoWiD"²⁵⁴. The situation had to change dramatically after the introduction of the decree from 9 February 1953 and the forced oath of priests resulting from it. With their

with Poland because the current system was defined as a short period".

²⁵² AAL, IV 4399, c. 129–130 Protocol of the Fr. Deans' meeting, 28.11.1956, manuscript.

²⁵³ APL, KW PZPR, 1194, c. 13. Tasks and guidelines for the work of the OKK members in the area [1952], no daily date.

²⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 1183, c. 166. Evaluation of the progressive Catholic movement in the Lublin province 06.10.1955.

support, some priests were allowed to take an oath of loyalty to the PRL, which was *a sine qua non* for their continuation of the pastoral work. The characteristics of the major “patriot priests” in the diocese often included information on their moral decline and little authority²⁵⁵. Some of them became addicted to alcohol already before the war. Perhaps this was the price they were paying for becoming submissive to the brutal pressure of the state and – simultaneously – the constant persuasion from their Church superiors. The religious apparatus pointed out that the so-called patriot priests were disregarding their priestly duties, which *per saldo* was to be a “positive side” of a priest in the opinion they presented²⁵⁶.

The faithful also believed that a priest’s involvement on the side of the government was a betrayal of the Church. Fr. Mieczysław Michalski from Zamość, the OKK presidium member in Lublin, received an anonymous “open letter” regarding this matter in March 1950. The letter stated, *inter alia*, “did the Father think of his step, making public appearance at the meetings organised by the communists, people who do not believe, people whose methods and actions threaten the free development of a man, his religion, the Church, the homeland – did you think about what you are doing and whether there were any social or national reasons so that a priest – a Catholic one, a loyal servant of God, supported the total communism?”²⁵⁷. Three years later, in December 1953, in the next anonymous letter, in a form of the World Peace Council diploma, he was referred to as Judas who betrays the Son of God for thirty silver coins. In the letter, as a “priest comrade” he was honoured with the International Stalinist Award, with the photographs of Stalin, Bierut, and Judas. Anonymous letters with pleading to come to their senses were also received by other priests from Lublin

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 1147, c. 7, 10, 16, 24; *Ibidem*, 1151, c. 25; *Ibidem*, 1174, c. 12. The material in the Department for Religious Affairs sometimes includes evaluations of priests, which are typical of the analysed period: “His moral foundation is good. He does not drink vodka, he also has not relationships with other women apart from the housekeeper”; “specific facts were not determined, but he likes to overuse alcohol in large amounts and get the employees of the state institutions drunk, this stems not from purposefulness, but because he is hospitable and likes to have company”; “Apart from this, it should be added that Fr. Marian Peryt [a chairman of the KDSDK in Lublin from 1955 – J. W.] went to a nurse from Medical Centre in Mełgiew, which made the parish priest’s housekeeper to break the windows in the nurse’s house. The abovementioned priest paid for the windows and he stopped going to the nurse. He is the most positive priest from the Lublin district” (*ibidem*, 1175, c. 107–126).

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 1259, c. 33. While making characterisation of the member of the OKK presidium, a parish priest from Boiska, the Dzierzkowice municipality, it was written in 1953: “Fr. is reckless, he likes women, his neighbour is a woman with whom he lives, his parishioners know about it and he does not hide it. He is a two-faced drunk, despite all these vices, he has a positive side, and that is – he ignores his pastoral duties”.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 1192, c. 127. Copy of an anonymous letter sent to Fr. Michalski in Zamość, March 1950; E. Kosobudzka, *Rozpracowanie Kurii Biskupiej...*, pp. 107–108.

and Siedlce²⁵⁸. The attendance of the faithful at masses often dropped drastically in churches where they served. This situation occurred also in Zamość where “the faithful were ostentatiously leaving when [Fr.] Michalski went to the pulpit”²⁵⁹. He acted as a demagogue.

Due to one patriot priest, the state authorities’ attempt to recall from the function of the parish priest the declared anti-communist Fr. Witold Makarewicz failed²⁶⁰. The nominated successor, Fr. Stefan Kosmulski, was the chairman of the OKK in Lublin. However, the faithful stated that “they will not let the old parish priest go and they will not let the new one in”, which was justified by the fact that “he is a patriot priest and sympathises with communists”. As a result, in the face of the community’s stand, Fr. Stefan Kosmulski did not take over the parish²⁶¹. One of the most dedicated active members of the patriot priests movement, a priest from the Radzyń district, took part in procession on 1 May and on this occasion, in 1955, he hung a red banner on the rectory building²⁶².

The society correctly noticed that priests involved in the collaboration with the communists were mainly a product of the UB actions. Not all the clergymen, participants of these movements were informers of the security apparatus, but the vast majority did cooperate with the communist religious apparatus.

CONCLUSIONS

The war and German occupation weakened the morale of the entire Polish society, including the discipline of some part of the clergymen in the Lublin diocese. The actual closing of the Episcopal Curia in Lublin contributed to it. In the phenomenon, which in the post-war history is known as the movement of patriot priests, the main role in the

²⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 1265, c. 64–65 Correspondence to the KC PZPR. Detailed characterisations of the clergy. Kaczmarek’s trial, moods 1952–1955; “*Biuletyny Dzienne Ministerstwa Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego 1949–1950*”, selected and edited by Ł. Kamiński, Warszawa 2004, pp. 593–594.

²⁵⁹ APL, KW PZPR, 1132, c. 16. Report from the conversation with priests from the Włodawa district in March 1954. Fr. Bronisław Turski from Wisznica shared the following information in 1954: “He said he knew positive priests who addressed all matters, and today there were only 14 people in their church because the majority did not attend the church”. AIPN Lu 0017/514, vol. 1, c. 121. Fr. Stanisław Krynicki (informant “Bagiński”) wrote in his denunciation from 09.05.953: “Fr. Zawisza told me a few months back that he frequently had come across the cases when the faithful, while giving the money at the mass, had made reservations to not allow Fr. Michalski to say mass by any chance”.

²⁶⁰ Fr. Witold Makarewicz (1903–1972), a post-war parish priest at the parish church in Platów (currently – the Drohiczyń Diocese) and then in Międzyrzec Podlaski.

²⁶¹ APL, KW PZPR, 1129, c. 225–227.

²⁶² *Ibidem*, 1147, c. 14. While characterising a priest from the Radzyń district, it was written: “he does not like to stay in church, he will say mass as he has to and he runs away from the church”, it was added that a few years earlier he had given up visiting parishioners before Christmas (*ibidem*, 1126, c. 97–98).

Lublin province was played by clergymen associated with the OKK at the ZBoWiD. They were its core. Their decisive position did not change in the new structure of the KDiŚDK, functioning from mid-1955. Linked with and inspired by the security, party, and religious apparatus, they approved the politics of the communist government's propaganda lies. They were breaking the applicable principles of the canon law. They attacked the hierarchs of the Polish Church and the Vatican politics, they supported the governmental decree on appointing the Church posts from February 1953, which was the most dangerous attempt by the communists of incapacitating the Church in Poland. They were publicly supporting the arrest of Fr. Primate Stanisław Wyszyński, they expressed solidarity with the government's assessment of show political trials of the Cracow Curia and Bishop Czesław Kaczmarek, they approved the social and economic policy of the government of the so-called People's Poland, including the process of collectivisation of agriculture, detrimental to the rural residents. They joined the creation of propaganda message regarding the assessment of international affairs, in which the major enemy of Poland was the West, while Joseph Stalin was the most important defender of world peace. Using the traditional authority of a priest, they disoriented public opinion in Poland.

After 1956, some of them once again joined the government's subversive activities against the Church, endorsed by the Association of Catholics "Caritas". Since 1959, the priests' clubs (*koła księży*) were created as part of it, established and supervised by the SB, which continued the previous activities of the UB even in the rhetoric area²⁶³. The analysed movement became a useful tool for the communist state, contributing to creating divisions within the clergy and the faithful. It was a deep wound on the Church's body and its tragic post-war page.

The intellectuals and lay Catholic activists were a margin of this activity. Apart from a group of several professors of the KUL, UMCS, graduates of the Catholic University of Lublin linked with the PAX Association, and committees of the peace defenders, as well as the representatives of the Lublin intelligentsia, no extensive numbers of active members of the so-called progressive Catholics were selected. Their role was revealed in the local party press presenting the world and national events in the propagandist formula.

A historian notices one more important aspect of the problem. It refers to the current historical consciousness. In the Church biographies, including various memoirs about priests from parish archives, a phenomenon of certain amnesia occurs, thorough repression of the infamous episode in the lives of many of them. This creates a white spot in the history of the region. As a result, we have an incomplete or deformed image of their pastoral service. This also concerns the biographies of the so-called socially progressive Catholics.

²⁶³ P. Stanisław, *Próby rozbicia duchowieństwa w okresie Polski Ludowej*, "Studia z Prawa Wyznaniowego" 2001, vol. 2, pp. 122–124.

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STRESZCZENIE

Od 1949 roku w Polsce zaczęto tworzyć organizacje skupiające księży i katolików, którzy popierali władzę komunistyczną. Ich członkowie byli rekrutowani przez aparat bezpieczeństwa, aparat wyznaniowy oraz władze PZPR, stosujące terror i wykorzystujące materiały kompromitujące. Tworzyła je i finansowała oraz nadzorowała ich pracę partia komunistyczna. Zadaniem omawianych w artykule organizacji było rozbięcie Kościoła od wewnątrz i podporządkowanie go państwu totalitarnemu. Kościół katolicki karał kanonicznie duchownych, którzy działali w ich strukturach,

gdyż dopuszczali się oni tym samym zdrady. W województwie lubelskim organizacje te skupiały blisko 10% ogółu księży katolickich. Zakończyły działalność w 1956 roku, gdy rozpoczęła się w Polsce destalinizacja. Duchownych, którzy popierali komunistyczną władzę, popularnie i ironicznie określano mianem księży patriotów. W artykule opisano tworzenie i działalność struktur organizacyjnych tego ruchu kapłanów oraz przeprowadzono analizę motywów i uwarunkowań, które doprowadziły księży do kolaboracji z komunistyczną władzą.

Słowa kluczowe: Kościół katolicki; duchowni; województwo lubelskie; partia komunistyczna

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