

**THE CHURCH IN POLAND
IN THE MIRROR
OF THE PRESS**



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RUŽOMBEROK 2012

Vydavateľ:

VERBUM, vydavateľstvo Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku
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ISBN 978-80-8084-884-2

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FROM THE AUTHOR

The present study attempts to present the synthetic picture of the Church, which has emerged in the Polish papers of the 20th and 21st century. It aims at answering questions: How has the image of the Church changed in the papers, depending on the historical epoch and socio-political situation, and to what extent was it connected with them? How diverse was the image of the Church at one time, regarding press titles which mentioned it, their program line, an editor, etc.? What are the possible specific dimensions and subjects of the potential studies in this area?

It needs to be stipulated already in the introduction that the submitted publication shall not encompass the detailed analysis of the changing image of the Church in the papers in the discussed time period. It is impossible; such a detailed analysis must have been included in numerous monographs of sizable length. It is rather aimed at arranging already conducted research in this field, presenting some long-term processes and the main change factors, which occur in the aforementioned image as well as factors, which shaped it. The additional goal – as already indicated – can be providing an inspiration for the more specific research in this area.

Before the author would proceed to explore the formulated subject, he would present the preliminary concepts, i.e., he would briefly discuss the specificity of understanding the Church nature in terms of a divine-human institution, the very concept of the media image and the possible ways of its examination. The situation of the Polish press in a given epoch as well as the historical background would be analyzed together with the conducted study. In the last chapter describing the situation after 1989, the object of the analysis also considers other media and it is due to the increasingly universal phenomenon of convergence and also ownership and capital links between the particular media concerns.

CHAPTER I

The Church and the Media

It is always problematic to talk and write about the Catholic Church. It results from the very nature of the Church, which, in the self-reflection about its identity, made on the basis of theological sciences, highlights that it is not a work of man. It, indeed, consists of people – imperfect and sinful – yet, it derives its origins from the call and choice, which come from God, and not man. The genesis of the Church is connected with Jesus Christ, who, according to that Church, is God’s Son, the second Person of the Holy Trinity. However, ecclesiology, namely the branch of theology dealing with the multidimensional reflection on the Church, stresses that Jesus clearly referred to the Old Testamentary idea of the People of God while creating the Church¹. In the historical dimension, this theological self-reflection of the Church was subjected to development. Theological foundations of understanding of the Church (its Trinitarian dimension, hierarchy and charisms, unity and deaconship, etc.) were already visible in the Biblical, and of the Church Fathers, theology. Since the Middle Ages more attention was paid to the institutional aspects of the Church due to the contemporary socio-political circumstances.

¹ Cf. H. Seweryniak, *Eklezjologia katolicka*, in: M. Rusecki (ed.), *Być chrześcijaninem dziś*, Lublin 1992, pp. 213-214.

Secularization of ecclesiastical authority in the West took place. Additionally, a considerable number of distortions of religious life occurred, which, in turn, resulted in questioning the visible structures of the Church during the Reformation². Reflection of the Catholic theologians and shaping the apologetic (fundamental) ecclesiology, which concentrated on the defense of priesthood, papal succession and primacy, were the answer³. Although the two-dimensional structure, i.e., the Divine-human nature of the Church was never forgotten, the institutional and visible structures of the Church were particularly powerful whereas the invisible and supernatural ones were perceived as obvious and were not given much attention⁴. Such a way of thinking characterized the Catholic ecclesiology of the Vatican II. The Conciliar Constitution titled 'Lumen gentium' highlighted the image of the Church as the communion of God and man in history; the Church that constitutes a sacrament, a gift and communion⁵. The Catechism of the Catholic Church also refers to the division of emphases and a way of thinking offered by *Vaticanum II*, in which app. 200 points are devoted to the description of the nature of the Church⁶. In this description, the Church is portrayed as the Mother, a sacrament, mystical Body of Christ, the people of God, communion. As stressed in the account of the earthly structure of the Church, all members of the mystical Body of Christ represent authentic protagonists of ecclesial life due to the Baptism, although the existence of the hierarchy, with the Bishop of Rome as the visible head of the Church on the earth and college of bishops, obviously is extremely prominent in this reflection⁷.

² Cf. M. Rusecki, *Kim jest Kościół?*, in: M. Rusecki (ed.), *Problemy współczesnego Kościoła*, Lublin 1997, pp. 101-102.

³ Cf. H. Seweryniak, *Świadectwo i sens*, Płock 2001, p. 393.

⁴ Cf. M. Rusecki, *Kim jest...*, quot. jour., p. 102.

⁵ Cf. H. Seweryniak, *Świadectwo...*, quot. jour., p. 394.

⁶ Cf. CCC 748-945.

⁷ Cf. H. Seweryniak, *Świadectwo...*, quot. jour., pp. 394-397.

It must be taken into consideration, however, that the years of theological interpretation, which were strictly focused on the visible, earthly structure of the Church, influenced the perception of the Church from the outside. The Church was viewed mostly in socio-political terms and compared to monarchical and oligarchic systems because of the impact of rationalism, naturalism, legal positivism and political science. It resulted in the consolidation of ecclesiology, which also can be referred as 'institutional', in the popular consciousness of believers and, what is more, this effect, to a large extent, continues today. The Church is oftentimes perceived in legal, institutional and sociological categories, only – and hence, as reality, which is only historical and evident. In practice, it signifies the limitation of the concept of 'the Church' to the clergy, or rather to the higher hierarchy. This wrong, biased and narrowed vision of the Church is deepened and consolidated by the media, which, while discussing ecclesiastical matters and activities, preliminary put stress on the hierarchy or the clergy.⁸ It is inevitable to properly define the Church as well as make a distinction between sociological and religious dimensions in the debate in order to deliver a relevant interpretation of the Church's presence in the world. Sociological analyses mainly focus on the empirical-institutional elements of the Church. Such approach does not cover entirely the phenomenon of the Church, which also enters the spiritual world. From the sociological side, the Church can be perceived as a formalized and hierarchized institution, which consists of the clergy and the community of believers, focused on the joint cult and religious doctrine and equipped with material assets. Nevertheless, as far as theological sciences are concerned, the Catholic Church constitutes the universal, dynamic and consistently present in the world religious group. It is to study 'signs of time' and explain the social reality in the light

⁸ Cf. M. Rusecki, *Kim jest...*, quot.jour., p. 102.

of Gospel. Additionally, the Church realizes strict religious tasks, i.e., evangelization (understood as sharing the faith and initiating bonds with God), organizing and practising the cult (connecting the believers with God through religious practices: the prayer, sacraments, etc.) and also performing the Christian *caritas*. This organization also undertakes activities supplementary to religious functions: integrating, caring, administrative-economic, advisory-interventive, cultural-educational, etc.⁹ As T. Zasępa notices, the Church communication is manifested in two forms. The first, the official teaching of ethics, is the result of the continual reflection on the vital events and works connected with methods of the moral theology and the philosophical ethics. On the other hand, however, the unofficial moral teaching exists. In other words, it is reflected by the universal comprehension of morality or the Catholic code of conduct. The former type leads to the consideration of effectiveness of information and *public relations* as well as the answer to the question: how to communicate one's message in the greatest way? And, although the Church differs in nature from other institutions, it remains similar in the communicative aspect. As a transmitter, the Church does not vary from public institutions – regarding, naturally, the very form of communication and not the conveyed content. It raises the next questions, for instance: Does the Church interact with the world, and, if so – in what forum? Is the head of the Church in contact with its members?¹⁰ As the aforementioned author claims, 'traditional, official, moral teaching regulated by the Church highlights hierarchical origins and thoroughly constructed message directed, primarily, to members of the Church, who, as he assumes, would accept them. In the second

⁹ Cf. R. Jusiak, *Kościół katolicki wobec wybranych kwestii społecznych i socjologicznych w Polsce. Studium socjologiczne*, Lublin 2009, pp. 28-31.

¹⁰ Cf. T. Zasępa, *Media, człowiek, społeczeństwo. Doświadczenia europejsko-amerykańskie*, Częstochowa 2002, ed. 2, pp. 218-219.

place, it is directed to non-members, and if it talks to them, it must select more convincing rhetorical style. In both cases, however, the canons of rhetoric as well as *public relations* are to be applied¹¹. D. Tworzydło shares a similar opinion as he states that ‘PR means communication, management of information, way of thinking and philosophy of action. Accordingly, purity and ethics, honesty and truth are cohesive features, and therefore, from this perspective, it may be assumed that *public relations* are close and applicable for the Catholic Church necessities’¹². N. Kilen, however, stresses that ‘promotion of the spiritual life or some value system should be conducted naturally in a specific way because the Church actions also affect the non-material sphere of human life. Nevertheless, it should not aim at departing from certain rules of communication’¹³. We must also remember that ‘Christian practitioners must define PR not only in terms of image or reputation but in terms of truth. They must be mindful of “speaking the truth in love” (Eph 4:15), conversing with each other and the media in ways that are “full of grace” and “seasoned with salt” (Col 4:6), always guided by values above profit’¹⁴.

But still – as T. Zasepa notices – despite the importance of official channels and methods of communication, they are not the

¹¹ Ibid. p. 219.

¹² D. Tworzydło, *Wizerunkowe aspekty funkcjonowania instytucji oraz fundacji kościelnych*, http://www.proto.pl/artykuly/PR/Pdf/wizerunek_instytucji_koscielnych.pdf (accessed July 15, 2011).

¹³ W. Sokołowski, *Czy Kościół potrzebuje PR? Czy PR może nauczyć księży komunikacji z mediami i wiernymi, którzy zadają coraz trudniejsze pytania?*, [online] <http://epr.pl/czy-kosciol-potrzebuje-pr-czy-pr-moze-nauczyc-ksiezy-komunikacji-z-mediami-i-wiernymi-ktorzy-zadaja-coraz-trudniejsze-pytania,goracy-temat,226,1.html> (accessed July 15, 2011).

¹⁴ P.A. Kerr, *Promoting Public Relations in a New-Media Environment*, in: Q.J. Schultze, R. Woods (Ed.), *Understanding Evangelical Media: the Changing Face of Christian Communication*, InterVarsity Press 2008, p. 226.

most significant means of moral communication in the Church. The unofficial channels play much greater role. In a situation of an evident action – when moral life of the members of the Church occurs according to certain accepted patterns and only in a doubtful situation they ask questions – the role of the Church as means of morality becomes extremely significant. Moral communication, in case of day-to-day communication, is the local community of the Church, which communicates through interpersonal activities and private conversations. It is such environment that leads to a moral purpose, which, in turn, occurs at the everyday life stage. It can be accomplished by imitating positive role models (saints and blessed should play an essential role among them), familiarizing with the official teaching and imagination, which gives new life opportunities in faith¹⁵. J. Sobkowiak shares a similar opinion as he reminds of the visible or simply human dimension of the Church, which exists next to the spiritual one. In this very dimension methods of *public relations* are crucial in order to be heard and seen. Two-dimensional image of the Church cannot be forgotten, however. On the one hand, it is a part of the sociological and social dimensions, it can be discussed as any other institution. In this sense, it requires each thing that allows the most favorable perception of it by ‘recipients’. However, in the second, more spiritual dimension, the Church has ‘a pulpit’. Hence, is PR necessary? According to Sobkowiak – yes, even because it is ‘the Church in the world’ since Vatican II. It raises responsibility for spreading the Gospel and building the proper image of the Church also in the communities, which are not embraced in its core¹⁶. We can agree with V. Sogaard, who says: ‘As Christian communicators we have to overcome a suspicion of words like theory and strategy. The insights of such disciplines can help us

¹⁵ Cf. T. Zasępa, quot. jour. pp. 219-223.

¹⁶ Cf. W. Sokołowski, *Czy Kościół potrzebuje PR?...*, quot. jour.

overcome the naïve position that if we send the gospel out on the airwaves or print a book or tract, God will make people listen or read and understand. Such a perspective has often resulted in arbitrary programming and production policies ineffective distribution campaigns¹⁷.

Nevertheless, it seems impossible to escape the impression that the secular media concentrate exclusively on the institutional dimension of the Church and completely avoid its spiritual and liberating aspects. Only the Catholic press, which constitutes a tool of some self-presentation of the Church, stresses these spiritual and liberating aspects. The secular media rather refrain from theological subtleties and pursue news, scandals or interesting topics, and by the same token, the Church is regarded institutionally.

While reading the present study, which aims at analyzing the media image of the Church in the papers, both, the fact that the Church has got in contact with PR terminology and its methods only in the recent times as well as all the aforementioned assumptions, are worth remembering; for several reasons, the vast part of the period of our interest could be located in circumstances when it seems difficult to talk consciously about the usage of PR methods, although, naturally, the Church activities could be described from the contemporary perspective and thanks to the contemporary state of knowledge by applying its terminology.

We can say that this problem applies not only to the Church, but also to religion, understood as some complexity. It seems that Stewart M. Hoover is right when he says that journalism has always had a problem with religion. He is convinced that it is quite simple to understand some of the reason for this situation. 'First, the religion of individuals – religion as experienced – is

¹⁷ V. Sogaard, *Media in Church and Mission: Communicating the Gospel*, Pasadena (California) 1993, p. 5.

difficult or impossible to *source*' – he states. According to him, 'the traditional canons of reporting call to be a rational process where sources, motivations, interests, and consequences can be laid out, analyzed, and evaluated. Religion as commonly understood is not thought to be amenable to this kind of treatment'¹⁸. In addition, religion has always claimed to be about things beyond the rational sphere of "here and now"¹⁹.

In this place, the concept of the media image per se, its creation and analysis as well as its definition and understanding of the very term 'press' in the present study, should be taken into consideration.

Nowadays, the term 'image' is associated with *public relations*. The image is a representation of a particular object (a beneficiary) in the consciousness of the entity (the significant receiver)²⁰. The image can be examined in several aspects, i.e., psychological, sociological, marketing and communicative. In the psychological dimension the image refers to the way it is created and exists in the mind of a receiver. Thus, we can distinguish terms such as:

- perception (noticing the content);
- identification (whether or not the given content will be assigned as affecting the image of a particular object?);
- assessment (will the noticed and identified content be assessed as credible enough to influence the mental representation of an object?);
- interaction (how the previously established in the mind attitudes would influence the forming image?);
- memory (whether this image would be preserved, or not?)²¹.

¹⁸ S.M. Hoover, *Religion in the Media Age*, Routledge New York 2006, p. 57.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ M. Łączyński, *Analiza wizerunku*, in: T. Gackowski, M. Łączyński (ed.), *Metody badania wizerunku w mediach*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 80-81.

²¹ Ibid.

K. Wojcik claims that the following definition of an image is considered a perfect one by specialists: 'An image is a representation of what one or several audiences think about a person, company or institution; it is not a real image, precisely and carefully drawn, but rather a mosaic of numerous details, accidentally and partially captured, with vague differences'²².

However, the communicative aspect would mainly relate to the channels of information. It is worth making some clarification in this place: do we aim at examining only the 'final effect' of the media coverage – i.e., the real image (in this case of the Church) in the minds of receivers, and also find answers to the questions, in which circumstances it was created, to what extent the media publications contributed to its creation – or rather we are interested in the very content of the media coverage itself. In our case, the second option must be considered.

The media image is examined by analyzing the content of a particular medium. It is a scientific method targeted at the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the explicit content of the coverage²³. It deals with the 'systematic, objective (intersubjective) and generally quantitative analysis of the selected thematic, generic and content categories of all regarded transfers'²⁴. This method examines and compares some features of the transfer, e.g., the frequency of certain words or statements, the manner of writing about the particular issue, etc., to arrive at some the general conclusions – in other words, to illustrate the deeper structure of any sequence or the entire media coverage at

²² K. Wojcik, *Public relations. Wiarygodny dialog z otoczeniem*, Warsaw 2009, ed. 4, p. 41.

²³ T. Gackowski, M. Łączyński (ed.), *Analiza wizerunku w mediach. Podręcznik*, Warsaw 2008, p. 19.

²⁴ T. Goban-Klas, *Media i medioznawstwo*, in: E. Chudziński (ed.), *Słownik wiedzy o mediach*, Warsaw–Bielsko-Biała 2007, p. 14.

any time and in the specific area²⁵. For this reason – what needs to be stressed – the real image may (oftentimes quite considerably) differ from the media image. Besides, the methods of examining the media image (the aforementioned content analysis) are inconsistent with the methods related to the real image (in the first place, various types of surveys). It is possible that even the negative media image would not translate into the similar social perception. If the media coverage strikes the values which are fundamental to receivers, then it will trigger their anger and will be discarded in accordance with the theory of cognitive dissonance²⁶. Therefore, the media image not necessarily has to translate into the identical authority and the social prestige of the Church, although, naturally, it may affect them²⁷. Such situation took place in reference to the Church, e.g., in the communist times. Papers, which were subordinate to the communist party, wrote almost entirely wrong about the

²⁵ Cf. D. P. Cartwright, *Analiza treści przekazów masowych*, in: M. Malikowski, M. Niezgoda (ed.), *Badania empiryczne w socjologii*, vol. 2, Tyczyn 1997, pp. 297-300.

²⁶ Cf. *Cognitive Dissonance*, http://portalwiedzy.onet.pl/59853,,,dysonans_poznawczy,haslo.html (accessed July 14, 2011). Naturally, there exist certain tools, which allow to examine the influence of the media contents on changes in mentality of receivers, the evoked emotional reactions, etc. More: B. Gunter, *Media Research Methods. Measuring Audiences, Reactions and Impact*, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi 2000.

²⁷ Prestige is also called respect, esteem, honor, and finally-social status. Hierarchy is its main element. It divides people into less and more significant. It is understood as the right to respect, signs of submission, reasons or as an assessment or a measure of social status. However, authority can be defined as the relationship between people, where one side considers the will of the other, adapts to this will and submits to it. Nevertheless, authority understood in pedagogical terms denotes 'the educational influence of the respected person on an individual or a group of people and a particular sphere of social life'. Cf. A. Adamski, *Obraz nauczyciela w mediach*, in: K. Stępień (ed.), *Zawód nauczyciel: trudności i perspektywy*, Lublin 2010, pp. 121-122.

Church (if wrote anything at all), and still the Church enjoyed an enormous social authority²⁸.

Naturally, the content analysis does not have to cover the whole range of media, it can focus on the selected ones – with maintaining, however, the principles of exhaustion, representativeness, homogeneity and accuracy²⁹. In case of examining the Church image, it would be mainly discourse analysis – it would focus on the nature of words, language and a description of themes in the media texts³⁰. A. Kominek defines ‘the Church image’ as a result of some consolidation of a description and assessment of the reality of the Church in the texts related to it, and this image can be reconstructed by means of semantic models³¹. The author would derive the definition of discourse from M. Lisowska-Magdziarz, who claims that discourse means ‘the transmission of ideas and interaction on people by means of language, strongly conditioned by the social location of senders and receivers, goals and needs, the state of knowledge, value system and hierarchy and also the social context of communication and a specificity of communication via the mass media’³².

²⁸ The author would present it in the further part of this study on the example of the press campaign directed at the Church and connected with the famous letter from Polish bishops to German bishops and the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Poland.

²⁹ Cf. D. P. Cartwright, *Analiza treści...*, quot. jour., p. 310. The principle of exhaustion is about the use of all elements of the media coverage; the principle of representativeness refers to the method of sample selection, if it is believed that it will be representative of the entire transfer; the principle of homogeneity pays attention to the necessity of uniformity of the analyzed set, however, the principle of accuracy reads that documents should be selected in such a way as to constitute the proper source of information for the accepted research tasks.

³⁰ Cf. A. Balcerzak, T. Gackowski, *Analiza zawartości*, in: T. Gackowski, M. Łączczyński (ed.), *Metody...*, quot. jour., p. 20.

³¹ Cf. A. Kominek, *Punkt zborny. Obraz Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w tekstach publicznych z lat 1970-1989*, Kielce 2003, p. 7.

³² M. Lisowska-Magdziarz, *Analiza tekstu w dyskursie medialnym*, Kraków

In this place the term 'press' should be given a considerable attention. The article 7 of the press law of January 26, 1984, covers an extremely broad definition of the press³³. However, in the general understanding, 'the press can be acknowledged as publications printed periodically and disseminated publicly (i.e., newspapers and magazines), which widely reflect reality, especially the present processes and political, social, economic, cultural, scientific, etc., events'³⁴. Occasionally, it is stressed that the press understood in such terms features: a broad range of communication and a direct adaptation to a permanent storage of single copies. According to the classification of UNESCO, such press can be divided into journals of the general content, other papers of the general content and the remaining periodicals³⁵. The press, however, does not include the so called press-like forms: all kinds of one-day-papers, papers devoted exclusively to advertising or offering goods and services, a series of publications, calendars, internal newsletters, company Newspapers, leaflets and printed periodicals, which contain the clause 'on the rights of the manuscript' and / or 'for internal use'³⁶. As for the study of the media discourse in the press, it is definitely easier than

2006, pp. 15-16.

³³ In accordance with art. 7 of this act, "the press connotes publishing periodicals, which do not form a closed, homogeneous entity and which appear at least once a year, bear the permanent title or name, the current number and date and, in particular, newspapers and magazines, agency services, permanent telex transfers, newsletters, radio and television programs and newsreels; the press covers also all existing and emerging due to the technical progress mass media, including broadcasting and company tele- and radio-centers, disseminating periodic publications in print, video, audio or other dissemination technology; the press also includes teams of people and individuals who are engaged in journalism".

³⁴ J. Szocki, *Wizerunek firmy w mediach*, Poznan 2008, p. 87.

³⁵ Cf. J. Sobczak, *Prawo prasowe. Komentarz*, Warsaw 2008, p. 314.

³⁶ Cf. J. Szocki, *Wizerunek...*, quot. jour., p. 87.

analysis of radio or television transfers due to the very nature of the press (print!).

While writing about the image of the Church in the papers, several issues should be taken into consideration. First of all, the question of understanding the concept of 'the Church' arises – whether we mean the universal Church, or the particular Church (local), determined by a certain area of action, cultural and linguistic spheres, a field of activities of a particular Episcopal conference, or not? It seems that both understandings would intermingle.

Second, this image is dependable on several factors. It must be remembered that it can occasionally vary in particular press titles due to their programming line and beliefs represented by a publisher and journalists. The image of the Church would look differently if published by political parties of diverse kind, by independent entities ((in both of which cases, we have a whole range of beliefs, possible directions of discourse and attitudes: from the extremely favorable, by a purely objective one, focusing on information itself, to strongly critical and even hostile, in extreme cases advancing even to lies, manipulation and distorting facts), and yet differently in the press published by the Church (then we can talk about some kind of self-presentation)³⁷. The press content may be heterogeneous depending on the author or publisher's beliefs. It is easily noticeable in the present media discourse. A. Petrowa-Wasilewicz related to this fact during the 4th International Conference on Ethics in the Media, titled 'Media, Truth, Development', which took place on 11 May 2011 in Bydgoszcz. According to the lecturer, the answer to the question about the truth about the Church in the media, to a large extent, depends on their editorial line. 'Many of them reliably inform about the life of the Church, without avoiding complex problems, but – by demonstrating real proportions of the presence of difficult matters

³⁷ Cf. A. Kominek, *Punkt...*, quot. journ., p. 7.

– they inform about the daily work of the Church, its educational, cultural and media actions’ – said Petrowa-Wasilewicz, who, simultaneously pointed to the existence of a notable and opinion-forming leftist media group, which treat the Church as a political opponent. With regard to her, ‘information about the Church in this media group is distorted, only subjects that are meant at disavowing the Church are broadcast, the truth does not matter in the media transfer but the propagandistic effect’³⁸.

It is clear, as Paul A. Soukup notes, that Catholic community is far from a homogenous audience, which is ready to take action as directed by a hierarchy. But Catholic communications themselves are quite complex. Standard public relations work, ongoing publications, tv and radio programs, the press originate from three different sources: the official institution, subgroups with the Church, and the catholic media houses. The Church generates official media through diocesan newspapers, broadcast programs and special materials. The institutional Church participates in a public debate also through the official media and public relations efforts. This official communication aims both ways: to the Church overall and to the larger audience³⁹. It was noticed i.a. by S.M. Hoover who says that ‘media research has been dominated by positivist-empiricist modes and methods that have embedded in them a deeply held commitment to ideas of rationalism and secularism’⁴⁰.

³⁸ Cf. *Prawda o Kościele w mediach*, [online] <http://ekai.pl/wydarzenia/konferencje/x41753/prawda-o-kosciele-w-mediach/> (accessed July 11, 2011). Besides, despite unquestionably author’s good intentions as well as her positive attitude to the Church, it seems obvious that the Church is perceived from a highly subjective perspective, i.e., exceptionally on the institutional grounds, with no reference to its supernatural dimension, which has been already mentioned in the introduction.

³⁹ Cf. P.A. Soukup, *Media, Culture, and Catholicism*, Kansas City 1996, p. 194.

⁴⁰ S.M. Hoover, *Media and the Constructions of the Religious Public Sphere*, in: S.M. Hoover, K. Lundby (ed.), *Rethinking Media, Religion, and Culture*,

In addition – the press is the reflection of the social life and its processes. Therefore, it is impossible to study the image of the Church with no regard to its historical, social and political context.

Forth – the question about the influence of the media image on the real image arises. As already mentioned, the real image can be completely different from the media one and in case of the Church such situations occurred. However, communication via the press also encounters other obstacles. In the first part of the period of our interest a question about the press coverage and its impact on a recipient must be asked. J. Mysliński notices that, e.g., one copy of a newspaper fell to 0,4 persons in the late 19th and early 20th c. in Galicia, including the illiterate and children. The media coverage, then, was not wide, even if we consider the fact that a single copy was read by a dozen of people. Undoubtedly, a low purchasing power, illiteracy and the lack of a permanent habit of reading newspapers were factors that limited readership. Thus, most of the press in Galicia was distributed in towns⁴¹. When independence was regained, the number of the illiterate in Poland was estimated to approx. 33% in 1921 and approx. 23% in 1931⁴². As for the purchasing power of the society, it was significantly diversified according to a criterion such as, for instance, the place of residence (village, town), but also a region of Poland. Readership in the Polish village was rather spontaneous between 1918-1939, it is also difficult to talk about a conscious and deliberate title selection. Working class people, who oftentimes tended to read the socialist press, had lower purchasing power in towns. White collar workers spend more money on the press⁴³.

SAGE Publications 1997, p. 283.

⁴¹ Cf. J. Mysliński, *Prasa polska w Galicji w dobie autonomicznej (1867-1918)*, in: J. Łojek (ed.), *Prasa polska w latach 1964-1918*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 166-167.

⁴² Cf. A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska w latach 1918-1939*, Warsaw 1980, p. 17.

⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 20-22.

These considerations and restrictions cause that the image of the Church in Poland in the papers in various historical epochs should be approached with great caution, taking into account historical and social context as well as the specificity of the Church as an institution, the specificity of the press as a medium, a method and many other, above-mentioned circumstances.

CHAPTER II

The Church During Partitions – at the Turn of Centuries

The synthetic glance at the situation of the Church in Poland in the late 20th and early 21st centuries leads to the assumption that its history was extremely turbulent, full of difficult moments, yet also beautiful; parallel to the history of the Polish nation and the country in this period. The beginning of the 20th century was still the time of partitions. The Church was a refuge of the Polishness at that time. It must have dealt with several difficulties, however. It experienced various repressions from the occupying powers, especially in the Prussian and Russian partition, where, after the January Uprising, tsardom abolished convents and organized persecution on the Catholic clergy. Russification coexisted with de-catholicizing; for the tsarist power terms such as 'Pole' and 'Catholic' meant the same. Getting the Russian citizenship necessitated leaving the Catholic faith and converting to the Orthodox Church⁴⁴. Chicanes were numerous: the confiscation

⁴⁴ M. Chamot notices: 'Russian policy, repressive towards the Polish nationality and towards the Catholic Church encouraged the social justification for the stereotype of 'Polak-Catholic'. Identification of the Polishness with Catholicism – in the Russian partition in opposition to the identification

of property, suppression of the monasteries and convents, constant supervision of the police, prohibition of pilgrimages, processions and even ceremonial funerals, restrictions on freedom of mobility for the clergy. Besides, 'every religious correspondence, papers and books as well as the social activities of the Church were subject to the governor-general control'⁴⁵. The Church firmly integrated with the Polish society in all partitions. The authorities that aimed at attacking the Polish nation, frequently also attacked the Catholic Church. This caused that the clergy, who defended the faith, simultaneously defended the Polishness⁴⁶. The Catholic Church was only institution somewhat able to cut across the partition of Russian, Prussian and Austrian Poland. The fusion of the Polish national and Catholic identities took place despite the Vatican's negative attitude towards the Polish uprisings⁴⁷.

The Church was not the only institution, however, which took the fight for the Polishness. K. Górski recalls diverse examples of such actions. Thus, already in the late 18th century, T. Jeż established the self-educational organization for the youth, which proliferated across Poland and its attitude to the Church is defined in the words: 'the contemporary generation respected the Church yet it did

of the Russianness to the Orthodoxy – was, to some extent, independent from the national consciousness. Cultural factors, such as language, customs and religious practices had a great impact on it'. M. Chamot, *Entuzjizm i zwątpienie. Obraz własny Polaków w wybranej publicystyce prasowej trzech zaborów w latach 1864-1914*, Toruń 2003, p. 59. Similar theses cf. Z. Zieliński, *Mit 'Polak-katolik'*, in: Wrzesiński W. (ed.), *Polskie mity polityczne XIX i XX wieku*, Wrocław 1994, p. 112.

⁴⁵ Z. A. Chomiuk, *Błogosławiony ksiądz Ignacy Kłopotowski w służbie ubogim i potrzebującym*, Warsaw 2005, p. 11.

⁴⁶ Cf. R. Jusiak, *Kościół katolicki...*, quot. jour., p. 67.

⁴⁷ Cf. J. Casanova, *Church, State, Nation and Civil Society in Spain and Poland*, in: S. A. Arjomand, *The Political Dimensions of Religion*, New York 1993, p. 120.

not like it'⁴⁸. Additionally, the national-democratic and socialist organizations, which had antagonistic attitudes to the Church, were founded at that time. Gorski recalls, e.g., the National Youth Organization of anti-political and non-religious character among the youth movements. As for the Catholic youth movement, the Elsy and Current group deserve attention. Similar divisions were noticeable among the popular and labor movements⁴⁹.

With respect to the press in that period, it must be considered that, first of all, each of the three partitions should be examined separately due to the diverse socio-political situation. Second, it must be remembered that the press was censored by the partitioners, hence, freedom of expressing one's opinion was absent from the papers⁵⁰. Undoubtedly, the partitioners had their own policy, which was aimed at destroying and counteracting any Polish editorial initiatives. In the Russian partition we deal with a fierce stance of the occupying powers to any Polish-speaking editorial proposals. A. K. Gromek observes that 'governors proceeded from the premise that the less press is published in the area entrusted to their care, the less problems. Moreover, by supporting the local Polish initiative one could expose himself to the term 'polakophilia', a sympathizer of Poles, and with such a label there was no future in the tsarist administration. The contemporary socio-political situation imposed a conflict between the occupying powers and the representatives of the media, leaders of the nation seeking to regain independence'⁵¹.

⁴⁸ K. Górski, *Zarys dziejów katolicyzmu polskiego*, Toruń 2008, p. 462.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-467.

⁵⁰ More about the censorship, its methods and a scope of functioning in the Russian partition – ref. H. Bałabuch, *Nie tylko cenzura. Prasa prowincjonalna Królestwa Polskiego w rosyjskim systemie prasowym w latach 1865-1915*, Lublin 2001.

⁵¹ A.K. Gromek, *Dzieje prasy lubelskiej w latach 1800-1939*, in: Jarowiecki J. et al. (ed.), *Prasa lubelska. Tradycje i współczesność*, Lublin 1986, p. 23.

Unquestionably, Warsaw was the most significant city in the Russian partition. Although it did not have the official status of the capital (Poland, after all, did not exist as a country), nevertheless, Warsaw remained the social and cultural center in the consciousness of Poles. Due to the Russian regimen, it can be assumed that the life of the contemporary Warsaw took essentially two distinct mainstreams. The first, the official mainstream, approved by the tsar and with the operating apparatus of state: offices, courts and the army. Despite the fact that censorship was problematic, the national Polish press existed. The Catholic press (in the modern meaning) did not exist at all. The second trend constituted the socialist underground, which published its own press and prepared the political revolution⁵². It is observable that in 1905-1907 a number of members of the socialist parties remarkably increased. It was followed by a tremendous speed of printing propaganda – at the end of 1906 the circulation of the socialist magazines amounted to 100 thousands of copies⁵³. Besides, the national-liberation movements were formed in conspiracy and even the cultural life of Warsaw was concealed⁵⁴.

The edict of tolerance of 1905 was, undoubtedly, a watershed in the press publishing in the Russian partition. The preventive

⁵² Cf. Z. A. Chomiuk, *Zgromadzenie Sióstr Matki Bożej Loretańskiej w pierwszym etapie rozwoju (1920-1949)*, in: H. Wyczawski (ed.), *Studia z historii Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 8, Warsaw 1987, p. 167.

⁵³ D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski życie i apostołat*, Warsaw 1996, p. 215. J. Casanova notes: 'When the first phase of industrialisation took place, both the state and capital were mainly in foreign hands. Therefore, the Church could not be perceived as legitimating either state domination or capitalist exploitation. As a result the first generation of Polish workers were neither de-Christianized nor denationalised – certainly not to extent that was common elsewhere. On the contrary, often there was a fusion of class, religious and national identity'. J. Casanova, *Church, State, Nation...*, quot. art., p. 120.

⁵⁴ Z. A. Chomiuk, *Zgromadzenie...*, quot. art., p. 167.

editorship was abolished and the repressive system came into existence. An editor was merely obliged to inform the authorities about his intention to publish a magazine (register), with no charge to get a concession beforehand. It resulted in the considerable growth of the press titles, however, most of them happened to be ephemerides. It must be remembered that the martial law in the Kingdom of Poland lasted until 1908. It caused that papers were frequently subjected to numerous repressions, even including closing them down. The press editions were oftentimes confiscated, hence numerous authors preferred to voluntarily submit to the preventive censorship, despite its abolition. The financial penalties as well as other repressions directed at editors and authors, were not rare at that time⁵⁵. Bl. Fr. Ignatius Kłopotowski may serve as an example as he is considered the precursor of the Catholic press in Poland and against whom the partitioning power instituted numerous investigations. Additionally, he was repeatedly sentenced to pay a fine and even was imprisoned for publishing the contents that appeared threatening to the opposing power as they contained independence and patriotic themes⁵⁶.

The press in the Russian partition was fairly well developed in that period. Titles, published by the so called progressivists, appeared, also the national-democratic press was visible and gradually took place of conservative papers. Socialist titles were issued illegally and they were rather critical, if not hostile, of the Church. In addition to newspapers of the particular political affiliation, the independent and commercial press started to grow. 'Warsaw Courier' was the leader among them. The folk press started to appear ('Siewba', 'Zaranie')⁵⁷. Titles of the folk press were

⁵⁵ Cf. J. Myśliński, *Prasa polska w dobie powstaniowej*, in: J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władyka (ed.), *Dzieje prasy polskiej*, Warsaw 1988, p. 61.

⁵⁶ Cf. A. Adamski, *Kapłan i dziennikarz*, Warsaw 2008, p. 18.

⁵⁷ Cf. J. Myśliński, *Prasa polska w dobie...*, quot. jour., pp. 62-63.

often negative about the Church. It was especially visible in case of 'Zaranie', which supported 'mariawici' and openly and fiercely attacked the Catholic Church in its papers. These were frequently slanderous attacks, which aimed at discrediting the authority of the Church. The Catholic titles argued with them at times and Fr. Ignatius Kłopotowski was one of the leading polemicists⁵⁸. However, the expression 'zaraniarski movement' has its origins in the press title 'Zaranie' and should be given more consideration.

'Zaraniarski' movement arose among peasants in the early 20th century. It operated under the slogan 'for ourselves only'. It aimed at declaring independence of villages from their detachment to the court. Although primarily it was not anti-religious, yet strived to achieve the complete separation from the clergy in those areas of life which were not closely linked to the religious sphere. It had never taken official organizational shapes and was not an organized coalition, however, it had enormous influence due to 'Zaranie'. Maksymilian Malinowski was the editor and publisher of the paper whereas Tomasz Nocznicki was his close partner.

'Zaranie' was connected with the folk education. The reason for disparities between 'Zaranie' and 'Posiew', which was published for villages by Fr. Kłopotowski, can be found in the shape of this education; Fr. Kłopotowski believed that it should be loyal and contingent to the Catholic Church while 'zaraniarze' criticized the Church. The escalating conflict as well as disparities of the vision had gradually changed the attitude of 'zaraniarze' into anti-clerical ones and pro-mariawickie sympathies. The conflict intensified when the Catholic bishops issued pastoral letters in 1911, which ordered the removal of the readers of 'Zaranie' from parishes and prohibited them from any religious services. The activity of 'Zaranie' was stopped in 1915 as M. Malinowski and a numerous group of 'zaraniarze' got arrested⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. Olszewski, quot. jour., pp. 190-198.

⁵⁹ Cf. S. Stępień, *Prasa ludowa w Polsce. Zarys historyczny*, Warsaw 1984,

As for the Catholic press in the Russian partition, Bl. Fr. Ignatius Kłopotowski and his work deserve to be highlighted. The author would devote more attention to this person in the further part of the study.

Concerning the development of the Polish press in Galicia before World War II, the strong position of conservative papers is worth mentioning (‘Czas’ published in Cracow and the socio-Christian movement, e.g., ‘Głos Narodu’ (The Voice of the Nation), ‘Przedświt’ (Daybreak), ‘Przegląd Powszechny’ (The Universal Review). Democrats developed their press business, surprisingly, the youth press remarkably grew in size⁶⁰. In case of the Catholic press in this partition, we can talk about some kind of a delay as the Church discovered the press as a tool of the social impact only after publishing the encyclical *Rerum novarum*. The most respected Catholic titles in Galicia included: the weekly ‘Gazeta Kościelna’ (The Church Newspaper) and ‘Przegląd Powszechny’ (The Universal Review) published by Jesuits.

Besides, the existence of an enormous group of popular papers for people, which were created and published by Fr. Stanisław Stojałowski, should be noted. Those were ‘Wieniec’ and ‘Pszczółka’, supplemented by a number of minor papers: ‘Niewiasta’ – for women; ‘Gospodarz Wiejski’ and ‘Rolnik’ – of agricultural character; ‘Cepy’ – a satirical paper; ‘Piaśt’ and ‘Poland’ – for the intelligentsia; ‘Dzwon’ – for the clergy, and calendars⁶¹. Despite his social commitment, Fr. Stojałowski did not avoid the open conflict with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which resulted

pp. 75-87; D. Olszewski, quot. jour., pp. 196-197; Z. Kmiecik, *Ruch oświatowy na wsi*, Warsaw 1963, pp. 141-143.

⁶⁰ Cf. J. Myśliński, *Prasa polska w dobie...*, quot. jour., pp. 65-68.

⁶¹ Cz. Strzeszewski, *Chrześcijańska myśl i działalność społeczna w zaborze austriackim w latach 1865-1918*, in: Cz. Strzeszewski, R. Bender, K. Turowski (ed.), *Historia katolicyzmu społecznego w Polsce 1832-1939*, Warsaw 1981, pp. 151-152.

in distressing consequences for him. Fr. Stojałowski is a truly interesting person. He is considered the precursor of the popular movement in Galicia. He initiated the popular political movement, which respected economic needs of peasants. At first, he did not have the specified political program. Then, despite unquestionably right social and political postulates, he also proclaimed opinions that were perceived by the Church authorities as undermining the canon law and jurisdiction of bishops; particularly the postulate on the direct election of parish priests and bishops as well as the criticism of the social status of the Church were referred to. As a result, Fr. Stojałowski came into conflict with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which led to his accusation by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and imposing a curse upon him. Only before his death (1911) he officially reconciled with the Church⁶².

In the Prussian partition the conservative and national-democratic trends were strong (publishing titles such as, for instance, 'Praca', 'Orędownik', 'Dziennik Poznański'. Among other press titles, 'Przegląd Poznański', published by The National League in Poznań, undoubtedly, deserves attention. Editors of this paper postulated the revival of the society on democratic principles. The national solidarity was proclaimed, with no stress on the hegemony of the landed gentry. Publishers of 'Przegląd' condemned the settlement policy, the primacy of the Church interests over the national ones⁶³. The creation of the 'Przewodnik Katolicki' in 1895, which led by Fr. Joseph Kłos quickly achieved high circulation (approx. 60 thousand copies)⁶⁴, was a significant event for the Catholic press. The remaining titles published in

⁶² Cf. W. Urban, *Dzieje Kościoła w zaborze austriackim*, in: B. Kumor, Z. Ober-tyński (ed.), *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2 1764-1945, part 1 1764-1918, Poznan-Warsaw 1979, pp. 597-599.

⁶³ Cf. J. Myśliński, *Prasa polska w dobie...*, quot. jour., pp. 68-69.

⁶⁴ Cf. A. Adamski, *Kapłan...*, quot. jour., p. 36.

Wielkopolska region are – according to J. Myśliński – mainly socio-economic periodicals, papers of the Polish associations, papers of Christian trade unions and educational periodicals, etc. All of them were aimed at cultivating the national traditions and the economic stabilization of the Polish ownership. Thus, the press in Wielkopolska region before World War I was dominated by the National Democracy and the socio-Christian movement⁶⁵.

World War I triggered a remarkable crisis in the press industry – both, Catholic and non-Catholic. Warfare per se as well as the economic crisis, particularly the lack of paper, generated this turning point in journalism. Between 1914-1916 several periodicals were issued (Fr. Ignatius Kłopotowski with the admirable persistence continued to publish his journal ‘Polak-Katolik’ (trans. Pole-Catholic)⁶⁶.

At the threshold of World War I and in its first months, the clergy was not politically engaged. The war as well as suffering and misery triggered actions of the clergy on the charitable field, however. Shortly before the German troops occupied Warsaw (August 5, 1915) the archbishop of Cracow prohibited the clergy from any political activity, yet then, he changed his attitude, to the extent, that even he himself agreed to become a member of the three-person Regency Council, which was established on October 12, 1917 by the emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary. He also inspired the manifesto delivered by the Council on October 7, 1918, which proclaimed the unification of Poland, the creation of the government and the establishment of Sejm. Both, the arrival of the apostolic visitor (future nuncio), Fr. Achille Ratti in Poland in May, 1918 as well as undertaken by him actions concerning organizational matters of the Church in Poland,

⁶⁵ Cf. J. Myśliński, *Prasa polska w dobie...*, quot. jour., pp. 69-70.

⁶⁶ Cf. A. Adamski, *Kapłan...*, quot. jour., p. 37.

can be viewed as a recognition (at that time still informal) of the Polish independence by the Apostolic See⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce*, Cracow 1986, pp. 281-286.

CHAPTER III

In the Second Republic of Poland

On October 28, 1925, Pope Pius XI issues the papal bull *Vixdum Poloniae unitas* that gave a new shape to the Catholic Church structure in Poland. He established new dioceses and metropolies and reordered the existing ones. Since this document came into force till the outbreak of World War II, there were 21 dioceses in Poland divided into 5 metropolies (excluding Gdańsk diocese, which was created for Free City of Gdańsk and directly contingent on the Apostolic See). The Warsaw archdiocese was the most populous and amounted 1,650 of believers in 1939. There were 70 bishops in the Polish Episcopal in the interwar period – 39 Ordinaries and 31 suffragans. The total number of the clergy in 1939 amounted to 10,400 of the diocesan priests and almost 1,800 of conventuals⁶⁸. Among the most significant events for

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 309-315. However, it must be remembered that the conditions of a pastoral work were harsh due to the contemporary state of religion. In Poland, eight denominations and a huge number of sects existed at that time. Besides, there were three distinct legislatures for each denomination. This mosaic was especially visible in the eastern part of Poland. Cf. W. Urban, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce w latach 1914-1918*, in: B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, *Historia Kościoła w Polsce, vol II 1764-1945*, p. 1 1764-1918, Poznań-Warsaw 1979, p. 740.

the Church in Poland at that time are: the establishment of the Catholic University of Lublin (1918), dedicating the country to the Virgin Mary (1920 – this event was connected with the Polish-Bolshevik war), the concordat between Poland and the Vatican (1925), a declaration of the aforementioned papal bull *Vixdum Poloniae unitas* (1925), Catholic assemblies (1921, 1926), the establishment of The Catholic Press Agency (1927), launching 'Akcja Katolicka' (1929), the national synod of bishops with participation of the Greek Catholic episcopalians in Częstochowa (1936), the canonisation of the Blessed Andrew Boboła (1938)⁶⁹.

The legal situation of the Church in the Second Republic of Poland was encompassed in two documents: the Constitution and the Concordat of 1925. In the Constitution of 1921 issues concerning religion, denomination and the Church were included in articles 110-114; to be more specific, articles 110-112 covered the issues related to guarantees of freedom of religion of an individual, however, 113-114 and 120 – interinstitutional relations between the Church and the state. Those regulations were expanded in the Concordat of 1925, which comprised 27 points⁷⁰.

As already mentioned, the threshold of the 20th century is an extremely fierce period. The anti-Catholic trends in philosophy as well as in the social life were intensely manifested. In Poland, due to the specific situation of the national solidarity in fighting the opposing powers, such trends were slightly diminished, nevertheless, in sovereign Poland, the clash between the laical and

⁶⁹ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, *quot. jour.*, pp. 432-436.

⁷⁰ Cf. J. Krukowski, *Status prawny religii i Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w Polsce (1918-1993)*, in: J. Jachymek (ed.), *Religia i Kościół rzymskokatolicki w polskiej myśli politycznej 1919-1993*, Lublin 1995, pp. 32-35. More about status of the Church in Pre-War Poland: Cf. M.S. Mazgaj, *Church and State in Communist Poland. A History, 1944-1989*, McFarland Publishers, Jefferson (North Carolina) 2010, pp. 9-29; N. Pease, *Rome's Most Faithful Daughter: the Catholic Church and Independent Poland*, Ohio University Press 2009.

anti-ecclesiastical notions vs. the Church could be strong, especially because of the state's laicism and the consistent division of the religious and governmental matters. Leftists supported laicism understood in such terms, i.e., hostile to the Church, or at least to the clergy. The Catholic-national, and the Christian-democratic groups were on the opposite side⁷¹. The debate was animated and numerous objections, which would require a separate examination and distinctions, were put forward against the Church⁷². As J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa and J. Skarbek note, 'unquestionably, what was linked to the very essence of things, to the fundamental dogmas, what simply resulted from various historical and actual conditions, was hardly understood and differentiated from the secular position'⁷³. A collection of articles titled 'Our Occupants' by T. Boy-Żeleński, published in 1933, can be seen as a kind of symbol of those attitudes. It was rich in hostile statements, such as 'bishops are insane'⁷⁴ or 'while reading this letter concerning the new law on marriage (...), one may get an impression that it is said by a representative of an outside state, residing in our country, yet a stranger, who speaks in a tone of a leader'⁷⁵. In another place he writes that 'the clergy do not want any agreement, do not want to systematize this matter, even today's chaos and a persistent scandal of legal relations are more pleasant to them than any order, provided that this order would not accept their absolute

⁷¹ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, quot. jour., pp. 334-335. It is hard to resist the belief that the analogous situation took place in Poland after 1989. For a detailed analysis of the presence of religion and the Church in the opinion of particular political parties and their attitude to the Church ref. J. Jachymek (ed.), *Religia i Kościół rzymskokatolicki w polskiej myśli politycznej 1919-1993*, Lublin 1995.

⁷² Cf. J. Casanova, *Church, State, Nation...*, quot. jour., p. 121.

⁷³ J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, quot. jour., pp. 335-336.

⁷⁴ T. Boy-Żeleński, *Nasi okupanci*, in: *ibid.*, *Pisma*, vol. 15, Warsaw 1958, p. 285.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

monopoly, tariffs and tolls...'⁷⁶. In several places he almost chokes on hatred: 'neither Muscovite nor Prussian did not cause such an internal rebellion as this occupation, deeply penetrating the soul, a private life and pockets'⁷⁷. Naturally, the opinion of Boy-Żeleński was not the only one in the debate on a role of the Church in the Polish society. This subject was dealt with by numerous publicists, who oftentimes fiercely argued with each other.

Some of them, like for instance, Wojciech Korfanty did not refrain from thorough analyses (e.g., the three-part article titled 'The Catholic Church vs. a State' written by this author, in which he discusses issues connected with a concordat)⁷⁸. Only from the very titles of his articles, it can be noted that the author did not avoid exploring the subject of the Church⁷⁹, nonetheless, he did it in an incredibly sensible manner.

A great number of parties strived for the clergy's approval and viewed the Church as a huge and powerful group that can influence decisions of voters. There were five groups that openly applied to Catholicism in their actions (it was especially visible in the 1920s). However, sympathies of the Polish clergy were divided between the Christian Democrats, the National Democrats and later, the sanation⁸⁰.

Anti-clerical slogans also reached villages and working class people, particularly via the papers published by the leftist, socialist

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 287.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 339.

⁷⁸ Articles appeared in the *Polonia* paper in August, 1933. They can also be found in the anthology of the same author, titled 'Nation State Church'. Cf. W. Korfanty, *Kościół katolicki a Państwo*, in: *ibid.*, *Naród Państwo Kościół*, Katowice 1992, pp. 174-184.

⁷⁹ For example: *Catholic Politics vs. the Catholic Action; About the Christian Government; About the Christian Spirit in Poland; Reflections – Catholicism as a Principle of Order; Where is a place of a Catholic?*; etc.

⁸⁰ Cf. T. Mielczarek, *Prasa w systemie politycznym II Rzeczypospolitej (1918-1939)*, Sosnowiec 2009, p. 46.

and communist political parties. A tendency to set oneself in a role of the cross-party arbiter and hence, do not supporting any particular party, even if it relied on the Christian rules, eventually won in the Polish Church. Simultaneously the moral obligation of Catholics, i.e., to engage in the political life on their own responsibility, was stressed⁸¹. The nomination of August Hlond for the position of archbishop as well as the primate of Gniezno, on June 24, 1926, was a significant moment in shaping this policy of the Church. His impact was evident enough and presumably concurred with the pope Pius XI, who perfectly knew Poland and it is reflected in the words written by Hlond to marshal Piłsudski at the end of 1926: 'The Primate of Poland, who declares a sincere loyalty of the episcopate to the state and government, states that bishops aspire to cooperate in harmony with the national leaders, and in agreement with its mission, constantly work for the good of the homeland and do not enter party politics, which is inaccurately suggested to the episcopate by various newspapers. It would like the government to care for the Catholic Church and to avoid in their decrees anything that may evoke anxiety among Catholics and predispose them negatively toward the government'⁸².

The major task of the Church was to educate the society through its own, non-party Catholic Action as well as modernization of the pastoral ministry. The Church led by primate Hlond was gradually becoming an independent organization, able to integrate the nation and obtainig moral prestige, even in unfavorable environments. It counteracted both, the communist tendencies and extremely nationalistic ones⁸³. It conducted a highly limited educational action among the youth and adults – not only was it accomplished by spreading education, but also thanks to an

⁸¹ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, quot. jour., p. 337.

⁸² Cf. Ibid., p. 338.

⁸³ Ibid.

extremely restricted self-publishing. L. Dyczewski claims that 'to a large extent, the development of the press publishing of the Church in the interwar period was determined by an increasing process of secularization in many spheres of the social life, intensification of anti-clerical attitudes, expanding activity of the leftist press and an increase of the radical press readership. Furthermore, it was commonly believed in clerical groups that the secular periodicals were dominated by people who are hostile to the Church and the state, and who deliberately print and distribute the unfavorable press. The primary task of the Catholic publishing business was, therefore, to spread and deepen the principles of the Catholic faith and morals; however, the secondary one – to acknowledge the society with the Catholic opinion and disapprove of contents, which were promoted by the opposition'⁸⁴.

While in 1925 there were only 75 religious magazines among 1,606 total, in 1929 this proportion amounted to 205 to 2,329⁸⁵. In 1936 there was up to 1,5 mln Catholic papers among approx. 2,4 mln of the total number of the 11 largest magazines on the market. The advanced specialization and segmentation of the religious press are noticeable as among papers we can distinguish magazines for intellectuals as well as common people; also for children, youth, adults, women, workers, patients, missionaries... The issue of the Catholic press was present at conferences, Catholic conventions and a synod session. The establishment of the Catholic Press Agency in 1927, under the leadership of Fr. Anthony Gawlina, expressed the concern for the development of the Catholic press. The Church owned 32 printing houses, had well-organized distribution network and several significant

⁸⁴ L. Dyczewski, *Działalność wydawnicza Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce międzywojennej*, 'Homo Dei' 1972 nr 4, pp. 289-290.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 293.

publishing centers⁸⁶. This resulted in the evident rise of the religious-moral level in Poland, and even some kind of the moral revival, which – according to Cz. Strzeszewski – was visible at the end of the 1930s⁸⁷. The identification of Catholicism with only one direction or political party seemed dangerous in the first years of independence, hence, it was important to avoid such a threat. All of this ensured the Church the position based not on the attitude of ‘being closed in one’s own fortress’, yet on the religious and universal Catholic values, both, conscious and by choice, also convinced of its reasons and supported by factual arguments⁸⁸.

Although the quantity of magazines printed by the Church is impressive, it must be also stated that the Church in the Second Republic of Poland was affected by the lack of the high-volume Catholic journal. Fr. Ignatius Kłopotowski, whose beatification – by the will of Pope Benedict XVI – was conducted by Polish cardinal Joseph Glemp in Warsaw in 2005, attempted to publish such a journal. Undoubtedly, the Blessed Fr. Kłopotowski is a special figure in a history of the Catholic press in Poland. He is oftentimes called ‘the pioneer of the Catholic press in Poland’⁸⁹ in various studies. He started his publishing activity in Lublin in 1886. Since 1905 he had published a daily ‘Pole-Catholic’ and a weekly for the common people ‘Posiew’ in this town. In 1908 he moved to Warsaw in order to secure his magazines greater opportunities of development. He continued to create projects, which according to the modern nomenclature, can be defined as ‘the press concern’. It encompassed a private printing house, the network of bookstores,

⁸⁶ Cf. A. Adamski, *Kapłan...*, quot. jour., pp. 38-39.

⁸⁷ Cz. Strzeszewski, *Wpływ katolickiej myśli i działalności społecznej na życie społeczne Polski*, in: Strzeszewski Cz., Bender R., Turowski K. (ed.), *Historia katolicyzmu społecznego w Polsce 1832-1939*, Warsaw 1981, pp. 591-633.

⁸⁸ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, quot. jour., p. 339.

⁸⁹ Cf. J. Styk, *Ksiądz Ignacy Kłopotowski 1866-1931. Społecznik, publicysta i wydawca*, Warsaw 1987; A. Adamski, *Kapłan...*, quot. jour., p. 8.

a publishing house and several press titles. The creation of a female religious congregation, which was to spread the Gospel via the printed word, should be regarded as a unique initiative. It was in 1920 and the congregation, called the Loreto Sisters, still exists and continues the work of their founder. They have their own publishing houses in Poland, Italy, Romania and Ukraine⁹⁰.

The daily 'Pole-Catholic', which was published by the future Blessed, did not achieve the position anticipated by its author. It failed at accomplishing the circulation amounting to approx. 30,000-80,000 copies, which guaranteed the financial stability of the daily⁹¹. Fr. Kłopotowski started to publish his daily already in 1905 in Lublin (thus, still under the partitions). In 1908 he moved to Warsaw and, hence, relocated 'Pole-Catholic' and his emerging at that time 'media concern'. 'Pole-Catholic' was one of several newspapers, which, despite tremendous difficulties in obtaining paper, were issued during World War I. Eventually, in 1926, Fr. Kłopotowski passed on his daily, the printing house and the rights to the majority of his press titles in the Warsaw archdiocese. Initially, 'Pole-Catholic' belonged to the Pallotines, however, after numerous perturbations and transformations, the daily was closed in 1932⁹².

The Catholic daily had not been in existence until 1935 in Poland. Nevertheless, there was a need of publishing this kind of the press. The issue was debated during various episcopal conventions. Polish bishops as well as Pope Pius XI encouraged distribution of the catholic daily in Poland. The Pope even wrote a letter to the Polish episcopate, in which he devoted one paragraph

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Cf. Cz. Lechicki, *Sprawa dziennika katolickiego w Warszawie*, 'Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej' 1981 nr 2, p. 7.

⁹² Cf. A. Adamski, *Kapłan...*, quot. jour., p. 87; Cz. Lechicki, quot. art., pp. 9-22.

to this matter. He wrote, e.g., 'The case of the Catholic daily that you decided to publish as soon as possible extremely pleased us. As already stated, it seems that there is no other means to support and strengthen the Catholic Action. In other words, there is simply no better way to shape and strengthen minds of young people via education and Christian principles than printing a completely Catholic daily...'⁹³.

The answer to those challenges was found in 'Mały Dziennik', which was published by the Franciscans from Niepokalanów. A driving force of the entire initiative was Fr. Maksymilian Maria Kolbe – the future saint and martyr. Niepokalanów was a significant publishing center at that time, it issued two monthlies, i.e., 'Rycerz Niepokalanej' (Knight of the Mary Immaculate) and 'Mały Rycerzyk' (Small Knight). The former one was a champion as for the circulation – some publications had over 1 mln copies at once; the stable circulation amounted to approx. 700,000 copies⁹⁴.

'Mały Dziennik' was created in May 1935. In the advertising leaflet it was depicted as 'the informative, non-party and independent daily. The Catholic paper. It uses healthy sensation. It moralizes about everything'. Fr. Adam Wójcik was an official chief editor. At first, the circulation was 15,000, however, it soon achieved a stable number of 100,00-120,000 copies. The price, as for a daily, was considerably low and cost 5 groszy. Its profile can be described as slightly sensational, though it completely differed – due to its religious nature – from the revolver press of that period. Nonetheless, both, its layout, big titles, photos, a remarkable domination of information over journalism as well as emotional style of writing, locate it in this very media segment⁹⁵.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 21.

⁹⁴ Cf. A. Paczkowski, *Prasa polska...*, quot. jour., p. 196.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 196-197.

Both, 'Polak-Katolik' and 'Mały Dziennik' had similar profile concerning the attitude to the Church. It can be defined as apologetic. It devotes much space to polemics with the opponents of the Church (regarding opinions as well as the institutional sphere). The protection of the Church occasionally grows into a powerful form. Opponents attempted at disavowing these papers by calling them 'Ciemnogrod' or by accusing them of antisemitism⁹⁶. It must be noted that two major Catholic weeklies ('Sunday' and 'Sunday Guest') have their origins in the interwar period, however, the 'Catholic Guide', which was established in 1895, experienced its revival.

The canonization of Saint Andrew Bobola on April 17, 1938, in Rome triggered a discussion in the papers on a possibility of using radio as a means of evangelization and creating the national organization of the Catholic listeners. It was transmitted via the Polish Radio and the transmission encountered the enormous interest and also a response in the press. There were approx. 8,000 pilgrims and a dozen of bishops from Poland at the ceremony⁹⁷.

In the interwar Poland the radiophony was subject to the state monopoly, therefore, the Commission of Religious Broadcasts emerged. Religious celebrations and services were transmitted. Besides, Catholic programs for the sick were broadcast. However, the attempts at increasing the airtime for the Catholic productions encounter numerous obstacles – it was argued that Catholics in Poland constitute merely 70 per cent of the total population. Furthermore, there were

⁹⁶ Cf. A. Adamski, *Kapłan...*, quot. jour., p. 86.

⁹⁷ Cf. T. Kułak, *Katolicy a Polskie Radio. Uwagi w związku z transmisją z Watykanu 17 IV 1938 r. mszy kanonizacyjnej bł. Andrzeja Boboli*, in: Piotrowski M. (ed.), *Na przełomie stuleci. Naród-Kościół-Państwo w XIX i XX wieku*, Lublin 1997, pp. 381-382.

endeavors to 'neutralize' (i.e., de facto censor) some of the Catholic programs, which resulted in the establishment of the Catholic radio station in 1933⁹⁸.

The image of the Church in the press during the interwar period is, unquestionably, varied. It cannot be easily defined as there was a great deal of papers and magazines in the market at that time. From the radical anti-clericism of Boy-Żeleński and anti-Catholicism of the socialis and communist papers, through the papers of political parties and other groups, which were incredibly diversified in attitudes towards the Church, to the strong segment of the Catholic press – a panorama of opinions about the Catholic Church expressed in the papers of the Second Republic of Poland is, indeed, impressive.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 383-385.



CHAPTER IV

Under the German and Soviet Occupation

The outbreak of World War II was a huge disaster for the entire Poland; an event, which considerably changed lives of the Poles. Terror (damages, executions and arrests) that lasted several years begun on September 1, 1939. It is estimated that there were about

6,3 mln people, among 35,5 mln citizens of the Second Republic of Poland, who died due to warfare and organized extermination⁹⁹. Polish territories were divided, in accordance with the provisions of the Molotov-Ribbentrop, between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. Parts of the Polish areas, which were occupied by the Germans, yet not directly incorporated into the Reich, created the General Government.

The outbreak of the war also signified the complete destruction of the Polish press in the form, in which it existed in independent Poland. A network of German newspapers and a system of the press management – similar to the one, which existed in the Third Reich, were founded in the areas incorporated into the Reich. Additionally, independently from each other, the occupant press as well the secret underground Polish press were issued in the

⁹⁹ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, quot. jour., p. 340.

Polish language on the General Government's territories. Initially, the occupant papers was meant to be 'the press of no opinion (purely informative), then, however, it was used as a prominent means of an impact on society that immediately defined this type of the press as 'gadzinowy' (reptile) or 'vile'; despite a scornful attitude to such press, it was still read because of its informative value¹⁰⁰. Among the Polish titles issued by the occupant, there were eight journals (the largest circulation – approx. 200,000 – reached 'New Warsaw Courier'). Despite this paper, there were also 'Goniec Krakowski', 'Gazeta Lwowska', 'Dziennik Radomski', 'Kurier Częstochowski', 'Kurier Kielecki', 'Nowy Głos Lubelski' oraz 'Gazeta Żydowska'. Beside journals, there existed 'gadzinowe' papers¹⁰¹.

The situation of the underground press is much more complicated. Its role was limited to the pure information. Additionally, it influenced the public opinion, provoked the fight with invaders and promoted the idea of independence in society. Furthermore, it reflected the political life of the state, indicated on programs and directions of the independent conspiracy and also educated society via responding to propaganda disseminated by enemies as well as counterattacking moral and politic deprivation¹⁰². However, the informative function was extremely significant: since the very beginning of the occupation, it was assumed that 'informative activities constituted not only

¹⁰⁰ Cf. E. Cytowska, *Szkice z dziejów prasy pod okupacją niemiecką (1939-1945)*, Warszawa-Łódź 1986, pp. 7-12. The occupant philosophy is reflected in words of the general governor, H. Frank: 'The whole system of spreading information must be ruined. No radios, no press that would express particular opinions should be given to the Poles, yet only informative journals'. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰² Cf. S. Lewandowska, *Polska konspiracyjna prasa informacyjno-polityczna 1939-1945*, Warsaw 1982, pp. 7-8.

a fundamental obligation, but they were also a means to combat an enemy and, importantly, the underground press was a basic instrument of this fight¹⁰³. Secret papers already appeared in the first days of the occupation. Initially, these were messages of the radio broadcast, occasionally disseminated in the form of manuscripts. The thematic scope of the secret press was expanding over time: informative-political papers as well as theoretical-programing and professional ones were issued; there were also the sabotage papers published in German for the Wehrmacht soldiers. The size of all the secret documents is estimated to amount about 2,000 titles¹⁰⁴.

The occupation – both, German and Soviet – also meant a great challenge for the Catholic Church. New borders frequently divided the existing dioceses. To make matters worse, occupiers persecuted and repressed the Church as they viewed it – correctly, indeed – as a refuge of patriotism and Polishness and a source of spiritual strength to resist the invader.

The situation of the Church on the occupied territories was varied. Since the areas incorporated into the Reich were destined for Germanization and colonization, the occupying powers strived to completely liquidate the Polish Church and also remove or destroy the Polish clergy and replace them with the German priests. In this regard, the least affected was the Church in Silesia, nevertheless numerous priests (especially those merit in the national and social works) were displaced to the GG. The German language was considered the only one that was acceptable in churches, any Church groups were ceased and the monasteries were closed. Similar situation took place in the district of Gdańsk-West Prussia, although the repressions were extremely brutal in the early months of the occupation. The most dramatic situation

¹⁰³ E. Cytowska, quot. jour., p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.13-14.

of the Church was in 'the land of Warta River', where almost 97 per cent of churches, which existed there before 1939, now were closed down. In addition, approximately 90 per cent of the clergy was either arrested or displaced¹⁰⁵.

In the areas occupied by the Soviet Union, legislature hostile to the Church was passed, hence, it resulted in secularization of schools, nationalization of the Church property, liquidation of monasteries and many other clerical institutions. This policy was aimed at destroying religion and limiting the Church actions. Any resistance was ruthlessly exterminated via using various means of repression¹⁰⁶. Despite this, the basic pastoral activities were still in existence. In turn, the least intensity of repression¹⁰⁷ was visible in the territories of the GG, though, also here the Germans tried to limit the activity and the role of the Church and a great number of diocesan priests, monks and nuns were deported, placed in the camps or killed¹⁰⁸.

Both, repressions of the Church and the attitude of the institutional Church, which strongly supports society, resulted in an enormous increase of its prestige. Anti-clericalism – clericalism that was powerful before the war, begun to fade. Even the generally reluctant to the Church intelligentsia started to better understand and appreciate the importance and role of religion¹⁰⁹. 'National solidarity was once again strengthened by

¹⁰⁵ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, quot. jour. pp. 347-352.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. J. Krukowski, quot. art., p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ The expression 'the least' must be understood relatively, in comparison to the remaining Polish territories. It should be always remembered that it was a ruthless action, aiming at making slaves of the Poles, in which the Church was a huge obstacle.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbek, quot. jour., pp. 352-356.

¹⁰⁹ It is especially evident on the example of the change of the attitude toward the possession of the Catholic university by the Poles. Read more in: M. Laskowska, *Troska o uniwersytet w artykułach ks. Stefana Wyszyńskiego, z lat 1924-1946*, 'Perspectiva. Legnickie Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne'

the ordeal and the Polish Church found itself once more on the side of the nation, suffering more than its share of the brutal Nazi repression and supported physically and spiritually the underground. Any bickering Poles may have had against their Church was soon forgotten'¹¹⁰. Historical circumstances caused that Church in Poland has traditionally been identified with patriotic values¹¹¹.

As far as the image of the Church in the papers is concerned, the aforementioned division on the underground and 'gadzino-wa press' issued by occupants in Polish, must be recalled. It also must be noticed that the image of the Church in the underground press considerably differs from the image – or rather: a caricature of the Church – presented in the occupant papers issued by the Germans¹¹². We also should admit to the statement

2010, nr 1, pp. 118-128.

¹¹⁰ J. Casanova, *Church, State, Nation...*, quot. jour., p. 121.

¹¹¹ Cf. R.S. Fortner, *Intenationalizing Evagelical Media*, in: Q.J. Schultze, R. Woods (Ed.), *Understanding Evangelical Media...*, quot. jour., p. 247.

¹¹² Primate Hlond has already commented on publications in the 'gadzino-wa' papers: 'All that is Christian was mistreated and dragged through the mud. Except for a pervasive cruelty, the obscenity of this atheism has never been so cynical in any other symptom of the Nazi frenzy as in the breakdown of the Christian spirit in Europe due to a powerful attack of a lie. (...) Or maybe falsehood was the most hypocritical in the struggle with the Apostolic See. Indeed, diplomatic relations with the Vatican were maintained till the very end, though only for the international prestige. However, at every opportunity, the seriousness of the Apostolic See was degraded in the Catholic consciences and on the universal level. In the Reich the pope was called the enemy of Germany and the Catholic Church – the universal conspiracy against the rights and aspirations of the German people. (...) The same manifesto of the pope was presented by propaganda to the German nation as an attack on its rights, in Poland – as the solidarity of the Pope with the politics and methods of the occupying Nazis, in France – as the recognition of a collaboration with Hitler, in the Netherlands and Belgium – as a condemnation of the liberation movements of the oppressed nations'. A. Hlond, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce wobec zagadnień chwili. Przemówienie na Akademii ku czci Chrystusa Króla w Poznaniu*, in:

of E. Cytowska, namely, 'the identification of the press with an opinion, as well as the identification of information published in the papers with the social knowledge about events, is, what was frequently stressed in the secondary sources, risky, and during the occupation – extremely difficult to define'¹¹³. Generally, the assumption that the Polish society was reluctant and critical to the vile press (even if anybody read it), especially if it published information unfavorable from the Polish perspective, seems right. On the other hand, however, confidence and trust are noticeable, occasionally on the verge of credulity to the contents given by the underground press¹¹⁴.

The underground press asked questions about the role and mission of the Church toward the society during the occupation period. However, it cannot be assumed that the entire underground press referred to the Church favorably. This press was issued by various centers. It is hard to find any positive remark on the Church in the socialist and communist press. In addition, some papers of the popular movement – as B. Golka notices – sought natural supporters of capitalism in the Church and its clergy, which, in case of anti-capitalism and a critical attitude to sanitation, resulted in spreading anti-clericalism in some underground papers; in several cases agrarianism was connected with the Christian principles¹¹⁵. Every paper of the main political parties had its own information policy and a standpoint. It was evident in both, the selection of topics and the place in the paper, in which particular information was positioned¹¹⁶.

Z. Stachowski (chose), *Stosunki państwo-Kościół w latach 1944-1987* (wybór materiałów źródłowych), Warsaw 1988, pp.20-21.

¹¹³ E. Cytowska, quot. jour., p. 20.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹¹⁵ Cf. B. Golka, *Prasa konspiracyjna ruchu ludowego 1939-1945*, [b.m.w.] 1975, pp. 326-327.

¹¹⁶ Cf. E. Cytowska, quot. jour. p. 19.

Nevertheless, the majority of the press titles presented a positive image of the Church. It does not signify gullibility, obviously. As the role of the Church was appreciated, there was no fear at asking difficult and uncomfortable questions as well as indicating on the necessity of overcoming numerous challenges. The attention was paid, e.g., to the fact that ‘the religious and moral revival is the most important pillar of social morality. The Catholic Church has a leading role in this field. However – if it aims at fulfilling this task – it must start to deepen the socio-Catholic idea from the very top (...)’¹¹⁷.

In the paper ‘Prawda’, published by Front Odrodzenia Polski in 1944 (March-April 1944 edition), we can encounter a series of articles, which represent a kind of a debate on the role of the Church in shaping new Poland, and even new, postwar civilization. Authors¹¹⁸ start from the assumption combined with a question, namely, after the war, which was the time of sacrifice and Golgotha for Poland, would come the resurrection – to what? They also point to the necessity of ‘apostolate of the Christian rules in the social and international spheres’¹¹⁹. In the article ‘The Christian civilization of the 20th century’, they notice that ‘all institutions, starting from a family and finishing on the Church, revealed deep scratches, even reaching their foundations’¹²⁰, however, they recognize ‘in the seemingly collapsing Church (...) a growth of new powerful forces, whose dynamics is capable of regeneration of the world’¹²¹. Additionally, they observe certain ills of the Church

¹¹⁷ „Żywią i Bronią” 1942 nr 13, s. 8. Cyt. za: T. Wyrwa, *Prasa konspiracyjna. W imieniu Polski Walczącej 1940-1945*, Londyn 1984, p. 109.

¹¹⁸ For the obvious reason, the printed texts are not signed with the first and the last names of authors; they also lack information, which would allow their identification.

¹¹⁹ [no title], ‘Prawda’ March-April 1944, p.1.

¹²⁰ *O cywilizację chrześcijańską XX wieku*, ‘Prawda’ March-April 1944, p. 2.

¹²¹ Ibid.

life and indicate on the necessity of some reforms in the Church (nevertheless, they do not state precisely which spheres of life would they affect). Authors also warn against excluding the Church from the process of forming a new civilization. They acknowledge that 'the Church as a minister of sacraments, a teacher of eternal truths, an educator shaping human souls has always, no matter whether we admit it or not, an extremely significant impact on the development of any civilization'¹²². They also recall that it cannot be anticipated that the Church would resolve all the contemporary affairs, from which, it should simply keep a certain distance, necessary for an objective assessment of events. On the contrary, they stressed a huge role of secular Catholics, stating that 'the civilization of the 20th century would be exactly the same as the people who create it. And how would it look like if Catholics are not to constitute a leading group of people?'¹²³.

It must be also noted that life in the occupied Poland was very harsh. It was a constant struggle for survival, a constant uncertainty about tomorrow, a threat of losing property, health or life. Nonetheless, this continuous menace unified the nation and stimulated it to joint actions, helping the weak and the most endangered people¹²⁴. The Church endeavored to ensure the spiritual care, secretly educated people, prepared students for the priestly ordination, conducted charitable activities, saved the Jews¹²⁵. Therefore, we can risk the statement that 'the Catholic Church incurred enormous losses, yet due to the complete identification with the Polish community it remarkably strengthened its prestige and significance in the whole society. Simultaneously, the

¹²² *Udział Kościoła*, 'Prawda' March-April 1944, p. 3.

¹²³ Ibid. According to S. Lewadowska, this type of discourse, i.e., relating to the role of the Church, is characteristic of the press of the national camp and the National Democratic Party. Cf. S. Lewadowska, quot. jour., p. 357.

¹²⁴ Cf. E. Cytowska, quot. jour., pp. 143-144.

¹²⁵ Cf. J. Kłoczowski, L. Mullerowa, J. Skarbak, quot. jour., pp. 364-373.

clergy was transformed, in other words, it became more spiritually mature so that the position of the Church among the Poles in 1945 was much stronger than in 1939¹²⁶.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 373.



CHAPTER V

PZPR, Cardinal Wyszyński, John Paul II and 'Solidarity', Namely, the Harsh Times of Communism (1944-1989)¹²⁷

The world has changed diametrically after the war. For Poland, it signified a subordination to the legitimized communist party of the Soviet Union. It became apparent, however, that the situation of the Church would be extremely difficult¹²⁸. In articles from the 1930s and 1940s by young Fr. Stefan Wyszyński – which M. Laskowska examined in her book – the tasks set by the postwar Church are evident: 'present and explain teachings about man', i.e., a free individual, who is aware of a threat of communism and socialism¹²⁹. It could not be approved by the new authorities. Supporters of communism and socialism have never concealed their bias toward the Church. The ultimate aim of the regime was to eliminate the Church and religion from the Polish life – and it never ceased proclaiming it¹³⁰. A Polish brochure 'Church vs.

¹²⁷ Some parts of this chapter were published in Polish in: A. Adamski, *Tysiąc kłamstw na tysiąclecie. „Trybuna Ludu” o Kościele w latach 1965-1966*, „Biuletyn Edukacji Medialnej” 2011 nr 1, s. 127-145.

¹²⁸ Cf. M.S. Mazgaj, *Church and State in Communist Poland...*, quot. jour., pp. 30-32.

¹²⁹ M. Laskowska, *Ks. Stefan Wyszyński jako dziennikarz i redaktor (1924-1946)*, Toruń 2010, p. 83.

¹³⁰ Cf. J. Casanova, *Church, State, Nation...*, quot. jour., p. 122. Cf. also: J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, Chicago 1994, p. 92-113. See also:

socialism', published in 1920 in Moscow contains the words by R. Luksemburg, which may be emblematic, i.e., 'the struggle for life and death between the clergy, who want to maintain the misery and slavery of people and the Social Democrats, who spread ewangelija [the original spelling – ref. A.A.] of liberation had to take place, just as between the darkest night and the rising sun. As the shadows of a night reluctantly and with resistance disappear before the dawn of the sun, so the Church, like a bat, would prefer to cover people's heads with its black cassock, so that their eyes would not be able to notice the beauty of a rising light of a socialist redemption'¹³¹. However, J. Marchlewski wrote in the preface to this 'work': 'With no exaggeration, it can be said that there is no other enemy for the workers in Poland than the Catholic Church'¹³². Thus, no wonder that the image of the Church in the papers was negative. The church was portrayed as a center of backwardness and symbol of all evil. 'The aforementioned directions of the clerical activities against the popular and progressive fronts do not exhaust actions of the Church – these are the most important aspects. They are supplemented by the anti-Semitic campaign conducted by the Church as well as the campaign for the reform of capitalism, in the spirit of the guidelines included in the social encyclicals of the Popes. (...). While fighting with the progressive movement, the Church struggled for its extravagant privileges and for its powers in the political and social life. In this campaign, the Church became involved with the most backward forces, constituted their pillar and generated impulses for political actions'¹³³ – wrote W. Myśłek in 'Rocznik Wolnej Myśli' in 1961.

H. Diskin, *The Seeds of Triumph. Church and State in Gomulka's Poland*, Central European University Press, Budapest-New York 2001, pp. 33-39.

¹³¹ R. Luksemburg, *Kościół a socjalizm*, Moskwa 1920, p. 24. Original spelling was preserved.

¹³² J. Marchlewski, *Przedmowa*, in: R. Luksemburg, quot. joi., p. VI. More about the attitude of the communists to the Church and religion ref. G. Łęcicki, *Staralem się mówić za was*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 18-22.

¹³³ W. Myśłek, *Walka Kościoła katolickiego przeciw frontowi ludowemu w la-*

A huge dilemma is observable in the press image of the Church during the communist regime. The description of the reality of the Church at that time differs due to the reporting subject, notes, inter alia, A. Kominek. In his study 'Punkt zborny', devoted to the image of the Polish Church in the public texts of 1970-1989, he distinguished three possibilities: the image of the Church from the PZPR standpoint, self-characteristics of the Church (in periods when the Church could publish its own press) and the image of the Church from the NSZZ 'Solidarity' position (the third option refers to the period of 1980-1981, only). In this description he uses a distinction between the following themes: What is the Church and what should it be, Goals and functions of the Church, relations of the Church with other human groups (man, family, nation, homeland, society, state, party, world, work environment, 'Solidarity', world of culture)¹³⁴. According to this author, these differences in the presentation of the Church with regard to the sender are so large, that we can even talk about three separate images¹³⁵.

As for the Church image from the PZPR position, it must be remembered that the communist party had a clearly specified goal toward the Church from the very beginning, i.e., submission to the state and locating all actions on the purely religious grounds, till the complete liquidation of the Church activities. There was no place for independent thinking, social structures and actions in communism. Everything had to be subordinated to the authorities. J. Krukowski defines such actions as controlled secularization, directed by the party leaders with the help of state funds and the state apparatus¹³⁶. Therefore, the institution of celibacy was

tach 1935-37, 'Rocznik Wolnej Myśli' 1961, p. 66.

¹³⁴ A. Kominek, quot. jour.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

¹³⁶ Cf. J. Krukowski, *Status prawny religii i Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w Polsce (1918-1993)*, in: J. Jachymek (ed.), *Religia i Kościół rzymskokatolicki w [polskiej myśli politycznej 1919-1993]*, Lublin 1995, pp. 36-37.

criticized in the press, whereas the attitude to women was called anti-feminism. The separation of the Church from the state was given a thorough consideration. Historical themes, encompassing unfavorable elements for the Church, were broadly analyzed and discussed. The historical narration about the Church was conducted only in a negative dimension. The clergy was divided into 'the patriotic' part (read: collaborating with the regime) and 'egoistically thinking politics-clerics', who either cared about their own business, or exclusively about the matters of the Church and the papacy. For this reason, the lower clergy was opposed to bishops and also bishops themselves were to be divided. The Church was presented as an institution which inhibits the development of the country; it was also accused of manipulation of the history in order to hide its own sins and expose its merits. Generally, it can be stated that the Church image depicted in the press oscillated between an irony and the total negation and disapproval¹³⁷. Propaganda also indicated on the supposedly critical attitude of the Vatican toward 'too far-reaching conservatism' of Primate Wyszyński¹³⁸.

Nevertheless, the perception of the Church by the authorities and the methods of combating it, were changing, depending on the needs, opportunities and the internal situation of the country. We may distinguish several phases of the religious policy of the communists, where the repressive course was used for changes, in order to (for several reasons, mainly for the calculation and the weakness of power) create an illusion of cooperation, or some openness.

We can distinct several stages of the communistic religious policy. It can be stated that the Church was tolerated by the authorities (that did not feel very strong yet) during the period of

¹³⁷ Cf. M. Mazur, *Polityczne kampanie prasowe w okresie rządów Władysława Gomułki*, Lublin 2004, pp. 40-44.

¹³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, *Propagandowy obraz świata. Polityczne kampanie prasowe w PRL 1956-1980. Model analityczno-koncepcyjny*, Warsaw 2003, p. 143.

1944-1947; we can even talk about some kind of cooperation¹³⁹. Thus, the KUL (The Catholic University of Lublin) was reactivated, religion was back at schools, the Church properties were excluded from the agrarian reform, the Catholic papers started to be published (e.g., *Tygodnik Powszechny* or *Tygodnik Warszawski*). It must be considered, however, that anti-clerical actions were taken from the very beginning, for instance, the removal of the Church's influence in the public domain or breaking the concordat with the Apostolic See on September 12, 1945¹⁴⁰. During 1948-1955 an official struggle, by using administrative and police means, was escalating. It also must be noted that during this time, at least theoretically, was adopted Constitution of 1952, which guaranteed the freedom of conscience and religion in the individual sphere, however, in the institutional sphere, it assumed the principle of separation of the Church and the state (in practice, the authorities understood this as an opportunity to control the Church's legislature, by rejecting the possibility of regulating the relations with the Catholic Church in the form of the Convention)¹⁴¹.

As J. Goluch notices, the communist anti-clerical propaganda in the media, directed at educational activities of the Church, was extremely intensified. The clergy was present in the educational institution because religion was still taught at schools in this

¹³⁹ Cf. K. Pawlicka, *Polityka władz wobec Kościoła katolickiego (grudzień 1970-październik 1978)*, Warsaw 2004, p. 15. H. Diskin notes that in the early years after the War, the communists were afraid of Church's strength and wanted to postpone any showdown with the Church. They were fully conscious of the danger from the Church and they were afraid Church to become a part of opposition. For this reason, at this time the communists wanted to avoid the direct confrontation with the Church. Cf. H. Diskin, *The Seeds of Triumph...*, quot. jour., p. 40.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. B. Noszczak, *Polityka państwa wobec Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w Polsce w okresie internowania prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego 1953-1956*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴¹ Cf. J. Krukowski, quot. art., p. 36.

period. Schools, dormitories and other educational institutions, managed by the convents and associations directly connected with the Church, should be also mentioned. Nonetheless, the religious education per se was not the main reason of attacks – it would, indeed, contradict the officially proclaimed thesis about the religious freedom in Poland. Thus, the attacks focused on demonstrating wrong, and frequently even criminal (in the assessment of propagandists) activities of individual priests and addressing them to the whole Church's actions as far as teaching and education are concerned. Cases of serious violations of the law, either contrived or real, were meant to convince the public of the incompetence, ill will and a desire to harm, instead of helping, young people¹⁴². By the same token, attacks begun with the attempts to disavow the clergy (through various accusations, including sexual harassment, 'spreading messages that were harmful for the state', or 'helping bands of robbers'). Their educational competence was also questioned. The impression, that the entire Catholic teaching is based on terror and power, was created¹⁴³. However, on the next stage of the media campaign against the Church (since 1950), the words 'Church' or 'religion' are excluded from the papers controlled by the communists. In spite of this, there are plenty of expressions, such as backwardness, superstition, false bourgeois philosophy, the anti-Polish activity of response and finally, fighting the class enemy, which in other texts are clearly associated with the Church¹⁴⁴.

The October thaw of 1956 and a temporary normalization of relations lasted till 1958. The return of interned Primate Wyszyński was – according to B. Noszczak – the result of the pure

¹⁴² Cf. J. Gołuch, *Wizerunek Kościoła katolickiego w zakresie nauczania i wychowania na łamach 'Trybuny Ludu' w latach 1948-1953*, [online] <http://www.bolgraph.com.pl/ftp/publikacje/5656.pdf> (accessed July 7, 2011).

¹⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

calculation of the supporters of Gomułka, who feared – as the social moods were becoming increasingly intense – the repetition of the Hungarian scenario¹⁴⁵. Talks of the secret emissaries of Gomułka with the imprisoned primate were preceded by the discussions of the first secretary with the members of the Catholic group, which was reported in ‘Trybuna Ludu’¹⁴⁶. Wyszyński’s return to Warsaw, itself, was commented on in a lapidary note, which content was specified by the primate and Gomułka¹⁴⁷; it was also broadcast by the Polish Radio.

For the communists, the years between 1959-1966 constitute the return – after the ‘thaw’ of 1956 – to the repressive course. At the end of the 1950s, under the slogan of ‘secularization of the public life’, numerous actions were aimed at the Church by the communist state (the removal of religion from schools and nuns from hospitals, establishing papers and associations, which promoted atheism and free thinking). All this can be considered the preparation of the ground for an offensive directed at the Church and associated with the approaching year 1966, namely, the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Poland – the communists would not allow the celebration of this anniversary to be dominated by the Church and have a purely religious nature¹⁴⁸. From their standpoint, it constituted a huge threat to the advocated by them thesis about the socialist character of the state and society. The pretext for one of the most serious impacts of the communist propaganda on the Church was a letter (also called ‘the Message’) of 18 November 1965 written by the

¹⁴⁵ Cf. B. Noszczak, quot. jour., p. 383. See also: A. Kemp-Welch, *Poland under Communism...*, quot. jour., p. 118.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *I sekretarz KC PZPR tow. Władysław Gomułka przyjął posłów z grupy katolickiej*, ‘Trybuna Ludu’ from 24 October 1956.

¹⁴⁷ *Ks. prymas Wyszyński powrócił do stolicy i objął urządowanie*, ‘Trybuna Ludu’ from October 29, 1956.

¹⁴⁸ See also: O. Halecki, *A History of Poland*, London 1978, pp. 365-366.

Polish bishops to the German bishops, which contained the words of reconciliation and forgiveness to the Germans. According to M. Mazur, 'the message not only triggered the conflict, but also caused the conflict situation. The dispute referred to the state-Church relations, the intrusion of the Church into areas, which were reserved exclusively for the state so far, the further Polish-German relations, the vision of history, divisions in the Communist Party and also an attempt of disavowing the authority of primate Wyszyński and restricting the Church's influence on society before the forthcoming millennial celebrations'¹⁴⁹.

The relationship between the Church and Germans evoked various emotions in the communists and in the 'Trybuna Ludu' they endeavored to foster fear of the loss of the Recovered Territories. Hence – as long as normally information from the Vatican was not entitled to exist in 'Trybuna', it could be found in the paper easily if only it was harmful to the Church. For instance, an extensive note titled 'The Pope hosted representatives of the displaced on a special audience', published on November 19, 1965, was of such nature as it can be read in its commentary that the editors of 'Trybuna' are interested only in the political aspects of this event. They claim that 'the Pope's statement, addressed to the leaders of the West German revisionist organization, would provide fresh ammunition for the cultivated by them anti-Polish propaganda'¹⁵⁰.

Z. Zieliński believes that the message of the Polish bishops to the German bishops is a part of the Great Novena, announced before the millennial celebrations by primate Wyszyński, which

¹⁴⁹ M. Mazur, *Polityczne kampanie...*, quot. jour., p. 37; [online] http://www.tnn.lublin.pl/rozdzial.php?id=609&idt_r=2539 (accessed July 4, 2011).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Papież przyjął przedstawicieli przesiedleńców na specjalnej audiencji*, 'Trybuna Ludu', November 19, 1965, p. 2. It can be regarded as the preparation of the ground for the future aggressive attack on the Polish episcopate due to publishing the aforementioned letter.

constitutes some kind of the national nine-year retreat¹⁵¹. The letter was an attempt of a moral reckoning, which was impossible without considering the past. However, comments in Poland were negative as people assessed it as the intervention into politics – contrary to the Polish *raison d'état*. Such style of remarks, determined by the communists, became commonly accepted and even the environments, which claimed to be Catholic (though, in fact, dependent on the Communists), agreed to it. The moral aspect of the Message was ignored and labeled as the usurped (in the name of the nation) political action¹⁵².

Nevertheless, we must agree with the statements of R. Habielski, who claims that precisely the celebration of the millennium constituted a long-term cause of the conflict. Millennium, after all, undermined the 'socialist' character of the contemporary Poland. It defined its citizens as Catholics, hence, it was a painful blow directed at the communist regime. Therefore, the authorities decided to oppose the millennium of the Polish statehood to the celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Poland. According to the guidelines of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Polska Ludowa (People's Poland) was 'the culmination of the process of development of the nation and countries and also the successor of the progressive and patriotic traditions of the nation's thousand-year heritage'¹⁵³.

Thus, there was no possibility of any joint celebrations or agreement between the country and the Church (which seems

¹⁵¹ Cf. Z. Zieliński, S. Bober, *Kościół w Polsce 1944-2007*, Poznan 2009, p. 141. A Novena was 'a nine-year programme to re-educate the people in the faith, to compensate for the 10-year lost under Communist rule'. *Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, Europa Publication Limited*, London 1998, p. 27.

¹⁵² Cf. Z. Zieliński, S. Bober, *Kościół w Polsce...*, quot. jour., p. 141.

¹⁵³ Cf. R. Habielski, *Polityczna historia mediów w Polsce w XX wieku*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 262-263.

quite obvious). The both sides recognized the Millennium celebrations as an opportunity to fight for the souls as well as the mutual confrontation (though we deal with the strong propaganda attack from the communist side, which simply did not encounter a response from the Church – it did not even have the proper media tools to do so. However, even the words, uttered from the pulpit or written in the official letters of bishops, were not directly aimed at communism. The Church simply took care of its own business by spreading the Gospel and stressing the Christian character of the anniversary, which communists still perceived as the confrontation). They were aware of primate Wyszyński's view on communism and socialism. They acknowledged them from his publications done between 1931-1939. According to the dated for June 6, 1956, official note by the Security Office, the very speed of the ecclesiastical career of Fr. Stefan Wyszyński, who – as was written – 'in six years has received the dignity and the positions of a bishop, archbishop, metropolitan, primate, papal legate and cardinal, constituted a clear evidence that the Vatican aimed at establishing in Polska Ludowa such bishops, who have already been known before the war for their anti-Soviet and anti-communist publications'¹⁵⁴. The reference was also made to these views during the 'millennial campaign', namely, it was written that in the 1930s, in the *Atheneum Kapłańskie*, edited by Fr. Wyszyński, a fierce struggle against aspirations of the masses for revolutionary social reforms as well as finding solutions to the fundamental problems of the contemporary Poland in the spirit of progress, was conducted. In addition, the chief editor, i.e., Fr. Wyszyński himself, was not only the implacable enemy of communism,

¹⁵⁴ A. Poniński, *Realista i prorok. Zarys poglądów ks. Stefana Wyszyńskiego na socjalizm i komunizm*, 'Ateneum Kapłańskie' 2001, t. 136, z. 3(553) [online] http://web.diecezja.wloclawek.pl/Ateneum/poninski_553.htm#82 (accessed July 7, 2011).

defined by him as 'bolshevism', but also of any activity described as 'subversive', 'scheduled' and 'anti-state', and as if were not enough, he was a strong opponent of socialism and confronting it, both, on the field of journalism and in the Catholic organizations¹⁵⁵.

The letter of the Polish bishops to the German bishops triggered a real storm, which, however, erupted in December 1965, after its publication in 'Życie Warszawy'. When the letter was published, 'Trybuna Ludu' remained silent on this subject, yet it was passionate about the Polish-Yugoslavian disputes or a visit of the Leader of the State Council in Ethiopia. M. Mazur notices that 'the first information about the 'Message' appeared on December 10, 1965, in the Polish press, thus, one week after making it public in Rome and three weeks after its dispatch. Presumably, the delay was caused by the anticipation of the response from the German episcopate by the Polish authorities, which was given on 5 December, as well as plays within the party itself'¹⁵⁶.

'Trybuna Ludu' published an extensive and anonymous article on December 12, 1965, covering 2/3 of the column and titled 'Concerning the bishops' Message' and also a brief note titled 'The foreign press about the exchange of letters between the Polish and the German bishops'. In the former text, we can find accusations that bishops did not consider it appropriate to give the letter to the Polish government. It was explicitly named the political document. Besides, it was defined as 'concerning the foreign affairs and an official remark on the Polish-German relations, to be more specific, a key political issue, which is connected with the vital interests of the Polish nation and the peaceful future of Europe and the world'¹⁵⁷. The entire article is kept in the hysterical and accusing

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ M. Mazur, *Polityczne kampanie...*, quot. jour., p. 38.

¹⁵⁷ *W sprawie „Orędzia” biskupów*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 12, 1965, p. 3.

tone. It reads, inter alia, 'Who wrote such arguments? Who is responsible for this acceptance of the slanderous thesis of the revisionist propaganda about *sufferings of millions of the German refugees and displaced*'¹⁵⁸. The Message of the Polish bishops opposed the proclamation of the West-German Evangelical Church, in which it appealed for the recognition of the borders on Odra and Nysa rivers¹⁵⁹. While discussing reactions of the foreign press, they were portrayed according to the assumption: imperialists and the enemies of Poland are pleased with the message, however, the fellow socialist countries condemn the Polish bishops¹⁶⁰.

Additionally, the members of the 'Znak' (trans. a sign) group were also included to the critique of the bishops¹⁶¹. The subsequent reports talked about the outrage and protests of the Polish society as a response to the message¹⁶². As an example, it is worth quoting one of these 'spontaneous' protests: 'The crew of the Szczecin Harbor considers the utterances delivered by the Polish bishops as very harmful for the entire society and detrimental to our vital

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ In 'Trybuna Ludu' we can read, inter alia, that 'the letter of the Polish Episcopate encountered the appreciation and praise from numerous West-German newspapers, whereas the previous memorandum of the Protestant church caused a fierce, and even violent debate'. Cf. *Prasa zagraniczna o wymianie listów między episkopatami Polski i NRF*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 14, 1965, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. *Prasa zagraniczna o artykułach „Trybuna Ludu” i „Życia Warszawy”*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 15, 1965, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *Poniedziałkowe posiedzenie Sejmu*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 14, 1965, p. 5. The article cites the full text of the speeches by J. Zablocki and Z. Filipowicz. Cf. *ibid: Sejm uchwalił plan i budżet na rok 1966*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 15, 1965, p. 1 (the article quotes the content of the declaration by J. Zawieyski).

¹⁶² Cf. *Oburzenie i protesty społeczeństwa polskiego po „orędziu” biskupów*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 16, 1965, p. 1; *Głos protestu społeczeństwa polskiego przeciw „Orędziu” biskupów*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 18, 1965, p. 2.

interests. The instances of the bishops follow the revenge thinking and the NRF policy¹⁶³. Besides, 'authorities' also made their statements after several days. Both, prof. Bogdan Suchodolski from PAN and a writer Stanisław R. Dobrowolski, were the first in the pages of 'Trybuna Ludu', signing their opinions with the full name¹⁶⁴. It should be also stressed that in the reports of 'Trybuna Ludu', a word 'message' in relation to the document was always written in quotes, which made these expressions very ironic and sarcastic. The word 'message' per se, was spelled with both, a small letter, and a capital letter.

Thus, other media also transmitted various accusations against the Church and bishops. The party and state leaders blamed the episcopate for going beyond its competence, anti-national intentions and receiving material benefits from the German bishops. In addition, the lack of the critical response of the Polish Episcopate to the answer by the German bishops given on December 5, 1965, in which they refrained from the explicit recognition of the Polish-German border on Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers, was also one of the objections. Generally, the message was depicted as an attempt to undermine the Polish border on the aforesaid rivers¹⁶⁵. Actually, there was no day at the turn of 1965-1966, when 'Trybuna Ludu' and other newspapers subject to PZPR, did not condemn the Polish episcopate.

Titles subordinated to the communist party rose this issue many times. For instance, 'Trybuna Ludu' published on April

¹⁶³ *Spółeczeństwo polskie protestuje przeciwko „orędziu” biskupów*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 17, 1965, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. B. Suchodolski, *Historia mniemana i rzeczywista*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 21, 1965, p. 3; S. Dobrowolski, *Pojednanie...*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 21, 1965, p. 3.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Rzecznik rządu NRF wykorzystuje „orędzie” polskiego episkopatu*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 16, 1965, p. 2; *Wypowiedź przewodniczącego rady Kościoła Ewangelickiego NRF*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from December 16, 1965, p. 2.

3, 1966, an extensive (volume of about half of a column) article titled 'Crime without repentance', signed with the initials 'J.W.' The author refers to the homily delivered by primate Wyszyński on March 16, 1966, in Bydgoszcz. The author stresses how – quite sneeringly, as he assumes – the Primate 'boasted the utterance of those *difficult* words, viewing the *proof of maturity* in them. He also constantly returns to this issue, which was explicitly judged by the Polish public opinion, in his other sermons'¹⁶⁶. The examples of situations, in which the particular German bishops or the whole clergy take Hitler's position, or call for obedience to him, constitute the major part of the article¹⁶⁷. The author concludes with the assumption: '*We said: we forgive you and we ask for forgiveness*', the authors explained that those words were *also a call to penance and a change of thinking for the future*. As observable, cardinal's partners do not change their way of thinking and are the farthest from any remorse. Among them, we shall not find those, who would understand their guilt and intend to coexist with us peacefully – as the pastoral letter stated. Fr. Cardinal supports the thesis of forgiveness towards people who do not acknowledge their guilt and do not manifest good will'¹⁶⁸.

The letter of the Polish bishops to the German bishops also became the subject of the internal analyses in the communist party. It is difficult – being familiar with the propaganda mechanisms in PRL – to believe that the protests, described in newspapers, were spontaneous. In the study 'Orędzie a millenium' (original spelling; trans. Message vs. millennium), published by the Secular Staff Training Center, we read that the content of the Message should be regarded as political and having only the apparent link to

¹⁶⁶ J. W., *Wina bez skruchy*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 3, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ This study does not aim at investigating the reliability of this article, however, such analysis would be a quite interesting contribution.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

religion. We also find a recommendation: 'The politically harmful and incompatible with the national pride content of the Message should be spread to consciousness of every citizen of our country, with no distinction on worldview. This issue even more affects feelings of the believers, than those who always had the rational historical view on the role of the Church. The lack of patriotism in the hierarchy was not – as I presume – any surprise for them'¹⁶⁹.

Therefore, celebrations of the Millennium of the Baptism of Poland and the 1000th anniversary of the Polish State, proceeded in the confrontation of PZPR and the Catholic Church¹⁷⁰. When the Church prepared the celebrations of the millennium, the people's government commemorated the 1000th anniversary of the Polish State. Both sides regarded this as an opportunity to fight for the souls as well as mutual confrontation. The clerical celebrations were preceded with the ten-year Great Novena, initiated by primate Stefan Wyszyński. It aimed at reminding the nation of its Christian roots and spreading the teachings and the position of the Church on moral and social issues. Its inauguration took place in 1957; it was said annually in every parish. The culmination of the novena was a great millennial celebration at Jasna Góra on May 3, 1966¹⁷¹. In response the Sejm of PRL 'proclaimed the celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of the Polish State in the 1960–1966. The post office released the commemorative stamps and postcards, the slogan of building a thousand of primary schools, so called 'tysiatki' was also spread. Numerous exhibition contests and lectures were organized. The elderly remember that Poland was flooded with a sea of the red and white flags. The series of

¹⁶⁹ B. Krzywobłocka, *Orędzie a millenium*, Warsaw 1966, pp. 79-80.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. E. Olszewski, *Obóz rządzący wobec religii i Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w PRL*, in: J. Jachymek (ed.), *quot. jour.*, p. 190.

¹⁷¹ Cf. J. Kowalski, *Milenium czy tysiąclecie?*, 'Rzeczpospolita' from December 24, 2007, <http://www.rp.pl/arttykul/79131.html> (accessed January 7, 2011).

propaganda events was crowned by the great Millennium Parade on July 22, 1966 in Warsaw¹⁷².

'Trybuna Ludu', in the first half of 1966, consistently ignores the religious celebrations and writes about the state ceremonies, frequently devoting them much space on the front page¹⁷³. The theme of the Millennial Relay Races, which run through Poland, repeatedly appeared in the first column. If 'Trybuna Ludu' writes about the Church – it does it in the accusing and attacking tone, aiming at debasement of primate Wyszyński or the religious celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland. The article 'Sine ira et studio', which appeared in the sector of PZPR on April 14, 1966, is of particular importance. It comprises a collection of accusations against primate Wyszyński. They can be covered in several points¹⁷⁴.

In the second part of the 20th century the primate Wyszyński proclaims concepts of 'the omnipresent Church', which would be 'a return to the medieval concept of the church state', he is not alone, though: 'a part of the episcopate with cardinal Wyszyński at the head, dominated by the fanatical anti-communism and medieval concepts of the role of the Church and state, endeavors to invalidate the principle of secularity of the state and return to the pervasive role of the Church, to the medieval principles of religious intolerance. For this purpose, pulpits and other means are used with no remorse';

– uses a pulpit to attack 'constitutional principles of our system', and besides, 'not only aims at diminishing the present relations between the Church and the state, but also

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ For instance, *Z czterech miast kraju wkrótce wyruszą Sztafety Tysiąclecia*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 8, 1966, p. 1; *Wielkie manifestacje patriotyczne w Gnieźnie i Poznaniu*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 13, 1966, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ All quotes and references in the passus come from this article. Cf. *Sine ira et studio*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 14, 1966, p. 3.

at undermining the main principle of these relations, i.e., separation of church and state;

– aims at formulating an opinion in the state and abroad that ‘the Church in Poland is *persecuted* and the clergy is *oppressed*’. In sermons, he talks about the lack of religious freedom in Poland. Besides, Wyszyński tries to promote abroad an image of the persecuted and silent Church in Poland – the author of the article devotes much attention to benefits provided by the state to the Church;

– ‘...he, actually, has never abandoned the struggle with the state and its law. (...) letters of the episcopate, and mainly sermons of the cardinal himself, again emanate hatred to socialism, rebel against the state and its legislature, endeavor to generate the atmosphere of the *holy religious war*’;

– he expresses disdain for the achievements of the Polska Ludowa;

– an extensive passus is devoted to the uncompromising attitude of the Primate to the law, which allows abortion. This passage is worth quoting in its entirety. ‘The campaign against the law on the admissibility of abortion, which Fr. Cardinal did not hesitate to compare to the Nazi genocide, attacks on civil service and the principle of the secularity of schools, is commonly acknowledged. Calls for disobedience to school authorities and to fight the educational monopoly of the state, appeals to doctors not to follow the law on the admissibility of abortion, incitement of the judiciary workers to break the law as, according to bishops, *the secularized state law lost its power, hence, the citizen’s conscience is freed by the Church from the obligation of complying such law*, were spoken from the pulpit’; there were also references to the Great Novena and celebrations of the Millennium of the Baptism of Poland¹⁷⁵. The author of the article views them as ‘stricte political

¹⁷⁵ A part of the Primate’s speech given in 1957 was the starting point: ‘The

program, in which religious celebrations are not designated to fulfill the needs of the believers, yet constitute a means of the political struggle with the system of Polska Ludowa. (...) This is why every political passage of the homily by Fr. Wyszyński and other bishops is related to by 'Wolna Europa', together with the reactionary press of the western countries and making it the main character of the struggle against communism in Poland'. For the author of the aforementioned article, the answer to the question: 'Does the state limit religious freedom and fights with the Church, or maybe it is the reactionary part of the hierarchy that struggles with the state' seems evident¹⁷⁶.

The cited article was, by no means, not an isolated attack on the Primate. M. Mazur claims that it was the Primate himself, who became the main focus of the propaganda invasion. It intended to deprive the Primate of the social support and discredit him of his authority prior to the celebrations of Millennium. It was to be presumably the next stage of the subordination of the Polish Church to the communist regime. Thus, the press 'concentrated on social, political and legal views of the Primate and reduced the religious issues exceptionally to aspects, which were considered

nine-year preparation for Millennium should transform the entire Poland. Fate of communism would be determined in Poland. If Poland gets Christianized, it will become a great moral force and communism would collapse itself. Fate of communism would be determined not in Russia, yet in Poland, thanks to its Catholicism. Poland would show the whole world how to cope with communism and the entire world would be grateful for that'. Ibid. These words were to be uttered by the Primate in September 1957 and directed to the priests – cf. J. Michalik, „Maryjo – zawsze z Twoim Synem”. Homily by abp. Józef Michalik, the przemyski metropolitan, leader of The Episcopal Conference in Poland–Łódź, September 11, 2010 – the completion of peregrination in the archdiocese of Lodz [online] http://archidiecezja.lodz.pl/opatrznosc/czytaj.php?id=czytelnia&t=michalik_w_lodzi (accessed July 7, 2011).

¹⁷⁶ *Sine ira et studio*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 14, 1966, p. 3.

useful in the condemning campaign'¹⁷⁷. Homilies and public speeches of the cardinal Wyszyński, were also subjected to the detailed analysis, in which any passages that could be viewed as 'political' were thoroughly selected. On their basis, a simple, two-part socio-political image of the Primate was formulated. The first part includes aspirations to achieve the primate of the Church over the state, however, the second – a struggle with the authorities and the socialist system¹⁷⁸. 'Trybuna Ludu' played a prominent role in the attacks, though propaganda blows were inflicted also by other press titles, which were not so clearly associated with presenting the official position of the PZPR, as 'Trybuna'.

The main celebrations of the Millennium took place on May 3, 1966, at Jasna Góra. The state inaugurated the customs already on April 16¹⁷⁹. On Sunday, April 17, there was a manifestation in Poznań. During his speech, the first secretary of the PZPR, Władysław Gomułka, attacked primate Wyszyński, the Episcopate and celebrations organized by the Church. According to Gomułka, a part of the church hierarchy promotes the anti-national idea of the 'bulwark'. 'This irresponsible shepherd of shepherds, fighting with our state and proclaiming that he would not humble himself before the Polish *raison d'état*, places his imaginary claims to the spiritual supremacy of the Polish nation above the independence of Poland. (...) What a blindness of this head of the Polish Episcopate and his supporters, promoting the distorted and anti-national idea of the *bulwark*, the content of which is reduced to cause a clash between the Polish and Soviet nations (...), to

¹⁷⁷ Cf. M. Mazur, *Polityczne kampanie prasowe...*, quot. jour., pp. 46-47.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *Inauguracja wielkich uroczystości Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 16, 1966, p. 1; *Rozpoczęcie tegorocznych uroczystości Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 17, 1966, p. 1; *Lud Wielkopolski uczcił 1000-lecie Państwa Polskiego*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 18, 1966, p. 1.

the new Polish disaster'¹⁸⁰ – called Gomułka, from the Poznań tribune. He also articulated the complaint that this idea of Poland as a bulwark of Christianity became one of the main reasons for celebrating the Millennium of the Baptism of Poland, however, 'a part of the church hierarchy endeavors to oppose the church to the state and replace the jubilee of the nation's history and the Polish State by the jubilee of the activities of the Catholic Church in Poland'¹⁸¹. Although, in his speech, he referred to the baptism of Mieszko I, nevertheless, he brought this event to the status of a political act, only, which allowed the sacral legitimacy of power of the monarch, contributing to the consolidation of the Polish State. Besides, he related to the decision made by the communist authorities not to permit the visit of pope Paul VI in Poland: '...due to the fact that the Polish episcopate took political actions, which, on a large scale, threatened the Polish *raison d'état* and entangled it in the preparations of the millennium of Christianity on the Polish territories, we assumed that it would be a sign of acceptance of this harmful policy, if the Polish government permits the visit of the pope and bishops from the foreign countries invited to the millennial ceremonies by the Polish episcopate, who, guided by its political objectives, did it without the knowledge and consent of the state authorities. For this reason, the Polish government objected to this random decision made by the episcopate and did not allow the arrival of the invited'¹⁸². This speech was supplemented by another article titled 'Droga – i bezdroża', which was published on April 19 in 'Trybuna Ludu'. In addition to an extensive repetition of the assumptions made by Gomułka, the author makes a comprehensive assessment of the Primate and the

¹⁸⁰ *Przemówienie tow. Wł. Gomułki na manifestacji w Poznaniu, 'Trybuna Ludu'* from April 18, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

Episcopate's attitudes. He expresses his disappointment with the fact that the church 'did not put the slightest effort to engage in the common national celebrations. (...) However, the reverse forces of the church hierarchy decided to use the Millennium as a pretext to intensify the reactionary political activities and oppose the jubilee of the activities of the Catholic Church in Poland to the jubilee of the national and state history'¹⁸³. Naturally, there was expressed a fierce criticism of the Primate's attitude, who – according to the author of the text – cannot see and does not want to see the real dividing line in the present world running between the forces of freedom and oppression, progress and backwardness, peace and war, disproves even the most evident facts and resulting from them orders of the Polish *raison d'etat*. Furthermore, he does not want to recognize the most fundamental truth of today's world, i.e., the truth about the peaceful mission of socialism. This is why a place of the sober analysis of the facts – takes reactionary doggedness in his sermons; a place of the political reason – the anti-socialist obsession, and a sense of the elementary responsibility gives way to fanaticism. A mystic mission of the cardinal is of a reactionary nature and moves in the opposite direction from that, which is determined by the historical experiences and the contemporary interests of the nation and the Polish State'¹⁸⁴.

Directly before celebrations of the Millennium of the Baptism of Poland on May 3, 1966, at Jasna Góra, 'Trybuna Ludu' writes about preparations to the holiday of May 1 and the plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. On May 3, the PZPR organized the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the outbreak of Silesia Uprising III with great fanfare. In the first column of 'Trybuna' published on May 4 we can find an extensive account of these events, information about the inauguration of Days of Education, Books and Press, and

¹⁸³ *Droga – i bezdroża*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from April 19, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

some minor news. Obviously, the celebrations in Częstochowa are not mentioned. The fact of the cherry trees blossom was the news a day later¹⁸⁵. Nevertheless, the historical articles, which aimed at presenting the Church in the worst possible light, appeared¹⁸⁶.

And how would the reality of these celebrations look like, if viewed today – and not through the prism of the ideological glasses of ‘Trybuna Ludu’, yet in retrospect and in the light of the historical documents?

The PZPR used various tools of propaganda, which were meant to diminish the church celebrations. The battle of Lenino (1963) and the manifesto of PKWN (1964) were given prominence. The peregrination of the copy image of Our Lady of Częstochowa was brutally interrupted and sent back to Jasna Góra. However, the empty frames continued the pilgrimage across the country, which made even greater impression on the believers. In Częstochowa itself, a series of celebrations designated to discourage people from religious ceremonies, was planned. They even considered inviting The Beatles, which was at its peak at that time – nevertheless, this idea was abandoned due to a concern about excessively great mass of people gathered in the city. The Security Service did everything to discourage both, priests and laity, from participation in church ceremonies. Besides, a presence in the workplaces on May 3 was rigorously controlled and sick leaves were thoroughly examined. Transport companies could not hire buses to groups of pilgrims. All hotels assembled wiretapping. The renovation of the access roads to Częstochowa was not completed¹⁸⁷. The celebrations themselves were the great achievement of the Church. Approximately half

¹⁸⁵ *Zakwitły czereśnie*, ‘Trybuna Ludu’ from May 5, 1966, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. P. Dubiel, *Hakatyści w sutannach*, ‘Trybuna Ludu’ from May 13, 1966, p. 4; K. Grzybowski, *Fakty i legenda o biskupie Stanisławie*, ‘Trybuna Ludu’ from May 6, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. J. Kowalski, quot. art.

a million of believers (although the official propaganda spoke of 120 thousands) – however , the photographic documentation prepared by SB indicates that a number administered by the Church is closer to the truth. The course of the events is described by J. Kowalski: ‘on May 3, on Tuesday at 10am, the bells were struck in all churches in the city. A great ceremony begun. First, a procession with the miraculous painting, which was carried by bishops, professors, doctors and also-artisans, workers, students, prisoners of concentration camps, walked through a monastery. A portrait of Paul VI, who was not allowed in Poland, was also carried – during the liturgy the photo was placed on the empty papal throne. In the solemn Mass – in which archbishop Karol Wojtyła was the celebrant and primate Wyszyński delivered the homily – a new crown on the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa was consecrated and inserted ceremoniously. The renewal of the act of entrustment of the Polish nation to Our Lady for the next 1000 years was the culmination of the event’¹⁸⁸.

The celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of the Polish State on July 22, 1966, were held with incredible fanfare. Gomulka’s speech, also then, contained anti-clerical elements, which basically, were replication of the previous allegations: a conflict on the line State–Church was triggered by the Episcopate and deepened by the message sent by the Polish bishops to the German bishops, however, ‘ a clash with the leadership of the episcopate concerns stricte political matters, and not the religious ones as some Church dignitaries are trying to present it’¹⁸⁹. Nevertheless, ‘normal relations between the church and the state can be restored when the Church leaders express their respect for the Constitution of

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ *Nierozzerwalna więź Polski Socjalistycznej z twórczą i patriotyczną przeszłością naszego narodu. Przemówienie tow. Władysława Gomułki na uroczystej sesji Sejmu, "Trybuna Ludu" from July 22, 1966, p. 4.*

PRL, comply with state laws and regulations, renounce the misuse of religious feelings for their political purposes, take a loyal attitude towards the Polska Ludowa and honor raison d'état of the nation, whose language they speak'¹⁹⁰.

To conclude, it can be stated that the image of the Catholic Church, promoted in the Communist press of the 2nd half of the 1960s, oftentimes referred to the message of the Polish bishops to the German episcopate. It was also generated by the intensity of a conflict concerning the nature of celebrating the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland. At that time 'the press reduced the aspirations of the Catholic Church to two main directions: social and political. The Church was accused of a primitive clericalism of believers, fostering archaic rituals, promoting the concept of Polish-Catholic in order to maintain the rule of the human souls and the real control over the consciousness of the society'¹⁹¹. Primate Wyszyński himself, was blamed for a desire to recover the former privileges, influences and properties for the Church and take over the role of the main anti-socialist force in the country. In this pursuit – according to the communists – the Primate was guided by political ambitions and a lust for power. However, proclamation of such views could not significantly harm the Church, yet on the contrary – it strengthened its authority in the eyes of society¹⁹².

The period till 1970 is preceded by several years of the silent conflict¹⁹³. A. Kominek claims that between 1970–1980, the PZPR perceived the Church through the prism of the social relationships in socialist Poland. Communists strived to such modeling of the Church, which would strengthen the socialist Polish State.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ M. Mazur, *Propagandowy obraz...*, quot. jour., p. 209.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Cf. K. Pawlicka, quot. jour., p. 15.

Therefore, the activities of the Church for peace and a friendly co-existence of nations as well as social justice were discussed¹⁹⁴. Nonetheless, according to E. Olszewski, there were two factors which affected the formation of relations between the State and the Church in the second half of the 1970s, i.e., the crisis of Gierek's socio-economic policy and the emergence of the democratic opposition as well as the selection of cardinal Charles Wojtyła for the office of the pope in 1978¹⁹⁵. D. Herbert states that 'the election of a Polish Pope (John Paul II) in 1978, followed by his first visit to Poland in 1979, was to provide particularly important impetus to building national solidarity just before the emergence of the Solidarity movement itself in the summer of 1980. Once again, suffering Church and nation were identified in opposition to an oppressive state'¹⁹⁶.

The election of Cardinal Wojtyła for the office of the pope was a huge surprise for the communists. Since, however, this information could not remain silent, 'Trybuna Ludu' published on the first page dry information titled 'Cardinal Charles Wojtyła – a new Pope' on October 17. The font and layout of the front page did not express, however, that editors treated this information as 'news of a day'. The much larger font was given to the titles: 'The most important issue in villages – the complete harvest of the crops', 'The final works in the Warsaw Royal Castle', or 'Needs of the market' – about the meeting of Edward Gierek with the members of the Committee on the Internal market. Information about the election of the new pope is maintained in the dry, monotonous and unemotional tone. It includes the assumption that John Paul

¹⁹⁴ Cf. A. Kominek, *Punkt zborny*, quot. jour., p. 128.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. E. Olszewski, quot. art., p. 191.

¹⁹⁶ D. Herbert, *After Solidarity: Catholicism, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere in Poland*, in: *Ibid, Religion and Civil Society: Rethinking Public Religion in the Contemporary World*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Burlington 2003, p. 202.

II is the first non-Italian pope since 455 years, an account of his first public speech, and his brief biography. Besides, hardly any comment on this subject could be found in the whole issue of 'Trybuna Ludu' from October 17. Additionally, the next issue of a daily published by the PZPR does not contain any remarks, either. Instead, we encounter there another dry information (though also in the first column) about the first message of the new pope, with the simultaneous stress on those of his points that were acceptable from the standpoint of the Communist Party. Thus, the statement that the Church should concretely contribute to 'the permanent and dominant matters of peace, development and international justice in the world, was highlighted'¹⁹⁷. Besides, the passage about the necessity of fighting against social inequalities as well as greetings to the Polish nation were also stressed¹⁹⁸.

The next day brings a brief note about L. Brezhnev's telegram to John Paul II and wishes: 'have a fruitful activity in the international détente, friendship and peace among nations'¹⁹⁹. In the same issue we can find a note containing the international echos of the election of John Paul II (obviously, they quoted only those opinions, which were acceptable by the communists). Especially, the thesis that the election of Cardinal Wojtyła is both, an expression of appreciation and respect for Polska Ludowa and the international values of the Polish culture that shaped the personality of the new pope, is worth mentioning. It is also highlighted that in the fulfillment of the mission of the Church in the modern world – naturally, from the standpoint of the Communists – 'acting for peace, understanding and cooperation among nations is vital. As a Pole, hence, the representative of the country that was particularly affected by the cruelty of the war, Nazi extermination;

¹⁹⁷ *Orędzie Jana Pawła II*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from October 18, 1978, p. 2.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Depesza L. Breżniewa do Papieża Jana Pawła II*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from October 19, 1978, p. 1.

as a person, who conducts all his activities in Polska Ludowa, i.e., in the country which connects the construction of socialism with the matters of peace and peaceful coexistence, and also puts an enormous contribution to this country – John Paul II offers – as emphasized – the special experience in this field. Also, because he grew out of the noble traditions of our nation, traditions of love for liberty, tolerance, justice and human dignity'²⁰⁰ – concludes the author of the commentary.

In its papers, the PZPR again generates only dry information in the following days of October concerning: the telegram from John Paul II to the PRL authorities (October 20), the meeting of John Paul II with the ambassadors at the Holy See (October 21-22), a laconic account of the inauguration of his pontificate (with a strong emphasis that the sermon during the inauguration was 'entirely devoted to religious and missionary issues of the Church and the believers')²⁰¹. Noteworthy, however, is the statement made by the head of the Polish Office for Religious Affairs, namely, Kazimierz Kąkol, quoted in this note and constituting a response to the question of the PAP-journalist about the possibility of the Pope's visit to Poland. The answer, obviously, is full of the communist newspeak and smooth words, however, it includes certain specific claims: 'We derive great satisfaction from our willingness to entrust Cardinal Wojtyła this highest dignity in the Church. If the pope comes to Poland, he can be sure that both, the state authorities and society, will greet him with kindness and sincerity. The choice of the arrival date is conditioned by circumstances of bilateral and multi-faceted nature'²⁰². The next

²⁰⁰ *Po wyborze Jana Pawła II. Światowe echa*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from October 19, 1978, p. 2.

²⁰¹ *Inauguracja pontyfikatu papieża Jana Pawła II*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from October 23, 1978, p. 1.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.2.

day brings the information about the meeting of the President of the State Council, Henry Jabłoński, with the pope. This completes the presence of the issue concerning the election of Pope John Paul II in 'Trybuna Ludu' in October 1978.

It can be easily observed that the leadership of the PZPR was confused about the election of John Paul II. They adopted tactics of pretending in the media that 'nothing important had happened' and that the election of the pope has strict religious significance. Worth mentioning are also attempts to portray this event as a success of Polska Ludowa and an expression of appreciation for its achievements.

Also, regarding the first pilgrimage of the pope to Poland in 1979, 'Trybuna Ludu' did not remain indifferent, though, naturally, a total shift in its approach to the Church and primate Wyszyński – when compared to 1966 – is visible. Before the beginning of the papal visit, the Communist Party informed about a considerable interest in it. When the pilgrimage started, the information about it was treated as news of a day (June 2) and was equal to the information about the end of the visit of L. Brezhnev in Hungary. 'Trybuna Ludu' even published photos of the pope in his pontifical attire. Despite the typically informative part, which contained, inter alia, a biography of Charles Wojtyła, there was an extensive commentary in the press material revealing the tremendous fear of the communists of the results of the papal pilgrimage and attempts to mitigate its effects as well as the fear of discovering any threats that were to refrain from any endeavor to change the prevailing socio-legal order. Most of the commentary contains the communist babble²⁰³, however, conciliative and mitigatory

²⁰³ The socialist Poland, in which the leading role is fulfilled by the Polish United Labor Party, guaranteed the nation peace and security, independence and sovereignty, the advancement of civilization and the certainty of tomorrow. Linked by permanent alliances with the socialist countries

tones can be also found, which seems to be a classic example of the application of the carrot-and-stick method. The following words appear vital: 'The existing differences in the outlook do not prevent merging all social forces in fulfilling tasks concerning the national development. The policy of our party creates proper conditions for the constructive cooperation between the Church and the State. The basic premises of that interaction – which is fully understandable and approved by the entire Polish society – can be found in the Church recognition of the irreversibility of socialist transformations and their consequences in Poland, both, in domestic and foreign politics of the State and related to the implementation of the social needs program, in enhancing the security of the country, in perpetuating alliances that guarantee us the development of the country and finally, in deepening the unity of the nation'²⁰⁴. Furthermore, it was strongly stressed that the pope is greeted 'with the Polish hospitality' by the state and society, and that the pilgrimage is purely religious²⁰⁵.

Noticeably, the pilgrimage was not transmitted in its entirety by television. The television program only assumed the broadcast of welcoming the pope on June 2, then celebrations in Gniezno and at Jasna Gora in the areas, where the regional television transmitters could reach. The ceremonies held in Auschwitz-Birkenau on

and leading a peaceful policy, Polska Ludowa gained universal respect and high international authority. In the realization of its program, our Party is always faithful to its principles its Marxist-Leninist ideology. Acting simultaneously in the direction of the dissemination and consolidation, it creates a platform for understanding and cooperation of all Poles working for the good of the Fatherland, seeks to integrate the entire nation around its general national goals, which are viewed as the most important bond of its patriotic unity'. *Papież Jan Paweł II dziś przybywa do Polski*, "Trybuna Ludu" from June 2-3, 1979, p. 1.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

June 7 were broadcast across Poland²⁰⁶. However, even 'Trybuna Ludu, naturally in its own way, appreciated the importance of the visit, namely, it devoted the entire third column and a part of the fourth one to the relation from the welcome of the pope and his meeting with the state authorities, published the full texts of the given speeches and informed about the pope's arrival in the first column²⁰⁷. The strategy of seeking for even the slightest and purely chivalric statements of the pope, which could be presented as an expression of his affirmation and support for the communist government, was consistently implemented. A brief note, titled 'Przed odlotem z Rzymu' ('Before departure from Rome') and containing the pope's statement, may serve as an example: '...I would like to restate my sincere appreciation to the Polish state authorities and to emphasize (...) my commitment to the matter of peace, coexistence and cooperation among nations'²⁰⁸.

As for the broadcast itself – it should be recorded that the legendary homily delivered during the Mass at the Victory Square on June 3, 1979, was almost entirely disregarded.

While the pope's speech was published in its entirety, the fact that John Paul II celebrated the Mass was described only in one short sentence. It was consistent with the adopted strategy, according to which, 'Trybuna Ludu' reported the visit of the pope as the head of the state of Vatican, although its religious character was stressed in several places. Nevertheless, any religious accents could enter the communist press with a great difficulty – all quoted events and statements were meant to confirm the adopted thesis

²⁰⁶ Cf. *Telewizja w tygodniu (2-8. VI)*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from June 2-3, 1979, p. 9.

²⁰⁷ Cf. *Spotkanie w Belwederze Edwarda Gierka z Janem Pawłem II*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from June 4, 1979, pp. 1. 3-4.

²⁰⁸ *Przed odlotem z Rzymu*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from June 4, 1979, p. 4. It is difficult to assume, however, whether or not this statement can be regarded as reliable and not manipulated, or even invented.

that the pope's visit to Poland is an expression of his affirmation to the achievements of the PRL as well as an expression of appreciation for the current government.

The reports concerning the next days of his pilgrimage were given less consideration as other news predominated over them, although they were still present in the first column. More attention was given to the pope's visit to the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau²⁰⁹.

After the visit, it was considered appropriate to articulate in 'Trybuna Ludu' the relevant comment under the significant title 'The momentous visit'. It contained the summary of the adopted by the authorities interpretation of the papal pilgrimage: the election of the Polish pope was a tribute to Polska Ludowa. He also expressed this respect personally.

The pilgrimage itself is an expression of encouragement for all citizens to build the common wealth of the socialist homeland, whose great concern – as in other socialist countries – is to fight for peace. And although 'John Paul II acted (...) from ideological positions during his trip to Poland, including historiosophical ones, relevant to beliefs represented by him', then 'the visit also confirmed the existence of a number of realistic indications allowing – despite differences – the further development of the constructive cooperation between the Church and the State, between the Vatican and Poland'²¹⁰.

The article also contains theses of the party's openness to the Poles, regardless of their views, as long as they want to work for the good of Poland, and of great success, namely, the organization of the pilgrimage and 'disciplining the Polish society'. The

²⁰⁹ Cf. *Jan Paweł II w Oświęcimiu*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from June 8, 1979, p. 1; *Uroczystość na terenie dawnego hitlerowskiego obozu zagłady Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

²¹⁰ M. Kuszewski, *Doniosła wizyta*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from June 11, 1979, p. 3.

article ends with – which is not surprising – assurances that the communist party will continue the implementation of changes in *Polska Ludowa*²¹¹. However, it is the last accent of the ‘pilgrimage’ in ‘Trybuna Ludu’; the next issues encompass the extensive report from XV plenum of the Central Committee of PZPR.

On the other hand, ‘Solidarity’ developed in the period of the tremendous appreciation of the Church in Poland by the Marxist authorities. The party wanted to use the authority of the Church to defend *status quo* in the face of the emergence of ‘Solidarity’ and to escalate its political demands²¹². The Church, therefore, was regarded to be the main mediator, a factor of stability and tranquility, which was to soothingly affect the ‘Solidarity’. At that time, ‘the communist party highlighted that the Church is strong and powerful, represents the moral authority and can be featured by: caution, tranquility, realism, patience, sense of responsibility, constructivism, wisdom, patriotism²¹³.

A perfect illustration of such attitude, which can be expressed in typically manipulative and utilitarian approach to the Church, is the recollection of the homily delivered by Primate Wyszyński at Jasna Góra in the feast of Our Lady of Częstochowa (August 26), published in ‘Trybuna Ludu’ during the continuing strikes in August 1980²¹⁴. While normally, there is no use in searching any references to the Church in the communist press, excluding citation of sermons, this time, the Primate’s speech was given a considerable attention (to make matters worse, the information about the primate’s statements was published in the first column, however,

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 4.

²¹² More about this issue Cf. J. B. Tamney, *Catholicism and the Solidarity Movement in Poland*, in: Ibid., *The Resilience Christianity in the Modern World*, New York 1992, pp. 27-46.

²¹³ A. Kominek, *Punkt zborny*, quot. jour., p. 129.

²¹⁴ More see: A. Kemp-Welch, *Poland under Communism...*, quot. jour., p. 263.

it was completed in the second one). It was even broadcast on TV! The first column reads that the Primate 'indicated, with reference to the ceremonies held at Jasna Góra, that the contemporary times are particularly difficult and severe and mainly require tranquility, harmony, prudence and responsibility for the whole nation. Then, discussing the duties and rights in the homeland, the Polish Primate stressed that all these need great prudence as well as peace and a spirit of work, without which, actually, nothing can function despite the most legitimate rights that could be recalled'²¹⁵. The content of the cardinal's speech was almost fully quoted in the next column. A day later, reporting on the global echos of the events in Poland, 'Trybuna Ludu' does everything to show that the Western press comprehend the primate's speech as the call to end strikes and return to work.'Reports, devoted to 45-minute transmission of sermons delivered by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński at Jasna Góra, emphasize that even the highest groups of the Catholic Church in Poland joined the appeals for returning to work. The primate's arguments for the necessity of respecting the *raison d'état*, requiring consideration of the geopolitical realia, were widely popularized in the media in various countries'²¹⁶ – as the communist interpretation of the primate's words reads. It was the only reference to the Church in 'Trybuna Ludu' during August 1980 – the Primate's speech itself was treated instrumentally. It can be regarded as an expression of the communist desperation, as they seized every possible method to extinguish the fire in the country.

The introduction of the marital law exposed the Church and the entire society to new challenges²¹⁷. The Church – as J. Odziemowski

²¹⁵ *Wystąpienie Prymasa Polski*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from August 27, 1980, p. 1.

²¹⁶ *Światowe echa wydarzeń w Polsce*, 'Trybuna Ludu' from August 28, 1980, p. 7.

²¹⁷ Cf. B. Szajkowski, *The Catholic Church in Defense of Civil Society in Poland*, in: B. Misztal (ed.), *Poland after Solidarity. Social Movements versus the State*, New Brunswick 1985, pp. 67-86.

notices – was the only structure, which operated legally and independently from the communists and had a tremendous impact on the society. Therefore, communists strived to obtain the approval of the Primate and the Church hierarchy. The place of the Church in public life, its unquestioned moral authority, the defense of the persecuted and the struggle for human rights, meant that the information and comments of hierarchs as well as news concerning the activities of the clergy were oftentimes published in the second circulation press; they could not be also omitted by the legally issued newspapers and periodicals²¹⁸.

While regarding the problem of the Church's image in the press at that time, we must take note of a peculiar division of the press into a legal and conspiratorial one. Among the licensed press titles we can find papers that either are bodies of the Communist Party, e.g., 'Trybuna Ludu', or they belong to RSW 'Press-Book-Movement', which was also subject to the PZPR. These titles were contingent on censorship, they were required to print statements made by the authorities, messages of the PAP and reports of the press conferences of government spokesman, Jerzy Urban. Hence, all publications were almost identical in content and message²¹⁹.

The theme of the Church was frequently marginalized in 'Trybuna Ludu' and other party journals. It was subject to censorship, it has to present the position consistent with the Communist Party. It seems difficult to discern in those periodicals not only the reliable reports or deeper comments, but also any information concerning important matters for those people who believe in God. The news about the Church, if any, are usually reduced to brief, secondary and tertiary notes. Larger articles are rather confrontational in

²¹⁸ Cf. J. Odziemkowski, *Prasa i wydawnictwa. Słowo koncesjonowane i wolne o Kościele*, in: W. J. Wysocki (ed.), *Kościół i społeczeństwo wobec stanu wojennego*, Warsaw 2004, p. 306.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

tone. The newspapers offer the image of the Church that is torn by contradictions and cannot take any position toward the national problems and, as a matter of fact, is not very influential in the society. The simultaneity of the appearance of extensive articles about the Church in various press titles clearly demonstrates their dependence on the same disposable medium²²⁰. The party endeavors to affect the shape of the Church's activity through its papers, in which it opposes any references to politics made by the people of the Church. It also contains opinions on the instrumental use of the Church by the 'Solidarity'. The party is strongly against the use of places of worship to proclaim views, which are hostile to socialism; in this place, the case of Fr. Popiełuszko acquires a significant dimension²²¹.

Among the press publications connected with Blessed Fr. Jerzy, it is impossible not to mention the publication by the contemporary government spokesman, i.e., Jerzy Urban. Especially, we must consider the article²²² 'Seanse nienawiści' (The Hatred Sessions), published under a pseudonym of Jan Rem in the 38th issue of 'Tu i Teraz' (Here and Now) magazine on September 18, 1984. Fr. Popiełuszko is addressed in this article as 'the inspired political fanatic', 'Savonarola of anti-communism' or 'a speaker wearing liturgical garments'. As for the participants of the Mass, Urban refers to them as: 'The followers of fanatic Fr. Popiełuszko do not need arguments, inquiry, discussion, do not want to learn, argue, think and come to some beliefs. It is all about the collective emotional outburst. Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko is, hence, the organizer of the political rabies session'²²³. In publications presenting the

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 326-327. It seems that this principle can be related to both, the press of the martial law and the period of the communist ruling.

²²¹ Cf. A Kominek, *Punkt zborny*, quot. jour., pp. 129-130.

²²² Although it would be more appropriate to call this press form a slanderous libel.

²²³ The full text of the article is also available on the Internet, e.g., <http://nie->

communist point of view at that time we may also encounter the negative assessment the patronage of Church over artists as well as the pursuit of the complete subordination of the Church to the people's government²²⁴.

Information about the Church is considerably broader in the legal Catholic papers. Although they were subject to censorship and forced to publish official reports and statements made by the governing agents, it is also true that they published extensive speeches of the pope, primate, bishops and informed about the Episcopate. The papers contained a great number of historical articles, which reminded of a thousand-year relationship between the Church and Poland, and Poland and Latin Europe, the participation of the Church in the struggle for independence and the storage of the Polish national traditions during partitions and wars²²⁵.

The image of the Church in the underground press of that period was yet different. This press was free from the constraints of censorship. As a matter of fact, its publications mainly related to issues, which could not be discussed in the licensed press, nevertheless, less attention was given to the subjects, which were still present in the legal press of the Church. They frequently referred to state-Church problems or difficulties of the Catholic community. In case of events that particularly appalled public opinion (e.g., the murder of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko or the struggle for crosses in Miętne), they were designated even several pages, if not the whole editions of the papers. Additionally, the underground press contained information about the Masses, important statements of the pope, primate or bishops and also other information, which was extremely – from the communist

poprawni.pl/blog/3/materialy-zrodlowe-do-nauki-historii-najnowszej-cz-1-jan-rem-jerzy-urban-seanse-nienawisci (accessed December 21, 2010).

²²⁴ Cf. A. Kominek, *Punkt zborny*, quot. jour., p. 130.

²²⁵ Cf. J. Odziemkowski, quot. art., p. 327.

standpoint – uncomfortable²²⁶. Besides, the tendency to capture the elements of criticism of the authorities as well as the prevailing system in the statements of the hierarchy, is oftentimes observable. They also wrote about the persecutions of the clergy and criticized the legal limitations of the Church in Poland. The tone of the commentaries was consistently favorable to the Church – it also concerned the issues, which became the subject of criticism from the left-wing post-Solidarity after some years²²⁷. Thus, it can be concluded that ‘in the underground press, the Church appears as a significant factor of the situation in Poland, as a spokesman of the nation, without whose acceptance any permanent compromise between the power and society is possible’²²⁸.

Before 1989, the Church was explicitly perceived as being ‘in oppression’ and discrimination against the believers in the field of the social life was, in many cases, overt, and even ‘official’. As a result, however, numerous citizens viewed the Church as a place of truth, freedom and also gave a sense of the national sovereignty. Thus, it enjoyed the universal respect and the high social prestige²²⁹. In the socialist Poland, the Church was not only a minister of sacraments, but also the educator and teacher of values, beliefs and religious and moral norms. It also served diverse social functions. It was the only credible and independent from the communists institution at that time. ‘As always in Polish history, the Church served as a repository of national ideas and

²²⁶ Ibid., pp. 308-309.

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 329. The process of integration of the Church and the secular Left was initiated in the late 1970s. The first signs of such attitude were visible in the joint fight of the Catholic and secular opposition against the communist ruling in the 1980s. This cooperation was accompanied by overcoming the mutual prejudices and mistrust. Cf. J.R. Nowak, *Kościół jako azyl dla lewicy laickiej*, in: W. J. Wysocki (ed.), quot. jour, p. 339.

²²⁸ Cf. J. Odziemkowski, quot. art., p. 320.

²²⁹ Cf. R. Jusiak, *Kościół katolicki...*, quot. jour, p. 77.

as a sanctuary in times of trouble'²³⁰. In addition, it defended the fundamental values, especially the subjectivity of society and the historical experiences of the nation. Therefore, it often served as a refuge for those, who had different opinions from the official state propaganda. It fought for the restoration of conditions of the civic subjectivity in the 1980s. The Polish society has never conformed to the totalitarian rule thanks to, inter alia, a huge effort and a spiritual support of the Church²³¹. It frequently happened despite the massive communist attacks in the press and other media, like for instance, the Millennium Campaign, which 'contrary to the intentions of its organizers, strengthened the authority and position of Cardinal Wyszyński without harming the Church'²³². Cardinal Wyszyński personified the preeminent moral authority of the Church in Poland during the communism²³³. The Church was able to maintain relatively high autonomy and authenticity, regardless of the pressures and attacks. It preached the unchanging and unambiguous ethical truths, especially concerning the respect for human dignity and it also demanded religious freedom for everyone²³⁴.

²³⁰ A. Kemp-Welch, *Poland under Communism. A Cold War History*, Cambridge-New York 2008, p. 44.

²³¹ Cf. J. Mariański, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce na przełomie lat osiemdziesiątych i dziewięćdziesiątych (analiza socjologiczna)*, in: R. Renz, M. Meducka, *Społeczno kulturalna działalność Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce XIX i XX wieku*, Kielce 1994, pp. 17-18.

²³² R. Habielski, *Polityczna historia...*, quot. jour., p. 264.

²³³ Cf. A. Deck-Partyka, *Poland, a Unique Country & Its People*, Bloomington (Indiana) 1996, p. 63.

²³⁴ Cf. J. Mariański, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce...*, quot. art., p. 18.

CHAPTER VI

The Church in Poland After 1989

The situation of the Church in the Polish society has changed after the official fall of communism¹²⁷. On the one hand, the collapse of the communist party caused that the organization, which treated the Church as a formal enemy, was withdrawn from the power. It opened the way to legal regulations of the Church's status as an institution; among those regulations we should enumerate the adoption of the package of ecclesiastical laws, the renewal of the solid diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican in 1989, teaching religion at schools was gradually re-introduced in 1990–1992, the restoration of the Polish Army Ordinary in 1991 and signing the concordat between the Republic of Poland and the Apostolic See in 1993 (ratified in 1998 by Poland)¹²⁸. The principles of relations between Poland, churches

¹²⁷ Cf. D. Herbert, *After Solidarity...*, quot. art., p. 213-215; P.J. Wrobel, *Rebuilding Democracy in Poland, 1989-2004*, in: M.B.B. Biskupski, J.S. Pula, P.J. Wrobel, *The Origins of Modern Polish Democracy*, Ohio University Press 2010, pp. 272-326.

¹²⁸ Cf. J. Krukowski, quot. art., pp. 38-39.

and religious associations were encompassed in article 25 of the Constitution of April 2, 1997.

As for changing the role and place of the Church in society and social acceptance (which was also reflected in the press), then – as W. Piwowarski noticed – we must take into account the fact that the Church became merely a fragment of the pluralistic reality after 1989¹²⁹. The clear arrangement existing before 1989, which comprised two or three official social circuits, has been replaced by pluralist diversity¹³⁰. It also appeared that those who had previously identified themselves with the Church, in reality used its authority only for their own political purposes¹³¹. They did not seek the spiritual support in the Church yet the support for their social, cultural or political activity. Again, the thesis that the Church maintains its vitality where it is persecuted, restricted in its rights and discriminated against, was confirmed. The material prosperity, democracy and freedom foster the weakening of the social position of the Church and promote spreading the religious indifferentism¹³².

In the new realities of pop culture the Church had to deal with the processes of de-Christianization and desacralization¹³³. Abortion, religion at school, freedom of manners, the concordat and

¹²⁹ Cf. W. Piwowarski, *Zmiana miejsca i roli w społeczeństwie*, W; K. Górski (ed.), *Kościół w Polsce w warunkach wolności*, Warsaw 1993, pp. 8-11.

¹³⁰ Cf. D. Herbert, *After Solidarity...*, quot. art., p. 217-227.

¹³¹ Cf. R. Jusiak, *Kościół katolicki...*, quot. jour., p. 78.

¹³² Cf. J. Mariański, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce...*, quot. jour., p. 18.

¹³³ As B. Dziadzia, 'the world of pop culture causes the reevaluation of the sacred, spiritual (...), a concept of taboo loses its meaning and the boundary between the deity and its representations blurs. It does not change the deeply rooted need to commune with the sacred; it seems to be constant. The form and the object of worship undergo transformation. The manner of discussing important issues changes, while the censorship between the transcendental and empirical spheres is blurred. B. Dziadzia, *Wszyscy święci w ekranie zakłęci*, in: J. Sójka et al., *Kultura medialnie zapośredniczona. Badania nad mediami w optyce kulturoznawczej*, Poznań 2010, pp. 203-204.

attitude to them create a kind of the interpretative frame. It results from the changing circumstances of the Church in the society: it was no longer the only legal opposition to the current ideology, Catholics found themselves in a situation of ideological pluralism. Obviously, the attitude to the Church among the political groups is varied: from the overt hostility and struggle to the references to the Church's social doctrine, or the attempts to use its authority to legitimize their activities¹³⁴. One can see a growing split between the clerical and anticlerical tendencies in Poland after 1989. The Church attempts to promote its agenda of anchoring Christian values both constitutionally and institutionally¹³⁵.

As for the assessment of the overall image of the Church in the press after 1989, it is an extremely complex issue. Limitations in the development of the free press disappeared after 1989 and, instead of the concession, the system of registration was introduced. The numerous new papers appeared – smaller and bigger ones, which discussed the theme of the Catholic Church in various contexts. The religious subject matter (after the period of silence or eventually, after being combated by the communist press) became one of the most popular topics in the media, not necessarily strictly religious ones. Religion is treated on a par with economy or politics by journalists and readers. Besides, the readership surveys on the large Internet portals confirm that information of a religious nature is among the most read¹³⁶. However, in spite of this, we must agree with M. Przeciszewski that the image of the Church created by the Polish mass media creates a tremendous dissatisfaction and recipients We are still witnessing

¹³⁴ Cf. A. Kominek, *Punkt zborny*, quot. jour., pp. 133-135.

¹³⁵ Cf. A. M. Cirtautas, *The Polish Solidarity Movement. Revolution, democracy and Natural Rights*, Routledge New York 2003, p. 242.

¹³⁶ Cf. M. Przeciszewski, *Obraz Kościoła w mediach*, in: E. Laskowska, M. Kuciński (ed.), *Etyka w mediach w dobie globalizacji. Wyzwania i zagrożenia*, Bydgoszcz 2008, p. 119.

the dissemination of simplified schemes of the Church, rather than the reliable and detailed analysis¹³⁷. This opinion should be supplemented by the serious objection, i.e., the media treat the Church merely as a social, if not political institution, with no regard to its spiritual dimension. Thus, religion is reduced to cultural phenomenon and is not presented as a personal relationship with God¹³⁸. Such a situation stems from the fact that 'the media culture is so deeply imbued with a typically postmodern mentality, in which the only absolute truth is that there is no absolute truths, and if there were any, they would be inaccessible to human reason and, therefore, irrelevant. In this perspective it is not the truth that matters but the 'message': something that can evoke interest or amuse the recipients, creates an irresistible temptation to offset the truth criteria on the side'¹³⁹. We must also consider the attitude of journalists who, by the nature of their profession, seek novelties. The multitude of opinions, which are often superficial and sensational, create a climate for a varied, hence, interesting transfer. However, journalists often do not analyze the foundations and mechanisms of reality. The majority of them only register facts – it is good, as long as they present them objectively and without manipulation. In addition, journalists are frequently dependent on the media institutions, the ruling elites, political parties. Information and the transfer have become a commodity¹⁴⁰. A new expression infotainment appeared in the language and it signifies a journalistic genre combining information and entertainment¹⁴¹.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 120.

¹³⁸ Cf. K. Czuba, *Katolickie podstawy etyki dziennikarskiej*, Toruń 2007, p. 214.

¹³⁹ Jan Paweł II, *Rozgłaszajcie to na dachach: Ewangelia w epoce globalnej komunikacji. Orędzie Ojca Świętego na XXXV Światowy Dzień Środków Społecznego Przekazu*, nr 3.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. K. Czuba, *Katolickie podstawy...*, quot. jour., pp. 212-213.

¹⁴¹ M. Laskowska, *Infotainment – analiza aksjologiczno-etyczna zjawiska*, in: M. Gołda-Sobczak, W. Machura, J. Sobczak (ed.), *Media – czwarta wła-*

As for the image of the Church depicted in the media after 1989, it must be admitted that the first years were extremely difficult for the Church. Most of the media created a false portrayal of the Church. It was accused of the attempt to seize the public sphere and undemocratic actions. The misunderstanding of the Church's intentions and the essence of its social and political mission dominated in the media¹⁴². The Church was criticized for the lack of the mature formation of the Polish Catholics, the lack of self-criticism, clericalism. It was also pointed out that the greatest threat to the Church is its involvement in the political victory¹⁴³. The polarization of the attitudes toward the Church as well as the escalating dispute over its role in society could be easily observable. The demands to exclude the Church from the public life were frequently heard. They warned against the religious state and clericalism. A myth of a mysterious omnipotence of the Church was built (this myth is also present today). The dispute over the right to make moral evaluations of the political issues by the Church, was clearly recognizable; limiting the issue of the faith exceptionally to the sphere of private life was, and still is, a powerful tendency¹⁴⁴. The opponents of the Church tried to present the the Church as the beneficiary of the changes and the institution jointly responsible for establishing the new regime of 'Solidarity' provenance. Since the difficulties connected with the transformation resulted in the increase in the number of opponents of this power, they were often becoming the enemies of the Church. In this situation, there was a tension between the institutional Church and a certain part

dza?, vol. 2, Poznań-Opole 2011, p. 127.

¹⁴² Cf. M. Preciszewski, *Obraz Kościoła...*, quot. art., p. 120.

¹⁴³ Cf. K. Bernat, *Dyskusja w prasie nad kształtem polskiej demokracji po 1989 roku*, in: L. Pokrzycka, B. Romiszewska (ed.), *Oblicza polskich mediów po 1989 roku*, Lublin 2008, p. 29.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Z. Zieliński, S. Bober, quot. jour., pp. 296-297.

of the Polish society¹⁴⁵. The image of the Church as a guardian of some ceremony, which reminded people of the traditions of the Second Republic and honored and validated certain institutions and persons, was commonly accepted. However, when we take into account the social consciousness, there were no restrictions in the selection of the means to spread permissiveness and moral laissez-faire¹⁴⁶. It was especially visible in the dispute over the implementation to the Polish law the prohibition of abortion and the right to human life from the moment of conception to natural death¹⁴⁷. The attitude of the media and many politicians to Pope John Paul II on his pilgrimage in 1991 was an unfortunate symbol of this anti-religious position. The papal teachings and John Paul II himself encountered the massive undeserved criticism, especially because he explicitly advocated the protection of human life from the moment of conception to natural death.

T. Szawiel distinguishes four great debates led by the Church in the 1990s. The first was associated with the political commitment of the Church as an institution, which apparently was evident in the elections of 1991 and 1993. The second, the heated and emotional one, was connected with the introduction of religion to schools in 1990. The third great debate, which concerned the protection of human life from the moment of conception and the ban on abortion, took place in 1993. Finally, the fourth one was connected with the concordat passed in 1993 (though, it was

¹⁴⁵ Cf. R. Jusiak, *Kościół katolicki...*, quot. jour., p. 78.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Z. Zieliński, S. Bober, quot. jour., pp. 296-297.

¹⁴⁷ This theme, returning like a boomerang, has been supplemented by topic of the admissibility of in vitro in the recent times. For left-wing and leftist papers, the Church's attitude towards life is the evidence of its extreme backwardness. The issues of recording in the law the obligation of respecting Christian values by the media, concordat, religion at schools and the employment of chaplains in hospitals and the military, also caused many controversies.

ratified in 1998)¹⁴⁸.

According to A. Kominek, the main characteristic of the Church in 1990-1995 is a state of 'total fight', however, one of the elements of the new reality is a clear tendency towards its simplification, which views the church on the basis of a dichotomous classification of 'we' – 'they', or juxtaposition of the sacred with the profane sphere.

This trend is especially visible in the self-description of the Church. Whereas, on the other side, we can see a tendency to appropriation of 'the flagship words' (e.g., democracy, tolerance) by the various groups and parties. The great social debate about the 'Christian values' and the appearance of various styles of talking about the Church (especially, the colloquial style used in the high-volume papers), should be recalled. In some magazines we can notice the intensification of irony, or abusive and violent language terms, which exceeds the boundaries of good taste and customs (sometimes even legal), however, the papers, which target at such vocabulary, are located beyond the mainstream media discourse¹⁴⁹.

The massive media attack was reflected in the evident drop of trust to the Church, as tested by the public opinion polls¹⁵⁰. The turning point came in 1993. There was a public debate in 1993–1999 on issues, which from the standpoint of the Church, should be considered essential. This debate was victorious for the Church. The world of journalism gradually started to understand intentions of the Church and perceive the value of its proposals in

¹⁴⁸ Cf. B. Kułak, M. Nowak, *Wokół medialnej dyskusji o temat religii w szkole. Obraz katolika, katechety i katechezy*, in: D. Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak (ed.), *Dyskurs religijny w mediach*, Tarnów 2010, p. 275.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. A. Kominek, *Punkt zborny*, quot. jour., pp. 135-139.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. J. Mariański, *Kościół katolicki...*, quot. art., pp. 22-24; P. Celej, M. Kaczmarczyk, *Public relations Kościoła katolickiego. Wybrane przykłady działań wizerunkowych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Diecezji Sosnowieckiej*, „Problemy komunikacji społecznej” 2009 nr 1, p. 80.

the public sphere. It resulted in a systematic change of the image of the Church in the media¹⁵¹.

Undoubtedly, among the topics covered in the press, there were also issues, which were sad and even tragic for the Church. For instance, the issue of sexual harassment is one of them (the case of archbishop of Poznań, J. Paetz, seems to be the most publicized)¹⁵². The difficult matters include the lustration (accounts of the cooperation of the clergy with the secret services of PRL). A symbol of this matter can be found in the case of the accused of such cooperation archbishop S. Wielgus – the bishop of Płock, who was appointed the archbishop of Warsaw by Pope Benedict XVI in December 2006, however, on the day of his ingress to Warsaw cathedral, he resigned due to the media accusations of his collaboration with SB¹⁵³. The case, however, was returning repeatedly to the press, analogously to issues of the Property and the Finance Committee of the Church.

Nonetheless, there were many moments when the media transfer was clearly positive for the Church. Undoubtedly, it was observable in the days of death and funeral of Pope John Paul II¹⁵⁴. Also Smoleńsk catastrophe showed that Poles seek support in religion in difficult moments and the only language capable of lifting the weight of such a huge tragedy is the language of faith. Thus, the question asked by Z. Zielinski still remains valid: Can we

¹⁵¹ Cf. M. Przeworski, *Obraz Kościoła...*, quot. art., p. 120.

¹⁵² Cf. J. Morawski, *Grzech w pałacu arcybiskupim*, „Rzeczpospolita” from February 23, 2002, <http://www.rp.pl/artukul/105561.html> (accessed December 11, 2010).

¹⁵³ Cf. Komunikat nuncjatury: abp Wielgus zrezygnował, <http://ekai.pl/wydarzenia/x11810/komunikat-nuncjatury-abp-wielgus-zrezygnowal/> (accessed December 11, 2010).

¹⁵⁴ For the analysis of this event in the media cf. L. Dyczewski, A. Lewek, J. Olędzki (ed.), *Odchodzenie Jana Pawła II do Domu Ojca w polskich mediach*, Warsaw 2008; M. Hodalska, *Śmierć Jana Pawła II w świetle relacji prasowych*, in: D. Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak (ed.), *Dyskurs religijny...*, quot. jour., pp. 179-192.

talk about the crisis of the Church, or rather its verification in the current situation and realities?¹⁵⁵.

As in the previous epochs, we can notice a significant gap between the image of the Church presented in particular press titles according their publisher. While reviewing these titles, one may get the impression that 'Rzeczpospolita' writes differently about the Church from 'Gazeta Wyborcza' and 'Polityka', whereas, 'Nasz Dziennik' presents another contrasting portrayal. The leftist and liberal media offer a distinct depiction of the Church than the right-wing press, yet the Church's self-presentation varies in the Catholic publications. It is worth giving them some attention.

After a few decades of various repressive actions, the Polish Catholics practically lost the habit of reaching for the Catholic papers¹⁵⁶. It resulted from the numerous constraints imposed on the press by the communist authorities. The magazines experienced their revival, connected with a constant increase of the content and editorial levels, after 1989.

According to M. Wielek, after 1989 we can notice constant improvements of the graphic design of those papers and a desire for creating even much more open formula¹⁵⁷. Undoubtedly, the weeklies 'GośćNiedzielny' and 'Niedziela' have the most prominent position in the market. The lack of the Catholic journal and generally not the greatest financial conditions of these papers are treated as a serious defect¹⁵⁸. Additionally, numerous controversies about

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Z. Zieliński, S. Bober, quot. jour., pp. 340-341.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. H. Karp, *Na granicy pierwszego i drugiego obiegu*, „Nasz Dziennik” from March 14-15, 2009.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. M. Wielek, *Analiza czynników atrakcyjności polskiej prasy wyznaniowej*, „Zeszyty Prasoznawcze” 2001 nr 3-4, pp. 93-110. We can even risk the statement that (8 years after the research of M. Wielek was publicized) titles such as 'Gosc Niedzielny' (and many others) simply exceeded their secular equivalents as far as attractiveness is concerned.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. A. Adamski, *Kościół ma „dobrą prasę”?*, in: K. Marcyński, M. Przybysz (ed.), *Media i Kościół. Polityka informacyjna Kościoła*, Warsaw 2011, p. 125.

the understanding of the expression 'the Catholic press' arose¹⁵⁹. Unfortunately, if we take quantity into account, the Catholic media remain far behind the Second Republic, although the exact figures are not known. T. Mielczarek claims that there were 334 Catholic magazines published in 2004 (however, this author points out that this data is only estimated; furthermore, he notices that two thirds of those titles is either local or sub-local)¹⁶⁰. Nevertheless, G. Łęcicki records that 'the level of the Catholic periodical press has improved significantly in terms of quality. It was addressed rather to religious, yet simple people in the Second Republic and only a few papers aspired to have an impact on intelligence. In contrast, the modern press associated with the Church is even more universal and even popular and religious magazines do not avoid commenting on serious religious, cultural, social and political issues. Naturally, this phenomenon is connected with the general increase of the level of education in the postwar Poland'¹⁶¹.

Among the press publications about the Church after the year 2000, a report prepared and published by 'Rzeczpospolita' deserves attention. It appeared twice: in 2003 it was titled 'The Church at the turn of the century', had 24 pages and was added to the weekend edition of the Diary of 15-16 March the same year. In 2010, it appeared as a 20-page supplement to the 'Rzeczpospolita' of 9 December, and was titled 'The Church in Poland – a report'. The authors attempted to describe the reality of the Church in

¹⁵⁹ More information about the uncertainties and difficulties as for the expression 'the Catholic press' cf. T. Mielczarek, *Monopol, pluralizm, koncentracja. Środki komunikowania masowego w Polsce w latach 1989-2006*, Warsaw 2007, pp. 203-205.

¹⁶⁰ T. Mielczarek, *Prasa Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w latach 1989-2004*, in: E. Kossewska, J. Adamowski (ed.), *Media wyznaniowe w Polsce 1989-2004*, Warsaw 2004, p. 91.

¹⁶¹ G. Łęcicki, *Media katolickie w III Rzeczypospolitej (1989-2009)*, „Kultura-Media-Teologia” 2010 nr 2, p. 117 (online: <http://kmt.uksw.edu.pl/media-katolickie-w-III-rzeczypospolitej-artykul> - accessed December 12, 2010).

several aspects and objectively. They discussed the issues of the ecclesiastical vocabulary, structure of the Church, hierarchy, directions of ministry, charity, finances, the Catholic media and the Christian culture, vocations, missionary work, science and also difficult matters.

The issues of Radio Maria and Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk are truly controversial. Sometimes one may get the impression that the whole anticlerical blade of the media focuses on Radio Maria and its founder. However, Torun radio station is usually referred to with a great oversimplification, almost completely ignoring the evangelizing role of the radio¹⁶². The publications of one of the largest Polish dailies-Gazeta Wyborcza-may serve as a perfect example in this case. K. Osłowski, analysing the articles in 'gazeta' from 1998-2004, assumes this paper lacks publications concerning Torun radio station and, what is even more striking, it attributes the negative attitude toward the radio to the primate and the episcopate. The entire articles are generally limited to portraying drawbacks of the radio and, additionally, there is no place for discussion with its listeners or the representatives of the radio. Its audience is depicted as incapable of dealing with transformations¹⁶³. According to the author, is difficult to find objectivity, understood as a representation of reality from different perspectives and a consideration of some discussion in the publications about Radio Maria issued by 'Gazeta Wyborcza'. It even seems that this daily does not report opinions but leads a certain policy¹⁶⁴. The aforementioned thesis is confirmed by K. Mazan, who analyzed articles in 'Gazeta Wyborcza' from 2003-

¹⁶² Cf. M. Przeworski, *Obraz Kościoła...*, quot. art., p. 121.

¹⁶³ Cf. K. Osłowski, *Radio Maryja w „Gazecie Wyborczej” 1998-2004*, in: I. Krze-
miński (ed.), *Czego nas uczy Radio Maryja? Socjologia treści i recepcji roz-
głośni*, Warsaw 2009, p. 171.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

2007. He claims that 'the editors of the paper were generally negative about the radio station, especially its director. They did not conceal their dislike in interviews, comments or opinions. The articles in *Gazeta Wyborcza* mark a distinct, exaggerated and negative image of the Radio Maria environment'¹⁶⁵.

The issue of portraying Radio Maria in the media is extremely complex. The multitude of source materials makes this problem truly difficult to investigate and describe. Certainly, the majority of the press publications about the radio is full of intense emotions: both, critical and favorable to the radio. However, there are very little texts attempting to approach this issue in a balanced, rational and objective way.

Several months after the death of John Paul II, certain media outlets started to repeat another argument quite loudly and frequently – this time about the crisis in the Church. While this occurred, the positive role of the Church in national life was ignored. Virtually the only point of reference for the presentation of what was happening in the Church was the Polish Episcopal Conference, which was portrayed as a kind of embittered parliament, as well as the overlooking of the Church's spheres of constitutive activities, which are charitable activities, medical education, as well as the vast activity of evangelical movements. Another proof of the crisis of the Church in Poland was portrayed to be the difference of opinion between bishops¹⁶⁶.

A further abuse that has to be considered is the tendency to generalize certain individual cases of the weakness of individual religious to the whole community of the Church. This generalization affects the image of the whole Church in a very

¹⁶⁵ K. Mazan, *Analiza artykułów na temat Radia Maryja „Gazeta Wyborcza” w latach 2003-2007*, in: I. Krzemiński (ed.), *Czego nas uczy...*, quot. jour., p. 174.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. M. Przeworski, *Obraz Kościoła...*, quot. art., pp. 122-123.

serious and unfair way¹⁶⁷.

A question also arises, namely, to which extent is the image of the Church the result of the deliberate creation of the information policy? Although there are attempts to undermine certain actions (for example, on the level of individual institutions or dioceses)¹⁶⁸, it would be better to agree with M. Przeworski that the information policy of the Church in Poland is insufficient. It is typically ad hoc in nature. It lacks long-range, strategic, clearly defined objectives. It lacks a wider reflection, which would be important for the information policy. It also lacks awareness that in the modern world, this type of policy is very important for the process of evangelization. It lacks, according to Przeworski, a concern for improving the qualifications of Catholic journalists. The lesson that must be completed is the proper preparation of the Advocates of ecclesiastical institutions¹⁶⁹.

Indeed, it seems that the information policy of the Church and its relations with the media too often resemble 'fire fighting', as they are a response to the media crisis, media-publicized scandals, or publications by the media. There is no trouble taken with 'agenda-setting'. There is no conscious direction of creating a public debate, forcing subjects, or portraying them in a desirable way. An example of a neglected area in this respect seems to be the bioethical topic or also the question of the Church's finances. Therefore, 'although in our media we have greater amounts of information about the Church than in any other country, the state of the information leaves much to be desired. (...) Many texts still provide evidence for the frequent duplication of some

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. P. Celej, M. Kaczmarczyk, *Public relations...*, quot. art., pp. 83-95.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. M. Przeworski, *Katolicka Agencja Informacyjna. Podstawowe zasady relacji Kościoła z mediami*, in: K. Marcyński, M. Przybysz (ed.), *Media i Kościół*, quot. jour., p. 52.

longstanding patterns of thinking instead of laborious efforts to show the complex ecclesial reality'¹⁷⁰.

This rather sad conclusion shows, with all due respect to what has already been done, the enormity of the task standing before the institutionalized Polish Church in terms of conscious, deliberate, and long-term building of relationships with the media (especially lay media), and creating a medial image of the Church. Although, as always, 'the best prescription for crisis in the Church remains prayer, fasting, and almsgiving'¹⁷¹, it is also important to remember that public relations tools that are used wisely can help the Church to consciously and wisely create the directions of the media discourse about the Church itself, in order to not be constantly placed in the situation of the young boy who always has to explain himself and prove that he did not break the glass of his neighbor's window.

¹⁷⁰ M. Przeworski, *Obraz Kościoła...*, quot. art., p. 125.

¹⁷¹ The assumption made by prof. Krystyna Czuba during the conversation with the author.

Conclusion

The question of the Church's image in the pages of the Polish press in the twentieth and twenty-first century is unusually complex. The analysis that is presented above – although it is hard to consider it complete – already gives certain ideas and answers to the questions posed in the introduction. It is clear to see that in a given era it is difficult to speak of any sort of homogeneous and coherent image of the Church in the pages of all available newspapers. They were and are issued by different publishers, representing different points of view as to the issues of faith, religion, and the Church, as well as its place and manner of presence in society. However, through the use of its own media, the Church is also able to take part in certain ways of presenting itself. It may also try to shape the media agenda through the development of press offices and training of attorneys, but unfortunately it seems that in this respect there is still much to do.

The publisher seems to be quite important for the image of the Church presented in the pages of the written text. It seems that in

principle, the Church can count on the kindness and goodwill of newspapers who identify themselves as right-wing (conservatives, Christian democracy), and who in turn refer to Christian values. Kindness, however, does not mean turning a blind eye to the uncritical errors and weaknesses of the Church.

The image of the Church also depended on the political situation. In the difficult times for the Polish nation (partitions, occupation, communism), a noticeable discrepancy was seen between the media image and the real image. Newspapers, which were controlled by the invaders, occupiers, or the communist government, presented a negative image of the Church, but despite this (and perhaps paradoxically, thanks to this), it enjoyed authority in society. During the periods of freedom, when boundaries would disappear and the pluralism of voices and attitudes appeared, it often was met with criticism, and its mission began to be the subject of debate and dispute.

The problem of the Church's image in the press can and should be subject to further extensive research. Analysis of the image of the Church in each title of the press as well as in areas smaller than the whole of Poland could no doubt provide a huge number of topics for research of media studies. It would also be a fascinating challenge to carefully examine the press of earlier eras, whose realities were so much different from contemporary realities. It turns out that some problems and issues are not outdated, and often through browsing the yellowed pages of newspapers, one can discover far-reaching analogies to the present.

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Papież przyjął przedstawicieli przesiedleńców na specjalnej audiencji, „Trybuna Ludu”, 19 November 1965.

Po wyborze Jana Pawła II. Światowe echa, „Trybuna Ludu” from October 19, 1978.

Poniedziałkowe posiedzenie Sejmu, „Trybuna Ludu” from 14 December 1965.

Prasa zagraniczna o artykułach „Trybuny Ludu” i „Życia Warszawy”, „Trybuna Ludu” from 15 December 1965.

Prasa zagraniczna o wymianie listów między episkopatami Polski i NRF, „Trybuna Ludu” from 14 December 1965.

Przemówienie tow. Wł. Gomułki na manifestacji w Poznaniu, „Trybuna Ludu” from April 18, 1966.

Przed odlotem z Rzymu, „Trybuna Ludu” from June 4, 1979.

Rozpoczęcie tegorocznych uroczystości Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego, „Trybuna Ludu” from April 17, 1966.

Rzecznik rządu NRF wykorzystuje „orędzie” polskiego episkopatu, „Trybuna Ludu” from 16 December 1965.

Sejm uchwalił plan i budżet na rok 1966, „Trybuna Ludu” from 15 December 1965.

Sine ira et studio, „Trybuna Ludu” from 14 April 1966.

Spółeczeństwo polskie protestuje przeciwko „orędziu” biskupów, „Trybuna Ludu” from 17 December 1965.

Spotkanie w Belwederze Edwarda Gierka z Janem Pawłem II, „Trybuna Ludu” from June 4, 1979.

Światowe echa wydarzeń w Polsce, „Trybuna Ludu” from August 28, 1980.

Telewizja w tygodniu (2-8. VI), „Trybuna Ludu” from June 2-3, 1979.

Uroczystość na terenie dawnego hitlerowskiego obozu zagłady Auschwitz-Birkenau, „Trybuna Ludu” from June 8, 1979.

W sprawie „Orędzia” biskupów, „Trybuna Ludu” from 12 December 1965.

Wielkie manifestacje patriotyczne w Gnieźnie i Poznaniu, „Trybuna Ludu” from 13 April 1966.

Wina bez skruchy, “Trybuna Ludu’ from 3 April 1966.

Wypowiedź przewodniczącego rady Kościoła Ewangelickiego NRF, „Trybuna Ludu” from 16 December 1965.

Wystąpienie Prymasa Polski, „Trybuna Ludu” from August 27, 1980.

Z czterech miast kraju wkrótce wyruszą Sztafety Tysiąclecia, „Trybuna Ludu” from 8 April 1966.

Zakwitły czereśnie, “Trybuna Ludu’ from May 5, 1966.

