

only reactionary purposes. These are the article's prophylactic elements. The article serves to impress the reader with the high culture of the professional atheist, and at the same time remind him of the political stigma which the

régime still attaches to religion. It is significant that readers of *Literaturnaya gazeta* should be thought in need of such a reminder.

PAUL A. LUCEY

## The Church in Poland under Martial Law

The declaration of martial law in Poland ended the period of renewal which began in the shipyard of Gdańsk in August 1980. The Solidarity union, claiming ten million members, was suspended overnight as were all social, charitable and religious associations. Thousands of people were arrested and interned in special camps, among them many prominent Catholics such as Professor Władysław Bartoszewski, a lecturer at the Catholic University of Lublin, Janusz Bazydło, the editor of the unofficial Catholic quarterly *Spotkania (Encounters)*, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the editor of the Solidarity weekly, five members of the editorial board of the Catholic Journal *Więź (Bond)*, a number of the activists of the Catholic Intellectuals' Clubs, and many others. Publication of all newspapers, apart from a few published by the military authorities, was also suspended. The authorities tried hard to secure the Church's backing, or at least passive silence, so no direct measures against it were taken. Although some priests were interned they were released after interrogation, like Fr Józef Tischner in Kraków, or after a short time of internment, like the Dominican, Fr Tomasz Aleksiewicz in Poznań. Even though one priest, Fr Bolesław Jawulski, was put on trial for an anti-state sermon, he was released into the custody of his bishop. Though a total ban on public gatherings was imposed, the Church was free to carry out its pastoral tasks, including celebrating masses, to arrange visits to internment camps and to distribute food and clothing. However, the Roman Catholic hierarchy rejected martial law and has constantly condemned the wrongs of the "war against the nation" and called for a return "to the broken path of dialogue". They were joined in this condemnation by the Pope, who has been constantly reminding the world of the unjust sufferings of his fellow countrymen.

### 13 December

On Sunday afternoon, the day when martial law was declared in Poland, Archbishop Glemp, the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, said in a sermon: "The Church has received with pain the severance of the dialogue which had started with such difficulty, and the switch to the path of force in the form of martial law. This cannot happen without the infringement of basic civil rights. It means, in many instances, the flouting of human dignity, arrests of innocent people, contempt for men of culture and science, and anxiety in many families". He assured the believers that "the Church will continually demand the release of citizens who have been detained without justification . . .", but stressed that "saving life and prevention of bloodshed" was "the most important matter". The archbishop pleaded: "Do not start a fight, Pole against Pole. Do not give your lives away brothers, workers, because the price of human life will be very low. Every head, every pair of hands will be essential to the reconstruction of Poland, which will, which must take place after the end of the state of martial law."

The need to prevent bloodshed in Poland was also stressed by Pope John Paul II during his usual Sunday prayer in St Peter's Square in Rome: "Polish blood must not be shed, too much has already been shed, especially during the last world war. Everything must be done to ensure the building of Poland's future in peace".

### 15 December

The main council of the Polish Episcopate met for a one-day session in Warsaw. The bishops expressed their deep conviction that despite such a setback the nation would not retreat and give up the democratic renewal begun in August 1980. They appealed to both

the Church and the people to concentrate on two issues: the release of all internees and the restoration of the trade unions, above all the statutory activities of Solidarity.

### 16 December

During the usual Wednesday audience, Pope John Paul II appealed to all the people of Poland to return to the path of renewal created by means of dialogue and respect for the rights of every man, and especially respect for the working man. "This path is not an easy one", said the Pope, ". . . but it is not impossible".

### 20 December

The text of a proclamation by Archbishop Glemp was read in all Catholic churches in Poland. On behalf of the entire Episcopate the Archbishop expressed "deep pain and sympathy for all families affected by the declaration of martial law and parted from their loved ones". "We are helplessly confronted with sufferings and evil. But despite this we believe that everything is in the hands of God . . . and we pray to Him that there will be no bloodshed, for our country has never experienced fratricidal wars. I entreat you in the name of God not to raise hands filled with hatred against one another. Only self-control and the maintenance of calm can save our country and the Church which fulfils her mission in it."

On the same day the Vatican envoy for Eastern Europe, Archbishop Luigi Poggi, arrived in Warsaw on a fact-finding mission, bringing a letter from the Pope to General Jaruzelski. The Pope appealed to the general's conscience "to end these acts of bloodshed against Poles . . . and to return to the peaceful dialogue, which since August 1980 has been solving the problems involved in the renewal of society". Warsaw television claimed that Archbishop Poggi's meeting with General Jaruzelski on 24 December took place "in a spirit of mutual understanding" and that the General assured the envoy that he would study attentively the opinions expressed in the Pope's letter. The Pope wrote also to Lech Wałęsa, the interned Solidarity leader, assuring him that his whole heart was with him and with all his family at this difficult moment.

### 24 December

The military authorities lifted the curfew so that people could attend Christmas midnight mass. The midnight mass from Holy Cross

church in Warsaw was broadcast on the radio. Archbishop Glemp's Christmas message, expressing his "deepest wish" that the state of martial law would end before Christmas, was read out.

### 26 December

During a Christmas mass, Cardinal Macharski of Kraków said "Nobody can agree to the use of force, oppression and lies to build good and happiness. No-one can agree to the shedding of blood. . . ." However, he warned strongly against violence and pointed to love as the strongest weapon to overcome all wrongs. "We are people who believe that God is love, and love will prevail in the end".

### 28 December

Archbishop Glemp wrote to General Jaruzelski demanding that the campaign of dismissals from work should stop. The letter followed a decree of 17 December which stated that people who would not renounce their Solidarity membership were to be dismissed from their jobs immediately. The Archbishop wrote: "the decree presumes that all Solidarity members are enemies of the state . . . it introduces negative selection, leaving the men who are the weakest and broken in spirit to carry out the important task of finding a way out of the crisis, and it is totally contradictory to the general's programme formulated in public on 13 December, as well as statements by the military Council for the Salvation of Poland on 16 December".

### 1 January

Pope John Paul II, speaking in St Peter's Square said: "at stake is a matter of importance, not only for Poland but for the history of mankind. . . . The word "Solidarity" which is visible on so many posters here speaks of efforts aimed at justice and peace . . . Solidarity belongs to the modern heritage of working people of my homeland and I would go so far as to say of other nations also."

### 6 January

During a mass on the feast of Epiphany, Cardinal Macharski stated that there was only one way out of the state of martial law—to resume the interrupted dialogue with society, in circumstances free of threat, and between equal and free men. The Cardinal revealed that he had received letters telling him not to practise politics from the altar and to with-

draw his open support for Solidarity. Some letters even threatened him with "the fate of Archbishop Romero of El Salvador". The Cardinal said: "I shall never deny my numerous sermons, in which I promoted Polish ways to a just and free Poland . . . I want to preach the evangelical truth about God and man to men in our difficult times. . . . This is not meddling in politics. I repeat, and I shall continue to repeat: reason and love instead of force and the sword! Love is the way to truth and justice."

On the same day Archbishop Glemp renewed his appeals to maintain calm and avoid the shedding of "fraternal blood". A Catholic, the Archbishop noted, is not permitted to counter force with force or by revenge. He warned that revenge is "the worst way of setting wrongs right . . . as it leads only to further revenge". Turning to the problem of the internees, the Archbishop assured the believers: "the Church is sparing no effort to provide pastoral and charitable assistance and relief committees are active in each diocese. . . ." However, his main concern was the "division" of society into authorities which order and compel, and subjects who are silent and hate. The Archbishop described as "unethical" the extraction of statements of loyalty from workers and noted that they were being extended to wider and wider circles of employees and that people who refused to sign were dismissed from their jobs.

#### 9 January

Archbishop Glemp met General Jaruzelski, but according to Church sources the summit was far from successful and there was no immediate prospects of resumed negotiations.

#### 10 January

In a sermon Archbishop Glemp condemned the military authorities for their policy of internment and for creating conflicts of conscience by forcing employees to choose between their jobs and Solidarity membership.

On the same day Pope John Paul II repeated the Archbishop's condemnation of the loyalty pledges, saying: "This violation of conscience is a serious injury done to man".

#### 12 January

Pope John Paul II met privately with Kazimierz Szablewski, a Polish minister in charge of working relations with the Vatican, who delivered General Jaruzelski's reply to the Pope's December letter. The content of the letter was not revealed.

#### 13 January

The Pope announced that during the Wednesday audiences he would pray in Polish despite the absence of Polish pilgrims "to whom access to Rome has been denied because of the unfortunate state of martial law . . ." as "they do not cease to be present here in spirit".

#### 19 January

The 182nd Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate, the first since martial law was declared, ended in Warsaw. The bishops issued a pastoral message which was read in all Catholic churches on 31 January and also sent a letter to General Jaruzelski. In the message the bishops demanded that the Warsaw government re-establish the "normal life of the State" and immediately release all those imprisoned under martial law. They further demanded an end to all ideological pressure on society and all dismissals of people from work for their political convictions or trade union membership. They concluded: "We must resume dialogue between the government and the people. We bishops, with every Pole, long for such talks; they might be difficult, but not impossible. . . . It was not only the workers who believed in Solidarity—the whole nation presented a unified front behind it. These values should not be rejected. They remain our hope for a better tomorrow despite today's sufferings. It is our conviction that we can solve our country's problems ourselves."

#### 24 January

In St Peter's Square the Pope, commenting on the pastoral message of the Polish bishops, again asked for prayer for Poland.

#### 27 January

Studies commenced at the Catholic University of Lublin.

#### 31 January

On the Day of Solidarity with Poland, the Pope expressed his profound gratitude for all manifestations of solidarity with Solidarity, for all material help sent to Poland and for all spiritual support.

#### Early February

Andrzej Wojtowicz, press officer of the Polish Ecumenical Council, which represents some 700,000 non-Catholic Christians, stated in Geneva, that "the declaration of martial

law in Poland had prevented a civil war". Wojtowicz criticized Solidarity which "had a chance to be a stable political factor in Poland, but lost it because it wanted to take power and abolish the Party". Solidarity, he noted, was primarily a movement of the young generation, which was influenced by "political romantics and enthusiasts". In Wojtowicz's opinion it was the Catholic Church which should be blamed for "not showing Solidarity and the workers the right way instead of supporting it fully".

#### 4 February

Archbishop Glemp arrived in Rome, accompanied by the Archbishop of Kraków, Cardinal Macharski, and Archbishop Gulbinowicz of Wrocław, for a series of meetings with the Pope. As well as the situation in Poland they discussed the Pope's planned visit to Poland in August 1982.

#### 7 February

In a sermon during mass in the Polish church of St Stanisław in Rome, Archbishop Glemp appealed for national reconciliation and the building of a new Poland, law-abiding and tolerant, in which there would be a place for the Church and for self-governing unions.

#### 9 February

During an audience for an international group of trade union leaders, who met in Rome to demonstrate their solicitude for Poland, the Pope emphasized the "right of workers to join trade unions", and expressed his gratitude for their solidarity towards his country. He said that Solidarity had acquired and still possessed the character of an authentic representative of the workers, recognized by the authorities. It remained an autonomous and independent union, faithful to its initial inspirations; it rejected violence, even in the difficult situation it was experiencing, and was concerned to be a constructive force for the nation.

#### 17 February

A special commentary on the attitudes of the Pope and the clergy towards martial law was broadcast by Polish radio. The author of the commentary noted that a number of "irresponsible clergy" had actively opposed removing religious symbols from public places, institutions and schools, but did not mention that they had been brought there at the insistence of the people during 1980-1981 and that state officials had often insisted on being present at their installation.

#### 24 February

The military authorities gave permission to resume publication of eleven Catholic journals including *Znak (Sign)* and *Więź (Bond)*; fifteen journals of other religious faiths; and thirteen journals of secular Catholic associations. However, *Tygodnik Powszechny (Universal Weekly)*, the national weekly closely attached to the Catholic Church, was still banned. (It resumed publication on 22 May—Ed.)

#### 25-26 February

The Catholic bishops of Poland issued the strongest condemnation to date of the military régime after their 183rd Plenary Conference held in Warsaw. The bishops' communiqué, read out in the Catholic churches of Poland, called for an end to martial law, for the release of all prisoners, for an amnesty for those still in hiding and for the resumption of dialogue between the government and the people. They repeated their call that no-one should be dismissed from work for refusing to renounce his Solidarity membership. The bishops also demanded full freedom for the Church, the restoration of the Catholic Intellectuals' Clubs (KIKs) and the resumption of printing of Catholic periodicals. They condemned the new wave of "programmed atheization" of children and young people which began with the imposition of martial law, and stated that it was imperative to ensure freedom for religion and development of culture if a social accord were to exist.

#### 28 February

In a pastoral letter read out in the churches throughout the Katowice diocese, Bishop Herbert Bednorz strongly condemned the removal of crosses from schools and public places. During the night of 27 January the cross erected in front of the Wujek colliery was horribly desecrated and broken up, the bishop said. "This desecration shocked the people of Katowice but on the very next day an even larger and more beautiful cross had appeared on the spot and even more people came to pray. Whenever crosses were removed from the classrooms . . . new crosses appeared in a completely spontaneous manner, which was not planned or envisaged by anyone. . . . This is very sad, and can be explained only by the terrible atheist obstinacy which is dividing the nation, hindering the reaching of a national agreement."

**3 March**

Archbishop Gulbinowicz of Wrocław issued a pastoral letter for Lent, in which he stated that despite all the sufferings and wrongs brought about by martial law he still believed that there was a way of overcoming the crisis, that of a "national reconciliation" reached through peaceful dialogue conducted in a spirit of love and forgiveness.

**5 March**

A similar letter, stressing the need for reconciliation and peace, was written by Bishop Alfons Nossol of Opole. He recalled the six million Poles who were killed during the last world war and the defeat of Polish national uprisings in the past, caused chiefly by the "lack of calm and sober thought". "All this calls not for excitement but for calm, not for revenge but an honest effort to rise from our deeply rooted economic and moral ruins. Aggravation, from whichever side it may originate, is immoral. It is not constructive but weakens us further and ruins us."

**8 March**

The Party Daily, *Trybuna Ludu*, published an article entitled "Radio Free Europe and the CIA", saying that they aimed "to create, with the help of subversive broadcasts, a climate in which the Church might turn into a political opposition force".

On the same day, Bishop Bronisław Dąbrowski, the secretary of the Polish Episcopate, arriving in Rome, denied rumours spread by the western press that there was a question mark over the approaching visit by the Pope to Poland due to the proclamation of martial law. However, he suggested for the first time that the Pope's visit might not take place in August 1982 as everyone expected but instead in 1983, during the three hundredth anniversary of the Polish army at Vienna in 1683, or between these two anniversaries.

**22 March**

Radio Warsaw broadcast an interview with the chairman of the provincial board of the Society for the Propagation of Lay Culture, who spoke of the need for "tolerance". "No pressure should be brought on Poles to adopt one world outlook or another. What is important is patriotism." He expressed his deep concern about "attempts to impose a religious world outlook". Solidarity, which, after all, had been open to non-believers also, had surrounded itself with the paraphernalia of Catholicism, and had promoted the idea that

a good Pole was a Catholic. Since August 1980, little tolerance had been displayed, he claimed, concerning the co-existence of different world outlooks.

**2 April**

A meeting of the Joint Government and Episcopal Commission, set up in 1980, took place. According to a very brief communiqué, the situation in Poland was discussed and both sides agreed that "a pooling of social resources was needed to overcome the difficulties experienced by the country". It was necessary and possible to achieve social accord, which should ensure internal peace on the one hand, and on the other lead to a full restoration of civil liberties. It was also agreed that "a proper climate" for a dialogue between the authorities and representatives of social groups was essential if the accord were to be achieved.

**4 April**

Polish radio announced that during the period of Easter, 10-12 April, the curfew would be lifted. The following day, Warsaw radio reminded listeners that masses and religious celebrations could take place without special permission only on church premises. Any service in any other public place required a permit from the military authorities.

**13 April**

At a press conference in Warsaw, the Roman Catholic Church made public a set of proposals to overcome the present political impasse. They emphasized the fact that the Church's ultimate aim was to work out "social accord" between the authorities and the people through the process of peaceful dialogue involving the Church, Solidarity and the government, to be followed by democratic changes leading to self-government. However, before any dialogue could begin, a "proper social climate" had to be established by: the release of all internees and people sentenced for violating martial law regulations, an amnesty for Solidarity members still in hiding, the reinstating of people dismissed for their political views or for refusing to sign loyalty pledges to the military régime, and the cessation of the media campaign against Solidarity.

**25 April**

According to the official radio report on the second meeting of General Jaruzelski and Archbishop Józef Glemp, the issue of "social accord" was high on the agenda and it was

agreed that it must be achieved by means of dialogue, in which State-Church relations played a significant role.

#### 27 April

Warsaw TV reported that at the request of church authorities, the Minister of Internal Affairs had suspended the curfew at the Shrine of Częstochowa from 28 April to the end of May because of the traditional May influx of pilgrims from various parts of Poland.

#### 29 April

The Party daily *Rzeczypospolita* published an article on the role of religious institutions, stating that, because of the constitutional principle of separation of Church and State, they could not be included in the popular power structures. Religious organizations, it claimed, have no right to speak as organizations on political questions.

#### 3 May

On the anniversary of the first Polish constitution, drawn up in 1791, which guaranteed individual freedom and insisted on the independence of Poland, peaceful demonstrations turned into violent clashes with police. Water cannons and tear gas were used to disperse crowds and thousands of people were detained.

#### 4 May

The 184th Plenary Conference of the Polish Catholic Episcopate took place at Częstochowa. Commenting on the recent unrest, the bishops stated that these events were delaying "social accord", halting steps taken toward normalization and confusing young people. They repeated that the Church consistently supported talks on renewal between workers, intelligentsia, peasants and trade unions.

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#### *Protestant Churches Gain Access to the Media*

On 23 January, at the headquarters of the Polish Ecumenical Council, an agreement was signed between the Council and the committee for radio and TV regarding the broadcasting of religious services from various Polish churches. According to the agreement, religious programmes of the Polish Ecumenical Council and its affiliated churches will be broadcast over Polish radio every first and third Sunday of the month as well as on church festivals. In addition, Seventh-Day Adventists and the Religious Union of Jewish Faith will be able to broadcast their program-

mes. The first programme of the Polish Ecumenical Council, consisting of a sermon, hymns, and prayers, was broadcast on 24 January. Roman Catholic Mass has been broadcast every Sunday since 21 September 1980 (see *RCL* Vol. 9, Nos. 1-2, p. 69). This agreement fulfils the authorities' commitment to give religious denominations access to the media as agreed in paragraph 3 of the Gdańsk agreement of 31 August 1980.

#### *Church Care for Detainees and their Families*

A few days after martial law was introduced in Poland, special committees to help internees and their families were set up on instructions from local bishops. Most of the committees were organized into five sections: 1) a pastoral section, organizing pastoral care amongst the internees; 2) an internees' aid section, which acts as go-between in delivering parcels to camps and prisons; 3) a families' aid section, which collects information on the needs of families and liaises between all parishes involved in charitable work; 4) a legal section giving aid in drafting petitions to the authorities and procuring good lawyers for trials; 5) an information section. The work of these committees has been fully endorsed by Archbishop Glemp, who set up his own Primate's committee to help internees from the Warsaw region. According to the Party daily *Trybuna Ludu*, by 26 January 2,000 food parcels had been delivered to internees on behalf of the Church, Mass had been said 237 times at the internment centres and representatives of the Episcopate, including Archbishop Glemp, had made 76 visits to the centres.

#### *Religious Instruction for Sick Children*

In March 1982, the health minister, Tadeusz Szelechowski, issued a decree guaranteeing the right, subject to parental consent, to two hours of religious instruction a week for children and young people in medical institutions. Children whom the doctor finds well enough will attend religious instruction at the nearest church, while children confined to bed will have classes at the medical institution. The classes will be taught by a priest selected by the bishop. This March decree is another important concession won by the Church through the Joint Government-Episcopal commission reinstated in September 1980 (see *RCL* Vol. 9, Nos. 1-2, p. 69; Nos. 3-4, p. 156; Vol 10, No. 1, p. 84).

### *Spotkania Under Martial Law*

A number of members of the editorial board and people associated with *Spotkania (Encounters)*, the unofficial Catholic journal published since October 1977 (see *RCL* Vol. 9, Nos. 3-4, p. 155) were arrested while many others went into hiding. In a statement issued from hiding which reached the West in February, *Spotkania* representatives condemn "the irresponsible and illegal introduction of the so-called 'state of war.' . . . It is absurd to wage war against oneself." Recalling five years of *Spotkania* activity and their goal for "national unity and the acceptance of Poland's rightful place in a free, united and Christian Europe", they state that: "this goal is all the more important in the face of political and physical terror", and that they "intend to continue their work in a spirit of Christian love and truth". Also in February *Spotkania* No. 16 reached the West, the first notable *samizdat* journal published under martial law, despite the heavy penalties being imposed for minor offences against the military rule.

### *Primate's Appeal for Prayer of Gratitude for Christian Aid*

To express gratitude for aid which has constantly flowed from the West, the Polish bishops declared 2 February as a Day of Prayer for all people who had sent aid to Poland, and special masses were said in churches throughout the country. On 13 March, the Polish section of Vatican radio broadcast a message from Archbishop Glemp asking that more prayers of gratitude be said for the aid given by Christians to the Polish nation. The Archbishop said: "The deep moral and economic crises . . . the imposition of martial law have caused many families to suffer deprivation, but these difficulties are being alleviated by aid which is flowing in a broad stream to our country from abroad". This was not just material aid but "the goodwill of the great Christian family" expressed in unceasing prayer in churches and unity of spirit.

GRAZYNA SIKORSKA

## The National and Religious Background of Yugoslavia

The occasional articles and more frequent brief news items about Yugoslavia which appear in *RCL* are difficult to understand without some knowledge of the complex jigsaw of religions and nationalities which make up modern Yugoslavia and the history of conflict and changing allegiances which lie behind them.

Yugoslavia is a federal union of six socialist republics living in a communist one-party state, with a considerable amount of local devolution and varying degrees of tolerance and repression. Religion is closely identified with nationalism: Croatia and Slovenia in the north and west are Catholic; Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia to the east and south-east are Orthodox (Serbian and Macedonian); and Bosnia Hercegovina in the centre is a mixture of Orthodox (the majority), Muslims (next in size, who are ethnically Slav) and Catholics, most of whom are of Croat descent. The line dividing Latin Christianity from eastern, Byzantine Christianity goes right through modern Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia is also a country of minorities. There are the national minorities, of which the most important are the Hungarians in the Vojvodina, north of Belgrade, and the Albanians, in the Serbian autonomous province of Kosovo and western Macedonia. The main nationalities also form minorities in other republics. Croatia has an important minority of Orthodox Serbs settled along its eastern borders and on the Dalmatian coast; and there are many Catholics, most of them Croats, living in Serbia. There are also Albanian Muslims in southern Serbia, next to Kosovo. Moreover, recent internal migration from the south and east to the more prosperous northwest has brought Muslims and Albanians to Slovenia.

Today's tensions between Catholic Croatia and Orthodox Serbia go back to the founding of the state of Yugoslavia after the first world war, when Serbs thought of Yugoslavia as simply an extension of the former Kingdom of Serbia, while Croats thought of it as a union of equal nations. The Muslims tend to side