

Abroad, carried an article by Russian Orthodox Archbishop Makari of Ivano-Frankovsk and Kolomiya (No. 18, April 1986, p. 7). The article, entitled "Once and for all", marks the fortieth anniversary of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Makari, whose diocese is in a traditionally Catholic western Ukrainian area, traces the history of the 1596 Church Union, which established the Uniate Catholic Church. (The somewhat demeaning term "Uniate" was replaced with "Greek-Catholic" by an Austrian imperial decree of July 1774; in recent years, this term, as applied to Ukrainians, has in turn been replaced by "Ukrainian Catholic".) Makari then outlines recent activities in his diocese.

Archbishop Makari's selective history presents the Union as a creation of the Polish gentry forcibly imposed upon, and constantly resisted by, all classes of the Ukrainian people. He writes of the mass return to Orthodoxy by "Uniates" in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the "fascist dictatorship" of Marshal Pilsudski between the World Wars, continues Makari,

Ukrainian believers, who had experienced suffering and insult in the Church Union forced upon them by papal Rome, continued their struggle and waited for an opportunity to break away from Rome.

Such an "opportunity" presented itself with the Soviet annexation of western Ukraine to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic during World War II, when Ukrainian believers

... demanded the restoration of church unity and abrogation of the Union, whose hierarchs and clergymen had loyally and zealously assisted the Nazis in the temporarily

occupied lands, thereby laying open the anti-popular nature of the Uniate Church.

Makari next recalls the March 1946 Council of L'vov, at which "representatives" of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergy and believers "unanimously agreed" to "reunite with the Russian Orthodox Church". He points out that the Council "met all the canonic requirements" because it was attended by two bishops, 214 priests, lay representatives from all western Ukrainian lands and various dignitaries.

The Archbishop relates the subsequent purging of Latin elements from the rituals of the "reunited" dioceses. In particular he cites the resolutions of the Holy Synod of 12 December 1949 and of the western dioceses' Council of Bishops of 28 January 1950, which set out important dogmatic, liturgical and clerical-canonical principles of pastoral activity. Makari writes that at periodic local assemblies of his diocese, theological reports are presented and pastoral discussions are held. The bishop regularly visits diocesan parishes and consecrates restored churches. In many churches, new murals are painted in the Orthodox iconographic style. Makari specifically mentions nearly completed restoration work in the Ivano-Frankovsk Cathedral, where the iconostasis (altar-screen) has been renovated.

Returning to the occasion of his article, Archbishop Makari concludes with the following words: "Our believers recall the Church Union as dark days in history, as an insult which can be neither pardoned nor forgotten. The return of the Union is out of the question!"

ANDREW SOROKOWSKI

## "Freedom and Peace" Conscientious Objectors in Poland.

The law in Poland decrees that all men between the age of 19 and 28 must perform up to two years' military service, unless granted exemption for medical or personal reasons. Conscripts are now also expected to swear a military oath pledging

allegiance to the Polish government, and to its alliance with the Soviet Union in defence against "imperialist aggression". Before the introduction of martial law in December 1981, the oath had referred only to the defence of Poland — a

principle acceptable to most young Poles. Since then, however, it has been reworded to include a declaration of loyalty to communist ideology and the Soviet Union, and now a growing number of young people are refusing to swear the oath on grounds of personal conscience or religious creed.

Individual refusals to take the military oath were undocumented until 1984, when public attention was drawn to the case of a Warsaw University student named Zablocki, who twice declined to swear the oath and twice spent several months in prison as a result. His case was referred to the High Court in Warsaw for a full interpretation of the legal position, and in October 1984, the Court declared that a refusal to take the military oath was equivalent to a refusal to serve in the army, and therefore punishable by up to five years' imprisonment. Unofficial statistics released by the underground press estimate that by December 1985 over a hundred people had been imprisoned in consequence.

Another case which provoked public concern was that of Marek Adamkiewicz, a student from Szczecin, who repeatedly refused to take the oath on the grounds that the government was using the army to fight its battles with the community. In December 1984 he was sentenced to 2½ years' imprisonment, even though he had not declined to perform his military duties, as witnesses from the army testified during his trial.

The case occasioned a considerable outcry, and a series of petitions with more than 1,000 signatures were sent to the authorities. In March 1985, a hunger strike incorporating a seminar on peace and human rights was held in a church in Podkowa Leśna near Warsaw. Lecturers included a number of leading intellectuals and oppositionists, including Jacek Kuroń. Particular attention was paid to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, with additional reference to the principle of non-violence as reflected in Ghandiism and Buddhism. The seminar lasted a week and, by the end, the participants had formed a new kind of pacifist organisation named the "Freedom and Peace Movement" (*Ruch Wolność i Pokój*).

In April 1985 a group of student activists from Kraków drew up a declaration setting out the purposes of the

movement, which, they said, had been inspired particularly by the sermons of John Paul II. "The aim of the movement," the declaration states,

will be to bring the greatest possible number of Poles to a true, unfalsified understanding of the notion of peace. 'The word peace,' John Paul II said in his sermon on peace in 1979, 'has become a slogan which deceives or stultifies.' It is used most often by those who use slogans about peace, cooperation and disarmament, in their efforts to deprive free men throughout the world of the will and means to protect their liberty. Consequently, to an increasing number of people in Poland and elsewhere, the motives of anyone using the term 'peace' have become morally suspect or politically alien. It is for this reason that we wish above all to restore moral and political credibility to action in the cause of peace.

The primary condition of peace, the declaration argues, is an effective guarantee of personal freedom for all.

There can be no peace where traditional political values have been destroyed, where systems of government repression and enforced ideology have been formed, and where the individual has been relieved of his right to independence and initiative. There can be no peace, then, in a Poland governed by communists.

The document concludes by expressing a desire for cooperation with peace movements outside Poland which are sympathetic to the aims of "Freedom and Peace", and concerned about the establishment of peace in conditions where the freedom and dignity of the individual are properly respected.

The declaration was signed initially by about forty people in Kraków and Warsaw, and passed on to supporters in Wrocław, Gdańsk and Szczecin who formed their own local groups. Members of the movement were encouraged to return their draft cards to the Minister of Defence with a standard letter explaining that they were doing so in support of Adamkiewicz, and out of a regard for freedom of personal conscience, not because of any objection to the principle of military service in defence of the country. The reaction of the authorities

was somewhat erratic, but forceful: those who had returned their cards were interrogated, fined or arrested, and in some cases beaten.

Despite the dangers and the harassment, "Freedom and Peace" has remained open rather than covert in its activities. Its members operate under their own names, petitions are signed, and the group's intentions are clearly formulated. It originated in order to help secure the release of Adamkiewicz and others like him, but this has developed into a campaign to restore the pre-1984 right to refuse to swear the military oath without liability to imprisonment, and to secure the right for conscientious objectors to perform alternative kinds of community work instead of military service.

"We are a peace movement," one of the movement's founders, Jacek Czaputowicz, has explained in an interview with the Solidarity magazine *Kontakt* (published in Paris), "but, unlike pacifist movements in the West, we are concerned primarily about concrete issues, not about the disarmament of Europe, or the reduction of weapons in Poland . . ." Ideologically, he says, the aim of the movement is to restore proper meaning to the word "peace", since this has been lost because of the way the word is bandied about by the Polish media to expose the aggressive political tactics of the United States.

In December 1985, the movement published its programme in the underground journal of the Committee of Social Resistance (KOS). It is an ambitious document which indicates that the movement will seek to tackle a spectrum of issues which other existing underground organisations do not at present cover adequately. The programme acknowledges the importance of the struggle for citizens' rights, freedom of speech and of the press, and the right to form independent unions. It expresses respect for the role of the Catholic Church as the "spokesman for national aspirations and universal moral values" — a role which it fulfills "with the dignity of the institution with the highest moral authority" in the country. It acknowledges that the struggle for religious freedom, and opportunities for social and cultural initiatives related to the church, form an essential aspect of the

defence of human rights. It also declares that the "Freedom and Peace" movement regards any endeavours to achieve national independence by non-violent means as justified.

Next, it states that, in view of the real danger of nuclear confrontation, the movement will seek to publicise the need to reform military education and to emphasise that non-violence is the basis on which the fight against evil should be conducted. It also declares that "Freedom and Peace" will endeavour to popularise the kind of knowledge which will help people to find their own place in the world, drawing on the achievements of Christian ethics, personalist psychology, the philosophy of the East, and other schools of thought which treat man objectively.

The programme also recommends the creation of a neutral demilitarised zone in Central Europe, on condition that the countries of Eastern Europe are democratised. It acknowledges the efforts of peace organisations in the West, and the support expressed by movements such as CODENE (*Comité pour le Désarmement Nucléaire en Europe*), IKV (*Interkerkelijk Vredesberaad*) and END (*European Nuclear Disarmament*), which emphasise their concern over human rights as an essential precondition for peace in the world. It expresses concern about the protection of the environment, hunger in the Third World, education and the full development of individual human potential, and the principle of universal tolerance.

Since December 1985, when an estimated one hundred members of "Freedom and Peace" were in prison, there has been a steady stream of reports on further arrests and detentions. Firm statistics are unavailable, but news items published in the *KOS* journal earlier this year are probably indicative. In January *KOS* reported four arrests and one detention in a psychiatric hospital. Two of those arrested were Jehovah's Witnesses who had refused to perform military service for religious reasons. They received sentences of 2½ and 3½ years' imprisonment. In February *KOS* noted the arrest of ten other activists. In March a further two were imprisoned, and two more arrests were recorded in May: More recent reports are not yet available.

The statements made by those standing trial seem to confirm that, for conscientious objectors in Poland, the issue is not so much the principle of military service itself, but the right to freedom of choice and personal conscience. Wojciech Jankowski, a teacher tried in Gdynia in December 1985, declared in his statement that violence was an evil which could be justified to some degree when there was no other possible means of self-defence. However, peace could never be achieved by destroying the individuality of the young, forcing them to act against their beliefs, and teaching them to kill, he said. Jankowski was given a prison sentence of 3½ years.

Tomasz Wacko, a founder member of "Freedom and Peace", was arrested in February 1986. In an interview with *KOS* he explained that he was refusing to take the military oath because it committed him to loyalty to the Soviet alliance. "An oath should be an act of conscience, and its text should be limited to the defence of one's country and not refer to ideologies and alliances," he said;

The army should be concerned about protecting the sovereignty and independence of the nation . . . while at present it forms part of a system which seeks to break human character and conscience. My refusal to take the oath, then, is a protest against the entire system of

oppression in Poland today.

The arrest of Jacek Czaputowicz and Piotr Niemczyk,\* two other leading activists from the movement, on the grounds that they belonged to an illegal organisation, inspired a strongly worded protest from the Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, which was published in the underground press in March. The movement also appealed for support from peace movements abroad and from the Catholic Church on the grounds that "Freedom and Peace" had been founded in response to the sermon on the nature of peace given by Pope John Paul II on 1 January 1985.

According to available sources, the appeal appears to have generated a firm response only from the French organisation CODENE. The church has not yet given any formal indication of its position, although if conscientious objection goes on gaining ground in Poland, it would be reasonable to watch for some comment from the church hierarchy, particularly if "Freedom and Peace" continues to emphasise its affiliation with Catholicism and its commitment to Christian principles.

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\*Czaputowicz and Niemczyk have since been released as part of the Polish government amnesty in September 1986.

## Pressure for Reform in the Hungarian Lutheran Church.

In April 1986 an open letter entitled "A Brotherly Word" — urging extensive theological and practical reform — was delivered to the Hungarian Lutheran Bishop Gyula Nagy and to many of the church's congregations (see document on pp. 330-31 of this issue). The letter was drafted in March by a reform group of 19 distinguished Lutherans, including the New Testament scholar Pastor Zoltán Dóka, and the concert pianist Árpád Fasang Jr. Responding to what they see as a "crisis" in the life of their church, the 19 criticised the church's official theology — diaconia theology — which has been controversial because of its conformity to

the political norms of the Hungarian state, and because of the monopoly it enjoys in church life. The group also called for the election of church leaders "without outside influence" (a veiled reference to the decisive role played by the state in church appointments), a return to theological pluralism, ecclesiastical decentralisation, greater lay participation in church life, the reestablishment of a Lutheran grammar school, and the holding of open conferences as a forum for dialogue.

"A Brotherly Word" is the latest in a series of attempts (spanning thirty years) by dissenting Lutherans to bring about