

rights in some Latin American countries reinforcing oligarchal and oppressive régimes which co-operate with foreign capitalist forces in an alliance for exploitation", this time attempts from the floor to include some such denunciation were frustrated by the platform. The 1982 Appeal, as well as welcoming the Soviet decision to stop the deployment of new nuclear medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR and to reduce the number of presently deployed missiles, also welcomed "the expressed readiness of the United States to conduct formal negotiations on the reduction of strategic nuclear arms". One American said "it would be difficult to get a statement that balanced through the Synod in the US".

In his introductory greeting to the conference the Archbishop of Canterbury warned that although the Moscow meeting was a

moment of hope, the opportunity could be lost in a reversion to "the sterile abuse of one party by another which has poisoned the atmosphere between nations for so long and even invaded consultations of brother and sister Christians searching for the way to peace". The Moscow conference, perhaps surprisingly, proved not to be that kind of event and although it would be naïve to ignore the continuing constraints under which the Church in the Soviet Union operates, the conference did increase hope that some genuine bridge-building was possible between the leaders of the East and West. A Russian churchman said during the conference "please do not always be negative about the Church in Russia. There is much that is wrong here, but there are also some things to applaud".

RICHARD CHARTRES

## The Church in Poland under Martial Law

### Summer 1982

With the Solidarity union still suspended under martial law and any real public debate outlawed, the Catholic Church in Poland has once again become the only mediator between the people and the government. Over the last eight months the Church has displayed patience and goodwill when dealing with the authorities. Martial law has been prolonged, peaceful demonstrations broken up, harsh sentences praised at so-called political trials, the internment camps are full, Lech Wałęsa has been isolated and a gulf has opened between the people and the military rulers, yet the Church has not ceased its efforts to overcome the social and economic impasse, still believing that it is possible to bring about what it calls "social peace" and reconciliation.

#### *Activities of the Social Council*

Some time after martial law was declared, Archbishop Glemp, Primate of Poland, decided to entrust his advisory committee, the Social Council, with the task of preparing a church memorandum on the crisis. The Social Council, set up in November 1981, consists largely of lay experts. In April its first "political" document promoted the idea of a

new "social contract" between the people and the authorities, which was to be worked out in tripartite talks involving the Church, Solidarity and the government. It emphasised that, though acceptance of Poland's international position within the Soviet bloc was one of the conditions for a successful and long-lasting accord, the democratization of political life was equally imperative and should be marked by increasing popular participation in the government of Poland, at least at local level. Moreover, the document stated that only an official promise to fulfil the agreements of August 1980 would make any dialogue credible in the eyes of the people. The April proposals met with Archbishop Glemp's approval as his covering letter to the Polish bishops, which was sent together with copies of the document, indicated.

General Jaruzelski, who also was presented with a copy of the proposals, rejected them out of hand as too far-reaching and unrealistic. Nevertheless, the Church was invited to continue its search for a way out of the crisis.

In May the Social Council produced two new documents which have only recently found their way to the West. In view of the

rapidly deteriorating economy and continuing western sanctions, it is not surprising that they deal with economic problems. They contain an analysis of the shortcomings of the post-war programme and a detailed plan for economic recovery. Both documents were again submitted to the General for his assessment, but it seems unlikely that he will respond favourably. The Council points to centralization of the economy combined with lack of any form of public control over economic decisions as the factors most damaging to the Polish economy. Decisions are mostly taken by persons without sound economic knowledge who subordinate the economy to political aims — developing the socialist economic model according to the theories of orthodox Marxism. An example of this, which the Social Council believes to be the third major cause of the present crisis, is the agricultural policy favouring unproductive collective farms over profitable individual ones, which has caused the total collapse of Poland's agriculture. The Council therefore emphasizes the need for a thorough reform of the economic system — decentralization of the economy and introduction of public control over economic decisions at all levels. It calls for a U-turn in agricultural policies — a return to productive individual farm structure and even privatization of small enterprises.

The Council makes it clear that no plan of economic reform has any chance of success unless a "social accord" is reached between the authorities and the people. Moreover, it leaves no doubt that a social accord is impossible without prior reinstatement of free, self-governing trade unions in industry and in agriculture.

The continuing activities of the Social Council may have harmful implications for Solidarity. In becoming directly involved in the process of political bargaining, the Church is assuming the role played by Solidarity until 13 December 1981 when martial law was imposed. (According to *samizdat* sources, the Council's first "political" document met with the approval of Union activists.) However, prolonged bi-partite negotiations between the Church and the Polish authorities might render Solidarity's presence at the conference table redundant.

#### *Church-State Relations*

With growing popular resistance to martial law, increased underground activity by Solidarity and the number of unofficial publica-

tions reaching dozens, the Polish authorities have tried to secure the Church's help in defusing tensions and pacifying the nation. Hence, instead of an open assault on the Church which some feared, the Church continued to enjoy relative freedom throughout the summer and the process of normalization between Church and State appeared to be well under way. Three meetings of the Joint Episcopal-Government Commission took place on 8 and 24 June, and 7 September. The highest number of new churches since the war were under construction, Catholic periodicals reappeared after 29 years of official suppression, religious summer camps were organized and children participating in state-run camps could freely attend Mass on Sunday. Church committees to help internees were allowed to carry out their work as were special advisory centres set up by the Church to give legal advice to people awaiting "political" trials. Priests were the only group of Polish citizens, apart from pensioners and Solidarity activists leaving Poland for good, who could travel to the West.

The Church, with its constant calls for "prudence" and its rejection of any use of violence as a means of exerting pressure on the authorities, undoubtedly contributed to the maintenance of the fragile internal peace. At the same time, however, the Church never ceased to point out the evils of martial law to the authorities and to support the suspended Solidarity movement. During the annual pilgrimage of Silesian men to the shrine of Piękary Śląskie on 30 May, Bishop Bednorz of Katowice, in the presence of 200,000 pilgrims, demanded an end to arrests, detentions and dismissals from work for political convictions. In Wrocław cathedral on 6 May Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz prayed for freedom and peace to return to the country. Such demands and prayers were repeated in churches throughout Poland. The authorities tried to exert pressure on the Church by withdrawing some concessions, such as unexpectedly stopping the work on a church under construction in Wrocław diocese and making the diocesan bishops responsible for the good behaviour of their priests. However, this pressure appears to have had little effect, judging by accusations made by deputy Premier Mieczysław Rakowski in an interview given to the Party daily *Życie Warszawy* (Warsaw Life) on 21-22 August that there were "fairly frequent cases of the pulpit and various meetings by some priests being used for voicing openly anti-state slogans".

*Pope's visit to Poland postponed*

During the same period, the Pope's planned pilgrimage to Poland developed into a major controversy between the Church and the Polish authorities. Since 1980 the Polish Church has expected John Paul II to officiate at the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the installation of the icon of the Black Madonna in the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa in August 1982. The Pope accepted the invitation in November 1981 and since then has spoken of his second homecoming on a number of occasions; he stated that he considered it his moral duty to be present with his compatriots at the feast of the Black Madonna on this great anniversary. The imposition of martial law in Poland last December cast serious doubts on the feasibility of a trip to a country in a state of civil war, with thousands of citizens in prisons or isolation camps, and the rest of the population suffering from the daily deprivation of its basic rights. To abandon plans for a papal visit would, however, amount to a tacit acknowledgement of the irreversibility of the situation, and cause great disappointment to the Polish people. In September 1981, when the First Congress of Solidarity sent a cable to John Paul II, they had stressed their deep desire for his presence at the August celebrations. The Church and the Pope decided to proceed with the preparation for the visit. At the same time, both the Polish hierarchy and the Pope emphasised on a number of occasions the necessity for a major alteration in the current political situation in Poland, to include the release of the internees and prisoners arrested under martial law, as well as a revival of the suspended Solidarity union, as a pre-condition for the visit. Although the Polish authorities stated publicly on several occasions that the Pope would be welcome in Poland, they did not issue the necessary official invitation. In June, when time was getting short, the bishops decided to bring the issue into the open. In his sermon during the Corpus Christi celebrations in Warsaw on 10 June, Archbishop Glemp stated that "the visit by the Holy Father is planned for 26 August . . . we invited him last year and he gladly accepted our invitation". This pronouncement provoked an angry response from the régime and all mention of the August date was immediately barred from the media reports. The text of the telegram sent to the Pope by the Main Council of the Polish Episcopate on 17 June to brief him on the preparations for his visit was not made public.

Instead, a communiqué published by the official press agency PAP on 13 June accused the bishops of making "unilateral decisions" not yet cleared by the Vatican and the Polish government.

The Polish authorities were in a difficult position. On one hand they recalled the impact of the Pope's visit to Poland in 1979 and were concerned over his presence in the country during the anniversary of the Gdańsk agreement on 31 August, while on the other hand they were apprehensive over the reaction of the people if they cancelled the visit. Their embarrassing position was relieved by "fraternal aid" from the state-controlled media of the socialist countries, which since the spring had mounted a strong campaign of criticism of both the Polish Church and the Pope. Articles ranged from oblique implications to direct accusations that the Church was fostering counter-revolution. The Soviet news agency TASS announced that "according to reliable sources", President Reagan had asked the Pope during their meeting on 7 June for help in channelling financial support to opposition groups in Poland. Moreover, according to TASS, the Pope had encouraged anti-state tendencies during his visit to Poland in 1979; and his planned August visit could only be described as a ploy to whip up counter-revolutionary feelings in order to undermine Poland's political system.

Under these circumstances, the Vatican's final attempts to clear up the situation by sending its East European expert, Archbishop Luigi Poggi, on a two-week mission to Warsaw (14-29 June), was unsuccessful. On 19 July Józef Czyrek, Poland's Foreign Minister and a Central Committee Secretary, arrived in Rome, reportedly to brief the Pope on the nature of the régime's reservations about the timing of the visit, considered to be "inopportune" at this stage of "internal normalization". The implication of this visit and other negotiations with the Church and the Vatican was that, although the Polish authorities would be happy to see John Paul II in Częstochowa, the Soviets would be far from pleased, and might even intervene directly to stop the visit.

The decision to postpone the visit was not announced by the Pontiff himself but by Archbishop Glemp. Speaking at a Mass in the Polish chapel in St Peter's Basilica on 21 July, a day before his departure to Poland, the Primate stated that "after careful consideration of the present circumstances in Poland" the Pope himself had decided to put off his visit

until a later date. However, the Pope was still expected to come to Poland during the Jubilee Year of the Jasna Góra celebrations, which was to last until September 1983. On the same day, during a speech in the Polish Parliament, General Jaruzelski said that the government would do all in its power to make the visit possible sometime next year, but clearly linked it to the "good behaviour" of the people. No doubt the General hopes that the postponement of the visit will give him more time to proceed with "internal normalization". It is clear however that the Church will not allow the prospect of the papal visit to be used as a means of blackmail. A Pastoral Letter of the Bishops' Main Council read in Polish churches on 8 August openly blames the authorities for postponing the Pope's pilgrimage. The Church continued to press the authorities to name the final date for the papal visit, both in the Pastoral Letter and in Archbishop Glemp's sermon at Częstochowa on the 26 August in the presence of over 300,000 pilgrims. On the same day, during a special Mass celebrated in Castelgandolfo, the papal summer residence, and broadcast live to Poland by the Polish section of Vatican Radio, John Paul II stated clearly that he considered it his duty to take part in the Jubilee celebrations.

#### *The Church and Solidarity's anniversary*

Meanwhile the campaign to demonstrate the continuing existence of the Solidarity movement gathered momentum, leading up to peaceful street demonstrations on 31 August, the second anniversary of the signing of the agreement between workers and government. On that day 75,000 people came out on to the streets in over a hundred Polish towns. There were clashes with the police, fire was opened on demonstrators, tear gas and water-cannons were widely used, five people were killed, over 200 wounded or beaten up and some 4,000 arrested.

The Church's judgement on these events was delivered in a statement issued after a two-day Bishops' Plenary Conference which took place in Warsaw on 15-16 September. The bishops unequivocally put the blame for the street violence on the authorities and condemned police brutality. The bishops particularly grieved over "the provocative desecration of shrines and beating up of young people leaving the churches". They also described the imposition of martial law as a total failure; "No correct steps have yet been taken despite the fact that the overwhelming

majority of society expects an agreement and understanding".

The bishops express their deep concern for the future as they "can see no signs of the social situation getting any better", which contradicts all official claims that the overall situation is under control and even improving. In the bishops' opinion: "The increasing wave of violent events might lead to a dangerous or even tragic situation for the country and the existence of the State." This uncompromising statement, issued only a week after the meeting of the Episcopal-Government Commission on 7 September, came as a warning to the Polish authorities. The Church, while willingly adopting the role of mediator between the people and the government and urging reconciliation and forgiveness, can no longer be satisfied by the authorities' promises of their willingness to continue the path of renewal without urgent action to back up their words.

The authorities, however, ignored the warning, and on 8 October Parliament outlawed the eleven and a half million-strong union. The ban on Solidarity was deplored both by Archbishop Glemp in Poland and by John Paul II in Rome, where thousands of Poles had arrived for the canonization of Father Maximilian Kolbe. The Pope said that the restoration of genuine and full respect for the rights of the working people, in particular their rights to their legalized union, constituted the only way out of the difficult situation. The members of Solidarity protested against the ban by strikes and demonstrations. Archbishop Glemp's criticism of the military authorities, in a sermon on 16 October, was more explicit than at any time since the imposition of martial law. The fragile peace between the Polish authorities and the Church will no doubt be under severe strain this autumn.

#### *Rural Solidarity dedicated to the "Queen of Poland"*

On 12 May, the first anniversary of the registration of Rural Solidarity, a special Mass celebrated by Bishop Władysław Miziołek in St John's Cathedral in Warsaw was attended by over a thousand representatives. After the Mass, Józef Broniszewski, a member of the presidium of the Warsaw branch of Rural Solidarity, read out the text of an act devoting the Union into the special care of Our Lady of Częstochowa, Queen of Poland. The celebrations ended with the laying of a wreath on the grave of the late Cardinal Wyszyński, who

played a vital role in bringing Rural Solidarity into being. (See *RCL* Vol. 9, Nos. 3-4, pp. 157-8.)

#### *271st Pilgrimage to Jasna Góra*

On 6 August, after a Mass celebrated by Archbishop Józef Glemp, 100,000 pilgrims set out on foot for the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa undeterred by the hardships of life under martial law. The pilgrims marched in 173 groups; the largest, with 51,000 pilgrims, was the group from Warsaw. The spiritual side of the pilgrimage was in the care of 834 priests, 971 seminarists and 521 nuns. By the time the pilgrims arrived at Częstochowa on 14 August, having walked 150 miles on foot, their ranks had been swollen by thousands of local groups of believers who had joined them en route. A group from Kaszuby region in northern Poland met the main pilgrimage in Częstochowa after walking nearly 800 miles. The pilgrims were a microcosm of Polish society; there were even infants in push-chairs and cripples on crutches. Most striking was the high proportion of young people. In accordance with the organizers' instructions there was little overt political activity, though occasional Solidarity banners could be seen.

The pilgrimage ended, as usual, with the celebration of the Feast of the Assumption at the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa, where the icon of the Black Madonna, Queen of Poland is kept. An open-air Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Gulbinowicz of Wrocław and nine other bishops, including Bishop Werbs from East Germany. More than 300,000 people, including some seven hundred pilgrims from abroad, attended the Mass and listened to the sermon delivered by Archbishop Glemp in which he called for the resumption of dialogue between the government and the people. His sermon was chiefly devoted to Polish peasants, and emphasized their role in the life of the nation which they feed. He condemned attempts to nationalize agricultural concerns and called for proper legal protection for individual farmers. Without referring directly to Rural Solidarity, banned in December 1981, he expressed his hope that farmers and agricultural workers in the country would once again be allowed union representation to protect their interests. A special message from the Pope in which he thanked all participants in the pilgrimage for their prayers was read out during the Mass.

#### *New Catholic papers in Poland*

Four new Catholic papers have emerged in

Poland this summer. Three of them, the bi-weekly *Lad Bozy* (God's Order), published by the bishops' curia in Wrocław, the monthly *Przegląd Powszechny* (Universal Review) published by the Jesuits, and a Marian monthly *Królowa Apostołów* (Queen of the Apostles) published by the Pallotin Fathers have in fact reappeared after 29 years of official suppression. *Lad Bozy*, founded in 1945 by the late Cardinal Wyszyński, then a professor at the seminary in Wrocław, is permitted a circulation of fifty thousand. It is aimed at the diocesan reader and will be distributed by the curia. *Przegląd Powszechny* and *Królowa Apostołów* both distributed throughout the country, will be available mainly by subscription, since, apart from a few Catholic bookshops, the papers are not allowed on the news-stands.

The only paper which will be permitted on the news-stands in Poland is the new Catholic weekly *Katolik* (The Catholic), published by the pro-régime Pax Association. The first issue of *Katolik* was on sale on 15 August. In an interview given to the Pax daily *Słowo Powszechne* (Universal Word) the paper's editor, Jan Waleczek, claimed that it would continue the traditions of a weekly with the same title published in Silesia between 1869 and 1931 and would concentrate on problems of Christian ethics and morality in Polish public life — an important element of the development of socialism in Poland.

#### *West German Bishops visit Poland*

At the invitation of the Primate of Poland, Archbishop Józef Glemp, a delegation from the West German episcopate led by the chairman of the Bishops' Conference, Cardinal Hoeffner, arrived in Poland on 3 June on a three-day visit. This was the second official visit by German bishops to Poland; the first took place in September 1980. (See *RCL* Vol. 9, Nos. 1-2, p. 70.) The delegation visited Warsaw, Poznań, Częstochowa and Oświęcim (Auschwitz) concentration camp. From there a joint petition was sent to Pope John Paul asking that the Polish Franciscan who died in Auschwitz in 1941, Fr. Maximilian Kolbe, should be canonized as a martyr to the faith. (The canonization took place in the Vatican on 10th October.) During the visit a number of talks were held but no official communiqué was issued. However, Radió Vatican reported on 6 June that the talks had focussed on the issue of how the churches in both countries could contribute to the Christian renewal of Europe.