

PINK, PURPLE, GREEN

**Women's, Religious, Environmental and
Gay/Lesbian Movements in Central Europe Today**

**Edited By
HELENA FLAM**

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Putting together a volume like this is a hazardous game. Every section is a matter of contingencies. In this part of Europe it is easier to identify experts on gender, environment, religion or gay-lesbian cultures than on social movements as such. I am glad that in spite of several dramatic moments of uncertainty everything worked out in the end.

My work as an editor of this book started in fall of 1998 when I finally decided to devote my time to identifying and contacting native experts in what used to be *Eastern Europe* before 1989. It took somebody two decades younger than I am to point out to me that I did not have to visit each of these countries to accomplish this task. I could rely on e-mail. Indeed. Most of the back and forth of various drafts, comments, missing references, latest news, sporadic pieces of gossip and friendly greetings went over e-mail. This means, however, that I have never seen and perhaps will never meet most contributors to this volume. Here then, on the first page of this book, I would like to thank all of them for participating. My special thanks go to those who cared for the contents of their own chapters as much as I did.

E-mail worked wonders, except in the Czech and Slovak Republics which I bombarded with all types of mail and to which I sent all sorts of messengers. Of all the people who tried to help Eva Stehlíková's persistence deserves special mention. For a long time it looked like that there would be no native Czechs or Slovaks onboard. In this case, however, my in person appearance in Prague helped. A brand new issue of the *Czech Sociological Review* fell into my hands. It included an article on the Czech environmental policy and the e-mail address of the author. Within two weeks Petr Jehlička joined us as a contributor.

Two more moments of doubt should be noted. Remembering Janusz Mucha from the European conferences devoted to social movements, I tried my e-mail luck with him. He mentioned one of his doctoral students to me, but, as it turned out much later, forgot the other. Anyhow, Paweł Załęcki's joining made thinking of a section on religious movements more realistic, so I contacted Klaus Hartmann. No Hungarian, Czech or Slovak authors responded to my search for experts on this topic. But I sat there with only one essay on the eastern German gay movement. A befriended literary journal from Poznań, *Czas Kultury*, supplied me with fax numbers of two gay magazines which, however, did not react. It appeared likely that I would have to drop the idea of having a section on gay(-lesbian) movements in Central Europe - the first of a kind. Jochen Kleres came to my rescue. He provided me with a list of gay organizations in Central Europe which I wrote or faxed asking them to assist me in locating suitable authors. To my relief Krzysztof Kliszczyński contacted me after a while. A few months later, much too late, the editor of an important Polish gay magazine, *Inaczej*, also expressed his interest. I then asked my friend to buy this magazine during his next trip to Poland. In it I found an ad for the first sociological study of gays in Poland. Its female author thanked Janusz Mucha for his sponsorship! Luckily she did not want to displace Kliszczyński and he agreed to have his article expanded in light of her work.

I am very grateful to the Head of the British Council in Leipzig, Mr. Stephen Ashworth, for his generosity. He eliminated the worst of our English language errors. I also want to express my gratitude to many other native speakers of English - colleagues and friends - who labored over our first drafts. Their help made this volume possible.

I am also very much obliged to the consecutive directors of my Institute of Sociology, Professors Kurt Mühler and Steffen Wilsdorf, for providing me with student assistants when I most needed them. Speaking of which: Tanja Täubner helped with references. My special thanks, however, go to Jochen Kleres, who while assisting me in making these pages presentable, offered sound advice and good laughs in spring of 1999 and Fall of 2000. I am sure glad I did not have to do this alone!

I would also like to thank Mario Diani, Hank Johnston and Professor Stephen Fischer-Galati for their support.

5. Religious Revival in Poland. New Religious Movements and the Roman Catholic Church

Paweł Załęcki

INTRODUCTION

To understand the form and growth of various religious movements in Poland after 1989, one has to keep in mind the unconventional religious development in this country in the past 20 years. Generally speaking the domestic policies of the communist state were relatively liberal, even towards religion, in the 1970s. The activity of the foremost Zen Buddhist group began in the early 1970s (Doktór 1995) and at the end of the decade many other oriental and occult groups were established. However, it was only in the 1980s that the appropriate government agencies started registering religious movements and associations (Urban 1998). This hastened the process of their institutionalization.

The fall of the communist regime in 1989 and transformations of the socio-cultural situation resulted in the redefinition of the role of the Polish spontaneous social movements. With growing opportunities for public social activities, with an increasing chance to mobilize resources, many new social movements emerged and developed. Most of them were the New Religious Movements (NRMs). The NRMs enjoyed a remarkable percentual increase in their membership. In the Central European countries various non-traditional cult groups attracted several tens of thousands of people in each country, more in Russia. These proportions expressed in cardinal numbers, however, are not big. Traditional churches are usually in a better position in the new missionary conditions and circumstances. Such was also the case after the downfall of the communist order with its official aggressively atheistic ideology.

The comparative statistical research carried out in Central Europe showed a lower percentage of traditional forms of religiosity there than that in Western Europe - a result of the past communist rule. Poland is an exception here. The comparative data in the European Values Systems Studies (EVSS) collected in 1990 also proved an exceptional position of Poland in Central Europe. In Poland people who are not members of any denomination constitute 3.7%, whereas in East Germany, the Czech Republic and Bulgaria this proportion was 60% (Doktór 1997). In Poland the NRMs and their dynamics is broadly commented on in public, both in mass media and in the parliamentary debates. This social phenomenon is seen as a specific challenge to the dominance of Catholicism in this country.

However it should be remembered that, a widespread view to the contrary, Poles' religious beliefs cannot be classified as typical pro-church faith in a literal meaning of this word. The Roman Catholic Church is the biggest religious organization in Poland. It has been closely connected with both the statehood and the culture of this country for over one thousand years (966 - Christianization of Poland). Some 93-94% of Poles declare their affiliation with the Catholic Church. Almost always, however, the relationship between the Poles and the Catholic Church takes the form of a traditional participation in its rituals. The dominant group among Polish Catholics are so-called "passive churchgoers" (72.4%), another biggest group are "marginal

members of the Church" (13.0%). "The people of the Church," that is those who participate actively in the life of the Church, also in its non-confessional activities, take the third position only (11.0%) (Marody 1994).

THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Almost all New Religious Movements found in Poland, even those of oriental origin, arrived from the Western countries. Only few NRMs have no agencies or "headquarters" abroad (see appendix for some detailed examples). The best known New Religious Movements that started in Poland due to a missionary activity of their representatives from the West or the USA are: (1) Science of Identity Institute "Chaitanya Mission" (in Poland since 1988, registered in 1990, ca. 1,000 followers); (2) International Society for Krishna Consciousness, ISKCON (in Poland since 1976, registered in 1988 as Society for Krishna Consciousness-Bhakti Yoga; in 1991 change of the name, ca 12,000 followers and ca 500 persons after the religious initiation); (3) The Family (The Children of God, The Family of Love - in Poland present since 1974, ca. 150 followers); (4) Bahá'í Faith (in Poland since 1989, registration in 1992, ca. 500 followers); (5) Unification Church (in Poland since 1980, registration in 1990, ca. 500 followers).

The following groups are recognized as movements of native Polish origin: "New Jerusalem" (established in early 1980s, ca. 30 followers), "Panunistic Religious Association: Disciples of the Holy Ghost" (registration in 1988), "The God's and Lamb's Sea of the Apostles in Spirit and Truth, Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End" (established in 1947), "Church of Healing through the Holy Ghost - Heaven" (ca. 60 followers, including children), "The Ausran Clan" (established in 1954, several dozen followers), "The Native Church of Poland" (registration in 1995, ca. 500 followers), "Association of the Native Faith" (registration in 1996, ca. 100 followers), "I Believe in Man's Good (registration in 1992, ca. 20 followers)" and some New Religious Movements acting within the Roman Catholic Church in Poland.¹

On May 17, 1989, the bill on the freedom of belief and worship was introduced in Poland. It started a mass registration of religious movements and communities. Until this law was voted through, hardly 30 religious groups were active in Poland. Twenty-three of them were registered in the 1980s (apart from those of Christian origin, there were five Buddhist groups, three that drew on the tradition of Hinduism, and two that refer to the Rosicrucian and Muslim traditions). Some of the movements registered in May 1989 used to work informally earlier. However, many of them (particularly most of the Western imports) started their activity at the beginning of the 1990s. At the beginning of the 1990s the growth rate and development of cults quickened. Some authors argue (Urban 1998:95) that in spite of their great variety - in terms of provenience, views and structure - most of the New Religious Movements registered in Poland can be categorized as:² (1) religious groups that have existed in Poland for a longer time and those, which having had no formal legal status before, emerged as offshoots of some mother group; (2) new religious communities, which separated from their mother movement in the course of system transformation; (3) Christian movements which were formed as agendas of the Western missionary organizations; (4) independent congregations and denominations of a Protestant provenience; (5) neo-pagan movements (old-Slavic included); (6) religious movements connected with the eastern religious traditions; (7) groups associated with the so-called "new religions."

The fundamentalist and Protestant NRMs offer courses on the Bible and focus on healing. The NRMs of the Asian origin profit from the growing interest in meditation, vegetarianism and Eastern philosophies. Some NRMs stress psychotherapy and specific parapsychological concepts, while others attempt to revive old Slavic beliefs. It has to be emphasized that conversions are very few in Poland. They are motivated not by economic or social factors, but instead by the individual search for alternative ethical systems or self-realization.

The rapid increase in the number of NRMs in the early 1990s has by now subsided. In 1999 we have more than 300 various religious groupings. Actually, the number of these groupings does not change dramatically, although some decrease in the number of the NRMs is noticeable. A statement of one of the highest spiritual leaders of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness in Poland well captures the past and current trends: "When the system transformation started in Poland in 1989, the Movement developed very fast. People were interested and joined... It can be said there was a real Krishna Movement boom. And now, after these 8-9 years, we can notice that this interest has diminished and the number of followers is not growing that rapidly. In fact quantity seems to have been replaced by quality."⁹ This is perhaps true for many other NRMs which, having achieved stability, still strive for new members.

THE LIGHT LIFE MOVEMENT AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Overall the NRMs have only a small number of followers. Considering the denominational structure of Polish society (the dominance of the Catholic Church and of Catholics), they are and will probably remain peripheral phenomena.

The biggest and the most influential Polish religious movements are found within the Roman Catholic Church. The most prosperous NRM of this sort is the "Light-Life Movement." This movement, called LIGHT-LIFE (*Światło-Życie*) or OASES, emerged in the 1950s as one of the manifestations of the religious revival in Poland. Its name refers to Greek words ΦΩΣ-ΖΩΗ which constitutes the Movement's symbol.

The history of the Movement is very interesting. In the 1950s, besides the processes of industrialization, urbanization and modernization that nearly everywhere resulted in the "decline of the sacrum," the active policy of the atheist communist State aimed to eliminate religion from the public sphere. It attempted to confine religious life to the private sphere as part and parcel of its overall goal of gaining total control over the political, cultural and religious domains. In spite of the new social and political system in post-war Poland and the secularization policy of communist authorities, the Catholic Church began to build up religious life and restructure the church authorities. The Episcopate of Poland used to consist of 20 bishops compared to more than 100 of them nowadays.

At the beginning - after the Second World War - the state authorities showed remarkable restraint in their declarations and attitudes towards the church. With no major obstacles, the church carried out its religious work and functioned as a relatively independent social institution largely unaffected by the political system. Soon it adopted a rather unfriendly attitude towards the state. Having launched an intensive Stalinization process in many fields of social life, the Polish Workers' Party (Polish United Workers' Party since December 1949) started an open war against the church and religion itself. In 1953 the church was accused of a hostile policy towards Poland stimulated by the Vatican and Western political centres. The state authorities started

slandering bishops and expelling them from their dioceses. The work of church schools and associations was restricted, church press and publications were censored. Though avoiding open anti-socialist declarations and promoting political neutrality, the church appeared to be the main, well-organized institutional centre opposing the expansionary politics of the communist party-state.

October 1956 witnessed a shift of power within this state and the process of liberalization in political life. In December 1956 the Minor Agreement was signed between the Church and party-state representatives. It considerably improved church-state relations. Catholics regained their weekly, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, which had been banned. They also gained representation in parliament, a couple of brand new monthlies, and permission to set up their organizations, such as, for example, *KIKs*, the Clubs of Catholic Intelligentsia. The Agreement marked a return to more religious tolerance. The relationship between the Polish party-state and the Polish Catholic Church remained strained until the 1970s, however, when the Catholic Church began to thrive in the general liberalized context. The unexpected repressive events of 1976 led to the development of both lay and church-affiliated oppositional groups. Many Catholic priests sheltered oppositional activities even against the opposition of the bishops. When a mass movement *Solidarność* emerged in 1980, the Catholic Church played an important advisory role. It also functioned as the prime intermediary between *Solidarność* and the party-state. After general Jaruzelski introduced the state of emergency in the end of 1981, the Church curtailed some of its own oppositional and opposition-sheltering activities. Nevertheless, in the 1980s as well as earlier it represented to some people a way out of the intolerable reality created by the party-state. For others, however, not the Church as such, but rather one of several Catholic movements provided a venue of spiritual revival.

In the years 1962-1965, the Second Vatican Oecumenical Council met. The Polish church before this Council is called a "folk church" because of strong tradition and authoritarianism which resulted in obedience, uniformity of actions and attitudes. The cult was dominated by folk forms of worship. The Vatican Council was followed by essential changes in the church. Laicist grew in importance, the liturgy was reformed and Latin replaced by the national language. Service became a dialogue between a priest and parishers. Traditional folk religious practices began to diminish. This religious revival resulted in new forms of religious associations and movements. One of them was "Light-Life Movement," which developed fully in the 1980s. It emerged as an informal, spontaneous social group centred around Rev. Franciszek Blachnicki (1921-1987). From 1950s on, the Movement has continuously stressed its strong ties with the institution of the Roman Catholic Church.

From its very inception, the Light-Life Movement was meant to fulfil the following functions: i. to transform the individual, spiritual life of its own members as well as their immediate social milieu, ii. to build a "new community" of "new people" who would create and share a "new culture," centred around the ideas of Jesus Christ, iii. to "give witness" to the wider social environment through the correspondence between the actual lifestyle of its members and their own ideas and principles, iv. to transform the parishes into "communities of communes," "communities of 'new-born'" people, both laymen and clergy, who would take full responsibility for the perfection and dissemination of religious lifestyle, v. to transform the whole society through the dissemination of the "new culture."¹⁴

The Light-Life Movement did not have its own resources. The Movement's communities,

“Oases,” which were organized by local priests, were allowed to use the material and financial resources of Roman Catholic parishes. They used church buildings in which communities met. The Church gave them money to organize religious retreats during vacations. Even more important was access to the symbolic and organizational resources of the church: its religious doctrine and cult or the legacy of the Scripture as well as the leadership and authority structures, the theologically educated leaders and various institutions, operating under the “church’s umbrella.”

People were recruited to the Movement by means of private, informal contacts of old members with their acquaintances and friends, the promotion of religious lifestyles held during outdoor evangelization organized by the communities, the Church’s catechization held in schools and the occasional participation of “non-members” in the community activities. Religious conversion is a central route to membership. Evangelization is also present but only within some of the Movement’s communities. It is relied on to attract new members.

It is impossible to estimate an exact number of Light-Life’s members. Table 1 indicates estimated data on the number of permanent members of the Movement (according to the Movement’s official data). The practice of “counting” the members shows a tendency toward lower values and does not include some communities.

TABLE 1:

THE ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE OASES MOVEMENT BETWEEN 1969 AND 1988*

1969 - 700 persons	1976 - 20,000 persons	1984 - 64,000 persons
1970 - 1,000	1978 - 30,000	1985 - 70,000
1971 - 1,500	1979 - 30,000	1986 - 76,000
1972 - 3,500	1980 - 40,000	1987 - 77,000
1973 - 6,000	1981 - 45,000	1988 - 77,000
1974 - 9,500	1982 - 50,000	
1975 - 14,000	1983 - 53,000	

SOURCE: Information received by the author from the central archives of Oases. See also Doktor, Kowalczevska, Werbanowska 1991:133-146 for some figures.

*No precise data are available since 1989. My estimate is that the Light-Life movement’s size was 90,000-100,000 members in the 1990s.

The shared religious rituals held within the Light-Life consist of formal rituals that are universal within the Roman Catholic Church. More movement-specific religious rituals include religious conversion. The leader of the whole community is the “moderator” and the formal leader of a whole Movement is the “national moderator.”

Among significant *internal* activities of Light-Life’s communities we find meeting groups,⁴ diaconate groups, summer spiritual camps, spiritual teaching, education and religious rituals. The largest meeting group is called the Great Prayer Meeting, the Prayer Gathering or the General Meeting. Its participants are all members of the community and very often - because of its open status - people from outside (non-members). It is usually organized once a week. Its main function is to connect “supernatural reality” to “everyday reality.”⁶

The second kind of meeting group is the Small Group. It consists of 3-9 persons, often of the same sex, with the same prescribed level of religious initiation. It is one of the most important means of social control within the community, being at the same time the social setting for the socialization processes. The leader of every Group is called the “animator.”⁷

The most significant *external activities* of the Light-Life Movement cover such actions as contacts with other, mostly Catholic, religious groups, missions and evangelizations, Christian conferences, charity actions and work for the well-being of local parishes. The most significant external activities of the charismatic current, nearly totally absent in the traditional current, are the outdoor, street evangelization, permanent and temporary missions outside the country.

In the second half of the 1980s political and cultural life in Poland underwent deep transformations. The spiritual, self-educational and evangelizing character of the Light-Life was influenced by the changes in social milieu. However, even some time earlier, the Movement was becoming more and more amorphous. It split into two currents in the second half of the 1980s. The first can be called the “liturgical-biblical” current and the second - the “charismatic-evangelizing-ecumenical” current. They differ mostly in terms of their own goals and their attitudes towards the social reality around them.

The “liturgical-biblical” current can be roughly described as “traditional” and “dominating” within the Light-Life Movement. The communities subscribing to it seem to focus on personal and communal self-improvement. These communities and their functions can also be described as “pro-members” oriented. When they engage in any activities aimed at the outside world, they made a special effort to avoid any social conflicts.

Communities subscribing to the “charismatic” current willingly engage in the activities aimed at the outside world, even if they may result in conflicts. The specificity of this current lies in the charismatic and ecumenical dimension, almost totally absent in the first one. The religious practices of the charismatic current differ also from the universal religious practices held within the Catholic Church. However, many of them, such as glossolalia, prophecy, Baptism in the Holy Spirit are comparable to the everyday practices of many other religious Christian groups and movements.

The final factor that helps distinguish between these two currents is their attitude towards “self-sufficiency.” The charismatic current engages in various activities driving it to a kind of material and financial “operational” independence from the institutional church. This current becomes autonomous in the field of its “economic capital” but not in the field of “symbolic capital.”

At the present time, in the liturgical-biblical current, we can observe only a small increase

of the number of new members, while at the same time many members are leaving it. This is due mainly to the highly defined personality standards within this current and, at the same time, by the absence of psychological and social mechanisms reducing the negative effects of failures in living up to these standards. The traditional current clearly exercises a much stronger pressure on self-improvement compared to the charismatic. Its members develop strong feelings of own sinfulness and imperfection. Since total realization of accepted values and ideas is impossible, many people become frustrated and have abandoned the Movement. People older than 25 also leave the Movement because of a strong attachment to their work and/or family duties. Another reason for their leaving can be found in the formal structure of this current. In the entire movement we can distinguish three main age groupings. There are the Oasis of God's Children (children 7-14 years old), the Youth Oasis (15-25) - alternatively Oasis of the University Students - and the Family Oasis (parents and their young children). The organizational gap causes the problem of placing people over the age of 25 who are neither university students nor married.

The inflow of new members to the charismatic current is both permanent and significant. The guarantee of the fulfilment of the defined, shared tasks and ideas is placed and assigned not to self-improvement but to a personal relationship with God. The charismatic current is not confined to children. As a movement it covers the children, parents, university students, single adults and whole families. The withdrawals of the regular members are rare. An interesting regularity is perceived - some members of the traditional current move their "significant participation" to the charismatic current. Reverse mobility does not take place.

The Light-Life has developed within the framework of the Roman Catholic Church, being one of its parts. From the very beginning, in its ideals and in its social practice, it drove towards overt spontaneity, and the manifestation of this is the emergence of the new ways of religious expression. Out of necessity, it had to function, during the first three decades of its existence, within the unfriendly, anti-religious political system. From the point of view of this system, the Movement's activities were not authorized, even illegal. The Movement was able to operate only due to the resources supplied by the institutional church. This situation gave the church a chance to control the Movement. In its initial stage of development, only very small tensions in the relations between the Movement and the institutional church occurred. They had a rather local character: some parish priests did not like the independent and spontaneous activity of the lay persons.

The systemic transformation in Poland created new opportunities for the emergence of new forms of public, including religious, activities. The spontaneous aspect of the movement gained new opportunities of stronger expression. For the traditional current this situation of increased "external" political freedom has not been particularly important. It has remained unchanged. The charismatic current, however, began to take advantage of this new situation, paying particular attention to the development and autonomy of its own resources.

This gain in autonomy has not affected its choice of symbolic resources. On the contrary, its symbolic and ideological dependency on the Roman Catholic Church strengthens its definition as well as its self-definition as a Roman Catholic social movement.

The church hierarchy, however, is clearly split in its evaluation of its new activities. During several National Conferences of the Polish Episcopate, especially in 1994, the "problematic questions" of several charismatic communities of the Light-Life Movement were dis-

cussed and, at the beginning of 1995 a local bishop excluded three charismatic Light-Life's communities from the Movement. He defined them as Catholic religious communities, autonomous from the Movement.

The Movement itself is also split. Some leaders of the charismatic current consider the possibility of an official withdrawal from the Movement to create independent structures. In the 1990s an increasing economic and structural autonomy of the charismatic current became significant in many of its communities. The gradual withdrawal of many charismatic communities from the Light-Life Movement is ongoing. The possibility of the withdrawal from the Roman Catholic Church, however, is not being considered.

CONCLUSION

Taking into consideration a remarkable number of the Light-Life followers, we can say that the Movement accounts for much of the growth of the NRM-sector in the Polish society (see Załęcki 1997). The research on its two currents and the way they change suggests several points. First, we can note some stability in the religious attitudes of those Poles who do not belong to the traditional structures of the Roman Catholic Church. Now that transformation processes are over in Poland, they are no longer a source of increases in the NRMs or the number of their followers. Religious movements respond to the changed context in different ways. Many of them, though, have not ceased to attract and recruit new members and to extend their spiritual formation. They still constitute a specific challenge for religious movements that develop within the Catholic Church.

NOTES:

1. In Poland the Catholic movements are much more numerous than others within the NRMs. Sometimes they have between a couple to several tens of thousands of members. The best known movements of this kind are: The Light-Life Movement (also known as Oases), The Revival in Holy Spirit Movement, The New Teachings Movement, the Fokolarini Movement, the Faith and Light Movement, the Maitri Movement, the Communities of Christian Life Movement, the Family of Families Movement.
2. I mean here the registered religious groups, of which there are about 130. It is estimated that the number of all NRMs in Poland is twice or three times as big as the number of those registered.
3. A recording from the private collection of the author.
4. It should be added that the last two functions have actually been conceptualized and fulfilled only by *some* of the communities that have identified themselves with the Movement.
5. The gathering of leaders, the Animators' Meeting - apart from its religious activities - considers the members' efforts to recognize the community's needs, prepares the spiritual teachings and solves other community's problems (including financial ones). The diaconate groups are the task-oriented small groupings. They cope with technical, financial, musical (instruments), vocal and other functions. The major role of the summer spiritual camps is reinforcing a deeper involvement with a strong orientation on the community's lifestyle. It also becomes the important symbolic focus centre of the communities' activity.

6. The main activities include singing of religious songs, saying various, more or less public prayers, spiritual teaching and giving witness to the personal faith. The social functions of that meeting are focusing on "super natural reality" and reinforcing a religious definition of every day existence - both for the individual and the group.

7. The Small Group has a very informal, face-to-face character. It is to secure stability and development of each individual's personality. Main activities of such a group are closely related to the activities held in the General Meeting. Because of the small number of participants in such a group, it becomes a place of not only common prayer but also of personal, mutual sharing of the individual experiences, problems, enjoyments, successes, etc. High level of mutual trust and defining others as brothers and sisters results in the feeling of a high level of security in inter-personal contacts.

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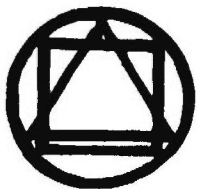
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Country: <i>POLAND</i>	Movement Type: <i>Religious</i>
How Many Organisations?	9
Organisation Name(s): if several, list the names of the most important organisations	<i>Science of Identity Institute „Chaitanya Mission”</i>
When did the movement emerge?	<i>1977 in Hawaii, in Poland present from 1988, registered in 1990</i>
Number of Active Members: Past, Now	<i>1990 : ca 550 1998: ca 1000</i>
Number of Members Per Organisation:	
Issues/Themes:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>practise of bhakti yoga</i> 2. <i>spiritual development</i> 3. <i>problems of modern human being and society, ecological and environmental issues, dangerous religious sects (sic!)</i> 4. <i>vegetarianism</i>
Organisational Structure:	<i>decentralised, no community life except few supervisors of local organisations</i>
Range of Protest Forms:	<i>'open letters' to public people and academics working on NRMs and sects</i>
Innovations?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>showing the similarities between bhakti yoga and Christianity</i> 2. <i>public lectures</i> 3. <i>publishing „Haribol Polska” magazine, books, brochures, audio types</i> 4. <i>2 hours of everyday meditation</i>
Frequent Symbols:	<i>symbols of the Hindu origin</i>
Recourse to Violence/: Conflict Lines:	----
Mobilising Power:	
Access to Government/Business/Unions:	
Public Resonance:	<i>negative media coverage, some institutional opponents (e.g. Movement for the Defence of Individual and Family, Republican League)</i>
Source(s) of Financial Resources:	<i>members' contributions, sale of Movement's publications</i>
Allied Movements:	<i>member of World Vaishnava Association (WVA)</i>
Additional Information:	

Country: <i>POLAND</i>	Movement Type: <i>Religious</i>
How Many Organisations?	4
Organisation Name(s): if several, list the names of the most important organisations	<i>LECTORIUM ROSICRUCIANUM. Internation School of Golden Rosicrucianum</i>
When did the movement emerge?	<i>1924 in Holand; In Poland: 1983, registered in 1986</i>
Number of Active Members: Past, Now	<i>1989: ca 90 1992: ca 140 (Disciples)</i>
Number of Members Per Organisation:	
Issues/Themes:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>propagation of Movements' Gnostic ideas</i> 2. <i>lectures and spiritual schools</i> 3. <i>publications</i> 4. <i>spiritual development</i>
Organisational Structure:	<i>formalised and centralised</i>
Range of Protest Forms: Innovations?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Two ways of appurtenance: (a) loose membership, (b) active discipleship</i> 2. <i>To be a member you have to accomplish a special, introductory course</i> 3. <i>To be a disciple you have to accomplish 1 or 2 years of spiritual studies</i> 4. <i>No drugs, alcohol and tobacco . Disciples are vegetarians</i> 5. <i>Disciples must take a part in School's meetings (3 times a month)</i>
Frequent Symbols:	<i>rose and cross, „circle-triangle-square“-graphical - see below</i>
Recourse to Violence:	
Mobilising Power:	
Access to Government/Business/Unions:	
Public Resonance:	<i>mainly impassive or negative</i>
Source(s) of Financial Resources:	<i>members' contribution and gifts, no economic activities</i>
Allied Movements:	<i>LECTORIUM ROSICRUCIANUM. In a branch of the Internation School of Gold Rosicrucianum</i>
Additional Information:	<i>Movement of Christian and Gnostic origin</i>

Country: <i>POLAND</i>	Movement Type: <i>Religious</i>
How Many Organisations?	<i>6 main centres (5 Temples)</i>
Organisation Name(s): if several, list the names of the most important organisations	<i>International Society for Krishna Consciousness, ISKCON</i>
When did the movement emerge?	<i>1966 in USA; in Poland present from 1974, registered in 1988 as Society for Krishna Consciousness-Bhakti Yoga; in 1991 change of the name</i>
Number of Active Members: Past, Now	<i>1988: ca 800 and ca 300 persons after the religiously initiated, 1989: ca 3000, 1997: 12,000 and ca 500 persons after the religious initiation (according to Movement's information)</i>
Number of Members Per Organisation:	
Issues/Themes:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>religious activities in Wishnu tradition,</i> 2. <i>vegetarianism</i> 3. <i>propagation of movement's ideas (including outdoors missionary activities)</i>
Organisational Structure:	<i>decentralised but all organisations have mutual connections and contacts</i>
Range of Protest Forms: Innovations?	<p><i>Peaceful demonstrations during missionary activities,</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>vegetarianism</i> 2. <i>no alcohol, no drugs, no tobacco, no café, no tea, no cacao, no gambling</i> 3. <i>sexual intercourse allowed only for pregnancy in formal marriage</i> 4. <i>straight regulations of almost all spheres of members' life</i> 5. <i>vegetarian restaurants,</i>
Frequent Symbols:	<i>symbols of the Hindu origin</i>
Recourse to Violence/Conflict Lines:	----
Mobilising Power:	<i>charity action: „Food - The Heart's Gift“, Hare Krishna's Festivals, street presentations, organisation of meetings with spiritual teachers</i>
Access to Government/Business/Unions:	
Public Resonance:	<i>negative media coverage, some institutional opponents</i>
Source(s) of Financial Resources:	<i>members' contributions, sale of Movement's publications and products</i>
Allied Movements:	
Additional Information:	



Country: <i>POLAND</i>	Movement Type: <i>Religious</i>
How Many Organisations? Organisation Name(s): if several, list the names of the most important organisations	<i>The Family (The Children of God, The Family of Love)</i>
When did the movement emerge?	<i>1968 in USA, 1974 in Poland</i>
Number of Active Members: Past, Now Number of Members Per Organisation:	<i>1997 : 150</i>
Issues/Themes:	<i>propagation of counter-culture Movements' ideas</i>
Organisational Structure:	<i>centralised locally, decentralised globally - local (national) organisations have broad autonomy, authoritarian leaderships and strong social control</i>
Range of Protest Forms:	<i>Mail-Campaigns directed mainly to scholars and academics working on NRMs</i>
Innovations?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>1. 'Flirty fishing' as a way of acquiring money, new members and adherents (essentially abandoned)</i> <i>2. 'sharing of spouses' - sex is allowed among all adult, established members</i> <i>3. they leave their hitherto environment (family, work, school)</i> <i>4. receiving new, personal name of biblical origin</i>
Frequent Symbols:	<i>graphical - see below, symbols of the Christian origin</i>
Recourse to Violence/Conflict Lines:	-----
Mobilising Power:	
Access to Government/Business/Unions:	
Public Resonance:	<i>strong negative media coverage, some institutional opponents</i>
Source(s) of Financial Resources:	<i>members' contributions (tenth part of members' income), financial help from Western Family's Organisations</i>
Allied Movements:	
Additional Information:	

Country: <i>POLAND</i>	Movement Type: <i>Religious</i>
How Many Organisations? Organisation Name(s): if several, list the names of the most important organisations	<i>9 (regional centres) Bhá'i Faith</i>
When did the movement emerge?	<i>XIX Century in Persia, 1989 in Poland, registration in 1992</i>
Number of Active Members: Past, Now Number of Members Per Organisation:	<i>1989: several dozen 1998: ca 500</i>
Issues/Themes:	<i>propagation of movements' ideas, especially the idea of being the fulfilment of foregoing religions and the idea of unity of human beings</i>
Organisational Structure:	<i>centralised</i>
Range of Protest Forms:	
Innovations?	<i>Religion without rituals, no drugs, no alcohol, no tobacco</i>
Frequent Symbols:	
Recourse to Violence:	-----
Mobilising Power:	
Access to Government/Business/Unions:	
Public Resonance:	<i>mainly impassive</i>
Source(s) of Financial Resources:	
Allied Movements:	
Additional Information:	<i>group of Islamic origin</i>



Country: <i>POLAND</i>	Movement Type: <i>Religious</i>
How Many Organisations? Organisation Name(s): if several, list the names of the most important organisations	<i>The New Jerusalem (hitherto: The City of Christ - New Jerusalem)</i>
When did the movement emerge?	<i>1978, registered in 1980</i>
Number of Active Members: Past, Now	<i>1990: ca 1000 1997: 30 (including 15 teachers), ca 200 candidates for members</i>
Number of Members Per Organisation:	
Issues/Themes:	<i>propagation of Movement's ideas proclaiming the vision of modern Church without dogmas, temples, rituals, public prayers</i>
Organisational Structure:	<i>community structure</i>
Range of Protest Forms: Innovations?	<i>1. self-healing 2. propagation of healthy lifestyle</i>
Frequent Symbols:	<i>„The Throne of God“</i>
Recourse to Violence:	-----
Mobilising Power:	
Access to Government/Business/Unions:	
Public Resonance:	<i>mainly impassive</i>
Source(s) of Financial Resources:	<i>members' contribution</i>
Allied Movements:	
Additional Information:	<i>group of Christian origin</i>

PART III

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS