

**VOICE OF THE DISINHERITED? RELIGIOUS MEDIA AFTER THE 2005  
PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN POLAND**

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In the fall of 2005 a major shift of power took place in Poland. Both parliamentary and presidential elections wrought the control over the elective and legislative branches from the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD) to a right-wing party Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS).<sup>1</sup> In April 2006 the winning party formed a coalition with two smaller populist parties: Self-Defence (Samoobrona) and League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodzin, LPR), marking the beginning of what was proclaimed to be the IVth Republic of Poland. What made the change possible? What was the role of religious media in this election and in the first year of the new political situation? The present study focuses on the role played by the conservative Catholic Radio Maryja and other media closely associated with it: daily *Nasz Dziennik* and TV Trwam.

Scholars and journalists often risk doubtful generalizations while discussing church-state relations in Poland. Many fail to appreciate the internal divisions between different groups of Catholics, as well as within the church hierarchy, while the church is no longer a monolith it used to be under the communist regime. This article tries to show a more nuanced view of this issue by analyzing the mounting and still unresolved conflict between the conservative religious radio station, largely independent and uncontrolled by the church, and the Polish Episcopate. This analysis should give a fairly complete, though complicated picture

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of church-state relations in Poland after 1989 in general, and after the recent elections in particular.

### ***Radio Maryja – A Historical Outline***

Radio Maryja is an influential radio station formally run by the Order of Holy Redeemer (Ojcowie Redemptoryści), but de facto managed by the hand of its Director, Father Tadeusz Rydzyk. Ordained in 1971, Rydzyk spent several years in Germany (between 1985 and 1991), where he became acquainted with religious media and came to understand the importance of the “fourth power” in a democratic society. Upon his return to Poland he founded Radio Maryja, which began broadcasting on December 11, 1991. The Radio grew very quickly: initially it operated locally, obtaining permissions from individual bishops, until it got a national coverage in 1994. The Radio and daily “Nasz Dziennik” (“Our Daily”) are part of a larger structure run by the priest; his initiatives comprise an informal association of regular listeners of the Radio, called Rodzina Radia Maryja (The Family of Radio Maryja), which has it’s monthly under the same title, and a extensive network of local cells. “Nasz Dziennik,” established in 1998, quickly became the most influential religious paper in Poland. It is the only Catholic daily and has an estimated 200,000 copies sold every day. Since its conception it was strictly associated with Radio Maryja. Other institutions and enterprises include two foundations, a publishing house, and the Higher School of Social and Media Culture (Wyższa Szkoła Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej), training journalists since 2001. In 2003 Father Rydzyk launched TV Trwam, which translates as “I persist.”

During the 16 years of its history the Radio has been an active and, at times, significant actor on the Polish public forum. In 1997 it opposed the ratification of a new constitution (which was perceived as not explicit enough in its *invocatio Dei*) and the new administrative division of the country (presented as the new partition of Poland); it also opposed Polish membership in “liberal” European Union, the sale of land to foreigners and major privatizations of state-owned companies (including the famous Gdańsk Shipyard, a birthplace of Solidarity movement in 1980). In its foreign policy the Radio was often critical toward Germany, while advocating closer cooperation with Russia and the US. In addition, Father Rydzyk did not refrain from direct involvement in party politics:

he assisted at the birth and relative success of Liga Polskich Rodzin (League of Polish Families) in 2001, an ultra-conservative party initially aimed at preventing Poland's accession to the European Union, and later switched his approval to more influential PiS. This political entanglement continues to be the focus of critique on the part of both media, most political parties and various circles of Polish Catholics, including the majority of bishops. Traditional, folk religiosity promoted by the Radio (and often presented as the only truly Catholic model) combined with the radio's far-fetched autonomy within the Polish Catholic Church led some – both scholars and journalists – to predict the possibility of a schism within Polish Catholicism (see Dzierzanowski, Krzyżak 2006; Gowin 1999: 372-390; Mazur 2002). Although I find this possibility very remote, the fact is that the Radio's message is often at odds with that of the official Church.

Another controversial issue are occasional anti-Semitic comments voiced mostly by the Radio's listeners and rarely adequately treated by those leading programs (see also Starnawski 2003). On 28 March 2006, for example, one of the Radio's associate commentators, Stanisław Michalkiewicz criticized the American Jewish Committee and World Jewish Congress for claiming "reparations" from Poland for the property left behind by the victims of the Nazi concentration camps. In doing so he evoked an expression by a Jewish-American historian, Norman Finkelstein (2000) who talked about "the Holocaust Industry," but also referred offensively to the Jews as "the Hebes" ("Judajczykowicze"). His statement was widely criticized by most media, government officials and church leaders. On April 12 Father Rydzyk apologized all those "who might have been offended by the article." The event coincided with the publication of the financial mishandlings of Rydzyk's main collaborator on the stock market that brought losses of millions of zlotys. All of this, together with the increasingly close relationship between the Radio and the winning party since October 2005, intensified the controversy around the Radio and prompted the Vatican to act in a more decisive way. I will discuss these developments later.

### *The Presidential and Parliamentary Elections of 2005*

Presidential elections were held on October 9 (first round) and October 23 (second round), 2005. President Aleksander Kwaśniewski

had already served two terms and was not eligible to run again. Both main candidates, Lech Kaczyński and Donald Tusk, represented right and center-right parties: Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) and Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform), respectively. Both of them were democratic opposition leaders in the 1980s and activists of the Solidarity movement. After 1989, Kaczyński, a law professor at Warsaw University, held many public offices, including the seat of mayor of the city of Warsaw (2001-2005) and head of the Naczelna Izba Kontroli (Supreme Chamber of Control). Donald Tusk was vice-speaker of the Sejm from 2001 to 2005, and prior to chairing Citizens' Platform since 2001 he was one of the leaders of the Liberal Democratic Congress (Kongres Liberalno-Demokratyczny) and the Freedom Union (Unia Wolności). Both candidates gained about one-third of the votes in the first round, and Kaczyński defeated Tusk in the second round gathering 54,04 % of the votes.

After 1989 the post-Solidarity parties and the post-communists were taking turns in dominating the lower house of the Polish parliament (Sejm) and taking the responsibility to create the government. The Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD) formed a coalition with the Polish Peasants' Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL) between 2001 and 2005. It was successful in securing Poland's entry to the European Union but came under serious fire with the so-called Rywin affaire (or Rywingate) in July 2003. Rywin, a businessman and film-maker was accused (and later sentenced to jail) for trying to bribe Adam Michnik, editor-in-chief of daily "Gazeta Wyborcza" offering to secure a favorable shape of a new media law. He pointed to mighty protectors, including prime minister Leszek Miller and president Kwaśniewski. Michnik recorded the talk and published it several months later (see Skórzyński 2003). Parliamentary investigation led to Prime Minister Miller's dismissal and to the formation of a new government by Marek Belka. Continuous charges of corruption following the Rywingate undercut the chances of post-communists for reelection. PiS got 27% of the vote, PO – 24%, Samoobrona – 11%, SLD – 11%, , LPR – 8%, PSL – 7%.

The victorious PiS failed to stipulate a coalition with more liberal PO, although this coalition was expected by most voters and party members themselves. This failure was greeted – and in some way engineered – by Father Tadeusz Rydzyk and his media. The priest talked

about "sinking the Platform," while PO leader Donald Tusk answered by calling the PiS electorate a "mohair coalition," alluding to the cheap berets made out of wool that imitates mohair, characteristic for elderly women listening to Radio Maryja. In this way he exposed the impact of Radio's support on PiS victory. A number of regular contributors to "Nasz Dziennik" unequivocally supported Kaczyński, both before and after the elections, while simultaneously denigrating Tusk (see Bajda 2005; Bartnik 2005a). Stanisław Krajski (2005) called PO a "masonic conspiracy of wolves," ie. of Western corporations and postcommunist elites. "Nasz Dziennik" authors put all the blame for the failure of a PiS-PO coalition on the "liberals," who were charged for being responsible for the "continuous and total assault on the government, on the majority party, on all parties who want to restore Poland, and on millions of people who think themselves as Poles and don't want cosmopolitanism and globalism [...] This anti-Polonism is evident on many levels, but first and foremost in anger and attacks on the program offered by PiS, on the president-elect, and, further, on Samoobrona, LPR" (Bartnik 2005b).

The minority government of Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz gained total support of the Radio from the start. In the following months many ministers, including the prime minister himself, and members of parliament including the leader of PiS Jarosław Kaczyński, showed up in either Radio Maryja or TV Trwam. They were given ample time to talk about government plans and proceedings, uninterrupted by those leading the programs. Prime minister Marcinkiewicz appeared on the TV to discuss the program of his government right after his swearing-in ceremony.

On February 2, 2006 leaders of PiS, Samoobrona and LPR signed what came to be known as "pact of stabilization," agreeing on a set of priorities to be pursued by the government. The signing of this pact took place in highly controversial circumstances. The event itself was first broadcast by TV Trwam exclusively, while journalists representing all public and private media were kept behind the closed door. After a while, the room was opened and the ceremony of signing was repeated for all other media, but the journalists refused to report it and left. In the evening news of all stations the event was reported after TV Trwam. The stabilization pact did not work, however, and soon internal tensions lead to an alternative: early elections (that would have probably coincided with pope Benedict XVI's pastoral visit to Poland in May 2006) or a

more stable coalition, that would grant more power to one of opposition parties. Finally, PiS formed a coalition with Samoobrona and LPR. This event marked a significant evolution of Andrzej Lepper (the leader of Samoobrona), from a radical peasant leader with criminal record for illegal road blockades to vice-marshal of the Sejm to vice prime minister. Before Samoobrona and PiS could form a government together, they had gone a long way from initial fierce mutual critique. Regular meetings in Radio Maryja and TV Trwam provided both party leaders with an opportunity to establish closer ties and see enough in common to form a coalition.

The listeners of the Radio form a coherent group, which thus far was deprived of their own political representation. Although initially Father Rydzyk supported LPR, he became disappointed with its leader's strife for autonomy and personal ambitions. PiS leaders were able to cater to this electorate, which became their main target group. Despite the fierce critique of the Radio by Jarosław Kaczyński in the mid-1990s, the Kaczyński twin brothers turned into faithful allies and protectors of the Radio. On a political level, the patriotic, national and religious vision fostered by the Radio was not far from their vision of the so-called "IV Republic," based on decommunization, national interest, federal character of European Union and conservative morality.

The alliance proved shaky and difficult: Jarosław Kaczyński, the presidents' twin brother replaced Marcinkiewicz as prime minister in June 2006, and the coalition broke down and was renewed during summer later that year. In this period Father Rydzyk completely switched his favors to clearly stronger and more influential PiS, while he became increasingly disgruntled with LPR and its leader, Roman Giertych. This shift was accompanied by the flow of several MPs from LPR to PiS; in effect, the ruling party effectively capitalized on its continuous presence in Radio Maryja and Rydzyk's support and managed to take over a substantial portion of its electorate.

### ***Mixing Religion and Politics***

The double 2005 elections created an unprecedented situation. For the most part of its existence the Radio had to face a post-communist government, which meant that no direct link with political power was possible. In October 2005 it changed significantly. Many politicians of

the victorious Law and Justice (including several MPs and minister-coordinator of the secret services, Zbigniew Wasserman) attended the 14th anniversary of the Radio's existence on December 11, 2005. The same month, Polish Primate, cardinal Józef Glemp criticized Father Rydzyk for his selective approach to the Church's teachings and creating cleavages among the faithful and the clergy, and the problem was discussed with Pope Benedict XVI during the *ad limina* visit of Polish bishops to Rome. In February 2006 the bishops sent a letter to the direct supervisor of Father Rydzyk, from the Order of Holy Savior, urging him to ensure the Radio's compliance with "the teaching of Catholic faith." In March 2006, the Vatican issued a document summoning religious media in Poland to cooperate closely with the Episcopate. Radio Maryja was not mentioned explicitly, although it was clear it was the main issue behind the letter.

In April 2006 the Vatican issued – via its apostolic nuncio in Warsaw, archbishop Józef Kowalczyk – two letters unequivocally criticizing the Radio.<sup>2</sup> The first letter, addressed to the Polish bishops urged them to "overcome the difficulties caused by some transmissions and positions taken by the Radio, which do not sufficiently acknowledge the just autonomy of the political sphere." The Radio's direct involvement in the recent elections was explicitly evoked. The second letter was addressed to Father Rydzyk's supervisor from the order of the Holy Redeemer, and called on him to "take decisive and effective steps" in response to this "serious warning." It became clear, that the Vatican was pressing for a quick change of the Radio's director, but wanted the Polish church to solve its internal problem (see Czackowska 2006a, 2006b). As of this writing (August 2007), no such steps were taken, apart from forming a committee to supervise the Radio's emissions and despite numerous others controversies. The day of his arrival to Poland on the 25th of May, 2006 pope Benedict XVI told the Polish clergy gathered at St John's Cathedral in Warsaw that "The priest is not asked to be an expert in economics, construction or politics. He is expected to be an expert in the spiritual life" (*Priests Are Not...* 2006). This remark was readily interpreted as an allusion to the Radio's entanglement in party politics but did not lead to any decisive changes in the Radio's line. It also

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<sup>2</sup> Both letters were published in the Polish press, see e.g. „Tygodnik Powszechny” 16, April 16, 2006, p. 2.

attracted the attention of international media to the issue of Radio Maryja (see Bernstein 2006, Puhl 2006, Purvis 2006, Whitlock 2006), negatively impacting the image of Poland and of Polish Catholicism.

Over the years of controversies concerning the Radio's direct political involvement the Polish Episcopate tried to solve the problem on many occasions. None of these attempts, however, could be successful, since there was no unanimity among the bishops. Roughly half of the bishops, mostly elderly and representing minor dioceses, are perceived as supportive of the Radio. This does not mean they necessarily accept every single opinion voiced by the radio, but rather they stress that positive things about the Radio outweigh the negative ones. There has also been a visible evolution in the bishops' overall attitude towards the Radio – from initial widespread approval in the early 1990s to mounting critique facing the 2004 euroreferendum to sharp critique after the 2005 elections.

### *Lustration of the Clergy*

Two issues threatened the mutual cooperation between the governing party and Radio Maryja in the first months of 2007 – their attitude towards lustration of the clergy and their stance towards abortion law. In both issues they disagreed with Father Rydzyk and drew his severe criticism.

In some periods as many as 10 % of the clergy collaborated in some way with the communist regime (see e.g. Isakowicz-Zaleski 2007; Lasota 2006). Most of these were either blackmailed or believed to be cooperating to release the tension between church and state; nevertheless, the information they provided, even if seemingly insignificant, helped the secret services to control their grip over the church and the society. Years later, high party officials and some secret service officers responsible for the persecution of the church, including the murderers of "Solidarity" chaplain, Father Jerzy Popiełuszko in 1984, remain unpunished. In 2005, in view of the failure of state institutions to bring those people to justice, a journalist published names of around 120,000 secret police collaborators, triggering national controversy. Days after the death of John Paul II in April 2005 it was revealed that a priest from the pope's surrounding was a secret collaborator (even though neither his position in Church structure nor influence were significant). Finally,



in the first days of 2007 the nomination of a new archbishop of Warsaw, Stanisław Wielgus, who turned out to be a former collaborator, attracted massive public attention. Under pressure from the laity, parts of the clergy and, last but not least, the Vatican, Wielgus withdrew his candidacy just hours before the final ceremony was to take place.

The controversy over his nomination as an archbishop of Warsaw created strife and deep divisions within the clergy and in the public. On the one hand, most lay Catholic commentators, many bishops and clergy as well as the president and the government insisted that archbishop Stanisław Wielgus stepped down. On the other hand, Radio Maryja heavily rejected such a possibility, criticizing the media for "a chase" after the church and Wielgus himself (claiming that Wielgus was being punished for his conservative worldview). When both PM and president declared that higher clergy, including the nominee, was subject to lustration their stance was criticized in the Radio.

### ***Abortion***

In the beginning of 2007 the controversy over abortion law has resurfaced after several years of relative tranquility. Since January 1993 Poland has had one of the most restrictive abortion laws in Europe, admitting it only for serious health reasons – when mother's health life is threatened, the foetus is gravely and irreversibly deformed, or when there is reason to believe the pregnancy resulted from a crime (only within first 3 months since conception). This law has been a compromise, reached after years of debates and controversy in the 1990s, which even Church authorities considered worth maintaining. Public opinion was split over the issue, although since 1990s an increasing number of Poles seems to disapprove of abortion. According to a poll conducted by CBOS in November 2006 for "Gazeta Wyborcza," 44% of Poles think that a woman should have the right to terminate pregnancy within the first weeks after conception without specifying the reason; exactly the same number thinks the opposite. Although 86% think abortion should be allowed when pregnancy threatens mother's life, poor financial conditions or personal problems are not viewed as legitimate reasons for a woman to have abortion (only 27 and 21% agree, respectively) (see Kublik 2006). This has been a major shift in public opinion, since as recently as 1997 only 30% thought women should not be allowed to

terminate pregnancy within first weeks since conception, while 65% thought the opposite (*Aborcja, edukacja seksualna ...* 2005).

The victory of conservative Law and Justice in the fall of 2005 encouraged some conservative politicians, led by Marek Jurek, Speaker of the Parliament, to attempt political action towards a complete ban on abortion. This move gained immediate and total support of Radio Maryja, but has been labeled as irresponsible and – in the long run – harmful by most of the bishops. Similarly, both Kaczynski brothers – the president and the prime minister – supported the status quo, although personally they were in favor of a conservative solution. Father Rydzyk expressed his bitter delusion with the governing party and warned their leaders that “parties are just temporary, while the church lasts forever,” thus hinting that they may lose his support. In early April 2007 various versions of the bill were defeated, and while PiS faced an internal division after Marek Jurek left the party and stepped down as the Speaker of Sejm, Father Rydzyk continued to voice his disillusionment with the party. This disillusionment soon grew into open criticism of the President and the Prime Minister. As of this writing, the mutual relations between the ruling party and the Radio remain very tense, although in face of the approaching dismissal of the current government and early parliamentary elections in the fall of 2007, another rapprochement is possible.

### *Voice of the Disinherited?*

The phenomenon of Radio Maryja is usually explained as a voice of those disappointed with the political and economic transformation after 1989: the elderly, the unemployed or low-skilled workers. Most listeners are said to be elderly women, mainly poor and less educated. This interpretation, difficult to verify, is at its best incomplete. It reduces a complex cultural problem and unconsciously evokes the Marxist scheme of religion as the opiate for the masses. Even a cursory study of the Radio's emissions suggests that what attracts listeners is its unique formula. Great majority of all emissions are purely religious in character. They include the traditional prayer of the Catholic Church, the Liturgy of the Hours, daily mass, rosary and other prayers, religious songs and catechesis. Listeners are invited to actively participate in most emissions. My observation suggests that men call in at least as frequently as

women; in most cases, at least one of the calls in each emission would come from a Pole living abroad (mostly Chicago, but also Germany, France, the UK, Switzerland). The Radio does not emit commercial ads (although religious material is continuously advertised) and it is its talking formula, together with peaceful music and lack of aggressive ads that may be most attractive for many listeners, including the elderly and the sick. It contrasts significantly with the character of most popular commercial radio stations in Poland, which are dominated by modern music, ads and short news spots, lacking a deeper approach to political and social problems. Political issues are mainly addressed in Radio Maryja in the evening discussions called "Rozmowy niedokończone" ("Unfinished conversations"), though not all of them address politics. These emissions are longer and offer a comprehensive analysis of problems of concern to many Poles – such as family relations; health, education of children, but also current political situation in Poland (relatively little space is devoted to international politics). In this way, listeners of the Radio get access to vast cultural resources which they cannot obtain in other ways, also due to their limited budget. In addition to its educational function, the Radio creates a sense of community which is unparalleled by any other medium in Poland. Its director is addressed as "the father," and the audience as "the family." I believe this approach, stressing the network character of the "Radio's family" and all the benefits and resources it brings to its listeners helps to better understand this phenomenon.

One may venture a provocative thesis: even though its worldview and pursued values collide with liberal mainstream, its social capital is despised and ridiculed as a 'voice of the disinherited', Radio Maryja serves as an example of great spontaneous social mobilization. Father Rydzyk succeeded in mobilizing the greatest number of people in a single sustained initiative. Although the radio ranks fifth among most popular broadcasters in Poland, with estimated 1 million regular listeners, its audience is more disciplined and faithful than that of commercial radio stations.<sup>3</sup> Listening to the Radio is often accompanied by various other forms of activity: pilgrimages, demonstrations, petition signing,

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<sup>3</sup> Radio Maryja's market share ranged from 6-7% in 1998 to some 2% in 2007. Daily audience is estimated at between 1.8 million (2000) and 700,000 (2007) (source: OBOP for years 1994-1997 and SMG/KRC since 2001, after <http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org>, accessed 2007-08-02, compiled by: Rafał Maszkowski).

direct lobbying with local MPs etc. No other social movement in Poland can claim a success of similar proportions. The financial contributions and personal involvement of the Radio's listeners lead to the creation of important 'social capital', while most other initiatives are merely seasonal undertakings which require little 'investment' and do not produce additional value for those participating in them. What is more, those involved in various activities of the Radio belong to the underprivileged: the elderly, less wealthy and educated, who generally tend to be less involved in all sorts of social activity. However we judge the content of the Radio's message, one seems clear: it is the prime example of civil society in contemporary Poland.

According to Robert Putnam religious communities are "the single most important repository of social capital in America" (2000: 66). Max Weber's *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958) remains the strongest example of religion functioning as a primary source of social (and, in consequence, financial) capital. Francis Fukuyama defines social capital as "an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals" (2001:7), and stresses that religion for centuries has been one of its most important sources (2001:19). At the same time, he acknowledges that social capital can produce social cohesion and increase trust within a given group at the expense of larger society: both mafia and Ku-Klux-Klan create social capital. Family, clan or tribal solidarity can lead to corruption and social exclusion (2001: 8-9). Alejandro Portes, in his useful review of the vibrant discussion over the very concept of social capital distinguishes four forms of its potentially negative consequences: "exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions of individual freedoms, and downward leveling norms" (1998:15). It is reasonable to conclude, then, that social capital as such is neither inherently beneficiary nor destructive; as any other form of capital it can be put to different uses. One could add that the belated discovery of social capital came only when the bonds of social control have loosened enough to discern their constructive and positive input not only to social stability but also to individual success and well-being. Nevertheless, Fukuyama argues that social capital is a necessary corollary of liberal democracy (where social capital builds civic engagement while free associations function as

schools of civic education) and free-market economy (where mutual trust and co-operation decrease transaction costs) (2001: 10-11).

Whether the social ties created by Radio Maryja are real face-to-face relationships or rather virtual, merely indirect and intermediated ones seems at the first glance to be a somewhat secondary issue. The key question is how these ties are perceived by the listeners themselves and how they change their lives. The primary problem with social capital generated by the radio station is that it has a 'short radius of trust', as Fukuyama would put it. Only the insiders benefit from membership, which is based on exclusion of the others. Trust toward the Father Director and his faithful is not extended to others. Most importantly, the Church herself, including many 'liberal' bishops is treated with suspicion.

### **Conclusion**

Despite rapid modernization and growth of political and religious pluralism, Polish Catholicism did not become privatized (Byrnes 2002, Casanova 1994). While the institutional church retained considerable influence over public life in Poland, the public character of Catholicism is probably even more pronounced and visible in the case of some religious media. With the 2005 victory of a center-right Law and Justice in parliamentary elections, and the victory of the party's candidate Lech Kaczyński in presidential elections, these media gained legitimacy in a wider public, becoming significant actors in Polish politics. It would be improper, however, to talk about the blurring of the line separating the church and the state. To adequately describe the public influence of the Church in Poland it is useful to distinguish between three levels of analysis, suggested by Casanova in his study *Public Religions in the Modern World*. These are: political society, civil society and the state (1994: 218-219). While religious media associated with Radio Maryja try to influence directly the political scene (on both state and political society level), the institutional Church (that is most of the bishops and the clergy) usually tries to shape the civil society. Any discussion of church-state relations in contemporary Poland needs to take account of these significant nuances.

Divisions among Polish bishops over the controversial radio station reflect more general tension between two positions among the hierarchy:

one binds religious and national identity, promoting the ideal close to a confession state and a separation from "liberal" cultural currents, while the other is universalistic, willing to engage in a discussion with secular culture and nonbelievers. Which of the two options prevails in near future will have enormous impact upon the development of church-state relations, as well as on the process of secularization in Poland.

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