The political role of the Catholic Church in Poland under Martial

Law, 1981-1983

Jessica Jocher

12 January 2015

Master of Philosophy

School of History and Politics, Discipline of History, University

of Adelaide

# **Table of Contents**

Abstract	1
Declaration	2
Acknowledgements	3
Abbreviations and translations	4
Map of Poland	5
Introduction	6
Chapter One: The Catholic Church, the Laity, and the Communist Regime	13
Chapter Two: Heroic Priests?	46
Chapter Three: The Higher Clergy	80
Conclusion	107
Bibliography	109

#### Abstract:

Most historians and political commentators agree that the Catholic Church was an important force in Communist Poland during the period of Martial Law between 1981 and 1983. However, they do not agree on the nature of its significance. Some have argued that the Church played the role of mediator between state authorities and society and thereby helped to stabilise the relationship between the two. Others have claimed that Polish Catholicism was itself a form of political opposition which helped to undermine the Communist regime. Despite its importance, relatively little has been written in English about the political role of the Polish Catholic Church under Martial Law. More has been written on this topic in Polish, but much of the Polish literature is hagiographical in nature. Therefore, this project explores various aspects of the political role of the Catholic Church and demonstrates that it was both a stabilising and a resistant force in Polish politics.

### **Declaration:**

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Jessica Jocher and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library catalogue, and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Acknowledgements:

I would like to firstly thank my family, and in particular, my parents for their support and encouragement. They have always been proud of me and always helped me to pursue my dreams. It is because of them that I am the person I am today. I would like to thank my supervisors Dr. Gareth Pritchard and Associate Professor Vesna Drapac for taking on the task of being my supervisors. I would like to particularly thank Gareth for all his time and hard work during my supervision. He provided a comfortable environment to work in and made sure to check on my wellbeing. Gareth's good humour and compassion made this experience all the more easier. I could not have asked for a better supervisor. I would like to thank the following people and organisations in Poland for their help during my research trip in 2013: the Panstwowe Archiwum w Krakówie for allowing me access to their material; the Solidarność Union, in particular Adam Gliksman for his time; the Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego and the researchers; The IPN in Wrocław and the director for permitting access to their material; the Wrocław Kuria for speaking with me; the Archwium Akt Nowych and the archive director Dr. Tadeusz Krawczak for his assistance and the time he spent with me; the IPN in Warsaw and the director and researchers; Sister Anita at the Muzeum Dom Rodzinny Jana Pawła II and for her assistance and prayers; Mrs Magda Swiebocki for helping me get into direct contact with Dr. Krawczak and journeying with me to Warsaw. I would like to thank Margaret Hosking, the history librarian for her assistance and insight in finding material relevant to my topic. A final thank you to all my supporters. Thank you my dear friends for having faith in me and encouraging me to persist and succeed in my endeavours.

## Abbreviations and Translations:

Archiwum Akt Nowych - The Central Archives of Modern Records

IPN = Instytut Pamięci Narodowej - Institute of National Remembrance

Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych - Ministry of Internal Affairs

NKVD = *Narodny Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del* - the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs

PZPR = *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza* - the Polish United Workers' Party

SB = Służba Bezpieczeństwa - secret police

WRON = Wojskowa Rada Ocalenia Narodowego - Military Council of National Salvation

ZOMO = Zmotoryzowane Oddziały Milicji Obywatelskiej - Motorized Reserves of the Citizens' Militia

## Map of Poland

