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THE ROLE OF *TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY* IN THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION IN POLAND

This research topic will be presented on the basis of writing which has appeared in *Tygodnik Powszechny*. Principles upon which the periodical was founded which pertain to the needs of this work will be discussed first, followed by the results of a quantitative analysis. A detailed qualitative analysis will complete the essential stage considerations. Then the whole will be summarized by conclusions drawn from the analyses.

CREATION AND PRINCIPLES OF *TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY*

First appearing on March 24, 1945, in Cracow, *Tygodnik* was an initiative of Cardinal Archbishop, Adam Stefan Sapieha. Contained in the subtitle were the words „Catholic social-cultural periodical”. These have remained the same until the present day. Father Jan Piwowarczyk¹ was nominated the first editor-in-chief, but after the thirtieth issue, i.e., October 14, 1945, Jerzy Turowicz has been in charge of the writing team of the Cracow periodical. Turowicz's intellectual and religious formation dates back to the pre-war period of „*Odrodzenie*” and exerted a strong influence on the new magazine. Fascinated by French thinkers, especially J. Maritain, he tends towards French Catholicism, particularly the model of open Catholicism. According to Turowicz this is „...a deepened religious awareness, having consistency in a professed faith in private and social life, with a perception of social issues in their full dimension”². *Tygodnik* has remained faithful to the adjectives present in the subtitle, namely „Catholic social-cultural periodical”. The ideology of the periodical is „Catholic”. The editor-in-chief views this in a broad sense. It comprises the unchangeable deposit of faith, handed down within the Church on one side; on the other, variable forms of its existence, the mode of it

¹ J. Piwowarczyk, *Wobec nowego czasu (Z publicystyki 1945—50)*, wybór i układ Jerzy Kołodziej. Kraków 1985, p. 7.

² J. Turowicz, *Sprawa katolicyzmu*. „*Tygodnik Powszechny*” 1(1945) 11.

manifestation, and methods which it uses to shape Catholic custom. Catholicism is not to be restricted to purely religious matters, but strives to transform and have an inspirational impact for all kinds of activities which aim toward the development of man and society in all their dimensions³.

Tygodnik Powszechny is a social periodical. This notion is understood by the editor in the sense given to it by the social teachings of the Catholic Church. No wonder that the ideals publicized by Turowicz's staff found themselves in sharp contrast with the concept of socialism practised by the State. Hence, the ban imposed on the work in 1953 at the culminating point of the Stalinist period and frequent interventions of censorship.

Tygodnik is also a cultural magazine. Turowicz envisions a wide understanding of culture. „Culture does not exclusively mean literature, art, music or films; it is not only scientific or philosophical thought... When we talk about deepening of culture we mean the formation of the human being”⁴. Such an understanding implies many aspects of Polish and world life which are evaluated in the light of ethical categories.

In time these three aspects of the periodical have been extended by a fourth adjective, namely, the political dimension. Although this is not a part of the vignette, these kinds of publications began to appear at the end of 1956, when *Tygodnik* had been reactivated. „*Tygodnik* does not want to be a periodical outside life”⁵, but aims to influence public opinion. So political issues are related as a service towards the common good to be secured for the whole nation. The gamut of interests of the periodical, understood in such a way could incorporate matters pertaining to transformation of the system. Changes taking place would find fertile soil in the magazine. For *Tygodnik* this constituted a chance to influence the fate of the nation in a constructive way.

JUSTIFICATION OF STATUS QUO AND STATUS QUEM OF THE ANALYSES

Mention should be made of the self-censorship of the author before the period of the analyses and, subsequently, preventive censorship which was the parameter of the socialistic system. Particular interventions of censorship could be noted in 1983, after martial law when the paper had been reactivated. Clear proof of censorship was found in text deletions, not to mention the statements which did not appear at all. Out of 129 recording units analysed between 1983 and 1989 when the censorship was

³ „*Tygodnik Powszechny*” po piętnastu latach, *ibid.* 14(1960) 13; *Nasze 20 lat*, *ibid.* 19(1956) 13.

⁴ J. Turowicz, 500, *ibid.* 12(1958) 34; Kisiel [S. Kisielewski], 500 *puknięć w czoło. Gwoździe w mózgu*, *ibid.* 12(1958) 34.

⁵ *Nasze 20 lat...*

abolished, almost two thirds bear traces of intervention by the censorship office.

In 1976 the Committee for the Defense of Workers was established articulating problems of a social, economical and political nature which reflected the mood prevalent among the Poles⁶. These activities were not supported by the official Church authorities. Neither were they properly evaluated in *Tygodnik*. A decidedly larger content concerning the social teaching of the Church appeared after John Paul II was elected Pope and after his encyclical *Redemptor Hominis*. This first encyclical was interpreted in the magazine and provided support to a whole range of initiatives defending human dignity and man's inalienable rights. Articles resulting from John Paul II's visit to Poland in 1979 were also written in this vein.

One should also consider here the articles written by the Solidarity trade union experts to whom *Tygodnik* opened its columns. The pressing need for a solution to social, political and economical problems compelled the opposition leaders to open themselves to the social teaching of the Church. Initially, benefiting from the doctrine of John Paul II, the authors *ipso facto* began to appreciate the value of earlier social documents, especially the Constitution *Gaudium et spes*. Hence, the proposition of undertaking the analyses starting from late 1979 as *status quo* and continuing until May 28, 1983 — when the Parliament was dissolved as *status quem*, seems to be justified.

At the beginning of the above mentioned time reference, *Tygodnik Powszechny* published 60,000 copies and by 1987 reached 80,000 copies⁷. Concurrently there were 2947 publications in Poland but only 35 Catholic periodicals were accepted by the Polish Episcopate. Among this number was *Tygodnik Powszechny*. The editor-in-chief was well aware of the importance of his periodical when he wrote, „*Tygodnik* is regarded as the leading Catholic magazine in Poland and it expresses Catholic opinion”⁸. However during the actual period of political transformation in Poland, circulation began to decrease and up to the present day has not reached its previous publication.

THE ISSUE, THE PROBLEMS AND THE RESEARCH METHOD

The research issue boils down to finding the answer to the question of whether or not the democratization process in Poland was reflected

⁶ J. J. Lipski, *Komitet Obrony Robotników. KOR. Komitet Samoobrony Społecznej*. Londyn 1983, p. 43—46.

⁷ J. Turowicz, *Kilka uwag o dyskryminacji*, „*Tygodnik Powszechny*” 41(1987) 16—17.

⁸ *Ibid.*

in *Tygodnik Powszechny* and whether it was supported by the authors. Furthermore, the question arises whether the transformation was perceived and interpreted in the context of the social teaching of the Church. The key to the problem of democracy seems to be two areas in which it manifests itself most clearly—that of politics and of the economy. Within both of these areas detailed sets of problems were separated.

In the political area:

1. The individual
2. Political parties
3. Fundamental values of society
4. Relations between State and Church

In the economic area:

1. The transformation from a centrally-planned economy to a social market economy
2. Ideas for privatization and reprivatization of property
3. Development of a middle class
4. Perspectives for the development of agriculture
5. The role of trade unions.

B. Berelson's method of content analysis⁹ has been used in the research presented here. The method falls into two clearly defined stages: qualitative and quantitative. As far as the quantitative aspect is concerned the answer to the question of frequency of the examined problems has been provided. The quantitative aspect aims at a description and analysis of the problems. The analysis of the interpretation of these changes in relation to Catholic social thought has also been carried out. Both kinds of analyses—the qualitative and quantitative ones are based on a recording unit which is a particular statement. Since the units will always be separate threads of thought, smaller units will be distinguished—so called paragraphs within the recording units. The arrangement of units can be found in the following tables.

GENERAL QUANTITATIVE CHARACTERIZATION

In the period under analysis, 694 issues of the magazine appeared¹⁰. The period can be divided into two stages. The first one ends with the

⁹ Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content communication; B. Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, New York 1952, p. 18.

¹⁰ The number is smaller than the number of weeks due to the fact that the magazine was banned after martial law was introduced. It appeared again after 55 weeks.

political breakthrough of June 4, 1989; the other commences with that date and ends with the *status quem* of the research, i.e., May 28, 1993.

Table 1. Issues of *Tygodnik* and stages of transformation

Period of 1979—1989	Number	%
Stage I	488	70.3
Stage II	206	29.7
Total	694	100.0

In the above mentioned period the first stage comprises two thirds of the analyzed issues (70.3%) The remaining percentage (29.7) encompasses the issues of the second stage.

Table 2. Recording units and stages of transformation

Period of 1979—1989	Number	%
Stage I	183	57.7
Stage II	134	42.3
Total	317	100.0

In the entire body of examined material, 317 recording units were noted which dealt with the problem of transforming the system. This means that the units in these numbers supported the process of democratic changes. The majority of these belong to the first stage (57.7%), the remaining ones are placed in the second stage (43.3%).

Table 3. Paragraphs and years of changes

Stages and Years	Number	%
Stage I		
79	31	2.1
80	43	2.9
81	133	9.1
82	15	1.0
83	50	3.4
84	54	3.7
85	31	2.1
86	57	3.9
87	136	9.2
88	187	12.8
up to June 4, 89	95	6.5
Stage II		
after June 11, 89	19	1.3
90	137	9.3
91	128	8.7
92	141	9.6
93	211	14.4
Total	1468	100.0

The recording units contained 1468 paragraphs, however, the data in individual years varies. Comparing the sequence of events of this period with the percentage points of respective years, explains in many cases, the distribution of paragraphs. The highest value in the period incorporated in the analysis was reached in 1993 at 14.4%. This was a time of vigorous polemics due to differences among the political parties which was noted by *Tygodnik* and then passed on to the public. The year, 1988, which directly led to the democratic changes, takes second position. During that period 12.8% of the analytic material was published. At 9.1%, 1981 is next, due to the working class revolution and recurring strike actions which found their reflection in the magazine. There were also a series of publications dealing with the nation's economic issues. By opening itself and enabling writers to consider these problems the periodical thus took part in the process of transformation. What might be regarded as striking is the low value for the very year of changes — 1989. Until June 4, only 6.5% of the paragraphs were noted down, and afterwards only 1.3%. One may have the impression that the Cracow magazine was surprised by what happened. It seemed to be incapable of consolidating democracy despite having been highly valued during the period of socialism. This is a matter that requires more research. As is illustrated in the following table, the analysis of changes has been conducted in both political and economic areas.

Table 4. Paragraphs and areas of democratization

1919—93	Politics		Economy		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Stage I	356	24.3	476	32.4	832	56.7
Stage II	416	28.3	220	15.1	636	43.3
Total	772	52.5	696	47.5	1468	100.0

Taking into consideration the total number of paragraphs, one should point out that the first stage encompasses 56.7% of the whole, whereas the second stage contains the remaining paragraphs. Political issues are 5% more frequent than economic ones. As far as the initial stage is concerned the economic issues prevail (32.4%). A relatively low value (15%) contains paragraphs connected with the economy during the second stage of transformation. This might seem even more strange if we take into consideration that this was a time for economic overhaul of the country. It seems the writer felt closer to political problems at that time and the percentage value for that area, which is almost doubled, seems to confirm the observation.

Table 5. Recording units and references to Church social documents

References	Number	%
Yes	78	24.6
No	239	75.4
Total	317	100.0

Out of 317 recording units only 1/4 of them have direct reference to the social documents of the Church. For a Catholic magazine with the word social in the subtitle this constitutes a very weak legitimization of the authors' thoughts of Church teachings. This fact proves that many authors either did not know the teachings or did not value them very much, or, it proves the interference of censorship. In order to achieve a full picture of the analyses it is worthwhile to point out the interventions of censorship in the periodical. Its visible traces, in the form of deletions, date back to 1983; while its termination is connected with the abolition of the institution in June 1989.

Table 6. Recording units and censorship interventions

1983—1989	Number	%
Yes	83	58.9
No	58	41.1
Total	141	100.0

Nearly 60% of publications in the period after martial law until the political breakthrough, bear traces of State censorship. That means that less than half of the writing can be treated as integral statements. Absences, either in reference to social teaching, or in the existence of certain topical areas in *Tygodnik* can thus be justified. This, too, could be a separate analysis. The accepted method entitles one at this stage to take initial steps from a quantitative analysis to a qualitative one. Specified paragraphs will be subjected here to a respective spectrum of problems in the political and in the economic sphere.

Table 7. Paragraphs and political issues

Political issues	Number	%
The individual	211	27.3
Political parties	178	23.1
Fundamental values	210	27.2
Church-State	173	22.4
Total	772	100.0

From a quantitative point of view the sphere of political problems is not much differentiated. Matters pertaining to the individual prevail

but only slightly, and reach the highest value — 27.4%. Fundamental values remain on a similar level (27.2%). Problems concerning political parties and the relationship between the Church and the State have slightly lower percentage points (23.1 and 22.4 respectively).

Table 8. Paragraphs and economic problems

Economic problems	Number	%
Transformation from a centrally planned economy to a social market one	397	57.0
Privatization and reprivatization of property	46	6.6
The Middle Class	23	3.3
Agriculture	83	11.9
Trade unions	147	21.2
Total	696	100.0

In the sphere of economic issues the differentiation among the percentage values is markedly higher than in the political sphere. Over half of the paragraphs dealt with the problem of transformation from a centrally planned economy to that of a social market (57%). The problems of trade unions is reflected in the paper to a much lesser degree in relation to the economic transformation (21.2%). This information comes mostly from the beginning of the eighties, a time when Solidarity was forced to be very insistent with the government. Agricultural matters are also a part of the material. The remaining problems, those of privatization and reprivatization of property and the formation of a Middle Class reached even lower values of about 10%. These matters, of far-reaching consequences for the economic development of society, were not treated in a serious way, at least in a quantitative aspect.

The quantitative values undoubtedly constitute proof of the frequency of given problems and their presence in the periodical indicate the direction of research¹¹. However, a more complete answer to the question of the democratization process will be given by a qualitative analysis of the collected material.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN TYGODNIK

The individual

Laying the foundation of democracy as a social and political system starts with the concept of man as an individual¹². It is justifiable that

¹¹ B. Berelson, *Content...*, p. 20.

¹² J. Majka, *Węzłowe problemy katolickiej nauki społecznej*, Warszawa 1990, p. 103.

Tygodnik's authors point to the idea of an individual human being as of paramount importance. This has far-reaching repercussions in the lives of individuals, social groups and a nation. Before dealing with *demos*, focus must be placed on *antropos*¹³. Very clear anthropological accents appear in Turowicz's article entitled „Człowiek, tylko człowiek” (Man, only a man.) The author makes reference to the International Day of Human Rights on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Declarations' announcement. He writes: „What should be a starting point is the conviction that a human being, each human being... is the exclusive value of the whole terrestrial reality, the central point of reference which we, in Christian terminology, call the temporal order”¹⁴. Turowicz's reference to Christianity is self-evident as he thinks that „...the fullest conception of man and his rights is embodied in Christian philosophical and theological anthropology”¹⁵. According to the author, this vision of a human being can be found in *Pacem in terris*, an encyclical of Pope John XXIII, the Second Vatican Council Constitution, *Gaudium et spes*, and in the teachings of Primate Wyszyński and Cardinal K. Wojtyła. Such a vision of man should constitute the groundwork for a social and political system.

The authors turn to Christian anthropology when searching for the foundations of human dignity. Turowicz deducts these foundations from participation in God's creative act. The main emphasis is put, however, on Jesus Christ, acting to incorporate and redeem man. „...the potential of inner development was shown by the incorporation of Christ—God's filiation”¹⁶. The author completes this vision of man with the *visio beatifica* in which man will partake in an eschatological dimension. A human being, as a subject of this kind of dignity, has an inalienable right to fulfill his life in a social and political space which should be of his own choosing.

Father Tischner often touches upon the idea of human dignity, too. Referring to John Paul II's first encyclical, *Redemptor Hominis*, he develops an axiological vision of man. „Thanks to the Redeptor — we were introduced to the very center of the experience of value-experiencing human dignity”¹⁷. However, according to the Cracow philosopher this should also lead to practical conclusions of „who counts more, who can

¹³ M. Król, *Słownik demokracji*. Warszawa 1991, p. 7.

¹⁴ J. Turowicz, *Człowiek, tylko człowiek*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 32(1978) 50.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Kościół a polityka*, *ibid.* 39(1985) 12.

¹⁷ J. Tischner, *Drogami ludzkich spraw*, *ibid.* 33(1979) 21.

to more and who should be more" ¹⁸. One must allow a man *hic et nunc* to realize his human dignity by making laws which will protect him. The author, therefore, means both *hic*, that is here, in the space of his social life and *nunc*, now, and not in a hazy future.

An individual, according to the authors, realizes himself in everyday life, both in individual and public activity, and within both the family and social structures. These various kinds of expressions of humanity call for legal regulations which remain in accordance with human dignity. Turowicz thinks that this idea was expressed by Pope John Paul II in his speeches during his second pilgrimage to his native land. „He referred back to matters concerning human dignity and safeguarding his inalienable rights, to the idea of justice as the basis of order between nations and between people" ¹⁹. Turowicz's allusions to human dignity and human rights can be regarded as a sort of appeal to the authorities and a challenge for social activity.

One should underline the fact that the authors did not just limit themselves to the discursive stage but attempted to show possible venues for the realization of anthropological ideas. In their opinion *logos* should lead to *ethos* in the practice of individual and social life. They assume the principle of work as a foundation. Through their writing they aim at the formation of conscience and the creation of a deepened human personality based on the premises of full anthropology. They share a profound conviction that constructive acts will not appear *deus ex machina*, instead, they constitute the process of personal maturing and are the option of an evolutionary road to democracy.

This penetration of the inner strata of humanity by means of anthropological premises, especially the theological one, is characteristic of *Tygodnik* authors. Before the third pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland, Król writes, „I think that the change that has occurred in each individual in the last seven years is that we have acquired a sense of potential opportunity of inner freedom" ²⁰. This statement is very interesting, when we take into consideration that many people at that time decided on so-called „inner emigration", only to develop personally and maturely in order to take up tasks which would surely come. „We must find a mode of existence in the future, an existence in the country and in the circumstances in which we have to live" ²¹, continues Król. The author's *implicite* dealt with the problem of political emigration. It poin-

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ J. Turowicz, *Krzyż na Placu Zwycięstwa*, *ibid.* 33(1979) 25.

²⁰ M. Król, *Przed trzecią Pielgrzymką*, *ibid.* 41(1987) 11.

²¹ Ibid.

ted to an individual and nation development which would guarantee the realization of freedom.

Tygodnik, striving for the highest levels of Catholic anthropology, and, at the same time, pointing to the realities of life in a period of socialism, made it possible to see the hiatus of the Polish situation. Exodus from it was perceived as an evolutionary road of inner self-liberation and an experience of national community.

In the publications preceding the Polish political breakthrough, the personal value of a human being is more and more frequently associated with the democratic system. In an interview with Adam Michnik after a trip to Moscow in 1988, A. Wajda proclaims, „We want more democracy and full observance of human rights. The workers created the strategy of non-violent struggle... Maybe, here, the role of the Church can be most clearly seen... our leaders, workers and intellectuals decided to go behind the barbed wire or underground, but they did not turn to violence”²². This mention of the role of the Church is undoubtedly the fruit of national *paidea* which it introduced. In this educational process, one of the transmission channels for people connected with the Church was undoubtedly the editorial staff of *Tygodnik*.

The idea of a transformation in social life was maturing. „We have in mind essential changes; the reconstruction of public life of the nation. There must come the beginning of a profound process of transformation of the whole system”²³, says Mazowiecki. These bold words precede the moment of breakthrough and they also exemplify a certain strategy realized by *Tygodnik*. Perhaps B. Geremek verbalizes the problem more clearly. „What really matters is the democratization, i.e., commencing the process of legal and institutional transformations which would give us both our civil rights and would limit the arbitrariness of authority.” Continuing, he poses a rhetorical question of whether the Poles „want to acquire freedom differently; not by revolution or insurrection, without violence and without the toll of blood”²⁴. This thought, situated on the evolutionary road of transforming the system in Poland, is espoused by the magazine.

After June 4, 1989, there were not many anthropological publications. Only Tischner touched upon it in connection with his concept of *homo sovieticus* — an attitude which revealed itself at the beginning of democracy. Hence, his suggestions concerning the need for the continuation

A. Michnik, *Pytania do Andrzeja Wajdy*, ibid. 43(1989) 2.

²³ R. Graczyk, *Wywiad z Tadeuszem Mazowieckim*. „Musi nastąpić odbudowa systemu”, ibid. 43(1989) 7.

²⁴ B. Geremek, *Warszawska wiosna*, ibid. 42(1989) 17.

of work for every member of society and for the nation as a whole. So much of the old system is present, often subconsciously, that great effort and attention to dialogue needs to take place so that what has been gained will not be lost.

Political parties

After World War II PZPR (Polish United Workers Party) played an essential role in the political spectrum of Poland. It was not only strongly connected with the center of authority but also constituted a political center out of which members of the government and various kinds of authority were recruited. It had 2,400,000 members²⁵. The party not only did not tolerate any opposition structures, but also any movements which would question its monopoly. To put things into clear perspective one should understand that the periodical did not treat the Solidarity Movement as a political party, but rather as a wide opposition front, speaking on behalf of both the working class and the nation as a whole. Ten million members was a sufficient basis to legitimize not only the workers but also the nation itself²⁶. The authors writing in *Tygodnik* identified themselves with the goals of Solidarity, however. A. Micewski mentioned the need for party-like organisms for the first time in 1980. According to him the existence of political groups gives proof of the healthy atmosphere of the State and leads to a fuller participation in its life²⁷. S. Kurowski speaks from the same period. Considering Solidarity as a dynamic element of social life at the beginning of the 80's, he poses a crucial question. Should Solidarity participate in the structures of the governing PZPR and thus create and control changes in Poland? His answer is negative. A centralized mode of governing would *a priori* exclude the possibility of sharing competences. Furthermore, Solidarity had not yet formed people capable of making decisions concerning the whole nation, especially economic choices. According to Kurowski „it would be a fatal political trap... The suitable area of activity should be the sphere of division and not the sphere of production”²⁸.

These reflections about *Tygodnik* close the initial period of bold voices concerning not so much party pluralism, as the preparatory stage to transforming the system. At this stage the Solidarity trade union was perceived not only as a potential social organism capable of fulfilling the task, but also ready to lead society from the Socialist system to

²⁵ *Obraz tygodnia*, ibid. 37(1983) 8.

²⁶ E. Szemplińska, *Smutny kres mitów*, ibid. 45(1991) 36.

²⁷ A. Micewski, *O wyobraźni społecznej*, ibid. 34(1980) 39.

²⁸ S. Kurowski, *Obszary zainteresowań i przesłanki wyboru. Propozycje dla NSZZ Solidarność*, ibid. 34(1980) 48.

a democratic one and avoiding convulsions. The magazine's authors took deliberate care not to radicalize social emotions. This attitude seems to be justified by the profound understanding of the political and economic situation of the country and is consistent with the social teaching of the Church.

It was not until 1988 that the far-reaching criticism towards PZPR appeared in *Tygodnik*. It is connected with the Act of July 31, 1985, defining the features of a functionary of the Security Police (SB) and Militia (MO). Among these features is „loyalty to the program of the Polish United Workers Party”²⁹. The fact of such an entry in the Act not only constitutes a step backwards on the path of democratization of life, but also provides structural support for the party which had so often been compromised in the eyes of society. Recurring attempts to correct the situation in Poland had proved that the party was not capable of solving acute societal problems.

Turowicz took up an initiative to organize independent political forces. In the name of his readers, as well as members of society who think similarly, he verbalizes the conditions which the governing party should meet. What he especially has in mind is the freedom for different party groups to recruit new members, with the possibility to articulate their programs and have access to the media. He adds, „But I must admit that in my opinion (and probably not only mine) that the situation in Poland has not matured enough to allow creation of new political parties”³⁰. It is clear for Turowicz that at this stage of development of the political situation, no party structure other than PZPR could participate in governing. If, however, such possibilities occur, it should be a part of a Christian-Democratic character. Lay Catholics, in his opinion, should follow the social teaching of the Church which encourages them to take part in political life. One should point out that the article, *Hannibal ad portas*, was published 8 months before June, 1989, and the editor does not stimulate creation of a social front which would become the place for direct maturing of democracy.

A young author, A. Hall, sees the problem more clearly. He finds in Solidarity a wide movement leading towards the future Republic. „Renovating the facade is, of course, possible without «Solidarity», but the real political opening is not. ...Lech Wałęsa is a working class leader, but at the same time he is a politician of nationwide stature”³¹. Undo-

²⁹ S. Michałkiewicz, *Suwerenność narodu czy suwerenność partii*, *ibid.* 12(1988) 33.

³⁰ J. Turowicz, *Kilka uwag na temat pluralizmu politycznego*, *ibid.* 42(1988) 40.

³¹ A. Hall, *Dostrzeżenie realiów*, *ibid.* 42(1988) 44.

ubtedly Hall's political intuition is supplemented by Turowicz's restraint and one should underline that *Tygodnik* assisted the rank and file movement which was to have a decisive voice in determining the image of democracy being born. After losing in the presidential elections Mazowiecki, one of *Tygodnik's* writers, built the Democratic Union, based on ROAD, an organization led by Turowicz. This party, generally speaking, takes its origin from *Tygodnik* and took under its wings many of the former opposition leaders. Their understanding of a democratic Poland began to differentiate from the homogeneous image of the Democratic Union.

A characteristic feature of the Democratic Union was striving for civilized capitalism and liberal democracy³². The way of understanding capitalism and democracy differentiated the members of the former opposition and called for the definition of the party *credo*. Both right wing and Christian parties perceived it as the party with the leftist tendency espousing the „pink” model³³. Legal decisions which were regarded by society as symptomatic for democracy were the litmus test for all the parties. The most important included: the abortion act, the act concerning Christian values, the introduction of religion into schools, revindication of property taken away from the Church, and the relationship of Church and State. Although the above-mentioned matters were not interpreted within the party contradictorily to Church teaching, individual persons uttered opinions which might have tainted the image of both the party and the *Tygodnik* group. The result of this was that many readers of the magazine, both lay and Church-affiliated, turned away from it accusing it of „betrayal” of the Church or lack of solidarity with the platform of the Episcopate in different political, moral and legal issues³⁴. Judging both political and moral problems should be the subject matter of a more through reflection. It seems, however, that the critical voices were concerned not so much with the essence of the matter, as the mode of their realization.

More frequently than any other Catholic newspaper, *Tygodnik* invited leaders of other political parties and religions to speak. It, therefore, pursued dialog not only with its Catholic audience but remaining open to the entire spectrum of other parties. This was a risky proposition as the *credo* of other parties sometimes far exceeded the formula of *Tygodnik*.

³² R. Graczyk, *Pomiędzy sukcesem a odpowiedzialnością. Zjednoczenie Unii Demokratycznej*, ibid. 45(1991) 9.

³³ A. Micewski, *Wokół Kościoła*, ibid. 46(1992) 1.

³⁴ J. Gowin, *Dlaczego zaprzestaję autocenzury, czyli wojna Wandei z Oświeceniem*, ibid. 45(1992) 49.

Fundamental values

Reflections on the subject of core values in *Tygodnik Powszechny* depended on two factors. In the negative sense they relied on the State system which concentrated on socialistic and international values and did not go any further. In the positive sense they were based on the Catholic Church's teaching which had not only performed religious functions in relation to the Polish nation but also extra-religious ones. Being integrative, protective and humanistic, these Church functions influenced values accepted by the nation³⁵. It was noted in the analyzed material that two thirds of the core values is placed in the period after June 1989 with a clear peak in the years 1992 and 1993. This is the period of cristalization of Polish democracy and a time for establishing a foundation on which the Polish State should stand.

Before 1989 the values of both universal (human dignity and human rights) and national (religion and patriotism) origin had often been presented in *Tygodnik*. The former cared for the legal protection of the individual, while the latter aimed at the integration of the nation as a whole. The discussion on the subject of core values as the foundation of Polish democracy occurred in the period of 1991—1993. It is closely associated with the legal act concerning Christian values. Polarized voices clearly reflected this in *Tygodnik*.

Writers pondered over the matter of Poland's participation in a European heritage, but as Micewski points out, „...the affinity is possible only by the service to the cause of the nation and guarding of its rights with simultaneous observance of the rights of other nations”³⁶. Turowicz clearly excavates inner cores decisive for the national identity and underlined by Pope John Paul II in 1979. The Pope „spoke to them (fellow Poles-SP) about the common 1000 year-old Christian tradition and also about national and democratic tradition, tolerance and attachment to freedom”³⁷. Exposition of national values by *Tygodnik* authors is a typical sign of the period of Socialism.

The writers find in these values a dynamic power, especially in the context of social activity. The editorial notes in *Tygodnik* occasioned by the workers' strikes of 1980 show this clearly. For the editors the revolt of the working class was „patriotism” genuinely understood and Polish *raison d'etat*³⁸. The wave of strikes is seen as the ultimate weapon to

³⁵ W. Piwoński, *Kościół ludowy wobec potrzeb i problemów duszpasterstwa* [in:] *Religijność ludowa. Ciągłość i zmiana*. Wrocław 1983, p. 344.

³⁶ A. Micewski, *Naród i państwo*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 33(1979) 29.

³⁷ J. Turowicz, *W Polsce rok temu*, *ibid.* 34(1980) 22.

³⁸ *Od redakcji*, *ibid.* 34(1980) 36.

save the nations. The statement of Kurowski about the ideologue of the new trade unions can be seen in this light. The strenght of the union is seen by him in the presence of national values as „...they decide the reason for our national separateness, the reason for our independence and political sovereignty”³⁹. What should be pointed out is that the new trade union, Solidarity, needed to reach the national treasure of Polish core values. Such writing at this stage of socialism stimulated the awareness of Polish society, providing support for all kinds of movements for democracy.

Moreover, the authors were well aware that emphasizing national values might only lead to closing themselves on other countries and their values which was part of their identities or were exposed by Western European countries as their achievements. J. Ziółkowski suggests dialog with other nations without giving up national values. Citing John Paul II's words in UNESCO in 1980 on the subject of cultural values, he explains that „...the attitude open to dialog exposes our separateness in relation to others, but also makes us interested in what is our own and other's identities”⁴⁰. Building Europe, free of political, economic and confessional divisions, has always been one of the goals of the magazine's writers.

„I think we have much to offer others. I don't mean a mission of some sort, but rather, I would say a cultural convergence”⁴¹, commented Prime Minister Mazowiecki, when speaking about fundamental values. According to Król the idea of intergration with Europe would strengthen the sense of inner, national integration. „I would not be able to be a citizen of Europe without having been a citizen of my country”⁴². This statement should not give any cause to worry as many social documents of the Church touch upon these relations, pointing out principles according to which they should be solved⁴³.

During the III Polish Republic, Cracow journalism concentrated on the legal act concerning Christian values. Polish public opinion shared two orientations on this. The first was supported by W. Chrzanowski, leader of Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe (the Christian-National Union)

³⁹ S. Kurowski, *O strategii działania związku. Propozycje dla NSZZ Solidarność*. Przemówienie wygłoszone na I Walnym Zebraniu Delegatów Regionu Bydgoskiego w dniu 20 czerwca 1980 r., *ibid.* 35(1981) 28.

⁴⁰ J. Ziółkowski, *Jan Paweł II o kulturze i narodzie*, *ibid.* 37(1983) 1.

⁴¹ *Wierzę w społeczną dojrzałość. Wywiad Jerzego Turowicza z premierem Tadeuszem Mazowieckim*, *ibid.* 44(1990) 46.

⁴² M. Król, *Ojczyzna*, *ibid.* 46(1992) 6.

⁴³ A. Klose, *Katolicka nauka społeczna. Jej prawa i aktualność*, Warszawa 1985, p. 134—136.

as the magazines' leading advocate. This opinion was justified by the danger of relativism to values that provided the groundwork for national identity. Hall took a similar stand stating that Christian values are decisive for one's national identity, hence they should be treated as a category of national interest. As such, they should constitute a parameter of democratic construction of a future Poland”⁴⁴. A different opinion was presented by the editor and his staff. „...such a legal act cannot be in keeping with modern, pluralistic democracy-such an act does not promote these values”⁴⁵. The idea was not an isolated one of his party, but was backed up by others: Boniecki⁴⁶, Tischner⁴⁷, Wujec⁴⁸ and Zięba⁴⁹ from the magazine.

In summarizing this aspect, *Tygodnik* provided space for constructive discussion on the subject of fundamental values. Divergent opinions as to Christian values resulted not so much from their presence in public life but rather from the mode of their manifestation in an ever-changing reality.

Church and State

The assembly of material analyzed here concerned three matters which *Tygodnik* exhaustively describe in the relationship between Church and State. First of all, the journal aims at sustaining the presence of the Church in the sphere of public life. Secondly, an attempt to define the mutual relationship between Church and State has been made. Finally, the authors show a new way for the Church to perform its role in a democratic State. *Tygodnik* authors treated such facts as the election of Wojtyła as Pope, his first pilgrimage to Poland, the messages contained both in his speeches during the trip and his encyclical, not only as *sensu stricto* religious ones, but rather as having very clear connotations with the social and political situation in Poland. They pointed to the national, patriotic, and social content of these events which *ipso facto* were a challenge to the State. The authorities could neither maintain such a hard line as before, nor could they ignore reality, which albeit religious,

⁴⁴ *Nowa Prawica? Wywiad Michała Okońskiego z Aleksandrem Hallem, współtwórcą Konwencji Polskiej*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 45(1992) 44.

⁴⁵ J. Turowicz, *Wartości chrześcijańskie i polityka*, *ibid.* 46(1992) 14.

⁴⁶ A. Boniecki, *O katolickiej cenzurze i wartościach chrześcijańskich*, *ibid.* 46(1993) 4.

⁴⁷ J. Tischner, *Spory przed znakiem drogowym*, *ibid.* 46(1993) 8.

⁴⁸ *Chłop z Marszałkowskiej. Wywiad Piotra Mucharskiego z Henrykiem Wujcem*, *ibid.*, 45(1992) 50.

⁴⁹ M. Zięba, *Wchodzę na pole minowe. Zapiski z kruchty*, *ibid.* 46(1993) 8.

had clear social and political repercussions⁵⁰. Turowicz was the first to follow this line of thought. Referring to Pope John Paul II's speech at the Episcopate Conference in 1979, he said that the Pope „...discussed the problem connected with the process of normalization between the State and the Church”⁵¹. Extending the Pope's idea he states that normalization should be based on dialog as a message derived from the Church's social doctrine. John Paul II suggests that these two institutions present on native soil, should work out a sort of *modus vivendi*.

The last period of martial law was, in relation to the former one, a time of manifestation of power and an occasion for evangelic faithfulness. However, it revealed the lack of legal and factual guarantees of the Catholic Church. Hence, journalism during the period of 1983—94, focuses on the necessity of formalizing the previous agreements between the Church and the State and giving them legal power. *Tygodnik* authors gave priority to the matter of conferring legal status to the Church. Normalization of the relationship between the State and the Church is given priority and is treated as the basis for further activities by both groups⁵². The editorial postulates addressed to the State were articulated in the statement *Amnestia* (Amnesty) and they are real testimony to the line of the periodical. „Only after the legal status has been conferred to the Church will it be able to plan its ministrations, education and charitable activities for the benefit of the Faithful and the whole of society”⁵³.

According to the author „...the Church undoubtedly, both through its activity and its teaching, enters the realm of politics as a judicious care for the common good... and, at the same time in all its activity rejects any political activities in the sense of struggle for power”⁵⁴. According to Kozłowski, the role of the Church in a pluralistic society is different from that in a totalitarian one. In the latter, the Church, having massive social support, performs functions that exceed purely religious ones. Such functions were performed in Poland and the Church *nolens volens* had to transgress into such spheres of life that in normal societies fall into the domain of other subjects of public life.

The beginning of Polish democracy brought a redefinition of relations between Church and State which appeared in the magazine during the period of Socialism. The political situation compelled both sides to speak

⁵⁰ M. F. Rakowski, *Interes nadrzędny*, „Polityka” 31(1978) 10.

⁵¹ J. Turowicz. *Krzyż na Placu Zwycięstwa*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 33 (1979) 25.

⁵² *Amnestia*, *ibid.* 38(1984) 31.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ K. Kozłowski, *Kościół a polityka*, *ibid.* 37(1983) 44.

on their own behalf and to create solutions based on local realities. In connection with the legal status of the Church (May 17, 1989), a series of problems arose which the Church tried to take up. These are vigorously discussed in the periodical.

The new role of the Church articulated by *Tygodnik* authors is to form lay politicians and to concentrate of its prophetic function. During the post-war period, politicians of Catholic provenance were not allowed to actively participate in public life. This situation brought about a vacuum as far as activists of the Catholic profile were concerned. No wonder then, that the periodical emphasized the need to form Catholic politicians⁵⁵. Micewski thinks that „...if the Church is to be involved in politics the laity is really needed⁵⁶. Hence, the appeal by Tischner for profound studies of Catholic social teaching providing a reference point for politicians⁵⁷.

At this stage of constructing the democratic system, voices can be heard calling for the Church in Poland to return to its strictly religious functions; in the sphere of social, political and economic life, the Church should perform its prophetic function. Hall said this *expressis verbis*. „The Church must form certain postulates concerning the moral and social order and thus, also, the State order. It has the right and the duty to say unpopular things which are not accepted by a part of society. It also has the right to evaluate”⁵⁸. Hall’s statement is symptomatic for the period after June 4, 1989, as Church authorities found themselves in close contact with political parties. *Tygodnik* writers unflexibly called for the absence of the Church in these kind of activities⁵⁹.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN TYGODNIK

Transformation from a centrally planned economy to a social-market one

The transformation from a centrally planned economy to a social-market one, found a strong reflection in *Tygodnik*. Over half (57%) of the analytical material has been classified in this division. Almost 3/4 of the collected statements are found in the period preceeding the 4th

⁵⁵ W. Findeisen, *Obywatel i osoba. Kościół i państwo w dokumentach soboru watykańskiego II*, *ibid.* 46(1992) 17.

⁵⁶ A. Micewski, *Wokół Kościoła*, *ibid.*, 46(1992) 1.

⁵⁷ J. Tischner, *Kościół i antypaństwowy syndrom Polaków*, *ibid.* 45(1991) 38.

⁵⁸ *Nowa prawica? Wywiad...*

⁵⁹ A. Boniecki, *Odpowiedzialność i zasady*, *ibid.* 15(191) 36.

of June, 1989. A centrally planned economy had brought many negative results, both for the individual and for the whole economy. The situation had been monitored by the magazine's writers and the evolving drama boiled down to 3 problems: necessary reforms in macro-scale, search for middle-ground between central planning and the free market and implementation of reforms based on the Solidarity Movement.

Attention was turned towards searching for system solutions for the economy. Guests of different political options were allowed to give an approximate definition of the economic state of Poland. On the basis of this, the Cracow authors criticized the system solutions which had previously appeared. The vision to save the Polish economy was convergent with solutions articulated by Solidarity in *Tygodnik*. In 1980 an idea was born to form a public body „...to prepare the foundations of the program of economic stabilization and introduce it to the trade unionists and the authorities”⁶⁰.

Although martial law broke the vision of rescuing the Polish economy, two versions can be generally differentiated in the magazine: the radical one and the evolutionary one. The former was shared by Kurowski, Zieliński, Kisielewski and the majority of Solidarity economists. This version called for economic reforms with a very small amount of State intervention. The latter, the evolutionary one, was espoused by such authors as Bugaj, Kozłowski, Wielowieyski and the editorial staff. They thought that the process of democratization was not advanced enough and correcting the economy would have far-reaching repercussions in the political sphere, which at this stage should not be tinkered with. They advocated a „small steps” policy, helped by the geo-political situation after M. Gorbaczow came to power in the Soviet Union⁶¹. Neither approaches altered the ultimate goal which was the total reorganization of the economy in a Polish way, including socialization of production means, decentralization of management, and giving more authority to local government. According to Paszyński the rejection of these principles would lead to an economic fiasco. An attempt to merge the two systems, on the other hand, would result in the situation in which the new system would „reject the transplants as entirely dysfunctional”⁶². Such journalism advocated the pro-capitalist solution without going into details of its components.

Transformation from a central-planned system to a free-market economy was embodied in L. Balcerowicz's plan. From its origin, his idea tended to use solutions of a liberal economy. *Tygodnik* not only commen-

⁶⁰ T. Konopka (oprac.), *Dyskusja o propozycjach dla „Solidarności”*, ibid. 34(1980) 49.

⁶¹ J. Surdykowski, *Gospodarka na rozdrożu*, ibid. 40(1986) 48.

⁶² A. Paszyński, *Drogi i bezdroża reformy*, ibid. 42(1988) 50.

ted on this program but also supported it⁶³. The authors are, however, faced with the question: What kind of liberalism? Discussions concerning this problem are the most vigorous ones in the magazine. Is it going to be liberalism of the continental type with Rousseau as its advocate? Or, will it be of the Scottish type which had inspired the American Founding Fathers of Christian provenance?⁶⁴ In Balcerowicz's liberalism there are no references to Christian ethos. It is dominated by economism, consumerism and absolutism in the treatment of private property. As J. Brzowski points out in the magazine, such a version of economic liberalism is also criticized in Church teaching⁶⁵. A full, substantial evaluation of the economic policy based on Catholic social thought is visibly lacking. Zięba tried to fill it in and his writings constitute a strong side of economic thinking based on Catholic social thought. However, this was at the beginning of the nineties and it was late in coming.

Role of the Solidarity trade union in the process of changes

Theoretically speaking, the socialist system centered on the proletariat and claimed that it, and only it, spoke for the working class. Like the beginning of the 80's, the system again found itself under pressure from the rank and file. The early-August strikes of 1980 were directly connected with the establishment of trade union structures independent of the State, with Solidarity as its exponent. The appearance of Solidarity raised hopes which went much further than the strict role of trade unions — because it was more — for the authorities it was an opposition which articulated the postulates of society. The first independent trade union movement within the structures of the mono-union state had since its origin, been perceived as a sort of strategy tending to eliminate any mediation groups between the authorities and the society. Tischner saw John Paul II's encyclical *Laborem exercens*, helpful in the formation of a new trade union. This would have a great impact on the country and the union treated this goal as a moral imperative — an obligation to society. For the trade union to perform such a nuanced role within the Socialistic system was extremely difficult. As Kurowski points out, the authorities, despite having signed the agreements, had never reconciled with the existence of Solidarity and the invitation to cooperate was a political trap. At this stage the author advised the analysis and the control of activities of the authorities and the formation of local governments which, in due time

⁶³ K. Kozłowski, *Na rozdrożu. Reformy gospodarczej ciąg dalszy*, ibid. 44 (1990) 25.

⁶⁴ J. Gowin, *Chrześcijaństwo-Liberalizm. Zapętnienie pustki*, ibid. 45(1991) 27.

⁶⁵ J. Brzowski, *Koniec pięknej utopii*, ibid. 44(1990) 43.

would be able to take over the responsibility for governing⁶⁶. The authors do not agree as to the role of Solidarity. Their pro-union role merges with the political one and Bortnowska spoke against political involvement⁶⁷.

Strategy for the recreation of the union after it had been banned during martial law centered on a key person — Lech Wałęsa. Hall wrote „Wałęsa is a working class leader but at the same time he is a politician of a nationwide status”⁶⁸. The author is well aware that the idea of Solidarity reaches well beyond the classical trade union, and in historical perspective it was the widest movement capable of repairing the republic. The crux of the matter was not to save the union, but to save the nation which was manifested in Solidarity. Circles connected with *Tygodnik* joined Solidarity in 1980 as they shared ideas for which they had always fought⁶⁹. In a conversation between Turowicz and Wałęsa in February 1985 in the *Tygodnik* editorial office, the union leader said, „You did not join Solidarity.... you created it... You, as my and our teachers, do your best not to squander this Polish chance, however minimal and miserable it may be”⁷⁰. And at the culminating point of political and economic changes in Poland in 1989, *Tygodnik* gave its support to Wałęsa and Solidarity.

However, the reality of June 4th, resulted in journalism focusing on political matters and the *Tygodnik* authors became part of the government. Likewise, it became evident that *Tygodnik* and Wałęsa's ways had diverged and less and less frequently the magazine published articles concerning trade union matters. Critical voices about Solidarity also started to appear from people who had not been previously associated with the periodical (Balcerowicz, Michnik.) *Tygodnik* was strengthening ties with the Democratic Union. Articles appearing in the weekly were thought of as a defense of editorial colleagues who were performing governmental functions. At this stage the magazine ceased to play its previous role — that of independent thought of a political party.

The period of transformation in Poland was noticed by the Pope in his encyclical *Centesimus annus*, and this was inspirational for the magazine. The working class, which at the beginning of the 1990's came close to the Catholic intelligentsia in creating a healthy pro-reform bloc, now remained outside of *Tygodnik* journalism. By the same token, the problems of trade unions were scantily reflected in the magazine.

⁶⁶ S. Kurowski, *O strategii...*

⁶⁷ H. Bortnowska, *Dialektyka Solidarności*, *ibid.* 35(1981) 3.

⁶⁸ A. Hall, *Dostrzeżenie realiów*, *ibid.* 42(1989) 44.

⁶⁹ *Lech Wałęsa w Krakowie*, *ibid.* 43(1989) 8.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Perspectives on the development of agriculture and the middle class

Agricultural interests recurred in *Tygodnik* in connection with the establishment of the Agricultural Foundation. This idea came to life in 1981—1982 when the project was made an initiative of the Polish Episcopates of Western European countries, to organize financial help for the private sector of Polish agriculture ⁷¹. The institution, however, was not supported by government circles. After June 1989, *Tygodnik* recognized these problems remaining as *terra ignota* of the economic reorientation. There was no agricultural program which could have been implemented ⁷². Bratkowski may have been right when he wrote that this was a threshold error as Balcerowicz's plan did not treat agriculture as an essential element of the Polish economy ⁷³. This issue is even more interesting if we take into consideration that the problems of agriculture were deemed essential for human development in Church teachings (John XXIII, Paul VI).

The problem of privatization and the formation of a middle class were treated even more marginally than agriculture in the Cracow journal. Two tendencies concerning the solution of the problem of privatization can be differentiated in *Tygodnik*. Bratkowski presents Socialistic tendencies and defends State property; Zieliński, on the other hand, calls for strict rules for the privatization of State property ⁷⁴. Kisielewski was most active in the formation and promotion of a middle class. The author, in nearly an obsessive way, dealt with the category of small producers, a crucial link in the development of Western economies. His idea was supported by Bratkowski who describes the reality in these words, „there is a lack of policy to rebuild the Middle Class in Poland. Small entrepreneurs die like flies, enormous reserves hidden in small family businesses remain passive” ⁷⁵. However, the editor of *Tygodnik* did not stimulate sufficient publications concerning these sectors of the economy.

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In conclusion, one should underline that Cracow's *Tygodnik* made a considerable influence in Poland at the time of democratic changes. During the Socialistic period, it was a journalists' tribune of independent

⁷¹ *Fundacja Rolnicza. Szanse i problemy. Dyskusja członków Komitetu Organizacyjnego*, *ibid.* 39(1984) 34.

⁷² Bratkowski, *Polityka rolna, jaka mogłaby być*, *ibid.* 44(1990) 36.

⁷³ Bratkowski, *Lepperów stworzyliśmy sami*, *ibid.* 47(1990) 36.

⁷⁴ Zieliński, *Nienaruszalne jądro reformy: prywatyzacja*, *ibid.* 47(1993) 29.

⁷⁵ Bratkowski, *Lepperów...*

thought and had to pay the price of censorship intervention. It remained faithful to the Church, although not all the authors though Catholic social teaching was the key to solve the problems of democracy. The periodical, to a considerable degree, was a successful magazine. Many authors involved in the historical changes of Poland published in *Tygodnik*. The idea of *non-violent action*, although not clearly articulated in the magazine, became a motto for system changes by the writers.

Tygodnik Powszechny worked towards the idea of forming readers more politically than economically. Its strong side was its emphasis on anthropological premises in social life. At this stage of journalism, references to Catholic social teachings are evident and constitute a perfect basis for the activities that followed, although Church social teachings concerning economic matters was not fully represented in the publication. The liberalism which came to Poland after June 4, 1989, had not been evaluated early enough according to Catholic social thought. It seems plausible to say that there were not enough specialists at the right time who transferred the Church's social doctrine into *Tygodnik* articles.

In the present system the magazine pays special attention to the formation of the laity in the sphere of social activity based on Church doctrine. Its aim is for the Church to return to its *sensu stricto* religious role, to perform prophetic (critical) functions and for the laity to undertake tasks in their own name with the support of Catholic formation. Although *Tygodnik* writers supported system changes, they never aimed at confrontation. Openness to others, an attitude of dialog and readiness to mediation — these are indications of the social teaching of the Church to which the magazine has always remained faithful. The idea of *non-violent action* became the motto of transforming the system for Turowicz' staff. Undoubtedly *Tygodnik Powszechny* performed a conceptual, guiding and monitoring role in system transformation and can be described as a co-architect of changes in the system in Poland.

ROLA TYGODNIKA POWSZECHNEGO W PROCESIE PRZEMIAN DEMOKRATYCZNYCH W POLSCE

Streszczenie

„Tygodnik Powszechny” jest periodykiem, założonym 24 marca 1945 r. przez kardynała krakowskiego Adama Stefana Sapiechę, i wychodzi do dnia dzisiejszego. W podtytule znalazły się słowa, które określają profil periodyku, mianowicie jako *Katolickie pismo społeczno-kulturalne*. Pismo stara się być wierne przymiotnikom z winiety tytułowej, aczkolwiek obszar zainteresowań poszerzyło o sprawy polity-

czne. Badaniom w „Tygodniku” zostały poddane wszystkie numery od roku 1979 do 28 maja 1993 r. W okresie tym pismo starało się uczestniczyć w formowaniu podstaw demokratycznych w zakresie tak życia politycznego, jak i gospodarczego. Udział ten uzależniony był od sytuacji, w której tę rolę pełniło. Mocną stroną pisma w formowaniu postaw demokratycznych była antropologia filozoficzna i teologiczna, które stanowiły podstawę publikacji na temat wszelkich struktur, pojawiających się w procesie demokratyzacji życia. W zakresie publikacji o charakterze gospodarczym, dominowała koncepcja przejścia od gospodarki rozdzielczej do społeczno-rynkowej. Aczkolwiek proces demokratyzacji życia był bliski autorom „Tygodnika”, to jednak nigdy nie starali się doprowadzać do konfrontacji społeczeństwa z władzą. Nawoływali do dialogu, gotowi byli do mediacji. Podstawy tej koncepcji odnajduje się z łatwością w preferowanej wizji godności człowieka. Idea *non-violent action* była bliska ekipie Turowicza. „Tygodnik” spełniał rolę wiodącą i monitorującą przemiany systemowe w Polsce. Miał też swój niewątpliwy wkład w architekturę tychże przemian.