

Polish Journal
of Political
Science

Volume 10 Issue 1 (2024)

Polish Journal of Political Science
Volume 10 Issue 1

Editorial Board

Clifford Angell Bates Jr., *University of Warsaw*

Stephen Brooks, *University of Michigan*

Michael Freeden, *University of Nottingham, University of Oxford*

Marzenna James, *Princeton University*

Angieszka Łukasik-Turecka, *John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin*

Agostino Massa, *University of Genoa*

Paolo Pombeni, *University of Bologna*

Bogdan Szlachta, *Jagiellonian University in Krakow*

Filip M. Szymański, *Caridnal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw*

Andrea Zanini, *University of Genoa*

Tomasz Żyro, *University of Warsaw*

Editorial Team

Lead Editors

Chief editor: **Jarosław Szczepański**, *University of Warsaw*

Secretary: **Błażej Bado**, *University of Warsaw*

Associate Editors

Katarzyna Gruszka, *University of Warsaw*

Paulina Szczepańska, *University of Warsaw*

Graphic design of the journal

Krzysztof Trusz, *Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw*

Desktop publishing

Karolina Trusz

Language editor/Reviewing

Adam Petrétis

All articles in the journal are peer-reviewed

The journal is published by the Interdisciplinary Research Center
of the University of Warsaw “Identity – Dialogue – Security”
(Interdyscyplinarne Centrum Badawcze Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
“Tożsamość – Dialog – Bezpieczeństwo”)

Editorial address

Polish Journal of Political Science

Interdisciplinary Research Center of the University of Warsaw
“Identity – Dialogue – Security”
Prosta 69, 00-838 Warsaw
email: centrum.tozsamosc@uw.edu.pl

Warsaw 2024

eISSN 2391-3991

Original version: e-book

Submit your paper: pjps@uw.edu.pl



Polish Journal of Political Science is included in:



Table of Contents

Articles

- 4 Lech Drab**
Modern Defense Diplomacy of India, Indonesia,
Malaysia – Challenges and Priorities
- 23 Jadwiga Korszniak**
Community Security and Its Threats
on the Example of a Selected Rural Municipality:
A Pilot Study
- 38 Walter E. Block**
The Right to Roam?
- 65 Sylwia Badaczewska**
Police Actions during Securing Mass Events on
the Example of Football Matches Held in Warsaw

Book review

- 82 Cezary Smuniewski**
Listy, orędzia i odezwy biskupów tarnowskich
w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym
[Letters, Messages and Proclamations of
the Bishops of Tarnów in the Interwar Period]

Cezary Smuniewski*

**Listy, orędzia i odezwy biskupów
tarnowskich w dwudziestoleciu
międzywojennym [Letters,
Messages and Proclamations of
the Bishops of Tarnów in
the Interwar Period]**

by Robert Kantor, Wydawnictwo Biblos,
Tarnów 2023, pp. 304.

DOI: [10.58183/pjps.05012024](https://doi.org/10.58183/pjps.05012024)

In the history of Poland, the involvement of the Roman Catholic Church in social and political life, as well as in national security, is an axiom. An example illustrating this thesis is the collection of texts titled *Letters, Messages and Proclamations of the Bishops of Tarnów in the Interwar Period*, compiled by Rev. Prof. Robert Kantor. The reviewed book, as indicated by its title, consists of writings from the bishops of Tarnów during the interwar period: Bishop Leon Wałęga (b. 1859 – d. 1933) and Bishop Franciszek Lisowski (b. 1876 – d. 1939).

The monograph compiles previously scattered texts, now collected, researched, and annotated by Prof. Robert Kantor. Prof. Kantor is skilled in this type of work and has previously published

* University of Warsaw, e-mail:
c.smuniewski@uw.edu.pl, [https://
orcid.org/0000-0002-8973-3539](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8973-3539)

studies such as *Dziedzictwo kulturowe i religijne diecezji tarnowskiej w latach 1918-1939* [Cultural and Religious Heritage of the Diocese of Tarnów in the Years 1918-1939], Volume I: *Wybrane instytucje i struktury diecezji tarnowskiej w latach 1918-1939* [Selected Institutions and Structures of the Diocese of Tarnów in the Years 1918-1939], and Volume II: *Synody diecezji tarnowskiej w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym* [Synods of the Diocese of Tarnów in the Interwar Period]. In addition, his research includes monographs like *Legislation of the Diocese of Tarnów from 1985 to 2017* [Ustawodawstwo diecezji tarnowskiej w latach 1985-2017], *Statutes of the Sanctuaries of the Diocese of Tarnów* [Statuty sanktuariów diecezji tarnowskiej], *The Pastor in the Community of the People of God* [Proboszcz we wspólnocie Ludu Bożego], *The Spanish Rota: The Structure and Activities of the Tribunal of the Rota of the Apostolic Nunciature in Spain (Historical and Legal Study)* [Rota Hiszpańska Struktura i działalność Trybunału Roty Nuncjatury Apostolskiej w Hiszpanii (studium historyczno-prawne)], *From the People Taken and for the People Established: A Theological Reflection on the Life and Ministry of the Priesthood* [Z ludzi wzięci i dla ludzi ustanowieni. Refleksja teologiczna na temat życia i posługi kapłańskiej], *Sanctuaries and Indulgences: When and What Indulgences Can Be Gained in Shrines?* [Sanktuaria i odpusty. Kiedy i jakie odpusty można zyskiwać w sanktuariach?]. This list of achievements highlights that the reviewed collection of texts is prepared by an experienced researcher, which naturally raises high expectations for the volume.

The Diocese of Tarnów during the interwar period was led by Bishop Leon Wałęga (1901-1933) and Bishop Franciszek Lisowski (1933-1939). In their letters, messages, and proclamations, both bishops addressed issues of faith and morality and supported the Polish state. Leon Wałęga completed his theological studies in Lviv and received his doctorate in theology from the Gregorian University in Rome. There, he was ordained as a presbyter on 24 March 1883. He served as vice chancellor of the Lviv Seminary, and was a professor at the University of Lviv. In 1930, he was awarded the Commander's Cross with Star of the Order of Polonia Restituta, and posthumously in 1933, the Grand Ribbon of the Order of Polonia Restituta. Franciszek Lisowski began his studies at the Faculty of Law of the Lviv University before transferring to the seminary. He was ordained a priest in Rome, later becoming a professor and dean of the Faculty of Theology at the Lviv University (including serving as dean for the 1917/1918 academic year), and rector of the Lviv Theological Seminary. He was awarded the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta by order of Polish President Ignacy Mościcki on 11 November 1936.

The texts included in the reviewed volume represent an important document of the time, serving as a testament to the Church's involvement in the life of society. The bishops, while addressing pastoral issues, also wrote extensively about national and social matters. The distinctiveness of these hierarchs' writings lies in their broad perspective on issues concerning human life. They addressed not only the Church's members but also those grappling with secular, family, social, and political issues. The texts collected by Robert Kantor exemplify ecclesiastical literature that offers an integrated view of humanity and the various social forms in which people function. The letters, messages, and proclamations of the bishops of Tarnów illustrate how the Church in Poland, while fulfilling its mission with theological arguments, expresses itself on both sacred – clearly – and profane matters.

The topics categorized as profane and addressed by the bishops of Tarnów included issues such as culture, politics, political partisanship and factionalism, national security, war and peace, international relations, post-war destruction, communism and crypto-communism, socialism, the workers' question, women's rights, fashion, gender equality, patriotism, nationalism, sects, unemployment, poverty, speculation, education, family life, and the media. Below, I provide five excerpts from the hierarchy's statements, which, in my opinion, remain relevant to European and Polish realities even a century after their initial publication.

“Every secularized state appropriates supreme power unto itself, aspiring to become a god for itself and its subjects. It considers itself the sole source of all law, arranging and regulating religious affairs according to its own dictates. In essence, the Lord God and the Church are granted only as much power over the faithful as the state permits. Since state laws are enacted by the Diet, and within the Diet, decisions are made by parties, party interests, rather than God's commandments, become the guiding principles for deputies' votes and actions. Each deputy is compelled to heed not their conscience, but the commands of their party. Additionally, each of the numerous parties interprets the good of society in its own way, not in God's way, leading to a lack of consensus. Deputies engage in conflicts, sometimes resorting to dishonest means, and parties seek out not always the most virtuous candidates, but the most cunning ones who can mislead others. Under these circumstances, the state becomes a stage for fierce party battles, characterized by insincerity, hypocrisy, broken promises, deceit, and even murder. It is neither pleasant nor safe to live in such a state. There is no true freedom, as the stronger party exerts terror, and there is no complete justice, as everything is bent to the will of the ruling party. Where law and order are lacking, no one is assured of their property or even their life. Moreover, a person's value is not determined by their honesty but by their membership in

a stronger or weaker party” [L. Wałęga, *Pastoral Letter for Lent of the Year of Our Lord 1923* (1923, no specific date), p. 47 in the book].

“More concerning than material misery is the political fervor. A kind of psychosis has gripped some, leading them to chase illusions of a better tomorrow. This is compounded by underground agitation, which spreads discontent and hatred. The difficult plight of the people has been exploited by communist elements and morally unprincipled individuals seeking to benefit from the resulting confusion. Fortunately, the general populace has remained morally and patriotically sound, viewing these temporary societal ailments with rationality. They are able to distinguish between the difficult conditions of life and the baseless, unprincipled lamentations that cloud public opinion” [F. Lisowski, *Proclamation to the Venerable Clergy of the Diocese of Tarnów* (05.07.1933), p. 127 in the book].

“In 1919 and 1920, Poland clearly demonstrated its rejection of communism. Our brave army, with its steadfast defense, protected the entire West and reaffirmed that Poland is ‘the bulwark of Christianity.’ Soviet Marshal Tukhachevsky himself stated, ‘If we had succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Poles, we would certainly not have stopped on Polish soil; we would have swept further like a storm. The Red Army will never forget that its goal is to ignite the embers of revolution throughout Europe.’ We trust in God that our soldiers will continue to thwart and crush all Bolshevik and communist ambitions” [F. Lisowski, *Pastoral Letter “Lights and Shadows in My Sheep Pen”* (01.03.1937), p. 241 in the book].

“Stalin once remarked that ‘the fight for the future is a fight for the youth.’ The Soviets have made significant efforts to instill a communist spirit in the hearts of Polish youth. Therefore, all those entrusted by God with the upbringing of youth, parents, schools, and the Church, must work together, mindful of their great and strict responsibility before God and society. They must carefully ensure that the spirit of unbelief does not poison the souls of children” [F. Lisowski, *Pastoral Letter “Lights and Shadows in My Sheep Pen”* (01.03.1937), pp. 249–250 in the book].

“At this historic moment, the Fatherland requires a financial sacrifice from us; a sacrifice so that the Polish nation, through its brave, adequately equipped army, can effectively defend our religious and national sanctities, state independence, and personal freedom. (...) Dear Brother Priests and my beloved flock of the diocese, let us assist our heroic army by willingly contributing a penny for the anti-aircraft defense fund. Let our contribution be more than just a token gesture, but a real and affordable

sacrifice. (...) May a great and unreservedly sacrificial love of the Fatherland ignite in our hearts. Let this love manifest in a solidarity that earns the admiration of other nations, demonstrated through the deed of financial sacrifice for anti-aircraft defense" [F. Lisowski, *Address Encouraging Sacrifices for Rearming the Polish Army* (1939, no specific date), p. 285 in the book].

Reading these texts reveals that the Church in Poland during the interwar period was engaged in more than just religious matters. Pastors, driven by theological reasons, showed concern for real people, whether believers or non-believers, living within a specific state. Their statements on social, political, or moral issues should be understood as expressions of concern and responsibility, both for the individual and the broader context of their lives, as well as for the nation that had regained and was consolidating its independence. Notably, this was a nation that in 1939 faced the imminent threat of war. The last of the quoted texts, *Address Encouraging Sacrifices for Rearming the Polish Army*, was written in early 1939 and called for financial support for the expansion of military aviation and anti-aircraft artillery. In this same text, Bishop Franciszek Lisowski mentioned the contributions made by the priests of the Diocese of Tarnów to the National Defense Fund¹ (FON): "I fully hope that the Dear Clergy of the Diocese of Tarnów, animated by the spirit of love of the Fatherland, who so willingly contributed to the FON, and so generously with 16,000 zlotys, will now themselves make a substantial donation to the anti-aircraft loan and encourage their faithful to this sacrificial act, which is so urgently needed today" (p. 285). Reading the *Address Encouraging Sacrifices for Rearming the Polish Army* raises simple yet profound questions: Would we today be able to collect funds in Polish churches for the rearmament of the Polish Army? Does the peace advocated by some preachers, who confuse the universality of the Church (Catholic Church) with globalism, align with what was previously seen in pacifism? Can we realize the creation of national security by adhering to the commandment to love our neighbor and the fourth commandment of the Ten Commandments? Russia's war against Ukraine has clearly shown that churches can and still do play a significant role beyond religious activities during times of war.

The book under review serves as a testimony to the life of the population in Poland between World War I and World War II, specifically in the period following the restoration of independence in 1918. It documents the activities of the Church within a small part of Polish territory, focusing on a single diocese. Additionally, it provides significant insights into the identity and condition of the population. This collection comprises meticulously compiled texts concerning the Church, people, and society, addressing issues of faith and national concerns, both "small" and "great," encompassing

1. Cf. Dekret Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 9 kwietnia 1936 r. o Funduszu Obrony Narodowej, Dz.U. 1936 nr 28 poz. 225, [Decree of the President of the Republic of Poland of 9 April 1936 on the National Defense Fund, Journal of Laws of 1936, No. 28, item 225].

sorrows and hopes. I concur with Professor Robert Kantor, who stated in the introduction to this volume, “I am convinced that the texts presented in this publication have lost none of their topicality” (p. 18). With great conviction, I recommend reading *Letters, Messages, and Proclamations...* especially to historians and enthusiasts, political scientists, security specialists, theologians, and cultural scholars.

Bibliography

Dekret Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 9 kwietnia 1936 r. o Funduszu Obrony Narodowej, Dz.U. 1936 nr 28 poz. 225, [Decree of the President of the Republic of Poland of 9 April 1936 on the National Defense Fund, Journal of Laws of 1936, No. 28, item 225].

Kantor R., *Listy, orędzia i odezwy biskupów tarnowskich w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, Wydawnictwo Biblos 2023.