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Sharing the Power: The Growth of Non-Traditional Religions in Poland

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Sharing the Power:
The Growth of Non-Traditional Religions in Poland
by Anna Zagorska

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The fall of Communism in East Central Europe in 1989 brought many changes to the region. Not only have many political systems collapsed, but the social order has been revolutionized as well. One of the most important changes throughout the region has come in the form of religious upheavals; most countries in East Central Europe have experienced a growth in various religious movements. Perhaps the most significant of these is Poland. While still being a nominally Catholic state, Poland has had to adapt to the rapid growth of "new" religious movements. According to the media, most Catholics are apprehensive about this development. Its existence, however, is testament to the fact that many people are either converting to, or making public, their non-traditional religious beliefs. This article will examine the rise of various religious groups, their impact on Polish society, and the prospects for future tolerance.

The Significance of Catholicism

In order to understand the significance of Catholicism to most Polish people today it is important to understand its history and impact on the Polish nation. Prior to the Partitions of the 18th century, Poland was a multi-ethnic and multi-denominational state. The country was governed by an independent szlachta which was free to choose its religious tenets. At that time these consisted of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Protestantism.¹ During the 125 years of foreign rule, some Polish patriots, using the ideology of romantic nationalism, bonded through Catholicism, a Christianity not practiced by the two partitioning powers who were the most feared and hated. It is at

¹Different variants of Protestantism were present in Poland before the Partitions. For a good overview see Janusz Tazbir, A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, trans. by A.T. Jordan (New York: Kosciuszko Foundation, Twayne Publishers, 1973).
this time that the idea of Poland being the "Christ of nations" was developed and disseminated to such an extent that it is still prevalent in the Polish national consciousness of today. Consequently, at the formation of the new Polish state in 1918, the majority of those identifying themselves as Polish were Catholic. It was at that time that Catholicism gained its predominance over all other religious confessions in Poland.

The interwar period in Poland can be characterized as one of instability and ethnic tensions. The nature of these tensions is still a matter of great debate but outside the scope of this article. Various nationalities, however, were legally recognized yet suffered discrimination for their religious beliefs. These included the Jews, the Orthodox and Uniate minorities, and the largely Protestant German minority. If one practiced the Roman version of Christianity, it was generally assumed that they were Polish. Although there were some conflicts between the various ethnic and religious groups, these did not come to a head before Hitler invaded the country, introducing an occupation which gave rise to a new kind of Poland after the War.

Similar to the years of partitioned Poland, Poles under Soviet domination rallied around their religion, setting themselves apart from their oppressors. In 1950, the state seized much of the Church's land and property and then imprisoned Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. During the protests of 1956 the Polish people demanded the release of Wyszynski and religious freedom. The Catholic Church in Poland won many rights under the communist regime, far more than any other religion in the Soviet Bloc. This was due to the Polish people's ardent equating of religion and national identity. However, this resulted in the false perception that all Poles were uniform. As Volenski and Grzymala-Moszczynska note:

It was stressed very clearly during the period of Communist rule that Poles form a nation that is homogenous in ethnic terms. The presence of minorities was not recognized. Existing differences were dismissed and given little importance.... Although this uniformity has been largely imposed on the social perception from the outside, it has significantly penetrated the national

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consciousness of a people like the Poles, who had been living under the influence of Communism.\(^4\)

This perception of homogeneity was not only applied to ethnicity but also to religion.

While the Church was recognized by the communist government from 1956 to 1989, it often functioned underground, opposing the illegitimate government and rallying for human rights. During the 1970s and the 1980s, the Catholic Church served as the main opposition body to the regime. Opposition meetings were held in various churches, and priests were often politically active.\(^5\) Perhaps the most important event in Polish Catholicism was the election of Karol Cardinal Wojtyla as pope. Under his new title, Pope John Paul II preached against communism and was an extremely important symbol for the Polish people. Another case of a clergyman voicing his political beliefs was that of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, who was killed by the secret police in 1984 for his political activity. These two figures, as well as countless others, perpetuated the identification with Catholicism as the only legitimate authority in communist Poland.

The fall of the communist regime in 1989 brought the Church out of the underground and it assumed a different role in Polish society. Instead of continuing to preach tolerance and freedom, Church authorities have attempted to turn Poland into a clerical state, having all people follow their dogma. But the birth of a pluralist society also resulted in a new wave of religious (or at times anti-religious) sentiments not always sympathetic to the Catholic Church. It is at this point that Poland has had to face major splits within this sphere as new religions began to emerge.

Non-Traditional Religious Groups in Poland

The social changes which took place in East Central Europe in 1989 were perfect for the growth of new religions. Sociologists often note that during social and cultural upheavals traditional religious norms are challenged and people tend to question their belief systems.\(^6\) In Poland, a society dominated by Catholicism, this

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\(^5\)see Ramet Cross and Commissar, pp. 64-67.

\(^6\)see Angela A. Aidala "Social Change, Gender Roles, and New Religious Movements." in
theory held true. Many people, and especially young people, were dissatisfied with the steps that society was taking and chose to look for solutions to their problems through non-traditional religions.

As mentioned above, non-Catholic groups have been present in Poland for some time. (see Appendix 2) The Orthodox, Jewish, and Protestant (most notably Lutheran and Calvinist) Churches have been there the longest and will not be the focus of this article as their presence and acceptance is based on more than religious freedom and tolerance. I will instead focus on the new religious groups that have emerged since 1989 such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, the Unification Church, Eastern religions, and some other relatively small groups.

**Jehovah's Witnesses**

The Jehovah's Witnesses were first organized by Charles Taze Russell in 1884 on the principle that theirs is the true realization of one faith mentioned by the apostle Paul in Ephesians 4:5. They do not believe in the separation of clergy and laity and spend much of their time proclaiming their faith and teaching in private homes. Full-time preachers are required to give at least 90 hours per month to spreading the faith and special pioneers and missionaries donate a minimum of 140 hours per month. It is the latter who go to foreign lands and establish new congregations. They have been enormously successful in Poland.

Jehovah's Witnesses are the third largest religious group in Poland today. However, their presence in the country dates back to 1935. The group was outlawed and persecuted under the communist government and did not see large growth until the 1980s. The Witnesses first received media attention in 1986 when it was reported that about 1,000 Jehovah's Witnesses were serving prison sentences for refusing to

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*Urban, *Mniejszosci religijne w Polsce, p. 131
enter the army.\textsuperscript{10} In 1989 the group registered under the Freedom of Belief Law and began to effectively spread their faith. By 1991, the Polish Press Agency reported that mass meetings of Jehovah's Witnesses were being held all over the country and were attended by some 42,000 believers.\textsuperscript{11} In 1994, their number was officially recorded at 11,000.\textsuperscript{12} Only two years later, that number had almost doubled to 200,000 members.\textsuperscript{13} It is clear that the Jehovah's Witnesses have had immense success in propagating their beliefs and finding converts in the new Poland.

\textit{Mormons}

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints was founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith in New York. The key idea in Smith's theology was the restoration of the Apostolic Church, whose seat would not be in the Holy Land but on the American continent.\textsuperscript{14} The Mormons have also been in Poland for quite some time and were outlawed until 1989. The first Mormon missionaries arrived in Poland in 1922,\textsuperscript{15} but had little success in their conversion activities. After 1989, the group has had more freedom to spread their faith, however, it has not been overly successful. In 1994 there were only 740 Poles who identified themselves as Mormons.\textsuperscript{16} However, the mostly American missionaries have faith that with time their mission will be fulfilled, one of them has expressed that:

'It's dirty work; we're building the foundation here for the Church to rise on later. And it will happen here, as it has happened in every nation we have gone into.'\textsuperscript{17}

Thus, judging from their zeal and legacy of successful conversions, it is likely that if the Mormons continue to proselytize in Poland, they will grow in number.

\textsuperscript{10}United Press International, 23 September 1986, on Nexis
\textsuperscript{11}PAP Polish Press Agency, 4 August 1991, on Nexis
\textsuperscript{12}The Warsaw Voice, 2 October 1994, on Nexis.
\textsuperscript{13}Polish News Bulletin, 12 August 1996, on Nexis.
\textsuperscript{14}J. Gordon Melton Encyclopedia of American Religions, p. 123-125.
\textsuperscript{15}Urban, Mniejszosc religijne w Polsce, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{16}The Warsaw Voice, 2 October 1994, on Nexis.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid..
Eastern Faiths

Several Eastern faiths have found a following in Poland, the most notable of these are the Buddhists and the Hare Krishnas.

Buddhism first appeared in Poland after the first World War but was destroyed during the second. However, it returned to Poland in 1972 and gained a large number of converts after 1981. There are several strands of Buddhism in Poland today including the Zen "Sangha," the Zen "Rinzai," and the "Sangha Kandzeon" which are Japanese versions of the religion; The Zen "Kwan Um," representing Korean Buddhism; and a mixture of the two the "Zen Kannon." Together their members numbered 1,096 in 1991.

Another important Eastern faith in Poland is the Hare Krishna religion. The Hare Krishna faith derived from Hinduism and was initiated in New York by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada in 1965 who then began teaching a tradition of ecstatic devotion developed in Bengal in the 16th century. The Hare Krishnas believe in a strict daily pattern of worship and espouse "an ascetic lifestyle... [which is] viewed as the antidote to modern materialism and as the counterpart of one's spiritual awareness." The movement has been quite successful in finding converts all over Eastern Europe.

The Hare Krishna Awareness Association has existed in Poland since the 1970's. It was officially registered as a religious denomination in 1990 and had 3,000 followers in 1995. One year later their membership swelled to over 10,000. Their most notable activities include festivals of dance and music, theater performances, philosophical lectures as well as the promotion of vegetarianism.

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20 Ibid.
21 Frank S. Mead *Handbook of Denominations*, p. 152.
22 Ibid.
24 *Polish Press Agency*, 10 August 1996, on *Nexis*.
The Unification Church of Reverend Sun Myung Moon

The Unification Church was founded in 1954 by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon in North Korea. This was preceded by Moon's 1935 vision of Jesus who told him to carry out the Messiah's unfinished work. The Unification Church's main belief is that Jesus Christ was killed prematurely and was not able to fulfill God's true will: that Christ would take a bride and form a family. According to the Church, the Messiah must be the model of an ideal person, one who has perfected his character. Christ was not able to become this model because the chosen people and their leaders did not follow him en masse. Therefore, Christ must come again and complete the salvation process. This can only happen in a "world where there is no sin, no Satan, and where humankind will live in peace and harmony as God's children." Perhaps the most well known aspect of the Unification Church is its marriage ritual. Church members are married at large mass ceremonies the largest of which included 360,000 couples.

The Unification Church has had followers in Poland since 1974 but, as is the case with most non-Catholic religions, it was not officially registered until 1990. In 1991 its membership consisted of 165 followers.

Non-traditional religious groups

It is to this category that the word 'cult' is most often applied. Stark and Bainbridge claim that a cult can be distinguished from other religious groups by its deviant nature as well as the fact that most of them have been founded relatively recently. Nelson defines cults as short-lived, loosely structured movements which have little organization and are composed of individuals who have had or seek personal mystical, psychic, or ecstatic experiences. Unlike mainstream religions, cults

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26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Urban, Mniejszości religijne w Polsce, p. 189.
concern themselves with the individual rather than with society at large. Cults are not merely offshoots of other religions, they form their own belief system which is often contradictory to that of the mainstream religions in a given society. Their formation is often a reaction or a rebellion to the established religion of a given land. While the term "cult" may be offensive to some, it will be used in this category with the meaning outlined above. The groups belonging to this classification are often relatively small in number but inspire fear within a society due to their doomsday prophesies and their alleged brainwashing of mostly young adults.

In 1993, the Ukrainian White Brotherhood, a doomsday cult, won 20 young converts in Eastern Poland. The Ukrainian White Brotherhood is led by Mariya Krivonogova Tsvigun and Yuri Krivonogov who believe that Tsvigun is Jesus Christ reincarnated and who had predicted that the world would end on November 14, 1993. The couple was tried in the Ukraine in 1995 and sentenced to prison, but Tsvigun continues to win followers today. It is unclear what motivated the Polish youth to join the Brotherhood, especially following the date of the false prophesy, but one must conclude that it was an act of some kind of rebellion.

Another strand of doomsday cults concerns itself with extraterrestrial activities. An example of these is the cult of Antrovis, a self-professed extraterrestrial who claimed that spaceships would help Poles escape from earth in the apocalypse of 1999 (a classic date for millenarian doomsday movements). Some of Antrovis' other predictions included the assassination of Pope John Paul II and the growth of space radiation which would spread skin disease, both of these were predicted to happen in 1994. In 1994, the Cult of Antrovis had 42 members but offered courses that were attended by some six hundred people. The cult voluntarily shut down in 1994. It is interesting that the death of the members of the Heaven's Gate cult in California (a group with similar beliefs to Antrovis) received the most international press in Poland.

33Ramet, Nihil Obstat, pp. 312-316.
34Ibid., p. 324.
35Ibid., p. 325.
and Mexico, two Catholic countries whose populations believe in the more spiritual and fantastic side of Catholicism.\textsuperscript{36}

Other cult movements that can be associated with a reaction or a continuation of Polish Catholicism are Satanism and Occultism. Satanism is classified in the cult category because, while it is based on some teachings of Catholicism, it does not worship the same deity and Occultism's use of magic, and belief in psychic phenomena, also places it in this category. Satanism was present in Poland in the interwar years and resurfaced in the mid 1980's. By 1991 the country had about 20,000 Satanists.\textsuperscript{37} The occult has a certain pop appeal in Polish society today as well. Ramet notes that "this has taken the form, inter alia, of the staging of a paranormal festival in Nowa Huta, sponsored by the Polish monthly magazine \textit{Out of This World}... and the popularization of a ghoulish Devil Museum of Kredytowa Street in Warsaw."\textsuperscript{38} Theosophists and Anthrosophists, both occult religions, are also present in Poland today.\textsuperscript{39}

Another group, similar to the Branch Davidians of Texas, was the "Healing through the Holy Spirit by Touch" cult. It was led by Bogdan Kacmajor who claimed to be the new messiah. The members of the cult lived according to Kacmajor's strict rules: women entering the group would immediately have to marry men chosen by Kacmajor, they would go through childbirth with no medical assistance, children born within the group were not officially registered, and they were not allowed to contact the outside world. In 1993, Kacmajor was arrested and imprisoned after a prolonged resistance to the police.\textsuperscript{40}

Some non-traditional religious groups can spread paranoia and be dangerous to the lives of their members. Many of them take on adolescents as their converts and prey upon their naivete. Often, illegal activity, especially that related to money, is associated with cults. These are the typical fears that surround non-traditional religions. However, the majority of the new religious movements in Poland have not

\textsuperscript{36}The \textit{Los Angeles Times}, 31 March 1997, on Nexis.
\textsuperscript{37}Ramet, \textit{Nihil Obstat}, p. 325-326.
\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., p. 329.
\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 328.
\textsuperscript{40}The \textit{Warsaw Voice}, 28 May 1995, on Nexis.
been accused of such illegal and immoral acts, but have lived peacefully within the society. They have not deserved the rancor that has emerged, especially from within the ranks of the Catholic Church.

Catholic Reactions to the Non-Traditional Religious Movements

As has been shown in the preceding section, the presence of non-traditional religions is not a new phenomena in Polish society. What is new, however, is their legal status and ability to preach in public. In 1989, the Freedom of Conscience and Belief Act was signed in Poland. It stipulates that all Churches and religious groups in the country share the same rights and duties in accordance with the constitutional principle of freedom of religious belief. At the time, Poland had 37 churches and religious groups,\(^4\) and only 15 of these were recognized by the state.\(^2\) The Freedom of Belief Act also stipulates that in order to register and be a state accepted association, a group must submit only the signatures of 15 members, the group's address and a description of its doctrine.\(^3\) It is on the basis of this legislation that the various religious groups outlined above can freely operate. The Act, granted, which is the most lenient in Europe, seems to most Western observers to merely codify a natural right. It has been hotly debated in Poland, however, to this day.

The rapid growth of religious minorities and especially the non-traditional ones has inspired fear among some Poles not used to diversity. For the first time in recent history it is legal for any group to preach and proselytize in Poland. Not only does this endanger the tradition of Catholicism, it also allows people to interact with those they have always considered as being different. Prejudice and the irrational fears that go along with it have emerged in Polish society. These fears have led to suggestions of amending the Freedom of Conscience and Belief Act. One proposal would require that a group submit 50 rather than 15 member signatures in order to register, while another would limit the registration to groups who have been practicing their faith in Poland.

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\(^1\) The Xinhua General Overseas News Service, 5 April 1989, on Nexis.
\(^2\) The Warsaw Voice, 28 May 1995, on Nexis.
\(^3\) Ibid.
for more than 50 years. The second proposal would make it impossible for new religions to be accepted in the country. It would also invalidate the legality of many peaceful groups such as the Buddhists and the Hare Krishnas. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, a Polish sociologist, noted that the Catholic Church believes in tolerance

"which is good as long as it does not concern the matters prohibited by religion. Therefore, it must not apply to homosexuals, abortions or sects and other cults. According to the Catholic Church, total tolerance is evil and it is reserved for the bishops to tell the people what can be tolerated and what must not be."

In the last eight years the Catholic Church has fought to preserve its hegemony over the Polish people. Its most notorious actions include the introduction of religious education into public schools, attempts to ban all kinds of abortion, and the insistence that the media adhere to "Christian values." The Church has been successful in obtaining most of its goals because of the passage of a 1989 law which granted it the status of a juridical person and stipulated that it has the right to build places of worship, hospitals, radio stations, and other facilities that it deems necessary.

Moreover, in 1992 Poland signed a treaty with the Vatican known as the Concordat which stipulates that all religious intolerance will be eliminated in Poland. However, it often appears to verify the Church's primary position in Polish religious life.

Some representatives of the Church feel that it is their institution that is actually being discriminated against. In 1997, Krzysztof Krol, the Deputy Chairman of the Confederation for an Independent Poland and a rampant nationalist, stated that the government was unfairly biased against the Church.

One sign of discrimination against the Catholic Church is the SLD's [the Social Democratic Party] and UP's [Labour Union] opposition towards placing grades from religious instruction on school report cards. This... shows that SLD and UP do not respect democratic principles, including the principle of equality before law, since earlier, the same parties granted other religions in Poland the
very rights which they now wish to deny the Catholic Church.\(^{49}\)

It is not clear to which groups Krol was referring, but his statement clearly shows the paranoia of the Catholic Church and some of its members.

One of the most vocal critics of the newly emergent religious minorities is Father Tadeusz Rydzyk who in his radio program, Radio Maryja, preaches against all those who do not accept Catholicism. Father Rydzyk has gathered a large following of listeners, known as the Radio Maryja Family, who agree with his intolerance. Father Rydzyk has devoted much time to condemning all religious minorities in Poland but he has been most concerned with the growth of non-traditional religious groups. His radio show is not merely a pulpit against non-Catholic people, he has also used it for the dissemination of his political views. He has gone further than any clergyman in condemning the politicians who support abortion rights by calling them traitors and criminals and by publicly stating that their heads should be shaved, as was done during the war to "women who cohabited with the Hitlerites."\(^{50}\) Father Rydzyk's fanaticism has been criticized by Church authorities and he has been ordered to appear before a public prosecutor to discuss his statements.

While many Polish people disagree with the Church's power over society, it continues to act as if it has (or should have) the full support of the population. In fact, although most Poles have maintained their Catholic faith, a majority do not support some of the Church's actions. In a poll taken in 1996, 85.8 per cent of the respondents claimed to be against the direct involvement of the Church in public life, 60 per cent were against the Church's ban on abortion, and 84 per cent claimed that Catholics are not discriminated against in society. However, 66 per cent were in favor of the presence of religious symbols in public places, including schools.\(^{51}\)

**Secular Reactions to the Non-traditional Religious Groups.**

It is not only the Church which has attempted to curb the spread of new religions, various factions of the government have tried to contain them as well. Under

\(^{49}\) Polish News Bulletin, 4 June 1997, on Nexis.
\(^{50}\) The British Broadcasting Corporation, 3 December 1997, on Nexis.
the Freedom of Conscience and Belief Act, the Bureau of Denominations can refuse to register religious organizations if their statutes are contrary to public safety laws. Therefore, on the basis of this law, a group like the Satanists can be and was denied the right to legally practice their religion in Poland.\footnote{The Warsaw Voice, 2 October 1994, on Nexis.} It also has been shown that minority religions have suffered more economically. In 1992, minority religions reported that workers of non-Catholic faiths were more likely to be dismissed from failing enterprises than Catholics.\footnote{US Department of State, 13 March 1993, on Nexis.}

There have also been discussions in the Polish Sejm regarding the growth of new religious movements. In 1996 Sejm Deputy Ryszard Nowak criticized the Freedom of Conscience and Belief Act saying that it was naive and did not protect the Polish people from the dangers of non-traditional religions. He proposed showing a regular program on public television to "educate" the public, as well as the introduction of special classes in elementary and secondary schools on the dangers of cults and sects.\footnote{Polish News Bulletin, Human Rights Paper for 1992. 21 November 1996, on Nexis.} The Sejm did not support his proposals.

There have also been allegations that the Polish authorities have persecuted groups which they have deemed dangerous. For example, Sheik Ryszard Ahmed Rusnak, the spiritual leader of Poland's Shiite Muslim community, claimed that the local police had assaulted him in 1994. He said that the police officers had held a pistol to his head, threatened to kill him and then arrested him and held him without formally charging him with a crime. He also claimed that in 1990 someone had fired shots at his house from a passing police car. The police vehemently disagreed with the accusations and claimed that they had arrested Rusnak on suspicion of a hit and run accident.\footnote{The Warsaw Voice, 9 October 1994, on Nexis.} Some of these accusations are most likely false but they show that some religious minorities do have a fear of the government.

Orthodox Christians and Jews have also been victims of violence. In February 1990, vandals desecrated ten crucifixes and fifty two tombs in the Warsaw Orthodox
Cemetery, and set fire to several Orthodox buildings.\textsuperscript{56} Antisemitic acts have also been present in post-1989 Poland. In September 1991, "six youths vandalized the entrance of a synagogue and attacked one of the Jewish community staff members there."\textsuperscript{57} In 1997, there was another attack on the Warsaw Synagogue. On February 25th a firebomb was thrown into the building after an anonymous bomb threat had been telephoned to the Jewish foundation two days before. Rabbi Michael Schudrich said that he had called for police protection but that he received no response.\textsuperscript{58}

However, the "new" non-traditional religions discussed above have not been the victims of violence or social outcry. Of course people complain that their children have been brainwashed by various groups and that their money has been stolen, but it is interesting that it is Jewish, Protestant and Orthodox buildings and monuments that have been vandalized by criminals, rather than the ones dedicated to religions viewed as cults. It is clear that there are tensions between various religious groups in Poland, but it is the Catholic Church and some of its members, rather than the society at large, who have felt a particular fear of the new religious groups.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Since 1989, Poland has made clear progress in democratization. With this political and social transformation certain issues not discussed in the past have come out. These include religious minorities gaining a voice in a previously monoreligious state. While the majority of these religious groups are not harming the society, the Catholic Church is vehemently opposed to all of them. It is interesting that after years of prejudice, the Church has accepted the presence of "old" religions, such as Orthodoxy, Protestantism, Islam and Judaism. However, the Church is vehemently protesting the emergence of new religious movements.

While the majority of Polish people have remained nominally Catholic, they have not wholeheartedly supported the Church's hysteria when it comes to non-

\textsuperscript{57}ABC-CLIO, Inc. DATE, 1997, on Nexis.
\textsuperscript{58}Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 26 February 1997, on Nexis.
traditional religions. It is clear that large scale attacks on religious buildings and monuments have been against the more firmly established faiths. However, this does not mean that many Poles are not weary of the new religious groups. The prejudice and fear that surrounds them has not turned into violence yet. I believe this is because non-traditional religions are still largely alien to most Catholic Poles and therefore do not have an immediate influence on their lives. Unfortunately, judging from actions toward already accepted non-Catholics, once the various religious groups discussed in this paper fully establish themselves in Poland, peaceful coexistence with Polish Catholics is unlikely.

The Catholic Church's central role in Poland, however, must be questioned. As was outlined above, the Church does not promote tolerance, but rather seeks to maintain its monopoly over the spiritual lives of the people. This is disconcerting because it could lead the country to a full-fledged theocracy which is likely to undermine the newly emerging democracy. If Poland is to join the institutions of the West, its policies toward religious minorities must remain liberal and not be manipulated by the Catholic Church.
Appendix A: Principal Denominations in Poland, 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF MEMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic Church</td>
<td>34.79 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autocephalous Orthodox Church</td>
<td>507,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehovah's Witnesses</td>
<td>111,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran Church</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish-Catholic Church</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariavites</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal Denominations</td>
<td>17,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh-Day Adventists</td>
<td>8,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>5,447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>5,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvinist Church</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>3,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists, Hare Krishna, and Zen</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish and Karaites</td>
<td>1,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormons, Bible students, others</td>
<td>5,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other beliefs, esoteric and scientological communities</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix B: Non-Traditional Religious Movements' First Arrival in Poland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Date of First Presence in Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of the Latter-Day Saints</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Scientists</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehovah's Witnesses</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism and Zen Religions</td>
<td>1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hare Krishna</td>
<td>1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Religious Movements</td>
<td>1970s and 1980s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59 The Warsaw Voice, 2 October 1994, on Nexis.
60 Urban, Mniejszosci religijne w Polsce, pp. 130-133