

The Catholic Church as a Prominent Transnational Actor in the International Political System

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Submitted to
Central European University
Department of International Relations European Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor Thomas Fetzer

Word Count: 15,310

Budapest, Hungary
2012

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Abstract

The international political, economic, and social systems have been constantly changing, and evolving over the course of history, and an increasingly more important member of that community are transnational actors. Transnational actors are becoming more involved, more influential, and are crucial to the success and stability of world politics, specifically the Catholic Church. How has the Catholic Church asserted itself as a valid, powerful, and prominent transnational actor in the world system is the main question this research paper aims to address. Through the evaluation of different theoretical framework, and literature on transnational actors capacity to involve themselves and impact international politics, it will become clear how the Church fits into these molds. Furthermore, the demonstration of the Catholic Church's ability to act on an international stage will be analyzed through the case study of its actions and impact in Poland following World War II, with a specific focus on 1979-1989 and the evacuation of communism from the country.

Introduction

Transnational actors are growing in importance throughout the international political system, and the vast array of actors involved is also increasing. More than just the numbers and variety of transnational actor is their contribution and impact on the subject of international politics, economics, and social issues. Examining transnational actors impact on these scenarios is one of the main objectives of this paper, and that will be done through an assessment of the international relations theoretical framework, followed by a concrete example of this actor's prowess. This paper looks to address the impacts of one actor in particular, and that is the Catholic Church, and how influential the Church has been.

To demonstrate the impact of one particular actor, it is first appropriate to examine the idea of transnational actors within the realm of international relations theory, to demonstrate their importance. This will be done primarily through the use of social science scholar's work, and the realization the complex interdependence theory is becoming more important in the world of international relations. Through works by Risse, Keohane and Nye, Keck and Sikkink, George Crane and Norman Angell along with others, the complex interdependence theory takes shape, and is fundamental to the understanding the importance and impact that transnational actors have on the international system. In a response to realism, the theory exercises the need for transnational entities in the world system to cooperate, work together, and not necessarily use the military force so often associated with realist theorists. Working together with other states and through other channels (transnational actors) is becoming more important in a world where technology and information are traded with ease, and more societies are becoming intertwined across state and international borders.

Building off of the theoretical approaches to transnational actors, a look into the workings of transnational actors, and how that further impacts the world political system. Using scholars Keck and Sikkink along with Risse-Kappen and their various works a diagram of how transnational actors impact society is laid out. Through the different networks and links established between organizations, states and different people, the wide spread use of transnational actors becomes very apparent. Through various communication sources, and information transfers the global infiltration of transnational actors, becomes apparent. The Catholic Church is a unique religious organization that fits the framework of a transnational actor, plus more. Meaning the Church is both a religious institution, and the Vatican is a sovereign state, and part of the Church's uniqueness come from the Pope, the leader of both church and state and his tendency to influence millions around the world, along with international organizations such as the United Nations.

The case study for this research paper is focused on Poland following World War II and the difficulties of rebuilding a country, all the while being oppressed by the Soviets and communism. A historical approach is taken to briefly explaining the political and economic situation in Poland in the second half of the 20th century, and a likewise approach is taken to understand the Catholic Church's role in Poland during this time. The role of the Church in this context meaning how it was perceived, how Catholic was the country of Poland, and how throughout the turbulent years did the citizens of Poland react to religious tendencies.

Finally the idea that the Catholic Church can become a prominent actor in transnational affairs is highlighted and demonstrated through the actions of the Church in Poland, specifically during the late 1970's and 1980's. It will be shown how the Church was monumental in freeing Poland from the grips of communism, and how through the various networks, lines of

communications, and elite individuals, the Church was the main player in this difficult political situation. Through various historical accounts, as well as interviews, newspapers, magazines, and most importantly the analysis of Pope John Paul II's speeches, it will be proven that without the Church's and Pope John Paul II's help the revolution and change that turned Poland around would not have been as successful. Through the Catholic Church's actions, and words during the 1970's and 1980's a country was motivated, sufficiently communicated with, suitably supplied¹, properly financed, and eventually given political and social freedom again. This study and research paper will show why the Catholic Church should be considered one of the most prominent transnational actors in international system.

¹ Supplied with both parcels containing food, clothing, and other essentials, as well as supplied with machinery and other advancement in technology.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

There is no doubt throughout the world of international politics and international relations that the impact transnational and multinational actors have been profound and expansive, especially following the cold war. As the world continues to globalize at a steady rate the impact that these transnational actors have upon society continues to grow and their influence is undeniable. This is portrayed through a quote from Reinicke in Thomas Risse's chapter on Transnational Actors and World Politics that exemplifies and demonstrates the importance of these transnational actors in an international settings, as he states, "...for global governance to succeed, governments will [also] have to enlist the active cooperation of non state actors".² This quote sets up the attempt to exhibit the importance and necessity for transnational actors in an ever-growing international political world, in many different aspects and sectors.

Chapter 1.1: Transnational Actors in International Relations Theory

There are those that believe the non-state or transnational actors are not only of importance to the international community, but are in fact gaining more importance in comparison to the average state actor.³ With the relationship between non state actors and state actors growing more important, naturally the relationship grows more complex as well, and because of this maturing relationship it has led theorists and other social scientists to figure out and explain the growth of transnational actors on the world stage. One of the most popular theories to emerge following World War II was the idea of realism or real politik, which gained momentum rapidly following the war. The basis of this theory, and not to get in to much detail,

² Thomas Risse, *Handbook of International Relations*, (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2002), chap. 13.

³ Muhittin Ataman, "The Impact of Non-State Actors on World Politics: A Challenge to Nation-States," *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, 2, no. 1 (2003), <http://www.alternativesjournal.net/volume2/number1/ataman2.htm> (accessed May 1, 2012).

but instead focus on the aspects that will be disputed, are that there is no actor more important than the state, they are unitary actors and strive to protect their own national interest. Another large part of realism that coincides or contradicts with the idea of important transnational actors is just the opposite, that sovereign states are the only true players in the international system⁴. The claim is that all of these non state and multinational actors have little influence if any at all, including transnational corporations, NGO's, along with other forms of cross border actors. There are other social scientists and theorists that tend to disagree with claims about the role of transnational actors in the international system, and a look at their findings and theories will be appropriate to further demonstrate the influence of these multinational actors.

One of the most prominent theories drawn up by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane is the idea of complex interdependence. Before delving into their ideas of complex interdependence it is important to realize where this idea originates. Basically they were upset with assumptions that realism made that were mentioned in the above paragraph, and likened the ideas to a more ideal way of world politics instead of actuality. Through the assumptions of realism as was pointed out, and clarified by Nye and Keohane the use of transnational actors is unimportant, and the potential for them to simply not exist is prevalent as well. They are quick to point out however, that their model of complex interdependence is ideational, and that the reality of world politics in the international system is at best an average of both theories. However, this should not

⁴ Julian Korab-Karpowic, and Edward Zalta, ed. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 2011. s.v. "Political Realism in International Relations." <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/> (accessed May 2, 2012).

undermine the importance of the theory and in particular the relevance of transnational actors on the world stage.⁵

This idea of interdependence, which at its core and based off a simple definition is the idea that two parties are mutually dependent on each other for needs of some sort. These needs could range from economic to political, and many varying degrees in between in terms of international relations. The parties involved can also vary, they could be states working together, different institutions, or a combination, but what is important to remember is that these relationships exist, and they are fundamental to the international community. Now this idea of interdependence may seem recent through the works of Nye and Keohane, it actually dates back about a century ago to another scholar named Sir Norman Angell. He was a distinguished author, a Nobel Peace Prize recipient and a member of the British Parliament. He wrote several books, but it is claimed he was one of the first to recognize this interdependence among international actors⁶.

In Norman Angell's book *Arms and Industry: The Foundations of International Polity*, one of the first ideas about interdependence is seen. While this book focuses more on economic interdependence, there is no doubt a link can be drawn a bit further extending past only economics and infiltrating the international political system as a whole. There is a great quote from Sir Norman Angell's work that highlights the importance of interdependence, and can serve as the basis for continuing to explore this complex idea of interdependence on a transnational level. Angell says,

⁵ Robert Keohane, and Joseph Nye, "Interdependence in World Politics," chap. 4 in *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy: A Reader*, ed. George Crane (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁶ The Official Web Site of the Nobel Prize, "Sir Norman Angell - Biography." Accessed May 2, 2012. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1933/angell-bio.html

*"The boat was leaky, the sea heavy, and the shore a long way off. It took all the efforts of the one man to row, and of the other to bail. If either had ceased both have drowned. At one point the rower threatened the bailer that if he did not bail with more energy he would throw him overboard; to which the bailer made the obvious reply that, if he did, he (the rower) would certainly drown also. And as the rower was really dependent upon the bailer, and the bailer upon the rower, neither could use force against the other."*⁷

This again is one of the first books that presented this idea of interdependence to the international community, and this quote demonstrates that need for dependence in many different scenarios.

Interpreting this quote, it can be applied to the idea of the international community today and will apply to the concepts Nye and Keohane explain (which will be discussed next) quite well. First the obvious is that no one can survive alone in an unforgiving situation, and it can be said that the world of international politics is quite unforgiving. While the person rowing the boat seems to be and the assumption is that they are the most important because they are heading and steering the boat in the right direction, it becomes obvious without secondary help from the bailer, the boat would go no where. This is akin to the international system today, and a realist point of view, where states are presumed to be the primary actors, controlling the direction of the world system and leading their country in the right direction. In fact when the layers are peeled back we can see a copious amount of alternate actors supporting the state from many different angles, and these actors are the transnational and non state players in the international system. While this quote and story might seem elementary it was a breakthrough at the time, and setup

⁷ Norman Angell , *Arms and Industry: The Foundations of International Polity* , (New York & London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1914)<http://ia600306.us.archive.org/34/items/armsindustrystud00angeiala/armsindustrystud00angeiala.pdf> (accessed May 5, 2012), 18.

the theories we have today on this interdependence idea, and aimed to demonstrate there is more than just the state involved in world politics.

The more conventional and modern understanding of the interdependent theory and we begin with the men who have done lots of work on this idea and theory, the previously mentioned Nye and Keohane. Nye and Keohane have three distinct principles of complex interdependence, which each attribute to the idea transnational actors are growing more important, and in opposition to realism, that states cannot function as solitary players in the world system today. Prior to Nye and Keohane however was a gentleman named Richard Cooper who was said to also have started or at least progressed the work of the interdependency theories, and in fact many of his points are in agreement with what will see from the Nye and Keohane ideas⁸.

There are three characteristics⁹ of the theory, but the most important characteristic of this complex interdependency theory is important for explaining the increasing role and impact of transnational actors and their behaviors.. The point is that societies are connected through multiple channels according to Nye and Keohane. These multiple channels they refer to are ties between government elites coupled with formal foreign office ties. There are also informal attachments between non-governmental organizations and most importantly for the purposes of this paper, the transnational organizations. They go on to further clarify and analyze these points, saying that the interstate ties are those that belong to realist thinkers, and usually are thought of be the normal channels. To briefly summarize Nye and Keohane's other arguments the second

⁸ George Crane, "Interdependence in World Politics," chap. 4 in *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy: A Reader*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 107-110.

⁹ The alternate characteristics of the theory are not particularly relevant to the impact of transnational actors.

type of channel is transgovernmental, and during this the idea that states act as consistent parts (which is the realist point of view) is dismissed. Finally the third summation is transnational where the realist idea of the states being the only actors is found incorrect, due to the high volume of transnational firms, corporations, banks, and other organizations¹⁰.

The attached table¹¹ from Nye and Keohane's piece better illustrates and demonstrates the differences between the political processes of a realist thinker and a complex interdependent thinker. These have been mostly discussed, but it is important again to point out the use of transnational actors in their comparisons, and how realism utilizes them very seldom, whereas the complex interdependent theory finds them much more useful. Based off of this theory it is clear that there is no correct answer, but it is clear in an ever-growing modern world these non-state and transnational actors are becoming increasingly important and visible to the international community.

Chapter 1.2: Transnational Actors in the current World System

The next item on the agenda that deserves some attention is to differentiate the various types of transnational actors that are active today in the international system, not only political but in a variety of sectors. Following World War II there was a globalization surge, and coupled with that was a dramatic increase in the number of substantial and influential transnational actors. Some of the most notable transnational actors that were setup following the war were, the United Nations, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the World Bank, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the European Community. These organizations formed following the war and have continued to grow, expand and become even more influential and powerful, as they

¹⁰ Keohane and Nye, chap. 4.

¹¹ Appendix A.

continue to be important and vital to international politics today.¹² These organizations and others like it continue to grow and cross country and continent boundaries, globalizing the world we live in. Some of the most popular general types of transnational actors include, but are not limited to, multinational firms or corporations, party associations, non-governmental organizations, advocacy networks, social movements and others. Through all of these different types of actors we will see the true impact that transnational actors have on the world of international politics and governance.

Chapter 1.2.1: Advocacy Networks

A major part of transnational actors presence across country and continent borders are advocacy networks. These networks deal with issues concerning politics, economics and social concerns while at the same time aiming to strengthen public policy. The core basis to the advocacy networks is to cross country and state borders all the while connecting those states with civil societies, each other, and alternate international or transnational actors and organizations. Through the different links and connections these networks¹³ create influences upon public policy, politics, and resource allocation, with each being involved in the advocacy networks in different spheres¹⁴.

¹² Christer Jonsson, "Democracy Beyond the Nation State? Transnational Actors and Global Governance," *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 110, no. 1 (2008): 83, <http://www.transdemos.se/publications/transdemosStvTidskr.pdf> (accessed May 3, 2012).

¹³ The list of organizations that are involved in the advocacy networking on international terms are: Non-Governmental organizations, both international and domestic; local social movements; research and think tank departments; the media, Churches; trade unions; parts of intergovernmental organizations; and even parts of the governments or parliaments.

¹⁴ Margaret Keck, and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in Regional and International Politics," *International Social Science Journal: UNESCO* (1999): 89-100, http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic446176.files/Week_7/Keck_and_Sikkink_Transnational_Advocacy.pdf (accessed May 2, 2012).

According to the authors Keck and Sikkink the most prominent type of organization involved with these advocacy networks are the NGO's¹⁵. Being part of these advocacy transnational groups offers many benefits for those who are willing to participate. First of all the sharing of information may be the most important, as it is information that each is seeking, and with an expedited process within a network it makes accessing that information simpler. There is also substantial research about how the new speed of technology and social networking are becoming increasingly valuable to these networks, but that is a different topic all together. Another shared ideal between these advocacy networks are values. Working with groups who better understand or appreciate the values being offered generally makes a smoother cross border communication. Finally the other major advantage to networking on a transnational level is the exchange of services. These services do not only occur between organizations and states, but also between groups within the advocacy network ensuring the full use of the range of all networks. All of these exchanges again work toward influencing public policy along with other social, political, and economic issues¹⁶.

There is a growing observation that these networks are expanding and so is the transnational aspect of them, as almost every network consists of non state actors, or actors who are acting separate from the states interests¹⁷. This is one of the most important parts of the understanding of these networks along with the fact that their credible influence in the world is growing and infiltrating public and state policies. According to Beland and Orenstein in their

¹⁵ The reason NGO's are usually the center of the advocacy networks is because of their previously established reliability and reputation in the international community. These NGO's are usually the center of the information for a network and many times the communication lines and services run through the NGO's and that is why generally they are looked at as the main transnational actor in these networks.

¹⁶ Keck and Sikkink, p. 89-100

¹⁷ Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Non-state Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), chap. 1.

article on transnational policy not only have these transnational actors and networks been influential in policy decisions, but also they are the most important across the world in many different countries. Their success has stirred debates about the actual importance but we have seen a sharp influence and rise in policy setting in many different sectors including, science, monetary, and economic policy. These characteristics and assumptions are not limited to the transnational networks but also to individual organization along with individuals themselves having impressive input in different policy decision and situations¹⁸.

Chapter 1.2.2: Communication Links and Finance

One of the most crucial parts to a successful transnational organization is clear communication within the advocacy network of groups, as well as alternate organizations or states. As the future expands and technology grows these communication links become easier, and more frequent, compared to the 20th century, and years prior. The media, both news outlets and current social media can play large parts in transnational actors communication links between states, citizens and other organizations. The information can now be transported faster, adapted quicker, and in the end produce better results, all the while remaining cost effective for these large organizations.

Enhanced communication is part of the reason transnational actors are becoming more and more prominent in the international system today. Prior to all of the 20th and 21st century technology, states were able to control the communication between the people and the government, including outside actors. An example of this could be the iron curtain, where all communication from the outside world was monitored, and generally not accepted. It became a struggle, and really too much of a hassle for transnational actors to attempt to communicate with

¹⁸ Daniel Beland, and Mitchell Orenstein, "How Do Transnational Policy Actors Matter?": 9-19, http://www.cccg.umontreal.ca/rc19/pdf/beland-d_rc192009.pdf (accessed May 2, 2012).

people behind the iron curtain, therefore undermining their success, and overall need. As the times progress, the communication between these actors and society have opened up and are generally no longer controlled by the state. Even those countries that do attempt to control communication links have found there are countless forms of media and communication technology in existence for any real control to be monitored. The spread of communication links has enabled the transnational actor to become more important, and through clear concise links, more can be done to help the society, state, or other organizations.¹⁹

Some of the most important communication is among the transnational actors themselves, within their advocacy groups, the tighter and more diverse the group, the more information that needs to be transported, and the more important communication becomes. One strategy that has been implemented, and it is something that will be seen in the Polish Case study to come, is the idea of social mobilization, protest, and pressure. It is important for transnational actors to shape their information in ways that get society to mobilize, and react in a positive way that will be effectively communicated to the target audience. Again the Polish case study of this is a direct example of an actor mobilizing and using pressure, and protest to communicate more effectively with a stubborn regime. Using this idea of argument or protest is the best way for transnational actors to convey their message to the citizens, and then have the citizens' act upon it.²⁰

In terms of financial assistance, part of the transnational actors job is to properly finance different groups, particularly within the advocacy networks. Without sounding too elementary it is clear all transnational activity cost money, time, and valuable resources, which is why it is important for these actors to be well funded, and provide funds to those who are being assisted. It

¹⁹ Howison, Phil. "The Decline of the Nation-State." Accessed May 17, 2012.
<http://pacificempire.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/TheDeclineOfTheNationState.pdf>.

²⁰ Thomas Risse, *Handbook of International Relations*, (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2002), chap. 13.

all comes down to ease, the ease of getting the message across, and ideas implemented, and financing different groups is the first step in achieving those goals.²¹

Chapter 1.3: The Catholic Church as a Transnational Actor

The Catholic Church is unlike any other religious group in terms of transnational actions, and overall international influence. The Catholic Church is a unique actor, and has been around for centuries and centuries, and ever since the beginning has demonstrated its ability to transcend borders, and states, all the way from the domination of the Holy Roman Empire, to the establishment of their own country. Vatican City, the seat of the Pope, and center of the Catholic Church is unlike any other religious holy site, because apart from the beauty and history associated with it, it is a sovereign state, and just like any other country has a leader, territory, and government. Along with the creation of a papal state come the necessity, again like every other state in the international system to acquire a foreign policy procedure, or at least be constantly aware of and involved in other states actions²². Even though the Church has their own state and everything accompanying it, there are always questions as to whether it is actually a viable transnational actor, or if it has any real influence on the world order, and more specifically the political situation of various countries. As will be shown later, the Catholic Church is very important and influential in times of political distress, but I digress, next a continued look at the idea of the Catholic Church and Holy See as a transnational actor.

²¹ Beland, Daniel, and Mitchell Orenstein. Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, "Transnational Actors and Public Policy." Accessed May 18, 2012. http://www.schoolofpublicpolicy.sk.ca/_documents/_publications_reports/working_paper_series/WPS5_Beland_AUGUST2010.pdf.

²² It is important for the Church to keep an eye on all of the countries the best they can, but those with a Catholic majority are obviously the ones that receive the most attention, from South America, to Europe, to Australia, and Asia, as will be highlighted in the upcoming sections.

Religious groups are beginning to play an increasingly important role as transnational actors, and the leading religious institution in this regard is the Vatican and Catholic Church. The Catholic Church is present around the world with followers, Church's, priests, and clergy members in all corners of the world, which initially makes them a transnational actor, with impacts on the local communities in countless countries. The Church however is emerging as a transnational actor in other non-religious activities and situations, including political, economic, and social issues. The Church utilizes its social teachings, moral authority, and non-violence techniques to inspire, and give power to society and individuals to act.²³ The Catholic Church is a unique transnational actor because of its respect, and position within world politics. The Church is an official observer at the United Nations, showing its importance and demonstrating the respect it receives from the international community as a multinational actor.

The Church utilizes existing operations working through them to ensure success in the endeavor. This could be in the form of Charities, NGO's, social movements, transitional periods and as we will see shortly, solidarity movements in Poland during the 1980's. The Church has followers, and institutions across borders, and the teachings of the Church have permeated and influenced countless other organizations that act in the name of the Church, and in non-violent ways. Through the advocacy networks that the Church is a part of, to the local parishes serving the community, to the groups that act on the Church's social teachings, to the Pope's messages to the masses, it is clear the Church has many different avenues to explore and utilize in transnational settings, and because of this are growing in importance in the international political system.

²³ Jodok, Troy. "The Catholic Church An Underestimated and Necessary Actor in International Affairs." Last modified 2008. Accessed May 17, 2012. <http://journal.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/9.1-Troy.pdf>.

The Church also works through many various different organizations, including various trade unions of the Christian nature, charities whose work is inspired by the teachings of the Church, and also democratic parties with a Christian focus. Almost every country in the world has some type of Christian Democratic Party whose influence can be seen on political levels. Parties range from the Social Christian Party of Venezuela to the Albanian Christian Democratic Movement, and every country in between. Through these various Church teachings inspired organizations the Catholic Church is a constant reminder in world politics of how viable its impact has in sectors other than religion. Trade unions fall under a similar category, with an example being the CLA-USA²⁴, which explicitly state they are not a church run organization but that their founding principles are those based on Christian teachings. This shows how without a direct connection to the Vatican or local parish how the Church can have an influence around the world in different sectors.²⁵ Finally another form of organizations that can be included in the Catholic Church's transnational activity are charities, and one of the major Catholic integrated charities is Caritas. Caritas has branches around the world that are connected to local community churches along with being recognized overall by the Vatican. They have an influence in every region of the world and over 160 sub organizations working in areas of relief, development and social services. This is a true transnational entity tied to the Catholic Church with participants in over 200 countries around the world. Through these various alternate means the Catholic Church continues to spread and promote its teachings, and does so on a multinational impactful way.²⁶

Another very important aspect of the Catholic Church and its behaviors as a transnational actor is its constant mission services. This is an integral part of the cross border aspect to the

²⁴ Christian Labor Association.

²⁵ CLA-USA Representation with Integrity, "Christian Labor Association." Last modified 2010. Accessed May 26, 2012. <http://www.cla-usa.com/>.

²⁶ Caritas, "Who's Who." Accessed May 23, 2012. <http://www.caritas.org/about/index.html>.

Catholic Church. As the Catholic Church teachings urge, the spread of hope, peace, and God's love is essential in the world today, and through these various missions that is what the Church accomplishes. Working in ecological, social, or politically unstable areas, the Church strives for human justice, and peace for all. Through education, and financing the church's missionary programs are a constant reminder around the world that the Catholic Church is present and looking to make a difference on a more substantial level within society.²⁷

²⁷ McCabe, Michael. "Mission as Action in Hope: A theological reflection on our commitment to the promotion of justice, peace and the integrity of creation (JPIC) in our world today." Accessed May 23, 2012.

<http://www.uscatholicmission.org/files/uscatholicmission/files/Periodic%20Paper-AU-10.pdf>

Chapter 2: Poland Following World War II

Following the destruction and devastation of World War II, Poland was in a state of chaotic havoc, without proper leadership, without a stable economy, and lacking political structure. Poland was vulnerable and the Soviet Union capitalized on this vulnerability as the communist style of government took over Poland. In the early years of communism, the Church was remarkably one of the most stable institutions in the country, but as the communists progressed, the decline of Church and state relations followed. Throughout the early 1950's the regime was becoming increasingly strict with lack of freedoms, and enhancing political control. The Church was becoming weak, but as we will see, it would not stay down for too long. Besides strikes in Poznan in 1956, the country of Poland remained at a standstill until the 1970's under the tightening grip of the Soviet Union and the communist regime.²⁸

Again, throughout the 1950's and 1960's the communists controlled Poland and there was not much resistance²⁹, and the years seemed to pass monotonously, and while the Church existed it was put under some different sanctions and provisions³⁰ drawn up by the Soviets to

²⁸ Robert Monticone, *The Catholic Church in Communist Poland, 1945-1985: Forty Years of Church-state Relations.*, (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), 9-25.

²⁹ There were strikes in the Polish city of Poznan in 1956, but this was one of the only major episodes during these years, and in comparison to the other decades, it was a mild time.

³⁰ Article 69 (1) Citizens of the Polish People's republic, irrespective of nationality, race, or religion; enjoy equal rights in all fields of public, political, economic, social and cultural life. Infringement of this principle by any direct or indirect privileges or restrictions of rights on the basis of nationality, race, or religion, is subject to punishment.

Article 70 (1) The Polish People's Republic guarantees freedom of conscience and religion to its citizens. The Church and other religious bodies may freely exercise their religious functions. It is forbidden to prevent citizens by coercion from taking part in religious activities or rites. It is also forbidden to coerce anybody to participate in religious activities or rites.

(2) The Church is separated from the state. The principles of the relationship between Church and State, as well as the legal position and property status of religious bodies shall be determined by laws.

hinder its direct influence over state run policies and activities. While these provisions might not seem to restricting it was different for the Poles who had been accustomed to dealing with religious activity tied into state decisions³¹. The relationship would change and remain stagnate for decades, that is until the late 1970's when Poland was forced into the public spotlight, and the Church regained its momentum and influence, all thanks to a man from the small Polish town of Wadowice named Karol Wojtyla. Consequently this is the time where the Catholic Church began to assert its presence and influence as a crucial transnational actor, but also a time where economic hardships increased.

During this Soviet communist era in Poland, the economic situation was deteriorating dramatically and termed an economic crisis for the country of Poland. During the 1970's there were several key factors to turn to in regards to understanding the economic hardships. First the growth rate concerning income was in a steady decline, and in five years time dipped 2 percent lower. This was also a general trend for the countries of Eastern Europe in similar political situations as Poland. Another reason the economy was failing was lack of output in both the agricultural and industrial sectors. There were several reasons including, growing trade deficits, especially with the Western world, there was a scarcity of public or consumer goods, as well as other international factors mainly focused on the exportation of goods. All of this coupled with a controlling government regime led to the economic downfall in the 1970's and 1980's.³²

(3) The abuse of freedom of conscience and religion for purposes endangering the interests of the Polish People's Republic shall be punished.

³¹ Wiktor, Zbigniew. USFSP, "The history of the communist movement in Poland – as an example for the countries of Eastern Europe." Accessed May 1, 2012. <http://www.northstarcompass.org/nsc0705/poland.htm>.

³² Nuti, Domenico Mario. "The Polish Crisis: Economic Factors and Restraints." Accessed May 25, 2012. [http://www.google.hu/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=economic crisis poland 1980&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CGcQFjAC&url=http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/arti](http://www.google.hu/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=economic%20crisis%20poland%201980&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CGcQFjAC&url=http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/arti)

As the 1980's progressed the economic crisis was continuing throughout Poland, but it was also growing or declining back in the Soviet Union. The situation in Poland had turned grim and there were problems arising over the most basic of necessities, including bread, and other food products. In the stores the only available products were pickles and vinegar, as most other food products were strictly rationed. Coupled with the idea of not having enough food, the prices of these products was gradually increasing as well, leaving people without any viable options. The zloty was rapidly decreasing in value, and essentially worthless as storeowners were trading product to product, as the currency continued to fail. All of this hardship, and strict restrictions led to the strikes in the shipyard in Gdansk, and sparked the solidarity movement into the 1980's.³³ It could be argued without an economic decline life in Poland could have remained communist for years to come, but the crisis was the trigger that set the movement into full motion, with a better life for Poland the ultimate goal.

The first half of the 1980's was a back and forth affair between the communist state and opposition, with neither gaining full power. The communist regime made solidarity illegal, but did not have enough force or power to completely disband the movement given the size and methods, which with they operate. At the same time however, the solidarity movement was not powerful enough to fully overthrow the government, even with the backing of the Catholic Church. This caused the mid 1980's to be a stare down, with neither side making significant progress, but then in the late 1980's all of that changed, and changed rapidly in favor of the Poles.

cle/view/5463/2362&ei=fhjHT-rlNM7xsgaR-YjmDg&usg=AFQjCNETGN6aN3oBDs3fYj-Zd1xTxu9tJA&sig2=jOFRm6fu3g0udsHzZmf9JA.

³³ Urban-Klaehn, Jagoda. Polish Culture, "Solidarity, Freedom and Economical Crisis in Poland, 1980-81 (III): Period of Wild Economy and Big Hopes." Last modified June 10, 2002. Accessed May 25, 2012. <http://culture.polishsite.us/articles/art52.html>.

It was now 1988 and backed with continued support from the Catholic Church the solidarity movement began labor strikes in the spring across the entire country of Poland. Now during this time Poland was continuing to suffer through hard economic times, and again that was part of the reason that strikes were triggered. Wages were still low, and with tough economic times, life was not ideal for the citizens of Poland. Unable to recover from economic woes in the 1980's Poland had a problem sustaining growth, and without proper communication between the government and its citizens it has proven impossible to successfully recover from such hardships, which was the case in Poland³⁴. Strikes started in April and continued throughout the summer all orchestrated by Lech Walesa with advice and support from the Catholic Church who called for a day of action, and so the strikes began. The strikes were relatively peaceful, as the Church advised and yet also dramatically effective.

Following the strikes in 1988 there was monumental movement among the communist government and solidarity leaders as they meetings were held between both parties. These talks were aimed to figure out the problem of solidarity and included many different organizations and people including, communist party elites, leaders of the solidarity movement, other various communist organizations as well as non-communist parties. Perhaps for the purposes of this paper the most important attendees were the Christian Social Union and the Association of Polish Catholics. Bishops from across Poland were in attendance showing how the Catholic Church had remained an integral part of the solidarity movement, and that their connection and support were whole hearted and fulfilled as they stood behind the Polish people and their quest to

³⁴ Tagliabue, John. "Thousands at Gdansk Shipyard Join Polish Strike." *The New York Times*, , sec. World, May 3, 1988. <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/05/03/world/thousands-at-gdansk-shipyard-join-polish-strike.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm> (accessed May 6, 2012).

rid the communist ways. These talks lasted for a few months with an overall mood of compromise and collaboration.³⁵

For the Catholic Church to be so heavily involved in the round table discussions proves how important they were to the entire society in Poland, both government and obviously citizens. It shows how much they wanted communism gone and freedoms back, all the way from the leader, the Pope, to the Priests in small districts throughout Poland. The Church had infiltrated the lives of Polish citizens without many even being aware³⁶. These discussions were not just between solidarity leaders and communist elites, but the Catholic Church acting as a mediatory and an important third party. In fact according to some historians credit for getting these negotiations started can be attributed to the former head of the Polish Catholic Church Josef Glemp. Joseph Glemp recognized the need for change as did all other clergymen, but in 1989 he was a stalwart in actually making the negotiations happen, realizing the regime was in a vulnerable position and the best time to act was the present³⁷.

The result of these round table talks was free democratic elections in Poland, the first of any Soviet bloc country in 1989. It was truly groundbreaking, and a monumental win for Poland, the citizens of other oppressed countries, and the transnational stature of the Catholic Church. Freedom was now evident, as the communist control was over, being voted out of power in a partially free election. Poland not only gained free elections and the right to have their own President, but as a result of the round table discussions Poland was also granted a senate. Perhaps the most telling result of the entire process, and the most pleasing for the solidarity movement

³⁵ US Library of Congress, "Poland-The Round Table Agreement." Accessed May 6, 2012. <http://countrystudies.us/poland/63.htm>.

³⁶ Lots of the Church's progress with the solidarity movement in the 1980's happened underground and in secret, masking it from public view.

³⁷ Kosc, Wojciech. TOL: 20 Years After, "Round Table Talks." Last modified November 23, 2009. Accessed May 6, 2012. <http://20years.tol.org/tag/round-table-talks/>.

was the legalization of trade unions. Solidarnosc was just that in nature and after years of fighting, working hard, and never giving up, the outcome was very favorable and rewarding.³⁸ The quick negotiations surrounding the round table agreement led to this democratic country that we still see today, thriving in Central Europe.

Poland had truly become an example of how to operate and conduct a country in times of communist oppression, and with the help of the Catholic Church along the way now sees a brighter, freer future for the entire country. Part of the reason the years of 1988 and 1989 were so successful were due in large part to the country undertaking the Catholic Church's teachings of non violence to heart. It would have been easy for the citizens to rebel with violence, terror, and rampage, but instead they were organized, calm, and acted according to Church teachings. This just shows how influential the Catholic Church and specifically their leader at the time Pope John Paul II was to the people of Poland. In a BBC interview with Adam Easton, the news correspondent talks with people of Poland who were directly involved in the transitions in 1989, and their sentiment echoes that of this research project, and that is nothing could have been done without the Catholic Church. It is also again pointed out the lack of violence was truly astounding as one man said not even a windshield was broken³⁹.

Continuing with this interview and the following elections after the round table talks, the communists were still very confident they would win in a free and fair election. They believed this because of the amount of resources they had gathered, and their perception was there was not enough support for the solidarity movement. They did however not account for the Catholic Church and their authority. Once the news of elections was out to the public the Catholic Church

³⁸ US Library of Congress, "Poland-The Round Table Agreement."

³⁹ Easton, Adam. "Poland: the Catholic Church and the fall of communism Media Player ." Recorded November 4, 2009. BBC. 2009. Web, http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/documentaries/2009/04/090422_heartsoul_110409.shtml.

urged people to vote, while they did not care whom people were voting for, it was clear those listening to the Church's requests were those searching for a new and better life. The opposition won, and in ones man recount it was thanks to the Catholic Church's persistence throughout but also that extra push to urge citizens to vote in their own elections⁴⁰. While it is clear the Church had viable impacts through Poland working with solidarity leaders, and through the Popes various and numerous speeches to the Public, Poland and the Church had also started the ripple effect around Europe in 1989, the year of change.

Chapter 2.1 The Catholic Church's Relationship with Poland

Poland and the Catholic Church have been synonymous with each other with rich traditions dating back centuries. The Catholic Church has been a staple in Poland for a long time, but the importance it would demonstrate to the people during the communist regime, was something never seen before from the Church. Before looking very briefly at the communist regime it is worthwhile to examine the Catholic Church and its role during the Nazi occupation. During this time the Church was a respected institution as it would continue to be, and we can also see traces of the transnational activity during this time as well. The Church was fully against Hitler and his motives, and all of their propaganda was that in the style against Nazism. The Vatican and other Church networks worked very secretively throughout Poland to attempt to save as many lives from the terror as they possibly could. There were also thousands of Catholic deaths and casualties, but it did not stop the Church from acting in these dangerous times.⁴¹ This

⁴⁰ Easton, Adam. BBC Interview.

⁴¹ Spreccace, Therese. "Poland and the Catholic Church During Nazi Domination." Last modified 1989. Accessed May 19, 2012. <http://www.asthma-drspreccace.com/paper.shtml>.

just shows the tendency of the Church is to help those in need, especially in tough political climates, and foreshadows their actions in the decades to come.

There was a very inspirational and influential event that occurred for the Polish people during the communist era. That is the fact that Karol Wojtyla a young man from Wadowice⁴², Poland had now become the head of the Catholic Church and the head of state for the country of Vatican City. This was the first Polish born man to become Pope and meant everything to the people of Poland. Besides being important from a moral point of view, this was even more important in terms of the Church and their transnational abilities to cross borders and help Poland. The leader of the Church was a Pole, and understood what the country was going through, and more than anything directly opened communication lines between the Vatican and the country of Poland. This is one of the most important aspects to the success of transnational actors, because without reliable communication links there is little that can be done, but now Poland had the vivid support of the Church and this Polish Pope revitalized this communist run country from its idle position and helped sparked the change it so desperately needed⁴³.

Following the Pope, the people of Poland and specifically the solidarity movement took full force in the 1980's, going underground, spreading their message, using the Church as a vehicle for change, and exciting the people of Poland about the movement. Lech Walesa was the man behind the solidarity movement, he helped organize the strikes in 1980, and even when the movement was outlawed in 1981 he did his best to keep it going. He was arrested or kept under surveillance for most of the 1980's, and even won a Nobel Peace Prize for his work with the movement. After successfully ridding communism in 1989, he became the first Polish President

⁴² While originally from Wadowice he was given the Archbishop of Krakow and was soon promoted to the College of Cardinals, from there he became the Pope.

⁴³ Joseph Blaney, and Joseph Zompetti, *The Rhetoric of Pope John Paul II*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009).

in 1990. Through his hard work and determination he was successful in organizing the fall of communism in Poland, but he did so with much help and support from the Catholic Church along the way⁴⁴.

Now continuing with how the Church was viewed and perceived during the years following World War II. The Church was one of the only remaining strong institutions following the War and it showed with how people flocked to the Catholic Church. With a government that was oppressive, and no other institutions remaining following the devastation of the war, one of the only choices for the Catholic country was to turn to its religious identity. During the 1970's and 1980's over 90 percent of Polish children were being baptized, one of the highest numbers not only in Europe but the world. There are also some strong indicators demonstrating as the solidarity movement (which was fueled by the Church) grew, so did religious belief and activity. A telling statistic about how influential Pope John Paul II was to the overall Catholicism in Poland is to look at the numbers from the 1970's where 74 percent claimed religious beliefs, this is prior to his election, and visits. Then in the following decade, the percent of people who claimed religious beliefs rose to 96 percent, a dramatic increase in a short amount of time, no doubt thanks to the communication lines being open with the Vatican and the Pope. Throughout the country religious attendance was the highest it had ever been, showing a restored faith in the Church from the general public. As the solidarity movement gained steam, so did the Catholic Church's priests and elites. Over 2,000 more men joined the quest for priesthood between the years 1980 and 1986, from 6,285 to 8,835. This dramatic change again can be attributed to the

⁴⁴ "Lech Walesa," *Grand Circle Foundation* (2011), <http://www.grandcirclefoundation.org/Gutsy-Leaders/Stories-of-Gutsy-Leaders/Lech-Walesa.aspx> (accessed May 4, 2012).

Pope and his messages and visits to Poland, the details of which will be discussed further in the paper.⁴⁵ Overall this just shows how the Church grew in importance following World War II, and was something the people wanted to believe in and use to help end communism.

⁴⁵ Library of Congress Country Studies, "The Polish Catholic Church and the People." Accessed May 15, 2012. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID pl0099\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID pl0099)).

Chapter 3: The Catholic Church in a Transnational Actor Capacity

This chapter will examine the role of the Catholic Church in Poland following World War II with a specific focus on the late 1970s' and 1980's in total. This chapter will demonstrate how important the Catholic Church was to the success of the Polish people in their quest to exterminate communism. It will also show how the Catholic Church acted through different avenues and across borders to help the people of Poland during these decades of oppression. The Church utilized different tactics in terms of behaving as a transnational actor, and each of these will be evaluated in the following. First the most important link between a state or organization and transnational actor is successful communication. Communication can come in many forms but as it will be shown in the case of Poland this communication was mainly directed from the Pope of the Catholic Church. Another portion of importance in regards to transnational dealings is the cross border aspect of the Church's involvement. This includes different Christian organizations working for the Poles success, as well as different countries working with the Vatican towards a better Poland. Finally another important piece to the transnational actor success is financing. The Catholic Church provided resources for the Poles to use during these times. The Church did all of this and more for the people of Poland, and because of that helped rid communism from the streets, and should be recognized as one of the most important, influential, and largest transnational actors in the political and social systems.

Central and Eastern Europe and specifically Poland in the 1980's and decades previous, were in rough times, being occupied by the Soviet Union and their communist regime as has been discussed. When the time came for change it was realized that doing it alone would not be the best method, and that is where transnational actors played an important role. Whether it was

transnational actors in the finance sectors, religious groups, or other outside countries, such as the United States of America, in almost every scenario outside help was utilized⁴⁶. The country to first rid itself of communism is the focus of this study, Poland, and with the help of the Catholic Church and its leader they led the charge in Central and Eastern Europe to put communism to an end.

Chapter 3.1: Communication links between the Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II, and the Vatican

As has been briefly discussed, the coming to power of Polish born Pope, Pope John Paul II was igniting for the people of Poland both mentally and physically. While his election as Pope was enormous, perhaps the most monumental moment in Polish history was in June of 1979, when Pope John Paul II returned to his native country for the first time as head of state and head of Church in Vatican City⁴⁷. To say this visit was important is a large understatement and was the catalyst for the Polish people to rise up with the help of the Catholic Church. This visit and the speeches that coincided, showed not only the Pope is attached to his homeland, but that the Holy See is expanding its borders and acting as a true transnational organization. This idea is highlighted in a quote from Pope John Paul II in his June 2, 1979 speech at Okecie airport in Warsaw, Poland upon his arrival from the Vatican. He says, "I have kissed the ground of Poland on which I grew up, the land from which, through the inscrutable design of Providence, God called me to the Chair of Peter in Rome, the land to which I am coming today as a pilgrim."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Timothy Byrnes, "A Transnational Church in National Settings," chap. 7 in *Transnational Actors in Central and Eastern European Transitions*, ed. Mitchell Orenstein, Stephen Bloom, Nicole Lindstrom (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008).

⁴⁷ BBC News, "1979: Millions cheer as the Pope comes home." Accessed May 3, 2012. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/june/2/newsid_3972000/3972361.stm.

⁴⁸ Libreria Editrice Vaticana, "Welcoming Ceremony in Warsaw, Address of his Holiness Pope John Paul II." Last modified June 2, 1979. Accessed May 4, 2012.

The most important aspect of this quote is the last line where he says he is coming as a pilgrim. This is vitally important to the whole understanding of the Catholic Church as a transnational actor in Poland at this time. The Pope, while it is his homeland, and he is proud of that, while being the head of the Catholic Church his visit is that of Catholic Church business. This is where it can be seen that the lines of communication and networks between these two organizations (Poland and the Church) are open, and the people of Poland could sense that too. To reiterate once again this idea of the Popes message we can look at his concluding line from this same speech on June 2, 1979 from Warsaw, where he says, “May my stay—I wish to repeat it once again—help the great cause of peace, friendship in relations between nations, and social justice.”⁴⁹ This message is clear to those in Poland that not just himself but also the Church for which he represents is going to try and restore normalcy to the people of Poland, and Europe as a whole.

Perhaps the most accurate way to assess the openness of lines of communication between these two actors is to continue to observe and analyze the speeches given by Pope John Paul II at different times throughout his reign. The importance of communication should not be underestimated, especially in the case of a communist society. The heavy burdens and restrictions regarding media outlets and other such means made communication difficult, but with the Pope making his presence known, and the country of Poland listening it was clear what needed to be done, and it was clear the Church was becoming a catalyst⁵⁰ for change in Poland.

http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1979/june/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19790602_polonia-varsavia-okecie-arrival_en.html.

⁴⁹ Libreria Editrice Vaticana, "Welcoming Ceremony in Warsaw, Address of his Holiness Pope John Paul II."

⁵⁰ Through the messages of Pope John Paul II, and his backing from the Catholic Church.

The solidarity movement began following the visit of Pope John Paul II, where his constant message to the people was “do not be afraid”. This was a phrase he would use throughout his reign as Pope. This however was not his only message to the people of Poland during these trying times. In his farewell speech on June 10, 1979 from the southern Polish city of Krakow, Pope John Paul gave this message to the Polish people, "Never lose your trust, do not be defeated, do not be discouraged, and do not cut yourselves off from the roots from which we had our origins."⁵¹ This is a very powerful message, again not just from a Polish citizen, but this message is being communicated to the citizens of Poland via the entire Catholic Church, and because of their Catholic identity this message was received graciously across Poland. Poles were to stand up for themselves, not be pushed around, have faith in the lord, and remember the past. The roots he is referring to are both those of Christian origin, as well as the democratic past Poland once had and should strive for yet again. From this speech within months the strike in Gdansk occurred forming the Solidarity movement, which was fully supported by the Church, and Pope John Paul II.⁵²

The fast actions of the Polish people to peacefully strike in Gdansk following the Pope’s visit and numerous speeches, shows the influence communication has. Prior to the Pope’s visit as has been mentioned Poland was at a standstill, without much outside transnational assistance. Although, as soon as it becomes clear that a powerful member of the international community has encouraging words of support and shows an interest things change. This is the power of

⁵¹ Liberia Editrice Vaticana, "Farewell Mass, Krakow." Last modified June 10, 1979. Accessed May 4, 2012.

http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1979/june/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19790602_polonia-varsavia-okecie-arrival_en.html.

⁵² Donovan, Jeffrey. Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, "Poland: Solidarity -- The Trade Union That Changed The World ." Last modified August 24, 2005. Accessed May 28, 2012. <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1060898.html>.

communication, especially from a figure of the highest respect and authority of a worldwide organization.

To further demonstrate the impact that the Catholic Church had in Poland following the open lines of communication from the Vatican to Poland during Pope John Paul II's visit it is important to look at the number of people that were directly affected. In sheer numbers the amount of people that visited one of the Pope's stops on his eight day journey through his homeland was thirteen million, which is around one third of the Polish Population at that time⁵³. This number is staggering considering the length of his stay, (which is relatively short to cover a country the size of Poland) and the fact there was an oppressive regime in place that even allowed such events to occur. To give a first hand perspective of how influential the Church and Pope John Paul II were, we can look to the citizens, and one in particular, Adam Michnik. Mr. Michnik was a historian, writer, lecturer, journalist⁵⁴, but maybe even more important was his strive for human rights. During the communist regime Michnik was imprisoned several times for his involvement with the opposition and solidarity movement⁵⁵. One of the most stirring quotes from this non-Catholic man came reflecting on the Pope's speech in 1979 where he said, "In June, 1979, I lived through one of those moments in my life that gave me a sense that I was alive for a reason. . . . I felt absolutely no sense of separation. Alongside me kneeled a Catholic priest, and no one on that square had any intention to divide people. It was natural that we were together."⁵⁶ The Catholic Church had created an environment of togetherness for all Polish citizens, both Catholic and not, which is one of the most important and unique characteristics of

⁵³ Porter, Brian. Making the History of 1989, "Catholic Church in Poland." Last modified 2012. Accessed May 3, 2012. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/exhibits/roman-catholic-Church/introduction>.

⁵⁴ He became editor in chief of the first independent daily Polish newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

⁵⁵ Global Journalist, "Adam Michnik, Poland." Last modified July 1, 2000. Accessed May 2, 2012. <http://www.globaljournalist.org/stories/2000/07/01/adam-michnik-poland/>.

⁵⁶ Adam Michnik in Porter, Brain. Catholic Church in Poland.

the Catholic Church in its behaviors as a transnational organization. As has been mentioned from this sprung the solidarity movement, and no doubt it is related to that feeling Michnik felt following the Pope's speech to all of Poles in 1979.

For the majority of Polish citizens the communication that was observed between the Vatican and their home country was in the form of the Pope's speeches, but there were other forms of communication that occurred, some out of sight, some underground. Following the visit of the Pope and the beginning of the solidarity movement the Church was alive and well again in Poland. Mass attendance was higher, and the Church was seen for more than just a spiritual escape, in fact it was seen as the main place for anti communist sentiments and even anti communist activism. While the Church was urging for clergy and other members not to use the Church as a weapon of anti communism, it was simply the only institution at the time that could provide a platform for change. Despite the recommendations of the Church, pastors and priests still used the religious institutions as grounds for anti communist speeches, homilies, and sermons, and in some cases the Church leaders were known to have been sheltering the opposition⁵⁷. Although it might seem a bit extreme, this is what the people had to work with, and the Catholic Church was the only organization, transnational or not, that was constantly there for the people, and in many instances was the only available form of communication from opposition members or Catholic clergy to the general public.

Continuing with the communication between the Church and the people, there are some meetings that are held private and only concern those higher up in both the Church and Solidarity movement. For example, Lech Walesa who has been mentioned previously had a private meeting

⁵⁷ Porter, Brain. Catholic Church in Poland.

with Pope John Paul II in 1983 to discuss the current status of the country⁵⁸. Somewhere in Southern Poland near the Tatra Mountains the two men met to discuss the Polish future. Pope John Paul II who is a vivid supporter against communism gave Walesa advice that clearly shows how impactful the Catholic Church was and how much of a part the Church actually played during these years. According to BBC news there were sources from the solidarity movement that said Pope John Paul II gave Walesa the following advice, “[Mr. Walesa] should rely on the advice of the Catholic Church, rather than organizing street demonstrations as part of the trade union movement's campaign to bring about political reforms in Poland.”⁵⁹ These lines of communication direct from one leader to another are sometimes the most powerful, and in the case of Poland led to a peaceful dismemberment of the communist regime.

Part of the basis the Church was so adamant about the solidarity movement listening to the advice from the Vatican instead of acting harshly is for two reasons. First the fact that Pope John Paul II and the rest of the Catholic Church were fully against communism and were looking to put an end to this form of government not only in Poland but also in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe. Second, knowing how intense these situations are, and how violent they can become the Church wanted to minimize that threat of violence at all costs. The Church has and always will preach peace and speak out against violence or confrontation of any kind, no matter how severe the situation; it is just something innate about the Catholic teachings. This included the dire circumstances in Poland. Pope John Paul II urged Walesa to take the Church's advice, which was to avoid street demonstrations and rallies because of the threat of confrontation and violence they undoubtedly bring. Instead of confrontation, communication should be the main

⁵⁸ This was also the second time that Pope John Paul had visited his homeland since becoming the Pope.

⁵⁹ BBC News, "1983: Pope meets banned union leader Walesa." Accessed May 8, 2012. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/june/23/newsid_4002000/4002537.stm.

tool of the solidarity movement⁶⁰ as it presses forward⁶¹. Walesa following the Pope's message did just that and went easier on the movements internal structure⁶², seeking advice and continuing to network with the Holy See.

Specifically in reference to Walesa and the Pope's meeting, Lech said of the meeting, "he was "moved and enthusiastic" about his meeting with the Pope, and is willing to take a "back seat" as a focus for opposition to the government in ending martial law"⁶³. This again demonstrates the involvement and role the Catholic Church played in this decade of change for the Polish people. A leader of an opposition group waiting patiently, going forward without any violence and respecting the assistance he is given is not the normal situation for those seeking a drastic change. This shows the uniqueness of the relationship between the Holy See and the Polish community. It also shows the amount of respect the Polish people have for the Catholic Church, if their "leader" is willing to put his trust and faith in the Church, then the rest of the country will follow suit, making it easier for the Catholic Church to have a viable impact.

This meeting that occurred between the Pope and Walesa was in 1983 during the end of the Pope's second visit to Poland. This visit also came with many messages for the Polish people, keeping those communication lines open and easily accessible. One of the most influential stops was in the Polish town of Katowice where the Pope spoke to the masses regarding solidarity and freedoms. These messages were clear, strong, and supportive, especially when you consider some of the quotes from this speech. This following quote from the Montreal Gazette on June 21, 1983 shows the Pope proclaiming to the people this is their land, and this

⁶⁰ Which the Pope said could be reinstated shortly after his visit.

⁶¹ BBC News, "1983: Pope meets banned union leader Walesa."

⁶² *Encyclopedia of World Biography*. The Gale Group Inc., 2004. s.v. "Lech Walesa." http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Lech_Walesa.aspx (accessed May 2, 2012).

⁶³ BBC News, "1983: Pope meets banned union leader Walesa."

movement is a choice, as he states, “It is not a right...given to us by the state. The state has the obligation only to protect and guard it so that it is not violated.”⁶⁴ This is a call to the people of Poland to fight for solidarity even though the state had banned it. As we know in the next few days with his meeting with Walesa, the Church fully supported the cause and was acting through the solidarity movement, yet retaining the Church’s teachings.

As the Pope’s journey throughout Poland was moving along it was clear from the support and numbers of people that were showing up to his speeches that the people believed in him and the Catholic Church. Masses of people were turning up with Polish flags that had the writing “Solidarnosc”, proving how important this movement and Catholic Church was to them. During the speeches communist officials turned dozens of people away from the rally for carrying these exact flags as well as the flag of the Holy See, and for other trivial reasons⁶⁵. These people were stubborn and persistence and motivated by the Catholic Church and their vivid presence and constant communication in the fight against communism, that their spirits were not broken whatsoever.

While it has been discussed the mid 1980’s in Poland was somewhat of a stalemate, following that period is when the change began. One of the first signs of change, or further support from the Church came in the form of a Catholic Social Teaching document put together by Pope John Paul II. In late 1987 this document was released to the public and contained or was aimed at the development of the people of the world, along with the progress of peoples, and also

⁶⁴ Pope John Paul II in ,“Pope Says Solidarity "is a right"." *The Montreal Gazette*, June 21, 1983. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1946&dat=19830621&id=8UMwAAAIAIAJ&sjid=h6UFAAAAIAIAJ&pg=5423,5617> (accessed May 8, 2012).

⁶⁵ "Pope Says Solidarity "is a right"." *The Montreal Gazette*, June 21, 1983. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1946&dat=19830621&id=8UMwAAAIAIAJ&sjid=h6UFAAAAIAIAJ&pg=5423,5617> (accessed May 8, 2012).

for the good of the man⁶⁶. While this text was obviously based on religious teachings, it also highlighted the transnational aspect of the Church to an even higher degree. While aimed for Catholics, its message could be understood by everyone around the world, and had a defined message that could be interpreted by organizations and people around the world. This document was released in late 1987 and in 1988 things for Poland began to change dramatically as they moved into the future and never looked back.

This document has not only religious ties, but also heavy implications on the economic, political, and social situations around the globe. One of the quotes from the document seem to highlight this as well as Poland in particular, as in paragraph 26 it goes on to say, “At the same time, in a world divided and beset by every type of conflict, the conviction is growing of a radical interdependence and consequently of the need for a solidarity which will take up interdependence and transfer it to the moral plane.”⁶⁷ This quote from Pope John Paul II resonates throughout the world with all types of transnational actors, but also shows how committed the Church is to its transnational and global endeavors. Through more cooperation, and interdependence upon one another, the hope is that the amount of conflict will be reduced. While this might seem like a naïve or elementary way to look at things, one must consider the Catholic Church’s founding beliefs. Peace is a priority and everything should be done to ensure solidarity without the force of violence, which was echoed in the meeting between Walesa and Pope John Paul II earlier in the decade. If anything this quote and this document prove how

⁶⁶ Thomas Storck, "Sollicitudo Rei Socialis," *The Catholic Faith*, 4, no. 3 (1998), <http://distributistreview.com/mag/2010/09/sollicitudo-rei-socialis/> (accessed May 7, 2012).

⁶⁷ Liberia Editrice Vaticana, "Sollicitudo rei socialis." Last modified December 30, 1987. Accessed May 9, 2012. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_30121987_sollicitudo-rei-socialis_en.html.

devoted the Catholic Church was to the cross border assistance it should provide to countries in peril. It would appear again through Pope John Paul II's message that the people of Poland took this to heart, and with the assistance of the Holy See went to end the conflict and oppressive regime in the late 1980's. There is a quote from time magazine that exemplifies the reaction and meaning the Pope's visits and speeches had to the people, "...several hundred thousand worshipers, at a single hand gesture of the Pope, sank to the earth, like a field of instantly scythed wheat, to pray. Charisma was not the word to describe what had happened.... [The Pope] stirred an outpouring of trust and affection that no political leader in today's world could hope to inspire, let alone command."⁶⁸

The Popes messages over the 1980's were received well, but received in two distinct mediums. The Church and Pope were preaching their own messages, and their own teachings, that is to avoid violence at all costs, and heed the advice of the Church. The advice of the Church in the end was to remain strong, fight for independence, yet remain calm, collected, and proceed with non-violent haste. That is exactly what occurred in the country, as it was mentioned in the Adam Easton interview, there was not one windshield broken, showing how the people respected the Church's callings.⁶⁹ This was the message to the masses of people who came to listen to the Pope speak in public gatherings, but there was a different tone in private meetings with various elites of the opposition movement. Behind closed doors the ideas turned into actions, and while maintaining the non-violent teachings, were more focused on freedom. The country was in a sensitive and vulnerable position, and could have erupted in terror at any moment, so the messages to the masses were more calming. This degree of separation between the two

⁶⁸ "A Triumphant Return." *Time*, June 18, 1979.

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,920403,00.html> (accessed May 7, 2012).

⁶⁹ Easton, Adam. BBC Interview.

communication links are what ultimately created the most successful, peaceful “revolt” away from communism, something similar Central and Eastern European countries were not as lucky to obtain.⁷⁰

Chapter 3.2: Cross Border Associations

Part of the importance for transnational actors is the ability to cross borders and maintain healthy and viable relationships. The Catholic Church is a prime example of this with a very diverse multinational aspect to their transnational workings, and they were utilized successfully during the second half of the 20th century in aiding the Polish escape from Communism. Being able to successfully include parties and organizations from around the world is what make transnational actors unique, and the Catholic Church is no different. Sustaining strong advocacy networks of different states, unions, organizations, firms and institutions is a staple for all transnational actors, but how they are put into use is the difference between a successful transnational actor (such as the Catholic Church in Poland) and an unsuccessful one.

One of the most important links the Catholic Church has is participants, leaders, and followers in almost all of the countries of the world, and being able to utilize them in situations of distress, as is the case in Poland is what helps make the Church a transnational presence. One of the world’s emerging superpowers during the 1980’s was the United States, and the Christian existence had always been fundamental to the society in the United States. The United States however did not have many significant ties to the country of Poland, who were insignificant in terms of the 1980’s from an American perspective. This did not stop the United States from taking an interest in Poland, and looking to solve the problems that were occurring in Central and Eastern Europe during this decade. Through collaboration between Pope John Paul II and

⁷⁰ In terms of violence occurring during anti-communist rallies and revolutions.

President Ronald Reagan, the Vatican and United States would agree to work together to help support Poland in as many ways as possible. This collaboration or teamwork between the Catholic Church and United States was dubbed as, “[this was] one of the great secret alliances of all time.”⁷¹ President Reagan’s first national security advisor, Richard Allen, made this claim about the secret alliance, and it would prove to be a very beneficial relationship for the people and country of Poland.

The relationship between the Catholic Church and the United States fostered into a network of different avenues, all with the main goal of helping the Polish people rid communism from their country. Most of these avenues were underground, or secret due to the oppressive nature of the regime and the unwillingness communism has for outside support. Nonetheless the Church proved its transnational tendencies in developing these alternate networks and avenues. To name a few of these organizations that teamed up with the Church and the efforts in Poland will highlight how influential the Church was. Besides the obvious work with Ronald Reagan and the United States government the Catholic Church utilized the AFL-CIO⁷², European labor movements, and Priests both American and Polish. The CIA was also used to certain extents, as well as other American elites and representatives⁷³.

One of the best, most successful means for informing the masses was the use of media, as it has been and will continue to be. However, the problem in Poland was the restriction on such media outlets, which meant alternate means needed to be used, and the most common of these were the underground newspaper and other various publications. The purpose of these was clear,

⁷¹ Bernstein, Carl. "Cover Story: The Holy Alliance." *Time*, February 24, 1992. http://carlbernstein.com/magazine_holy_alliance.php (accessed May 18, 2012).

⁷² American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

⁷³ Bernstein, Carl. "Cover Story: The Holy Alliance." *Time*, February 24, 1992. http://carlbernstein.com/magazine_holy_alliance.php (accessed May 18, 2012).

it was to help, educate, inspire, and inform the people of Poland on the workings and doings of the solidarity movement. Many of these publications were directly influenced by Church behavior and actions. Whether it was the Church building that was used for printing, or the Church members directly assisting in the writing, editing, and distributing of such newspapers⁷⁴. The Church was involved in every aspect of the underground press in an effort to spread the word to the people, and there is no doubt about the use of the publications in society.⁷⁵ The only problems were the access to enough materials to keep the publications printing, and again this is where the Catholic Church and its access to the wide range of networks becomes important yet again.

Going back to the meetings and relationship between the United States and Pope John Paul II is where the resources for continuing underground publications lies. The avenues that were mentioned before with the guidance of the Church were able to smuggle into Poland all the necessary equipment needed to continue to spread the word about the solidarity movement and other happenings. There was a large amount of good quality machines imported in to Poland including, fax machines (the first in Poland), printing presses, transmitters, telephones, shortwave radios, video cameras, photocopiers, telex machines, computers, and word processors.⁷⁶ All of these devices made spreading the workings of the solidarity movement much easier, from being able to print more papers, distribute more publications, and even use other secretive types of transmissions, including the radio, and telephones. The Church was clear in its

⁷⁴ Korba, Irena. "Five Years Underground: The Opposition and the Church in Poland Since Martial Law ." Accessed May 18, 2012. http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/rc1/15-2_167.pdf.

⁷⁵ Korba, Irena. "Five Years Underground: The Opposition and the Church in Poland Since Martial Law ." - Citing a poll in Korba's work from 1985 shows about 26% of people received these publications regularly, while 47% received them irregularly, and the remaining percentages were either seldom or never receiving them.

⁷⁶ Bernstein, Carl. "Cover Story: The Holy Alliance." *Time*, February 24, 1992. http://carlbernstein.com/magazine_holy_alliance.php (accessed May 18, 2012).

mission to help the people of Poland, and through cross border relationships with various networks, was able to get the people the machines, and equipment they so desperately needed to achieve the end of communism.

One of the main organizations that were working with the Catholic Church in assisting the export of machines to Poland was the AFL-CIO. While this trade union has no direct ties to the Catholic Church other than coordinating with them during the 1980's for the sake of the Polish people, their leader during the time, Lane Kirkland had a strong devotion to the Catholic Church.⁷⁷ The morals and teachings of the Church led him to strive for human rights, equality and freedom, and are paramount reasons why the Church was tied to this organization so closely during the 1980's. To show the importance this man and organization played with the Church during the 1980's, we look no further than Lane Kirkland's Catholic funeral in 1999. In attendance were several solidarity movement elites, including Lech Walesa himself, who had done work with Kirkland throughout the movement period.⁷⁸ This just shows how the Catholic Church influencing the morals and teachings of one man, can lead to actions that cross borders for an entire organization. A true transnational actor in every sense of the word as it coordinated all of the actions for the AFL-CIO.

While this direct connection between the transnational activity of the Catholic Church and the United States varying organizations is important, it is by no means the only cross border activity that had influences or links from the Catholic Church directly to Poland. As it has been stated the idea of the solidarity movement was a trade union, and it was not the only one of its

⁷⁷ Puddington, Arch. "How American Unions Helped Solidarity Win." Accessed May 19, 2012. http://www.videofact.com/help_for_solidarity.html.

⁷⁸ Higgins, George. The Catholic Labor Network, "Farewell to a Great Labor Champion: Lane Kirkland." Last modified June 1, 2000. Accessed May 19, 2012. <http://www.catholiclabor.org/higgins/higgins-53.htm>.

kind throughout Europe at this time. Support came quickly from other such organizations, namely from the Christian labor unions in Belgium, and Italy. The response of the unions to the crisis in Poland demonstrates how the Catholic Church operates throughout the world, even without the influence of the Vatican. These organizations founded on Christian teachings and principles, responded to the actions in Poland with haste, offering support, financial assistance, and face to face meetings. There were also non Christian based organizations that lent support from the Scandinavian countries, as well as several French and British organizations, but none were as influential as the Christian based ones who were the lead donors, and lead relief transporters.⁷⁹

The Belgian trade union ACV was the most involved of all the West European unions, and was involved on many levels. As it has been mentioned, through financial means, offering monetary support, donations and other needed financial assistance, which was very helpful for Solidarnosc. They were also on the front lines with the Polish, walking and participating in marches for solidarity and peace, their involvement was well documented, and well received. It seems unlikely that a small West European country would become so involved in the Polish situation, outdoing the large superpowers, such as the United Kingdom and France, but there is a reason for this, one that extends the Catholic Church's transnational presence. During this time the ruling party in Belgium was the Christian Democratic Party, and there was an overall pacifist mood in Belgium during this period. The party was influential in exercising its unions to help in the spirit of Christianity, and peace, and because of the visible influence the Catholic Church was already having on Poland, this decision was made easier, knowing that the teachings, morals, and

⁷⁹ Goddeeris, Idesbald. "Peace or Solidarity? Polish Exiles and Solidarnosc activists Towards the 1980's Peace Movement." Last modified February, 2008. Accessed May 21, 2012.

attitudes of the Church were already being practiced, and peace was being pursued in resolving the situation⁸⁰.

There were also different Catholic Organizations that were striving to help Poland during these desperate times. Charities and human rights organizations were assisting in various ways raising money for the people of Poland, and also organizing supplies and equipment to be shipped in to Poland. One of the most active charities was Caritas, which is a Catholic organization, again showing the reach of the Catholic Church and constant involvement from countless angles. Caritas was important in the transport of parcels into Poland. These included food, drugs, clothes, and other necessities. Caritas and other Charities were working with other countries to help import the items into Poland; unlike some of the other organizations this process did not need to take place secretly. In the end over 14 million packages were distributed throughout Poland, something to ease the oppressive tendencies of the regime, and yet another example of the Catholic Church's transnational influence and productivity⁸¹. Although because of the economic unrest during this time, the sending of parcels and packages could have hindered the progress of the people in revolution. Aiding people in economic distress, only helps to stabilize the situation, and without enough reason to rebel, the tendency is to remain stagnate. The threat of this existed, but did not occur because of the Catholic Church's strong vocal message from the Vatican that has been discussed previously.

⁸⁰ Goddeeris, Idesbald. "The Transnational Scope of Western Labour's Solidarity with Solidarnosc." *Labour History Review*, April 2010, 60-75.

⁸¹ Goddeeris, Idesbald, *The Transnational Scope of Western Labour's Solidarity with Solidarnosc*. 65-70.

Chapter 3.3: Financial Assistance

This is the hardest part of the transnational activity to assess, for one major reason. The reason it is so difficult to analyze is because of the lack of information during the time period that was accurately kept describing payment activity. The watchful eye of the communists was always investigating different organizations and opposition movements, and for that reason, no financial records exist. Everything was done secretive, and through various networks of organizations. It is documented that the Catholic Church was a great financier to the Solidarity movement as well as financing other parties in Poland during the communist regime. All of the funds were transferred through secret accounts and different agencies. For example there were several direct Vatican accounts, there were also several secretive Western trade unions, such as those Christian unions in Italy and primarily Belgium. . Furthermore, funds were distributed through different United States accounts, whether it was the CIA, or the National Endowment for Democracy.⁸² Poland and the solidarity movement had lots of financial support from the Church, and because of the underground tactics used, no proper documentation can be found on just how much money was transferred or used. Although considering the amount of equipment, people, meetings, packages, and other miscellaneous activities, and entities, one can surmise the amount was sizeable. The fact the Solidarity movement kept strong even under the strict martial law, is another signifying event that they were funded with due care from outside sources, primarily the Catholic Church and Vatican City.

⁸² Bernstein, Carl. "Cover Story: The Holy Alliance." *Time*, February 24, 1992. http://carlberstein.com/magazine_holy_alliance.php (accessed May 18, 2012).

Chapter 3.4: The Church as a Catalyst

While the credit for helping and saving Poland can be largely attributed to Pope John Paul II and the Catholic Church, there some who believe their actions can be credited even further. Lech Walesa, as was mentioned was the one of the leaders of the solidarity movement and later became the first president of Poland in 1990 said the fall of the Iron Curtain was due to the actions and words of Pope John Paul II acting on behalf of the Church and working through the solidarity movement in Poland. Lech Walesa points to a quote that John Paul II had when speaking to communist leaders at his first visit to Poland in 1979, where he states, "Allow me, venerable gentlemen, to continue to consider Poland's interest as my own, and to participate in it as profoundly as if I still lived in this country and were a citizen of this nation."⁸³ This demonstrated to Walesa and the rest of Poland that the Pope was on their side and would be willing to do whatever it took to see this regime put to an end, which is exactly what happened. Walesa goes on to say, "Europe desperately needs the values that sparked this revolution."⁸⁴ This is in reference to the values Pope John Paul II passed on to the people of Poland during his many speeches, and also in reference to the Catholic Social teachings which ultimately led to a non violent revolution, and in turn sparked Central and Eastern European political change.⁸⁵

The Catholic Church was a vehicle for change, and while its energy was focused in Poland working with different networks of solidarity leaders, its actions were heard and witnessed around Europe. The Catholic Church provided many things to the people of Poland during those communist years, but instead of just superfluous hope, they provided concrete

⁸³ Pope John Paul II quoted in, Reddeman, Angela. Zenit, "John Paul II Helped Topple Berlin Wall." Last modified November 11, 2011. Accessed May 15, 2012. <http://www.zenit.org/rssenglish-27517>.

⁸⁴ Pope John Paul II quoted in Angela Reddeman.

⁸⁵ Reddeman, Angela. Zenit, "John Paul II Helped Topple Berlin Wall." Last modified November 11, 2011. Accessed May 15, 2012. <http://www.zenit.org/rssenglish-27517>.

advice, and actions. The transnational nature of the Catholic Church was on full display for those communist years in Poland and through various means. Whether the Church was advising solidarity leaders on their next moves, implementing the social non-violent teachings of Catholicism, or Priests and Bishops holding homilies speaking out against the communists and working toward solidarity, they were a constant presence in Poland. Even if their presence could not always be felt because of the secret meetings between the Pope and leaders of the solidarity movement, or because of the underground tactics used to help the opposition, the Church never abandoned the people of Poland. This was no more evident than the leader of the Church Pope John Paul II and his constant outpouring of verbal support and always-present message. His visits during the worst of times and messages to the masses of people truly inspired a generation, and sparked change not only throughout Poland but Europe as well. As the leader of the Catholic Church all of these actions were done not as a Polish Citizen, but as the head of state and Church in another country, adding to the transnational legitimacy of the Catholic Church in non-religious⁸⁶ situations across global borders.

⁸⁶ In Poland's case it was mainly, political, economic, and social issues.

Conclusion

In conclusion considering the question of whether or not the Catholic Church is a prominent transnational actor in the international system, my hypotheses and proof has shown why the Church should be considered important in political, economic, and social matters in the global community. From the theoretical framework discussing the complex interdependence theory, it can be drawn that transnational actors in general are growing and becoming more influential as we move into the future. It is clear that for success to occur in international politics and other areas, cross border associations are vital, and the easiest way to cross those borders is through the implementation and use of transnational actors. Transnational actors provide communication lines, advocacy networks, and financing to states, organizations, and citizens around the world, all while maintaining a multinational feel, in a variety of sectors.

One of those sectors are religious groups, and their influence is growing in terms of political transnational actions, but one of those groups is already an established transnational actor, and will only continue to grow and strengthen as technology, and the world progress. That is the Catholic Church. The Church is one of the most prominent actors in society today, from its workings with different religious groups around the world, to its continued support and cooperation with charitable organizations and other such companies. The Church has a head start in terms of transnational activity because of its global presence that has been established centuries ago. There are already networks of priests, bishops, cardinals, clergy, and religious organizations that have a history of influencing events, and with the help and push of the Vatican crossing the borders and making a difference is nothing new to the Church.

This demonstration of the Church's influence on world politics in Poland is only one example, and to further investigate and research this topic would show similar situations where the Church has acted on a transnational basis. The Church has networks in every sector of the world, and exploring those networks on a closer level, with undoubtedly show how involved the Catholic Church is many different aspects of political, economic, and social issues. Further evaluations of countries in a similar position to that of Poland would serve as an opportunity to further demonstrate the prominence of the Catholic Church as a transnational actor.

There is however, no better example of the Church's prowess as a transnational actor, than in the Polish situation during the second half of the 20th century. The Church was one of the only viable, reliable institutions for the people to turn to, but more than its multinational extension that reaches around the world to gather support for the people and end communism. The Church helped through the Pope who was communicating to the people in a manner they could understand, all the while visibly supporting the opposition movement. The Church gathered its resources and allies in other parts of the world to continue to support Poland, whether it was Reagan in the United States, the Belgian trade unions, the Italian unions, or different American Organizations, the Church had an influence and made a difference because of their multinational actions. The Church provided financial support, as well as underground publications, and news agencies, it also worked with various political parties, offering money and support. The Catholic Church was involved in every aspect of helping the Polish people deal with their political and social problems, and because of their help, ultimately led Poland to a better and brighter future. The Polish example should be used to demonstrate the capacity and avenues through which the Catholic Church can behave as a transnational actor, and more so proves their prominence in global political, economic, and social situations.

Appendix A

TABLE 2.1 Political Processes under Conditions of Realism and Complex Interdependence

	Realism	Complex interdependence
Goals of actors	Military security will be the dominant goal.	Goals of states will vary by issue area. Transgovernmental politics will make goals difficult to define. Transnational actors will pursue their own goals.
Instruments of state policy	Military force will be most effective, although economic and other instruments will also be used.	Power resources specific to issue areas will be most relevant. Manipulation of interdependence, international organizations, and transnational actors will be major instruments.
Agenda formation	Potential shifts in the balance of power and security threats will set agenda in high politics and will strongly influence other agendas.	Agenda will be affected by changes in the distribution of power resources within issue areas; the status of international regimes; changes in the importance of transnational actors; linkages from other issues and politicization as a result of rising sensitivity interdependence.
Linkages of issues	Linkages will reduce differences in outcomes among issue areas and reinforce international hierarchy.	Linkages by strong states will be more difficult to make since force will be ineffective. Linkages by weak states through international organizations will erode rather than reinforce hierarchy.
Roles of international organizations	Roles are minor, limited by state power and the importance of military force.	Organizations will set agendas, induce coalition-formation, and act as arenas for political action by weak states. Ability to choose the organizational forum for an issue and to mobilize votes will be an important political resource.

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