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*The political subculture of Radio Maryja – catholic media  
as political system object in Poland*

**Introduction**

It is commonly believed that it was during the Renaissance when religion was pushed out of the dominant position in people's lives. Meanwhile, modern day politicians are still not entirely emancipated. Religion continues to play an imperative role in political life, for example, it was the moral inspiration to the Solidarity movement in 1980<sup>1</sup> and it can be found in American constitution or EU Treaty preambles. It is worth noting that as many as 85% of people on this planet declare being affiliated with some religion and a majority of these state that religion is more important to them than politics<sup>2</sup>.

The correlation between religion and politics is an interesting area for scientific research. This relationship is particularly visible in Poland and its society due to it being largely religiously homogenous<sup>3</sup>, with Catholicism as the dominant religion, a specific secularization model as well as the Church's general influence and the role of religion in modern day political life. Religious-political fundamentalism, which we have been observing for some time in the right wing is an analytical challenge which needs to be addressed. The analysis should take into consideration previous research on the subject, in the sphere of political (sub)cultures, secularization, modernization and related issues. A theoretical outline will serve as a starting point to the empirical analysis which will be based on an analysis of media content of father Rydzyk's media consortium, specifically that of Radio Maryja and "Nasz Dziennik" (between 2000–2007). In terms of quantity analysis, select data from the CBOS (Public Opinion Research Centre) report (BS/131/2008) from August 2008 on Radio Maryja listeners will be examined.

The goal of this paper is to identify the role of media in the creation of political subculture attitudes and the trends of the political right wing in Poland and to confront it with

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<sup>1</sup> Religion has always had an influence on the organization of social, including political, life. Especially in Poland, religion has been influential historically and continues to be in modern day life).

<sup>2</sup> Y. Esmer, T. Pettersen, *The Effects of Religion and Religiosity on Voting Behaviour*, [in:] R. Dalton, H.-D. Klingeman, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, Oxford 2007, p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> As is declared.

existing definitions of subculture. The proposed thesis of the paper states that the religious right wing in Poland, with its mainstream centred around Rydzyk's media, is a political subculture indeed.

### Religious right

Religious right is a term which describes organized political groups whose definition boundaries are practically impossible to precisely delineate. The basic criterion defining such groups is the dominant role of religion. Religious right is the subject of academic literature regarding political systems in the US, Australia and Israel<sup>4</sup>. In European and Polish classification this term is not used, however, taking into consideration the specificity of the analysed phenomenon, the authors decided that this is the most appropriate term to describe these extreme right electorate groups.

Modern typology on political parties recognizes the existence of extreme right groups (i.e. nationalist right, ultra-right wing)<sup>5</sup>. These parties are placed on the far right of the right-left political spectrum even though they may have leftist opinions on some issues such as economic, i.e. social welfare programmes. As far as identity, these parties have extremely strong national ties, they dislike foreigners<sup>6</sup> and favour law and order. Radical ideals place these groups on the extreme right of the spectrum, in other words known as ultra-right<sup>7</sup>. The term *New Right* is used to describe Western European right wing groups<sup>8</sup>. The new ultra right wing parties are a product of post industrial society and result from the crisis of traditional parties<sup>9</sup>. Due to their values and behaviour, in addition to terms such as ultra-right or extreme

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<sup>4</sup> A.K. Jacobs, *The new right, fundamentalism and nationalism in postmodern America. A marriage of heat and passion*, "Social Compass" 2006, No. 53, p. 537 and on.; B. Baez, V.D. Opfer, *Ideology and educational policy: an analysis of the religious right*, "Educational Policy" 2000, No. 14, p. 583 and on.; M. Maddox, *God under Howard. The Rise of Religious Right in Australian Politics*, Crows Nest 2005, p. IX–XI, 260 and on.; A. Hertzberg, *The religious right in the State of Israel*, "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" 1986, vol. 483, No. 1, p. 84–92.

<sup>5</sup> W. Sokół, *Klasyfikacja partii*, [in:] *Współczesne partie i systemy partyjne. Zagadnienia teorii i praktyki politycznej*, Lublin 2005, p. 38 and on.; C. Maj, *Narodowe ugrupowania polityczne w Polsce 1989–2001*, Lublin 2007, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> J. Jankiewicz, *Nowa skrajna prawica w wybranych państwach Europy Zachodniej*, Toruń 2007, p. 20–23; cf. M. Minkenberg, *Współczesny prawicowy radykalizm w Europie*, [in:] *Prawicowy radykalizm i ksenofobia w Polsce i w Niemczech. Nacjonalne i europejskie perspektywy*, ed. by M. Minkenberg, D. Sucker, A. Wenniger, Bonn 2006, p. 14 and on.

<sup>7</sup> N. Bobbio, *Prawica i lewica*, Kraków–Warszawa 1996, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> The French GRECE (*Groupement de recherche et d'étude pour la Civilization Européenne*) is considered to be their intellectual base. The New Right was created in 1960s and differentiates itself from the classic right by its radicalism. Also known as post-modern ethno-regionalist and cultural anti-imperialist new Right Wing groups. A. Spektorowski, *The intellectual new right, the European radical right and the ideological challenge to liberal democracy*, "International Studies" 2002, nr 39, p. 166, 182.

<sup>9</sup> Threats felt as a result of modernization and secularization processes create a neo-conservative reaction to change which manifests itself in growing nationalism, xenophobia and religious fundamentalism.

right used is also the term new type of populist party (or even neo-fascist). These include parties such as National Front (France), Flemish Block (Belgium), Austrian Freedom Party, National Action-Swiss Democrats and others<sup>10</sup>. Research on motivation influencing political behaviour of the extreme right is tied socio-demographic factors (i.e. profession, in Western Europe predominantly small entrepreneurs and blue collar workers, education, sex and age) as well as identity (i.e. religion)<sup>11</sup>.

The creation and growth of these new parties in Eastern Europe is a result of deep social frustration and disappointment with the new post-socialist reality. It is an attempt to find some form of “third path”. Right wing extremism in this part of Europe is a desperate attempt to find a way out of an unacceptable situation<sup>12</sup>. Ultra right wing movements thrive in those countries where religion has a large influence on politics.

In Poland, Liga Polskich Rodzin is a party which is considered to be ultra right wing<sup>13</sup>. Additionally, in this group included can also be the extreme right members of PiS. According to some classifications, PiS, together with Akcja Wyborcza Solidarnosc, are considered to be Christian democratic parties. It should be noted, though, that in Poland there never has been a strictly Christian democratic party, according to the classic definition, largely due to the parties’ nationalist attitudes<sup>14</sup>. Christian democratic universalism does not fit in with Polish right wing nationalism.

### **Political culture and subculture – discourse outline**

Research on political culture is part of political scientific research. Cognitive studies on the culture of various political systems were originally carried out by Almond and Verba. They were followed by many others researching the various aspects and trends in political culture, inspired by the conclusions reached by American scientists. Classic concepts define political culture broadly, “The term political culture regards particular political orientations or attitudes as far as the political system and its various parts as well as personal assessment of one’s place within the system (individual or group). Political culture can be treated similarly

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<sup>10</sup> In the US, there is also an extreme right neo-conservative movement

W USA obserwuje się silnie prawicowy nurt neokonserwatywny w partii Republikańskiej. Powstał w odpowiedzi na lewicowy nurt lat 60. i 70. Defenduje konwencjonalną moralność i tradycyjne wartości. “Neocons” są wpływowi w USA dzięki zaangażowaniu obywateli. I. Kristol, *Neokonserwatywne przekonania dawniej i dziś*, [in:] *Neokonserwatywność*, Warszawa 2007, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> J. Jankiewicz, *Nowa skrajna...*, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> D. Segert, *Prawicowy ekstremizm w Europie Wschodniej*, [in:] *Prawicowy radykalizm...*, p. 66–57.

<sup>13</sup> W. Sokół, *Klasyfikacja partii...*, p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> T. Bale, A. Szczerbiak, *Why is there no Christian Democracy in Poland – and why should we care?*, “Party Politics” 2008, vol. 14, nr 4, p. 479–500; cf. P. Łyżwa, *Mysł polityczna chrześcijańskiej demokracji w III RP*, Toruń 2003, p. 251–253.

to economic or religious culture. It is a set of orientations regarding the specific social structure of objects and processes”<sup>15</sup>. In the 1980s, there was a change in the concept of political culture, it began to be treated as a phenomenon regarding which not necessarily outside conditions should be searched but rather personal logic which dictates particular political behaviour (K.M. Baker, 1990; M.R. Somers, 1995)<sup>16</sup>.

Scientists agree that no political system or society is homogenous but made up of numerous components<sup>17</sup>. Division lines regarding political culture can correspond to demographic, economic, geographic, religious, ethnic, racial or any other types of socio-economic divisions<sup>18</sup>.

What is political subculture then? In literature, political subculture is considered to be the culture of a social group significantly different from political orientations dominant within a given system, or as a collection of political orientations unlike (within a political system) others<sup>19</sup>. Taking in consideration previous conclusions regarding the theories of political subcultures as well as own analyses, the authors define political subculture as a set of distinct behaviours of a group within society. Their behaviour is different from the dominant within the system culture, hence – subculture. Political subculture is comprised of various elements of political orientation which separate it from the rest:

- attitude toward the political system as a whole;
- attitude toward institutions and political leaders;
- attitude toward processes, mechanisms, decisions, political events and politicians;
- attitude toward one’s own position within the system.

The above listed relations have a cognitive, emotional, evaluate and behavioural dimension. It is often the mass media (press, radio, TV) which shape, to a large degree, people’s attitudes toward a given political system. Aside from their socialization role, they can also mobilize people to take certain action (i.e. citizen disobedience) or even form political movements<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> G.A. Almond, P. Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Princeton 1963, p. 12; cf. W. Koch, U. Matthes, *Political-Cultural Aspects of the System Transformation*, [in:] *Political Culture in Germany*, ed. by B. Schlosser, R. Rydlewski, New York 1993, p. 137.

<sup>16</sup> E. Wnuk-Lipiński, *Socjologia życia publicznego*, Warszawa 2005, p. 163.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. K. Newton, J.W. van Deth, *Foundations of Comparative Politics*, Cambridge 2005, p. 143.

<sup>18</sup> D. Kavanagh, *Political Culture in Great Britain. The Decline of the Civic Culture*, [in:] *The Civic Culture Revisited*, eds G.A. Almond, P. Verba, Boston–Toronto 1980, p. 166–167.

<sup>19</sup> G.A. Almond, P. Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political...*, p. 26–28; cf. W. Jakubowski, *Kultura polityczna*, [in:] *Spółczesność i polityka. Podstawy nauk politycznych*, ed. by K.A. Wojtaszczyk, W. Jakubowski, Warszawa 2003, p. 711.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Z. Blok, *Czynniki determinujące kulturę polityczną oraz modele kultury politycznej*, [in:] *Teoretyczne i metodologiczne problemy badań nad kulturą polityczną*, ed. by Z. Blok, Poznań 2005, p. 52.

## The marriage of religion and politics

Within broader social context, we can identify at least three ways of religion being present in politics:

- religious issues being on the political agenda;
- political issues being strictly tied to the foundations of a given religion;
- believers identifying themselves with particular political forces and are being loyal to them, regardless of their religiousness<sup>21</sup>.

The analysis focuses on the third point and will attempt to show the correlations between a specific political subculture and other aspects of a political system (i.e. party affiliations, attitudes to political leaders or public institutions).

It seems that increasing economic, social and moral insecurity in connection with the transformation process is one of the reasons why Polish Catholicism is so strong and with a relatively stable role, over the last 20 years, in politics. Moreover, it can be said that Polish Catholicism is a challenge to the traditionally understood secularization tendencies present in Western Europe or in other cultures within our civilization<sup>22</sup>. In the post-Soviet world, things are much more complicated. In the East, the secularization of state and society is even more evident as it is a by-product of a more 'invasive' form of communism.

Modern research notes that it is not the type of religion but the level of religious involvement which shapes people's political behaviour<sup>23</sup>. This is an imperative observation in view of our research and analysis.

Polish society is one of the most religious in Europe, significantly more so than in Western Europe<sup>24</sup>. There is a similarly high level of religiousness in the United States, however, there are different reasons for why these two nations are so engaged in religion. In the US, it predominantly stems from religion pluralism and a wide variety of offer

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<sup>21</sup> A. Heath, B. Taylor, G. Tóka, *Religion, morality and politics. International Social Attitudes. The 10<sup>th</sup> BSA Report*, Aldershot 1993, p. 49–80.

<sup>22</sup> Catholic monopoly in Poland, strengthened within the last few generations (during the inter war period and even more so, before the partitions, Poland before then was one of the most religiously heterogenous countries in the world), does not allow secularization tendencies on the religion market, according to which the religiousness level is dependent on competitive religion pressure. The more options on the market and the more pressure, the more stimulation there is. Meanwhile, in Poland for over 50 years there has not been any alternative form of religion to Catholicism, with all consequences for Catholicism itself, for the social system and for religion-state relations.

<sup>23</sup> Y. Esmer, T. Pettersen, *The Effects...*, p. 492.

<sup>24</sup> J. Mariański, *Nowe wymiary różnicowania religijnego w Polsce*, [in:] *Jedna Polska? Dawne i nowe różnicowania społeczne*, pod red. A. Kojdera, Kraków 2007, p. 176.

(additionally aided by civic and geographic mobility<sup>25</sup>). In Poland, on the other hand, significant is the historic and traditional role of the Catholic Church. Even though Poles are increasingly becoming choosy regarding the elements of religion they wish to practice, they generally stay faithful to the Church as an institution (with nearly everyone taking part in holiday celebrations and many attending Sunday masses<sup>26</sup>). As many as 48% of Poles consider themselves rather religious and 21% – as very religious<sup>27</sup>.

### **Radio Maryja listeners subculture**

The first Catholic media in Poland were created in the 1990s. It was father Rydzyk's, from the congregation of Redemptorist Fathers, initiative to start a Catholic radio<sup>28</sup>.

It started broadcasting in November of 1991 and its official market share is estimated at 2%<sup>29</sup>. Today the radio is a pillar of Rydzyk's media empire, also including the daily "Nasz Dziennik" (established in 1998, circulation 150 000<sup>30</sup>), private satellite television TRWAM (est. 2003) and higher education School of Social and Media Culture (est. in 2001). Radio Maryja plays a key role in this media group whose popularity it reflected in public opinion polls. Since it is a serious player on the media market, also politicians need to take its opinions into account (this was especially evident between 2005 and 2007, or during PiS rule). Rydzyk himself is a very influential persona whose political opinions matter very much to his listeners. It is said that it was his support of the PiS party which helped this party win the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2005.

Radio Maryja and Rydzyk's growing influence have resulted in a split in the Church as well as among the faithful regarding the socio-civilizational changes taking place and the role of the Church and media in the above. The split is known as the the Torunski (Rydzyk)

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<sup>25</sup> R.D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, New Jersey 1993, p. 204 and on.

<sup>26</sup> *Znaczenie religii w życiu Polaków*, CBOS, research announcement BS/81/2006, Warszawa 2006, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 1–2.

<sup>28</sup> Rydzyk's success is an economic as well as political phenomenon. His opinions are so influential that they are "to be or not to be" situations for some politicians. Rydzyk, according to one of his old friends, "was a simple man and a devoted priest. Initially, he made up for his lack of education with his eagerness. Acquiring knowledge was never easy for him. He admired his teachers abut was not free of complexes [...] He used simple, easy to understand language of a folk priest. K. Piskała, T. Potkaj, *W imię ojca. Fenomen Tadeusza Rydzyka*, Warszawa 2007, p. 35, 45.

<sup>29</sup> *Raport otwarcia. Rynek radiowo-telewizyjny w Polsce*, KRRiT, Warszawa 2006 (November), p. 6; *Radia w górę*, "Rzeczpospolita", 10.02.2007; <http://new-arch.rp.pl/artukul/664719.html> [accessed: 14.08.2008]. Radio Maryja is able to reach 80% of listeners in Poland, however due to official public line of criticism regarding its activity the 2% market share may be a much lower figure than in reality as many people do not want to or do not have the courage to admit that they listen to it.

<sup>30</sup> "Nasz Dziennik" is the only national daily with an unknown circulation. K. Piskała, T. Potkaj, *W imię ojca...*, p. 118.

and Lagiewnicki division<sup>31</sup>. The split regards issues such as disclosure of personal files, de-communisation, abortion, EU integration as well as nationalist attitudes toward other nations with most prejudice being targeted at Jews, Germans and Ukrainians.

Rydzik's media consortium as well as his followers are reluctant to take part in any media research or to provide any statistical data regarding their activity, however, attempts to obtain more information about them are continually taking place. Since Radio Maryja is the dominant project in the consortium, data regarding its listeners can be considered representative of the whole as well as of this particular subculture.

**Table 1.** Radio Maryja market share (national scope stations, 2007-2008)

	<b>Market share (%)</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Radio RMF FM</b>	22.6	23.1
<b>2.</b>	<b>Radio Zet</b>	19.2	18.9
<b>3.</b>	<b>Jedynka</b>	12.3	12.3
<b>4.</b>	<b>Trójka</b>	6.6	5.9
<b>5.</b>	<b>Radio Maryja</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>2.2</b>
<b>6.</b>	<b>Dwójka</b>	0.7	0.6
<b>7.</b>	<b>Bis Polskie Radio</b>	0.3	0.4

Source: Radio Track SMG/KRC A Millward Brown Company, February-April 2007; February–April 2008; [www.wirtualnemedial.pl/article/2332421\\_RMFI\\_liderem\\_ostro\\_w\\_dol\\_Trojka.htm](http://www.wirtualnemedial.pl/article/2332421_RMFI_liderem_ostro_w_dol_Trojka.htm) [accessed 07.08.2008].

### **Radio Maryja listeners**

The CBOS report from August 2008<sup>32</sup> indicates that there is a slightly higher percentage of Radio Maryja listeners than the data included in Table 1 regarding market share. According to the report, as many as 8% of people surveyed listen to this station at least several times a week (including everyday), 3% listen several times a month and 4% – rarely<sup>33</sup>.

The socio-demographic structure of this group indicates that they are somewhat excluded from the rest of society. Radio Maryja listeners are predominantly older people, more often women (usually widows) than men (4% of this radio's listeners are youngest, and 27% – oldest listeners). Most of them live in the countryside (49%) and the larger the city the

<sup>31</sup> E.K. Czaczkowska, *Radio Maryja dzieli episkopat*, "Rzeczpospolita", 04.01.2006; <http://new-arch.rp.pl/artykul/590994.html> [accessed: 14.08.2008].

<sup>32</sup> M. Grabowska, *Stuchacze Radia Maryja*, CBOS, research announcement BS/131/2008, Warszawa 2008 (August).

<sup>33</sup> As far as TV Trwam, it is watched by 3% of people at least several times a week, several times a month – by 2%, more rarely – by 3%. It is estimated that about 14% of those surveyed either listen to or watch Rydzik's media at least several times a month. M. Grabowska, *Stuchacze...*, p. 3.

less listeners. Similarly to age, education is also a factor; 49% are people with primary school education, 20% – vocational, 23% – secondary and 8% – higher education<sup>34</sup>. Aside from pensioners (22%) and the disabled (20%), 14% are farmers or unskilled workers. They are also generally people with low incomes, between 501–1000 zł/month per capita (14%) and between 901–1200 zł – 21%. Those whose incomes are higher than 1200 zł constitute the smallest group of listeners (7%).

Most important to Radio Maryja listeners are, naturally, faith and religious practices. Among the listeners 30% consider themselves very religious, 68% – religious and 2% – non-believers. Additionally, 54% of them take part in religious practises once a week and 18% – several times a week<sup>35</sup>. The conclusion would be then, that being very religious or frequently taking part in religious practises (according to the subjective opinions of those surveyed) are characteristic traits of Radio Maryja listeners.

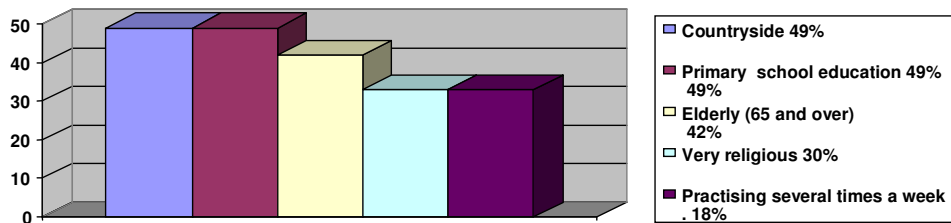
### **Chart 1. Radio Maryja listeners– socio-demographic structure**

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<sup>34</sup> According to research by Acxiom Poland from 2007, 80% of Rydzyk's media recipients (the popular 'moher berets') are people with low level of education (primary or vocational school) and 36% are unskilled workers. *Portret moherowych beretów*, „Wprost” 08.02.2007; [www.wprost.pl/ar/101054/Portret-moherowych-beretow](http://www.wprost.pl/ar/101054/Portret-moherowych-beretow) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>35</sup> Data from UW's Sociology Department, directed by M Grabowska and T. Szawiel, carried out by CBOS in November 2001 based on a random representative sample of adults living in Poland  $N = 1651$  (marked further on as IS 2001); data from PAN Institute of Political Sciences, directed by R. Markowski, carried out by CBOS in October 2005 on a random representative sample of adults living in Poland  $N = 2402$  (marked further on as PSW 2005), data from PAN Institute of Political Sciences, directed by R. Markowski, carried out by PBS in November 2007 on a random representative sample of adults living in Poland  $N = 1817$  (marked further on as PGSW 2007). The conclusion is that during the analysed period of time Radio Maryja listeners were predominantly women, older people with primary or vocation school education, living in the country side and regularly practising. M. Grabowska, *Słuchacze...*, p. 4.

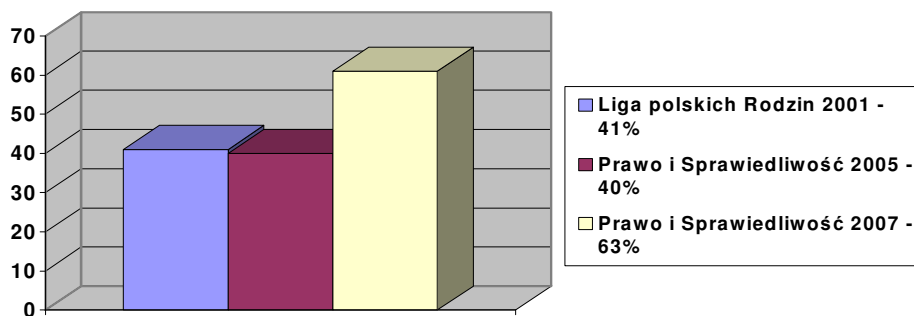




Source: M. Grabowska, *Stuchacze Radia...*, p. 5–6.

Radio Maryja listeners are a specific group as far as political engagement. They constitute one of the most discipline electorate groups with a much higher voter percentage than the national average. If we take a closer look at their political preferences, we can see that a great majority are right wing or conservative voters although a more in-depth analysis shows much greater differentiation which indicates that this group may be politically frustrated, immature or unsure. It can be said that to a large degree this is a group with low political consciousness. One third is unable to specify their political views and 42% define themselves as rightist.

**Chart 2. Radio Maryja listeners voter preferences (parliamentary elections 2001, 2005, 2007)**



Source: M. Grabowska, *Stuchacze Radia...*, s. 6–7.

Although Radio Maryja electorate attitudes are not uniform, during the last three elections a majority of them voted for right wing, ultra-right wing parties or those supported by Rydzyk.

Radio Maryja listeners differ from the average citizen in terms of their view of the surrounding reality, they are less satisfied with the quality of their and their families' lives. In most cases, they rate their lives as average (47%) and are of the opinion that little will change within the following year (65%). They are also more critical than others in their assessment of the situation in the country, which, according to them, is going in the wrong direction (49%). This electorate group is more critical than the average regarding Tusk's government activity. They do not believe that his policy will aid the country in overcoming the crisis (only 29% are optimistic compared to 49% of society). Similarly, they are more critical than the average Pole of parliament's activity. On the other hand, they are more optimistic than the rest regarding Lech Kaczynski's presidency. He is the politician who they trust the most (61%), with Jaroslaw Kaczynski in second place (53%). Not surprisingly, listeners do not trust those in conflict with the president – Tusk (37%) and minister Sikorski (30%).

### **Specificity of Radio Maryja political subculture in media broadcasts<sup>36</sup>**

The materials chosen for this analysis are from "Nasz Dziennik" and Radio Maryja programmes, according to the paradigm by A. Almond and S.C. Verba (1963) which allows us to present the functioning of this political subculture based on a set of attitudes of this specific group regarding the political system and its elements.

Rydzyk and his people's statements are generally negative as far as the assessment of the functioning of the political system and different aspects of socio-political life. In consequence, popular is the theory on the necessity of "curing the system through the marriage of law with religion"<sup>37</sup>. Among the basic problems there are<sup>38</sup>:

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<sup>36</sup> Following deliberations on Radio Maryja political subculture are based on empirical materials including press and radio announcements by "Nasz Dziennik" and Radio Maryja. Analysed were articles on socio-political subjects between February 3, 2007 and August 3, 2008 as well as select radio programmes on the same subject aired between November 11, 2000 and December 19, 2007. Additionally analysed materials from opinion forming press dailies and journals as well as reports on Rydzyk's media prepared by KRRiT and the Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia non-government organization.

<sup>37</sup> T. Bartoś, *Małżeństwo religii i prawa*, "Gazeta Wyborcza" z 14–15.08.2008, p. 22–23.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. questions included in a survey for deputy candidates before the parliamentary elections in 2007, *Mamy prawo wiedzieć. Pytajmy*, "Nasz Dziennik", 13–14.10.2007; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20071013&id=po01.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20071013&id=po01.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

- Polish-Jewish conflict (influence of Jewish lobbying in Poland and around the world, directed against Polish interests, anti-Semitism and xenophobia);
- Polish-German conflict (German claims in Poland, responsibility for World War II and its consequences);
- Polish-Ukrainian conflict (Ukrainian nationalist crimes during WW II);
- Communist era legacy issues (disclosure of personal files, de-communisation, communist secret and security police agent issues);
- protection of human life from inception until natural death (amending the constitution to include clauses prohibiting abortion and euthanasia<sup>39</sup>);
- protection of a traditional family model;
- impoverishment of society, especially those living in the countryside and pensioners, bettering family standards of living;
- secularization of culture and mass media (the “death culture”);
- tougher methods of fighting crime.

The general train of thought in the analysed materials is that the world and Europe are evil, especially Western Europe and the EU are a source of sin and depravity. The great force of evil, according to RM commentators and listeners, leads everyone astray, and results in the Church, the nation and true patriots to feel abandoned<sup>40</sup>. In 2005, in “Nowy Dziennik” and on the radio there were many negative statements regarding the character of changes that took place in 1989 and the functioning of the public system and public life<sup>41</sup>. According to RM

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<sup>39</sup> Controversy on abortion, homosexuality and public role of faith are one of the most successful ways of gaining electorate support by the Republican party in the US., E.L. McDaniel, C.G. Ellison, *God’s party? Race, religion and partisanship over time*, “Political Research Quarterly” 2008, nr 61, p. 180. It seems that organizations such as Radio Maryja Family are similar to the American phenomenon of “moral majority” created in the US by the radical protestant reverend Falwell. P. Milcarek, *Radio Maryja, czyli masowe sarmackie aggiornamento*, “Rzeczpospolita”, 08.12.2006; <http://new-arch.rp.pl/artykul/653477.html> [accessed: 14.08.2008].

<sup>40</sup> John Paul II “Ecclesia in Europa” as a philosophical reflection. RM programme from August 4, 2003; [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20030804-nowik/20030804-nowik.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20030804-nowik/20030804-nowik.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008]. The UN assessment regarding Poland’s deeply rooted stereotypes and prejudices regarding traditional roles of men and women as well as family planning methods was considered by “Nasz Dziennik” as an attack on Poland. J. Szafraniec, *Tradycyjny czy partnerski model polskiej rodziny?*, “Nasz Dziennik”, 05.03.2007; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20070305&id=my11.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20070305&id=my11.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>41</sup> [...] we were deceived in the name of democracy [...] manipulated in the very heart of the Solidarity movement [...] we were sold to foreign banks in the name of liberalist ideology [...] We thank you for humiliating and enslaving us, for exploiting us economically, for destroying moral and cultural values, for humiliating us to Moscow’s and Israel’s vassals [...] for giving us into EU occupation. It’s enough of agents’ and traitors’ rule. Let Poles rule their own country. [...]. Rev. prof. J. Bajda, *O nowy cud nad Wisłą*, “Nasz Dziennik”, 13.08.2005; cf. RM programme on the same subject from August 20, 2005 (aired at least three times during the presidential and parliamentary election campaign); [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20050820-pralat/20050820-pralat.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20050820-pralat/20050820-pralat.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008].

people, the political system is being steered by evil to Polish good forces as a result of an unfavourable Round Table agreement from 1989 signed by Jews on the Solidarity side and by communists on the government side<sup>42</sup>. Bronislaw Germek, “steered by Masonry and Sanhddryn” was considered to be one of the most negative people.

When PiS came into power in 2005, after establishing a coalition government with LPR and Samoobrona, RM and Rydzyk’s supporters were convinced of the possibility to create a truly nationalist Polish state. However, frequent conflict within the coalition encouraged RM journalists and their guests to make truly undemocratic statements, undermining the sense of having a democratic system in Poland. “Undoubtedly, SLD should have been banned a long time ago. The president should take over more power, similarly to Pilsudski or de Gaulle [...], perhaps he should suspend parliament for three years or so, as it is the source of great chaos and conflict. [...] If Poland was to face destabilisation as a result of great demonstrations, we should not rule out asking the military to defend Poland”<sup>43</sup>.

The promises made in 2005 by the rightist/nationalist government to rid the state and the legal system of post-communist legacies were not fulfilled which resulted in great disappointment among RM listeners and Rydzyk’s supporters<sup>44</sup>.

There were no changes made in the legal system which would guarantee legal sanctions for those who do not obey Catholic rules and morality (acts on abortion, disclosure of personal file, de-communisation, stricter punishment of certain crimes). Rydzyk and his supporters were aiming to introduce elements of a religious state; lack of perspectives for the realization of this plan resulted in Rydzyk withdrawing his support for PiS.

“Nasz Dziennik” articles and Radio Maryja programmes continuously criticise those in power. Rydzyk is in conflict with the government and the president regarding moral issues (i.e. some politicians’ stances on abortion) and nationalist issue (attitude toward Jews, Germans and Ukrainians)<sup>45</sup>. RM supporters, mobilized by Rydzyk, are famous for their organization and social activity. They are continuously encouraged by the radio to take part in various social actions, protests and demonstration as well as to collect money for different causes. They are particularly active in their support for family life and the protection of life.

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<sup>42</sup> Conversation by rev. Jan Krol with a listener, Radio Maryja, February 1, 2007; [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20070201-sluchacz-krol/20070201-slucha...](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20070201-sluchacz-krol/20070201-slucha...) [accessed: 08.08.2008].

<sup>43</sup> Rev. Grzegorz Moj’s statement on RM night programme, October 9, 2006, [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20061009-bartnik/20061009-bartnik.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20061009-bartnik/20061009-bartnik.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008].

<sup>44</sup> Rydzyk’s statement during P. Andrukiewicz’s programme on amending the constitution to include a ban on abortion, Radio Maryja, August 8, 2007, [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania /20070308-rydzyk/20070308-rydzyk.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania /20070308-rydzyk/20070308-rydzyk.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008].

<sup>45</sup> K. Dolecki, *Taśmy Rydzyska idą do sądu*, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, 16.07.2008, p. 6.

They organize RM Family communities and petitions (i.e. the UN moratorium on abortion<sup>46</sup>). They take part in “Marches for life”, pilgrimages and church ceremonies gathering from several thousand to hundred thousands of supporters. During Jaroslaw Kaczynski’s government rule, especially popular were religious ceremonies and anniversaries organized by Rydzyk and RM amassing not only thousands of people<sup>47</sup> but also representatives of government, strengthening this way the influence of RM circles and, at the same time, the extreme, ultra-nationalist right.

Radio Maryja first became active politically during the presidential elections in 1995 and since then has been either supporting or speaking against certain politicians, suggesting to listeners who they should or should not vote for and which candidates are Jewish (i.e. J. Kuron, H. Gronkiewicz-Waltz). In the late 1990s, RM openly supported parties such as Akcja Wyborcza „Solidarność” or Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe encouraging listeners to vote for them. In 2001 and 2002, it supported Ruch Katolicko-Narodowy. The relationship between RM and Liga Polskich Rodzin, on the other hand, is variable – the radio at times supports this party or is in conflict with it. The analyses of the 2005 elections confirmed that it was Rydzyk’s support of PiS which influenced the elections’ outcome and resulted in the brothers’ party winning the elections that year<sup>48</sup>.

During the two years of PiS rule there were numerous conflicts between Rydzyk and Kaczynskis. In late 2007, despite considering the brothers anti-communists and truly Polish politicians, Rydzyk openly criticised them for their authoritarian style of leadership and being too submissive to the EU<sup>49</sup>. The height of PiS criticism took place after the lost elections in

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<sup>46</sup> M. Cholewińska, *Podpisy trafiają do ONZ*, “Nasz Dziennik”, 06.08.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20080806&id=po03.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20080806&id=po03.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>47</sup> J. Dytkowski, *Dar spotkania w eterze*, “Nasz Dziennik”, 8–9.12.2007; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?dat=20071208](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?dat=20071208) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>48</sup> Public opinion poll during parliamentary election in 2005 and 2007 show that those voting for PiS were predominantly people over 60, living in the countryside or small towns, with primary or vocation school education. The same demographic groups are also the one which listen to RM most often. *Exit-poll PBS*, 2005; R. Markowski, *System partyjny*, [in:] *Demokracja w Polsce 2005–2007*, ed. By L. Kolarska-Bobińska, J. Kucharczyk, J. Zbieranek, Warszawa 2007, p. 162; *Exit-poll PBS DGA*, 2007, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, 23.10.2007, p. 8. See also : E. Winnicka, *Co jest pod moherem*, “Polityka”, 03.12.2005, p. 4; J.A. Majcherek, *Rozwój i opór*, “Rzeczpospolita”, 28.02.2006; <http://new-arch.rp.pl/artukul/601774.html> [accessed: 07.08.2008]; *Samospalanie*. Diagnozy. Interview with M. Grabowska, a sociologist from UW by D. Rosiak, “Rzeczpospolita”, 21.01.2006; <http://new-arch.rp.pl/artukul/594311.html> [accessed: 07.08.2008]; M. Krzymowski, *PiS zawarło nowy pakt z o. Tadeuszem Rydzykiem*, “Wprost”, 26.08.2007; <http://www.wprost.pl/ar/112662/PiS-zawarlo-nowy-pakt-z-o-Tadeuszem-Rydzykiem> [accessed: 07.08.2008]; B. Łoziński, *Ludzie ojca Rydzyka wysoko na listach PiS*, “Dziennik”, 13.09.2007, p. 3; J. Hołub, *Kogo poprze ojciec Rydzyk*, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, 20.08.2007, p. 2; *Bojkot dziennikarzy*, “Wprost”, 03.02.2006; [www.wprost.pl/ar/86605/Bojkot-dziennikarzy/](http://www.wprost.pl/ar/86605/Bojkot-dziennikarzy/) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>49</sup> J.R. Nowak is one of the most active and aggressive representative of the extreme nationalist right wing, “Nasz Dziennik” journalist. Cf. *Tak-tak, nie-nie programem dla PiS*, “Nasz Dziennik”, 17–18.11.2007; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20071117&id=my31.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20071117&id=my31.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008]; J.M. Jackowski,

2007, when the radio suggested that the party cooperated with post-communist SLD in order to gain support for the president's veto and to block reform proposed by PO government<sup>50</sup>.

An analysis of RM listener attitudes toward the processes, mechanisms, decisions and events as well as political groups and individuals who are not leaders gives us interesting insight on the specificity of RM listeners. They generally identify several social, religious or ethnic enemies. These are predominantly Jews but also Germans and Ukrainians as well as post-communists, liberals, masons (from EU structures) and homosexuals<sup>51</sup>. This includes the rich who, according to Rydzyk, are mainly either Jews or Germans (70%)<sup>52</sup>. Enemies within Church structures are liberal bishops and the Catholic left<sup>53</sup>. Present in media broadcasts is constant anti-Semitic content<sup>54</sup> suggesting enormous political and economic influence of Jewish and German capital, also owning a large share of the Polish media market<sup>55</sup> and being the competition to Rydzyk's truly Polish media. Such views and opinions are stated by both radio listeners, who are not interrupted by the programme hosts, and guests, clergy or lay men, members of scientific and intellectual circles.

The content broadcasted on air often either infringes the law or rules of social co-existence, which has been proven by organizations monitoring the mass media. RM programmes regarding road blockades by farmers and the Samoobrona party were considered

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*Pow wyborczy rachunek sumienia*, "Nasz Dziennik", 27–28.10.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20071027&id=my31.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20071027&id=my31.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>50</sup> J.M. Jackowski, *Kto dmie w żagle SLD?*, "Nasz Dziennik" 26–27.07.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080726&id=my14.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080726&id=my14.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>51</sup> Cf. J. Cieśla, *Gazeta prawdziwych Polaków*, "Polityka", 18.09.2004, p. 24; cf. Rev. Cydzik's conversation with a listener, RM night programme, October 2, 2004, [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20041002-cydzik/20041002-cydzik.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20041002-cydzik/20041002-cydzik.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008]; rev. prof. C. Bartnik, *Jak w czasach Mieszka II*, "Nasz Dziennik" z 1–2.03.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080301&id=my41.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080301&id=my41.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>52</sup> Conversation between Rydzyk and M. Grabowski in RM programme "Rozmowy niedokończone", September 1, 2005; [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20050901-rydzyk/20050901-rydzyk.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20050901-rydzyk/20050901-rydzyk.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008].

<sup>53</sup> Andrukiewicz's statement on RM night programme, September 9, 2007, [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20070909-bartnik/20070909-bartnik.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20070909-bartnik/20070909-bartnik.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008].

<sup>54</sup> Jan (vel Janusz) Kobyłanski is one of Rydzyk's friends. He is the co-founder of Radio Maryja and the higher education school, the former consul in Uruguay, the founder of USOPAL (Polish community in South America organization), a millionaire, an anti-Semite accused of denouncing Jews and spying for the USSR. K. Piskała, T. Potka, *W imię ojca...*, p. 120–131. Cf. Conversation between J. Kawecki and senator C. Ryszka on RM's programme "Głos z Krakowa", January 3, 2007 r.; [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20070103-ryszka/20070103-ryszka.html](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20070103-ryszka/20070103-ryszka.html) [accessed: 08.08.2008]; [DOK], *Sponsor Radia Maryja szpiegiem?*, "Rzeczpospolita", 23.03.2005; <http://new-arch.rp.pl/arttykul/537684.html> [accessed: 14.08.2008].

<sup>55</sup> P. Michalkiewicz's article, Radio Maryja, December 19, 2007; [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20071219-michalkiewicz/20071219-mich...](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20071219-michalkiewicz/20071219-mich...) [accessed: 08.08.2008]; cf. E. Polak-Pałkiewicz, *Cała nadzieja liberata*, "Nasz Dziennik", 22–23.12.2007; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20071222&id=my51.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20071222&id=my51.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008]. KRRiT monitoring of the radio in 2003 indicated numerous broadcaster infringements when anti-Semitic statements were allowed on the radio without any reaction, this way confirming the radio's anti-Semitic prejudices and attitudes. *Monitoring programu Radia Maryja przeprowadzony na podstawie programu nadanego od 27 lutego do 12 marca 2003 r.*, Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji, Warszawa 2003 (May 13th).

by KRRiT as encouraging anti-system activity<sup>56</sup>. The statements made about farmer protests were approving and inspiring to take action which is against the law. It can be said that Radio Maryja co-organized these actions. Moreover, a report by a non-government organization *Otwarta Rzeczpospolita: Stowarzyszenie Przeciwko Antysemityzmowi i Ksenofobii* (Organization Against Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia) from 2001 states that RM propagates stereotypes and racial, ethnic and religious prejudices<sup>57</sup>.

Radio Maryja's stance regarding integration with the UE became evident during the Lisbon Treaty negotiations. When commenting the agreement between president Kaczynski and Prime Minister Tusk on the Treaty, Rydzyk stated in one of the programmes, "If this is true what the media are saying, then there is no use talking. It means they deceived us". Popular among RM listeners is the opinion that if we accept the Lisbon Treaty, we will become just a 'voivodeship' in the EU<sup>58</sup>. RM listeners are also against the Basic Rights Charter fearing the expansion of homosexual circles. The EU Constitution in preparation is considered an act which will take away member states' sovereignty and start a mechanism for the creation of a federal state based on anti-Christian phobias and demo-liberal ideology<sup>59</sup>. RM listeners consider themselves, in a political sense, patriotic, nationalist or "true Poles". At the same time, both Radio Maryja and its supporters claim that Rydzyk's media do not identify themselves with any political party<sup>60</sup>. It is said that, "Different people are invited to programmes, also those who belong to various political parties (except for the left – SLD and PO which are never invited). The patriots, according to RM journalists and listeners, are the subject of attacks by media controlled by Jews ("Gazeta Wyborcza") and Germans

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<sup>56</sup> Ibidem. Media support of ethnic prejudices or hatred can lead to serious crimes or even genocide. This was the case in Rwanda where the RTL radio instigated violence. P. Straus, *What is the relationship between hate radio and violence? Rethinking Rwanda's „Radio Machete”*, "Politics and Society" 2007, nr 35, p. 614.

<sup>57</sup> P. Kowalski, M. Tulli, *Mowa nienawiści. Raport 2001*; <http://or.icm.edu.pl/monitoring3.htm> [accessed: 08.08.2008].

<sup>58</sup> M. Ryba, *Traktat Lizbonski – superpaństwo i triumf europejskiej neolewicy*, "Nasz Dziennik", 5–6.04.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080405&id=my11.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080405&id=my11.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008]. While considering EU one of Poland's main enemies, Rydzyk, at the same time, applies for numerous EU support funds for his Media Complex, the school and for the building of geo-thermal springs. When Tusk's government blocked these funds as a result of not meeting the required criteria, "Nasz Dziennik" published a series of articles accusing the government of discrimination. There was also Rydzyk's commentary on RM, "this is liberal leftist activity which aims, according to a deputy from Lublin, to 'due away with us', "Nasz Dziennik" z 02–03.02.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20080202&id=po03.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20080202&id=po03.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008]. cf. C. Gmyz, *Janusz Palikot o Radiu Maryja*, "Rzeczpospolita", 24.12.2007; <http://new-arch.rp.pl/Search> [accessed: 14.08.2008]; Z. Baranowski, *Kryterium... towarzyskie*, "Nasz Dziennik", 2–3.02.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20080202&id=po01.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20080202&id=po01.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008]; A. Jezierska, *Nowy żandarm UE*, "Nasz Dziennik", 02.03.2007; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20070302&id=po03.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=po&dat=20070302&id=po03.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>59</sup> J.M. Jackowski, *Gra wokół ratyfikacji eurokonstytucji*, "Nasz Dziennik", 19–20.01.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080119&id=my14.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080119&id=my14.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

<sup>60</sup> R. Hajduk, *O zwalczaniu Radia Maryja, czyli kilka pytań politycznie niepoprawnych*, "Nasz Dziennik", 15–16.09.2007; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20070915&id=my21.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20070915&id=my21.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].

(“Dziennik”)<sup>61</sup>. These ‘foreign’ media are a threat to the national Catholic faith, morality and culture just as other non-Catholics and intelligentsia groups, “This phenomenon is growing stronger, influenced by atheist liberalism, it regards now not only individuals but whole groups of people, filled with group hatred. How can this be explained?”<sup>62</sup>

### **Conclusion – characteristics of Radio Maryja political subculture**

The events, issues and regularities presented above in connection with socio-political decisions of this group of people give us insight on the functioning of a different than dominant political culture. It includes regular people as well as religious and laymen activists connected by specific national, Catholic, fundamental, ultra-conservative, negatively charged attitudes toward real or imaginary (more often imaginary) state and political problems. This group is mobilized in a characteristic way (by Rydzyk’s media consortium) and very active (through RM Family groups, pilgrimages, mass ceremonies and demonstrations of superficially religious nature). The specificity of psychological and personality factors (feelings of threat, injustice, paranoid fear of ‘foreigners’) as well as non-conformism and lack of respect for political correctness makes this group different from the political mainstream. It can be said that created was a nationalist-Catholic political subculture, also called the Radio Maryja subculture due to the radio’s mobilization and political ‘socialisation’. Part of this subculture are Rydzyk media recipients, media broadcasters (radio, TV, press and school) as well as people and organizations supporting the above. This includes political activists and groups (i.e. LPR and PiS, although not entirely or permanently), religious activists (priests and monks), related organizations such as Radio Maryja Family and individuals (businessmen, intellectuals) supporting the media and, of course, Rydzyk himself with his charisma and ability to meet people’s needs and moods. This subculture bases on the presented above particular attitudes toward the political system and its elements, founded on ultra right wing, conservative, nationalist, fundamentalist Catholic myths, symbols, stereotypes, fragments of knowledge and information re-interpreted according to the Church’s needs. Church’s specific interpretations create an axiological and evaluative base of the analysed subculture in which characteristic emotions play a key role. This type of emotional image is created by distinct divisions into good and evil, into friends and enemies. Behavioural dimension, as a consequence of emotional engagement, bases on mobilization

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<sup>61</sup> P. Michałkiewicz’s article, Radio Maryja, December, 19, 2007; [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20071219-michalkiewicz/20071219-mich...](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/nagrania/20071219-michalkiewicz/20071219-mich...) [accessed: 08.08.2008].

<sup>62</sup> C.P. Bartnik, *Skąd taka nienawiść do katolicyzmu?*, “Nasz Dziennik”, 31.05–01.06.2008; [www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080531&id=my12.txt](http://www.naszdziennik.pl/index.php?typ=my&dat=20080531&id=my12.txt) [accessed: 07.08.2008].



and taking part in action and activities both religious (i.e. pilgrimages), religiously political (UN petition on abortion) or strictly political (duty to take part in elections and vote for Catholics).

The development or downfall of Radio Maryja political subculture in the future will depend on the position of the radical option of the nationalist right wing not only in Poland but also in Europe and around the world (especially in those countries where Church and religious movements are influential, i.e. in the US), but also on other factors, cultural and economic. There is a strong dependence between the development of political and civic culture and economic growth. The question is whether increasing standards of living will eliminate social fears and political phobias, whether post-modern political culture will be the culture of consumerism and fundamentalism or will elements of democratic and civic culture become dominant? Decisive here could also be institutional factors, that is how and to what degree will populist political parties play on political and religious phobias in their election strategies or if and how will the Church deal with modern day challenges.