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## **The teachings of Pope John Paul II on social welfare at the Shrine of Jasna Góra**

### **1. Introduction**

**T**he Shrine of Our Lady of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa plays an eminent role in the religious culture of Poland. Consequently, this Holy Site has been a point of interest for Pope John Paul II who has visited four times.<sup>1</sup> Indicative of the Holy Father's interest is a statement that he made on June 12, 1987 in Gdańsk, a site symbolising social and political changes in Poland. At the end of Holy Mass and shortly before he left for Częstochowa, the Holy Father said *"I wish to take before the Lord's Mother, the Queen of Poland, and Our Lady of Jasna Góra, all our common aspirations, our desires, our sufferings, the subject matter of today's meeting....And the fact that I am now on my way to Our Lady of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa is a clear confirmation that what has united all us here henceforth will always be present in my prayers. Everyday I pray for my Fatherland, for the working people, I do especially pray for the great Polish heritage which is of course 'Solidarity'".*<sup>2</sup>

After his arrival in Częstochowa at the Shrine of Our Lady of Jasna Góra, and before saying the evening prayer, the Holy Father in reference to his remarks in Gdańsk, said: *"I came here to bring to Our Lady all that is good, which as a whole forms the Eucharistic Congress throughout our country. I would like particularly to present the stages of my pilgrimage to this point in time. I come as a man trusting that all of the important matters of our life in Poland would be illuminated by the Mystery of Eucharist,...here I entrust to Her, the One who is Our Mother, the One who is Our Lady of Jasna Góra of the nation and the Queen of Poland".*<sup>3</sup>

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole pontificate of Pope John Paul II is characterised by a special devotion to Our Lady whose image is the Jasna Góra Icon. The Pope expressed this in an homily he gave on June 4, 1979, when he declared: *"I do not have to say as John XXIII, Paul VI or John Paul I that I count on prayer at the foot of the Jasna Góra Icon. The election of a Son of the Polish Nation to the Holy See of Peter is in itself an obvious tie with this Holy Site. With this shrine of great hope, I can only repeat: Totus Tuus..."*<sup>4</sup>

The importance that the Pope John Paul II attaches to the words “*Totus Tuus*” is closely connected to Our Lady of Jasna Góra. The entire spiritual heritage of the shrine is a living reality in which separation of religious matters from national ones is unlikely. So much are they intertwined, that the Holy Father does not hesitate to describe Jasna Góra as “The Shrine of the Nation”.

Dwelling further on this thought during the above mentioned homily, he gives an original sketch of theology of the day. It is worthwhile therefore to give the utterance verbatim here: "It is possible to write down in various ways the history of Poland, especially of the last few hundred years. It is possible to explain it from various approaches and in many different ways. But if we want to find out how the Poles feel their own history in their hearts, one has to be here. One has to listen to the echo of the whole Nation's life in the heart of the Mother and Queen of Poland. And if this heart beats fearfully, if expressed in it is worry and a call to conversion, to strengthen one's consciousness, to improve family and individual life and that of the whole society - one must accept the call. It is born of motherly love, which in its own way shapes the processes of history on Polish soil."<sup>5</sup>

An in-depth analysis of these and other similar utterances of Pope John Paul II indicates the unusual role and meaning of Jasna Góra, whose spiritual heritage is present in the pastoral service of Pope John Paul II. One may even risk saying that the entire pontificate to this time remains in close union with the Marian spirituality from Jasna Góra's Icon.

The conditions of which we speak do not remain without meaning if we consider the essence of the Pope's homilies and utterances given at Jasna Góra. It must be examined in relation to social teachings. It seems that the Pope always tries to keep in view the importance of Jasna Góra in the events of Poland, in both historical and cultural perspectives, bringing up to date his evangelical message expressed from this place. This message out of necessity has a social character.

Social teaching which John Paul II will give the Poles during his next visits to Jasna Góra, must be interpreted in the context of the whole Church's social teaching. An essential key to understanding the utterances properly is found in the social encyclicals: *Laborem exercens* of September 14, 1981, *Sollicitudo rei socialis* of December 30, 1987 and *Centisimus annus* of May 1, 1991. In these documents, the social essence of the papal homilies and utterances finds a deeper explanation and justification.

Analysing the teachings of the Pope from Jasna Góra on social issues, one must realise that by its very nature it does not have a systematic character. Considering the specifics of the papal utterances does not create a concise doctrinal whole, but they expressly have a pastoral and homilistical character. Thus one cannot speak of the Jasna Góra social doctrine of John Paul II as only based on the words he expressed in this place. However, supported by these words, one may single out a whole array of social problems which the Pope regards at the present historic era as the most demanding of solution in the spirit of Catholic moral teaching. This way of dealing with social problems implies that these teachings may be treated as the subject of Catholic social teaching.<sup>6</sup> Generally speaking it is a discourse on Catholic

doctrine in relation to social issues<sup>7</sup>, constituting an integral part of the Christian concept of life.<sup>8</sup>

Continuing this digression on the subject of Catholic social teaching, it is impossible to omit the basic concept of this discipline. In illustration is the definition of His Eminence Cardinal Hoffner: "It is a collection of philosophical notions with reference to society, taken from human social nature and from theological concepts, springing from the Christian order of Salvation, regarding the nature and order of human society, also with reference to norms and duties which constitute their consequences, and which must be realised in concrete historical situations."<sup>9</sup>

The most important role in Catholic social teaching is the ethical-social theme from the Revelation of God (natural and positive). It allows the evaluation of socio-political and socio-governmental systems and regimes. This of course concerns moral judgement, to which the Church is empowered by the mission entrusted to it by Christ's mission of salvation.<sup>10</sup>

At this point it is worthwhile to understand exactly what is Catholic social teaching in the understanding of the Pope. In the encyclical *Sollicitudo rei socialis*, he states that the teaching of the Church is a result of a deepened reflection over the complex reality of human existence in society and the international context. It is a reflection viewed in the light of the faith and tradition of the Church.

Considering the Pope's homilies and utterances in Jasna Góra, it is impossible not to notice in them an stress placed on moral rules. The Holy Father, showing the essence of these rules and the fundamental values tied to them, speaks at the same time about the necessity of their application to the specific stages and sectors of human social life: in the family, industry, politics, culture, science and technology, ecology, the State, international society, etc.

In the light of the social teachings of the Pope, one may discern an evangelical calling to realise the Christian social rules and values. The aim of these efforts which can be undertaken not only by Catholics, but also by all people of good will, should be, according to Pope John Paul II, a construction of a Civilization of Love. The papal meditations do not have, however, an abstract character but are based on a deep knowledge of contemporary social problems.

## **2. A panorama of contemporary social questions**

It is not difficult to notice the insight and straightforwardness which with the Pope approaches this vast social question of the contemporary world. It seems that the essence of papal teaching on this subject constitutes a particular kind of theological history sketched only in a fragmentary manner, for obvious reasons, but sufficient enough to partially systematise it.

The Holy Father notices that "*the world tries to express everything with the help of earthly calculations and purely materialistic purposes.*"<sup>11</sup> This results from the fact that the history of man on earth is marked by a long line of struggles and battles between good and evil, between the Heavenly Father who so loves the world that he gave His only Son, and the "father of lies" fighting to deprive people

of the adoptive sonhood given to them in Christ by God.<sup>12</sup> John Paul II says that "at the centre of these struggles is the Holy See, is Peter, his service and mission."<sup>13</sup> Jasna Góra because of its exceptional role in the mission of the church participates in these struggles through love.<sup>14</sup>

The Pope is convinced, however, that the present situation of the world is marked by especially great battles which a Christian may not undertake otherwise but in the light of Revelation. Here the Pope reminds us of a fragment of the Letter of Saint Paul to the Ephesians: "Do not fight against blood and flesh, but against sovereigns, against authorities, against the governors of the World of Darkness, against the elements of evil in the heights of Heaven"(6:12)<sup>15</sup>.

John Paul II recalled this in his homily for young people in 1991, saying: "You and your societies experience in various ways this battle, which throughout the history of mankind takes place in man and for man."<sup>16</sup> In a way it is a fight against temptation, to shape individual and social life as though God did not exist.<sup>17</sup> The contemporary world, modern civilization, both the West and the East, try to live as if there were no God.<sup>18</sup> It is a secular civilization promoting human life without God.<sup>19</sup>

The temptation of which we speak constitutes a trial for Christians. The Holy Father sees this especially in the context of the socio-ideological situation in Poland within the framework of Communist dictatorship. Pope John Paul II is convinced that we must undergo great social trials to gain the "right to Christ" and at the same time overcome the temptation of secularisation.<sup>20</sup>

Unusually rich in characterising the contemporary question of society is the Act of Dedication to Our Lady expressed by the Pope during a Holy Mass on June 4, 1990. In the form of a prayer, he entrusted the Mother of God the mysteries of hearts, the pains and sufferings of the epoch, all difficult social matters, of systems and nations, that no one would try to solve these problems by means of hatred, war or self-destruction. At the same time he directed to Our Lady the entreaty, that she as the Mother of Good Council would show the way to safeguard justice and peace in the world, "which are terribly threatened from all sides."<sup>21</sup> The Pope also spoke about the moral dangers at the very foundations of society: life and love. These dangers, according to John Paul II, need to be overcome in individual nations throughout the world.<sup>22</sup>

The problem of demoralisation was explicitly tackled in the papal message to the young before the evening prayer at Jasna Góra on June 18, 1983. The Pope is convinced that there exist many circumstances in the present world which foster tolerance of evil, "so that we would easily absolve ourselves of it. Especially if others behave in the same way."<sup>23</sup>

Because of the importance of this issue, the Pope appealed for a decided stop to the demoralisation present in national life, particularly to social failings. The Pope closed his appeal with a historic reflection and warning against the results of "temporary demoralisation of the nation". In conclusion he says that the future form of our social life depends on what man will be like.<sup>24</sup>

With references to moral dangers in social life, the Holy Father devotes great attention to the lack of purity. During the Sixth World Youth Meeting he said that impurity is the greatest pollutant of mankind. From it breeds hatred, murder and war. In the Pope's conviction, for life to regain its mystery in its richness and absolute sense, purity of heart must be maintained, which is closely connected to the special promise of God's blessing.<sup>25</sup>

The crisis of purity is not, however, the only problem which determines the moral dimension of the modern social question. The Pope has pinpointed more of these problems, and in his opinion, the lack of a proper upbringing of the younger generation is a danger to all society. The Pope dwelled on this problem at length on June 5, 1979 during the 169th Plenary Conference of Polish Bishops.<sup>26</sup>

Analysing educational problems appearing across society, the Holy Father points to a deep feeling of being lost felt by the younger generation. There is a feeling of powerlessness in the fight for good, and the loss of motives which give life its value. The straightforward result of such a state is a lack of interest in politics, as well as an escape into drug use.<sup>27</sup> According to the Pope, atheism, understood as lack of faith, exerts a tremendous influence on the moral crisis. In a message given on June 12, 1987 in Jasna Góra, the Pope entrusted to Our Lady those who are without faith and those "*who try to persuade others into disbelief, to atheism.*"<sup>28</sup> Evident here it is an allusion to the programmatic or militant atheism which is one the fundamental principle of Marxism. The Holy Father reminds the participants of Sixth Youth Meeting and participants of the Theological Congress of Central and Eastern Europe that under the Communist rule religion was attacked as a basic form of alienating man. "They attacked religion and the Church (Churches), in order to emancipate man. It was programmatic atheization, and at the same time 'administrative'" (as stated by Cardinal Stephen Wyszyński).<sup>29</sup>

It is worthwhile to pay special attention here to the decidedly negative evaluation of Communism, which as we all know was a system with atheism incorporated into its ideology. Closing the Sixth Youth Meeting the Pope had this to say to the participants: "*Do not be lured into dictates of changing fashion which throw on you a style of life not in conformity with Christian ideals, do not allow yourselves to be tempted by the nothingness of Communism.*"<sup>30</sup>

Sketching a panorama of contemporary social problems, the Pope puts an emphasis on the crisis of the role of the woman in our society. He spoke generally in positive terms about the social mobility of women, but also noted that in this mobility there is a "great admixture of error". He spoke about the necessity of liberating woman from subjection to the demands of modern society, but does not overlook the current crisis in the world of women.<sup>31</sup> Connected to the woman's problem is the faltering state of marriage which is becoming a major social danger. The Pope sees a great danger in the weakening of spiritual ties between husband and wife, children and parents. In consequence this leads to the breakdown of marriages. The Pope prays that marriage would not undergo a destruction of unity.<sup>32</sup> The Holy Father pays particular attention the sphere of relationships between man and woman. He points an accusing finger at the modern mentality which reduces this relationship to

the modern, utilitarian, permissive mentality in which there is no place for human dignity.<sup>33</sup>

The marital crisis and the problem of women are in obvious connection with the next socio-moral problem of abortion, i.e. the killing of unborn children. In his prayer to Our Lady, the Pope appeals to the Polish consciousness and stresses the commandment which states: "*Thou shalt not kill*". The Pope also thanked those who "*fight for the lives of unborn children*".<sup>34</sup> Speaking to a crowd at the Shrine of Our Lady of Jasna Góra the Pope has this to say: "*Do not kill a child conceived in the mother's womb! Do not destroy yourself! We all know this addiction, which harmed us so in the past and which today once again intensifies.... The degradation of the human being, the family, society is not permissible if we are to take responsibility in the face of history.*"<sup>35</sup> This was an important hint to the Communist regime responsible for introducing a law permitting abortion. Defending life is prime preoccupation of the Pope, who several times at Jasna Góra held a dialogue with Our Lady on this matter. This is what the Pope had to say to Our Lady on August 15, 1991 before the prayer *Regina coeli*: "*Teach us to serve life from its conception to its natural death. Teach us to accept this life*".<sup>36</sup>

Other social problems such as alcoholism, unemployment, the crisis of work and culture were also pinpointed by the Holy Father.<sup>37</sup> On June 12, 1987 at Jasna Góra the Pope entrusted to the care of Our Lady, Queen of Poland those who fight for the sobriety of the nation, undertaking in this field various initiatives. Moreover in unusually forceful words he turns to the faithful: "*It is not permitted to ridicule or diminish these initiatives, it is not permitted for too high is the price we have at stake. And we must go against the current of social addiction, shallow opinion and human weakness*".<sup>38</sup>

The Pope said the crisis of work is due to the disappearance of spirituality at work. The Benedictine catchword *work and pray* should be a part of European culture. This is why the Pope utters: "*Do not allow yourselves to be tempted to believe that a human being may find himself, express himself, by rejecting God, throwing away prayer from his life and remaining only at work*".<sup>39</sup> The Pope noticed that this temptation takes an upper hand in various regions of Europe, causing the de-Christianisation of social life.<sup>40</sup> Keeping in mind the huge array of problems connected with work, the Pope offered a prayer to Our Lady in which he encompassed the consequences of this crisis. He entrusts to the "Glorious Blessed Lady" those who are unemployed, lack a decent dwelling, and are afraid for the future.<sup>41</sup>

One must admit that the panorama of contemporary social questions, or rather the socio-moral teachings of John Paul II in Jasna Góra, does not give basis for optimism. This does not mean, however, that the Holy Father is pessimistic. Nothing is farther from the truth! The Pope is man of faith, he believes in the maternal care of Our Lady of Jasna Góra for every soul, every child, every family, and every man.<sup>42</sup> The Pope is convinced that Poland is a special Kingdom of Mary,<sup>43</sup> from this he draws appropriate conclusions on the difficult and sometimes painful experiences of social and political problems that can be solved by faith. In the spirit of Christian

hope the Pope believes that to such experiences the church can more accurately comprehend and interpret the “signs of times”<sup>44</sup> facilitating the realisation of the most important aim in human life: Eternal Salvation.

### 3. Underlining social rules and values

The Holy Father in his homilies and utterances at Jasna Góra did not only speak about the dangers Christianity faces, but he also gave a positive vision of social life according to his apostolic mission. He stresses therefore the necessity of moral order in given sectors of public life, especially politics. This type of message can be found in the Jasna Góra teachings the Pope gave in 1979. This was the first pilgrimage of the Pope to his Fatherland which took place on the occasion of the 900th Jubilee of the Martyrdom of Saint Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, who is the Patron Saint of moral order.

The feast to the honour St. Stanislaus gave an opportunity to the Pope to express fundamental thoughts of the church’s teaching on society, such as the relation between morality and politics, church and state, the law of God and human law. An appropriate co-existence of these relations create moral order in public life.

The papal address given to the participants of the 169th Plenary Conference of Polish Bishops, with reference to the above mentioned Jubilee, underlines that moral order *“is above all connected with the recognition of a commonly binding law of moral authority.”* It is *“one for all. It is a norm of morality, it is a criterion of the fundamental value of the human being....It is a fundamental condition of social order. On this basis nations and countries are built, without it they collapse.”*<sup>45</sup> The Pope also analyses the substance of moral law in relation to the discipline of ethical reason. In the Pope’s conviction, it is a fundamental dimension of human life. This dimension also includes the political sphere, understood here as care for the common good.<sup>46</sup>

To build a social order, certain effort and conditions are needed. One of these conditions is the need for social dialogue. The Holy Father gives many thoughts on this. It is worthwhile taking them into account for they shed much valuable light on the essence of dialogue, belonging to *“the signs of times”* to which the Church refers after Vatican II.

*“In dialogue,”* according to Papal teachings, *“one must clearly state “Who I am” in order to be able to talk to the other, who is different. One must be very decisively say: Who I am, Who I want to be and Who I want to remain”.*<sup>47</sup> A true dialogue in socio-political life, as the Pope puts it, must show full respect and faithfulness, fully safeguard citizens’ rights and the moral conditions of the Church’s activities as a religious community.<sup>48</sup> For a such dialogue, the Pope on June 19, 1983 at Jasna Góra has this to say to Our Lady Mother of God: *“Make it possible for a new courage of social dialogue through which the nation can regain hope of full participation in creating the shape of its common life”.*<sup>49</sup> This prayer was closely linked to the political events in which we saw Solidarity stir Polish workers in 1980, and with the introduction of Martial Law by the Communist government the following

year. During his first pilgrimage to Poland, Pope John Paul II talked about dialogue as a normalisation process between Church and State. The Holy Father said that the *"Holy See could have dialogue with states, with systems, if and only if the local Church is an immediate partner in that dialogue, a Church which can be counted upon, which does not represent any conformism, nor any concessions on essential issues, which is not a mere tool."*<sup>50</sup> Appealing for dialogue, the Pope is fully aware of the difficulties that may sometimes make it impossible. But above all he refers to the supernatural motivation taking the words of the Lord's Prayer: *"Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us."* An indispensable element and obligatory condition of dialogue is the will to forgiveness and reconciliation. The Holy Father stresses that without forgiveness it is impossible to escape from the shackles of hatred, which is a destructive force. A Christian however must not destroy nor should he allow himself to be destroyed. He should always pause at the threshold of the Lord's Prayer and should stand on the border of reconciliation. Forgiveness is a sign of greatness of the human spirit, it is not a weakness. *"To forgive does not mean to give up truth and justice, but denotes the fact that we attain truth and justice through the Gospel."*<sup>51</sup>

One of the most fundamental values or rules which should shape our entire social life is human dignity coupled with Christian dignity. In a prayer session on Jasna Góra on June 5, 1979, the Pope asks the Mother of God that *"She constantly remind each and every one of us of how great is the dignity of man."*<sup>52</sup> But the deepest reflections on the human being can be found in the message the Pope gave to the participants of the Central and Eastern Europe Congress of Theologians. The Holy Father asks a question about what makes, and decides human dignity, that of man made in the likeness of God Himself. In response he concludes that it involves truth and freedom.<sup>53</sup>

In the light of this basic message, the Holy Father speaks about the Rights of Man. He indicates *"the way of respecting man, his conscience, and convictions."*<sup>54</sup> Considering the national character of Jasna Góra, the Pope's message on human dignity and rights are connected to national rights. Counted among them are: the right to religious freedom, the right to a sovereign life, the right to respect freedom of conscience and religion, and the right to human labour.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, the right to religious freedom occupies a central place.<sup>56</sup> The idea of freedom is present in almost all papal teachings at Jasna Góra. It is a sort Theology or Philosophy of Freedom. On June 12, 1987, John Paul II said in a prayer on freedom that: *"It was not given to man by the Creator that he would destroy himself and others. Freedom is not lawlessness."*<sup>57</sup>

On the following day the Holy Father concentrated more on unveiling the religious dimension of freedom. He said that a wonderful expression which is a sign of freedom and a calling to freedom is the Eucharist. Freedom is a gift from God, a difficult gift, *"which causes us to constantly dwell between good and evil, between salvation and damnation. Freedom, however may degenerate into abuse. And abuse, as we know from our history may lure man by a semblance of the 'Golden Freedom'. At each step we witness how freedom becomes the 'bond-*

age' of man, people and societies. The bondage of pride and greed, and the grip of sexual drives, the bondage of envy, laziness... and the bondage of egoism, hatred... A man cannot be truly free, but through love."<sup>58</sup>

Pope John Paul II attaches great importance to love in social life. He appeals here to the younger generation. On June 18, 1983 in his words to the youngsters at the Jasna Góra Appeal he said that it is upon themselves that the form of love depends, that which will accompany them for the rest of their lives. Through the interior form of this love, all marital, family and social, and patriotic life are defined and given value.<sup>59</sup>

The Pope, since his first pilgrimage in Jasna Góra and through his meditations, entrusted the Mother of God with the freedom of the Church in Poland and the world. Freedom is called the great gift of God. Its fulfilment is love. *"To the essence of love belongs 'affiliation,' which means not being free but rather being free in a mature way. However that 'not being free' in love is never felt as bondage: a mother does not feel as bondage that she must stay beside her sick child, but as an affirmation of her freedom, as her fulfilment. Then she is the most free. Giving oneself into bondage indicates the special, holy whereas the unconditional trust of human life is vague and indistinct."*<sup>60</sup>

During the Sixth World Youth Meeting, the Pope gives proof that true freedom is tightly and organically connected with truth: truth constitutes the root of freedom. Only through the relation to truth man may decide for himself, may finally choose between good and evil. What the Pope underlines expresses the very kernel of human ethos.<sup>61</sup> Having in mind the awareness of special 'status' of truth in human life, the Holy Father invites bishops and all the pastors to foster in social life "the need to listen to the truth." The Pope is convinced that it is the first and fundamental condition of every authentic social renewal.<sup>62</sup>

What is very interesting here is the Pope's notice, stressing it would seem, of the neuralgic moment of human freedom: man is free, because he has the ability to know the truth; at the same time he becomes so free that he is directed by truth to Goodness.<sup>63</sup> In this light the Pope also discusses freedom of consciousness and denomination, religious freedom<sup>64</sup> and national freedom.<sup>65</sup> This type of reflection is always accompanied by theological or anthropological references. The original motive of the Papal reflections on freedom is the idea of evangelical freedom in Jasna Góra. This evangelisation has an ecclesiastical dimension, as well as a national one. It displays the life and dignity of the sons of God, and moreover asks for the freedom of the nation, for a free Fatherland. The Pope concludes that at Jasna Góra *"we are always free. At Jasna Góra, the hope of the nation was supported and persistently aspired towards regaining freedom....the nation perishes, when it destroys its spirit, a nation grows when it purifies its spirit."*<sup>66</sup>

To the rule and virtue of love in human life and national life joins the idea of Solidarity. The use of this word by the Pope is linked with its political meaning. It symbolises the Polish August and the whole movement of social changes, under the catchword "Solidarity".

On June 18, 1983, a few hours before the Appeal at Jasna Góra, the Pope said that: “*I guard, meaning: love thy neighbour, meaning also, fundamental inter-human solidarity.*” For proofs of solidarity, the Pope quotes the care for those imprisoned during Martial Law in Poland, as well as help for those who had lost their job.<sup>67</sup> The Pope in his farewell to the Youth on August 16, 1991, expresses the conviction that the witness of Christian life may give a start to a real solidary world. Solidarity as a social value is equal to brotherhood and justice.<sup>68</sup> In his homily during the main Mass on the occasion of World Youth Day, the Pope talked about solidarity in the contexts of values such as peace, harmony, love, truth, justice, giving of one’s self, service to others, and brotherhood.<sup>69</sup> Solidarity demands responsibility. And the Pope, on August 15, 1991, petitions the Mother of God in the prayer *Regina coeli*, to teach Catholics an active presence in social life. This presence should be tied to responsibility for the fates of specific earthly fatherlands and the entire world.<sup>70</sup>

However, Pope John Paul II looks upon solidarity as a social principle which is illustrated within the framework of Catholic social science and especially teachings on labour. The Pope concludes that: “*the Christian teaching on labour, stresses on one hand the solidarity of the working people, and on the other, the need for genuine solidarity with the working people.*”<sup>71</sup> Here the Pope is citing a fragment of his June 1982 message at the headquarters of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva. Here is another excerpt: “*In order to build a world of peace and justice, solidarity must overthrow the foundations of hatred, egoism and injustice too often elevated to ideological rules or fundamental social laws. Within the same frame of the working community, solidarity leads rather to the discovery of individual demands inherent to the nature of labour rather than to a tendency for division and opposition. Solidarity opposes understanding society in the categories of the fight ‘against’, and social relations in the categories of uncompromising antagonisms of class. Solidarity, which takes its beginning and strength from the nature of human labour, that is to say from the primacy of man over objects, will be able to create tools for dialogue and co-operation allowing the solution of differences without destroying the opponents.*”<sup>72</sup> It is easy to notice that it is as if a promotion of the idea of Polish experiences in the realm of workers solidarity. Another strictly social principle mentioned in the Pope’s thoughts in Jasna Góra is helpfulness. Considering the role of the State in relation to society, the Pope stresses the principle of *Principium Subsidiaritatis*, the State should understand its mission in relation to the society. “*The State is only the governor of man. It has to help and serve this man. It should be an expression of full sovereignty of the nation, and not a sovereignty of its own structure in relation to the nation.*”<sup>73</sup>

The above mentioned social principles, solidarity and helpfulness, at their basis spring from the principle of personalism. This is the spirit of the Papal teachings, of which the stress on human dignity and rights illustrates. In the framework of Christian personalism, the Holy Father speaks about religious freedom, about respecting indi-

vidual and personal dimensions of development, respecting the human right to life from conception till natural death, as well as the right of the family to full development.<sup>74</sup>

In summary, the most space in the Pope's Jasna teachings is given to national, patriotic topics. It is no surprise, for Jasna Góra is the primary national shrine for Poles. It is a site of Marian devotion present in under a banner of the Most Holy Mother of God, "*Lady of our Nation and Queen of Poland.*"<sup>75</sup>

John Paul II has several times underlined the need for unity, identity and subjectivity of the nation. Pointing out eminent Polish saints, among them: Jadwiga from Silesia and Saint Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, he discerns in them, symbols of unity among Poles and reconciliation among nations. Unity as the Pope notes, takes roots in the life of a nation only when human life on various levels is subject to the demands of justice and love. One of the first levels is family.<sup>76</sup> The postulate for unity refers to every level of society in the structure of the nation, not overlooking the Episcopate. In 1979, Pope John Paul II concluded with approbation that Polish bishops enjoy social trust because they are united around the primate.<sup>77</sup>

The Pope acknowledges the correctness of those who claim that the element which unifies and safeguards the identity and unity of Polish nation in extremely difficult periods is the participation of the nation in the spiritual heritage of the Church in its Catholic unity.<sup>78</sup> It is a statement of fact and at the same time a request addressed to Church demanding the service of unity.

Moreover, in national life the Pope discerns the important role of the State. If the State is sovereign, according to the Pope, the nation should be allowed to realise its intrinsic subjectivity and identity both historically and culturally.<sup>79</sup> It is worth noticing that these words of praise addressed to Polish culture were uttered in situations of limited sovereignty of the Polish state during the period of Communist dictatorship.<sup>80</sup> It has undoubtedly a social meaning because it fosters the attitude of patriotism.

In the Papal message, the divisions responsible for the realisation of social and national values is not overlooked. The Holy Father enumerates among them four groups: emigrants, white and blue collar workers, those creative in culture and science and social workers who are close to the ideals of solidary responsibility and care for the common good.<sup>81</sup> The Jasna Góra papal message does not overlook the most universal value which is peace. From the Pope's message, we clearly see his concern for peace in Poland, Europe and the world.<sup>82</sup> When speaking about peace, he does not separate it from justice and from all the things that make up the essence of respecting the rights of man and nations.<sup>83</sup> This teaching is an example of a certain universalism given by the Pope at the Jasna Góra Shrine. A similar example is the constantly recurring element of the Christian roots of Europe.<sup>84</sup> From time to time, the Pope reminds of the Christian foundations of European culture, its Evangelical heritage. He calls to the youth of Europe to return to their Christian roots, if for the good of humankind they would search for future unity.<sup>85</sup> This universalism is, however, far from dominating the matters and problems of local Church which by tradition should remain in close union with the nation.

#### 4. The idea of a Civilization of Love

Recognising the dangers that our civilization carries in itself and pointing to values and principles which must be taken into account in social life, the Papal teachings lead to a positive vision of social life. This is a Civilization of Love. In this perspective, one may as it seems, interpret Pope's messages on love as such.

We find a treatise on love in an utterance to youth in the evening prayer of June 18, 1983. It was a reflection on the essence of the appeal's *'I guard.'* The Pope notices that this word is an important answer on this love, *"by which we are embraced in the image of Jasna Góra's Icon. 'I guard' means that I try to be a man of conscience, that I do not destroy this conscience, that I do not deform it. I call by name good and evil, and do not blur them. I try to work in myself for good, and try to correct my evil, to overcome it within me... 'I guard' means further that I watch out for my neighbour... 'I guard' means love of one's neighbour."*<sup>86</sup> As if in justification, the Holy Father adds: *"Today when we strive for the future form of our social life, remember that this form depends on what men will be."*<sup>87</sup>

The Pope is convinced that the program of this civilization can and should become the Catholic social science. With pain he concludes that many are ashamed of the social teaching of the Church. At the same time he notices that *"this teaching is a means for shaming others. It is only here that we must forget ourselves."*<sup>88</sup>

During the Sixth World Day of Youth, inviting all to co-operation in building a Civilization of Love, John Paul II points to the Catholic social science as the great program of that civilization. Here he refers to his encyclical *Centesimus annus* of May 1, 1991, in which he reminded and confirmed that program, which is the Catholic social science.<sup>89</sup>

The program of the Civilization of Love is contained, of course, in other encyclicals on society. In the Jasna Góra messages, the Pope also refers to the encyclical on human labour, *Laborem exercens*. This document seems to be a special contribution to the shaping of the Civilization of Love. It is explained by the Pope himself when he welcomes the pilgrims from the dioceses of Szczecin-Kamień on June 18, 1983. Here is a relevant fragment of the Pope's message: *"In this epoch when the world is shaken by so many conflicts... , the Pope could not have not written an encyclical on human labour. It could not be that the Gospel of peace and work was not spread with special force."*<sup>90</sup> In his Jasna Góra message, the Holy Father gives an expression to the conviction that *"the gospel of work"*, that is the Christian teaching on human labour shown in *Laborem exercens*, finds itself at the very centre of Catholic social teaching.<sup>91</sup> Because of this, "the gospel of work" constitutes one of the most important points of the Civilization of Love.

For the image of the civilization under discussion, we have countless utterances of the Pope directed to pilgrims at Jasna Góra on various occasions. Resulting from these talks is the definition of the basic condition of an authentic Civilization of Love as it relates to the gift of life.<sup>92</sup> According to the Pope, a tremendous role in the building of the new civilization rests with the religious orders. Increasingly they make

up for the "lack of heart" resulting from a materialistic life.<sup>93</sup> In this way they add to the creation of the Civilization of Love. John Paul II inviting them to this sort of activity, expresses it in these words: "*The church and humankind need... the donation of your free heart to empower the potential of love in the world which constantly loses the ability to altruism, to disinterested love connected with sacrifice.*"<sup>94</sup>

If we speak about the Civilization of Love, it is worthwhile to recall a fragment of the message the Pope delivered to the participants of the Central and Eastern European Congress of Theologians, in which the Holy Father talks about Christianity as a culture and as humanism. As a result Christian culture or Christian humanism constitute an authentic framework for the Civilization of Love.<sup>95</sup> This is one of the reasons why the Pope speaks about the need of "responsibility for the today and tomorrow of Polish Christian culture."<sup>96</sup>

A part of responsibility for building the Civilization of Love lies on universities, "masterpieces of culture", in particular on Catholic universities which are also responsible for social aims. Actually the *Gospel's* order of love does not identify with knowledge and wisdom, which is the objective of a university, but both these orders are interdependent. The Holy Father appeals for an appropriate maintaining of relations between these orders so that, thanks to this, universities become a way of liberating the great potential of the human spirit, mind, will and heart, hence shaping a mature mankind.<sup>97</sup>

The Civilization of Love is not an abstract idea, but a general catchword that demands realisation in certain sectors and fields of social life. The Pope puts to the forefront marriage and family as the first and fundamental human community.<sup>98</sup> Where marriage is concerned, he does not hesitate to remind of "*a delicate sphere of relations between man and woman. A sphere which should be based on a sense of the highest dignity of man as the image and likeness of God.*"<sup>99</sup> On the family, the Pope says that it is the centre of life and love. It is a formulation with a postulative character from the realisation on which depends the life of entire societies, nations and states. Towards this goal must exist the appropriate conditions of work, housing, support, and the essential societal acceptance of the family. These are the conditions as proof of acceptance: care about beginning life, social respect for childbearing, joy in children who come into this world, the full right to upbringing and widespread help in it.<sup>100</sup>

An important field which the Civilization of Love expresses itself is human labour. In the Jasna Góra remarks, Papal teachings on human labour were not passed over, for understandable reasons. The Holy Father referring to the command of the creator: "*make the earth your own and obedient*" (Genesis 1: 28), underlines the necessity of work "of mind and hands." Work, according to the papal message, is a fundamental dimension of human life here on earth. It has not only a technical meaning but also an ethical one. Man should not be enslaved by work but to its Lord. It must help him on the way to spiritual maturity and the realisation of tasks of a social character.<sup>101</sup> Human work should also serve to "*strengthen the truth and spread goodness.*"<sup>102</sup> Greeting pilgrims from Szczecin-Kamień on June 18, 1983, the Pope

showed the elements of Christian anthropology of work. The Pope preached that the *Gospel* of "work and peace" is an integral teaching on man, stressing the ideal of a man renewed inside. The Pope is full of admiration for the Polish workers, for whom in the well known protest of 1980 the question "How much?" was not most important, but at the very foundations was the question: "For what purpose?" Pope John Paul II, as if giving an answer to this last question, concerning the sense of human work points to the fundamental moral principles contained in the *Gospel*.<sup>103</sup>

The Papal teaching on human labour is directed towards its spirituality. The Holy Father speaking to the Polish bishops on June 19, 1983 refers Cardinal Wyszyński's book entitled: *The Spirit of Human Labour*, in this way he gave a hint that his teaching constitutes a vivid connection with the Polish cultural heritage of Catholic social thought, whose eminent representative was the above mentioned Primate of the Millennium.<sup>104</sup>

In an authentic Christian civilization, there must not be a lack of options or preferential love for the poor. This special priority was accentuated in the encyclical *Sollicitudo rei Socialis*. The Pope always returns to this thought in his teachings on society. This is also present in his speeches at Jasna Góra. He speaks about the idea of a Church of the poor,<sup>105</sup> the lonely, the forsaken, the sick.<sup>106</sup> The Pope is full of admiration for the deeds of charity, in the form of material help to families with many children, to elderly people, sick, handicapped, and repressed.<sup>107</sup>

Analysing the Pope's speeches, we are struck by his tremendous interest in the promotion of Jasna Góra, that it could best and most fully contribute to the building of the Civilization of Love. The Holy Father is deeply convinced of the maternal presence of our Lady in the Jasna Góra Icon.<sup>108</sup> It seems that the gift of her presence is powerfully imprinted not only on the history of Poland, but radiates to others countries, remaining in the service of the Universal Church.

Although the papal utterances on social topics do not constitute a concise doctrinal wholeness, their analysis gives a certain picture which partially corresponds to the national and universal character of Jasna Góra. Social matters, as we note, are put into the perspective of the *Gospel* by the Pope. He stresses the building of a Christian civilization, that which is supported by the Divine Word, and serves the interests of man, e.g. his eternal destination. The Holy Father in his Jasna Góra messages desires to convince Poles that the realisation of socio-moral principles preached by the Church, not only leads to eternal happiness in the Heavenly Kingdom, but also to a more human stay on this earth.

#### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Pope John Paul II came to Jasna Góra for the first time in 1979. He started his pilgrimage on 4 June in the morning and finished it on 6 June in the afternoon. In 1983, during the second papal visit to Poland, marked by the 600th Anniversary of the presence of The Mother of God's picture at Jasna Góra, the Pope's stay lasted from the afternoon of 18th June till the morning of 20th June. The third pilgrimage, of an eucharistic character, gave the Pope opportunity for a brief visit to Jasna

Góra. He arrived on the evening of 12th June and left the next morning. A slightly longer visit took place in 1991 as a part of The Sixth World Day of Youth. The Holy Father came to the Sanctuary on 14th August in the evening and left it only in the morning of 16th August.

<sup>2</sup> *Trwajcie... Trzecia pielgrzymka Jana Pawła II do Ojczyzny 8-14 czerwca 1987. Przemówienia i homilie*; edited by A. Szafrńska, Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, Warsaw, 1988, further cit. *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 217 (Series *Jan Paweł II pierwszy Polak na Stolicy Piotrowej*).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Pielgrzymka do Ojczyzny. Przemówienia i homilie Ojca Świętego Jana Pawła II*; edited by A. & Z. Szubowie; Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, Warsaw, 1979; further cit. *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p.97 (Series *Jan Paweł II pierwszy Polak na Stolicy Piotrowej*).

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> In Polish literature the following terms are used most frequently with the same meaning: "catholic social teachings", "social teachings of the Church", "social science of the Church". Although the expressions "teachings" and "science" are used interchangeably, one should not forget the subtle difference between them. See: Cz. Strzeszewski, *Katolicka nauka społeczna*, ODiSS, Warsaw, 1985, pp. 151 - 161.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mazur, J., *Katolicka nauka społeczna (textbook for theology students)*, Edition "Unum", Cracow, 1992, pp. 7 - 12.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hoeffner, J. *Chrześcijańska nauka społeczna* Original title: *Christliche Gesellschaftslehre*, [Editions Apostolstwa Modlitwy, Cracow, 1983], p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Majka, J., *Katolicka nauka społeczna. Studium historyczno - doktrynalne*, Rome, 1986, pp. 8 - 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Homilia do pielgrzymów z Górnego Śląska i Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego* (6 June 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 206.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy Świętej* (15 August 1991), in: *Druga część czwartej pielgrzymki Ojca Świętego Jana Pawła II do ojczyzny 13 - 16 sierpnia 1991: "Otrzymałście ducha przybrania za synów"*, Publication of the Warsaw Archdiocese, Warsaw, 1991, further cit. *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 88.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie do OO. Paulinów w kaplicy Matki Bożej Częstochowskiej*, in: *Pokój Tobie, Polsko ! Druga pielgrzymka Jana Pawła II do Ojczyzny 16 - 23 VI 1983*, edited by A. Szafrńska, Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, Warsaw, 1983, further cit. *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 140 (Series: *Jan Paweł II pierwszy Polak na Stolicy Piotrowej*).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.* p. 139.

<sup>16</sup> *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy świętej*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> See also *opt. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> See also *Słowo Ojca Świętego do młodych w czasie nocnego czuwania na Jasnej Górze* (14 VIII 1991), in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 78.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego przed opuszczeniem Jasnej Góry* (13 VI 1987), in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 236.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Przemówienia do pracowników i studentów KUL - u* (6 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 203.

<sup>21</sup> *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 104.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>23</sup> *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 134.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Modlitwa Ojca Świętego przed "Regina coeli"*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, pp. 98 - 99.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 151.

- <sup>27</sup> Cf. *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy Świętej* (15 VIII 1991), in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 93.
- <sup>28</sup> *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 226.
- <sup>29</sup> *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego do uczestników Kongresu Teologów Europy Środkowo - Wschodniej*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 117.
- <sup>30</sup> *Pożegnanie Ojca Świętego z młodzieżą*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 100.
- <sup>31</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego do żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 137.
- <sup>32</sup> Cf. *Homilia do pielgrzymów z Dolnego Śląska, Opolszczyzny i Ziemi Lubuskiej* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, pp. 165 - 166.
- <sup>33</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego przed opuszczeniem Jasnej Góry* (13 VI 1987), in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 236.
- <sup>34</sup> *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego po Apelu Jasnogórskim* (12 VI 1987), in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 229.
- <sup>35</sup> *Opt. cit.*, p. 228.
- <sup>36</sup> *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 98.
- <sup>37</sup> Cf. *Słowo do młodzieży przed Apelem Jasnogórskim* (18 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 135.
- <sup>38</sup> *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 229.
- <sup>39</sup> *Homilia Ojca Świętego do pielgrzymów z Górnego Śląska i Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego* (6 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 208.
- <sup>40</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*, p. 208.
- <sup>41</sup> Cf. *Modlitwa Ojca Świętego przed "Regina coeli"*, (15 VIII 1991), in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 98.
- <sup>42</sup> *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy św. na Jasnej Górze* (4 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 95.
- <sup>43</sup> For example *Pozdrowienie diecezji szczecińsko - kamieńskiej* (18 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 126.
- <sup>44</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca świętego do wyższych przełożonych zakonnych zgromadzeń męskich* (4 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 107.
- <sup>45</sup> *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 150.
- <sup>46</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*, p. 149; *Apel Jasnogórski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 170.
- <sup>47</sup> *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 148.
- <sup>48</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*, p. 148.
- <sup>49</sup> *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 170.
- <sup>50</sup> *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 148.
- <sup>51</sup> *Słowo przed Apelem Jasnogórskim* (19 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 171.
- <sup>52</sup> *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, pp. 154 - 155.
- <sup>53</sup> *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, pp. 118 - 119.
- <sup>54</sup> *Słowo przed Apelem Jasnogórskim* (19 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 170.
- <sup>55</sup> *Homilia podczas uroczystej jubileuszowej Mszy świętej* (19 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 147.
- <sup>56</sup> Cf. *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 148.

- <sup>57</sup> *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 229.
- <sup>58</sup> *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy Świętej w kaplicy Matki Bożej (13 VI 1987)*, in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, pp. 233 - 234.
- <sup>59</sup> Cf. *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 134.
- <sup>60</sup> *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy Świętej na Jasnej Górze (4 VI 1979)*, in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 100.
- <sup>61</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego do uczestników Kongresu Teologów Europy Środkowo - Wschodniej (15 VIII 1991)*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 119.
- <sup>62</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie do Episkopatu Polski podczas konferencji plenarnej (19 VI 1983)*, in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 164.
- <sup>63</sup> *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego do uczestników Kongresu Teologów Europy Środkowo - Wschodniej (15 VIII 1991)*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p.119.
- <sup>64</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego przed opuszczeniem Jasnej Góry (13 VI 1987)*, in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 236.
- <sup>65</sup> For example compare *Homilia podczas uroczystej jubileuszowej Mszy świętej (19 VI 1983)*, in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 147.
- <sup>66</sup> *Opt. cit.*, pp. 146 - 147.
- <sup>67</sup> *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 135.
- <sup>68</sup> *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 101.
- <sup>69</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*, pp. 92 - 94.
- <sup>70</sup> *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 99.
- <sup>71</sup> *Przemówienie do Episkopatu Polski podczas konferencji plenarnej (19 VI 1983)*, in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 166.
- <sup>72</sup> *Opt. cit.*
- <sup>73</sup> *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski (5 VI 1979)*, in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 149.
- <sup>74</sup> Cf. *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy świętej (15 VIII 1991)*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 95.
- <sup>75</sup> *Słowo Ojca Świętego przed Apelem Jasnogórskim (12 VI 1987)*, in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 225.
- <sup>76</sup> Cf. *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski (5 VI 1979)*, in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 140.
- <sup>77</sup> Cf. *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski (5 VI 1979)*, in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 140.
- <sup>78</sup> Cf. *opt. cit.*, p. 144; *Homilia do pielgrzymów z Dolnego Śląska, Opolszczyzny i Ziemi Lubuskiej (5 VI 1979)*, in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 166.
- <sup>79</sup> Cf. *Homilia podczas uroczystej jubileuszowej Mszy świętej (119 VI 1983)*, in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 146.
- <sup>80</sup> Cf. *Słowo przed Apelem Jasnogórskim (19 VI 1983)*, in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 170.
- <sup>81</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego po Apelu Jasnogórskim (12 VI 1987)*, in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, pp. 226 - 227.
- <sup>82</sup> *Homilia do pielgrzymów z Dolnego Śląska, Opolszczyzny i Ziemi Lubuskiej (5 VI 1979)*, in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 166.
- <sup>83</sup> Compare *Akt oddania Matce Bożej (4 VI 1979)*, in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 104.
- <sup>84</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie powitalne Ojca Świętego podczas nocnego czuwania (4 VIII 1991)*, in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 75.

- <sup>85</sup> Cf. *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, pp. 152 - 153 ; *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy świętej* (15 VIII 1991), in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 93.
- <sup>86</sup> *Druga Pielgrzymka*, pp. 134 - 135.
- <sup>87</sup> *Opt. cit.*, p. 135.
- <sup>88</sup> *Słowo Ojca Świętego wygłoszone podczas 169 Konferencji Episkopatu Polski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 149.
- <sup>89</sup> *Homilia Ojca Świętego podczas Mszy świętej* (15 VIII 1991), in: *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 93.
- <sup>90</sup> *Przemówienie do Episkopatu Polski podczas konferencji plenarnej* (19 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 163.
- <sup>91</sup> *Przemówienie do Episkopatu Polski podczas konferencji plenarnej* (19 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 163.
- <sup>92</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego do żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych* (5 VI 1979), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 163.
- <sup>93</sup> *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego do żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 133.
- <sup>94</sup> *Opt. cit.*, p. 132.
- <sup>95</sup> *Czwarta Pielgrzymka*, p. 119.
- <sup>96</sup> *Ojciec Święty przemawia do Rady Naukowej Episkopatu Polski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 162.
- <sup>97</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie do pracowników KUL- u* (6 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 202.
- <sup>98</sup> Cf. *Apel Jasnogórski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 171.
- <sup>99</sup> *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego przed opuszczeniem Jasnej Góry* (13 VI 1987), in: *Trzecia Pielgrzymka*, p. 236.
- <sup>100</sup> Cf. *Apel Jasnogórski* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 171.
- <sup>101</sup> Cf. *Homilia Ojca Świętego do Pielgrzymów z Górnego Śląska i Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego* (6 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, pp. 206 - 207.
- <sup>102</sup> *Słowo przed modlitwą Anioł Pański* (19 VI 1983); in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 151.
- <sup>103</sup> Cf. *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 127.
- <sup>104</sup> *Opt. cit.*, p. 166.
- <sup>105</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie do Episkopatu Polski podczas konferencji plenarnej* (19 VI 1983); in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 164.
- <sup>106</sup> Cf. *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego do żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych* (5 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, p. 133.
- <sup>107</sup> Cf. *Apel Jasnogórski* (4 VI 1979), in: *Pierwsza Pielgrzymka*, pp. 119 - 121 ; *Przemówienie do Episkopatu Polski podczas konferencji plenarnej* (19 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 165.
- <sup>108</sup> Cf. *Słowo do młodzieży po przybyciu na Jasną Górę* (18 VI 1983), in: *Druga Pielgrzymka*, p. 123.