# PAPAL PILGRIMAGES TO POLAND AS PEDAGOGICAL PROGRAMS, 1979-1987

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Abstract

This thesis aims to reconstruct the speeches given by Pope John Paul II on his visits to Poland in 1979, 1983, and 1987 as part of a specially designed pedagogical program. The author argues that one of the functions of the papal visits, as a pedagogical program, was to provide instruction and establish a firm moral and cultural foundation for the people of communist Poland. That being said, this thesis also asserts that John Paul II viewed himself as a pedagogue to the nation. The author shows how the Pope's intellectual development contributes to this position and examines his speeches in light of the situation in Poland before and after each visit.

Quentin Skinner's ideas on meaning and intention are used as the analytical apparatus for this thesis. By distinguishing between different forms of meaning and the intentions of speech, this thesis is able to argue that there are present different layers of meaning in the Pope's speeches; of which one corresponds to the pedagogical programs. The author shows that the actual program consisted, in part, of the intentional emphasis on culturally loaded subtexts within official public addresses, which served as various symbolic meanings to the listeners. The author's argument is strengthened by comparing the program of the visits from 1979, 1983 and 1987 with the first papal visit to Poland after the fall of communism in 1991.

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## Notes on the Polish Language

The primary sources used for this thesis appear in the Polish language. As such, all Polish-English translations rendered are those of the author, unless otherwise specified.

For the sake of consistency, because not all names of people and places have an English equivalent, all names will appear written in Polish.

To facilitate proper pronunciation, the guide below is provided.

### Vowels

a = ‘ah’ as in ‘father’
ą = nasal ‘ohn’
e = ‘eh’ as in ‘bed’
ę = nasal ‘ehn’
i = ‘ee’ as in ‘knee’
o = ‘oh’ as in ‘go’
ó = ‘oo’ as in ‘to’
u = ‘oo’ as in ‘to’
y = ‘ih’ as in ‘win’

### Consonants

b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, z = same as English
c = ‘ts’ as in cats
ć = ‘ch’ as in cheese
j = ‘y’ as in yellow
ł = ‘w’ as in wall
ń = ‘ny’ as in canyon
r = crisp r
ś = ‘sh’ as in shy
w = ‘v’ as in very
ź = ‘zh’ as in measure
ż = ‘zh’ as in pleasure

### Combinations

ch = ‘ch’ as in loch (glutteral kh)
ci = ‘chi’ as in cheat
cz = ‘ch’ as in church
dzi = ‘j’ as in judge
ni = ‘ny’ as in onion
rz = ‘zh’ as in azure
si = ‘she’ as in she
sz = ‘sh’ as in ship

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# INTRODUCTION

When Karol Wojtyła was elected to the throne of St. Peter in 1978, the world knew that changes were at hand. As shocking as it was that a non-Italian was elected to the papacy, equally shocking was the fact that John Paul II came from an Eastern Block country. However his origins proved to be a great asset as the leader of a global religious community. As a highly educated polyglot whose life was shaped by the hardships of foreign occupations, both physical and ideological, John Paul II found himself in a unique position that would allow him to relate to his flock on a level that his privileged predecessors could not. His life experiences molded his view of the role of the Catholic Church in society, as well as the obligations of leaders to safeguard those they lead.

One of the things John Paul II is known for is voicing his opinion on just about everything as it relates to the quality of life. At times he did so bluntly, while at others it was the subtext of his words that spoke for him. When John Paul II visited his homeland in 1979, 1983, and 1987 for religious events, he made a series of public addresses pertaining to the religious aspects of his trip, all of which have been found to have political and moral undertones. This has been confirmed by research to the point that it is now common knowledge. Although affirming the results of this research, it is the position of this thesis that John Paul II also used his visits as an opportunity to instruct his fellow countrymen as part of a 'pedagogical program.' Thus, the aim of this thesis is to reconstruct the 'pedagogical program' that John Paul II had towards the Poles from the time of his election to the fall of communism.

Perhaps the first to suggest that John Paul II had a specialized program for Poland was Jarosław Gowin, an expert in the philosophy of John Paul II.[1] In his book about the role of the Catholic Church in Poland after communism, Gowin theorized that the Church would have to

[1] Jarosław Gowin. *Kościół po Komunizmie (The Church after Communism).* (Kraków: Znak, 1995).

take a different approach to Poland than it does in the west because of the historical and social differences in western Christianity and Polish Christianity. This suggestion resembles the Vatican's *ostpolitik*; a policy aimed at Christianity in the Soviet Union, which differed from the Vatican's dealings with the west. Though this specially designed program for the East was instituted by Pope Paul VI, it is difficult to say if it was continued by John Paul II. According to Carl Bernstein and Marco Politi, the *ostpolitik* of his predecessors was canceled by John Paul II.[2] However, George Weigel's research suggests that not only was the policy continued, but that it was strengthened and given new priorities.[3] This is also the conclusion on the topic that Frank J. Coppa draws.[4]

It is most likely that John Paul II did continue with some formal policy towards the Soviet Bloc, which contributes to some of the theories regarding his role in the fall of communism. According to Tad Szulc, it was the negotiations between the Polish Pope and the communist officials that led to the fall of communism.[5] Reporter John O'Sullivan believes that communism fell as a result of the combined efforts of John Paul II, Ronald Regan and Margaret Thatcher.[6] Bernstein and Politi claim that the fall can be traced exclusively to the Pope's collaborations with the American government.[7] However, Jonathan Luxmoore and Joanna Babiuch reject this idea and believe that it was the Pope's philosophies that supplied the means



[2] Carl Bernstein and Marco Politi. *His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of our Time* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), p. 7.
[3] George Weigel. *The Final Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 93-96.
[4] Frank J. Coppa. *The Modern Papacy since 1789* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 239-243.
[5] Tad Szulc. *Pope John Paul II: The Biography* (New York: Pocket Books, 1995).
[6] John O'Sullivan. *The President, The Pope, and the Prime Minister: Three Who Changed the World* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 2006).
[7] Bernstein.

to defeat communism.[8] For Malachi Martin, the fall of communism was part of a master plan by John Paul II to lay the foundations for a new world order.[9]

Regardless of who deserves how much credit for the fall of communism, Martin is right about one thing- John Paul II had a plan. Jerzy Kloczowski confirms that the Pope's 1997 visit had a "clearly delineated" program which suggests that his other visits also had them.[10] In fact, George Weigel relays the first instance when it is clear that John Paul II purposely arranged for his public events to be displayed in a manner that would benefit his countrymen. Weigle recalls from an interview with a senior Vatican official who worked with John Paul II that

> Polish national television (then under strict communist control) had agreed to broadcast four hours of the installation Mass from Rome. John Paul, knowing that the Polish authorities hoped that the Mass would not last quite that long, so that the regime propagandists could put the government's spin on Wojtyła's election at the end of the broadcast while exploiting the visual backdrop of St. Peter's Square, called in the papal master of ceremonies and told him that the ceremony had to last four hours: however the MC did it, it had to last four hours. Thus, as many will remember, there was a seemingly interminable procession of the cardinals to the newly installed pope's throne, each of whom got more than a perfunctory embrace from John Paul II. And at the end of the four hours, there was the Polish pope, cross held high, exhorting the crowd, "Be not afraid!" It was a media masterstroke, made possible by the experience of a very savvy John Paul II.[11]

In his notes to this paragraph, Weigel explains the significance of his televised message to his Polish listeners, saying that

> The Pope spoke very directly to the Polish Church at several points during his installation homily. He cited, by name, the great Polish Nobel laureate, Henryk Sienkiewicz, whose novels had helped keep Polish historical memory alive after the partition of 1795 and ended the Polish state. He spoke of the "living, strong, *unbroken*, and deeply felt link" between Poland and the See of Rome, to which Poland had "ever remained faithful." He invoked St. Stanisław, and the Black Madonna of the Jasna Góra monastery. To western ears, these may have seemed idiosyncratic pieties. They were, in fact, wholly intentional challenges to both the Polish people and to the communist regime in Warsaw. And they were understood as such by both parties.[12]



[8] Jonathan Luxmoore and Joanna Babiuch. *The Vatican & The Red Flag* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Publishers, 1999).
[9] Malachi Martin, *The Keys of This Blood* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990).
[10] Jerzy Kloczowski. *A History of Polish Christianity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 344.
[11] Weigel, *The Final Revolution*, pp. 93-94.
[12] Weigel, *The Final Revolution*, p. 228.

In order to effectively reconstruct the Pope's pedagogical program, the thesis will be divided into four chapters. The first chapter will discuss the theory behind the research. It will present definitions for words used within the thesis which may, at first glance, appear to be problematic in their meanings. The approach taken in this research will be discussed, including its applicability and merits in terms of this research. Next, the theoretical concepts upon which this research is based will be presented. Finally, the primary sources used for this thesis will be discussed.

The second chapter presents the intellectual biography of Karol Wojtyła/ John Paul II.[13] It will briefly describe his youthful activities and interests, as well as present events in his life that had a significant impact on his mental development. His formal education will be discussed in greater depth, along with those influences. This chapter will then present the philosophical and theological viewpoint that John Paul II had towards people, society and the Church. In concluding, this chapter will present the viewpoint of the Pope as a pedagogue, a concept that is vital to understanding how and why John Paul II created his pedagogical programs for Poland.

An overview of Poland will be given in chapter three. This contextual chapter will discuss the state of Poland before and after each of the papal visits. It will also summarize the official messages of each of the visits for each of the years presented. Though this thesis is directed towards the papal visits in 1979, 1983 and 1987, context will be given for the 1991 visit to provide a means of comparing the visits under communism with those after communism.



[13] John Paul II will be referred to by his given name, Karol Wojtyła, or by the ecclesiastical title he held until his election as the successor of St. Peter in 1978.

Chapter four is the main research chapter. The substance of the research is based on the identification of subtexts. First, an introduction to linguistic devices will be presented in which their identification will be coupled with the theoretical methods introduced in the first chapter. Next, four specific linguistic devices, which appear frequently in the primary sources will be examined. After the analysis of these linguistic devices is made, the idea of a 'pedagogical program' will be discussed. Lastly, the unofficial message of the speeches as they relate to the idea of a 'pedagogical program' will be presented.

Although this work encompasses a twelve year period and takes primary sources from four papal visits, there are certain limitations to this work. Probably the most significant hurdle for this project is the amount of possible sources that can be examined. Because of time and length requirements, this project has not examined archived sources from either the Polish press or foreign presses. Neither does it incorporate interviews from individuals who were present when John Paul II made his public addresses. Perhaps the best additional sources for such a project would be any personal papers, diaries, letters, correspondences, etc… from John Paul II. However, given that these sources are most likely treaded as sacred objects, it should be generally understood that access to such sources is highly restricted. The incorporation of these, of course, would give additional credence to the analysis and help the reconstruction of the papal pedagogical programs.

An additional limitation to this research, again associated with the sheer volume of sources available, has to do with the analysis. This takes two forms. The first has to do with the identification of the linguistic devices used in conjunction with the pedagogical project. This work of reconstructing the Pope's pedagogical project limits itself to four linguistic devices. This is not because more could not be found. On the contrary, there are many, but the ones presented represent what is felt to be the most significant. The second limitation has to do with

the addressees of the Pope's visit. In general, his remarks to the clergy, government officials, or other influential parties are not as deeply analyzed as are his homilies, sermons and addresses to the masses. Though it is expected that the same features would appear in the comments to these groups, it is also conceivable that there would be additional subtexts or programs which directly relate to the relationship between those listeners and John Paul II.

While there are certain limitations to this work, there are also certain contributions that this thesis makes. From a theoretical perspective, this thesis sheds additional light on the relationship between intention and meaning. It also provides insights into actions that may have played a role in the fall of communism. However, because this is not the aim of the thesis, it will not be addressed or speculated upon further. Finally, this thesis helps further the idea that historical events and the intentions of historical actors can be adequately, if not fully understood by examining the influences on an actor's life.

# 1.0: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## *1.1: Introduction*

In helping to make this argument, this chapter will address the issues pertaining to the theory and methods which will be used to form a sound analysis, which is the instrument by which a credible conclusion to this thesis can be achieved. The first subchapter will discuss the idea of pedagogy and establish a working definition for the thesis. The second subchapter will discuss the use of biography as a historical genre and as en element of intellectual history. The third subchapter will present the theoretical approaches used in the analysis of this thesis. The fourth subchapter will discuss the sources used in the analysis. This chapter will then conclude by bringing the four subchapters together into one coherent unit.

## *1.2: Establishing Definitions*

'Pedagogy' is a word whose meaning can be illusive, misunderstood and misrepresented. Therefore, it is important to establish a working definition, which will remain constant throughout this work. One commonly understood definition of pedagogy implies that it is synonymous with the act of teaching or the function of a professional educator. This definition can be found in several English language reference books.[14] However, some English language reference materials make it clear that pedagogy is not merely teaching, but an approach to teaching which emphasizes instruction in effective teaching methods which are designed to facilitate systemized learning.[15] This later definition is closest to a contemporary



[14] *Collins English Dictionary, 5th Edition*. (Glasgow: HarperCollins,2000), p. 1143; *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*. (New York: Gramercy Books, 1996), p. 1428; *The World Book Encyclopedia Vol. 15*. (Chicago: World Book Inc, 1990), p. 228

[15] Lesley Brown (ed.). The *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. 2*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 2136; *Cambridge International Dictionary of* English. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p. 1041; "Webster's", p. 1428; "World Book", p. 228.

Polish definition which stresses the importance of organized methods in teaching.[16] An older definition, which was probably more familiar to John Paul II in his formative years, not only involves understanding pedagogy as the discipline of instruction, but specifically as "the science of leading and educating a younger generation and justifying the means for it."[17] Therefore, the working definition of pedagogy for the purposes of this thesis will be 'a specifically designed method for the delivery of ideas, concepts, and information to a targeted audience for instruction, guidance and the acquisition of education.'

The word 'pedagogy' can be used in this thesis on its own according to the previously established definition. However, this definition gives very little insight into John Paul II and his pedagogical program other than saying that he did have a special method. It is important here to establish that John Paul II not only subscribed to a pedagogical philosophy, but that he saw himself as a pedagogue. Understanding Pope John Paul II as a pedagogue is imperative to comprehending the substance and motives of his addresses.

Like the word 'pedagogy,' the word 'pedagogue' can be ambiguous. Contemporary English definitions identify a pedagogue as being a pedantic who strictly follows the rules.[18] It is not this definition that is intended to be applied to John Paul II, rather, one of the antique definitions of a pedagogue. According to certain definitions, a pedagogue in antiquity was not only an educator, but also a caretaker- a protector and defender of his master's child.[19] An older Polish definition with which John Paul II would have been familiar says that pedagogues



[16] Mieczysław Szmyczak (ed.). *Słownik Języka Polskiego, wyd. 8 (Dictionary of the Polish Language, 8th Edition)*. (Warsaw: Naukowe PWN, 1993), p. 626.
[17] Adam Kryński and Władysław Niedźwiedzki (eds.). *Słownik Języka Polskiego, Tom IV (Dictionary of the Polish Language, Vol. 4)*, (Warszawa, 1908 (1900-1927)), p. 102. http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=237 (Accessed 28 March 2012) ["Pedagogja: Nauka o wychowaniu młodego pokolenia, podająca i uzasadniająca środki do tego celu wiodące, chowanna"].
[18] Brown, "Oxford", p. 2136; "Cambridge", p. 1041;" Collins", p. 1143; "Webster's", 1428.
[19] "Collins", p. 1143; "World Book," p. 288.

were "keepers and perceivers of customs."[20] It is this Polish concept combined with the idea of a pedagogue as a protector and defender that will be applied to John Paul II. In essence, a working definition of 'pedagogue' will be 'a person who uses a specifically designed method for the delivery of ideas, concepts, and information to a targeted audience for instruction, guidance, acquisition of education, and preservation of their interests and customs.'

### *1.3: A Biographical Approach*

Biography, as a genre, is one that tends to be excluded from the corpus of legitimate historical knowledge. It is often viewed as a pseudo-historical undertaking which makes for popular reading outside of academia. The methods used in obtaining information for biographies are often shunned by professional historians. However, it must be remembered that, although data may be collected using methods that are not considered conventional in historical studies, biographies are still based on the interpretation of facts derived from evidence.[21] In the case of this thesis, various forms of biographical evidence (which will be discussed later in the chapter) contribute to the contextualization of the thesis and to the analysis itself. This biographical approach, as noted by David Nasaw, "uses evidence from the past but focuses upon the individual to answer questions about personality and character."[22] It is because the questions being asked in this thesis pertain to an understanding of John Paul II as a person that this biographical approach is being used.

Although a biographical approach is essential when investigating questions pertaining to the thoughts, personality, emotions and perceptions of an individual, it is also valuable in

[20] Kryński, "Słownik," p. 102. ["U Rzymian preceptorowie nauczali, pedagogowie zaś byli dozorcami i postrzegaczami obyczajów."]
[21] David Nasaw, "Introduction," *American Historical Review*. Vol. 114, No. 3 (June 2009), p. 578; Robert I. Rotberg, "Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XL:3 (Winter, 2010), 309.
[22] Nasaw, "Introduction," 574.

helping "to render fully intelligible their historical action in context"[23] Such context is essential for the execution of the analysis of this thesis. Indeed, this biographical approach benefits this analysis of the Pope's pedagogical program when considering that it is possible for "individual lives to illuminate larger historical patterns and developments."[24] In this way, comprehending how John Paul II viewed the situation in Poland at the time of his visits, as well as his messages and their desired effects helps to provide another layer of understanding to the history of Poland in the 1980's and to the role that John Paul II played in the fall of communism.

While the biographical approach is important to understanding the context of the thesis, it does not imply that the thesis is a biography in the commonly understood sense of the word. On the contrary, the biographical approach is only a part of the methodological apparatus of the analysis. The use of a biographical approach necessarily means that the theoretical framework of the thesis must draw upon ideas found within the broadly defined discipline of intellectual history. Robert I. Rotberg noted that "biography becomes intellectual history in that we have to know all of the influences, across many dimensions, on an individual's life and work."[25] Lowis W. Banner makes the same statement when explaining that research for her biographies required her to "delve into intellectual history […] and the history of concepts."[26]

Although, as previously stated, this thesis is not a biography in the commonly understood sense of the word, it can be viewed as an intellectual biography, addressing only one aspect of larger historical events, which can only be properly understood when taking into consideration the influences which played a part in shaping the personality of John Paul II. Thus, this work becomes intellectual history because of what John Paul II's "thoughts,

[23] Prue Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat and Tom Wengraf (eds.). *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science: Comparative Issues and Examples* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 8.
[24] Barbara Caine. *Biography and History*. (Basingstoke, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 23.
[25] Rotberg, "Biography and Historigraphy," p. 307.
[26] Lowis W. Banner, "Biography as History," *American Historical Review*. Vol. 114, No. 3 (June 2009), p 584.

language, and contests with the world reveal."[27] These revelations, in turn, help shed light on how the individual agency of John Paul II influenced historical events.[28]

### *1.4: Historiographic Framework*

Although this thesis will fall within the framework of intellectual history, the discipline itself contains a broad range of approaches and interpretations. Because the content and analysis of the thesis focuses on interpreting works and intentions generated by an individual's intellectual capacities, and recognizes the importance of influences which shaped the faculties of the producer, this thesis will be set within the historiographic tradition of the history of ideas. This discipline, as introduced by Arthur Lovejoy, concerns itself with understanding the development of ideas over time, whose influences may not be as clearly defined as is commonly assumed. In Lovejoy's book, *The Great Chain of Being*, it is not themes, temporalities or locations that are the substance of analysis, but specific "unit-ideas," which must have an interdisciplinary understanding of thought and ideas.[29] Lovejoy reinforces this initial proclamation of studying ideas in a wider context by observing that familiarity with the background of an author often helps the reader to more accurately understand and appreciate the influences and circumstances which influenced the author's writing.[30] As Donald R. Kelley observes, Lovejoy's approach can apply to a wide range of topics based on intellectual development some of which will be addressed in this thesis, such as the history of language, religion, theology, education, politics and society.[31] Essentially, Lovejoy believes that 'unit-

[27] Alice Kessler-Harris. "Why Biography" *American Historical Review.* Vol. 114, No. 3 (June 2009), p. 626.
[28]Chamberlayne, p. 3, 8; Ian Kershaw. "Biography and the Historian" in Volker R. Berghahn and Simone Lassig (eds.). *Biography Between Structure and Agency* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), p. 29.
[29] Arthur O. Lovejoy. *The Great Chain of Being*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 15.
[30] Arthur O. Lovejoy. "Reflections on the History of Ideas." *Journal of the History of Ideas.* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan 1940), pp. 3-23.
[31] Donald R. Kelley. "What is Happening to the History of Ideas?" *Journal of the History of Ideas.* Vol. 51 No. 1 (Jan-Mar 1990), pp. 11-12.

ideas' can, and should, be understood in relation to the way its meaning changes throughout history.

An approach which bears resemblance to the history of ideas as conceived by Lovejoy is the German *Begriffsgeschichte*, or conceptual history. While Lovejoy's history of ideas is concerned with understanding unit-ideas and the influences that contribute to them, *Begriffegeschichte* aims at grasping the meaning of politically and socially charged terminologies as they relate to their political or social content.[32] This *Begriffsegeschichte* approach proves to be valuable in comprehending how and why terminologies change in their meanings, usages and context over time.[33] While this approach does provide benefits in understanding the evolution of concepts, it is not the aim of this thesis to pursue an analysis in the direction that would allow *Begriffsegeschichte* to be useful as a method of analysis for ideas of this thesis.

To borrow from Lovejoy, the specific 'unit-idea' to be addressed in the analysis of this thesis is that of meaning. A lot of work has been done and theories produced on the transmission of meaning and the intent of that transmission in many fields. It is the meaning of the messages of John Paul II that will serve as the 'unit-idea' of the thesis. The analysis of this specific unit-idea will incorporate the biographical approach and Lovejoy's insistence creative acts cannot be understood without taking into account the influences which shaped the final product. By using this approach the thesis will show how John Paul II's past played a part in developing his personality, which would effect the way he would transmit his messages in communist Poland.



[32] Reinhart Koselleck, "Begriffegeschichte and Social History," in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), p. 81.
[33] Koselleck, p. 84.

Although the biographical and Lovejovian approach assists in providing background for understanding the content of John Paul II's speeches, it is not a tool of analysis. While the content of the speeches are the subject of this analysis, it is restricted to the issue of meaning. However, understanding the meaning of 'meaning' is not as simple as it may appear. Within the broad-ranging history of ideas there appear different approaches and theoretical frameworks for analyzing and understanding the meaning of 'meaning' in different contexts. The approach that this thesis will take is based on the historiographic method of contextualism, also known as the Cambridge school.

As a historiographic approach, contextualism is concerned with understanding the meaning of documents. Developed by professors at the University of Cambridge in the 1960's, (though not with the specific aim of creating a new approach) contextualism aims at understanding the meaning of texts according to the context in which they were written. According to contextualism, understanding the context of a document helps the researcher to comprehend what the intended message was at the time of its authorship. Contextualism, therefore, differs from Lovejoy's approach of studying the meaning of ideas as they developed through the history of its understanding in that the meaning of the Cambridge school is focused on a specific place and time. Perhaps, most important in regard to understanding the meaning of 'meaning', as it applies to this research is work conducted by Quentin Skinner, who is associated with the Cambridge school.

For Quentin Skinner, understanding the meaning of a text is not as simple as an analysis. Skinner observes that a text can have multiple meanings, depending on how it is read. The first type of meaning Skinner labels as "meaning$_1$", and corresponds to what "specific

words or sentences mean in a given text."[34] The meaning that those words have to the listener or reader Skinner identifies as "meaning$_{2.}$"[35] Skinner's final meaning, "meaning$_3$," is intended to represent what the author meant when the work was produced.[36] By distinguishing between these three types of meaning Skinner is able to show that the same text can be interpreted in different ways. However, he is quick to point out that, regardless of the interpretation, one can never assert that there is a single correct interpretation which excludes other interpretations from being considered.[37]

The idea of multiple meanings is not one that is exclusive to Skinner. One of his fellow scholars associated with the Cambridge school also observed that there needs to exist a distinction in how to understand meaning. John Dunn says that one form of meaning may be an intended meaning that was misinterpreted and produces an all together different meaning.[38] This might be similar to Skinner's "meaning$_2$," but it also might not be since "meaning$_{2"}$ refers to a specific listener, while Dunn does not specify whether or not his misinterpreted meaning is individual or collective in nature. However, Dunn also notes that it is entirely possible for a person to understand the vocabulary used without understanding the message. In an example of a man who attends a satirical play, yet is not aware that it is a parody, Dunn says that "it might be possible for him to provide a full record of the words used and in the correct order and with perfect understanding of the rules for the use of each particular word and still not have



[34] Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, vol. I: Regarding Method*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 91.
[35] Skinner, *Visions*. p. 92; "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts" in *New Literary History*, Vol 3, No. 2, (Winter, 1972), p. 396.
[36] Skinner, *Visions*, p. 93; "Motives," p. 397.
[37] Skinner, "Motives," p. 393.
[38] John Dunn. "The Identity of the History of Ideas," in *Philosophy: The Journal of the Royal Institute of Philosophy*, Vol. XLIII, No. 164 (April 1968), p. 93.

*understood* what was said."[39] This illustrates that there may be different registers of understanding on both the part of the listener and the speaker. Although there are different ways of understanding the meaning of a text, for Skinner the most important is the author's intended meaning.

In his attempt to understand the meaning of the author, Skinner asserts that knowing the author's meaning is impossible without knowing the motivations and intentions for why the author produced the work being examined.[40] While some of Skinner's critics say that understanding the motives of the author is impossible, Skinner counters by stating that there are certain linguistic indicators which can assist in discerning the motives and intentions of an author. Skinner specifically identifies the use of illocutionary and perlocutionary forces as a way of understanding motives.[41] By way of analogy, Skinner notes that

> A policeman sees a skater on a pond and says 'The ice over there is very thin.' The policeman says something and the words mean something. To understand the episode, we obviously need to know the meaning of the words. But we also need to know what the policeman was *doing* in saying what he said.[42]

The words the policeman spoke had a literal meaning. However, the aim of the policeman was not to make a statement, but to issue a warning. The warning associated with the words spoken make up the illocutionary force, which represents what the policeman was *doing* when he spoke, or his intention. If the skater had taken heed of the warning, the illocutionary force would have produced a perlocutionary act or a response to the warning. Comprehending what an actor was doing is also an act that Dunn and another contextualist



[39] Dunn, "Identity." pp. 93-94.
[40] Skinner, *Visions*. pp. 91-102; "Motives," 393-408.
[41] Skinner, *Visions*. pp. 99-102; "Motives," 405-406.
[42] Skinner, *Visions*. pp. 104-105.

scholar, J.G.A. Pocock stress in relation to comprehending the circumstances surrounding the authorship of a text.[43]

Here it is clear that the illocutionary act of warning and the perlocutionary act of causing a reaction to the illocutionary act are directly related to Skinner's establishment of meaning$_3$, and thus reflects the intentions and motivations of the speaker. Indeed, Skinner notes that "to know what a writer meant by a particular work *is* to know what his or her primary intentions were in writing it."[44] Further, Skinner stresses "that whatever an author was *doing in* writing, what he or she wrote must be relevant to the interpretation, and thus that *among* the interpreter's tasks must be the recovery of the author's intentions *in* writing what he or she wrote."[45] Ultimately, Skinner suggests that when it comes to understanding the motivations of an author, "the best hypothesis to adopt is that, whatever he was doing, he was doing it intentionally and thus that we have in fact identified the range of intended illocutionary forces."[46]

While Skinner and Dunn affirm the importance of intentions in the creation of a text, Pocock distinguishes between different forms of intention. Pocock establishes four forms of intentions, the identification of which could alter the understanding of a text. Pocock identifies the intentions of an author as the

> (1) intentions and actions he may have performed without noticing them at first reading; (2)intentions and actions he may have performed without noticing them himself; (3) intentions and actions he might have performed bud did not; and (4) intentions and actions he could not possible have performed or tried to perform.[47]

[43] Dunn. "Identity." p. 93; J.G.A. Pocock. "Texts as Events: Reflections on the History of Political Thought" in Kevin Sharpe and Steven. N. Zwicker (eds.). *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*. (Berkley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 24-45.
[44] Skinner, *Visions*. p. 101.
[45] Skinner, *Visions*. p. 101.
[46] Skinner, *Visions*. p. 119.
[47] Pocock, "Texts." pp. 24-25.

With the identification of these four kinds of intentions, Pocock shows that identifying them requires the establishment of context in order to discern meaning. Additionally, identifying any of these forms of intention produces context which may prove helpful in establishing meaning.

Like Pocock, Skinner knows the value of context in helping to establish meaning. Although Skinner presents his three definitions of meaning and strengthens his argument for the use of "meaning$_3$" in connection with understanding the motivations and intentions of the author, he notices that only context can provide a proper understanding of an author's intended meaning. He observes that "to recover that context in any particular case, we may need to engage in extremely wide-ranging as well as detailed historical research."[48] Within any particular discourse there may be references to a wide range of ideas, concepts, or events which must be understood within the context of its historical, as well as contemporary meanings. Both of these meanings shed light on the significance of incorporating that specific reference into the author's work. Thus, it is only by understanding the context of the author's work, Skinner argues, can one grasp its meaning.

In addition to the context of the ideas that are presented, Skinner points out that one must also be aware of the language which is used. When Skinner speaks of language, he does not mean vocabulary, but he has in mind the specific cultural meanings associated with certain words or phrases. This is what he calls a cultural lexicon.[49] For example, when someone speaks of 'September 11$^{th}$' or '9/11,' in the United States (and even globally) they are not really talking about a day in September, but about the 2001 World Trade Center tragedy. "To apply any word to the world," states Skinner, "we need to have a clear grasp of both its sense and its



[48] Skinner, *Visions*. p. 116.
[49] Skinner, *Visions*. pp. 158-174.

reference."[50] An understanding of the relationship between the actual words used and the socio-cultural meaning of the concepts attributed to the words are also a fundamental part of developing the context of $meaning_1$, $meaning_2$ and $meaning_3$.

Pocock also identifies a proper understanding of language as a key element in comprehending the meaning of a text. Similarly to Skinner's cultural lexicon is Pocock's conception of "languages."[51] Here, it is not different languages that are spoken, but "specialized idioms" or jargon of a language which carry a meaning beyond the properly attributed lexical definition.[52] According to Pocock, identifying these "languages" yield great insights into the context of a text. Pocock claims that

> The historian's reconstitution of the text, as action and event, intelligible now becomes a matter of reconstituting the languages in which certain illucotions […] were carried out, and of discerning what the individual text, author, or performance did with the opportunities offered and the constraints imposed by the languages available to it.[53]

Basically, Pocock is saying that understanding the jargon or idioms of the language used in a text will allow not only for the motives to be uncovered, but also aspects about the context of the time and place in which the text was produced.

It is clear that for the scholars of the Cambridge school context is vital for achieving a correct interpretation of a text. Understanding the meaning of a text's author, his intentions in producing his work, as well as recognizing the linguistic peculiarities employed by the author are vital to grasping the message and meaning of a given work. For Skinner, Pocock and Dunn, upon whose work this analysis is based, a text cannot stand on its own and give proper insights into its meaning. Although these contextualist scholars wrote about matters concerning

[50] Skinner, *Visions*. p. 162.
[51] Pocock, "Texts." pp. 26-27.
[52] Pocock, "Texts." p. 27.
[53] Pocock, "Texts." p. 26.

political thought, their approaches are equally applicable and appropriate to the topic of this thesis.

### *1.5: Sources*

The primary sources for this thesis are taken from the speeches given by John Paul II on his three pastoral pilgrimages to Poland between 1979 and 1987. The speeches given in Poland in 1991 will also be used to provide a comparison with the speeches given under communism. Although some of the speeches are available in English (and other European languages) from the Vatican on-line archive, the original Polish texts will be used for the analysis.[54] The original Polish texts will allow access to the subtleties, nuances and rhetorical styles that are difficult to reproduce in translations. The Polish texts can be found in their unabridged form at the John Paul II Institute in Krakow, Poland. However, through an arrangement between the John Paul II Institute and the Mateusz Online Bookstore in Poland, the unabridged texts have been digitized and are available through the bookstore's website.[55] It is from this website that the Polish texts were taken.

The secondary sources fall into two groups. The first can be called biographical, based on ego-documents. These are meant to compliment the primary sources by providing information about thoughts, feelings, and interpretations of the papal speeches. They include biographies about Pope John Paul II which reveal how he prepared for his trips and how he viewed them at their completion. Also included in this category are biographies by people who were in Poland at important times, including during the papal pilgrimages. Recollections by Lech Wałęsa, Adam Michnik, and Timothy Garton-Ash, among others, provide first hand accounts of the reaction of Polish society immediately before and after the Pope's visit. In

[54] The Vatican. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/index.htm (Accessed 28 Mar 2012).
[55]Mateusz Chrześciański Serwis WWW (Mateusz Christian Internet Service) www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/ (Accessed 28 Mar 2012).

addition to these biographical references, sources which contribute to an understanding of John Paul II as an intellectual will also be used. Sources authored by John Paul II, such as lectures, letters and encyclicals will provide background on his theological, moral and political positions. Works analyzing the development of John Paul II's theological and moral philosophies will be used to provide insights into the content of the Pope's message as it relates to the circumstances under which the speeches were given.

The second group of secondary sources can be classified as historical. These are based on research done on various aspects which pertain to the background of this thesis. Like the previous group, it is comprised of two subgroups. The first of these secondary sources aims to provide context to the situation in Poland immediately before and after the Pope's visit. These sources will present a political, social, and economic view of Poland before and after the papal visit. The second group of these secondary sources will be used to provide clarification on significant names, places, dates, and concepts as they relate Polish history and culture. Together, these historical secondary sources should provide adequate familiarization with Polish society, attitudes and perceptions in the period of this study.

### *1.6: Conclusion*

The analysis of sources for this thesis will be based on the ideas of Skinner from the Cambridge school of historical though. This approach recognizes that the ideas and language use by John Paul II needs to be understood within the confines of its background. The context for understanding the primary sources will be multifaceted. First, the influences on John Paul II have to be understood. This involves taking a biographical approach, which will make familiar the ideas which shaped John Paul II's views. Second, recognizing the limitations that may have been placed on John Paul II while in Poland, one needs to account for what John Paul II could

publicly say, what he tried to say, and what he wanted to say. These differences in understanding reflect the different possibilities that exist in defining meaning. Third, one needs to understand what the aims of the speeches were when Jon Paul II delivered them. Fourth, one needs to understand the situation in Poland at the time of his visits. All of these provide context for understanding for properly understanding the speeches given by John Paul II in Poland. Knowing the content of the speeches and understanding the context in which they were given will provide a suitable basis for a conclusion to be drawn regarding John Paul II's pedagogical approach.

Although this approach does provide needed context to analysis, there are certain limitations. The first is that there are so many avenues of context to pursue that the sheer volume could render such an analysis impossible. Because of this possibility, references to John Paul II's life need to be limited and focused on what appears to be most important in regard to the scope and applicability of this thesis. Perhaps a wider familiarity with the development of ideas, as well as a more intimate familiarity with John Paul II's biography would yield additional insights.

The second limitation to this approach pertains to the length requirement of this thesis. In order to stay under the maximum length, certain parts of the sources and analysis need to be excluded. On the side of the primary sources, an analysis will be restricted to speeches addressed to the public and government officials. This means that addresses to the clergy will not be analyzed. In terms of limitations to the analysis, there are several elements, concepts, linguistic devices, or unit-ideas that can be analyzed. Again, incorporating an analysis of all of the identifiable components would render this thesis too lengthy. To avoid this, only a handful of the most recurring characteristics will be analyzed.

Although one can see certain limitations to this work, its production is still valuable in identifying the motives of Pope John Paul II in his speeches. The understanding of his motives and the identification of certain characteristics in his speeches will provide a basis for understanding how John Paul II spread his message. Understanding what, where, why and how John Paul II spoke, along with understanding the context of his speeches, and the influences that contributed to the development of his personal philosophy will help to prove the thesis of this work.

# 2.0: THE INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF KAROL WOJTYŁA / JOHN PAUL II

## *2.1: Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the mind of Karol Wojtyła. He is unique in both his secular and sacred understandings. The first subchapter will be dedicated to giving an overview of the major events and influences from Wojtyła's youth. His education in Kraków will be addressed in the second subchapter. The third subchapter will deal with his higher education and the development of his philosophies of the human person and ethics. The last subchapter will briefly summarize Wojtyła' theological and philosophical views.

## *2.2: The Formative Years*

On 18 May 1920 Karol Wojtyła entered the world in Wadowice, a town not far from Kraków. In general, there is no reason to believe that his life was different from that of his peers as a child. However, when he was only nine years old, Wojtyła's mother passed away: an event that would surely leave its mark on the young Woytyła. Some have viewed this as a significant factor in the Polish Pope's approach to Mary and to women in general. Bernstein and Politi observe a contrast in the way Wojtyła reminisced about his mother by noting that as a seminary student he considered her to be the "soul of the home," while later in life he would say that she did not have enough time for him. According to George Weigle the claims that the loss of his mother produced John Paul II's "Marian piety as displaced maternal affection" are false, as are the suspicions that his teachings on women come from a problem to relate to them.[56]

Only three years after the passing of his mother, there would be another event that would greatly impact the future Pope. Wojtyła's brother, a medical doctor to whom the young Wojtyła was becoming increasing close, passed away from scarlet fever. It was after this that Wojtyła started to more aptly consider the role of God in human affairs. John Paul II is quoted as saying of his brother's death that it

[56] George Weigel. *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II, 1920-2005*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), p. 29.

"probably affected me more deeply than my mother's, because of the peculiar circumstances, which were certainly tragic, and because I was more grown up."[57] The 'peculiar circumstances' to which John Paul II referred were not the cause of death, but the fact that his brother chose to remain with his patients while they suffered- a decision which ultimately led to his contraction of the disease. Thus, in trying to understand the affect of his brother's noble choice in relation to the wider scheme of life, Wojtyła concluded that the passing was the will of God, a position that was able to afford him some comfort. [58] It also likely provided him with his first considerations of the role of human agency.

While the death of his mother and brother had an effect on Wojtyła, it seems that he was able to cope with the loss and still excel in his studies. In primary school his curriculum consisted of Polish, religion, math, creative arts and physical education.[59] Wojtyła's secondary education included Latin and Greek, history, math, Polish language and literature, and military preparation training.[60] In addition to his formal education, Wojtyła's father, a former officer in the Austro-Hungarian military, instructed him in German, Polish history and what are now considered the classics of Polish romantic and positivist literature.[61]

Although Wojtyła spent a lot of time on his studies, it did not mean that he did not participate in extracurricular activities. He was elected president of two student societies: one that advocated the veneration of Mary and one that stressed abstinence from tobacco and alcohol.[62] His reputation as an actor was well known in Wadowice, where he often played the leading role in productions; many of which penned by Polish romantic dramatists.[63] It was at this time that be became acquainted with Mieczysław Kotlarczyk, the establisher of the Rhapsodic Theater in Kraków, whose ideas about the



[57] Bernstein, p. 27.
[58] Bernstein, p. 27; Wiegel. *Witness to Hope*, p. 32.
[59] Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p.29.
[60] Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p p. 32.
[61] Rocco Buttiglione. *Karol Wojtyła: The Thought of the Man Who Became Pope John Paul II* trans. Paolo Guitti and Francesca Murphy. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), pp. 18-19; Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p. 30.
[62] Bernstein, p. 39.
[63] Bernstein, pp. 35-39; Wiegel. *Witness to Hope*, pp.33-37. The Polish romantic dramatist include the likes of Mickiewicz, Norwid, Słowacki, and Sienkiewicz,

relationship between words, performance and experience would have a lasting impact on Wojtyła. For Kotlarczyk, "the rhythm and rhyme of a theatrical work must become the protagonists of any performance, while the costumes and sets should be reduced to the minimum."[64] This caused the young Wojtyła to start considering the role that words could play in transforming history.[65] It also, probably influenced the way Wojtyła thought about experience and consciousness, which in turn affected his ideas on phenomenology.[66]

## *2.3: Education under Occupation*

After completing his basic education, Wojtyła enrolled in Jagiellonian University, where he intended to foster his interests in Polish language and theatrical arts.[67] However, his education was suspended with the closure of the university due to the outbreak of the Second World War. Unable to formally return to his studies, Wojtyła managed to find work as a manual laborer. In his off times, Wojtyła would continue to foster his love of language and theater through writing and participation in Kotlarczyk's Rhapsodic Theater.[68]

As a participant in the underground Rhapsodic Theater, Wojtyła was not just participating in restricted productions of entertainment; he was working on preserving and transmitting Polish culture.[69]

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[64] Bernstein, p. 40.

[65] Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p. 38.

[66] Buttiglione, p. 21. In his essay, "The Problem of the Separation of Experience from the Act in Ethics in the Philosophy of Immanuel Kant and Max Scheler," *Person and Community: Selected Essays*, trans. Theresa Sandok, (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 32-33, Father Wojtyła expounded on his understanding of phenomenology by noting that it "accepts the essence of a thing just as it appears to us in immediate experience. Phenomenology is therefore intuitionistic. It does not make a clear distinction between sensory and rational elements in human knowledge, and it attaches no weight to abstraction. It treats knowledge as a certain whole known from experience; experience, in turn, reveals the phenomenological essence of objects and the relations and connections occurring between them. As to the manifestation of this essence, not only does the so-called cognitive faculty have a role to play here, but emotional factors are also especially important in bringing to our consciousness certain spheres of objective reality."

[67] Weigel. *Witness to Hope* pp. 33-43.

[68] Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, pp. 53-67.

[69] Bernstein, p. 53; Buttiglione, p. 22; Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, pp. 62-66. Wojtyła is reported to have said, "Let theater be a church where the national spirit will flourish." Quoted by Bolesław Taborski. *Karol Wojtyła: The Collected Plays and Writings on Theater* (Berkley, University of California Press, 1987) in Kenneth L. Schmitz, *At The Center of the Human Drama: The Philosophical Anthropology of Karol Wojtyła/ Pope John Paul II*. (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America, 1993), p. 2.

Like in Wadowice, most of the works performed were based on Polish romantic ideals. Bernstein quotes John Paul II as having once described the activities of the Rhapsodic Theater as the "expression of deep-rooted Polish and Christian traditions of the art that has been handed down to us by our entire literature."[70] Wojtiła's craft, in accordance with Kotlarczyk's philosophy, was subtle and was intended to evoke emotional responses as opposed to simply providing entertainment.[71] "The drama of word and gesture" is how Wojtyła is reported to have described the Rhapsodic Theater.[72] A critic of the theater called it "a theater of imagination, a theater of the inner self."[73] Hence, Wojtyła's activities as a member of this clandestine group taught him the important role that words and actions play in a discourse between an actor and the audience.

When not working, studying in the underground university or pursuing theatrical interests, Wojtyła was becoming more involved in the doctrines of the faith. He benefited from the influence of two individuals: Jan Tyranowski and Adam Sapieha. Jan Tyranowski was a lay Carmelite theologian who stressed experience as a vehicle to grow closer to God.[74] One of the main influences on Tyranowski was the mystical writings of St. John of the Cross, who presumably thanks to Tyranowski, would become an important figure in Wojtyła's theological education.[75] Adam Sapieha was the metropolitan of Kraków and head of the underground seminary that Wojtyła been attending. It was as a seminary student that Wojtyła was introduced to what would be another significant intellectual influence, that of Thomism.[76] Wojtyła was also shaped by Sapieha's ideas as a moral and cultural resistance leader, having realized early on that "culture would be the decisive battleground between them" (the Communist) and the Poles.[77]

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[70] Bernstein, p. 41.
[71] Buttiglione, p. 21; Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p. 37
[72] Karol Wojtyła and Jerzy Peterkiewicz. *Collected Poems: Karol Wojtyła*, translated with an introductory essay and notes by Jerzy Peterkiewicz (New York: Random House, 1982), p. xiii.
[73] Quoted by Taborski, p. 7 in Schmitz, p. 3.
[74] Bernstein, pp. 50-53; Buttiglione, 28-29; Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p 59-62.
[75] Jarosław Krupczak, O.P. *Destined for Liberty: The Human Person in the Philosophy of Karol Wojtyła/ John Paul II* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of American Press, 2000), p. 4-5.
[76] Buttiglione, p. 31; Schmitz, p. 34.
[77] Buttiglione, pp. 30-31; Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p. 74.

Although Wojtyła's time was taken up with secular learning, religious instruction and theatrical performance, he knew that he would need to make a choice as to how he would spend his life. After much consideration he decided on becoming a man of the cloth. However, for Wojtyła, joining the ranks of the clergy was not a choice that he made, but rather a choice that God made for him.[78] The impact of the Carmelite philosophy and way of life on Wojtyła was evident by his request to join the order.[79] Sapieha, having something else in mind for Wojtyła repeatedly denied his requests.[80] However, on 1 November 1946, the recently consecrated Cardinal Sapieha ordained Wojtyła a priest and almost immediately sent him off for further studies.[81]

## *2.4: Further Studies*

After his ordination to the priesthood, Father Wojtyła went to study theology in Rome. Under the supervision of Father Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange at the Angelicum, Wojtyła gained insights into the works and philosophies of St. John of the Cross and St. Thomas Aquinas. Like Wojtyła, Garrigou-Lagrange, held the works and philosophies of St. John of the Cross in high esteem, although he was known more for his strict adherence to orthodox Thomism.[82] In fact, Garrigou-Lagrange would supervise Wojtyła's doctoral dissertation on St. John of the Cross. St. John of the Cross (1542-1591) was a reformer of the Carmelite order and a practitioner and theoretician of Christian mysticism. According to St. John, "contemplation by which God enlightens the understanding is called mystical theology, that is, the secret wisdom of God, because it is a secret even to the understanding which receives it."[83] For St. John, this wisdom is gained through a personal journey, in which anything that



[78] George Weigel. *The Final Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 80.
[79] Bernstein, p. 68; Krupczak, p. xvii.
[80] Bernstein, p. 70; Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p. 78.
[81] Buttiglione, p. 34.
[82] Buttiglione, p. 45.
[83] St. John of the Cross. *The Ascent of Mount Carmel, Mystical Doctrine*, pp. 21-21. Quoted by Deirdre Green, "St. John of the Cross and Mystical 'Unknowing'" in *Religious Studies*, vol. 22, No. 1 (March 1986), p. 31. Weigel, *Witness to Hope*, p. 86, defines mysticism as "the interior dialogue with a personal yet ineffable God (which) is not something peripheral to the human condition."

may distract from the union between the soul and God is eliminated.[84] The detachment of spiritual and material distractions puts a person in a position to ponder their relationship with God through self-denial, which allows them to surrender to Christ's suffering and the prospects of total annihilation.[85] After a person has purged himself of all obstacles and surrendered himself to the realization of the nothingness that he is, that person is able to gain a better understanding of God through a journey of faith.[86] For St. John of the Cross, faith was a vehicle which allowed a person to have a personal encounter and relationship with God.[87]

In 1948 Wojtyła received his Doctorate in Sacred Theology for his dissertation on faith and St. John of the Cross.[88] Essentially, Wojtyła's doctoral work addressed two problems: the relationship between dogmatic and mystical faith, on the one hand, and the harmonization of the philosophies of St. John of the Cross and St. Thomas as a faith producing, personal encounter with God.[89] In his own words, Karol Wojtyła concludes that

> faith, by reason of its intimate nature as a participation in the divine, functions as an infused power from which union with God and contemplation derive. But…faith alone does not suffice for this, faith must be actualized and explored, as it were, by the other supernatural virtues.[90]

In addition to his main conclusion, Wojtyła develops three more conclusions which give further insights into the work of St. John of the Cross:

> First, human beings cannot know God as an object. The furthest that the exploration of natural reason can reach is to say that God exists; it cannot comprehend what God is. Second, faith is

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[84] St. John of the Cross, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* trans. and edited by E. Allison Peers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), pp. 117-118, On Line Edition from 'Christian Classics Ethereal Library' website, http://www.ccel.org/ccel/john_cross/ascent.pdf (Accessed 23 May 2012).
[85] St. John of the Cross, pp. 136-139.
[86] St. John of the Cross, pp. 145-147.
[87] Buttiglione, p. 46, 51. Of course there is more to St. John of the Cross than what has been given here. In order not to stray from the topic of this thesis, only the thoughts of St. John of the Cross as they pertain to the intellectual development of Karol Wojtyła will be presented.
[88] Kupczak, p. 4.
[89] Buttiglione, p.46.
[90] Karol Wojtyła. *Faith According to St. John of the Cross* trans. Jordan Aumann, O.P. (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1980), pp. 266-267. Quoted by Joseph F. Chorpenning in "Faith According to St. John Of the Cross (Book Review)" in *Theological Studies*. Vol. 43, Issue 4, (December 1982), p. 752. http://ehis.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=04ed8bdf-26f8-4041-aaab-734c656a4e80%40sessionmgr113&vid=3&hid=103 (Accessed 23 May 2012).

> not given an intellectual grasp of what God is, for that would turn into an absolute, God-like knowledge which knows the world and all that is within it. Faith is given a personal encounter with God which is real but, in this life, always remains in an obscurity ("the night of faith"). The nonobjectivizability of God for faith is different from the nonobjectivizability of God which is appropriate to natural reason. It is in the light of faith that this nonobjectivizability is seen to be an aspect of the personality of God, part of the essence of his person and through which he enters into a personal relation with us. The nonobjectivizability is thus the personal form of the relationship with God, and God initiates it. This is more important than may be captured in an emphasis on his absolute transcendence in respect of all relations with human beings attempt to set up with Hum. Thirdly, understood in its purest form, the personal encounter with God in mystical experience occurs in an absence of emotion. All of the emotional aspects which are commonly thought to constitute the mystical experience as such are rather, in its essence, absolutely foreign to it.[91]

In a review of his published dissertation in the form of a book, one critic observes that Wojtyła was, in fact, able to reconcile the differences between St. John of the Cross and St. Thomas, noting that his work was "in fundamental agreement with the doctrine of Aquinas."[92] For St. Thomas Aquinas, faith is a companion to reason,[93] while St. John of the Cross saw reason as a hindrance to faith.[94] However, the point of reconciliation comes in the fact that faith is an integral part of an experience in/with the Divine, which ultimately leads to the acquisition of supernatural knowledge.[95]

After completing his doctoral studies, Wojtyła found employment as a lecturer at the Catholic University of Lublin. However, he would only remain in that post for a short time. Three years after receiving his doctorate in theology, Father Wojtyła once again found himself on the other side of the teacher's podium. This time he was to complete an advanced doctorate (habilitation) in philosophy. His dissertation looked at whether or not Christian morality can be interpreted according to Max Scheler's system of ethics.[96]



[91] Buttiglione, p. 51.
[92] Chorpenning, p. 752.
[93] F.C. Copleston. *Aquinas* (London: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 58.
[94] St. John of the Cross, pp. 141-144.
[95] This reconciliation was possible probably because of the way that Wojtyła understood the writings of St. John of the Cross. According to Buttiglione, p.45, Wojtyła read St. John of the Cross as a "phenomenology of mystical experience." Krupczak, p.58, observed that at the time he was writing his dissertation on St. John of the Cross, Wojtyła was already thinking like a phenomenologist, though unaware of the method.
[96] Krupczak, p. 9, quotes from Wojtyła's habilitation thesis that Scheler's theory is "a philosophical system, built according to the principles of phenomenology and axiology, that is to describe and explain all moral facts and ethical problems."

Max Scheler was born in 1874 to a protestant father and a Jewish mother in Munich. Though raised in the Jewish faith, Scheler found certain aspects of Catholicism appealing and converted as a teenager only to fall away later.[97] An underperforming student early on, Scheler eventually became interested in, and excelled at philosophy.[98] His interests were in response to his question about the "meaning of the human being."[99] Answering this question, he felt, would help him understand his seemingly uncontrollable tendencies to engage in moral and religious transgressions.[100] But he was also interested in this question as it was applied to understanding relationships, emotions, and values on a societal level.[101]

According to Scheler's system of ethics, "ethical experience is always an experience of value" and emotion.[102] Every experience is associated with a specific value from a spectrum of high/low, (or good/bad) which is "not given prior to experience, but given in the experience of the particular value modalities."[103] This means that actions are not performed as a way of achieving value (things are not done because the action itself has a good/bad value), but are a byproduct of performance (the good/bad value is revealed after the action is taken).[104] By performing actions one comes to know the value of that action. For Scheler, values cannot be recognized intellectually, only through conscious experience, as emotions.[105] Values are also attributed to objects in that by experiencing them (for example, seeing a tree) one can establish for it a value (for example, beauty).[106] Attributing value to experiences and

[97] Max Scheler, edited and with an introduction by Harold J. Bershady. *On Feeling, Knowing and Valuing: Selected Writings*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 3-4.
[98] Scheler, p. 4.
[99] Zachary Davis and Anthony Steinbrock. "Max Scheler." in Edward N. Zalta (ed.) *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. (Winter 2011 Edition). http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2011/entries/scheler/ (Accessed 10 May 2012).
[100] Scheler, p. 4, 6.
[101] Scheler, p. 11. To stay on the topic of this thesis, only the aspects of Scheler's work as it applies to Wojtyła's intellectual development will be addressed.
[102] Krupczak, p. 10.
[103] Davis.
[104] Buttiglione, p. 58.
[105] Krupczak, p. 12; Schmitz, p. 43.
[106] Davis.

objects is not subject to pre-defined criteria, but the result of individual or cultural preference.[107] Thus, a person learns the value of actions and objects through their experience with them.[108]

As to whether or not Scheler's system can be applied to Christian morality, Wojtyła concludes negatively. In rejecting Scheler's overall thesis, Wojtyła says that, for Scheler,

> the person does not act- or at least the activity of the person does not bear any visible signs of the person's own efficacy- because the autonomy of the will is reduced to practically zero. Scheler's entire philosophy lacks a concept of motion, change, actualization. If he speaks of modifications in the emotional life, he does not have in mind any dynamic changes, but only the expansion or contraction of the field of feeling with respect to content, and mainly with respect to the hierarchical scale of experienced values. This adynamic character of the assumptions of Schelerian philosophy, which reflects the essentialism of phenomenology as a whole, does not provide a proper context for interpreting ethical experience. Ethical experience is by its very nature something dynamic; its whole psychological structure involves motion: a passage from potency to act.[109]

Wojtyła further explains that Scheler's system is faulty because it excluded acts performed out of duty as a component of ethical experience.[110] Although Wojtyła finds fault with Scheler's system, he does recognize that it has merits. Wojtyła praises Scheler's use of the phenomenological method as a means of discovering and analyzing experience.[111]

Father Wojtyła arrived at his conclusions partly as a result of his understanding of St. Thomas's writing on ethics. For Scheler, value cannot be known until it is experienced. It can also not be a motivating factor for actions. This understanding is, perhaps, completely opposite of the Thomas' understanding. According to Aquinas (1224/5-1274), ethics are a feature of rational beings who act in order to achieve a result which carries positive moral value.[112] An individual will choose to participate in actions which he feels will result positively, even if others may disagree with his assessment of



[107] Davis.
[108] Buttiglione, p. 55.
[109] Wojtyła. "The Separation of Experience," pp. 40-41.
[110] Krupczak, p. 15; Schmitz, p. 47.
[111] Krupczak, p. 15.
[112] Martin Grammann and Virgil Michel. *Thomas Aquinas: His Personality and Thought*. (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2006), pp. 152-153. Like with St. John of the Cross and Max Scheler, only the aspects of St. Thomas' teachings that are critical for understanding the intellectual development of Karol Wojtyła will be addressed.

value.[113] Thus, the acquisition of moral value is dependant on the exercise of free will by individual who both understands the value of an act and chooses to engage in that act. Thus, agency, or the lack thereof, is the key concept that renders Scheler's system inapplicable in regards to Christian ethics.

After finishing his studies, Father Wojtyła resumed his work ministering and teaching. After receiving his second doctorate from Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Professor Wojtyła was appointed to teach ethics at the Catholic University of Lublin. Here, Wojtyła would conduct his research and publish his scholarly work. The most important works to come from this research are his books, *Love and Responsibility* and *The Acting Person*. In *Love and Responsibility*, Wojtyła examines sexual ethics as they relate to interpersonal relationships.[114] *The Acting Person* is Wojtyła's pre-papal magnum opus in which Thomism, phenomenology and the work of Scheler are brought into unison to present "an interpretation of the being of man in the world and of the meaning of his being-person."[115]

## *2.5: Theological and Philosophical Thought*

Although Wojtyła's graduate studies of the mysticism of St. John of the Cross and the łalso other ideas that had a significant role. In fact, the ideas of Aquinas were paramount to Wojtyła's development, particularly those known as Thomism. According to Thomism, a major influence in Wojtyła's dissertation on St. John of the Cross, the human mind can find truth through disciplined reflection.[116] According to one expert on Thomism, it can be defined as "a unique balance of faith and reason, a harmonizing of revealed theology and natural theology."[117] As such, Thomism deals with a wide range of philosophical and theological considerations, such as the thought and nature of God and human existence, faith and knowledge acquisition, ethics, and political and social thought. However,



[113] Copleston, pp.182-187.
[114] Buttiglione, p. 83.
[115] Buttiglione, p. 118.
[116] Weigel. *Witness to Hope*, p. 87.
[117] Fergus Kerr. *After Aquinas: Versions of Thomism*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), p. 14.

Thomism is not a specific area of thought, but an umbrella term that encapsulates several versions, many of which Wojtyła had studied.[118]

One of the important sub-fields of Thomism for Wojtyła was personalism. According to Wojtyła, Thomistic Personalism is "not primarily a theory of the person or a theoretical science of the person. Its meaning is largely practical and ethical: it is concerned with the person as a subject and an object of activity, as a subject of rights, etc."[119] In *Love and Responsibility*, Wojtyła explains the relationship between utilitarian values and personalistic norms by explaining that the norm

> in it's negative aspect, states that the person is the kind of good which does not admit of use and cannot be treated as an object of uses and as such the means to an end. In its positive form, the personalistic norm confirms this: the person is a good towards which the only proper and adequate attitude is love.[120]

For Wojtyła, the person is not just an unknown member of a community (whereby the person's identity is defined by participation in the community), but an individual (who has a unique identity not defined by their participation in the community), who exercises agency and should be afforded certain rights, respects and dignity regardless of their social, material, or occupational status.

Essentially, the philosophical and theological outlook of John Paul II, not only as it was influenced by Thomism, but in general encapsulates the idea that each individual is "a remarkable psychophysical unity, each one a unique person, never again to be repeated in the entire universe […] a being that fulfills itself only by transcending itself."[121] Wojtyła believed that the person was a combination of "both the divine and the social, both the transcendent and the terrestrial."[122] His attitude towards humanity placed experience and emotion at the foreground and proved to be a constant aspect of his ministry. This emphasis on individual experience denotes his position regarding the ethical, moral and humane treatment of people. It is also the reason why Wojtyła devoted so much time to the study



[118] According to Schmitz, p. 34, Wojtyła was familiar with structured, traditional, transcendental, existential-historical, existential, "act", participatory, and Polish forms of Thomism.
[119] Karol Wojtyła. "Thomistic Personalism," *Person and Community: Selected Essays*, p. 165.
[120] Karol Wojtyła. *Love and Responsibility* trans. H.T. Willetts. (San Fransisco: Ignatius Press, 1981), p. 41.
[121] Theresa Sandok, "Translator's Note" *Person and Community: Selected Essays*, p. xiii.
[122] Brian Porter-Szűcs. *Faith and Fatherland*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 151.

and ministering of his two favorite pastoral subjects, both of which he could greatly influence, namely those of family relationships and the youth.[123]

## *2.6: Conclusion*

It is clear that Pope John Paul II was a profoundly learned man, both in the secular and religious sense. He excelled in his studies and was a successful minister and administrator in the Church. After completing his formal education he continued his intellectual developments by teaching and researching. His publications show that he had a unique understanding of people, their place in the universe, and their relationship with God. They are not objects, but entities of experience. Even more amazing was his understanding of women, sexuality and relationships.

Karol Wojtyła was educated at a time and place where there was an emphasis on preserving national culture. This also shaped the way the future Pope would communicate and relate with his audiences. As a young boy, Wojtyła became acquainted with Polish romantic literature, which sought a return to a Polish way of life in an independent Poland. As a participant in the Rhapsodic theater Wojtyła was a performer whose work was partially intended as a means to preserve and transmit Polish culture. After joining the seminary, the future Father Wojtyła was instructed by Adam Sapieha, who felt that cultural preservation was the key to defeating communism. As an ecclesiastical leader who worked with families and youth, Wojtyła knew that he was influential in shaping his flock.

Given the emphasis on cultural preservation and transmission in his education and theatrical endeavors, along with his activities in molding young minds, it is safe to say that John Paul II viewed himself as person who was responsible for the maintenance and promotion of Polish culture. His education and experience testify that this was a major aspect of his personal development. What is more, on his visits to Poland, John Paul II emphasized this role that he envisioned for himself to his audiences. In one speech John Paul II said, "I feel responsible for this great, common

[123] John Paul II. *Przymówienie do młodzieży zgromadzonej przed kościołem OO. Paulinów na Skałce (Speech to the youth gathered at the Pauline church on the rocks).* Kraków: 8 June 1978, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790608c.htm, (Accessed 1 November 2011).

inheritance/legacy, which is called Poland."[124] On another occasion, speaking of the nation, John Paul II remarked, "I am its son, I bear in myself the entire inheritance of its culture, its history and its legacy of victory."[125] Thus, not only was John Paul II a great spiritual leader in his homeland, but he was also a teacher, whose self description resembles that of a pedagogue.[126] The importance of this intellectual biography will be seen in Chapter 4. There, it will be come evident how the theological and philosophical understandings of Pope John Paul II contributed to the development of a pedagogical program.



[124] [Czuję się odpowiedzialny za to wielkie, wspólne dziedzictwo, któremu na imię Polska.] John Paul II. *Apel Jasnogórski. Rozważanie wygłoszone do młodzieży (Jasna Góra Appeal. Considerations spoken to the youth).* Częstochowa: 18 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830618e.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011). It is important to note here that the Polish word *dziedzictwo* means both inheritance and legacy.

[125] [Jestem jego synem, noszę w sobie całe dziedzictwo jego kultury, jego historii, dziedziectwo zwycięstw.] John Paul II. *Apel Jasnogórski (Jasna Góra Appeal).* Częstochowa: 19 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830619f.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[126] A pedagogue, as established in chapter 1 is 'a person who uses a specifically designed method for the delivery of ideas, concepts, and information to a targeted audience for instruction, guidance, acquisition of education, and preservation of their interests and customs.'

# 3.0: PAPAL PILGRIMAGES

## *3.1: Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to provide context for each of the papal visits to Poland in order to make a distinction between the visits under communism and the visit after. The first four subchapters are arranged according to the years of the pilgrimages. These subchapters will present the state of Poland preceding the Pope's arrival as well as the situation after his departure. The fifth subchapter presents the official message of the pilgrimages.

## *3.2: Revolution from Within*

In 1978 there could have been no bigger surprise than the election of a Pole to the Papacy. Indeed, this event changed the political and church-state situation in Poland and the government would try to use it to their advantage. Although the Polish government claimed Wojtyła's election as a victory for the nation and twisted his words to harmonize with their position, they realized the problem of there being a Polish opponent to the regime in such a position of power. While they hoped that John Paul II would not cause them as many problems as Karol Wojtyła did, they knew that the newly installed Pope would not bend to their pressure.[127] Immediately after word reached Poland of the new Polish supreme pontiff, tighter restrictions were placed on the people's international travel privileges, while censorship was also increased.[128]

The Pope's first official visit to Poland coincided with the 900th anniversary of the death of St. Stanisław of Kraków, patron saint of Poland and Polish national hero. According to legends, Bishop Stanisław was murdered in 1079 by King Bolesław II for opposing the king's policies. The Bishop of Kraków is said to have openly spoken out against the king's cruel

[127] George Weigel. *Witness to Hope* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), p. 269.
[128] Radio Free Europe. *The Pope in Poland.* ([s.l.]: Radio Free Europe Research, 1979), p. 26.

treatment of his opponents, which came as a surprise to Bolesław II.[129] British historian of Poland, Norman Davies notes that although Bolesław II ruled as king, the sacred authority embodied in Stanisław was considered at least equal, if not more authoritative than that of the king, which may have been a problem for him since the Bishop was an influential figure to the commoners and the local nobility.[130] To Poles, St. Stanisław has long been viewed as a defender of faith and virtue, while the communist authorities saw the patron saint as the personification of civil deviance.[131]

Although not enthusiastic about the pilgrimage, the government realized that the visit had to be allowed to maintain control of the country.[132] At the time, Poland was suffering severe economic, political, and infrastructural problems resulting in food shortages, high inflation and the failure of transportation and energy production.[133] The Polish government was in a state of stagnation as leaders were unable to make basic decisions to remedy the situation.[134] This effected the organization of the Pope's June visit, which was not officially confirmed until March.[135] However undecided the government seemed to be in general, it was quick to point out the unfortunate coincidence of the timing of the papal visit with the anniversary of St. Stanisław, but emphasized that while the visit was religious in nature, it also served a political function.[136] John Paul II, on the other hand, maintained that his pilgrimage was strictly for religious reasons.[137]



[129] Jerzy Kloczowski. *A History of Polish Christianity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 16.
[130] Norman Davies. *Heart of Europe.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 289.
[131] George Weigel. *The Final Revolution.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 130.
[132] Roger Boyes. *The Naked President.* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1994), p. 51.
[133] Radio Free Europe, p. 37-38.
[134] Bogdan Szajowski, "The Catholic Church in Defense of Civil Society in Poland" in Bronislaw Misztol (ed). *Poland after Solidarity: Social Movements Versus the State*. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1995), p. 77.
[135] Radio Free Europe, p. 28.
[136] Radio Free Europe, p. 24-38
[137] Radio Free Europe, p.86.

For the people of Poland, one of their own as the supreme pontiff was a source of hope. Christopher Cviic observed that the image of the Catholic Church improved and public participation in religious life increased.[138] The Polish people would no longer feel the need to legitimize their existence, nor did they feel like the "stepchildren of Europe," as Polanski and Grommada put it.[139] There was finally someone who knew what they were experiencing and had a voice in the world to make a change. Neal Ascherson explained that in John Paul II, the Polish nation was able to look beyond their religious differences and find comfort and hope in a future that was embodied in "our Pope," an expression used by a Polish Jew.[140] These feelings, stemming from Wojtyła's election became an enduring part of the Polish national consciousness while the figure of John Paul II as a great man became the embodiment of how the Polish nation perceived itself- a phenomenon consistent with research done by Lowis Banner on group biographies.[141]

The papal visit had far reaching and unforeseen results. Adam Michnik observed that socially, Christianity once again became a public religion.[142] Further, peoples' attitudes changed and they "became aware of their own power and strength."[143] Public order prevailed and people found a sense of dignity, according to Arista Cirtautas.[144] An atmosphere of



[138] Christopher Cviic. "The Church" in *Poland: Genesis of a Revolution*, ed. Abraham Brumberg (New York: Random House, 1983), p. 103.
[139] Oskar Halicki with additional material by A. Polansky and Thaddeus V. Grommada, *A History of Poland.* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993), pp. 393-394.
[140] Neal Ascherson. *The Struggles for Poland (Bath, Avon: The Bath Press, 1987)*, p. 198.
[141] Lowis W. Banner, "Biography as History," *American Historical Review.* Vol. 114, No. 3 (June 2009), p 583.
[142] Kloczowski. p. 334.
[143] Adam Michnik. *The Church and the Left.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 223.
[144] Adam Michnik. *In Search of Lost Meaning: The New Eastern Europe*. (Berkley, University of California Press, 2011), p. 27.

brotherly love prevailed as Catholics and non-Catholics responded equally to the Pope's messages of "dignity, freedom, tolerance and inclusiveness."[145]

The Catholic Church, as an institution in Poland, also benefited from the papal visit. Gomulka and Polonsky observed that the clergy became active in promoting change and even became an intermediary between the underground and society.[146] The moral authority of the Catholic Church improved to levels that competed with that of the state.[147] While party leaders recognized the shift in authority and stood dumbfounded at the peaceful mass-mobilization that resulted in the pope's visit, the government could do nothing but continue trying to fix the problems in the state with the knowledge that John Paul II carried an influence that they never had. His influence is generally credited as being the catalyst for the Solidarity movement.

### *3.3: The Wake of Martial Law*

Although a year later than hoped, the Pope's second pilgrimage was officially to coincide with the 600th anniversary celebrations of the Black Madonna at the Jasna Góra Monestary in Częstochowa. Both the Black Madonna and the monastery have significant religious and historical significance for Poland. In the mid 17th century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was trying unsuccessfully to repel a series of invasions by Sweden, commonly referred to as 'the deluge'. At one point, the battle reached the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa, home of the Black Madonna. Though the Polish forces were severely outnumbered, the Swedes never managed to penetrate their defenses. The victory is attributed



[145] Arista Maria Cirtautas. *The Polish Solidarity Movement: Revolution, Democracy and Natural Rights*. (London: Routledge, 1999), 179.
[146] Boyes, p. 51.
[147] Jerzy Holzer. "Solidarity's Adventures in Wonderland" in *Polish Paradoxes*, eds. Stanislaw Gomulka and Antony Polonsky (London: Routledge, 1990) p. 100-101; Szajkowski, p. 79.

to divine intervention, according to national legend.[148] In addition to being maintained by traditional beliefs, it is worth noting that *The Deluge*, a novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, is at least partially credited for transforming the historical event into a national symbol.[149]

At the time of the second papal pilgrimage in mid-June, martial law had been suspended for six months. The Solidarity movement had established itself as an (illegal) oppositional force to the government of the People's Republic of Poland. According to Neil Ascherson, censorship was high, but so was the Catholic Church's influence.[150] Lech Wałęsa, the leader of the Solidarity movement also displayed a fair amount of influence among his countrymen.[151] The government, on the other hand, was anxious for the papal pilgrimage to be a display to the world of Poland's return to civilization.

The months leading up to the pope's visit were marred with negotiations and concessions from both the Catholic Church and the state. Roger Boyes states that while the government was hoping to use the visit as a political tool, they would not agree to the visit unless the Church gave guarantees to maintain public order and discourage underground activity. [152] The Church's agreement to these conditions meant that Wałęsa would have to distance himself from the Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement. In order to prevent himself from



[148] The significance of this battle is disputed. Jerzy Likowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 76, consider the battle to be a "legendary turning-point" in of the war. Anita J. Prażmowska, *A History of Poland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2004), p. 101, acknowledges that some historians consider the battle influential, while others view it only as symbolic. Norman Davies, *God's Playground vol. I* (Oxford: Clerendon Press, 1981), pp451-453 does not given an opinion of the battle, but inserts a 17th century eyewitness account in which the victory is attributed to God.
[149] *The Deluge (Potop)* was originally published in 1886.
[150] Ascherson, p. 226.
[151] Halecki, p. 432.
[152] Boyes, p. 123.

not only being escorted back to prison, but also from being blamed from the cancelation of the Pope's trip, Wałęsa stepped out of the spotlight.[153]

Just as in 1979, the words that John Paul II spoke in 1983 had a profound impact in Poland. Lech Wałęsa, who had been incarcerated for his opposition participation, clamored with excitement (as surely did many others), upon hearing John Paul II ask the masses that were sick, imprisoned and suffering to be close to him, signifying the Pope's position on the treatment of Solidarity (*Solidarność*)members.[154] Although unable to directly speak about the movement, John Paul II used the term 'solidarity' (*solidarność*) within its proper context several times, all of which resulted in applause and cheer- another indication to the people of the Pope's support. At the end of his pilgrimage, the Polish people knew that the Pope was with them in their struggles. They also knew that his sympathies were based on similar experiences. Bernstein and Politi have interpreted this pilgrimage as allowing the people of Poland to "stand straight again (as) self-determining subjects."[155]

The government also recognized the impact of the visit. To them, the visit represented a "change from 'temporary political confrontation' to 'ideological-level conflict,'" in the words of Johnathan Luxmoore and Jolanta Babiuch.[156] In private meetings with General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Poland's head of state, John Paul II stressed the importance of human rights and of democratic cooperation (though these terms were not used).[157] In a change of events, about a

[153] Lech Wałęsa with the collaboration of Arkadiusz Rybicki. *The Struggle and the Triumph*, trans. Franklin Philip in collaboration with Helen Mahut. (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1992), p. 116.
[154] Boyes, p. 131.
[155] Carl Bermstein and Marco Politi. *His Holiness; John Paul II and the Hidden Histoyr of our Time*. (New York: Doubleday, 2005), p. 387.
[156] Jonathan Luxmoore and Jolanta Babiuch. *The Vatican and the Red Flag*. (London: Geoffrey Chapman Publishers, 1999), p. 256.
[157] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do przedstawicieli władz państwowych wygłoszone w Belwederze (Speech to the National Authorities given at Belweder)* Warsaw: 17 June 1983, http://mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830617a.htm (Accessed1 November 2011).

month after the pilgrimage, martial law had been lifted. While he regarded it his most difficult journey, John Paul II considered the reception of his words to be a success.[158] In addition to the Pope's success, Timothy Garton-Ash says that the government was also not displeased with the outcome of the visit.[159]

### *3.4: Approaching Change*

The Pope's June 1987 pilgrimage was not as highly acclaimed as the previous two visits, though they were not without a specific purpose; officially John Paul II was to attend the 2nd Eucharist Congress.[160] While the Pope's previous two journeys had taken place at periods of radical change, the third one would be at a time when life had become more or less normalized. This is not to say that relations between the state and the people were favorable, but that no radical actions were being taken. Church-state relations in Poland seemed to need some work, but the relationship with the Vatican appeared to be improving when Jaruzelski accepted an invitation to Rome to speak with the Pope in the January preceding the papal visit.[161] It was during his 1987 pilgrimage that John Paul II once again emphasized his desire that Solidarity (*Solidarność*) be re-legalized and suggested to Jaruzelski that he engage in talks with opposition leaders [162]

In making arrangements for the Pope's visit, the Polish government had hoped to put a political spin on the pilgrimage, as they had in the past; this time aiming to use the papal



[158] Bernstein, p. 387.
[159] Timothy Garton-Ash. *The Uses of Adversity*. (New York: Random House, 1989), p. 55.
[160] Patrick Michel, *Politics and Religion in Eastern Europe: Catholicism in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia*, trans. Alan Braley (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991), p. 162.
[161] At the time of the meetings Jaruzelski was no longer head of state, though he retained his high ranking government position as Chairman of the Council of State. He was replaced as head of state by Henryk Jabłoński in 1985.
[162] A. Kemp-Welch. *Poland Under Communism: A Cold War History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 340.

message to legitimize state programs.[163] However, this goal would not be as easily realized as the state had hoped. When presented with the route that the Pope would take, the state insisted that John Paul II not minister to the Baltic seaport cities, where the Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement was born. John Paul II said that addressing the northern cities was a non-negotiable condition of his trip and that he would cancel his pilgrimage if permission were denied.[164] He did, however, agree not to make obvious references to the Solidarity (*Solidarność* ) movement.

The biggest reaction to the Pope's visit came from the government's display of frustration that clearly signaled an approaching end. The Pope's message resulted in Jaruzelski demanding a meeting with him prior to his departure from Poland. The details of the meeting are not known publically, but it can be assumed that it influenced a speech given by Jaruzelski after the meeting and before the Pope's departure from Poland. In this unscheduled public address, Jaruzelski criticized western journalists for what he perceived would be a misrepresentation of the visit in western media.[165] He also objected to the Pope's message by claiming that the fantasies he preached only harmed the attempts to fix the situation in Poland.[166] In a final display of his authority, Jaruzelski emphasized that, as the governing authority in Poland that he would be fixing the problems in Poland, not the Pope how would be returning to Rome.[167]

For the people of Poland, the papal visit was another cause to rejoice. In addition to the encouragement they received, the Polish people knew that the world's attention would be on them. They knew that John Paul II would be their voice not only to the government, but also to



[163] Andrzej Paczkowski. *The Spring will be Ours: Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom,* trans. Jane Cave. (University Park, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 488.
[164] Wałęsa, p. 118.
[165] Weigle. *Witness to Hope*, pp. 547-548.
[166] Bernstein, p. 468; Weigle, p.548.
[167] Bernstein, p. 468; Weigle, p. 548.

the world. The hopes and desires that the people felt would be transmitted through the pope's public addresses to governments who might be able to pressure Poland into making the requested reforms.[168] Although the Pope was their vocal proxy to the world, his messages left them with a feeling that the end of the regime was at hand. This feeling was strengthened by Jaruzelski's tantrum at the conclusion of the papal visit.

### *3.5: New Beginnings*

Poland in 1991 looked very different than in 1987. With the introduction of democracy and capitalism, people were eager to fill their lives with goods previously unavailable. They were anxious to exercise their newly acquired freedoms and to experience the western life. There can be no doubt that the Polish people had intended to celebrate their victory over communism with John Paul II during his visit. The timing of the papal visit served a twofold purpose. Firstly and officially, John Paul II journeyed to Poland to participate in the 2nd plenary congress of the Polish Roman Catholic Church. Unofficially though perhaps intentionally, the timing of the conference and the Pope's visit coincided with Poland's 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3rd.

The ratification of the Constitution of May 3rd was a milestone not only in the development of the Polish state, but also in Europe. As the first constitution in Europe and the second in the world, after the United States constitution of 1776, the act drastically changed the face of government in Poland. Oscar Halecki beautifully summarizes the effect that the new constitution had on Poland when he writes that it

> ratified the rights accorded to the burghers, giving them access to public offices and to Parliament, and thus breaking down the barrier which had hitherto separated them from the nobility. It placed the peasant population under the protection of the Government, not going so far as to abolish serfdom, but encouraging and guaranteeing individual contracts between the gentry and the peasants, contracts which became more and more

[168] Wałęsa, p. 114.

> frequent and ameliorated the situation of the latter. Perfecting the central administration and the management of the finances, the new constitution resolutely abolished the right of *liberum veto*, as well as that of the 'free' election of the king.[169]

Essentially, these changes produced a system of checks and balances among government bodies, took the power from the nobles and placed it in the hands of the citizenry. It also established the Catholic faith as the national religion while guaranteeing to respect the beliefs of others.

Many of these types of changes were made in Poland after the fall of communism. However, some felt that the influence of the Catholic Church had grown too great in this process. As a nation that just gained hard sought after freedoms, they resented the demands by the clergy for parishioners to pay voluntary taxes to the Church, the political interference intended to enforce the will of the Church on the nation, and the complication of governmental procedures aimed at securing the authority of the Church.[170] The people also felt uncomfortable with the clergy publicly displaying their wealth, engaging in scandalous activities, and their intrusion into private life.[171]

The message that John Paul II bore to Poland on his fourth trip did not receive the response that he had hoped for. Rather than hearing the Pope as a messenger trying to help society, they viewed him as someone who had no idea what it was like to live in a newly formed democracy. His anti-consumerist messages seemed perplexing for a nation that had been deprived of so many things taken for granted in the west. In preaching a higher standard of moral living, his audience understood it to mean that they should surrender the freedoms to decide for themselves to the will of another oppressor- the Church.



[169] Halecki, pp. 200-201.
[170] Bernstein, pp. 489-490.
[171] Bernstein, p. 490.

Overall, John Paul's fourth visit to Poland was the least successful for him as an agent of change, and as a Pole.[172] Having viewed what he considered to be rampant, John Paul II could not contain himself from expressing his anger publicly, and repeatedly. His pleas for moral cleanliness and respect were seen as the ranting of an old man who was living in the past. Not only was John Paul II ignored, but he was also offended by the lack of faithfulness of his people, their quickness to forsake the Church and turn to the things of the world, and by the refusal of the government, (which he had a significant part in creating) to allow him to vacation in the Polish mountains.[173] Ultimately, the people living in the newly independent state chose not to heed the Pope's advice to the degree that he had hoped.

### *3.6: The Messages*

When John Paul II returned to Poland in 1978 as the Supreme Pontiff, it was to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the death of St. Stanisław. Though much of what John Paul II said was in conjunction with the event, he was able to use the occasion to convey messages that were only nominally related to the purpose and theme of his trip. This is not to say that his messages contained subversive elements. On the contrary, they dealt with matters that everyone could appreciate, regardless of religious or political affiliation. One of these messages concerned the defense of civil society. In his only address to government representatives, John Paul II emphasized the need for the government to respect the rights of freedom and existence, political subjectivity and cultural and civilization cultivation, while encouraging economic reform and the abandonment of arms production.[174] John Paul II also relayed similar messages to the masses. Repeatedly, he emphasized the importance of, and the

[172] Wiegle, p. 642.
[173] Bernstien, p.493-494; Wiegle. *Witness to Hope*, p. 643.
[174] John Paul II. *Przymówieie do przedstawicieli władz państwowych wygłoszone w belwederze (Speech to the National Authorities given at Belweder)* Warsaw: 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790602c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

preservation of the family unit.[175] John Paul II also stressed the need for unity; not only among the people of Poland, but also among her European neighbors, most of whom share common Christian traditions.[176] Lastly, John Paul II reminded his listeners of the historic relationship between the Catholic Church and the Polish nation and expressed his desire that his audience would continue to cultivate and participate in both.[177]

Cezar M. Ornatowski, in his work on political rhetoric, states that the message of the visit implicitly suggested that the listeners reject civil authority in favor of moral authority.[178] While there are references to the distinction between civil and moral authority, there is no reason to believe that John Paul II meant ('meaning$_3$') for his listeners to ignore civil authority, especially since, as Ornatowski points out, the communist officials were aware of the historiography of St. Stanisław and still permitted the visit in the anniversary year, although distanced from the feast day by about a month.[179] However, for the 1979 speeches, Ornatowski does correctly identify the repetitive use of and reference to scriptures admonishing not to fear and the emphasis on renewal. He also rightly observes that the underlying message of the 1983

[175] John Paul II. *Słowo do wiernych zgromadzonych na Wzgórzu Lecha (Words to the faithful gathered on Lech Hill)*, Gniezno: 3 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790603e.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011); *Przemówienie do wiernych diecezji częstochowskiej zgromadzonych przed kościołem św. Zygmunta (Speech to the faithful of the Częstochowa diocese at St. Zygmunt's Church)*, Częstochowa: 4 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790604d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011); and others.

[176] John Paul II. *Speech to the national authorities*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979; *Words to the faithful gathered on Lech Hill*, Gniezno: 3 June 1979; *Przemówienie do wiernych zgromadzonych przed rezydencją biskupa (Speech to the faithful gathered infront of the bishop's residence)*, Częstochowa: 4 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790604e.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011); and others.

[177] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do księży i wiernych archidiecezji warszawskiej zgromadzonych w katedrze (Speech to the priests and faithful of the Warsaw archdiocese gathered in the cathedrial)*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790602b.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011); *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej na placu Zwycęstwa (Homily given at mass on Victory Square)*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790602d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011); and others.

[178] Cezar M. Ornatowski. "A Christian Athens: The Rhetoric of Pope John Paul II And The Political Transformation In Poland, 1979-1989" in *LORE* Online Journal, Vol 1.3 (November 2001). http://rhetoric.sdsu.edu/lore/1_3/ornatowski.html (Accessed 25 April 2012).

[179] Ornatowski

visit was unity, with the scriptural motif based on Matthew 25:36, all of which focused on hope.[180]

This hope apparent when, at the conclusion of his 1983 pilgrimage, John Paul II summarized the intent of the messages of his speeches ('meaning$_3$'), stressing that

> Poland is for the common good of the entire nation and this good must be opened to her sons and daughters…(and that the nation) must live and prosper on its own;…(that) there would be a right moral order in work and in life so that all could find internal peace, secure the rights and respect for the dignity of work, and that in mutual trust find the meaning of human work… that work be completed in a spirit of communal love;… that in this Polish work be introduced the gospel of work, both that which protects man, his dignity, and rights and that, which requires a sense of conscious and responsibility.[181]

The Pope's message of hope was also entwined with unity in a way that both the people and the government could appreciate. Although John Paul II was in Poland to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the Black Madonna, he made no attempts at the conclusion of his pilgrimage to hide that his message was not directly related to the event.

In 1987 when John Paul II took his third pilgrimage to Poland it was to participate in the 2nd Eucharist Congress. His speeches very much reflected the purpose of his trip, almost always explaining how the Eucharist could be understood in relation to the main points of his public addresses. Ornatowski submits that the meaning of the Eucharist was the main message of the pilgrimage, however this research places the meaning of the Eucharist in an auxiliary role and favors the words spoken at the conclusion of his pilgrimage as a summary of the message



[180] Ornatowski.

[181] [Polska jest dobrem wspólnym całego narodu i na to dobro muszą być otwarci wszyscy jej synowie i córki;...(naród bowiem,...) musi żyć i rozwijąć o własnych siłach... by tę pracę wpisany był właściwy tej dziedzinie życia ludzkiego lad moralny, by wszyscy mogli, w pełni wewnentrznego pokoju, przy zabezpieczeniu praw i poszanowaniu godności człowieka i jego pracy,... by w tę polską pracę wprowadzona była cała ewangelia pracy, zarówno ta, która jest sprawa sumienia i poczucia odpowiedzialności.] John Paul II. *Przemówienie pozegnalne na lotnisku w Balicach (Farewell Address at Balice Airport)* Kraków: 23 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830623c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

John Paul II was trying to convey. [182] In his own words, John Paul II recaps the message of his visit ('meaning$_3$') and his hopes for the future of Poland:

> I said once that Poland is the fatherland of a difficult challenge. This challenge makes up the course of our history. It also sets out the specific place for Poland in the great family of nations on the European continent and on the entire globe…The fatherland must pursue this so that human life in Poland can become more and more human, more and more worthy of man…This process- and yet this task- is comprised of four main guidelines and four main determinants: the right to truth- the right to freedom- the right to justice- the right to love. Each of these speaks deeply to the nature of man and the worthiness of the human person. Each of these warrants real progress, not only personal, but also social. And not only spiritual, but also material. Also economic progress. Yes. Also economic. [183]

Returning for his fourth pilgrimage in 1991, John Paul II noticed that Poland had experienced many of the changes he had expressed a longing for during his previous visit. Though in Poland to attend the 2nd plenary congress of the Polish Church, his public addresses reflected the change the country and his concerns that these changes might have. John Paul II identified the Decalogue as the unifying theme for his messages and based 10 of his homilies off of each of the commandments. In displays of incredible imagination, John Paul II interpreted each of the commandments to serve as a warning against the pitfalls of immorality and materialism that ran rampant in Western Europe. He cautioned his audience from being caught up in the kind of life that Western Europe deemed as 'European' and reminded them that Poland had been a European state which made significant contributions to European culture for over a millennia. He emphasized the need for religion to return to public life and reminded

[182] Ornatowski.

[183] [Powiedziałem kiedyś, że Polska jest ojczyzną trudnego wyzwania. To wyzwanie składa się na bieg naszej historii. Ono też określa szczególne miejsce Polski w wielkiej rodzinie narodów na kontynencie europejskim oraz na całym globie...Ojczyzna nasza musi zabiegać o to, aby życie ludzkie w Polsce stawało się coraz bardziej ludzkie, coraz bardziej godne człowieka...Ten proces-a zarazem to zadanie- posiada czery główne wytyczne i zarazem cztery główne uwarunkowanie: prawo do prawdy- prawo do wolności- prawo do sprawiedliwości- prawo do miłości. Każde z nich odpowiada dogłębnie naturze człowieka i godności ludzkiej osoby. Każdy z nich warunkuje prawdziwy postęp, nie tylko osobowy, ale też spółeczny. I nie tylko duchowy, ale także materialny. Również postęp ekonomiczny. Tak. Również ekonomiczny] John Paul II. *Przemówienie pożegnalne na lotnisku Okęcie (Farewell address at Okęcie airport)*. Warsaw: 14 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870614e.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

the government that Poland had been founded on the very religious principles that he was teaching.

### *3.7: Conclusion*

This chapter has shown that the visits John Paul II made to Poland between 1979 and 1987 enabled the country to mobilize in a way hitherto fore seen in the communist state. The messages of hope and endurance in times of adversity were well received. His emphasis on agency, respect, and work also contributed to giving the people a sense of dignity at a time when their morale was at a low. In encouraging submission and faithfulness John Paul II was able to unite the Polish people behind a single idea of resistance and forced them to contemplate their role in society. While not overly political, John Paul II was able to speak a message to the People of Poland that touched their hearts, emphasized their collective identity and a spirit of resistance, while showing a certain amount of respect for civil authority.

However, his 1991 visit shows a drastic change in his influence. John Paul II was no longer viewed as the embodiment of hope for an oppressed nation, but was seen as a hindrance to the happiness that had recently been gained. His visit was unable to elicit the response that he had hoped for. This failure will serve as a comparison for the analysis of papal speeches between 1979 and 1987 to show that John Paul II did have a specially designed pedagogical project towards the Poles under communism.

# 4.0: PEDAGOGICAL PROGRAMS

## *4.1: Introduction*

The conclusions of chapter 3 showed that John Paul II was in fact able to influence change in communist Poland during his visits. However, his methods in doing so are not entirely clear. It is the aim of this chapter to dissect his speeches and analyze some of the ways in which John Paul II consciously approached the content and delivery of his messages. This will be done by examining the way he uses certain linguistic devices in the first subchapter. Within this subchapter will be four sub-subchapters; each dealing with one linguistic device used by John Paul II. By deconstructing the messages from his visits with an emphasis on linguistic devices, it will be possible to show that John Paul II had a particular approach to the way he addressed his countrymen over the course of his trips. The second subchapter will be divided into four sub-subchapters, one for each year, and address the 'non-official' messages of the speeches; the messages which constitute the actual pedagogical program. These sub-subchapters will describe how these linguistic devices were used to present that message.

## *4.2: Linguistic Devices*

The use of special linguistic devices is very common in speech and writing to accentuate an author's intended meaning ('meaning$_3$'). They are used intentionally and unintentionally. In his work on political rhetoric, Cezar M. Ornatowski claims that John Paul II masterfully combined different forms of rhetorical devices in his speeches in a way to allow them to make both a religious and political statement.[184] While this thesis agrees with Ornatowski's analysis, it does not hold his interpretation to be the only correct understanding of the Pope's speeches, noting that, as Skinner says, the subscription to one interpretation must not

[184] Cezar M. Ornatowski. "A Christian Athens: The Rhetoric of Pope John Paul II And The Political Transformation In Poland, 1979-1989" in *LORE* Online Journal, Vol 1.3 (November 2001), http://rhetoric.sdsu.edu/lore/1_3/ornatowski.html (Accessed 24 April 2012).

render other interpretations obsolete.[185] Rather, it is the assertion of this thesis that John Paul II purposefully put linguistic devices into his speeches to communicate with his audience in a beyond the use of direct speech.

As a student of drama, language and literature John Paul II was aware of the difference between denotative and connotative meaning- the main idea behind his method for communicating with his listeners. Denotative meanings refer to the understanding of a given word according to its dictionary reference, while connotative meanings invoke other culturally or socially defined meanings for the word. To use a previously given example, the denotative value of 'September 11th' is the eleventh day of September, while the connotative meaning of the same date refers to the attacks on the World Trade Center. Thus, the denotative value of a word is synonymous with Skinner's 'meaning$_{1,}$' whereas the connotative value of the word represents 'meaning$_{3.}$' Though 'meaning$_2$' refers to the meaning as the listener understood, and taking into account that it is possible, as Dunn says, for someone to hear and understand something ('meaning$_1$') other than what was meant ('meaning$_3$'), this thesis asserts that the linguistic devices which John Paul II used to speak to his audience were chosen in order to stress socio-culturally understood connotative meanings.[186]

Although this chapter will cite examples and distinguish between the denotative and connotative values as they apply to an understanding of Skinner's meanings, one word of caution must be introduced. As previously mentioned by Skinner, the fact that multiple meanings and themes can be found in speech as layers of subtext does not suggest that only one



[185] Quentin Skinner. "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts" in *New Literary History*, Vol 3, No. 2, (Winter, 1972), p. 396.
[186] John Dunn. "The Identity of the History of Ideas," in *Philosophy: The Journal of the Royal Institute of Philosophy*, Vol. XLIII, No. 164 (April 1968), pp. 93-94.

interpretation is correct.[187] This thesis accepts the political, economic, religious, etc… subtexts that have been found in the Polish Pope's speeches. Therefore, it is safe to say that an understanding of 'meaning$_3$' and 'meaning$_1$' is relative to the context of the speech and the intents of the speaker. Recognizing that 'meaning$_3$' may refer to multiple intended meanings simultaneously, this thesis does not aim to exclude one meaning over another, but rather, accepts that other subtexts exist within 'meaning$_3$' as what could be called 'parallel meanings.'[188] Thus, the texts and citations presented should also be taken at face value as intended meaning. However, for the sake of this argument and for simplicity, 'meaning$_3$' refers specifically to the meaning of subtexts as it was intended in accordance with the Pope's pedagogical program. It is not the intention of this thesis to identify or analyze in depth other undertones found within the speeches.

### 4.2.1: Device 1- Displays of Empathy

Although he had been elected to the papacy and was no longer a resident of Poland, John Paul II never forgot who he was or where he was from. Throughout his pilgrimages he appealed to empathy to emphasize his Polish identity to his listeners. The first way he did this was by the use of the Polish word fatherland (*ojczyzna)*.[189] This word is an example of Skinner's 'cultural lexicon' and Pocock's 'language' in that fatherland (*ojczyza*) carries with it an emotional meaning that is not present in the English translation of fatherland; it encompasses the land as well as the cultural and historical legacy of the people who have been there for

[187] Skinner. "Motives," p. 396.
[188] The term 'parallel meaning' is the authors.
[189] Wojtyła defined fatherland by saying that "Each of us possesses a heritage within us- a heritage to which generations and centuries of achievement and calamity, of triumph and failure, have contributed: a heritage which somehow takes deeper root and grows new tissues from every one of us. We cannot live without it. It is our own soul. It is this heritage, variously labeled the Fatherland, or the Nation, by which we live." in Andrzej Walicki, "The Three Traditions in Polish Patriotism," in Stanislaw Gomułka and Antony Polonsky (eds.), *Polish Parodoxes* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 31.

centuries.[190] Each of his welcoming speeches from the airport uses this word to associate John Paul II with his countrymen and the territory of the county by referring to the fatherland. In 1979, John Paul speaks of being in "the beloved fatherland of all Poles: in my fatherland,"[191] while in his 1983 opening remarks he is reminded of his "farewell in June 1979 at the end of his last visit to the fatherland."[192] In 1987 John Paul II talks about his "third journey to the fatherland of all of my countrymen. Welcome Poland, my fatherland,"[193] whereas in 1991 he says, "In the words of your welcomes I heard again the voice of my fatherland."[194]

Though he refers to the fatherland frequently, John Paul II also uses the word countryman (*rodak*) just as often. Like fatherland (*ojczyza*), countryman (*rodak*) is an example of 'cultural lexicon.' The word *rodak* comes from the old Polish *ród*, referring to kinship and is the root for words such as family (*rodzina*), parent (*rodzice*), siblings (*rodzeństwo*), nation (*naród*), and incest (*kazirodztwo*); all indicating a familial relationship.[195] Thus, this word it is not merely a salutation in the sense that Skinner's 'meaning$_1$' would indicate, but also a

[190] Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, vol. I: Regarding Method*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 158-174 ; J.G.A. Pocock. "Texts as Events: Reflections on the History of Political Thought" in Kevin Sharpe and Steven. N. Zwicker (eds.). *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*. (Berkley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 26-24. Because these two concepts and definitions are virtually synonymous, further references will only be made to Skinner's 'cultural lexicon.'

[191] ["umiłowanej Ojczyźnie wszystkich Polaków": w mojej Ojczyźnie] John Paul II. *Prezmówienie powitalne na lotnisku Okęcie (Welcoming speech at Okęcie airport)*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790602a.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011)

[192] [w czerwcu 1979 roku, przy zakończeniu poprzednich moich odwiedzin w Ojczyźnie] John Paul II. *Prezmówienie powitalne na lotnisku Okęcie (Welcoming speech at Okęcie airport)*, 16 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/ (Accessed 1 Novemeber 2011) .

[193] [Ponownie witam na progu trzeciej podróży do Ojczyzny wszystkich moich rodaków. Witam Polskę, moją Ojczyznę] John Paul II. *Prezmówienie powitalne na lotnisku Okęcie (Welcoming speech at Okęcie airport)*, Warsaw: 8 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870608a.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[194] [W słowach waszego powitania usłyszałem znowu głos mojej Ojczyzny.] John Paul II. *Prezmówienie powitalne na lotnisku w Zegrzu Pomorskim (Welcoming speech at the airport in Zegrze Pormorski)*, Koszalin: 1 June 1991, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1991/pp19910601a.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[195] Although these words indicate familial relationships, they need to be distinguished from a word with similar connotation; *pokrewieństwo*, meaning consanguinity or blood relation. The difference between these two words is subtle: kin (*ród*) indicates a familial relationship, though not necessarily through blood lineage, such as being related by marriage, while the etymology of consanguinity (*pokrewieństwo*) is based on the Polish word for blood (*krew*), which stresses the genetic relationship.

reference to the familial bonds between the people and the Pope ('meaning$_3$'): an expression of his solidarity and brotherhood with his audience.[196]

John Paul II used various constructions of the word *ród* to ensure that 'meaning$_3$' was synonymous with 'meaning$_2$.' For example, John Paul II speaks of himself as "the first pope who came from Polish kin,"[197] "your countryman,"[198] and addresses his audience as "beloved countrymen"[199] not only at the beginning of his speeches, but also through the body of his remarks. Throughout the delivery of his speeches John Paul II emphasized his relationship to the people of Poland. Using other constructions that get to the same point, John Paul noted that he was "from the blood of your blood, the bone of your bone,"[200] a "son of the Polish nation,"[201] and that he was speaking "in the language of our ancestors…on the land of our ancestors."[202] These examples of 'meaning$_1$' show that there can be no room for 'meaning$_2$' to be misinterpreted, as John Dunn observes, in any other way than as 'meaning$_3$.'[203]

In addition to the way the preceding words were used to convey relationship, the Pope made frequent references to the works of Polish authors by either directly quoting them or

[196] Skinner, *Visions*, pp. 91-93; "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts" in *New Literary History*, Vol 3, No. 2, (Winter, 1972), pp. 393-397.
[197] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej na placu Zwycięstwa (Homily given at mass on Victory Square)*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790602d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[198] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do zakonnic zgromadzonych na Jasnej Górze (Speech to the nuns gathered at Jasna Góra)*, Częstochowa: 5 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790605a.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011) .
[199] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do młodzieży zgromadzonej na Wzgórzu Lecha (Speech to the youth gathered on Lech Hill)*, Gniezno: 3 June 1979, , http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790603d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011). .
[200] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej na Wzgórzu Lecha (Homily delivered at Mass on Lech Hill)*, Gniezno, 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790603c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[201] John Paul II. *Homily given at mass on Victory Square*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979.
[202] John Paul II. *Homily delivered at Mass on Lech Hill*, Gniezno, 2 June 1979.
[203] John Dunn. "The Identity of the History of Ideas," in *Philosophy: The Journal of the Royal Institute of Philosophy*, Vol. XLIII, No. 164 (April 1968), p. 93.

referencing them and their works.[204] John Paul II drew almost exclusively from authors associated with Polish romanticism (around 1820-1864) and the Young Poland movement (1890-1918), both of which recalled a yearning for a Poland that was no longer there.[205] John Paul II most often referenced the works of Cyprian Norwid, Julusz Słowacki, and Mickiewicz. According to Rocco Buttiglione, these authors were "defenders of the national spirit during the hard years of partition, when revolt was often repressed with bloodshed,…[who's works] signified the defense of the language and of national culture and religion, against the invader."[206] John Paul II also favored quoting the works of Polish counter-reformation leader Piotr Skarga, who condemned the drastic differences in the ruling classes and the treatment of the peasants by the nobility. Although supporting the 'meaning$_1$' of his speeches with references to these authors, John Paul II was actually building bonds of brotherhood between his audience and the authors who had written about the glorious return of their homeland at a time when it was not on the map.

By using specific words and references, John Paul II was able to create a feeling of empathy with his audience that he could not with the restrictions of direct language that were

[204] In his book, *The Politics of Literature: Poland 1945-1989* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), Carl Tighe has noted that popular literature throughout the communist period in Poland tended to be written in a way as to have a dual meaning. Although the literature told the author's story, it was also a commentary on life under the Communist Regime in a way that was recognized by the reader. Stanisław Barańczak observed that lyric poetry in communist Poland turned "the common experience of society into the individual language of sensation," *Polish Poetry of the Last Two Decades of Communist Rule: Spoiling Cannibal's Fun* (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 3. Indeed, dual meanings within the text are a feature of Polish literature dating back to the Polish partitions. Stanislaw Eile, *Literature and Nationalism in Partitioned Poland, 1775-1918* (New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 2000) has noted that, even until the fall of communism, the concepts found in Polish romantic literature remained popular as a means of preserving national identity and rejecting communist rule.

[205] The Young Poland had two parts: the early one challenged Polish Positivism and focused on the disillusionment and destruction of society. The second part can be considered to follow the fashion of romanticism. It was from the artist of this second phase that John Paul II drew.

[206] Rocco Buttiglione. *Karol Wojtyła: The Thought of the Man Who Became Pope John Paul II* trans. Paolo Guitti and Francesca Murphy. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), p. 19.

placed on him. While he could not say "I support you in your struggle against communism,' John Paul II used cultural lexicons to refer to emotionally and historically charged concepts which allowed what he meant to say ('meaning$_3$') to be understood by his audience ('meaning$_2$') as what he wanted to say. Thus, the connotative value of these words and references as 'meaning$_3$' became the illocutionary act of establishing familial bonds. After 'meaning$_3$'was understood as a statement of support for his listeners (the illocutionary act), further references to 'cultural lexicons' united the people with each other and the Pope (the perlocutionary act), thereby becoming a display of 'soft power,' or way of exerting influence by attraction rather than force or threats.[207]

### 4.2.2: Device 2- Bringing the Past into the Present

Similarly to his use of emotionally loaded words, John Paul II was able to reference history as 'cultural lexicons.' This allusion, as it is called, is when an example from history is used to make a statement without actually speaking about the intended reference.[208] Hence, as a 'cultural lexicon' references to well known events in Polish history represent a connotative understanding, or 'meaning$_3$.' Although John Paul II used the allusion of history as a 'cultural lexicon', his purpose in doing so was not the same as it was with his strategic use of empathetic vocabulary. By including historical names, dates, and places, and expounding on their meaning, John Paul II was able to let history speak symbolically on his behalf. Though his references were understood as illustrative examples for his speeches ('meaning$_1$'), they were also understood by his listeners ('meaning$_2$') as subtexts for the morals they taught in relation to the situation in Poland, which was the pope's intention ('meaning$_3$').



[207] Joseph Nye. *Soft Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 5.
[208] Robert A. Harris. *Wriing with Clarity and Style: A Guide to Rhetorical Devices for Contemporary Writers* (Los Angeles: Pyrczak Publishing, 2003), p. 73-75.

One of the most frequent ways that John Paul II let history speak for itself was by referencing saints that had a tie to Poland, an act which almost guaranteed that his listeners would have some kind of understanding of the person. Among the most frequently cited were St. Stanisław, the Virgin Mary, St. Wojciech (Adalbert), and St. Maximilian Kolbe, As noted in Chapter 3, St. Stanisław was said to have been martyred for his defiance of civil authority in defense of the citizenry, while the intercession of the Virgin Mary is traditionally seen as the cause of Poland's defense against the Swedish invasion. St. Wojciech is venerated as the first Polish saint (though of Czech origins) who was assassinated while attempting to Christianize the Baltic Pagans in 997.[209] He is also credited with creating Poland's first ecclesiastical province in Gniezno, a significant event in Polish church-state history. Finally, the well known charitable act of starving to death on behalf of a condemned prisoner at Auschwitz led to the canonization of St. Maximilian Kolbe.

By recalling the Polish saints, John Paul II accomplished two things. First, he allowed the virtues for which the saints are known be an example to his listeners. In a speech at Auschwitz about the triumph of humanity over evil, the Pope singled out St. Maximilan Kolbe and St. Edith Stein as examples of people who died because of human rights violations.[210] During a beatification mass for bishop Michał Kozal, John Paul II talked about unity with other Slavic countries and referenced the lives of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the missionaries who are credited with the evangelization of the Slavic nations.[211] Second, he was able to stress that

[209] Jerzy Kloczowski. *A History of Polish Christianity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.12.
[210] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej na terenie byłego obozu koncentracyjnego (Homily at mass given on the site of the former concentration camp).* Auschwitz-Birkenau: 7 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790607c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[211] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. beatyfikacyjnej biskupa Michała Kozala, odprawionej na placu Defilad na zakończenie II Krajowego Kongresu Eucharystycznego (Homily at the beatification mass of bishop Michał Kozal, given on Defilad square at the end of the 2nd Eucharist Congress).* Warsaw: 14 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870614c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

the saints' virtuous qualities are not just saintly, but also Polish. In one speech John Paul II described St. Maxsymilian Kolbe as a "Polish knight" (*polski rycerz*), which had the intentional effect of comparing his saintly virtues with the chivalric qualities of knighthood.[212] In an act of deviating from protocol, John Paul II beatified Rafał Kalinowski and Adam Chmielowski in Kraków, stating that he wanted his "pilgrimage to the fatherland…to be an occasion to exalt on the alter the servants of God whose road to holiness is connected with this land and this nation…"[213] These examples illustrate how references to the saints were used as undertones to emphasize their virtues and their national heritage.

The Pope also spoke of other individuals, who did not possess a holy title, but whose lives left a mark on Poland. In a speech in Częstochowa, John Paul II greeted his audience "from this archdiocese, which reaches back to the time of Casimir the Great."[214] While explaining the duties of newly ordained priests, John Paul II asks them to remember the lives of those who have come before them, from Maximilian Kolbe to Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, who was murdered by the Polish secret Police in 1984.[215] On another occasion, he emphasized the

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[212] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do wiernych diecezji czestochowskiej zgromadzonych przed kościołem św. Zygmunta (Speech to the faithful of the Częstochowa diocese gathered at the Church of St. Zygmunt*, Częstochowa: 4 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790604d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[213][ "Bardzo pragnąłem, aby moja pielgrzymka do Ojczyżny…stała się również szczególną okazją do wyniesienia na ołtarze sług Bożych, którycg droga do świętości związana jest z tą ziemią i tym narodem…"] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. beatyfikacyjnej o. Rafała Kalinowskiego i Brata Alberta- Adama Chmilowskiego, odprawionej na Błoniach (Homily for the beatification mass for Rafał Kalinowski and Brother Albert-Adam Chmilowski, delivered on the Meadow).* Kraków: 22 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830622b.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[214] John Paul II. *Przemówienie wygłoszone w czasie koronacji obrazów Matki Bożej (Speech given at the time of the coronation of the portraits of the Mother of God)*, Częstochowa: 19 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830619d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011) . Casimir the Great, 1310-1370, is responsible for expanding Poland's borders, making civil, legal, and monetary reforms, founded the country's first university, and extended protection to the Jewish populations. See Norman Davies. *Heart of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 286-289.

[215] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. połączonej z udzieleniem święceń kapłanskich (Homily at mass connected with the priesthood consecrations).* Lublin: 9 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870609e.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011). Jerzy Popliełuszko was beatified in 2010.

historic Polish-Hungarian relationship by noting only that Stefan Batory, a Hungarian noble and prince of Transylvania, was one of Poland's greatest kings.[216] By invoking the memory of such influential people, John Paul II was adding a layer of meaning to his speeches which were not needed for his message to be understood. Instead, these references strengthened his message by suggesting examples to follow while reminded his listeners of their relationship to these people.

In addition to the names of people, John Paul II was also fond of making references to places, events, dates and ideas. When speaking about Poland's Christian heritage, the Pope would often speak of the 'baptism of Poland' or reference the year that it took place, 966. For example, John Paul II spoke of his presence in Gniezno, "where Poland was baptized at the beginnings of her history, where the Church was shaped on the lands of the Piast dynasty between Poznań and Gniezno."[217] At another time, John Paul II calls on his audience to remember Jan III Sobieski and Vienna, a reference to his victory over the Turks at the battle of Vienna in 1683.[218] Even still more subtle are his references to the destructive nature of the 'Golden Freedoms,' a number of rights granted to the nobility in through the 15th and 16th centuries, which were intended to give them more control over decision making in Poland, but are ultimately credited with leading to the Polish partitions.[219]

Although John Paul II incorporated examples from history to support the topic of his official messages as well as to provide a message that must be read between the lines he did not

[216] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do wiernych zgromadzonych przed rezydencją biskupa (Speech to the faithful gathered in front of the bishop's residence).* Częstochowa: 4 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790604e.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011) .

[217] ["…gdzie Polska przyjęła chrzest u początków swoich dziejów, gdzie ukształtował się Kościół na ziemiach piastowskich, między Poznaniem a Gnieznem,…"] John Paul II. *Words to the faithful gathered at Lech Hill*, Gniezno: 3 June 1979.

[218] John Paul II. *Apel Jasnogórski (Jasna Góra Appeal).* Częstochowa: 19 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830619f.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[219] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej w kaplicy Cudownego Obrazu (Homily for mass delivered in the chapel of the Miraculous Portrait)*, Częstochowa: 13 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870613a.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

just haphazardly insert these references. In fact, John Paul II had a method to the way he chose his historical examples. Though it might be obvious that he would talk about 'the Deluge' at Częstochowa or St. Stanisław in Kraków, some of his other references illustrate the insight that John Paul II had into the power that his geographically orientated examples could have. For example, while visiting the southwestern city of Wrocław, John Paul II talked about the Battle of Legnica (1241) as the bulwark of Christianity.[220] This is a particularly appropriate example, given that Legnica is only 75 kilometers from Wrocław. In another instance of his very thoughtful references to history, John Paul II, speaking in the port city of Gdynia, singled out the role that the local Kaszubian population and their culture have had on the development and preservation of Polish Christianity, a comment that would have been inappropriate in any other area of Poland.[221]

When using these examples, John Paul II was aware of, and counted on the fact that people can understand the vocabulary of a text without understanding the message, as Dunn has stated.[222] In this case, the message contained within his illustrations was intended to be understood by his audience, while the text as it appears was intended to be understood as such by the authorities. Thus, John Paul II used the same words to convey different messages to different audiences. It was in fact the undertones associated with connotative meanings that John Paul II intended for the people to hear.



[220] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. (Homily at mass)*, Wrocław: 21 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830621b.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[221] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie liturgii słowa skierowana do ludzi morza (Homily for a liturgy directed to the people of the sea)*, Gdynia, 11 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870611c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[222] Dunn. "Identity," p. 93.

### 4.2.3: Device 3- More than Words

As a former actor and student of Polish philology, John Paul II was familiar with the expressive abilities of words. He had a huge vocabulary that was augmented by his comprehension of syntax and morphology of classical and modern Polish in both the written and spoken mediums. During his time in theatre, Wojtyła learned "of the evocative power of words, which not only communicate a meaning but also elicit an emotion, at once both entirely subjective and entirely objective."[223] Being able to emphatically use the connotative meanings of words and phrases was essential for John Paul II in order for his remarks to have the legitimacy of appropriately fitting into the theme of his speech ('meaning$_1$'), while also displaying his thoughts about topics not directly related to the content of the speech ('meaning$_3$').

At his welcoming speech in Warszawa on his second visit, John Paul II quoted from the Gospel of Matthew: "I was sick and you visited me; I was in prison and you came to me."[224] This was not merely the spiritual theme of the pilgrimage, as Ornatowski observes, but it was also a specific message to his audience.[225] Though John Paul II continued by saying that he could not visit all of those who were sick and imprisoned, his intended meaning was clearly understood by the audience to which it was directed. Roger Boyes writes that "in the Wałęsa household there was a cheer when he spoke the word "imprisoned": the Pope was not going to be silent about political prisoner(s)."[226] By choosing this particular fragment of scripture, John Paul II was telling his audience that he was there to support them. In another use of scriptural reference, John Paul II says,

[223] Buttiglione, p. 21.
[224] Matthew 35:36, ["Byłem chory, a odwiedziliście Mnie; byłem w wiezieniu, a przyszliście do Mnie"]. John Paul II, *Welcoming Speech at the Okęcie Airport*, Warsaw: 16 June 1983.
[225] Ornatowski.
[226] Roger Boyes. *The Naked President*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1994), p. 131.

> Speaking to you is a man, for whom this gigantic Polish work greatly lies at heart, its fruit, its effectiveness, its reputation around the world. Speaking to you is a man who deeply at heart wants Poland to become rich and powerful through work. We must remember the words "man does not live by bread alone."[227]

By emphasizing the dignity of work and its importance to the development of the family, John Paul II acknowledges both the work conditions and suggests how Poland can change for the better, while the face value of the quotation suggests the need for further engagement in religious life.

In other instances of using quotations, the Pope counted on the context under which it was first uttered to speak for him. In his first public address to the governing authorities, John Paul II reminds them to remember the Polish soldiers who fought "for our freedom and yours," a motto used during WWII, whose history goes back to the November Uprising of 1830-1831.[228] Several times, John Paul II quoted Jan III Sobieski's triumphant Latin phrase: "We came, we saw, God conquered" (*Venimus, vidimus, Deus vici*).[229] By making this reference, he was not only using the phrase with his messages of the victory of Christ, but also within its historical context of the defeat of Europe's Turkish enemies. In a speech about human rights to

[227] ["A mówi to do was człowiek, któremu ogromnie leży na sercu ta olbrzymia, gigantyczna polska praca, jej owoce, jej skuteczność, jej reputacja w całym świecie. Mówi to człowiek, któremu najgłębiej leży na sercu, ażeby Polska stała się bogata i potężna przez swoją pracę. Pamiętajmy jednak słowa: "Nie samym chlebem żyje człowiek."] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej pod Szczytem Jasnej Góry dla pielgrzymów z Górnego Śląska i Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego (Homily at mass given at the summit of Jasna Góra for pilgrims from Upper Silesia and Zagłębie Dąbrowskie)*, Częstochowa: 6 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790606g.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[228] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do przedstawicieli władz państwowych wygłoszone w Belwederze (Speech to the governing representatives given at Belweder)*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790602c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

[229] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej na Stadionej Dziesięciolecia (Homily at mass given at the 10th Anniversary Stadium)*, Warsaw: 17 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830617d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

government authorities, John Paul II cited King Zygmunt II August, who refused to enforce a religious monopoly in the 16th Century, noting that "he is not a king of human conscience."[230]

Along with quotations, John Paul II was fond of using expressions to refer to something that could be said plainly; a strategy resembling 'totum po parte'. For example, he often called himself the successor of prince cardinal Adam Stefan and St. Stanisław when referring to his former positions as bishop and archbishop in Kraków. Of the city itself, John Paul II would call it the 'seat of St. Stanisław,' the 'city of my life,' and even the "Polish Rome."[231] Of course, when using such expressions, there is no 'meaning$_{1,}$' because the words alone do not make sense out of the context of the speech. Therefore, it is the connotative meanings of these phrases that represent the ideas that John Paul II was trying to express to remind his listeners of his relationship to them and their history.

Although John Paul II often hid his intended meaning in the text of his speeches, he was also quite able to take advantage of the circumstances in which certain words were spoken. After the Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement became an illegal organization, John Paul II had to agree not to mention it while on his pilgrimage.[232] Of course, John Paul II was true to his word, but he found subtle ways around it. In one speech he emphasized the need for solidarity (*solidarność*) among employees in the workplace.[233] In another speech, John Paul II speaks about the importance of the university as a place to develop solidarity (*solidarność*), what was

[230] ["nie jest królem ludzkich sumień."] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do przedstawicieli władz państwowych wygłoszone na Zamku Królewskim (Speech to the government authorities given at the Royal Castle)*, Warsaw: 8 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870608d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[231] John Paul II. *Przemówienie powitalne na Błoniach (Welcoming speech on the meadow)*, Kraków: 6 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790606i.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[232] Boyes, p. 132.
[233] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do Konferencji Episkopatu Polski (Speech to the Polish Episcopal Conference)*, Częstochowa: 19 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830619e.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

once called 'brotherly help' (*bratnia pomoc*).[234] During a speech to youth John Paul II discussed the relationship between the solidarity (*solidarność*) between God and man.[235] In each of these cases, 'solidarity' (*solidarność*) was used in its proper context, though it was intended to reference the Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement. When one knows that John Paul II was a gifted orator, it becomes apparent that the repetitive use of the word was not a momentary loss of vocabulary, but actually the use of linguistic devices which stress a single word. Instead, repetition was an illocutionary act of expressing his support with the movement. Roger Boyes, has pointed out that the very mention of 'solidarity' (*solidarność*) resulted in thunderous applause, banner waving and cheers, all examples of a perlocution.[236]

### 4.2.4: Device 4- Personal Experiences

John Paul II was a man of many experiences, and he relayed these experiences in his speeches. They were not merely in their denotative capacity to add color to his speeches ('meaning$_1$'). Instead, his personal experiences were intended (illocutionary act) to be connotative in order to further strengthen the bonds between himself and his audience. In one speech in Kraków, John Paul II recalled his position as "your long-ago bishop and metropolitan" that he had stood before the church alter in 1971 and delivered its first ceremonies.[237] On his second visit to Poland John Paul II relayed the feelings he had and some



[234] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do przedstawicieli świat nauki (Speech to the representatives of the world of science)*, Lublin: 9 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870609c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[235] John Paul II. *Słowo do młodzieży zgromadzonej przed siedzibą arcybiskupa (Words to the youth gathered in front of the seat of the archbishop)*, Kraków: 10 June 1987, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1987/pp19870610f.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[236] Boyes, p. 132.
[237] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie konsekracji kosciola sw. Maksymiliana Kolbego( Homily for the consecration of the church of St. Maksymilian Kolbe)* , Krakow- Now Huta: 22 June 1983, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1983/pp19830622d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

of the words he spoke on his first visit as Pope.[238] Upon arriving to Kalwary Zebrzydowska, John Paul II recalled,

> I really don't know how to thank Divine Providence for being able to see this place again. Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: the sanctuary of the Mother of God- and footpaths. Many times I have seen it, starting from my boyhood and youthful years. I saw them as a priest. Most often I saw the sanctuary of Calvary as the archbishop and cardinal of Krakow. Many times we were here with the priests concelebrating before the Mother of God, sometimes in full choir of the Krakow church, especially at important moments. [239]

Though his personal experiences complement the overall message of his speech, the perlocutionary act of this instance of using personal experiences was to remind his audience of his relationship to them and to Poland.

Other times John Paul II used his personal experiences to relate similar experiences to his audiences. While this may seem similar to the previously given example, it is not. Here, the intention was not to strengthen familial ties, but the reassurance that he had experienced similar hardships as the ones that his audience was experiencing. In one speech, John Paul II commented that although his audience is more familiar with the hardships that Poland, should not forget that he also went through terrible times.[240] In another, John Paul II talked about his youth while Poland was occupied and the lessons that he learned from the trials that he endured.[241] Without reminding his listeners of the difficult time that he had endured, John Paul II may have appeared as someone who was not familiar with the realities of an oppressed society, having spent his years in the comfort of the Church. By relating his personal experiences, John Paul II was allowing common practical life experiences to strengthen his relationship with his audience.



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[238] John Paul II. *Homily at mass given at the 10th Anniversary Stadium*, Warsaw: 17 June 1983.
[239] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do pielgrzymów zgromadzonych w sanktuarium Matki Bożej (Speech to the pilgrims gathered in the sanctuary of the Mother of God)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: 7 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790607a.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[240] John Paul II. *Homily at mass given at the 10th Anniversary Stadium*, Warsaw: 17 June 1983
[241] John Paul II. *Words to the youth gathered in front of the seat of the archbishop*, Kraków: 10 June 1987.

Relating personal experiences to provide encouragement was also one way that John Paul II spoke of his past. The Pope relayed an experience that he had when meeting a grandson of Ghandi, who had thanked the Pope for Poland, a reference to the Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement.[242] In another example, John Paul II mentioned that he had been invited to speak at a meeting in Geneva and quoted part of his talk about the need for peace and solidarity (*soldiarność*) as foundations for healthy work environments, noting that the movement had become a symbol of contemporary Polish culture.[243]By passing on these experiences to his audience, John Paul II was indicating not only that Poland's struggle was acknowledged worldwide, but also that the world supported them. With these experiences, John Paul II was encouraging his listeners to continue their battle.

### *4.3: Pedagogical Programs*

When John Paul II made his visits to Poland he delivered messages that reflected the purpose of his trip ('meaning$_1$'). In the course of his oration, he used certain strategies to supplement his messages ('meaning$_1$') which also could be interpreted ('meaning$_2$') as having an alternate meaning. The examples previously given reflect only four of the linguistic devices John Paul II used to accomplish this. George Wiegel has shown that subtexts ('meaning$_3$') have been embedded in the Polish Pope's messages ('meaning$_1$') since his first public address.[244] It was exactly these alternate meanings ('meaning$_3$') that John Paul II intended (illocutionary act) for the masses to comprehend ('meaning$_2$').

[242] *Homily for a liturgy directed to the people of the se),* Gdynia, 11 June 1987. George Weigel has elaborated on the relationship between Ghandi and the Solidarity movement by saying that "just as Ghandi had fought the British monopoly on the salt in the Raj, so Solidarity and the Church in the mid-1980s challenged "the government's monopoly over information, history and cultural life." *The Final Revolution.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 153.
[243] John Paul II. *Speech to the Polish Episcopal Conference,* Częstochowa: 19 June 1983.
[244] Weigel, *The Final Revolution,* p. 228.

One could argue that the Pope's intention (illocutionary act) in using these supplementary strategies was only to enliven the content of his speeches with examples ('meaning$_1$'). If this is the case, then the very idea that John Paul II meant something other ('meaning$_3$') than the surface value of his words within the context of his speech ('meaning$_1$') implies that his speeches have been misinterpreted ('meaning$_2$'), a possibility that Dunn acknowledges.[245] Supposing this was true, the misinterpretation of his speeches could be attributed to either the first or second intentions that Pocock identifies.[246] However, this is not the case. That the Pope's messages carried moral and political undertones have been well established, which only supports the claim of this work. What John Paul II wanted to say but could not is indicative of Pocock's third intention: "intentions and actions he might have performed but did not."[247] John Paul II did have something he wanted to say, but couldn't (Pocock's third intention) and disguised it ('meaning$_3$') in a way as to appear part of his speech ('meaning$_1$'). Thus, John Paul II's intended meaning ('meaning$_3$') was discernable ('meaning$_2$') by those who were familiar with the significance of the words he spoke.

In each of the years of his pilgrimage, not only did the official message ('meaning$_1$') of his speeches change, but so did the way in which he delivered his disguised message ('meaning$_3$'). John Paul II modified his messages in accordance with the situation in Poland at the time of his visit, his official message ('meaning$_{1'}$), and what it was that he wanted to say ('meaning$_3$'). Certain themes and constructions are more common in certain pilgrimages than they are in others. This was an intentional act on the part of John Paul II, who viewed each pilgrimage as a teaching opportunity and a part of a larger pedagogical program.

[245] Dunn. "Identity," p. 93.
[246] Pocock identifies these intentions as "(1) intentions and actions he may have performed without noticing them at first reading; (2) intentions and actions he may have performed without noticing them himself." Pocock, "Texts." pp. 24-25.
[247] Pocock. "Texts," p. 25.

### 4.3.1: 1979- Rejoice Mother of Poland

As a pedagogical program, the pilgrimage of 1979 had two purposes. The first purpose was to unify Poland. John Paul II did this most effectively by using 'cultural lexicons' as expressions of empathy. Although, in general, they all longed for an end to communism, there was no significant leader behind whom the population could rally. John Paul II, by design, became that person. By frequently stressing the fact that he was a Pole, that he lived under the same system, and that he also wished for Poland to be free John Paul II was able to connect with his listeners on a more personal level than he could have if he had gone to Poland as just 'the Pope.' He became more than their spiritual leader; he was an actor on the world stage and the embodiment of Poland's hopes for a better future. The fact that the world's attention would be drawn to the activities of the Pope meant that there would also be interest in his homeland, a notion that was worthy of celebration.

Reminding the nation of the greatness of their culture was the second intention behind his visit. John Paul II emphasized to his listeners the historic relationship between the Church and the nation, that the Church had always defended the nation when it was threatened.[248] Indeed, John Paul II famously said that "you cannot understand the history of Poland without Christ- above all, as the history of people who have gone and passed through this land."[249] By referencing St. Stanisław, St. Wojciech, and St. Maximilan Kolbe, John Paul II was showing that the Church had suffered for the people of Poland in the past. Perhaps even more than this, he was showing that Poles had suffered for Poland in the past. In addition to talking about the



[248] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do księży i wiernych archidiecezji warszawskiej zgromadzonych w katedrze (Speech to priests and the faithful of the Warsaw archdiocese gathered in the cathedral)*, Warszawa: 2 June 1979, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1979/pp19790602b.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011); *Homily for mass conducted on Victory Square*, Warszawa: 2 June 1979; and others.

[249] ["Nie można też bez Chrystusa zrozumieć dziejów Polski-przede wszystkim jako dziejów ludzi, którzy przeszli i przechodzą przez tę ziemię."] John Paul II. *Homily at mass given in Victory Square*, Warsaw: 2 June 1979.

importance of these Polish saints, John Paul II spoke of many well-known Polish authors, whose lives and works told the story of a longing for a homeland that was not truly free.[250]

The success of these aims (perlocutionary act) were addressed in Chapter 3. By emphasizing his ethnic and experiential relationship to them John Paul II was able to gather a following of people who would see him as a leader figure. This essentially meant that John Paul II would be able to exert 'soft power.'[251] In stressing the relationship between history and the nation John Paul II was able to suggest to his listeners that they should look to the past for examples of patriotism and to see that Poland had always been delivered from her foreign captors.

### 4.3.2: 1983- Peace to You, My Fatherland

Arriving in Poland for his second visit would be different than his first. John Paul II already had tremendous influence ('soft power') over his followers. He would not need to re-establish himself as a leader figure. Although Lech Wałęsa was the leader of the Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement, John Paul II was seen as its living patron saint. His messages of hope and unity in conjunction with the celebrations at Jasna Góra were well received. However, John Paul II also intended to provide guidance to the country that was officially in a state of war. Solidarity (*Solidarność*) had been outlawed and the Church was under pressure to maintain order. One of the aims of his visit was to provide reassurance of his support for the common people as they continued their struggle under the regime.

Probably the best way that John Paul II was able to reassure his listeners of the direction of their course was by taking examples from history. One of the historical references made throughout his pilgrimage was of the victory of Jan III Sobieski in the battle of Vienna. The

[250] Among those referenced were Cyprian Norwid, Adam Mickiewicz, and Juliusz Słowacki.
[251] Nye, p. 5.

references had two symbolic meanings. The first meaning is tied to the idea that Poland is a nation chosen by God. The defeat of the Turks is seen as a victory for Christianity; a meaning that is particularly important in a society where secularism is the official policy. The second meaning refers to the defeat of foreign oppressors. In this case, the communist regime is represented in the image of the Turks. As a whole, references to this instance in history provided reassurance that God is on the side of the Poles and that they would be victorious in their battle against communism. The other major reference, in a similar manner, was to the defense of the Jasna Góra monastery. In this analogy, Poland was represented by the monastery while the Swedes were the personification of communism. Of course, according to the legendary interpretation, the Swedes were defeated thanks to Divine intervention.

Another purpose was to encourage moral development and to provide guidance. He did this primarily by referencing the lives of saints and the attributes for which they were known. In one prayer, John Paul II requested "the memory of the Polish saints to show the way through the difficult times of our twentieth century."[252] At religious services for Polish saints, John Paul II would often refer to them as a 'son or daughter of this Polish land' in order to invoke a sense of relationship. By doing this, John Paul II was suggesting (illocutionary act) to his listeners to look to and emulate the values that these saints possessed. Amidst their struggles, he was encouraging them to establish firm moral foundations that would help them individually and collectively to throw off the shackles of communism. Thus, in the midst of the turmoil of martial law, John Paul II was able to help his country find a sense of peace.



### 4.3.3: 1987- He Loved Them to the End

When John Paul II made what would be his last pilgrimage to Poland under communism, there was already evidence that the political situation was changing. It was

[252] John Paul II. *Jasna Góra Apeal*, Częstochowa: 19 June 1983.

becoming increasingly apparent that the government would not be in a position to lead the country without making compromises. Knowing this, John Paul II set out to prepare his people to take control of their homeland when the opportunity eventually arose. This is not to say that John Paul II encouraged them to armed resistance or rebellion. On the contrary, his preparations were ideological and anticipated a non-violent end to the regime.

Throughout the trip the Pope reiterated his support for Poland's struggle. Time and again he spoke about how through solidarity (*solidarność*) society would be able to build a foundation for the future. True, he was speaking about the solidarity in the true sense of the word and also as an undertone. But he was also saying much more than this. The frequent use of this taboo word in public discourse, resulting in cheers from his audience[253] (perlocutionary act), was also a way of instructing his listeners to consider taking their battle to a different level.[254] Distinguishing between the denotative and connotative value of 'solidarity' (*solidarność*) was not difficult for the audience and frequently hearing the word amidst government restrictions only suggested that Solidarity's (*Solidarność*) activities move from open physical resistance to ideological resistance.

The other major point that John Paul II emphasized to his listeners was the need to work. By talking about work, the Pope was not only talking about the need for employment, but also about the role that work plays in personal development. He used examples from history to tell of the successful sacrifices that people made for the betterment themselves and of the country. He also gave examples of the trials that he endured and spoke about how such hard work paid off. In discussing the value and place of work in society, John Paul II was allowing the subtexts to suggest that the change from one society to another would demand the

[253] Boyes, p. 132.
[254] Jonathan Luxmoore and Jolanta Babiuch. *The Vatican and the Red Flag*. (London: Geoffrey Chapman Publishers, 1999), p. 256.

participation of everyone. Thus, their employment would contribute to the greater effort of reshaping society.

### 4.3.4: 1991- Quench Not the Spirit

The Pope's first pilgrimage to democratic Poland can be characterized as a warning. Concerned about the effects that freedom would have on the newly independent state, John Paul II spoke about the dangers associated with Poland's new liberties. In contrast to his previous three pilgrimages to Poland, John Paul II did not have an agenda to guide Poland through political, social, and economic hardships. Although Poland's transition did result in political, social and economic changes, these were not the focus of the Pope's visit. Instead, John Paul II took it upon himself to provide moral guidance.

Though the theme of his visit was the Decalogue, John Paul II managed to interpret each commandment in a way to warn against what he saw as the dangers of immorality and materialism. He noted that he understood the desire for Poland to have access to goods that had previously been unavailable, but cautioned against taking more than can be used. John Paul II stated that who the person is was more important than what the person has.[255] He emphasized that freedom is there to be used, not just to assist in providing luxuries.[256]

During his speeches, John Paul II appealed to Polish culture and history to support him by noting that Poland was , and had been an important part of Europe for centuries and that there was no need for Poland to exchange what made her unique to fit in with the West. He encouraged his listeners to "not waste that wonderful heritage" that they had gained from



[255] John Paul II. *Homilia w czasie Mszy św (Homily at mass).* Lubaczów: 3 June 1991, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1991/pp19910603a.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[256] John Paul II. *Przemowienie do przedstawicieli wladz panstwowych wygloszone na Zamku Krolewskim (Speech to governing authorities given at the Royal Castle)*, Warsaw: 8 Jun 1991, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1991/pp19910608b.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).

Poland.[257] John Paul II noted that Solidarity (*Solidarność*) had become a moral symbol in the world and that it was apart of Poland's European identity.[258]

On top of these warnings, John Paul II tried to emphasize the role of the Church in shaping Polish society. The Pope noted that "the youth look for support in Church, which shapes faith and reveals the horizons of Christian humanism."[259] He also asked for the help of the parishioners to assist their clergy to "revive the religious morality of the entire diocese."[260] John Paul II repeatedly stressed the importance of the Church in the development and education of moral citizens.

In contrast to his previous three pilgrimages, John Paul II did not mix his words. When he spoke, 'meaning$_3$' was 'meaning$_1$.' His references to his Polish origins only appeared in 50% of his speeches, as compared to 60% in 1979, 72% in 1983 and 85% in 1987.[261] Only 6% of his speeches included references to Polish classical authors whereas his citations in 1979, 1983, and 1987 were at 20%, 25%, and 31%, respectively.[262] The historical references had no undertones behind them. Neither did references to his personal experiences. His fourth pilgrimage was direct and to the point. His intention was not to provide comfort, counsel or guidance on matters relating to what was seen the oppressive political and economic state of the country, as he had done in his three visits under communist rule. Rather, John Paul II intended

[257] ["Nie zmarnujcie tego wspaniałego dziedzictwa!"] John Paul II. *Przemówienie pożegnalne do młodzieży (Farewell speech to the youth)*, Częstochowa: 15 August 1991, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1991/pp19910815c.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011) .
[258] John Paul II. *(Speech to governing authorities given at the Royal Castle)*, Warsaw: 8 Jun 1991.
[259] ["*młodzież szuka oparcie w Kościele, który kształtuje wiarę i ukazuje horyzonty chrześcijańskiego humanizmu*."] John Paul II. *Przemówienie do katechetów, nauczycieli i uczniów (Speech to catechists, teachers and students)*, Włocławek: 6 June 1991, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1991/pp19910606d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011) .
[260] ["odróżenie religijno-moralne całej diecezji."] John Paul II. *Przemówienie wygłoszone w czasie nawidzenia katedry (Speech given at a cathedral viewing)*, Przemyśl: 2 June 1991, http://www.mateusz.pl/jp99/pp/1991/pp19910602d.htm (Accessed 1 November 2011).
[261] Author's statistics.
[262] Author's statistics.

on addressing a society that, having overcome those ideological and temporal obstacles, now faced material and moral challenges that he saw as a threat to their spiritual wellbeing.

### *4.4: Conclusion*

To say that John Paul II addressed the masses in coded methods only to express his support (illocutionary act) of their struggle against communism would be an understatement. This was only one minor part of his pedagogical program. The bulk of his program was aimed specifically at the preservation of Polish culture and heritage. By taking into account the situation in Poland at the time of his visits, along with the official purpose of his visit, John Paul II was able to shape the content of his messages to remind his audience of the greatness of the Polish legacy.

He was able to do this by incorporating his theological and philosophical views into his speeches, in addition to what could be considered to be basic knowledge for every Pole. One of the main aspects of his program was promoting moral development. In stressing this, John Paul II harkened back to the ideas which took root from his doctoral work on Max Scheler. In his visits John Paul II taught not only that a proper moral foundation was important, but how to cultivate it. He explained values associated with action and helped his audiences understand the importance of morally positive choices. John Paul II spoke about the importance and function of the family in society, work as a means to get closer to God and as a way to establish a better society.

When John Paul II spoke about history and his own life, he was not just talking about the lessons learned, but was drawing on the ideas of St. John of the Cross by showing that knowledge comes through experience. He was also taking from Thomism by explaining the simplicity of life and understanding. He stressed that there needed to be a balance, but that God

needed to be present in all aspects of life. John Paul II preached love and respect for others, toleration and cooperation as means of unity- both with each other and with God.

With the fall of communism, the role that John Paul II saw for himself changed from defender of Polish heritage to defender of religious values. An independent Poland meant that her culture would be preserved. However, the rapid transition to democracy and capitalism, in his view, threatened Poland's conservative values. Worried that Poland would eventually take on the same characteristics of the more secular West, John Paul II stressed the importance of the Church and her values in Poland. The first three pilgrimages to Poland can be seen as part of a larger program to maintain and cultivate Polish culture. The pilgrimage in 1991 can be understood as the beginning of a second program aimed at preserving the moral tradition of the Polish state from the Western threats of materialism and secularism.

# CONCLUSION

The inspiration for this thesis was an observation that John Paul II seemed to take advantage of certain occasions, when he could, to speak to his countrymen in a manner that was intended to be understood along the lines of the undertones associated with his speech. George Weigel provided evidence that this was done at the inaugural mass in which Karol Wojtyła appeared for the first time to the world as Pope John Paul II.[263] Others have observed that John Paul II seemed to have a specific program in regards to his papal visits abroad. Using this assumption, this thesis set out to determine whether or not John Paul II had a program for his visits to Poland under communism, specifically a program that could be considered pedagogical in nature. The results of this thesis are that John Paul II did, in fact, have a specially designed pedagogical program for the Poles during his visits to his homeland under communism.

By analyzing the speeches he gave on his visits, this thesis has been able to reconstruct some of the methods John Paul II used on his visit. Taking into account that previous research has found political, economic, and moral undertones in his speeches, this work aimed specifically at identifying sub-textual means of communication between John Paul II and his audience. Basing the method of research on Quentin Skinner's ideas of meaning and intention, this thesis has shown that certain linguistic devices were incorporated into the Pope's speech which carried both denotative and connotative value. It was the connotative value of the speeches which John Paul II intended for his listeners to grasp. Eyewitness accounts of life in Poland before and after the papal visits show that there were nationwide changes in attitude and behavior corresponding to the subtext of the Pope's speeches.

The institution of these papal programs was intentional and had clearly defined goals. In his position as the supreme pontiff, John Paul II knew that he could be an agent of change.

[263] George Weigel. *The Final Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 93-96, 228.

His desire to be Poland's moral compass and face to the world stemmed from his education and experience as a preserver of culture and defender of virtues. John Paul II viewed himself as a pedagogue to the people; someone who could instruct in righteous and virtuous resistance while reminding the nation of the strength that they possessed through their cultural legacy. This research has shown that this was exactly what happened during the papal visits between 1979 and 1987. On the other hand, this research has also shown that when communism collapsed, so did the national need for the Pope's leadership.

Although this thesis has reconstructed and presented the Pope's pedagogical program for Poland, there are also other important observations which can be made from this research. Quentin Skinner noted that interpretations can not be considered to be universally and exclusively true.[264] While subscribing to this view, it did present itself as a minor annoyance in regard to the analysis based on his theories of meaning. For Skinner, the author's intended meaning is an important part of understanding intention. The approach that this thesis took was based on the idea that intention could be identified on the basis of the author's intended meaning. However, while used, Skinner's notions of meaning appear to be ill suited for an analysis based on undertones. When analyzing subtexts, one cannot assume that denotative meaning is mutually exclusive of the connotative meaning. This appears to be the case with Skinner's ideas: one is supposed to choose which meaning was the intended meaning. Because an author may not intend for a denotative meaning to be distinguished from a connotative meaning, or may intend for the value of both meanings to be understood simultaneously, it is proposed that an additional 'meaning' be introduced into Skinner's trilogy of meanings which would account for the possibility of multiple meanings, or what has been called 'parallel

[264] Quentin Skinner. "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts" in *New Literary History*, Vol 3, No. 2, (Winter, 1972), p. 393

meaning' in chapter 4. Recognizing such a possibility would give greater depth to any analysis based on Skinner's method.

Though this thesis answered the question that it intended to, it does raise some others. Did John Paul II have programs for other countries, and if so, what did they look like? Because of liberation theology, the answer can be presumed to be yes. Moreover, did he have programs for other communist countries and if so, how were they similar or different than the Polish program? How did John Paul II interact with Poles outside of Poland between 1978 and 1989 and how did he view his relationship with them? Can an emphasis on the Pope's own nation be seen in the activities of John Paul's successor or even his pre-modern, non-Italian predecessors? If so, what does this mean in terms of ethics and responsibilities to the Church as a whole? How will John Paul II be remembered in future generations, particularly in Poland? Will he be remembered as a Pole and patriot who happened to be Pope or the Polish Pope turned patriot? Will he be a person who was just doing his duty, and if so, his duty to his country or to his religion? It will be a while before some of these questions can be answered, but they do promote conscious reflection on the matter.

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