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Patriotism as Love of the Homeland or Another Form of Nationalism? Devotedness, Allegiance, and Loyalty to the Native Country in the Thought of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński

Abstract: The key issue of this article is exposing the specificity of patriotism as well as its axiological conditions and requirements, understood in terms of personal commitment and love for the homeland, considered a gift and responsibility. In the personalist context of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński's pastoral thought, the presentation of patriotism aims to depict this moral virtue as an essentially Christian value, which is expressed, first of all, in active care for the good and prosperity of the homeland, understood as a *bonum commune*. In this context, the author of the article formulates the fundamental question whether patriotism still exhibits constructive axiological potential, allowing to shape the socio-political and cultural reality of the contemporary world. This reflection also refers to the praxis of socio-political life, which is branded by an intense polarization of opinions not only concerning the homeland but also relating to the axiological values that define patriotism.

Keywords: patriotism, nationalism, Stefan Wyszyński, personalism, common good, ideology

Introduction

Amity for the homeland, as well as love and affection for the culture of one's own nation, family, and cultural traditions, is not an exclusive question of the past. In this context, deliberations about patriotism are based on the assumption that the depicted phenomenon has a significant impact on the life of the entire civil society. However, the emotional connotations associated with the idea of patriotism raise essential questions about the identity of society, its goals, and interaction with the whole socio-political environment. The very

etymology of the word “patriotism” suggests that the presented attitude is understood through the prism of the “child’s love for the parent,” presumably because it is considered a kind of reverence that cannot be reduced to some voidable understanding or acquired feeling. Nevertheless, it does not mean that patriotism is irrational any more than it is illogical to love one’s parents.

In other words, patriotic values are essential for both present and future generations. They shape the national identity and are related to the ability to sacrifice as well as solidarity in building the common good and the state of law. No wonder then that it draws researchers’ attention not only to the primary aspects of a given society’s functioning but also to questions about the concept of citizenship and its relation to the common good, especially in the context of multinational and multicultural societies. As a result, patriotism – understood as an essential principle integrating civil society – becomes a thought-provoking phenomenon to explore. In this context, however, the following questions become very important: what are the objects of patriotic attachment for the nation-state, as well as what determines their loyalty to the national “*bonum commune*”? The answer to these questions is of particular scientific importance in contexts where social groups (Catholic-Christians) do not copiously identify with the externally imposed new identity of the state and do not have equal access to state institutions. Remarkably, it was the case with Christians-citizens of the People’s Republic of Poland who lived in the post-war reality of the communist state.

From the personalistic perspective, however, the entire ministry of Cardinal Wyszyński, deeply rooted in the realities of the social and political existence of the nation, is characterized by sincere patriotism understood as ardent love for the homeland, capable of tremendous sacrifices and detriment. In this context, Christians’ involvement in social and political life is integrally linked to its patriotic character. Unique relations of ties with the homeland are revealed not only in the consciousness and mentality of man-citizen. Still, they are deeply embedded in human nature, very firmly encompassing all spheres of man’s personality. “The bond with the homeland is a mystery that

we can define as a law of nature, the most fundamental and most sacred of all laws.”¹

In turn, though, nationalism is understood as a sense and ideology of ties with the nation and devotion to its interests. In the second sense, it is a theory according to which the state should be built on the nation, and the nation should be constituted as a state. As an ideology, nationalism, in essence, recognizes the nation as the highest value of social life. In contemporary political discourse, however, nationalism is often described as an attitude opposed to patriotism while emphasizing national egoism as an essential element of nationalism. Sometimes this term is replaced with a new catchphrase: “ethnocentrism” or “national chauvinism.” So, it is not a simple matter to present the proper relationship that determines the belonging of a human person to society, nation, homeland, or state. It is not about reality “external” to man, but about grasping what is closest to him: a living and dynamic reality, which is part of his essence, which permeates him, and in which he continually participates. Patriotism, then, like nationalism, is an inherently controversial concept.²

1. Patriotism and Nationalism: Similarities and Differences

The revival of patriotic attitudes and a sense of national awareness that we have been observing in Poland in recent years is a very positive phenomenon. The love of the homeland, as well as the amity of native culture and tradition, not only concerns the past but is closely related to our present-day capacity to build our common good in sacrifice and solidarity. Therefore, it influences the shape and character of our future. From the perspective of salvation history, as Wyszyński emphasizes, the nation created by God, remaining under his special providence, is guided towards goals whose implementation is its historical mission. Being the subject as well as the object of all God’s gifts and undertakings, it becomes – outside the Church – the primary and natural subject of true Christianity – the “leaven

¹ S. Wyszyński, “Tajemnica więzi”, 485.

² Cf. J. Szacki, “Patriotyzm”, 105.

of the Gospel” and its “communicator.”³ Intergenerational solidarity, responsibility for the fate of the weakest, simple civic honesty, readiness to serve, and sacrifice for the common good, which are closely related to patriotism, also implement the Gospel’s message. “It is a great wisdom to learn from past experiences.”⁴ “However, it requires vigilance, great sensitivity to the matters and spirit of the Nation, great reverence for the land that accumulates the ashes of ancestors, full readiness to serve this our” family of families “in the spirit of Christian love for the homeland.”⁵

In the Christian perspective, service to the “earthly homeland,” like the love of one’s own family, always remains a stage on the way to the heavenly homeland, which, due to God’s infinite love, embraces all peoples and nations on earth. Therefore, the love of one’s own homeland is the embodiment of the universal command to love God and man.⁶ In this context, the “homeland” appears as a dynamic axiological structure designed to implement objectives, especially social values. Thus, it is a spiritual community of persons imbued with the same ideals and recognizing the embodiment of these ideals as their chief task.⁷ Cardinal Wyszyński’s personalism emphasizes that the relationships that arise due to the individual’s reference to a set of common patriotic values have the character of moral bonds understood as a kind of moral space, where the duty to the community whose name is the motherland is revealed.⁸ Thus, the attitude to one’s own identity, ties with the local community, nation, homeland, and the choice of a life model dependent on them, together with the hierarchy of preferred virtues and values, constitute an essential human experience.⁹ Genuine love for the homeland is based on a deep attachment and amity for what is native, regardless of time and space. It is connected with a deep respect for everything that is of value to other nations. It requires recognizing all good outside of us and

³ Cf. S. Wyszyński, “Słowo pasterskie”, 507.

⁴ S. Wyszyński, “Jesteście pokoleniem przyszłości”, 120.

⁵ S. Wyszyński, “List o Społecznej Krucjacie”, 545.

⁶ Cf. Wyszyński, “Z kurzem krwi”, 28.

⁷ Cf. S. Kowalczyk, *Naród, państwo, Europa*, 96–98.

⁸ Cf. R. Ficek, “Love”, 103–107.

⁹ Cf. R. Ficek, *Christians*, 206–214.

readiness to improve ourselves based on other nations' achievements and experience. Therefore, the creative force of true patriotism is the noblest love, free from hatred, because hatred is a destructive force that leads to disease and degeneration of well-understood patriotism.¹⁰

The phenomenon of nationalism is sometimes understood and defined in various ways in social sciences, which affects its final assessment.¹¹ Unfortunately, nationalism has quite a bad reputation today. Moreover, for many Westerners, it seems to be a dangerous ideology responsible for numerous armed conflicts and, consequently, for the enormity of human misfortune. Some admittedly recognize the significant value of patriotism understood as an affective attachment to the homeland. Nevertheless, they see nationalism itself as a very limited and immoral ideology, promoting blind loyalty to the country over a more profound commitment to justice and humanity's universal good. In January 2019, in a speech to his country's diplomatic corps, German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier put this view in harsh terms: "Nationalism is an ideological poison."¹² Likewise, French President Emmanuel Macron said in November 2018 that "nationalism is a betrayal of patriotism."¹³ Moreover, the Polish Episcopate's official statement of March 14, 2017, also clearly states that nationalism is the opposite of patriotism.¹⁴

¹⁰ Cf. R. Ficek, "Love", 112–117.

¹¹ The phenomenon of nationalism became the subject of analysis by historians, sociologists, and political scientists as early as the interwar period of the 20th century. The researchers came to a generalized conclusion that the doctrine of nationalism is a product of the nation-building processes of the 19th century, which reached its apogee in the 20th century. Some historians emphasize that nationalism was more significant to the twentieth century than the class struggle ideology, constituting the most remarkable political force of that period. However, the late-twentieth-century history discloses that even in Europe, it has not yet exhausted its possibilities. Cf. T. Schieder, *Nationalismus*; J. Lukacs, *Die Geschichte*.

¹² Cf. S.Q. Butt, *Belligerent nationalism*.

¹³ Cf. E. Corbett, *Macron's Armistice Speech*,

¹⁴ Cf. Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, "Chrześcijański kształt patriotyzmu." The Polish Bishops' Conference refers in its document to Pope John Paul II's statement at the UN General Assembly in 1995. Nevertheless, John Paul II stated in his speech that "[...] the fundamental difference that exists between the insane nationalism, which proclaims contempt for other nations and cultures, and patriotism, which

In this context, it should be underlined that the above statements present an overly generalized understanding of nationalism as a socio-political attitude or ideology occurring in quite extreme forms. Therefore, in the context of Christian personalism, the question arises whether they present the only and correct understanding of nationalism?

2. *Ingenitae Erga Patriam Caritatis:* A Great Common Duty

Of course, Catholic social doctrine opposes such extreme nationalism, seeing it as a dangerous social utopia that ultimately significantly violates all people's dignity and equality. It is incompatible with the brotherhood principles that, in the Christian perspective, love and devotion to one's homeland are expressed primarily through the attitude of service as well as care and responsibility for the needs and fate of specific people (Nation). Therefore, it is unacceptable and idolatrous to raise one's own nation to the rank of absolute or look for a Christian justification for spreading national conflicts and strife. Patriotism understood as love for one's own nation, can never be an excuse for contempt, aggression, and violence.¹⁵

is a righteous love for one's homeland. A true patriot never strives for the good of his own nation at the expense of others. It would ultimately be damaging to his own country, leading to negative consequences for both the attacker and the victim. Nationalism, especially in its more radical forms, is the antithesis of true patriotism, and therefore today, we cannot allow extreme nationalism to generate new forms of totalitarian aberration. This task, of course, also applies to the situation when nationalism is founded on a religious principle, as is, unfortunately, the case with certain forms of so-called "fundamentalism" (Jan Paweł II, "Przemówienie Ojca Świętego", 7).

¹⁵ Cf. Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, "Chrześcijański kształt patriotyzmu", no. 1. In this context, the words from the letter of the Polish Episcopate on "Christian patriotism" of September 5, 1972, are significant: "The love of neighbor and the equality of all people in the sight of God and towards each other is the basis and source of Christian patriotism. True love for the homeland is based on a deep attachment and love for what is native, regardless of time and space. It is connected with a deep respect for everything that is of value to other nations. It requires recognition of all good outside of us and readiness to improve ourselves

However, nationalism is – first and foremost – a political principle that states that political structures should coincide with national networks. The above standard allows us to define nationalism as a kind of attitude and as a form of political activity. Nationalism as an “attitude” is a feeling of anger, resentment, and irritation towards violating national values and insulting their symbols.¹⁶ It is also a form

based on the achievements and experience of other nations. The creative force of true patriotism is, therefore, the noblest love, free from hatred. The true love of the Homeland is not only beautiful, solemn declarations but also a practical attitude, solid care, and work for the common good. In fact, there were also many beautiful words without coverage in the pre-partition times. True patriots say little about their love for their homeland, but they do not close their mouths to those who, in fact, only care about their private interests. Privatization has caused our people irreparable losses. Careerism, selling off to someone else’s interests, insuring yourself at the expense of the nation, using the enemy – these are the most famous and scary fruits of private life. Universalism is an important requirement of Christian patriotism, taking into account all the talents and needs of both an individual human being and the entire national community. Love for the motherland is a concern for its welfare, development, and future. Christian love for the homeland is not only concerned for its highest economic, social, and cultural development, but also spiritual and religious development. Both realities – the national being and the mission of the Church, which, through its teaching mission and by obtaining grace, ennoble love for the homeland, making this love complete and comprehensive. When the living conditions of the Nation were good, the Church enjoyed freedom, and when the Church was oppressed, the Nation did not enjoy the justice and freedom it deserved. Without understanding this fact, no one will understand the true face of our Polish family’s patriotism. We owe our existence and national face to this great ability to sacrifice and sacrifice entire Polish generations, on which the invaders repeatedly issued a death sentence. We must set ourselves the following requirements: honest work, reliability and the rule of law, disinterestedness and the fight against extreme individuality and egoism.” (Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, “List Episkopatu Polski”, 707–709).

¹⁶ In the liberal discourse, nationalism is called chauvinism, totalitarianism, or fascism. In this context, patriotism also has a negative connotation and is accused of lack of rational foundations and exaggerated “emotionality” (“hurra-patriotism” or “ultra-patriotism”). In opposition to nationalism are also internationalism, cosmopolitanism, and communism. Nationalism often interacts with totalitarian ideologies and other manifestations of intolerance, such as fascism, racism, anti-Semitism, chauvinism, communism, socialism, fanaticism, fundamentalism, authoritarianism, radicalism, populism, and clericalism. There are different types of nationalism, primarily ethnic, political, and religious, reflected in their names – national

of national pride, honor, esteem, and approval for upholding national values.¹⁷ On the other hand, nationalist activity is a form of goings-on triggered to a greater or lesser extent by this kind of sentiment.

In general, the “social substance” from which nationalism grew is the institution of the nation.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the activation of nationalist movements is related not only to the situation when the state borders do not cover the entire territory in which representatives of a given nation live. A more extreme form of the Nation’s right to self-determination is the imposition of political power by a foreign government administration that pursues its priorities of power against

communism, socialism, transnationalism, and ethnonationalism. Nationalism is often said to be aggressive, extreme, radical, criminal, fanatic, and tight. In the liberal discourse, nationalism – just like patriotism – is often “banal”: irrelevant or zoological (although it is not further characterized here). There is also talk of banal nationalism, eastern (bad) and western (good) nationalism. Banal nationalism demands absolute loyalty to the nation-state and “one’s” people. At the same time, it presents its nation as tolerant and non-nationalist, while other nations exhibit negative traits: for example, they are bigots and supporters of ethnic cleansing. Cf. M. Brzozowska, “Patriotyzm i nacjonalizm”, 114.

¹⁷ Especially in the national-right-wing discourse, nationalism is contrasted with cosmopolitanism, and, therefore, patriotism is the “golden mean” between them. Occasionally it is identified with chauvinism, although it is usually distinguished from it, e.g., from three concepts – patriotism, nationalism, and chauvinism – only chauvinism has negative references. Nationalism idolizes its nation, considers it the only one, perfect, only worthy of respect and love, and claims that humanity is not a family of nations but a background for its own nation, free from ethical norms. It is often associated with oppressing other nations, exploiting, conquering, and liquidating. This attitude is related to the fight against religion and God. Cf. M. Brzozowska, “Patriotyzm i nacjonalizm”, 116.

¹⁸ In the teaching of Cardinal Wyszyński, the Nation – like the family – belongs to the natural and most fundamental phenomena of social life. It derives its genesis from being deeply rooted in history, traditions, and customs shaped by the native culture, enabling people to find a sense of identity and security. The fact of national affiliation – characterized by a specific cultural specificity – results in a set of fundamental values, ideas, and ideals that enable society’s life and functioning. In the entire social anthropogenesis of Cardinal Wyszyński, the Nation is, therefore, a very high and at the same time the most permanent level – which makes it a social structure that, despite changing socio-political systems, trends and doctrines, achieves exceptional stability. Cf. S. Rosik, “Naród”, 120; R. Iwan, “Społeczności naturalne”, 154–158.

the “common good” of the particular nation. In this sense, nationalist ideas fit very closely into the concepts that legitimize state power in a given territory. As a political product, the state power remains in the nation, and its function concerning national life is secondary. However, the existence of a nation without a state – although imperfect – is possible and sometimes even necessary. An example of this is the period in the Polish nation’s history when a nation deprived of its own statehood created a spontaneous kind of “spiritual state.”¹⁹

In this context, two forms of nationalism can be distinguished: positive and negative.²⁰

Positive nationalism in this sense is moderate and ethically unquestioned. It means, among other things, pride in one’s national origin, love for the motherland, respect for one’s history, and the development of national culture. Nationalism in this form can easily connect with the Christian idea of charity and the idea of social love. Therefore, it can become an important source of political integration of the community, serving to awaken human dignity and satisfy the need for community and belonging, which cannot be satisfied with the admiration of liberal individualism, emphasizing economic growth or technical achievements of modern society.²¹

Undoubtedly, there is also extreme (negative) nationalism, which seeks to subordinate other nations in the name of the rights or good of its own nation. Such anti-humanitarian nationalism is usually aggressive, closed, and unethical, undermines the rights of national minorities in their own country, and often does not shy away from the temptation to destroy other nations.²² Such an approach ultimately results in

¹⁹ Cf. S. Wszyński, “Rozmowy Kościół – państwo”, 84–86; C.S. Bartnik, “Chrześcijańska nauka o narodzie”, 11–12.

²⁰ S. Kowalczyk, *Wolność natury*, 192–194. Kowalczyk refers here to the work of Maurice Vaussard - a French philosopher and essayist. Cf. M. Vaussard, *Enquete*.

²¹ Cf. E. Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, 48–56.

²² This kind of “nationalism,” understood in terms of national chauvinism, emphasizes an eternal struggle between nations, which is an unchanging feature of their relations. Therefore, each nation should be guided solely by its own interests. Then, national egoism is legitimate and necessary here because the good of the nation is the highest value. In turn, relations between nations are based not on rightness but strength. Therefore, they cannot be related to ethical principles

double morality's approval. The "Decalogue of behaviors" binding in relations between an individual and a community contradicts the behavior pattern recommended to a nation towards other nations. Yet, nationalism is most often assessed negatively.²³ It is associated with ethnocentrism, xenophobia, chauvinism, "quasi-totalitarianism," racism or anti-Semitism, etc.

A classic example of this is the ideologies promoting the collectivist concept of man, and especially their particular variant: German "Nazi National Socialism." It is worth noting that the above doctrine became the Nazi National Socialist NSDAP party's official program. Thus, it laid the theoretical foundations for the Nazi military expansion strategy that led to World War II's terrible hecatomb.²⁴ Paradoxically, Marxist-Leninist ideology also presented very similar features and character. In this case, however, the omnipotence of the Nazi state

recognized among individuals. The nation's interest should be pursued by all necessary means; territorial expansion, striving for partitions is a normal phenomenon and should not be a subject of disapproval. Besides, there is a hierarchy of nations, and one's own nation is at the top of it, has the data to be there, and must do so. In this sense, each nation has a specific psychological structure, a different character. In this sense, one's own nation has unique features, especially its forms of life and culture. For the nationalist ideology understood in this way, it is characteristic of idealizing the past of one's own nation and of juxtaposing the "native" with what is considered "alien," ascribing to the "stranger" the features of an "eternal enemy." Cf. M. Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe*, 21–22.

²³ Cf. J. Gajda, *Racjonalny patriotyzm*, 50–63. Jerzy Jedlicki proves that the concept of nationalism was coined at the end of the 19th century to brand a new phenomenon at that time, namely the absolute ethics of "national egoism" and the policy of mass mobilization based on it. Cf. J. Jedlicki, *Nacjonalizm*, 54.

²⁴ Cf. R. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*; D. Redles, *Hitler's Millennial Reich*. Referring to the Nazi-German concept of man, Wyszyński states with a specific dose of sarcasm: "The greatest disgrace for man would be any relationship with God, especially in the Christian sense. Is Man a creature of God? This wording alone is enough to draw upon him all the hatred he has for God. A universal contempt for the image of God in man is proclaimed, the easier it is to perpetuate the fact that people do everything not to resemble God in any way. A man stripped of the remnants of a relationship with God is considered directly as a fertilizer that is being thrown for future generations" (S. Wyszyński, *Miłość i sprawiedliwość*, 47).

representing the “Nation” was taken over by the communist party representing – supposedly – the “workers and peasants” proletariat.²⁵

In this context, the literature on the subject highlights the occurrence of nationalism in two – seemingly – contradictory roles: as an ideology of political emancipation, as well as a tool to combat emancipation aspirations. The literature on the subject emphasizes that nationalism in power presents an entirely different profile than national resistance against foreign rule. While in control, nationalism is often a repressive ideology that demands rigorous submission to the official spokesmen’s authority of the national tradition. The situation is different in opposition to nationalism, which is usually

²⁵ Cf. J.M. Bocheński, *Der sowjetrussische dialektische Materialismus*, 95–99. Analyzing the collectivist Marxist-Leninist ideology, Wszyński emphasized: “Man has no personal value in their eyes. Not only is it not the center of the world, but he is simply nothing. It derives all its value from being granted the state through social coexistence. Hence, first of all, man is denied the rights of the person: freedom, thought, and action. Man is subject to absolute obedience to sovereignty: we must obey people rather than God. The human person is subjected to total contempt, the inevitable harshness of the government system, the inhumanity of the boundless arbitrariness of officials, despotism, and terror. In practice, there is the slavery of citizens to the collective. Secondly, man is denied the freedom to believe in and worship God. For in man, the eternal element and other destinies other than the temporal ones are not recognized. It is where the organized, official struggle against religion begins as a new modern state task. Organized hate! Communism wants to build a world without God. He wants to raise a man without God’s commandments and religious morality, only based on the morality of the masses. So all religions must be eradicated. Technology is the new god of a man. The greatest happiness is proletarian equality. In this way, man, created in the image and likeness of God, detached from his Creator, is thrown into the depths of godlessness and worldliness. Thirdly, man’s own destiny and goals are rejected. He has no soul and no destiny of his own. And no longer can man aim to pursue happiness in God. Man has a duty to pursue the goals that the state will show him. He must be completely socialized – both in body and soul. He has a duty to make any sacrifice, to fulfill all the orders of the community. Fourthly, man has imposed a new goal, indicated by collective life. Since spiritual values have no meaning, the highest goal of human life will be the good of the state, society, nation, class, party, or economic good, the good of production usually atheistically organized, temporal or material happiness, earthly or capitalist paradise – through own or also the communist profit. In a word – deification of matter, profit, production, and technology” (S. Wszyński, *Miłość i sprawiedliwość*, 46–47).

manifested as a stimulus for cultural creativity and development in the face of real threats to the nation's existence.²⁶ Such an approach to nationalism emphasizes the socio-political conditions realizing a national idea in a specific community. It is also noted that the ideology of nationalism should be treated in ambivalent terms: it is neither "good" nor "bad" in itself. In extreme forms, nationalism indeed contains severe errors of an anthropological and axiological nature, which have tragic consequences in implementing them in social life. Hence the postulate that the ideology of nationalism should be "domesticated and civilized rather than ignored or entirely combated."²⁷

3. For the Sake of the National *Bonum Commune*

After the Second World War, the reconstruction of Poland needed the unity of generations, which was a condition of strength, peace, and social love of the nation. However, this unity was threatened by the seizure of power in the state by the communists and, as a consequence, rapid and profound systemic transformations combined with tensions and anxiety. The change of the paradigm of power was also associated with the search for a social consensus ensuring the legitimacy of power for the new political elites of the People's Republic of Poland.²⁸

The post-war period is also a time of complete ideological indoctrination based on the monistic system of atheistic materialism, which led to enormous losses, both personal and material. The domination of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the Bolshevik version and the extermination of the Polish intelligentsia during and immediately after the Second World War caused irreparable damage and left many science and art representatives spiritually broken. The consequence of this was a substantial disturbance of the fundamental structures of the nation's life and Polish culture, where the most critical threats are: lack of ideology, weakening of the ethos, primitivism, and vulgarity of some of the mass media, destruction

²⁶ C. Calhoun, "Nacjonalizm", 254; M. Spiecker, *Naród a wyznanie*, 89.

²⁷ Cf. J. Szacki, "O narodzie i nacjonalizmie", 28.

²⁸ Cf. R. Ficsek, "Collectivism, Individualism," 12–18.

of authorities, cosmopolitanism, and disappearance of patriotism, weakening of family ties, anti-religiousness, hedonism, and moral permissiveness. In the context of the intensified atheization and secularization of the Polish Nation, Cardinal Wyszyński insists on the fundamental question: “Is it not better to mobilize all humanistic, moral, social, national, religious and Christian efforts in order to be able to revive the life of the family and nation and our entire public life with God’s word, that does not stop, lasts forever and does not end today or tomorrow?”²⁹

Referring to the fundamental national values, the Polish Episcopate, headed by Cardinal Wyszyński, emphasized that the homeland is the “common good” of all citizens. Presenting the category of “common good” from the perspective of the entire community of the Nation, Cardinal Wyszyński states: “Rzeczpospolita – Respublica, that is, some common property, the common good, which we are all interested in at the level of even the smallest requirements. Therefore, we expect the state community to serve the common good of the entire diverse community of citizens of our homeland.”³⁰ As a result, the state authority should create such living conditions to enable all its citizens’ development and proper functioning. The nation has the fundamental right to exist and function properly.³¹ Through the rights mentioned above, the Episcopate clearly emphasized the subjective

²⁹ S. Wyszyński, “Pokój”, 526.

³⁰ S. Wyszyński, “Naród-Kościół-Państwo”, 711.

³¹ According to S. Wyszyński, the right of the nation to exist and its independence should include:

- 1) the right to freedom of conscience and freedom of religious life;
- 2) the right to freely shape the culture of one’s own nation by the spirit of the Christian principles of human coexistence;
- 3) the right to social justice, expressed in satisfying just demands;
- 4) the right to truth in social life, to truly be informed and freely express one’s views and requirements;
- 5) the right to material conditions that will ensure a dignified existence for the family and every citizen;
- 6) the right to relate to citizens so that they would not be insulted, harmed, or persecuted in any way. Cf. Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, “Rada Główna Episkopatu”, 614–615.

role of citizens who should shape the state's structure by themselves due to democratic systems.

Of course, Wyszyński was aware of how serious a problem, especially in the so-called "Socialist democracy" presented by the People's Republic of Poland's political system, is the issue of "falsification" of the fundamental relations between citizens and the state. In other words, in the countries of "people's democracy," following the Soviet pattern, the state was defined as the political organization of the rule of a particular class, carrying out tasks corresponding to the ruling class's interests in a given socio-economic formation.³² The above definition, developed during the Stalinist times, was valid until the end of the Polish People's Republic. Admittedly, in the years of "later communism," the emphasis was placed on state administration bodies conducting the state's organizational activity. In fact, it meant functioning for the benefit of the community in particular legal forms while at the same time serving as a servant to the ruling class and organs directly expressing its will. Thus, the administration's tasks included executive activity concerning state authorities, organizing social, economic, cultural life, and management.³³

However, subordinating the human person's interests to society's common good is not equivalent to adopting a collectivist social life model. Taking into account the socio-political situation of the country, Cardinal Wyszyński states: "Poland has always had the lofty ideal of a republic, that is, the Commonwealth, and thus the common, social property of all children of the nation. It has entered our blood to

³² Cf. J. Starościk, *Prawo administracyjne*, 9–14.

³³ However, the teaching of Cardinal Wyszyński on development understood as the implementation of the "common good" of the nation, cannot be reduced only to the socio-economic dimension but is integral, encompassing all dimensions of human life. At the same time, it becomes a universal obligation of every human citizen and of all social life structures that shape the life of the nation. "The life of a nation or state is so complicated and difficult that it requires joining the hands, hearts, and brains of all the children of the nation, all citizens of the state, regardless of their social or professional background. Only then can we steer the boat of our common Homeland, the fate of which we all have a duty to care for" (S. Wyszyński, "Poświęcenie tablicy", 23–24).

such an extent that, looking at the state as the common property of all citizens, we strive for the common good (*bonum commune*) for all.”³⁴ The category of the common good understood in this way is dynamic. Realizing itself through action and cooperation, it assumes the simultaneous division of functions and social differentiation.

Therefore, the state’s fundamental task is to guarantee the citizens a proper legal order, security, and peace. At the level of the legal order, the real goal of the state’s activity is, therefore, the recognition and respect of human rights, as well as the creation of conditions for the performance of civic obligations. According to Wyszyński, this task “[...] must be at the center of attention of the state authorities.”³⁵ For this reason, centers of power cannot serve only a selected category of people: “[Power] is established not only for the benefit of individual people, a social group, or a political party. Concerning its citizens, the state should serve everyone, without exception. It is the basic principle according to which the dignity of every person living in the state should be respected.”³⁶ The proper functioning of the entire reality of social life requires, first of all, the cooperation and participation of all its members. In practice, this means creating a community of good that goes beyond the sphere of individual possibilities, needs, and values. The category of the common good, therefore, plays a fundamental role in the entire socio-political philosophy. Its implementation is possible only in the supra-individual dimension and requires active involvement in creating the community and implementing its national goals.³⁷

³⁴ S. Wyszyński, “O społecznej krucjacie”, 314–315.

³⁵ S. Wyszyński, “Kultura zaczyna się”, 3.

³⁶ S. Wyszyński, *Miłość i sprawiedliwość*, 337.

³⁷ In the teaching of Cardinal Wyszyński, the common good category is understood primarily as the realization of some ideal state of human society. In his opinion, “it is broadly understood: it teaches us the social sense, thanks to which we can subordinate our own requirements to matters of a higher order. It also teaches concern for citizens’ welfare, making us overcome idleness and thoughtlessness, employers and employees’ selfishness, the spirit of self-interest, and belonging to a superior class.” (S. Wyszyński, *Miłość i sprawiedliwość*, 88). Cf. J. Maritain, *La personne*, 45–46.

It is one reason why the category of *bonum commune* was so strongly exposed in Wyszyński's teaching as the "common good" of the entire nation and all its citizens. "Rzeczpospolita – Respublica, that is, some common property, the common good, which we are all interested in at the level of even the smallest requirements. Therefore, we expect the state community to serve the common good of the entire diverse community of citizens of our homeland."³⁸ Thus, by forming common values in the entire national life dimension, the man directly influences his integral development. The "common good" itself is not treated as an end in itself. Still, its essential meaning is expressed in the human person's service. The personalistic vision of the human person seen from the perspective of the common good allows Cardinal Wyszyński to define the following statement: "The priority of man – matters for everyone. In this enormous 'rich national deposit' that is the Polish nation, every person must be loved. And not only in an emotional and moody manner but also actively, in the service, ready to help. It stands what '*bonum reipublicae*' is."³⁹

Achieving the authentic common good, however, requires ensuring its proper redistribution. It is not only about the literal division of the common good but also about the fact that it serves the human person's enrichment and development. The personalistic dimension of the common good – presented in the teaching of Cardinal Wyszyński – secures the human person's subjectivity, which concerning *bonum commune* allows showing its creative character. At the same time, his concept of the common good – referring to the inborn human attitude towards good – emphasizes an essential aspect of the development and improvement of all factors of social life.⁴⁰ The state's concern for the "common good" of the whole reality of the nation's social life is expressed, first of all, in guaranteeing civil rights.⁴¹ Since human rights, and indirectly also the nation's rights, should be the fundamental object of the state's concern, and in a way, its essential

³⁸ S. Wyszyński, "Naród-Kościół-państwo", 711.

³⁹ S. Wyszyński, "Sumienie prawe." Cf. J. Nagórny, *Posłannictwo chrześcijan*, 190; W. Piwowarski, "Dobro wspólne", 41.

⁴⁰ S. Wyszyński, "Matka-Syn-rodzina", 681.

⁴¹ S. Wyszyński, "Naród-Kościół-państwo", 711.

task.⁴² In the normative dimension, the above principles are rooted in Christian ethics. Their implementation into social and political life prevents the state from transforming into a form of a police-tyrannical dictatorship.⁴³ In this context, it is worth emphasizing that the state's personalistic and community concept is opposed to its absolutization and minimization. Therefore, a properly functioning state should not be a welfare state or a neutral one, indifferent to citizens' fate in various complicated situations. Personalism adopts the concept of an auxiliary state, thus respecting human beings' subjectivity and supporting their multidirectional activity as well.

4. Socio-Political Context

In practice, however, the People's Republic of Poland's socio-political reality was not too optimistic. In the state of "real socialism," the functions of the state administration were broadly developed. It was possible because the state – being the socialist owner of the essential means of production – was simultaneously becoming the national economy's organizer and manager. Thus, a necessary task of the state administration's activity consisted of initiating and planning public activity and endeavor, issuing administrative acts in individual cases, exercising control, and supervision over the subordinate part of the state apparatus. In other words, the state administration covered all areas of social life while maintaining the content and political goals, i.e., building a socialist system.⁴⁴

In the post-war reality of the People's Republic of Poland, the so-called "Democratic centralism" was to express the need to reconcile centralized management in administration with elements ensuring the independence of the contractor's decision-making and the influence of citizens on the direction of operation of individual administrative bodies (socialist democracy). Both aspects were to be associated with one harmonious whole of the socialist state. Theoretically, the rule of law's principle meant that the citizen and the state's mutual

⁴² Cf. C.S. Bartnik, *Chrześcijańska nauka o narodzie*, 16–17.

⁴³ Cf. S. Wyszynski, "Sumienie prawe", 986–994.

⁴⁴ Cf. J. Eisler, *Czterdzieści lat*, 104–161.

relations were regulated by law. Its norms were to be strictly adhered to by both state bodies and citizens. In practice, in various periods of “real socialism,” the frequent violation of the rule of law and the façade of “self-governance of the socialist society” were the causes of severe tensions and conflicts.

Therefore, as Wyszyński stated, the state authority’s actions should eliminate all kinds of inaccuracies in the law’s functioning.⁴⁵ Nothing destroys public order more than the unfair distribution of rights and obligations, which in turn leads to a violation of civic dignity and social harm. “To serve the country faithfully, it is imperative to overcome the harmful spirit of particular interests and to develop a sensitivity to the “common good,” which is more difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, only this is just, fair, and socially beneficial.⁴⁶ In other words, equal treatment of all citizens, irrespective of their declared faith or political affiliation, is a critical element of respect for the state’s legal system. A positive achievement in this area would be the enforcement of equality before the law, but also the equal treatment of people in the socio-economic and professional life.⁴⁷

“Therefore, social justice must permeate both the state and the institutions of social life. In this way, social justice could bear practical fruit in the form of a social and legal system that could shape the

⁴⁵ Cf. S. Wyszyński, “Obrona praw człowieka”, 438.

⁴⁶ S. Wyszyński, “Homo politicus”, 593.

⁴⁷ The Christian vision of socio-economic life in the personalistic sense requires showing the full truth about man, which invariably reminds us that “[...] he has priority over the created world. In the hierarchy of values, emphasizes Wyszyński, at the head is God the Father, Creator of heaven and earth, then – man as the fruit of God’s love, and then – the material world, given to man to subdue the earth. Hence the obligations for man to properly discern in this basic God’s order and to refine the perfection of the earth and its creations into God’s program” (S. Wyszyński, “Najważniejszą wartością na świecie jest człowiek”, 962). “At all levels of the human structure, starting from the nature of the human personality, through his family life, social, professional, national, state, international and human coexistence. They are constantly repeated at all levels of modern construction: truth, freedom, justice, and love. Only at this price can humanity develop normally, that is – to act.” (S. Wyszyński, “In principio”, 58).

country's entire socio-economic life."⁴⁸ No wonder then that among several vital tasks of the state aimed at securing citizens' welfare, Cardinal Wyszyński emphasizes the need to secure the means of production and the fair redistribution of labor. However, this requires respecting the national economy's specificity and ensuring the proper development proportions, taking into account both the industrial and agricultural production sectors. The state is obliged to direct the country's economic development in such a way as to appropriately use the national potential and socio-economic specificity of Poland (priority of the national economy).⁴⁹

In this context, involvement in the economic dimension should emphasize personalistic values' priority over the economic calculation.⁵⁰ On the one hand, it is worth mentioning here that the socialist economic model promoted activities aimed at achieving the highest possible production results (the cult of the Stakhanovite).⁵¹ On the other hand, the socialist economy was characterized by general inefficiency, over-exploitation of workers, as well as depriving people of the possibility of personal development.⁵² Nevertheless,

⁴⁸ S. Wyszyński, *Miłość i sprawiedliwość*, 132. Analyzing the then political and social content of the Polish totalitarian socialist state built based on „real socialism,” five basic features typical of a totalitarian state can be discerned: (1) the establishment of a political monopoly of the Marxist-Leninist party in all structures of the socialist state; (2) implementation of the principle of acceptance by the party of all strategic positions in politics, economy, mass media, culture, etc. under the mechanism known as the „nomenclature system”; (3) nationalization of the economy combined with the liquidation of private property (partly also in rural areas), centralization of all resources and their distribution through the mechanism of central planning and allocation of means of production; (4) the use of terror and police repression against political opponents; (5) mass and centrally controlled propaganda, leading to the control of virtually all areas of human behavior. Cf. J. Holzer, *Komunizm w Europie*.

⁴⁹ Cf. S. Wyszyński, „Wpływ ducha Ewangelii”, 426–430.

⁵⁰ Cf. S. Wyszyński, „Prymat osoby nad rzeczą”, 714–718.

⁵¹ The term Stakhanovite (Russian: стахановец) originated in the Soviet Union and referred to workers who modeled themselves after Alexey Stakhanov. These workers took pride in their ability to produce more than was required, by working harder and more efficiently, thus strengthening the socialist state. Cf. L.H. Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism*, 78–174.

⁵² Cf. M. Heller, *Maszyna i śrubki*.

the critical problem in the functioning of all socialist state structures was the issue of “state intervention,” which was integrally related to the command-and-order economy model. Moreover, the socialist economy’s centrally controlled model encompassed in practice all other areas of human life. Thus, state intervention in the economy should be directed not at hindering private persons’ initiative and freedom of action but also encouraging them to even more significant activity and efficiency, especially in the sphere of scientific, cultural, and religious life.⁵³

In practice, it is expressed in the state’s responsibility towards science, culture, broadly understood education and religious tutoring.⁵⁴ Genuine concern for the development of these dimensions of social life requires the safeguarding of the freedom of artistic communication, the freedom of research, teaching, and education, as well as guaranteeing the possibility of free publication of achievements in the field of science and art.⁵⁵

The use of science and culture for ideological purposes, even to a limited extent, leads to widespread manipulation in both areas and, consequently, to promoting kitsch and wide-ranging hypocrisy. In other words, when the state authority hinders or prevents a citizen from accessing cultural goods, it seriously violates his or her freedom and civil liberties. This fact not only hinders the comprehensive development of the human person but consequently degrades and destroys all other social life structures.⁵⁶ Thus, cultivating the truth

⁵³ Cf. S. Wyszyński, “List Pastorski”, 292.

⁵⁴ Wyszyński, “Jesteśmy ziarnem”, 8–9.

⁵⁵ Constructive truth is an expression of creative freedom. Therefore, a particular task of the state is to respect the truth. According to the Cardinal, this requires taking appropriate actions to eliminate lies and falsehood, especially in public life. “Don’t want cheap truths, don’t want superficial truths, and don’t want ‘booklet’ truths! Want all the truth. Want pure truth! Look for it in the nature of your mind and your reasoning” (S. Wyszyński, “Na niwie”, 87).

⁵⁶ According to Cardinal Wyszyński, “[...], the norm of truth lies very far-flung and very deep: in the nature of God and the nature of man.” (S. Wyszyński, “Abyście byli synami”, 124). “Man is not only a child of God but also a brother to other children of God. This fraternity so binds people together by their common nature that it forms the strongest bond. Faith in God the Father unites people with a feeling of brotherhood. Man, baptized in the Church, also becomes a member

also applies to religion, which performs a significant role in human life. Nevertheless, religious and spiritual life is not a state responsibility but is an essential dimension of the Church's fundamental mission. Therefore, the state should especially realize and respect the innate human right to the private and public worship of God. Bringing people closer to God not only raises the personal dignity of citizens but also has a very positive impact on all spheres of state life. In other words, religion is fundamental both individually, socially, and nationally.⁵⁷

Concern for the good of the human person and the fundamental dimension of the "common good" belongs to the joint tasks of both the Church and the state. It is simultaneously implemented in the sphere of appropriate competencies and autonomy characteristic of both institutions. In this sense, both the Church and the state authority are called to serve the same people. For this reason, any form of fight against religion and actions aimed at weakening it disintegrates human life, both in the individual and social dimension. As a consequence, it leads to the destruction of the moral life of the nation. In this context, the state is obliged to enable the Church as well as freedom of religion and expression, which in practice means guaranteeing the fundamental right to religious freedom.⁵⁸

Striving to build a society based on truth, Cardinal Wyszyński advocates religious pluralism. Nevertheless, neither the state nor its ideological assumptions can be atheistic, directly affecting faith, religion, and the Church. Paradoxically, the state's programmatic atheism as an official ideological concept represented by the authorities seems to be more evil than the nation's non-belief. In this sense, the communist state tended to create a sort of pseudo-religion which, in "idolizing" itself, required members of the national community to worship an atheistic "idol" in a Marxist-Leninist province.⁵⁹

of the supernatural family, the Head of which is Jesus Christ. Redeemed by his blood, we are all related to Christ and all his brothers and sisters" (S. Wyszyński, "Do rodziców katolickich", 208).

⁵⁷ Cf. S. Wyszyński, "O chrześcijańskim wyzwoleniu", 26.

⁵⁸ Cf. C. Strzeszewski, *Kardynała Wyszyńskiego wizja*, 77.

⁵⁹ Cf. C.S. Bartnik, *Chrześcijańska nauka*, 12. As the Cardinal states: "The state should especially recognize the innate and inalienable right of man to the private and public worship of God" (S. Wyszyński, "O chrześcijańskim wyzwoleniu", 26).

Therefore, the state power's primary tasks, inscribed in its political strategy, are expressed primarily in securing public safety, both external and internal. However, the implementation of these assumptions depends not only on compliance with the international agreements and treaties concluded previously but also on social stability and internal order in the state, the spiritual powers of the nation, as well as the general economic condition of the country. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the implementation of the plans is also conditioned by the state's ability to constructively coordinate civil society's actions towards the "common good" of the entire country.⁶⁰

Implementing the above tasks by the state must be based on the principle of subsidiarity, which, as an administrative rule, organizes the division of functions between elements of the state's organizational structure. According to the principle of subsidiarity, decision-making processes should be located as low as possible, i.e., where the recognition of the problem is the best, as well as the knowledge of how to solve it, where the effects of the decision will be the most noticeable and the execution the most effective. Concerning the state organization, it means delegating tasks to administrative units at the lowest level and ensuring their independence by the state in their execution. It enables the state administration to avoid domination over civil society.⁶¹ According to the Cardinal, the state is always an "external" structure to the nation. Thus, the implementation of the "common good" understood in personalistic terms is conditioned by all social life systems' proper functioning. Still, it also enables the formation of appropriate harmony and cooperation between the nation and the state, which leads to the implementation of the fundamental

It requires the creation of appropriate conditions for the free and independent activity of religious associations and organizations, which – unlike in temporal terms – will develop and improve interpersonal relations also in the dimension of the community of the state. "Bringing people closer to God not only raises the personal dignity of citizens but also adds seriousness and deliberation to the state itself" (S. Wyszyński, "O chrześcijańskim wyzwoleniu", 26).

⁶⁰ Cf. S. Wyszyński, "Prymat osoby", 716.

⁶¹ Cf. S. Wyszyński, *Miłość i sprawiedliwość*, 336.

goal of peace and stabilization of public order, and consequently, to the realization of the national *bonum commune* which name is Poland.

5. Towards Enhanced Patriotic Education

According to Cardinal Wyszyński, patriotic education is an instructive process of conscious and purposeful shaping and guiding other people towards the sphere of values associated with care and love for one's homeland. In other words, it is a prudent concern for the common good, which is Poland, understood in terms of fundamental national and patriotic values. In fact, patriotic education belongs to the scope of moral education because patriotism belongs to man's moral goods. Patriotic education is about shaping good character in a person so that, as a human person, he can serve the common good, that is, the homeland.⁶² Patriotism, therefore, means both a kind and caring attitude towards the mother country – its history and present reality – and reflects the “soul” of the nation.

Thus, it becomes a fundamental condition for national sovereignty and identity. Homeland (understood both as the Nation, but also as the state) is a *bonum commune*; therefore, the love of the Homeland is the love of the “common good” (the nation and/or the state), putting common, superior, national and/or state goals ahead of the individual's personal good, while maintaining the natural dignity and freedom of man.

Although the love of the homeland is a prudent concern for the nation and/or the state's common good, there is nevertheless a hierarchy of common goods: one common good is a tool for another common good. In this sense, the state is an instrument in the Nation's hands. At least it should be in a country with a stable democracy. The nation is the sovereign, i.e., the nation can define itself as a cultural community. Therefore, a common future requires rooting in the native historical, cultural, and moral traditions. “It is a great wisdom to learn from past experiences.”⁶³ “It requires, however, vigilance, great sensitivity to the matters and the spirit of the nation, great reverence

⁶² Cf. S. Wyszyński, “Tajemnica więzi”, 485.

⁶³ S. Wyszyński, “Jesteście pokoleniem przyszłości”, 120.

for the land that accumulates the ashes of ancestors, full readiness to serve this our” family of families “in the spirit of Christian love for the homeland.⁶⁴

Therefore, the family plays an essential role in shaping patriotic attitudes, which, as Cardinal Wyszyński emphasizes, is the nation-state’s natural ally.⁶⁵ “There is a specific, biological community and bond between the family and the nation and their mutual service to each other. The family is [...] not only a creative and biological force but also a moral, educational, social, and civic force. [...] The family – continues the Cardinal – is an essential element in building the foundations for the national existence’s durability. The existence of the nation may fail, but then the family continues. [...] The nation into which the family was broken up is disappearing.”⁶⁶

Due to the mutual bond linking these two social life structures, the state’s identity and sovereignty are secured, but critical social tasks are also realized. The biological bond between the family and the nation becomes at the same time the basis for other relationships that connect other social structures. “Experience teaches us that the lack of this bond causes the perversion of either the family or the nation.”⁶⁷

⁶⁴ S. Wyszyński, “List o Społecznej Krucjacie”, 545.

⁶⁵ S. Wyszyński, “Rodzina-Naród-społeczeństwo”, 687.

⁶⁶ Ibid. The community character of the family is expressed above all in the fact that it is a community of love and solidarity, a place where different generations meet – an area of the most profound interpersonal contact, based on love and voluntariness, on the deep and complementary relationship between men and women and the generations that help each other in achieving fuller wisdom in life. The institutional nature of the family, in turn, consists in the fact that it is built on the foundation of marriage – it is a legal, economic and social unit and has specific tasks to fulfill. Thus, it is perceived and treated as an institution. However, both dimensions are linked by the fact that their first duty and, as it were, a summary of the others is mutual love. On its basis, the realization of marital and family solidarity is realized, which expresses the home heart’s unity radiating over the whole family – and through the family to other human communities. Cf. S. Wyszyński, “Nie oczekujemy”, 10; S. Wyszyński, “O chrześcijańskim wyzwoleniu”, 23–24; S. Wyszyński, “Na dzień Świętej Rodziny”, 149–150; S. Wyszyński, “Pokój temu domowi”, 103.

⁶⁷ S. Wyszyński, “W obronie religii Chrystusowej”, 547. A vital element of the Cardinal’s teaching is, therefore, a call to courage in the fight for the rights of the family – for shaping public opinion in such a way that it will be possible

Therefore, concern for the nation's *bonum commune* requires that the family be provided with appropriate conditions to fulfill its tasks and obligations. The updated continuously teaching of Cardinal Wyszyński, emphasizing the integral bond between the family and the nation, is a crucial element ensuring the existence and proper functioning of the native country, so much experienced both in the past and in the present. In this context, the family is the natural foundation of a nation's power. It has been proven and established, especially in the complex and thorny geopolitical situation in which the Polish nation existed. It is the family that becomes the most appropriate place for shaping a complex system of cultural, civic, and, above all, religious values.

Only the family community creates an appropriate space for a person's moral development, determining the outcome in every other social living area. Thus, man can discover "[...] in himself the noblest values placed in the soul by the Creator, looking at the surroundings through the eyes of the Eternal Father, loving the world and people after God, linking the soul with sanctifying grace, constantly developing spiritual gifts and supernatural [...], and finally cooperation with the Holy Church in building up the Mystical Body of Christ."⁶⁸

to rehabilitate a family, especially with many children, in order to overcome the customs and discrimination arising from the inglorious past. Here we must especially mention those parents who, according to the prudent common judgment, undertake the generous upbringing of numerous offspring. In this context, the Cardinal appears both as a strong opponent of anti-population policy and a staunch defender of the life of the unborn. He, therefore, considered the killing of a conceived life to be an ordinary murder. In his opinion, a real human is formed in the mother's womb from the moment of conception. Furthermore, an unborn child has a special right to care because of his absolute vulnerability. Then, the crime of murdering the unborn must arouse the utmost abhorrence in all ordinary people. Therefore, we will fight for it – the Cardinal appeals to college students – that the Polish family should be a family of the living and not the dead; that she may bear living children, not dead bodies; to be a place of life, not death. Cf. S. Wyszyński, "Do pracowników duszpasterstwa", 90–97; S. Wyszyński, "Słowo duszpasterskie", 533; S. Wyszyński, "Myśli przewodnie", 42; S. Wyszyński, "W obronie życia", 7–8; S. Wyszyński, "Otrzeźwiejcie!", 61.

⁶⁸ S. Wyszyński, "Przyrzekamy Ci", 120.

The family is the place where the new man is born and shaped, but at the same time, it is the perfect way to develop God's childhood.⁶⁹ Its role is indispensable because it is the only one that provides man with civilization-cultural and mental-moral formation at all stages of life. Thus, the family's fundamental task as the first and basic structure of social life is the integral shaping of man, both in the individual and community dimensions. As the actual reality of human life, it has a significant and considerable impact on individuals' behavior, their relationship to other people, the world of values, and the system of norms and behavior patterns.⁷⁰ In his pastoral letter, the Cardinal emphasizes: "The duty of parents towards their children is to educate souls. Develop closeness to God from the very beginning teaching a noble way of life for many years."⁷¹

To exist and develop, however, a family community not only needs Christian culture but also creates culture itself, becoming its subject. According to the Cardinal, the family is, first of all, "the source from which we take life, the first school that teaches us to think, and the first shrine where we learn to pray."⁷² At the same time, the family becomes a source of those cultural values that have been created over generations, and enriched by tradition and customs, they preserve

⁶⁹ Cf. S. Wyszyński, "List pasterski na czwarty Tydzień Miłosierdzia", 82.

⁷⁰ As S. Wyszyński declared: "Today, no one doubts that the entire upbringing of a child includes physical and hygienic training, education of the mind, will and feelings, as well as socio-professional, national-civic and moral-religious education. Everyone agrees that the more fully and harmoniously all these powers participate in education, the more successful the fruit of education will be" (S. Wyszyński, "Oddajcie co Bożego", 117).

⁷¹ S. Wyszyński, "List pasterski", 84. Parents thus have exceptional educational rights. For this reason, the state must respect the parents' right to religious education and transmit the faith. This obligation should be fulfilled both in the dimension of the family, school, and in the extent of other educational institutions. "The child of God has the right to be educated in such a way that it enables him to perform temporal tasks and to be united in friendship with Heavenly Father. Therefore, it is a comprehensive education: both physical and spiritual, family and national, mental and religious, personal, social and economic. This law is so strong that no one has the power to abolish or limit it" (S. Wyszyński, "Do rodziców", 173). Cf. S. Wyszyński, "Na nowy rok kościelny", 84.

⁷² S. Wyszyński, "List pasterski", 82.

and enhance themselves in the family. Thus, the initiation of culture takes place wherever the humanity of the man is formed, primarily through the process of integral education.

National culture, building the nation's identity and sovereignty, is rooted in an environment described as a specific "homeland." In the Cardinal's understanding, it is not only about agricultural soil, but – above all – about the historical and current heritage of the fathers, with its language, national consciousness, customs, creative and religious culture. Our own "homeland" becomes the environment for the development and improvement of the Nation.⁷³ What's more, it is inscribed in the reality of the Nation, where "[...] whole generations have worked out this cultural environment in which we live. The homeland – emphasizes Cardinal Wyszyński – is language, speech, literature, art, creative culture, moral culture, religious culture."⁷⁴

Thus, respect for the past and recognition of native values make it possible to effectively oppose all internationalist and cosmopolitan tendencies that, apart from the nation's historical achievements, intentionally weakened the link between the present and the past – and thus also with the future. "We can afford to develop a model of modern life on our own, without looking to the right or the left. We have an enormous wealth of elements of our native national, moral and social culture so that we can create a lifestyle that meets the needs of our nation."⁷⁵

One of the essential elements for the unity and continuity of national culture is language. According to the Cardinal, "the mother tongue is a collection of words that bring out from our hearts and thoughts everything that is most nutritious for the brothers, what makes them happy and encourages."⁷⁶ Thus, using the mother tongue is feeding the nation with words of truth.⁷⁷ It becomes an instrument of love that draws its extraordinary power from the Eternal Word.⁷⁸ The integrating power of the mother tongue is expressed primarily

⁷³ Cf. S. Wyszyński, "Z komentarza", 85–86.

⁷⁴ S. Wyszyński, "Sumienie prawe", 989.

⁷⁵ S. Wyszyński, "Homo oeconomicus", 587.

⁷⁶ S. Wyszyński, "Mówcie prawdę", 246.

⁷⁷ Cf. S. Wyszyński, "Cena słowa prawdy", 142.

⁷⁸ Cf. S. Wyszyński, "Zaszczytna służba", 268.

because being a vehicle of interpersonal communication brings people closer to each other and discovers their mutual experiences and inner values.⁷⁹

A specific kind of “mother tongue” is art: all sorts of monuments, sculptures, and buildings that testify to the national culture and express its character. The integral fusion of the national culture with Christianity is expressed mainly in art and sacral architecture.⁸⁰ Language, therefore, becomes a factor that co-creates the national culture and enriches man in all its dimensions. In this way, the “mother tongue” becomes not only an important community and culture-shaping factor but also plays a massive role in the process of transferring culture from generation to generation. The “mother tongue” understood in this way is an essential factor in shaping a nation’s history, understood in the sense of its entire historical existence.⁸¹ Building trust, solidarity, love, and interpersonal unity – both in the past, present, and future dimensions – the language models the nation’s identity and secures its sovereignty.⁸²

It enables the nation to function properly in the complex reality of the “human family.”⁸³ The entire cultural heritage of a country is an essential factor in all nations’ timeless unity. Becoming the common good of all humanity, it is man’s response – both in the individual and social dimension – to the goal received from the Creator, to “conquer the earth and subordinate it to himself, so that it may be subject to man.”⁸⁴ The shared cultural heritage of the peoples of the world becomes an expression of spiritual solidarity with the entire human

⁷⁹ Cf. S. Wszyński, “Mówcie prawdę”, 244.

⁸⁰ Cf. S. Wszyński, “Vratislavia”, 69–70.

⁸¹ This existence – according to Celej – consists not only of individual actions and behaviors of people but entire historical processes, that is, everything that happens to a person in this world. Hence, “history” means the whole process of human becoming, both individually and socially. And since man is the primary current of the world’s becoming, history also includes all facts and processes of human creative activity: spiritual and material culture. Cf. J.Z. Celej, *Kultura chrześcijańska*, 165.

⁸² Cf. J.Z. Celej, *Kultura chrześcijańska*, 171.

⁸³ Cf. S. Wszyński, “Wspólnota czy masa”, 21.

⁸⁴ S. Wszyński, “Bądźcie ambasadorami”, 244.

family and tends towards its integration understood personalistically.⁸⁵ It is the spiritual culture that teaches man not only to be “with others” but to be “for others.” Complex interpersonal relations boil down not only to the fact that “a person shares himself with others, but also uses personal and social values, the virtues of the mind, will and heart of other people.”⁸⁶ It can therefore be concluded that the first and fundamental cultural fact is the spiritually mature man himself – a fully brought up man, capable of educating himself and others.⁸⁷ According to Cardinal Wyszyński, the pedagogy of culture understood in this way is expressed in two dimensions: temporal and eternal. The integral process of education is rooted and secured “by the very nature of man, who is directed by God to earthly and ultimate ends.”⁸⁸ It is vital in the context of the complicated socio-political situation in which parents’ natural right to be brought up in religion and following their own conscience is denied, introducing a state monopoly on upbringing and teaching in a secular and atheistic spirit.⁸⁹

A personalistic education model, rooted in human nature, enables the man to fulfill personal life needs and tasks in the community. Therefore, according to the Cardinal, “in the entire educational process, the whole person should be rehabilitated, the full personality, emphasizing his rationality, emphasizing the freedom of the person and his need for love, because it is a loving personality, coming out of itself, social, socialized and socializing.”⁹⁰ In his speech at Jasna Góra, the Cardinal emphasized: “The basic element and starting point in our actions, without which it is impossible to please God, is our faith.”⁹¹ Thus, the integral connection of patriotic values with the Christian faith expresses the Polish national specificity’s unique phenomenon. “The strange, peculiar immortality of our nation is as if a synthesis of the immortality of his sons, intensified by their

⁸⁵ Cf. J.Z. Celej, *Kultura chrześcijańska*, 189.

⁸⁶ S. Wyszyński, “List pasterski”, 543.

⁸⁷ Cf. S. Kowalczyk, *Filozofia kultury*, 116.

⁸⁸ S. Wyszyński, “Do rodziców w sprawie”, 172.

⁸⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 174.

⁹⁰ S. Wyszyński, “Problem chrześcijańskiego wychowania”, 7.

⁹¹ S. Wyszyński, “W obronie religii”, 547.

faith in eternal life.”⁹² Deep faith made it possible for the nation to endure the most difficult moments in its history, regardless of political conditions. It allows mobilizing citizens and showing the need for special efforts, hardships, and sacrifices – giving them sense both in the natural and supernatural dimensions, going beyond the limits of mortality. “It means more than just a political *raison d’état*. For the political *raison d’état* changes its dimensions. At the same time, the nation remains, has its faith, its moral principles, its religious and national culture, national custom, and upholds those values which do not arise immediately and cannot be destroyed immediately.”⁹³

The entire process of education in the personalistic sense ends in the process of self-education. It is possible only when the pupil himself forms an “axiological interior.” It requires him to fully identify and internalize ideological values in the existential and individual dimensions.⁹⁴ Then, the Christian attitude of faith cannot be merely declarative, but “[...] requires works lest it is dead.”⁹⁵ Involvement in public life – especially in the context of a complicated socio-political situation – therefore requires Christians to “[...] have a living, heroic faith.”⁹⁶ Its essential complement is “[...] the spirit of sacrifice and brotherly service.”⁹⁷ According to Cardinal Wyszyński, “[...] we have everyday tasks and common duties towards the motherland. They are not trouble-free. That is why you have to have character and strive for righteousness; one has to work it out and have the will to effort, sacrifice, and detriment.”⁹⁸ These are the elements that shape an essential interior attitude: social love in Christ. It reminds us of the philosophy of Christ, who sacrificed on the cross. “He taught us service by kneeling at the feet of his disciples and washing them. And he established love as the first and most necessary law on which all building can and should be based: love for God and love had drawn from it for brothers, children of God. If it is to be effective,

⁹² S. Wyszyński, “Królowi królów”, 213.

⁹³ S. Wyszyński, “Kościół nie walczy z władzą”, 645.

⁹⁴ Cf. S. Kowalczyk, *Filozofia kultury*, 117.

⁹⁵ S. Wyszyński, “W obronie religii”, 547.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ S. Wyszyński, “Tajemnica więzi”, 487.

this social and brotherly love cannot be absent from the program of national education.”⁹⁹ “Only in this way – continues the Cardinal – with the participation of fraternal faith, willingness to sacrifice and service, and social love is the national conscience born, which can be compared with the love of the homeland. National conscience dictates to each of us orders to fulfill our daily duties. Without civic conscience, which should be the basis of the whole nation, even the richest country, with the greatest achievements and successes, even if economic, will not be able to maintain the security of the homeland.”¹⁰⁰

Thus, Cardinal Wyszyński warns against the use of various types of educational experiments, which may have very adverse social effects, even leading to family life breakdown. Meanwhile, the programmed secularization in post-war Poland limited the educational rights of parents and made it impossible to use them – and thus, proper fulfillment of parents’ didactic obligations towards their children.¹⁰¹ “Because man is not the work of creation but his king. He is not made in the image and likeness of matter but the image and likeness of God. Created by God, he is dependent on him in all his gifts – mind, will, heart, body, and spirit. He gave him the Spirit of adoption for children, thanks to which he can cry out: Father! (cf. Rom 8:15–16).”¹⁰²

However, for the educational process to meet the modern world’s requirements, it must shape the young generation consciously and responsibly. Besides, it must shape mature attitudes and overcome various threats to moral life resulting from current socio-cultural conditions. Only the mature and integrally shaped personality of a young person guarantees his proper functioning in social life’s complicated reality.¹⁰³ “Because young people – emphasizes the Cardinal – need good, love, and truth the most. They need these values so that they can grow. After all, they are just taking shape. Depending on the food that their young personality will be sustained, they will remain so in adulthood. It takes a delicate strength, the

⁹⁹ S. Wyszyński, “W obronie religii”, 547.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Cf. S. Wyszyński, “Współczesna laicyzacja”, 261–269.

¹⁰² S. Wyszyński, “Do rodziców”, 172–173.

¹⁰³ Cf. S. Wyszyński, “List pasterski biskupów”, 581.

strength of good and love that will delight and enthusiastically kidnap a young man.”¹⁰⁴

In this context, the teaching and pastoral ministry of Cardinal Wyszyński were not limited only to showing the general direction of social changes but pointed to specific methods of action, which were primarily realistic and responsible for the entire nation. His teaching carried out in difficult socio-political conditions is characterized by a particularly patriotic character, rooted in sincere, deep, and genuine love for the homeland. In his reflection on the 50th anniversary of bringing the body of the Unknown Soldier, Cardinal Wyszyński states: “A nation properly brought up and educating the young generation knows that without love it will not prepare the young generation to fulfill future tasks. Love for the homeland as an educational value teaches generosity and gives the spirit for difficult times to forget about yourself. As an educational value, love for the homeland also teaches generosity and gives spiritual strength for difficult times when you have to forget about yourself. Love for the homeland teaches us to look far into the future of the homeland and wishes for its existence and prosperity – not only today but also in the future.”¹⁰⁵

Conclusions

To sum up, the considerations mentioned above, the notion of patriotism in contemporary social sciences is not clearly defined. The ambiguity of this concept means that – especially in the context of modern globalization – it is interpreted in various ways. In the personalist context, however, patriotism means going beyond one’s own individuality, locating oneself in the broader community, perceiving the relationship between *Me* and *Us*. In general, patriotism means quite a diverse category of national attitudes based on a sense of national identity. Nevertheless, the subject of these attitudes is different: from the nation in the ethnic sense, through the nation understood as a cultural community, to the nation-state and its fellow citizens.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ S. Wyszyński, “Bezimienny bohater”, 660.

However, the modern-day globalized world with its derivative phenomena changed the nature of the national identity, lowered its value, detached from the context of the social role, and stripped of the sense of certainty associated with identity construction in the current conditions of post-industrial society. No wonder then that anxiety attitudes and passionate emotions arise that stimulate thoughtless actions, with signs of stereotypical behavior, often destroying both the person and the community. Furthermore, new forms of identity appear, allowing it to be abstracted from local contexts and take on flexible, variable, and irregular shapes. There are also defense mechanisms that inspire activities to maintain the new conditions, invariably “one’s culturally friendly” place, which gives a sense of security, belonging, continuity, and persistence despite changes (nationalisms).

In this context, Cardinal Wyszyński’s personalistic concept of social life displays patriotism primarily as the love of the homeland, which is realized mainly in national life and is shaped by the national as well as religious education of society. In this sense, therefore, patriotism is not merely a humanistic value. First of all, it is based on love for God, which radiates to all members and structures of the nation-state. “True love for the homeland is based on deep attachment and love for what is native, regardless of time and space [...]. The creative force of true patriotism is, therefore, the noblest love [...]. And although man sets pure values very high, he knows that God is above nations, who alone has the right to establish the highest moral norms regardless of individual countries [...]. Hence, Christian love for the homeland is not the only concern for its highest economic, social, and cultural development, but also its spiritual and religious growth.”¹⁰⁶

As a result, patriotic education as the basis of the educational ideal is a significant challenge in this context. The turbulent history of Poland justified the strong emphasis on education for the love of the homeland, focused on passing on the language, culture, and history of the motherland, which was a specific system of the struggle for the existence and duration of Polishness and Poland as well. The very

¹⁰⁶ Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, “List Episkopatu Polski”, 707–708.

idea of patriotic upbringing, just like Poland, went through an equally turbulent history. However, concerning Wyszyński, the personalistic idea of patriotism does not focus solely on the affairs of one's own nation. Faith in one God, the Creator of moral norms and the entire order of nature, is an essential help in maintaining a broad view of other nations.

In social life, patriotism then becomes an element of social order and peace. According to Wyszyński, the pedagogy of patriotism boils down to educating the mind (acquiring knowledge about the homeland in its historical and contemporary dimensions), refining the imagination (associating the life of an individual with national symbols, primarily through literature and art), humanizing the emotional life (emotions influence patriotism, and their expression is participation in celebrations as well as respect for national-religious symbols), educating the will (improvement to actions consistent with the sense of patriotic duty), as well as valuing one's national identity (avoiding anti-national content and signs, and behavior ridiculing patriotism) and education in respect for other nations.¹⁰⁷

In this sense, care and commitment to the “common good” of the nation-state become an essential form of patriotism. The above dimension of activity is already the future of the country being built today. Moreover, it ensures the continuity and vitality of the national culture in its new stage, which is barely beginning but has strong roots that go back to the achievements and wisdom of centuries. “This is an indication for us – to persevere, live for the homeland, gain confidence in it and the readiness to give it everything of ourselves. It is the most important duty to the homeland. We need a powerful will to organize our native forces, not to look left and right, and not to succumb to the temptation of the new Targowica¹⁰⁸, wherever it

¹⁰⁷ Cf. S. Wyszyński, “Homo politicus”, 591–594; S. Wyszyński, “Matka-Syn-rodzina”, 678–681; S. Wyszyński, “Naród-Kościół-Państwo”, 708–711; S. Wyszyński, “Kościół nie walczy z władzą”, 643–645; S. Wyszyński, “Kultura zaczyna się pod sercem matki”, 213–216; J.M. Bocheński, *O patriotyzmie*, 22–29.

¹⁰⁸ The Targowica Confederation was a magnate conspiracy formed on the night of May 18/19, 1792 in Targowica (in fact, April 27, 1792, in St. Petersburg), in agreement with the Russian Empress Catherine the Great, under the slogans of defending the threatened freedom against the reforms of the Four-Year Sejm and

might come from. We are at home, in our homeland, we host the enormous goods that the nation has; we trust them, we want them to pay off in our land.”¹⁰⁹

Patriotyzm jako miłość ojczyzny, czy też inna forma nacjonalizmu? Oddanie, wierność i lojalność wobec kraju ojczystego w myśli Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego

Abstrakt: Zasadniczym przedmiotem niniejszego artykułu jest ukazanie idei patriotyzmu i jego uwarunkowań aksjologicznych rozumianych w kategoriach miłości do ojczyzny traktowanej jako dar i zobowiązanie. W tym kontekście, przedstawienie patriotyzmu w perspektywie personalistyczno-pastoralnej myśli Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego ma na celu zaprezentowanie niniejszej cnoty moralnej jako fundamentalnej wartości chrześcijańskiej, która wyraża się w aktywnej trosce o dobro ojczyzny pojmowane jako *bonum commune*. Ma to istotne znaczenie zwłaszcza wobec nasilających się tendencji deprecjonujących tradycyjne wartości konserwatywne, w tym także patriotyczną więź z ojczyzną, realizowaną szczególnie w wymiarze rodziny i Narodu. W tym kontekście, autor artykułu stawia zasadnicze pytanie: czy takie wartości jak patriotyzm ciągle przejawiają odpowiednio konstruktywny potencjał aksjologiczny pozwalający kształtować społeczno-polityczną i kulturową rzeczywistość współczesnego świata? Niniejsza refleksja ma również odniesienie do praktyki życia społeczno-politycznego, które cechuje silna polaryzacja stanowisk nie tylko wobec ojczyzny, ale także ambiwalentna relacja do określających ją podstawowych wartości aksjologicznych, czego egzemplifikacją jest patriotyzm.

Słowa kluczowe: patriotyzm, nacjonalizm, Stefan Wyszyński, personalizm, dobro wspólne, ideologia

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the Constitution of May 3. Today, Targowica is considered a symbol of national treason. Cf. S. Koper, *Wielcy zdrajcy*, 151

¹⁰⁹ S. Wyszyński, “Sumienie prawe”, 990.

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