THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS JOHN PAUL II AND REFERENCES MADE TO HIS PERSON BY THE POLISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES FROM 2005 TILL 2019 – WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE POLISH PEOPLE'S PARTY, THE LAW AND JUSTICE, THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT ALLIANCE, AND THE CIVIC PLATFORM

STOSUNEK I ODWOŁYWANIE SIĘ DO OSOBY PAPIEŻA
JANA PAWŁA II POLSKICH PARTII PARLAMENTARNYCH
W LATACH 2005–2019 ZE SZCZEGÓLNYM ZWRÓCENIEM
UWAGI NA POLSKIE STRONNICTWO LUDOWE, PRAWO
I SPRAWIEDLIWOŚĆ, SOJUSZ LEWICY DEMOKRATYCZNEJ
I PLATFORMĘ OBYWATELSKĄ

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— ABSTRACT —

The purpose of the article is to determine what is the contemporary attitude of the most important Polish parliamentary parties to John Paul II, which was done by examining the frequency of referring to and commemorating the person of the pope by individual political parties. In order to achieve the established objective, the activity of individual clubs, circles, MPs and senators in the Polish parliament was analyzed. Furthermore, the analysis of program documents and press organs of Polish political parties was carried out.

— ABSTRAKT —

Celem artykułu jest określenie współczesnego stosunku najważniejszych polskich partii parlamentarnych do Jana Pawła II, co zostało dokonane poprzez zbadanie częstotliwości odwoływania się do osoby papieża i upamiętniania go przez poszczególne ugrupowania polityczne. W celu realizacji założonego celu dokonano analizy aktywności poszczególnych klubów, kół, posłów i senatorów w polskim parlamencie oraz analizy dokumentów programowych i organów prasowych polskich partii politycznych. Badania

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Studies have shown that the greatest contribution to the commemoration and promotion of a deceased pope in Poland is made by the Law and Justice. The Polish People's Party also refers to John Paul II in public, but rarely does it in official program documents. Occasionally, and more rarely recently, the pope is also referred to by the Civic Platform. In contrast, politicians from the Democratic Left Alliance usually do not refer to John Paul II, but they respect him as a great Pole and spiritual leader.

Keywords: Pope St. John Paul II; Polish parliamentary parties; 21st century

wykazały, że największy wkład w upamiętnianie i propagowanie w Polsce osoby zmarłego papieża wnosi Prawo i Sprawiedliwość. Do Jana Pawła II odwołuje się na forum publicznym również Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, ale rzadko robi to w oficjalnych dokumentach programowych. Okazjonalnie, a ostatnio coraz rzadziej, papieża przywołuje też Platforma Obywatelska. Natomiast politycy Sojuszu Lewicy Demokratycznej zazwyczaj nie odwołują się do Jana Pawła II, ale szanują go jako wielkiego Polaka i przywódcę duchowego.

Słowa kluczowe: papież św. Jan Paweł II; polskie partie parlamentarne; XXI wiek

Life of Pope Saint John Paul II is often said to be a great example to follow not only by Catholics and Polish people, but also by the general public. In this study, the pope is treated as a symbol of a great Pole, whose heritage is also referred to by politicians and various political parties – to varying degrees, however. The purpose of this article is to determine what was the attitude of parliamentary parties to John Paul II by examining the frequency of referring to and commemorating the person of the pope by individual political groups. The study covers the period from the death of John Paul II in 2005 to the present, i.e., until 2019. The subject of the study is all parliamentary parties from this period, with particular emphasis on the largest groups – having parliamentary clubs, possessing the most developed organizational structure, existing the longest on the Polish political scene and being universally recognizable in Poland, i.e., the Law and Justice (LJ; Polish: Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS), the Civic Platform (CP; Polish: Platforma Obywatelska, PO), the Polish People's Party (PPP; Polish: Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, PSL), and the Democratic Left Alliance (DLA; Polish: Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej, SLD). The implementation of the above-mentioned objective and scope of the study required the following research tasks: 1) analysis of program documents of Polish parliamentary parties, 2) analysis of the activity of individual clubs, circles, deputies and senators in the Polish parliament, 3) analysis of the content of press organs, if a party possesses any. When writing the article, the following research methods were used: 1) a method of content analysis that was used to study program documents as well as papers

and shorthand reports of parliamentary provenance, 2) a comparative method by which the scale of references made by Polish parliamentary parties to the person of John Paul II was compared and assessed, and 3) a statistical method that allowed the processing, quantitative analysis and presentation of the collected data in the form of tabular summaries. It should also be noted that the literature on John Paul II is huge, multilingual and multithreaded. However, there are few studies examining the influence of the deceased pope on the contemporary political scene in Poland (e.g., Radomski, 2009, pp. 149–157; Maroń, 2014, p. 109).

Polish deputies of almost all political orientations repeatedly referred to the person of John Paul II during his lifetime. The pope was also the subject of a debate of the Polish parliament (e.g., *Monitor Polski*, 2003), and in 1999 he delivered a speech in the Sejm (the lower house of the Parliament) before the Assembly of Deputies and Senators (Jan Paweł II, 1999; YouTube, 2011; *Wszechnica Sejmowa*, 2007). After the death of John Paul II (April 2, 2005), the authorities announced a national mourning in Poland (*Monitor Polski*, 2005a), ordered the Polish flags to be lowered to half-masts (*Dziennik Ustaw*, 2005a) and the day of the Holy Father's funeral – i.e., April 8, 2005 – was announced a day off from work (*Dziennik Ustaw*, 2005b; *Monitor Polski*, 2005b). On April 5, 2005, Mass, attended by two or three hundred thousand people, was celebrated on Piłsudski Square in Warsaw by bishops from all over Poland under the leadership of Primate Józef Glemp, in which the President of the Republic of Poland Aleksander Kwaśniewski, the Prime Minister Marek Belka, the Sejm Speaker Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz (DLA), the Speaker of the Senate (the upper house of the Parliament) Longin Pastusiak (DLA) and other leading Polish politicians participated (Hurkała, 2005, pp. 12–13; *Żałobna...*, 2005, p. 13).

A day later, there was a special Assembly of the Sejm and Senate dedicated to paying homage to the deceased pope, praying for his intention, listening to his words from a visit to the Polish parliament in 1999. During this assembly, the *Act of Paying Tribute to the Memory of the Holy Father John Paul II by the Sejm and the Senate of the Republic of Poland* was adopted by acclamation (Uhlig, 2005, p. 4; *Uroczyste...*, 2005, pp. 1–10). It stated: “We, representatives of the Polish Nation, deputies and senators of the Republic of Poland, pay homage to the greatest authority of our time [...]” (*Monitor Polski*, 2005c). This act was also a sign of the unification of all parliamentary parties in the face of the death of John Paul II, which is extremely rare on the Polish political scene. There were also symbolic gestures of reconciliation. Among others, during the funeral ceremonies in the Vatican, the former President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa

greeted the then President of the Republic of Poland Aleksander Kwaśniewski (Hurkała, 2005a, p. 3), with whom he had been in conflict since the presidential election in 1995 (Piasecki, 2003, pp. 227–240). Generally, universal respect for the deceased pope was expressed by representatives of all political options in Poland (Cimoszewicz, 2005, p. 11; Kublik, 2005, p. 12; Wąs & Sterlingow, 2005, p. 12).

One of the parties emphasizing the authority of John Paul II at that time was the Polish People's Party. In the "Zielony Sztandar", which is the party's press organ, the Party published an obituary statement saying: "In deep sadness, we say goodbye to the Holy Father John Paul II. We express our great gratitude to God for the gift and fruit of His apostolic ministry offered to Poles and all humanity. It remains in our memories, in our hearts, and inspires our attitudes and actions" (Pogrążeni..., 2005, p. 3; Pogrążeni..., 2005a, p. 4). Other parties, without their own press organs, published similar texts commemorating the pope in major Polish newspapers. It can also be noted that the "Zielony Sztandar" did not devote a separate edition only to John Paul II, however, the two subsequent issues of this weekly publication published after the death of the pope dedicated the covers and next pages to him (Żegnaj..., 2005, p. 1; Tobie..., 2005, p. 1). In their statements, the then Party leaders recalled their meetings with John Paul II, emphasized his merits for Poland and Poles and his support for Polish membership in the European Union (Hurkała, 2005b, p. 5, 2005c, p. 8; Foland, 2005, pp. 6–7). They also pointed out that John Paul II grew up in folk culture, which is also close to the Polish People's Party (Pawlak, 2005, p. 3). At the same time they observed that the pope had great hopes for the renewed popular movement (Zielonka, 2005, pp. 2–3). They also appreciated his ability to reach wide masses, especially young people (Wojciechowski, 2005, p. 3). Above all, however, they emphasized that with his life he gave the best pattern of conduct and encouraged others to reach for the teachings preached by the pope (Foland, 2005a, p. 3; Wojciechowski, 2005a, p. 10; Stefaniuk, 2005, p. 11).

A week after the funeral ceremonies of John Paul II, on April 15, 2005, a group of 10 senators submitted a draft bill to the Senate to establish a day to commemorate John Paul II on the day of his election as pope, i.e., October 16 (1978). The draft was approved by senators from various political parties, mainly from DLA and the Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland (SRP; Polish: Samoobrona Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, SRP) (Senat, 2005). As the draft was debated, it was consulted with the Polish Episcopate. In addition, a survey was conducted via e-mails and text messages in which 89% of the respondents were in favor of establishing John Paul II Day on October 16 (Senat, 2005a, pp. 84, 86). During

the discussion on the bill, Senator Maria Szyszkowska (DLA) submitted a motion to reject it, however it was not approved by the Senate (Senat, 2005a, pp. 85–87, 126–127). On July 1, 2005, the Senate adopted a resolution on the bill and its submission to the Sejm. 48 senators voted in favor of the resolution, 2 were against it and 3 abstained (Senat, 2005a, p. 127).

In the Sejm, the draft bill establishing October 16 as the Day of Pope John Paul II (Sejm, 2005) was brought in by Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski of the Law and Justice, who, referring to the pope's teachings, emphasized the need for economic solidarity and protection of the labor market. After that, during the first reading, the draft was discussed in the Sejm and individual clubs and circles stated their opinions on it. The proceedings of the Sejm were conducted by deputy speaker Kazimierz Michał Ujazdowski (LJ) and temporarily also by deputy speaker Tomasz Nałęcz (CP). MP Jerzy Wenderlich (representing the position of DLA) was in favor of not adopting John Paul II's day as a non-working day (which was a motion submitted by MP Anna Sobecka of the League of Polish Families [LPF; Polish: Liga Polskich Rodzin, LPR] during further discussion), as it should be a time of hardship and reflection, not comfort and pleasure. MP Kazimierz Michał Ujazdowski (representing the position of LJ) in his speech referred to the idea of the Polish mission among other nations and the need to protect human rights to life. MPs Eugeniusz Kłopotek (representing the position of PPP) and Andrzej Lepper (representing the position of SRP) referred to respect for working people often reflected in the teachings of the pope and pointed out that the atmosphere of discussion resembled miners' protest. Kłopotek also stated that all initiatives promoting the memory of the pope, such as giving streets and schools the name of John Paul II, should be supported. Everyone, including MP Teresa Piotrowska (representing the position of the Civic Platform), Danuta Polak (representing the position of the Labor Union – LU; Polish: Unia Pracy, UP) and others emphasized the merits of John Paul II for Poland and the world. The shortest speech was given by the representative of Social Democracy of Poland (SDPL; Polish: Socjaldemokracja Polska, SDPL) MP Jan Byra, who only stated that his club would vote for the bill. During the parliamentary discussion, a deputy Renata Beger (the Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland) noted that during their speeches Anna Sobecka and Roman Jagieliński (the Economic Party, EC; Polish: Stronnictwo Gospodarcze, SG) mistook the year of election of Karol Wojtyła as pope, giving 1979 instead of 1978, and therefore asked for drawing correct years in the transcript of the sitting of the Sejm, which was not done. It should be noted that the entire

Sejm discussion on the draft was conducted in a spirit of exceptional unity and mutual understanding (Sejm, 2005a, pp. 7–19).

The following day, on July 27, 2005, the Sejm passed the above bill (*Dziennik Ustaw*, 2005c). In total, 343 deputies voted (Sejm, 2005b), including 338 deputies in favor of adopting the act (including the former DLA chairman Leszek Miller and the then DLA chairman – Wojciech Olejniczak). Three MPs were against: Piotr Gadzinowski and Alicja Murynowicz of DLA and Mirosław Krajewski of the Self-Defense, and two MPs (representing DLA) abstained from voting: Wiesław Ciesielski and Adam Markiewicz. At the same time, Krajewski later made a statement to the Sejm that he had made a mistake in voting and that he actually fully supported the adopted bill (Sejm, 2005a, p. 279). It should also be noted that as many as 117 Members did not take part in the vote (see Table 1), including Jarosław Kaczyński (the president of LJ), Ludwik Dorn (the then chairman of the Parliamentary Club of Law and Justice), Tadeusz Cymański (LJ), Marek Borowski (the president of SDPL), Józef Oleksy (DLA), and 8 members of PPP, including Franciszek Jerzy Stefaniuk. In subsequent voting, which took place on the same day, without a break in the session, only 1–2 minutes later, the attendance of the deputies increased by about 30 MPs (Sejm, 2005a, p. 206) – the largest number of deputies from the SDPL and DLA (cf. Sejm, 2005c), who apparently did not want to vote on the draft bill earlier. Such a large number of absent deputies, including often leading politicians, sharply contrasts with an important subject of the session. The act was supposed to commemorate John Paul II, one of the largest Poles in the 20th and 21st century. Analyzing the votes and behavior of individual deputies, it can be stated that the majority of opponents of the bill honoring the pope were among DLA deputies, as some of them voted directly against it, some abstained and some did attend the session of the Sejm. During the proceedings on the papal act in the Sejm, Polish political parties were focused on the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections to be held in autumn 2005.

It is also worth noting that the first draft bill to establish October 16 as the Day of Holy Father John Paul II was submitted by a group of senators at the end of 2002 (Senat, 2002) and was debated at the beginning of the following year. At that time, the draft did not obtain a majority in the Senate. Various reasons for such a decision were raised at the time, including, among others, the fact that such a law should not be adopted during the lifetime of a given person (Senat, 2003, pp. 74–80, 95–100).

Table 1. Results of the Voting in the Sejm of July 27, 2005 – Regarding the Establishing of the Day of Pope John Paul II on October 16

Parliamentary Club/Circle	Number of MPs	Took part in voting	For	Against	Abstained from voting	Did not vote
Democratic Left Alliance	148	115	111	2	2	33
Civic Platform	56	44	44	-	-	12
Law and Justice	46	39	39	-	-	7
Polish People's Party	40	32	32	-	-	8
Social Democracy of Poland	32	22	22	-	-	10
Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland	31	19	18	1	-	12
League of Polish Families	24	22	22	-	-	2
Economic Party	11	7	7	-	-	4
Labor Union	11	9	9	-	-	2
Ancestral Home	5	5	5	-	-	-
Coservative People's Party	5	3	3	-	-	2
Catholic-National Movement	4	3	3	-	-	1
Polish Agreement	3	0	0	-	-	3
Movement for Reconstruction of Poland	3	1	1	-	-	2
Patriotic Movement	3	1	1	-	-	2
Non-attached deputies	38	21	21	-	-	17
Total	460	343	338	3	2	117

Source: Sejm, 2005b.

In 2005, the topic of the pope was also raised during both parliamentary (September 25) and presidential (October 9 and 23) election campaigns. For example, in 144-page election program of the Law and Justice, a reference to John Paul II could be found only in one place regarding Poland's mission in the renewal of the values and cultural identity of the European Union and Europe (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 2005, p. 42). However, this party also developed a separate 56-page booklet entitled *Catholic Poland in Christian Europe*, in which John Paul II was a major theme (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 2005a). In addition, the presidential election program of Lech Kaczyński included a declaration on maintaining good interstate relations between Poland and the Vatican, as it was during the pontificate of John Paul II (Deklaracja..., 2007, p. 109). The Self-Defense in its program and electoral assumptions of 2005 referred specifically to the pope's criticism of capitalism (Prezydium..., 2005). On the other hand, there were no direct references to John Paul II in the DLA and CP election programs.

The PPP election programs of 2005 also lacked references to the person of John Paul II. However, in the occasional election materials issued by the Party, the words of John Paul II were cited: "I count on the people's movement very much" (Bardzo..., 2005, p. 2). These words were spoken by the pope in the 1990^s during work on the concordat and efforts to include references to God in the preamble to the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of Poland. In addition, only two articles devoted entirely to John Paul II appeared in the Polish People's Party press from July to mid-October 2005. They raised the issues of: expectations of rapid canonization of the deceased pope (Foland, 2005b, p. 5) and his positive attitude towards the Polish Army (Wojsko, 2005, p. 15). It was only during the first celebration of the papal day in October that "Zielony Sztandar" published five articles on two pages devoted to John Paul II (Foland, 2005c, pp. 12–13). It can therefore be concluded that the topic of the pope was rarely or not at all undertaken in the election campaigns in 2005. Only LJ, and to a much lesser extent the Self-Defense and PPP, referred to the person of John Paul II.

On March 24, 2006, on the basis of a draft bill (Sejm, 2006) brought in by the Presidium of the Sejm and presented by the Speaker Marek Jurek (LJ), the Sejm adopted by acclamation a resolution on the 1st anniversary of the death of John Paul II (Sejm, 2006a, p. 268). This resolution was adopted on National Day of Life, which was established in 2004 (Monitor Polski, 2004) in order to promote the protection of life in accordance with the teachings of the Polish pope (Narodowy..., 2006, p. 11). On April 2, 2006, celebrations commemorating the Holy Father took place in many places in Poland and abroad. The main celebrations in

Poland were held in Warsaw on Piłsudski's Square, where Primate Józef Glemp celebrated a mass with the participation of the highest state authorities, headed by the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński (eKAI, 2006). That day, in order to commemorate the pope, the PPP press organ – the “Zielony Sztandar” paper – also published 6 articles gathered on two pages (Foland, 2006, pp. 2–3).

As in 2006, on March 30, 2007, the Sejm adopted by acclamation a resolution on the commemoration of the 2nd anniversary of the death of John Paul II (Sejm, 2007, p. 265; Monitor Polski, 2007). Also in subsequent years, the Polish parliament adopted – unanimously, including by acclamation – occasional resolutions regarding the Polish pope:

- On April 24, 2008, the Senate adopted a resolution commemorating the 3rd anniversary of the death of John Paul II – a draft resolution was submitted by a group of senators, whose representative was Kazimierz Jaworski of LJ, and the designated rapporteur was Krzysztof Kwiatkowski of CP (Senat, 2008, 2008a, pp. 102–103, 109–110; Monitor Polski, 2008).
- On October 16, 2008, the Senate adopted a resolution on celebrating the 30th anniversary of the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła as pope – a draft resolution was submitted by a group of senators, whose representative was Krzysztof Kwiatkowski of CP, and the designated rapporteur was Zbigniew Cichoń of LJ (Senat, 2008b, 2008c, pp. 102–103; Monitor Polski, 2008a).
- On October 16, 2008, the Sejm adopted a resolution on commemorating the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the pontificate of John Paul II – a draft resolution was submitted by the Presidium of the Sejm, and the Speaker Bronisław Komorowski of the Civic Platform put it forward in the Sejm (Sejm, 2008, 2008a, p. 281; Monitor Polski, 2008b).
- On June 18, 2009, the Sejm adopted a resolution commemorating the 10th anniversary of John Paul II's speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland – a draft resolution was submitted by the Presidium of the Sejm, and the Speaker Bronisław Komorowski put it forward in the Sejm (Sejm, 2009, 2009a, p. 4; Monitor Polski, 2009, p. 4).

Since 2009, it has been increasingly difficult to obtain the unanimous support of parliamentarians for legal acts passed by the Sejm and Senate in matters concerning John Paul II. For example, on April 2, 2009, the Senate adopted a resolution commemorating the 4th anniversary of the death of John Paul II – a draft resolution was submitted by a group of senators whose representative was

Kazimierz Jaworski of LJ, and the rapporteur was Piotr Zientarski of CP (Senat, 2009; Monitor Polski, 2009a). Of the 86 senators present at the session, 84 voted in favor of the above resolution and 2 did not vote, which in practice means they abstained from voting and consequently this resolution was carried, however not unanimously (Senat, 2009a, pp. 166–167).

In the following years, up to 2014, i.e., for about 5 years, no legal act entirely relating to John Paul II was adopted in the Polish parliament. This was not done on the 5th anniversary of the pope's death in 2010 – despite the fact that the 4th anniversary of his death, which seemed to be less significant, was celebrated the previous year. In addition, it should be noted that due to Holy Friday, during which masses are not celebrated, which in 2010 fell on April 2, the main church ceremonies for John Paul II were moved by a week to April 10 on so-called White Saturday (Wsiołkowski, 2010). It was a particular anniversary, as the pope died on April 2, 2005, just on White Saturday after Easter. In addition, it should be noted that on April 10, 2010, a plane crash took place in Smolensk, which killed 96 people, including the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński. The disaster and the upcoming local and presidential elections in Poland meant that political parties in Poland shifted their attention from the 5th anniversary of the death of John Paul II to more current issues. Nevertheless, the full-page article on the anniversary was published, among others, in the “Zielony Sztandar” (Wojciewski, 2010, p. 13).

The next attempt to commemorate John Paul II was made on the occasion of the beatification of John Paul II. The celebrations were preceded by a conference that took place on April 15, 2011 in the Senate and was entitled: “Social and Political Thought of John Paul II: Indications for Politicians” (Senat, 2011). On May 1, 2011, the beatification ceremony of Pope John Paul II took place in the Vatican. 1.5 million pilgrims from all over the world and 90 official delegations from around the world attended. A delegation from Poland included the President of the Republic of Poland Bronisław Komorowski, the Speaker of the Sejm and Senate, respectively, Grzegorz Schetyna (CP) and Bogdan Borusewicz (CP), former Presidents Lech Wałęsa and Aleksander Kwaśniewski, former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and representatives of parliamentary clubs (Senat, 2011). On May 11, 2011, a group of deputies, represented by MP Ryszard Terlecki (LJ), submitted a draft resolution commemorating this event (Sejm, 2011). Unfortunately, the draft had not been passed by the end of the sixth term of the Sejm, i.e., by autumn 2011.

Only in the new parliament, just before the canonization of John Paul II, two resolutions were adopted, separately in the Sejm (Monitor Polski, 2014) and the Senate (Monitor Polski, 2014a) – both were voted on the same day, i.e., on April 24, 2014. On behalf of the group of senators, Łukasz Abgarowicz of the Civic Platform was the mover and rapporteur of the Senate draft (Senat, 2014). Out of 75 senators voting, 74 voted in favor and 1 (Marek Borowski) abstained (Senat, 2014, p. 4). In the Sejm, on the other hand, the resolution was submitted by 16 PPP deputies (Sejm, 2014). The mover was Franciszek Jerzy Stefaniuk of PPP, and the rapporteur was Iwona Śledzińska-Katarasińska of the Civic Platform (Sejm, 2014a, pp. 159–161). 380 MPs voted in favor, 34 were against and two MPs abstained (see Table 2). All members of Your Movement (YM; Polish: Twój Ruch, TR) (including Janusz Palikot) and unattached MP Wanda Nowicka voted against the resolution. Abstentions: MP Jarosław Katulski (CP) and MP Ryszard Kalisz (DLA). 44 deputies did not take part in the vote, including Donald Tusk and Sławomir Nowak of CP and Leszek Miller from DLA (Sejm, 2014b).

Table 2. Results of the Voting in the Sejm of April 24, 2014 – on the Commemoration of John Paul II on the Day of His Canonization

Parliamentary Club/ Circle	Number of MPs	Took part in voting	For	Against	Abstained from voting	Did not vote
Civic Platform	203	201	200	-	1	2
Law and Justice	136	123	123	-	-	13
Your Movement	36	33	0	33	-	3
Polish People's Party	32	31	31	-	-	1
Democratic Left Alliance	26	3	3	-	-	23
United Poland	16	16	16	-	-	-
Non-attached deputies	11	9	7	1	1	2
Total	460	416	380	34	1	44

Source: Sejm, 2014b.

On April 27, 2014, the canonization of John Paul II took place in the Vatican. 61 delegations from 54 countries participated, including as many as 19 presidents and 24 prime ministers (Szydłowski, 2014). Polish delegation was headed by the President of the Republic of Poland Bronisław Komorowski and the Speakers

of the Sejm and Senate, respectively, Ewa Kopacz (CP) and Bogdan Borusewicz (CP).

In the same year, on December 5, 2014, resolution on the establishment of 2015 as St. John Paul II Year was adopted (Monitor Polski, 2014b). The draft was submitted by a group of deputies from PPP and CP already in 2013. MP Ireneusz Raś (CP) was appointed to represent the movers (Sejm, 2014c). The rapporteur was Iwona Śledzińska-Katarasińska from the Civic Platform (Sejm, 2014d). 389 deputies voted for the resolution (Sejm, 2014e, p. 221, 2014f), 4 MPs were against and 5 abstained from voting, including Andrzej Rozenek (the only MP from Your Movement who took part in voting). The percentage of absent MPs of PPP (almost 20% of the party's parliamentary representation) is noteworthy, including Józef Zych. The PPP and DLA clubs had roughly the same number of MPs and roughly the same number of members from both clubs were absent during this vote (see Table 3). In the case of DLA, this fact is not surprising – left wing MPs often avoided voting on religious issues, including those related to John Paul II. In addition, it should be remembered that the draft of the adopted resolution was placed on the agenda of the Sejm by MPs of CP and PPP. During the voting, even those 2 deputies who in 2013 signed the draft of this resolution, i.e., Eugeniusz Grzeszczak and Andrzej Sztorc, were not present.

Table 3. Results of the Voting in the Sejm of December 5, 2014 – Regarding the Establishing of 2015 as John Paul II Year

Parliamentary Club/ Circle	Number of MPs	Took part in voting	For	Against	Abstained from voting	Did not vote
Civic Platform	197	190	190	-	-	7
Law and Justice	130	122	122	-	-	8
Democratic Left Alliance	32	25	24	1	-	7
Polish People's Party	31	25	25	-	-	6
Your Movement	16	1	0	-	1	15
Just Poland	15	13	13	-	-	2
Security and Economy	11	10	4	3	3	1
Non-attached deputies	20	12	11	-	1	8
Total	452	398	389	4	5	54

Source: Sejm, 2014f.

Further resolution initiatives related to John Paul II had already been taken by the Sejm of the 8th term and the Senate of the 9th term. On September 28, 2018, a resolution was adopted unanimously in the Senate regarding the 40th anniversary of the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła as pope (Monitor Polski, 2018). The mover and rapporteur of the resolution was Czesław Ryszka of the Law and Justice (Senat, 2018, 2018a, pp. 135–138).

The interest of the Polish parliament in the person of John Paul II grew considerably in 2019. In total, at the turn of May and June 2019, four resolutions were adopted regarding the Polish pope:

- On May 16, 2019, the Sejm adopted a resolution on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the first pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland and the 30th anniversary of the revival of the Senate and partially free elections to the Sejm (Monitor Polski, 2019). The draft resolution was submitted to the Sejm by the Speaker Marek Kuchciński of LJ (Sejm, 2019), and the rapporteur was Elżbieta Kruk (LJ). 412 deputies voted in favor of the resolution, nobody was against it, and 3 members from the Confederation (Polish: Konfederacja) abstained from voting (Sejm, 2019a, pp. 221–222).
- On May 28, 2019, the Senate adopted a resolution under the same title as the one above adopted by the Sejm on May 16 (Monitor Polski, 2019a). The mover (Senat, 2019) and rapporteur of this resolution was Jan Żaryn of the Law and Justice Parliamentary Club. 79 senators voted in favor of the resolution, and 2 abstained, including Jerzy Czerwiński of the Law and Justice (Senat, 2019a, pp. 151–161, 167–168, 180).
- On June 12, 2019, the Sejm adopted, by acclamation, a resolution on the 20th anniversary of the visit of John Paul II to the Sejm and Senate (Monitor Polski, 2019b; Sejm, 2019b, p. 7). The draft resolution was submitted to the Sejm by the Speaker Marek Kuchciński (Sejm, 2019c).
- On June 13, 2019, the Sejm adopted a resolution on establishing 2020 as the year of St. John Paul II (Monitor Polski, 2019c). The first draft resolution (Sejm, 2019d) on this matter was submitted by a group of PPP deputies, represented by Urszula Pasławska (PPP). The second draft resolution (Sejm, 2019e) was submitted by a group of MPs of LJ, represented by Czesław Sobierajski (LJ). The proposed form of the resolution prepared at the Sejm committee was presented by Anna Elżbieta Sobecka of LJ (Sejm, 2019f, pp. 201–205). 417 deputies voted in favor of the resolution, nobody abstained, and 4 deputies were against, including two MPs of

CP (including Krzysztof Brejza) and Joanna Scheuring-Wielgus of Now! (Polish: Teraz!) and one non-attached member (see Table 4).

Table 4. Results of the Voting in the Sejm of June 13, 2019 – on the Establishment of 2020 as the Year of John Paul II

Parliamentary Club/ Circle	Number of MPs	Took part in voting	For	Against	Abstained from voting	Did not vote
Law and Justice	237	224	224	-	-	13
Civic Platform	143	132	130	2	-	11
Kukiz'15	25	22	22	-	-	3
Polish People's Party – Union of European Democrats	19	18	18	-	-	1
Confederation	6	5	5	-	-	1
Now!	3	1	-	1	-	2
Free and Solidary	3	2	2	-	-	1
Non-attached deputies	23	17	16	1	-	6
Total	459	421	417	4		

Source: Sejm, 2019g.

In addition, on September 17, 2019, the Senate received a draft resolution under the same title as the resolution adopted by the Sejm on June 13. It was submitted by senators of LJ (Senat, 2019b). At the time of writing this article, however, it was still underway. It should also be noted that the person of John Paul II was mentioned in a number of other resolutions and acts passed by the Sejm and Senate. In total, the pope is one of the most frequently mentioned people in the Polish parliament (Maroń, 2014, pp. 97–107).

References to the pope were also contained in the program documents of Polish political parties and during subsequent elections in 2007–2019. The values proclaimed by John Paul II were referred to primarily by LJ (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 2009, pp. 12, 183; Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 2011, p. 16; Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 2014, pp. 8, 10, 141; Wojtyła, 2015, p. 123; Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, 2019, pp. 10, 13, 141, 218, 225) and extremely rarely by CP – the only mention in program documents comes from 2007 (Platforma Obywatelska, 2007, p. 8) – and by PPP. In the case of the latter party, it can be seen that in

official program documents, the person of John Paul II is hardly ever mentioned. In 2005–2019, and so within fourteen to fifteen years, such references can be found in only two post-congressional materials from 2007 and 2008 (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, 2007, p. 7, 2008, pp. 4, 9, 12), and in the last decade the Polish pope has not been mentioned at all – except for election materials of the elections to the European Parliament in 2014, which were published in the “Zielony Sztandar” (Kubicki, 2015, p. 165). In this respect, the situation in the Polish People’s Party folk press looks much better. Its press organs publish articles about John Paul II at least several times a year, and especially on every major anniversary associated with him. In addition, the party leaders in their statements often mention John Paul II, including during election campaigns (Kubicki, 2013, p. 167).

To sum up, it can be unequivocally stated that the Polish parliamentary party which most often refers in the Sejm, the Senate, in program documents and in political life to the person of John Paul II after his death, i.e., after 2005, is the Law and Justice. MPs representing the Law and Justice were the movers of 9 of the 15 resolutions devoted entirely to John Paul II adopted in total by the Polish parliament (8 in the Sejm and 7 in the Senate), from April 2005 to September 2019. In addition, they are the only ones who mention John Paul II in almost every program. In 2005 they even published a separate brochure devoted to him. Next, PPP and CP should be mentioned. During the period under review, the Civic Platform put forward 5 resolutions referring to the pope, but most of them were resolutions proposed by the entire Presidium of the Sejm during the period when the CP deputy held the office of the speaker. Apart from this, the Civic Platform rarely refers to the deceased pope. On the other hand, the Polish People’s Party submitted for debate or took part in submitting a total of 3 draft resolutions dedicated to John Paul II, including 2 which were signed only by the MPs of the People’s Party (in one of these cases the draft of the Party was then jointly followed by another draft submitted by LJ), and in the third case, the Civic Platform MP was formally the mover, but both the Civic Platform and the Polish People’s Party deputies signed the draft. In addition, PPP and CP rarely refer their programs directly to the pope, but the press organs of the People’s Party and their leaders quite often recall and refer to the person of John Paul II. In turn, the person of the Polish pope in political life is the least referred to by the left wing parties, i.e., the Democratic Left Alliance and especially Your Movement and Social Democracy of Poland. It should be remembered, however, that the draft of the only act passed by the Sejm relating entirely to John Paul II (Act on

establishing October 16 as Pope John Paul II Day) was signed in 2005 mainly by senators of DLA, Self-Defense and political groups associated with them.

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