UDC 321.64
DOI 10.31733/2078-3566-2020-5-160-171

Adam WRÓBEL©
Ph.D (Law)
(Jan Dlugosz University in Czestochowa, Poland)

THE THOUGHT OF JOHN PAUL II ABOUT THE TOTALITARIANISM

Abstract. This article is an attempt to answer the question, what is the totalitarianism in the perspective of teaching John Paul II, what is its genesis and essence; what are consequences for the man and the society and the reality in which functions, in which has influence; what is its catalyst. The author tries to explore the issue of totalitarianism urged by the increased of disturbing social phenomena (ethical, religious, political and identity indifference, nationalism, fundamentalism and fanaticism; moral, cognitive and legal relativism; denial and limitation of: principles, natural human laws, and in particular the right to life), which seems to favor the creation of frameworks of totalitarian ideas and their implementation on the social and (positive) legal ground. It emphasizes the importance of the imperative, according to which, the anti-totalitarian heritage of John Paul II should be rediscovered and interpreted again and again.

"The Supreme Good and the moral good meet in truth: the truth of God, the Creator and Redeemer, and the truth of man, created and redeemed by him. Only upon this truth is it possible to construct a renewed society and to solve the complex and weighty problems affecting it, above all the problem of overcoming the various forms of totalitarianism, so as to make way for the authentic freedom of the person"[1] (August 6 1993, 99).

Keywords: *John Paul II, totalitarianism, freedom, human rights, rule (state) of law*

Introduction. Totalitarianism is a phenomenon that negatively affects a person's personality, his freedom of thought and action. In order to identify ways to overcome totalitarianism and build a modern free society, it is necessary to study the history of this phenomenon. This study focuses mainly on the teachings of John Paul II; teaching about totalitarianism.

The main purpose of the article is to study the essence of totalitarianism interms of the teachings of John Paul II.

Formulation of the main material. *1. The totalitarianism – general issues.* John Paul II indicates, that a source of the totalitarianism is the negation of the objective truth. This means, if it is assumed mistakenly, that there is no transcendent truth, by the obedience of which, man acquires his full identity, then there is no principle that guarantees a fair relationship between people. In such case, the class, group or national benefits inevitably oppose each other, generating a conflict situation. The non-recognition of the transcendent truth leads to the triumph of the force of the authority, while individual actions are focus on the maximum use of available resources, to impose their own views or to achieve their own advantage, regardless the rights of other people[2] (May 1991, 44 and 46, http://w2.vatican.va).

© Wróbel A., 2021
ORCID iD: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9315-0213
a.wrobel@ujd.edu.pl

[1] John Paul II, Veritatis splendor [Encyclical on some fundamental questions of the Church's Moral Teaching]
[2] John Paul II, Centesimus annus [Encyclical on the hundredth anniversary of Rerum novarum].

Disregarding the value of the human being, including its transcendental value and objective moral imperatives, moral imperatives affecting on the proper functioning of states, leads to the disappearance of the foundation of political coexistence, and the whole of social life is exposed on the risk and the threat of the degradation (Veritatis splendor, 101).

In the totalitarian system, as the Pope emphasizes, the principle of the power take priority over mind. This principle forces the man to surrender to imposed by force a dominant worldview, and the worldview developed independently, freely, by the effort of his own mind is eliminated (Centesimus annus, 29). The error of the totalitarianism is hides in the concept of freedom, autonomous of truth and detached from obedience to it, "this error consists in an understanding of human freedom which detaches it from obedience to the truth, and consequently from the duty to respect the rights of others. The essence of freedom then becomes self-love carried to the point of contempt for God and neighbour, a self-love which leads to an unbridled affirmation of self-interest and which refuses to be limited by any demand of justice" (Ibid. 17). That's why – in example of the situation in Africa, as John Paul II remarks – it is just in totalitarian regimes illegally trampling on the rights and the human dignity, to extremes the desire for power, chauvinism, nepotism, racism and religious intolerance are brought. In totalitarianism "peoples crushed and reduced to silence suffer as innocent and resigned victims all these situations of injustice"[3] (August 14 1995, 117). This confirms the thesis, that the concept of freedom detached from objective truth, causes that the human rights lose their rational support, what creates the danger of "the oppressive totalitarianism of public authority"[4] (March 25 1995, 96). The totalitarianism is therefore a socially and individually destructive system; so it is rightly noted, that an important feature of the totalitarianism is its anti-personalism (P. Tarasiewicz, "Jan Pawel II o totalitarizme" [John Paul II on totalitarianism] 2011, 229).

As a consequence, the above mentioned, totalitarianism assumes the egoistic practice of the social life, in which the respect for man is measured in a selfish utilitarianism. The Pope further points out, that "modern totalitarianism is to be found in the denial of the transcendent dignity of the human person who, as the visible image of the invisible God, is therefore by his very nature the subject of rights which no one may violate – no individual, group, class, nation or State. Not even the majority of a social body may violate these rights, by going against the minority, by isolating, oppressing, or exploiting it, or by attempting to annihilate it" (Centesimus annus, 44). This statement leads to the conclusion, that no social group (that is, party, class, political, worldview or economics party, etc.), has the right to claim, usurp the role of the only guide. This would be related, as in the case of any totalitarianism, with the deterioration of the real subjectivity of the whole society as well as individual citizens participating in it. In this type of the system, despite all assurances and declarations, both a single person and the whole society, the nation become objectified[5] (December 30 1987, 15). The seventh commandment – emphasizes the Pope – forbids any actions or undertakings, that are guided by, among others, totalitarian motivation, lead to the enslavement of the man, to obscure his dignity, objectify him, as if he were a commodity (comp. Veritatis splendor, 100).

[3] What indicated in the Propositio (45) of Special Assembly for Africa of the Synod of Bishops; quoting by John Paul II, Ecclesia in Africa [Exhortation, on the Church in Africa and Its Evangelizing Mission Towards the Year 2000] .

[4] "Man can indeed be wounded in his inner relationship with truth, in his conscience, in his most personal belief, in his view of the world, in his religious faith, and in the sphere of what are known as civil liberties. Decisive for these last is equality of rights without discrimination on grounds of origin, race, sex, nationality, religion, political convictions and the like. Equality of rights means the exclusion of the various forms of privilege for some and discrimination against others, whether they are people born in the same country or people from different backgrounds of history, nationality, race and ideology". (October 2 1979), John Paul II, Adress of His Holiness John Paul II to the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations.

[5] John Paul II, Sollicitudo rei socialis [Encyclical for the twentieth anniversary of Populolrum Progressio].

John Paul II teaches, that the practice and the culture of the totalitarianism brings the negation of the Church, including its teaching, values contained and proclaimed in it. "The State or the party which claims to be able to lead history towards perfect goodness, and which sets itself above all values, cannot tolerate the affirmation of an objective criterion of good and evil beyond the will of those in power, since such a criterion, in given circumstances, could be used to judge their actions. This explains why totalitarianism attempts to destroy the Church, or at least to reduce her to submission, making her an instrument of its own ideological apparatus" (Centesimus annus, 45). It can put up the thesis, that the totalitarianism fights against the Church also from the practical position, as history has shown and what the Pope also points out, the Church "has remained faithful to this duty. Indeed, she intervened in the turbulent period of class struggle after the First World War in order to defend man from economic exploitation and from the tyranny of the totalitarian systems" (Ibid., 61); this means, the Church opposed them directly and became a open opponent of those totalitarian systems. It should be emphasized, that the Church at the beginning of the ideology "of the class struggle" in XIX century warned against adaptation its principles in the state and social life. As the example is the message of the encyclical Quod apostolici muneris, About the sect of communists of December 28, 1878, in which the Church – in the teaching of Leo XIII – opposed: to the destructive influence of the socialist thoughts (mainly Engels-Marxist, but not only) on the family, negating the right to own property, denying the natural law, depriving the freedom of society that is inevitably leading to serfdom[6] (December 28 1878, 1, 5, 8 and 9).

The totalitarian state aims to absorb of individual persons and the whole of the objective components of social life, such as: nation, society, families and religious communities. The Church defending her own freedom, also defends a man (who should listen more to God than to people), families, social organizations including nations; because all of them are entitled their own autonomy and sovereignty (Centesimus annus, 46), which totalitarian system want to take.

2. *Ideological fundamentals of the totalitarianism.* John Paul II tried to determine the historic genesis of the totalitarianism in the connection with its philosophical thought. He pointed out, that the significant part of the European philosophical thought, developed in the greater or lesser degree of separation, or even contradictions with the Christian revelation, which was particularly intensive in XIX century. Some of the representatives of idealism made attempts to transform the faith and its content (including even the mystery of Death and Resurrection of Christ) and subordinate, subject it to the process and structures of beyond-rational dialectics[7] (September 14 1998, 46). Moreover, in the philosophical thought, there was also the trend of widely understood philosophical atheistic humanism, which perceived the faith as an obstacle to the development of full rationality and alienating factor (Fides et ratio). These philosophical trends "did not hesitate to present themselves as new religions serving as a basis for projects which, on the political and social plane, gave rise to totalitarian systems which have been disastrous for humanity" (Ibid., 46).

Similarly, continues the Pope, in the natural sciences began to prevail the mentality rejecting the metaphysical and moral vision of the world, and thus rejecting also its Christian vision and any ethical references, adopting strictly positivistic point of view. This created the danger of removing the human being and his whole existence from the centre of scientific considerations. Also nowadays, some scientists, aware of possibilities offered by technology, become a subject to the market logic and demiurgic temptations of power over the creation, and in this not only the nature as such, but also the very human being (Ibid., 46). Sometimes the strictly positivistic scientism is preached, which rejecting the transcendence of human existence and thus its dual complementarity, creates the danger of pushing science to a narrow totalitarian thought.

The crisis of the rationalism in the philosophical and natural sciences, as well

[6]Leo XIII, Quod apostolici muneris [Encyclical on Socialism]

[7] John Paul II, Fides et ratio [Encyclical on the Relationship Between Faith And Reason]

ISSN 2786-491X (Print)

as in practical life, has taken the form of nihilism. "In the nihilist interpretation, life is no more than an occasion for sensations and experiences in which the ephemeral has pride of place. Nihilism is at the root of the widespread mentality which claims that a definitive commitment should no longer be made, because everything is fleeting and provisional" (Ibid., 46). Therefore, nihilism also negates freedom and truth at their very foundations, enslaves man, aims to totalitarianism.

The above mentioned mental thoughts, lead to rejection of an objective ethical order, objective and inviolable rights of human, of citizen, who becomes uncertain of his rights. Such condition must inevitably lead to "the dissolution of society, opposition by citizens to authority, or a situation of oppression, intimidation, violence, and terrorism, of which many examples have been provided by the totalitarianisms of this century"[8] (March 4 1979, 17).

3. *Historio-practical genesis of the totalitarianism.* John Paul II reminds, that the European continent has become the witness of the conformation of widely understood totalitarian ideologies and nationalisms – which nota bene brought heavy and long-lasting persecutions of faith[9] (June 28 2003, 3, Skultuna, 2012, p. 20). These ideologies weakened hopes of societies and individuals, escalated conflicts and civil wars and inter-sate wars. The most tragic consequences were two world wars of the twentieth century[10] (Ecclesia in Europa, 112, Volker R. Berghahn, 1900-1950, Princeton, 2006, p. 6.). These totalitarian regimes, however, cannot be strictly politically defined, because within a period of their existence they had specific features, constituting in many cases the syncretic mix – often contradictory – political, economic, worldview, *etc*. thoughts and ideas; however, they were connected by one element – totalitarianism, although different in their forms and stages.

[8] John Paul II, Redemptor hominis [Encyclical at the Beginning of His Papal Ministry].

[9] "Naturally, over the centuries in the West and the East the power of the Church has lain in the witness of the saints, of those who made Christ's truth their own truth, who followed the way that is Christ Himself and who lived the life that flows from Him in the Holy Spirit. And in the Eastern and Western Churches these saints have never been lacking. The saints of our century have been in large part martyrs. The totalitarian regimes which dominated Europe in the middle of the twentieth century added to their numbers. Concentration camps, death camps-which produced, among other things, the monstrous Holocaust of the Jews-revealed authentic saints among Catholics and Orthodox, and among Protestants as well. These were true martyrs. It is enough to recall such figures as Father Maximilian Kolbe and Edith Stein and, even earlier, the martyrs of the Spanish Civil War. In eastern Europe the army of holy martyrs, especially among the Orthodox, is enormous: Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and those from the vast territories beyond the Ural Mountains. There were also Catholic martyrs in Russia, in Byelorussia, in Lithuania, in the Baltic countries, in the Balkans, in the Ukraine, in Galicia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. This is the great multitude of those who, as is said in the Book of Revelation, "follow the Lamb" (cf. Rev 14:4). They have completed in their death as martyrs the redemptive sufferings of Christ (cf. Col 1:24)", John Paul II, Crossing the Threshold of Hope (New York, 1994), chapt. The Reaction of the "World", from http://www.excerptsofinri.com/printable/crossing_the_threshold_ofhope-popejpii.pdf. "In this century, as in other periods of history, consecrated men and women have borne witness to Christ the Lord with the gift of their own lives. Thousands of them have been forced into the catacombs by the persecution of totalitarian regimes or of violent groups, or have been harassed while engaged in missionary activity, in action on behalf of the poor, in assisting the sick and the marginalized; yet they lived and continue to live their consecration in prolonged and heroic suffering, and often with the shedding of their blood, being perfectly configured to the Crucified Lord", John Paul II, Vita consecrata [Exhortation on the Consecrated Life and its Mission in the Church and in the World] (March 25 1996), 86, http://w2.vatican.va. It would seems, that the evil of concentration camps, gas chambers, the atrocities of certain police services, and finally the total war and regimes based on violence – that this eevil, which also programmatically crossed out the presence of the cross – was stronger. However, if we look more deeper at the history of peoples and nations that have gone through a trial of totalitarian systems and persecutions for faith, then we will discover there a clear, victorious presence of the cross of Christ; John Paul II, Pamięć i tożsamość. Rozmowy na przełomie tysiącleci [Memory and Identify: Conversations at the Dawn of a Millennium] (Skultuna, 2012), p. 20, https://www.rodaknet.com/rp_sw_papies_jpII_parmiec_i_tozsamosc.pdf.

[10] *Ecclesia in Europa,* 112. It points out on global causes and dependencies connected with the outbreak of world wars. For example, in relation of first world conflict one advanced the thesis about its colonial genesis: "the Europeans were sitting on volcano that was being fed by the explosive power of colonialism. It was in the colonies that the orgy of violence that consumed millions of lives began and that ricocheted back into Europe in 1914", V.R. Berghahn, Europe in the Era of Two World Wars. From militarism and genocide to civil society, 1900-1950 (Princeton, 2006), p.6.

Totalitarianism related to militarism and the aggressive nationalism[10], the class struggle, internal and ideological conflicts that are the source of these two terrible wars – which a characteristic feature was the planned and implemented annihilation of entire nations and social groups – which was denial and violation of basic human rights. An example is Holocaust "whose terrible fate has become a symbol of the aberration of which man is capable when he turns against God. However, it is only when hatred and injustice are sanctioned and organized by the ideologies based on them, rather than on the truth about man, that they take possession of entire nations and drive them to act" (Centesimus annus, 17).

John Paul II indicates, that after World War II, which end was supposed to restore a freedom and to rebuild the rights of nations, on the territories of more than half of Europe and in other parts of the globe, another form of totalitarianism began to spread: communism[11] (Ibid., 19. The Church – reminds the Pope – had to fight the dramatic battle for the survive in the clash with two totalitarian systems: at first during World War II, this was the system of the Nazi ideology, and then through long decades of post-war history, the communist dictatorship together with her militant atheism; John Paul II, *Dar i Tajemnica* [Gift and Mystery] (Text in accordance with a copy: Krakow, 1996, p. 20). This totalitarianism took the form of Marxism-Leninism. This doctrine claimed, that there are people predestined to exercise absolute power, whether because of the knowledge of the rules of social development, a special class position, or "contact with the deeper sources of the collective consciousness", what would be supposedly the guarantor of their infallibility (Centesimus annus, 44). Marxism as so called the scientific socialism and the communism "which professes to act as the spokesman for the working class and the worldwide proletariat. Thus the real conflict between labour and capital was transformed into a systematic class struggle, conducted not only by ideological means but also and chiefly by political means. (...) The Marxist programme, based on the philosophy of Marx and Engels, sees in class struggle the only way to eliminate class injustices in society and to eliminate the classes themselves. Putting this program into practice presupposes the collectivization of the means of production so that, through the transfer of these means from private hands to the collectivity, human labour will be preserved from exploitation. This is the goal of the struggle carried on by political as well as ideological means. In accordance with the principle of "the dictatorship of the proletariat", the groups that as political parties follow the guidance of Marxist ideology aim by the use of various kinds of influence, including revolutionary pressure, to win a monopoly of power in each society, in order to introduce the collectivist system into it by eliminating private ownership of the means of production. According to the principal ideologists and leaders of this broad international movement, the purpose of this program of action is to achieve the social revolution and to introduce socialism and, finally, the communist system throughout the world"[12] (September 14, 1981).

[10]John Paul II undertake the critique of the nationalism, keeping however the distance to the internationalism wanting to erase the sense of national belonging. He said – referring to the document Instrumentum Laboris – that, "national differences ought to be maintained and encouraged as the foundation of European solidarity, while on the other, national identity itself can only be achieved in openness towards other peoples and through solidarity with them", "Synod of Bishops – Second Special Assembly for Europe, Instrumentum Laboris, 85 : L'Osservatore Romano, 6 August 1999, Suppl., 17"; Ecclesia in Europa, 112.

[11] Ibid., 19. The Church – reminds the pope – had to fight the dramatic battle for the survive in the clash with two totalitarian systems: at first during World War II, this was the system of the Nazi ideology, and then through long decades of post-war history, the communist dictatorship together with her militant atheism; John Paul II, Dar i Tajemnica [Gift and Mystery] (Text in accordance with a copy: Krakow, 1996), p.20

[12] It is typical for the totalitarian dictatorships of the 20th century that they try to mobilize the masses with reference to ideologies of progress with utopian goals and in doing so systematically violate not only civil rights, but human rights as a whole; Karl G. Ballestrem, "Aporia of Totalitarianism Theory" in Eckard Jesse red., Totalitarianism im 20. Jahrhrundert [Totalitarianism in the 20th centry].
Bonn, 1966, p. 239.

ISSN 2786-491X (Print)

According to the foregoing, that totalitarianisms of the twentieth century aimed at achieving of their utopian goals, through the application of widely understood social engineering. Violating not only civil rights as such, but above all fundamental human rights[13]. Towards the end of these great twentieth century totalitarianisms, the problem of the proper use of "new" freedom emerged (John Paul II, Pamiec i tozsamosc. Rozmowy na przelomie tysiacleci, p. 29).

4. *The totalitarianism in the era of postmodernity*. The reaction of modern societies to the threat of Marxism-communism – as John Paul II noted – was, among others, the system of national security. It aimed to prevent Marxist infiltration of society by introducing meticulous control, increasing the strength of the state, which could – similarly like in the case of totalitarian system, with whom it had the goal to fight – create the effect in the form of taking away the freedom and the destructing the values of the human being.

Also so called the consumer society, or the society of welfare, was the reaction to communist degeneration. It "fought" and "fights" with the communism in the area of the same method: materialism. It had and has the goal to fully satisfy the material needs of people, than did communism, but however – as in communism – bypassing the spiritual needs of the human. The Pope assumes, that "in reality, while on the one hand it is true that this social model shows the failure of Marxism to contribute to a humane and better society, on the other hand, insofar as it denies an autonomous existence and value to morality, law, culture and religion, it agrees with Marxism, in the sense that it totally reduces man to the sphere of economics and the satisfaction of material needs" (Centesimus annus, 19).

Thereby, after the determined, global defeat of socialism of Marx, a new danger emerged that threatened similar consequences, like implementing postulates of communism; that is negating of basic human rights or absorbing by the policy of religious needs, etc. John Paul II expresses an opinion, that this generates the threat of allying the democracy with ethical relativism, depriving the society a moral reference point, consequently also the ability to recognize the truth (Veritatis splendor, 101). It should be considered a wrong and harmful statement, that agnosticism and the skeptical relativism are an attitude and philosophy, that corresponds to the forms of democratic politics and that those who claim to know and follow the truth, are not trustworthy from a democratic position, because they recognize immutability of the truth – regardless of the opinions of the majority or dominating politically trends (Centesimus annus, 46). If, therefore, there is no recognition of any ultimate truth, regulating and affecting political life – indicates the Pope – then there is the danger of achieving the goals of power, through objectification, and the instrumentalization of ideas and convictions. "As history demonstrates, a democracy without values easily turns into open or thinly disguised totalitarianism"[14] (Ibid., 46).

The negation of objective, unchanging truth, leads inevitably to negating transcendent dignity of the human person. Freedom understood as not as much as "freedom to", but as egoistic "freedom from"; from truth, morality, ethics, another

[13] H. Arendt indicates, that "by lawful government we understand a body politic in which positive laws are needed to translate and realize the immutable ius naturale or the eternal commandments of God into standards of right and wrong. Only in these standards, in the body of positive laws of each country, do the ius naturale or the Commandments of God achieve their political reality. In the body politic of totalitarian government, this place of positive laws is taken by total terror, which is designed to translate into reality the law of movement of History or Nature", H. Arendt, "Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Goverment", The Review of Politics 3, (1953), p. 310.

[14] John Paul II indicates also, that, if on one hand, the West still bears witness of action of evangelical leaven, then simultaneously from the second the currents of anti-evangelization are no less powerful. It strikes into the fundamentals of the human morality, strikes into the family and propagates the moral permissivism, divorces, free love, abortion, contraception, fight with life at the conception stage, and at the stage of end of life, manipulation of life. This program is supported by huge financial resources, not only in individual societies, but also in the world scale; can dispose with powerful centres of influences, economic influences, through which it tries to impose conditions on countries that are on the path of development. In view of all this, it is right to ask whether this is also another form of totalitarianism, hidden under the guise of democracy, John Paul II, Pamiec i tozsamocs. Rozmowy na przelomie tysiacleci, p. 40.

man, God. So freedom understood in such way tends to distort social life. Selfishness – John Paul II remarks – unrestricted promotion of my own self ("I"), at the very beginning already denies another man, who becomes an enemy against whom one should defend himself. Such attitude leads to atomization, to the breakdown of society, where individual goals are realized in separation, or even at the expense of the good of others. Achieving such a state of (pseudo) freedom, forces to make compromises in cases, when there should be no question about them; compromises for the achievement of which one renounces absolute truth, common improving values, which entails the risk of completely relativizing of the reality. The foundation of society becomes the subject of a contract that even basic human right are subject to – the right to life from conception to natural death. John Paul II indicates, "this is what is happening also at the level of politics and government: the original and inalienable right to life is questioned or denied on the basis of a parliamentary vote or the will of one part of the people-even if it is the majority. This is the sinister result of a relativism which reigns unopposed: the "right" ceases to be such, because it is no longer firmly founded on the inviolable dignity of the person, but is made subject to the will of the stronger part. In this way democracy, contradicting its own principles, effectively moves towards a form of totalitarianism. The State is no longer the "common home" where all can live together on the basis of principles of fundamental equality, but is transformed into a tyrant State, which arrogates to itself the right to dispose of the life of the weakest and most defenceless members, from the unborn child to the elderly, in the name of a public interest which is really nothing but the interest of one part"[15] (Evangelium vitae, 20). It is possible to have wrong impression – says the Pope – that all this is done with respect of the rule of law, at least in the "democratic" way, is voted on the "right" to abortion or euthanasia. However, such a rule of law is not a true law, but tragic guise, while the democratic ideal – which deserves to be called only when it recognizes and protects the dignity of every person – is betrayed at its foundations. Human dignity is then wasted, because it is taken away from the most innocent and defenseless, discriminating them on the level of right to life and its defense. This reality aims directly to the achievement of the state of disappearance of true human coexistence and the disintegration of the state-organism. Therefore, it is rightly pointed, that the democracy the more clearly shows totalitarian attributes, the more clearly disregards the human dignity (Evangelium vitae, 20). Positive legal recognition and enforcement the "right" to infanticide, euthanasia, means – says the Pope, – "to attribute to human freedom a perverse and evil significance: that of an absolute power over others and against others. This is the death of true freedom"[16] (Comp. John Paul II, Evangelium vitae, 20). Then the connection between freedom and truth is broken. Therefore, one ought to reject both the vision of totalitarian utopia of freedom derived of truth, as the utopia of the truth without freedom, with a false, wrong notion of tolerance. "Both utopias portend errors and horrors for humanity, as the recent history of Europe sadly attests" (Ecclesia in Europa, 98). The Pope emphasizes the inseparable connection between freedom and truth: the freedom is itself, is a freedom in such measure, in which is realized by the truth about the good. Only then she is alone a good. If the freedom ceases to be related with the truth, and subordinates the truth from herself, creates logical premises, which have harmful moral consequences. Their sizes are sometimes incalculable. In this case, the abuse of the freedom causes the reaction, which takes the form of one or another

[15] "Therefore, the condemnation of God by man is not based on the truth, but on arro-gance, on an underhanded conspiracy. Isn't this the truth about the history of humanity, the truth about our century? In our time the same condemnation has been repeated in many courts of oppressive totalitarian regimes. And isn't it also being repeated in the parliaments of democracies where, for example, laws are regularly passed condemning to death a person not yet born?"; John Paul II, Crossing the Threshold of Hope, chapt. Why Does God Tolerate Suffering?

[16] "Where God is denied and people live as though he did not exist, or his commandments are not taken into account, the dignity of the human person and the inviolability of human life also end up being rejected or compromised", ibid., 96.

 ISSN 2786-491X (Print)

totalitarian system (Pamiec i tozsamosc. Rozmowy na przelomie tysiacleci, pp. 36, 37).

John Paul II expresses the view, that extreme egoism, disrespect for human dignity, and in particular, taking away the right to life, negating religious freedom, etc., causes, that in democratic systems the ability to make decisions for the common good is lost. It happens that it is not the criteria of justice and morality that are used to solve issues, social demands, but the electoral or financial strength of individual groups who want to pursue their goals. As a consequence, such situation leads to apathy, discouragement and social disappointment, which implies the disappearance of political and civil engagement. "As a result, there is a growing inability to situate particular interests within the framework of a coherent vision of the common good. The latter is not simply the sum total of particular interests; rather it involves an assessment and integration of those interests on the basis of a balanced hierarchy of values; ultimately, it demands a correct understanding of the dignity and the rights of the person" ("Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World of Today Gaudium et Spes, 26"; Centesimus annus, 47).

John Paul II also sees the danger in fundamentalism and fanaticism of those who in the name of their vision of truth and goodness feel to impose on others; regardless of whether it is in the name of scientific or religious ideology. The realization of the good and the principle of truth are tied with the freedom, that fanaticism and the fundamentalism try to take away (Comp. ibid., 46). Despite the fact, that the characteristic feature of many totalitarianisms is their direct antireligiousness, however in fundamentalism and fanaticism is this not clearly perceived; they are associated with the degeneration of religiosity – they are its parareligious caricature. The anti-religious character of fanaticism and fundamentalism is in fact hidden, takes on the facade of religiosity, whose theological essence is shaded by non-religious goals-dogmas; usually politically (Comp. Herman Lübbe, Totalitarismus, Politische Religion, Anti-Religion, 1995, p. 13).

5. *Freedom, truth, human rights, the rule (state) of law, real democracy, the Church – against the totalitarianism*. The Pope emphasizes, that Christian truth stands in opposition to the institution of ideology as such, and even more so to an ideology trying to clothe the social-political reality in schemas, taking away freedom from society and every individual human being; so it can expressed a view, that it therefore opposes totalitarianism directly. The method by which the Church is guided, is "furthermore, in constantly reaffirming the transcendent dignity of the person, the Church's method is always that of respect for freedom" (Centesimus annus, 46). The Pope assumes, that on this dignity, as well as based on the correct concept of the human person and the rule (state) of law, real democracy should also be based, unfavorable to the formation of narrow management groups, holding political power, realizing their particular goals or ideological purposes. This democracy as well as peace – supported on the foundation of respect for life – are those values which are the most precious and necessary for society (Comp. Evangelium vitae, 101 and Centesimus annus, 46). The interest and concern for human rights should be the foundation of the democratic system. In the centre of these rights is the right to life from conception to natural death; "the right to life, an integral part of which is the right of the child to develop in the mother's womb from the moment of conception; the right to live in a united family and in a moral environment conducive to the growth of the child's personality; the right to develop one's intelligence and freedom in seeking and knowing the truth; the right to share in the work which makes wise use of the earth's material resources, and to derive from that work the means to support oneself and one's dependents; and the right freely to establish a family, to have and to rear children through the responsible exercise of one's sexuality. In a certain sense, the source and synthesis of these rights is religious freedom, understood as the right to live in the truth of one's faith and in conformity with one's transcendent dignity as a person" (Centesimus annus, 47). The principle of human rights is also deeply and inseparably related to the essence of the social justice and constitutes its political-

social-state measure; while the objective ethical order immanently associated with certain objective, inviolable and undeniable human rights, can be an only basis for building and realizing the common good by the authority in the state (Comp. Redemptor hominis, 17).

The Pope emphasizes the anti-totalitarian significance of transparency, justice, morality, human and civil freedom and idea of the state of law in action: "In the political sphere, it must be noted that truthfulness in the relations between those governing and those governed, openness in public administration, impartiality in the service of the body politic, respect for the rights of political adversaries, safeguarding the rights of the accused against summary trials and convictions, the just and honest use of public funds, the rejection of equivocal or illicit means in order to gain, preserve or increase power at any cost – all these are principles which are primarily rooted in, and in fact derive their singular urgency from, the transcendent value of the person and the objective moral demands of the functioning of States" (Veritatis splendor, 101). The morality based on truth and open to freedom, has great significance in terms of service, development and growth in the good, both individuals and entire societies (Ibid., 101). In the situation of the emptiness in the field of values, when in the moral sphere reigns the chaos and the confusion – the freedom dies, the free man becomes a slave – the slave of instincts, passions or pseudo-values[17] (John Paul II, Homilia w czasie Mszy Sw. odprawionej na zakonczenie Miedzynarodowego Kongresu Eucharystyczego 1997). John Paul II indicates that "the inseparable connection between truth and freedom – which expresses the essential bond between God's wisdom and will – is extremely significant for the life of persons in the socio-economic and socio-political sphere (Veritatis splendor, 99).

This means, that the man should – in a different way than in the totalitarianism – build his worldview independently, using his freedom correctly – with the effort of his own mind, own intellect; guided by the right of conscience, connected with the truth: natural or revealed. The recognition of these rights – argues the Pope – "represents the primary foundation of every authentically free political order" (Centesimus annus, 29). This rule should be confirmed also because: "the old forms of totalitarianism and authoritarianism are not yet completely vanquished; indeed there is a risk that they will regain their strength. This demands renewed efforts of cooperation and solidarity between all countries; (...) in the developed countries there is sometimes an excessive promotion of purely utilitarian values, with an appeal to the appetites and inclinations towards immediate gratification, making it difficult to recognize and respect the hierarchy of the true values of human existence; (...) in some countries new forms of religious fundamentalism are emerging which covertly, or even openly, deny to citizens of faiths other than that of the majority the full exercise of their civil and religious rights" (Ibid., 29).

The Pope expresses apprehension of the threat of totalitarianism and defines the features of the political order based on freedom. He cites an example of one of his predecessors – Leo XIII – who presented the structure of society based on balance and on tripartite division of powers; it means the division into: legislative, executive and judicial authority. "Such an ordering reflects a realistic vision of man's social nature, which calls for legislation capable of protecting the freedom of all. To that end, it is preferable that each power be balanced by other powers and by other spheres of responsibility which keep it within proper bounds. This is the principle of the "rule of law", in which the law is sovereign, and not the arbitrary will of individuals" (Centesimus annus 44), what should be also a buffer for the development of totalitarian structures.

The rule (state) of law, a legal state – the Pope emphasizes – should also support families, who are the first and basic social unit. The family has the right to

[17] The Pope underlines, that the social science of the Church, thanks to the set of principles which proposes, "helps lay solid foundations for a humane coexistence in justice, peace, freedom and solidarity", Ecclesia in Europa, 98.

 ISSN 2786-491X (Print)

demand from everyone, including the state, the respect of its rights, as they protect it, they also protect the whole society. "The famility is the basic cell of society. It is the cradle of life and love, the place in which the individual "is born" and "grows". Therefore a primary concern is reserved for this community, especially, in those times when human egoism, the anti-birth campaign, totalitarian politics, situations of poverty, material, cultural and moral misery, threaten to make these very springs of life dry up. Furthermore, ideologies and various systems, together with forms of uninterest and indifference, dare to take over the role in education proper to the family". John Paul II, Christifideles laici [Exhortation on the Vocation and the Mission of the Lay Faithful in the Church and in the World] (p. 40). In this context the Pope also emphasizes the fundamental and basic right of parents to decide on the education of their children; Catholics parents should have a choice, in terms of education, in accordance with their religious beliefs; and the state has obligation to provide education, respect and defend freedom of education for all. The monopoly of the state in this area should be denounced and stigmatized, because it belongs to forms of totalitarianism that violate the fundamental rights that the state should defend, particularly the rights of parents to the religious education of theirs own children (Vide, John Paul II, Ecclesia in America], 71, http://w2.vatican.va).

Conclusions. Based on the thought of John Paul II – that the man being in the dark centre of totalitarianism is deprived of rights, dignity, subjectivity, freedom, truth in material as well as in transcendental dimension. One of the main victim of totalitarianism is man. The subjectivity of the man dies on the altar of antihuman idea, realized in a totalitarian regime.

Conflict of Interest and other Ethics Statements
The author declare no conflict of interest.

References

John Paul II, *Address of His Holiness John Paul II to the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations (October 2 1979), Retrieved on March 10, 2019,* https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1979/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19791002_general-assembly-onu.html.

John Paul II, *Centesimus annus [Encyclical on the hundredth anniversary of Rerum novarum]* (May 1 1991), Retrieved on March 10, 2019, from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_01051991_centesimus-annus.html.

John Paul II, *Christifideles laici [Exhortation on the Vocation and the Mission of the Lay Faithful in the Church and in the World] (December 30 1988), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_30121988_christifideles-laici.html.

John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope (New York, 1994), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from http://www.excerptsofinri.com/printable/crossing_the_threshold_ofhope-popejpii.pdf.

John Paul II, *Dar i Tajemnica [Gift and Mystery]* (Text in accordance with a copy: Krakow, 1996).

John Paul II, *Ecclesia in America [Exhortation On the Encounter with the Living Jesus Christ: The Way to Conversion, Communion, and Solidarity in America] (January 22 1999), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_22011999_ecclesia-in-america.html.

John Paul II, *Ecclesia in Europa [Exhortation on Jesus Christ Alive in His Church the Source of Hope for Europe] (June 28 2003), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_20030628_ecclesia-in-europa.html.

John Paul II, *Evangelium vitae [Encyclical on the Value and Inviolability of Human Life] (March 25 1995), Retrieved on March 10, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_25031995_evangelium-vitae.html.

John Paul II, *Fides et ratio [Encyclical on the Relationship Between Faith And Reason] (September 14 1998), Retrieved on March 2, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091998_fides-et-ratio.html.

John Paul II, *Homilia w czasie Mszy Św. odprawionej na zakończenie Międzynarodowego Kongresu Eucharystycznego [Homily during Holy Mass at the end of the International Eucharistic*

Congress] (Wrocław, 1997), Retrieved on March 11, 2019, from https://ekai.pl/dokumenty/homilia-w-czasie-mszy-sw-odprawionej-na-zakonczenie-miedzynarodowego-kongresu-eucharystycznego.

John Paul II, *Laborem exercens [Encyclical on Human Work on the ninetieth anniversary of Rerum Novarum] (September 14 1981), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091981_laborem-exercens.html.

John Paul II, *Pamięć i tożsamość. Rozmowy na przełomie tysiącleci [Memory and Identity: Conversations at the Dawn of a Millennium] (Skultuna, 2012), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from https://www.rodaknet.com/rp_sw_papiez_jpII_pamiec_i_tozsamosc.pdf.

John Paul II, *Redemptor hominis [Encyclical at the Beginning of His Papal Ministry] (March 4 1979), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_04031979_redemptor-hominis_en.html.

John Paul II, *Sollicitudo rei socialis [Encyclical for the twentieth anniversary of Populorum Progressio] (December 30 1987), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_30121987_sollicitudo-rei-socialis.html.

John Paul II, *Veritatis splendor [Encyclical on some fundamental questions of the Church's Moral Teaching] (August 6 1993), Retrieved on March 10, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_06081993_veritatis-splendor.html.

John Paul II, *Vita consecrata [Exhortation on the Consecrated Life and its Mission in the Church and in the World] (March 25 1996), Retrieved on March 11, 2019,* from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_25031996_vita-consecrata.html.

Leo XIII, Quod apostolici muneris [Encyclical on Socialism] (December 28 1878), Retrieved on March 11, 2019, from http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_28121878_quod-apostolici-muneris.html.

Propositio (45) of Special Assembly for Africa of the Synod of Bishops; quoting by John Paul II, Ecclesia in Africa [Exhortation, on the Church in Africa and Its Evangelizing Mission Towards the Year 2000] (August 14 1995), Retrieved on March 10, 2019, from http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_14091995_ecclesia-in-africa.html.

Arendt Hannah, «Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Government», The Review of Politics 3, (1953), Retrieved on March 11, 2019, from http://virtuallaboratory.colorado.edu/Origins/class%20readings/Hannah%20Arendt%20-%20Ideology%20and%20Terror.pdf.

Ballestrem Karl G., *«Aporien der Totalitarismus-Theorie» [Aporia of Totalitarianism Theory] in Eckard Jesse red.,* Totalitarismus im 20. Jahrhundert [Totalitarianism in the 20th century] (Bonn, 1996).

Berghahn Volker R., *Europe in the Era of Two World Wars. From militarism and genocide to civil society, 1900-1950* (Princeton, 2006).

Lübbe Herman, *«Totalitarismus, Politische Religion, Anti-Religion» [Political religion, anti-religion] in Hermann Lübbe red., Heilserwartung und Terror [Hope of salvation and terror]* (Düsseldorf, 1995).

Tarasiewicz Paweł, «Jan Paweł II o totalitaryzmie», [John Paul II on totalitarianism] in Peter A. Redpath et al., Totalitaryzm jawny czy ukryty? [Totalitarianism open or hidden?] (Lublin, 2011).

Адам Врубель

ДУМКА ІВАНА ПАВЛА ІІ ПРО ТОТАЛІТАРИЗМ

Анотація. Автор спробував відповісти на питання, що таке тоталітаризм з точки зору вчення Івана Павла ІІ, в чому полягає його генезис та сутність; які наслідки для людини і суспільства є реальність, в якій він функціонує та на яку впливає; що є каталізатором його розвитку. Автор намагається дослідити проблему тоталітаризму, викликаного посиленням тривожних соціальних явищ (етична, релігійна, політична та ідентичність байдужості, націоналізм, фундаменталізм і фанатизм; моральний, когнітивний та правовий релятивізм; заперечення та обмеження: принципів, людських законів, зокрема права на життя), що сприяє створенню каркасів тоталітарних ідей та їх реалізації на соціальній та (позитивній) правовій основі. Він підкреслює важливість імперативу, згідно з яким антитоталітарну спадщину Івана Павла ІІ слід відкривати й інтерпретувати знову і знову.

Найвище благо і моральне благо зустрічаються в істині: істині Бога Творця і Відкупителя і правді людини створеної і відкупленої зроблений його (Бога); тільки на цій істині можна будувати оновлене суспільство і вирішити дуже складні й важкі проблеми, що стосуються його, а найбільше для подолання різних форм тоталітаризму, щоб відкрити шлях для справжньої свободи людський - що можна вказати на основі вчення Івана Павла II. Отже, людина, яка перебуває в темному центрі тоталітаризму, позбавляючи прав, гідності, суб'єктивності, свободи, істини як у матеріальному, так і в трансцендентальному вимірі. Однією з головних жертв тоталітаризму є людина.

Ключові слова: *Іван Павло II, тоталітаризм, свобода, права людини, верховенство (правова держава)*

Submitted: 12.12.2020
Revised: 15.02.2021
Accepted: 04.03.2021