

Marek Delong

East European State Higher School in Przemyśl
Institute of International and Political Studies
e-mail: m-delong77@tlen.pl

Moral and ethical aspects of the Polish transition from communism in the enunciations of the Polish Episcopate*

Abstract

The Polish Episcopate critically assessed the social and economic situation in Poland in the period of the transition from communism to democracy and a free-market economy. Privatisation led to production being stopped and to an increase in unemployment. Profit and not human dignity became the measure of labour. The economic and social reality was dominated by the treatment of economics and financial success as of the highest values and the dissemination of the opinion that in politics and economics there are no values.

The political elites showed an inability to develop long-term strategies for getting out of the crisis. The disappearance of the morality of many representatives of public life, which was manifested in universal corruption and the aspiration to improve social status as soon as possible, contributed to this state of affairs. As a result, there was a crisis of the idea of the common wealth and an increase in crime.

The social crisis was particularly visible in moral attitudes, social behaviour, and in the economic sphere, public finance, on the labour market, and in the quickly progressing social stratification.

Keywords: Polish Episcopate, ethics, economy

JEL Classification: A13, Z12

* The article is an updated version of the paper published in Polish in the *Annales. Ethics in Economic Life*, 20(2), 103–116.

1. Introduction

The Polish Bishops' Conference is the main organ of the hierarchical church and is of a collective character. It has a canonical legal personality that is recognised by the Polish state. Its decisions are essential for the functioning of the Catholic Church in Polish public life. It publishes documents that make up the social teaching of the Church and engages in a dialogue with political authorities.

The objective of the Polish Bishops' Conference is to teach and explain basic social problems in the spirit of Christian teaching. After 1989, it was mostly involved in such issues as the model of state-Church relations, the concordat, the constitution, elections, means of social communication, teaching religion in schools, the recovery of Church property, the protection of a conceived life, as well as in the debate preceding Poland's integration into the European Union. A number of enunciations became a part of the problems associated with the state-Church relations, the influence of Catholics' electoral decisions on the formation of a democratic system, issues related to the social teaching of the Church such as work, unemployment as well as catechetical, educational and bioethical issues (Skowronek, 2006, p. 317).

The Polish Bishops' Conference focused on social problems, the situation of the family, its moral condition and the conditions of its material existence. It emphasised the problems of unemployment, social pauperisation, and the need to bring up the young based on Christian and patriotic values. It drew attention to the need to implement an effective, long-term pro-family policy.

The purpose of the following article is to present the ethical aspects of the Polish economic transformation in the light of the enunciation of the Polish Bishops' Conference. It was a significant element of the program of the official statements issued by the hierarchical Church in Poland, which considered this matter to be of crucial importance in the era of accelerated changes. It was stressed that the economic transformation brought enormous social costs as its course was associated with a lack of respect for basic values and violations of the principles of Christian morality.

When it comes to the research methods employed, a system analysis and the genetic-historical method were particularly significant. The latter, however, is not a consequence of in-depth, archival source research but it complements the system analysis method.

2. The position of the Polish Bishops' Conference on economic transformations

Economic transformation is a process of creating a new economic system initiated by a formal change of the political system, and thus it is an element of political transformation. The process of transformations in Poland started in 1989, but it is difficult to determine the final date of the economic transformation. Many com-

mentators assert that it has not yet been completed. Even Poland joining the European Union in 2004 did not change the situation much, as the state still pursues an active economic policy in some areas (Bałtowski & Miszewski, 2006, p. 328).

The Polish Bishops' Conference remained deliberately cautious about voicing their opinion on economic changes related to privatisation and ownership transformations. Despite social expectations and the accusations of politicians, it rarely spoke on economic matters. Under conditions of the politicisation of Polish privatisation, an unambiguous stance of the church hierarchy might have been perceived as a manifestation of political commitment (Dylus, 1994, p. 37).

Describing the attitude of the Church to economic transformations, Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek admitted that some serious omissions of the Church could be observed in this sphere.

There was a prevailing conviction that reforms should not be hindered; the government's actions, whose necessary side effect was the deepening stratification into the rich and the poor, should not be impeded. Moreover, the Church believed that, in the long run, these actions would improve the economic situation. At the same time, however, it was in an uncomfortable political situation not allowing it to oppose the government that came from "Solidarity", which it supported. (1994/2000, p. 645)

Nonetheless, the Polish Bishops' Conference emphasised social problems related to the economic transformation. It drew attention to the need for the Church's presence among the unemployed. It stressed that social problems cause apathy and discouragement, which are used for social manipulation by those who are responsible for the long-lasting economic ruin of Poland (*Komunikat z 248. Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski*, 1991, p. 2). As Aniela Dylus wrote:

After the fall of communism, in some pastoral epistles, the Episcopate articulated its general support for the ongoing reforms. In May 1990, for example, it insisted that no excessive burdens should be placed on society and that they should be spread evenly on every person. In October 1992, the bishops approvingly note that the new structures of a social order are being formed. At the same time, they indicated that the emerging threats in the form of unemployment and the impoverishment of society, especially of the elderly, the disabled and large families, are not an indispensable consequence of the transformation processes. (1994, p. 37)¹

¹ In the message from the 239th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference which was held on March 7–8, 1990 in Warsaw, it was emphasized that public authorities should make every effort to ensure that the social costs of the changes were spread as proportionally as possible, taking into account the needs of the most vulnerable and the poorest (cf. *Komunikat z 239. Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski*, 1990, p. 2). While in the message from the 240th Plenary Meeting, which took place on April 30–May 2, 1990 in Warsaw, we can read: "The burdens imposed on society should not be more severe and last longer than necessary." Cf. *Komunikat z 240. Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski*, 1990, p. 2.

The Polish Bishops' Conference critically assessed the social situation in the transformation period (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 295th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1992/2003, p. 1811). It pointed to the need to find ways that would help in breaking down the barriers of social alienation, isolation or indifference (*List Episkopatu Polski na uroczystość NMP Królowej Polski 3 maja 1993 r.*, 1993/2003, p. 1819). In the process of political and economic changes, the Christian principle of the common good should be taken into account, which on the scale of the state involved the good of all social groups and, above all, the family as the basic social unit. Another significant element in the teachings of the Church was the postulate of a just salary, i.e., a salary that could guarantee a decent living, as well as health care and education at an appropriate level and that would be enough to take measures to make employment commonplace. The pursuit of the common good should be associated with preventing the formation of privileged social groups, adjusting salaries to commodity prices, making cultural goods available to the largest part of society possible and eliminating or at least reducing the disproportions between various sectors of the economy. The production of goods should be adapted to the production of consumer services, mainly those provided by the public authorities, while the production method ought to be adapted to the development of science and technology, ensuring that future generations will be able to enjoy a share in the prosperity (262nd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1993/2003, pp. 1823–1824).

The Polish hierarchy of the Church stressed that the moral condition of society also left much to be desired. Although society was free from formal atheism, a large part of it lived as if God did not exist, poisoned by camouflaged atheism, secularism and organised, practical materialism. Christians are exposed to the invasion of moral liberalism and face questions such as how to live, whom to listen to and on what foundation they should build their future (262nd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1993/2003, pp. 1826–1827). The bishops pointed to the fact that the living standard of families was dropping and that there was a lack of proper social policy, and that the benefits were too low—equal for everyone, but they did not address the real needs of families. Promoting the “country for the strong” vision also had a negative impact on family conditions. They even said that the sharp drop in the standard of living was a punishment for parents for giving life to their children and educating them. The civilisation of money, the culture of welfare and consumerism—long-standing problems of Western Europe—were not favourable to the situation of the family either. They are phenomena that cross national borders and have a disastrous effect on the demographics of Europe (265th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1993/2003, p. 1841).

The Polish Bishops' Conference claimed that evangelisation was also necessary in socio-economic life. Implementing the work of evangelisation, the Church is often mistakenly perceived as a subject of political life, even though it is simply a guardian of moral order and a critical conscience (277th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1995/2003, p. 1906). It was emphasised that tolerat-

ing violations of human rights, violations of the principles of social justice, selfish actions targeting the common good, as well as a disregard for elementary moral principles cannot be justified (279th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1995/2003, pp. 1931–1933). Ownership transformations led to a production slowdown and an increase in unemployment. Some people were getting rich while others were falling into misery. The pursuit of power went hand in hand with apathy and a withdrawal from social life (Dylus, 1993, p. 365).

The Bishops' Conference underlined that Poles should stop perceiving the state as a welfare institution but become convinced that they were the subject of rights and duties. It is not the domination of politics over the economy that testifies to the strength of the state but the independence of its citizens, also in terms of economic initiatives. Ownership transformation cannot cause people's fear of the future and hence, society should be kept informed about their short- and long-term effects. The bishops warned that making use of civic helplessness would turn against those who carry out such transformations (275th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1995/2003, p. 1893).

The care for the common good should be creative in character and not limited to criticising proposed solutions. The duty of state authorities is to make a real commitment to building the common good and thus they must give up on using state institutions for their own or the group interests (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 303rd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 2000). Every democratic country should maintain basic ethical standards in legislation and in public life. The very formulation of legal norms, while avoiding answers to questions about their justification, whether in religious faith or universal ethical principles, will not guarantee the preservation or maintenance of moral order. If social life is not based on norms and values, it becomes unstable (261st Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1993/2003, p. 2464).

The bishops acknowledged that society was aware of the difficulties associated with the systemic transformations; still, it was bearing great costs. The groups of people particularly affected by the transformations included the inhabitants of small towns, the unemployed, the homeless, and people living below the poverty line, who did not have enough means for living. The situation became very difficult for farmers in general, and in particular for the former workers of State Agricultural Farms (Polish: *Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne*), after the collapse of which no reasonable organisational structures were created. Profit and not human dignity became the measure of work (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 295th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1998/2003, p. 2063). The economic and social realities were dominated by treating the economy and financial success as the highest values, and there was a wide-spread opinion that politics and the economy were governed by no values. It resulted in an embarrassing level of political conflicts and an increasing number of economic crimes. The most frequent elements of political games included hatred, intrigue, distrust and unjustified accusations; religion was treated purely instrumentally. The interests of the party became more important than national interests.

Politicians created moral chaos, which resulted in the blurring of the line between heroism and betrayal, loyalty and conformism (261st Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1993/2003, p. 2467).

The Polish Bishops' Conference expressed gratitude to all those who took up the task of carrying out the reforms and drew attention to the inability of the political elite to work out a long-term strategy to recover from the crisis. This was due to the disappearance of morality among many members of public life, which manifested itself in widespread corruption and the pursuit of increasing their own social status as fast as possible. As a consequence, the idea of the common good was in crisis, and crime increased. The bishops noted several successes of the transformation, but at the same time stressed that on the threshold of the third millennium, Poland found itself in a serious crisis, which was expressed in moral attitudes, social behaviour, and in the economic sphere – in public finances, the labour market and the rapidly progressing social stratification. All of these gave rise to even greater public discontent, apathy and a deepening disbelief in a better future (261st Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1993/2003, p. 2467).

The Church speaks up not because it claims the right to issue expert opinions on social, political or economic matters. It assumes that a professed faith should have consequences in a broadly defined social life. The Church is obliged to expose social sins that cause great social stratification between the wealthy and the poor. The hierarchs emphasised that while speaking about the new “social issue”, the Church does not hope for its own benefits or privileges, nor does it want to impose its concept on anyone (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 321th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 2003, p. 57).

3. The problem of unemployment

The economic transformation was accompanied by phenomena that posed a considerable threat to freedom, since they brought about poverty, anxiety, a shaken sense of security, fear, and the loss of purpose and direction. Some of them are characteristic of building a new system: unemployment, homelessness, disproportions in the standard of living and the collapse of the welfare state. The phenomena specific to the Polish transformation included a fear of the inflow of foreign capital, of being exploited by foreigners and of selling out Polish assets and land (Dylus, 1993, p. 364).

The Bishops' Conference took the position that it cannot remain indifferent to the growing sense of grievance and social degradation in some social strata and so it acted as a spokesperson for justice, social solidarity and as a defender of those who were suffering the greatest injustice (277th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1995/2003, p. 1906).

In 1992, almost 2.5 million people were unemployed, with young people in the majority. Unemployment had a destructive impact on family life, limiting life prospects, and consequently causing a massive impoverishment of society. The group of people whose income did not allow them to reach the minimum subsistence level was growing. This applied mainly to the elderly, large families, single parents and the physically or mentally disabled. As stated in the letter of the Episcopate entitled “Wspólna troska chrześcijańskiego narodu o własną Ojczyznę” [“The Common Concern of the Christian Nation for Its *Own* Fatherland”]:

We should not let this matter just play out, claiming that they are inevitable consequences of the economic transformation process. If that is the case, then we have all the more reason to look for ways to combat this evil, especially in particular cases. We are pleased to say that the public authorities and trade unions exercise great care searching for the right solutions that would take into account the good of individual people, social groups and, finally, the good of the state, that is, the good of us all. (258th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops’ Conference, 1992/2003, p. 1805)

Unemployment became a threat to social peace and democracy. Society faced problems that had thus far been unknown and usually solved by the state, whose task was to guarantee jobs. As Aniela Dylus explained (2000, p. 5):

This new “social issue” undoubtedly has many faces. Additionally, a difficult situation on the labour market has a negative effect on labour relations. Employees who are blackmailed with the threat of dismissal are forced to accept bad working conditions. They agree on unfair remuneration, the lack of social security, falsification of income data (to lower the social security expenses) and, in general, on objectification.

Negative consequences of the transformation contributed to the increase in social dysfunctions, crime and brutality in interpersonal relations. The solution to this problem was not only in the hands of the state but the whole of society. First of all, it was necessary to rebuild the work ethos, which was burdened with traces of the previous system. What should follow from an economic transformation are opportunities to acquire new qualifications that would make it easier to find a job. The Polish Bishops’ Conference also appealed to the citizens for honesty towards the state. They said it was reprehensible to claim unemployment benefit when one can take up a job. It is stealing from the state and acting to the detriment of the common good. The bishops urged that the main principles of the implemented social reforms should be the care for human beings, social justice, equality of opportunities and the integral development of the nation (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 303rd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops’ Conference, 2000/2003).

The Bishops’ Conference emphasised that unemployment affected a large number of Poles and the prospects for the future were not optimistic. The resolution to this new “social issue” depended on building a new culture of life and

labour that would put man at the centre of all social ventures (Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 2001). As manifested in more and more spheres of social life, a person's dignity and his or her comprehensive development were at stake. Unemployment was regarded as a social disaster, and it became a test which verified social development and progress (Zimoń, 2001).

The social teachings of the church call for us to revise our understanding of the concept of development, which is mistakenly identified solely with material growth. Economic growth, however, does not necessarily lead to an increase in employment. Unemployment, which may appear in countries with a free market economy, can be considered a measure of an economic crisis, but only from an economic perspective. The assumption of a specific economic system leads to a narrowing of the notion of unemployment to so-called involuntary unemployment, i.e., a socio-economic situation in which masses of people are ready to work for any remuneration, even extremely little, and yet there are simply no jobs for them. Such a situation may be the result of the underdevelopment of the entire economy or of a crisis (Zimoń, 2001).

The Church hierarchy pointed to the increasingly noticeable phenomenon of social exclusion, which is the consequence of a suddenly growing disparity between the material situation of those who benefit from the transformation and those who had become its victims. The growing sense of social injustice was also intensified by the fact that a significant number of those benefiting from the economic and political changes were, at the same time, the perpetrators of social miseries. All of this created a threat that large numbers of Poles would stop identifying themselves with the Polish state (Zimoń, 2001).

The bishops expressed their concern about the signs of a deep crisis of the state. Any manifestations of corruption, privatisation, being guided by the interests of a politician's own party, or pursuing profit at any cost, should be eliminated from social life as soon as possible. Sadly, some Poles recognise these negative phenomena of social life as an ordinary state of affairs and care only for their own profit, without any moral scruples (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 321st Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 2003, p. 58).

Significant unemployment, corruption, a lack of vision and no will to solve social problems in the ruling party led to serious social tensions. For this reason, the bishops appealed to politicians to be guided primarily by the common good and not by the selfish interests of individuals, social groups or parties (*Ślowo Rady Stalej...*, 2003, p. 61). As we read in the letter of the Episcopate:

The Church community, within its capabilities, helps and will help people who are affected by poverty. Nonetheless, the bishops strongly emphasise that the solution to economic and social issues, especially unemployment, is above all the task of competent state structures. (*Ślowo Rady Stalej...*, 2003, p. 61)

Unfortunately, it happened that charity was understood instrumentally, as a means for companies to promote themselves. The Church reminds us about the dignity of the impoverished and the need to seek just and permanent solutions to

social problems. Poor citizens have the right to expect that appropriate conditions for them to function in social life will be created for them, which is just as important as providing them with temporary benefits (Dzięga, 2005).

The Polish Bishops' Conference pointed to the negative remnants of the system based on Marxist ideology, which hindered the building of democracy. These were primarily the lack of skills needed to create democracy, and the culture of discussion and political disputes, distrust, impatience, intolerance as well as a lack of knowledge about society, the principles of political life and economic initiative. They led to the emergence of passiveness, frustration, hopelessness and a tendency to emigrate (244th Konferencja Plenarna Episkopatu Polski, 1990/2003, p. 1698). It turned out that freedom, democracy and economy based on sound economic principles require a number of sacrifices and cannot be built in a short period of time. The perpetrators of the injustice done in the previous system were never held accountable for their actions. What is more, the majority of society was convinced that, in the free state, these people benefitted with impunity from the privileges they had gained earlier. The care for private interests and corruption prevailed, and consequently, all sensitivity concerning the common good or the good of man was lost, while individual politicians, as well as the whole political environment, acted in line with the interests of their party (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 302nd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1999/2003, p. 2105).

The economic transformations contributed to the creation of many pockets of poverty. As a small part of society became prosperous—and is still becoming richer—the differences between the affluent and those living on the verge of poverty grew considerably (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 302nd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 1999/2003, p. 2103). The bishops wrote (pp. 2103–2104):

Apart from the sources of joy and pride, there is also a lot of pain, suffering and disappointment in our homeland caused by the ongoing transformations. This pain sometimes manifests itself as social unrest, strikes or demonstrations. And out of all the forms of protests in a democratic society, strikes are the last resort. The authorities, however, should recognise the needs of society sooner and address them. Such is the role and the duty of the state. [...] We notice the efforts of state authorities associated with fundamental reforms without which it is impossible to imagine the future of Poland. The course of reforms, whose necessity is generally not in question, depends on the level of commitment of the entire nation.

The Polish Bishops' Conference criticised the promotion of the radical ideology of capitalism, according to which only a system based on the free play of market forces makes it possible to solve any social and economic problems, while all other methods are destined to failure. It led to material and moral deterioration since it distorted the most basic economic relations and discredited such traits as diligence, truthfulness, credibility and initiative (Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 2001). As the bishops wrote:

What must be stated, after twelve years of systemic transformations in Poland, is that many people responsible for the state of public life became uncritically convinced that the fall of Marxism automatically implies the creation of a just society. They also put trust in free-market mechanisms which were to ensure the well-being of each and everyone in all spheres. The collective ideology was replaced with a distorted version of liberalism, which degenerated into a liberal ideology often preached in its vulgarised form, depicting the reality almost exclusively in economic terms. For this reason, the development that was indispensable to our country was identified solely with the economic growth.

4. Conclusions

Initially, the Polish Bishops' Conference was very careful about making any assessment of the economic transformation, fearing accusations of Church involvement in political matters and not willing to stand against the government composed of the anticommunist opposition. Yet, even in 1992, the critical stance was a dominant one. The Polish economic transformation was assessed negatively, and attention was drawn to the enormous social costs of the transformations and the accompanying decline of morality.

The Polish Bishops' Conference claimed that building a new system was characterised by a widespread disregard for basic values and the violation of Christian moral principles. The Bishops warned the faithful that Catholic morality should not be reconciled with any form of corruption. They stressed that the state had been transformed into an oligarchic play between interest groups, which violates the rule of law-abidingness of the authorities and caused its citizens harm. It also called for a break with such practices as soon as possible and insisted on the organisation of an authentic state of law (321th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference, 2003, p. 57).

The free market economy was not based on ethical principles and for this reason, it turned into a ruthless fight. The consequences were suffered by the part of society that was becoming impoverished and was deprived of any opportunity to improve their standards of living, not able to find themselves in a new reality. The Polish Bishops' Conference stated that there was an unwritten consent to selfishly organise one's life without any moral limits, regardless of the damage it inflicts on the community. The Conference criticised the consumer model, relativism, the apotheosis of success and wealth, and the vision of an easy life without dilemmas of conscience.

The bishops called the believers to become more active in political life, reminding them that it was the right and duty of lay people, which resulted from their Christian responsibility for their homeland (Górowska, 2012, p. 72). Political disputes and conflicts lie at the heart of democracy. It is a consequence of competition between various visions of the socio-political and economic reality, which is

being constantly redefined. However, this competition must take place according to certain principles, and in the Polish democracy, they were not being followed.

The Polish Bishops' Conference denounced attacks on the Church that aimed to achieve political goals. It strongly opposed its moral teachings and activities being ridiculed, unfair accusations being made and at the same time, the spread of anticlericalism. The Conference recognised such actions as unethical and socially destructive. From an ethical perspective, the promotion of the rivalry on a friend-enemy basis is unacceptable in politics. Moreover, it has a negative impact on citizens' behaviour and discourages them from participating in political life, which in turn translates into very low voter turnout.

References

- 244th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1990, November 30). *List Pastorski Episkopatu Polski o chrześcijańskim etosie pracy*. Jasna Góra. In *Listy pasterskie Episkopatu Polski 1945–2000* (hereafter: *Listy pasterskie*), Vol. 1–2, bp P. Libera, ks. A. Rybicki CSMA, & ks. S. Łącki CSMA (Eds.). Marki: Wydawnictwo Michalineum.
- 258th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1992, October 16). *Wielka troska chrześcijańskiego narodu o własną Ojczyznę*. Warszawa. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- 261st Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1993, April 30). *O wartościach chrześcijańskich w życiu społeczeństwa i narodu*. Warszawa. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- 262nd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1993, June 19). *Na dzień zawieszenia Polski Najświętszej Maryi Pannie 26 VIII 1993*. Olsztyn. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- 262nd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1993, June 19). *Słowo biskupów polskich w sprawie wyborów do parlamentu*. Olsztyn. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- 265th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1993, November 25). *Na uroczystość Świętej Rodziny: "Wypełnić wszystko według prawa Bożego"*. Jasna Góra. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- 275th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1995, March 17). *List biskupów Polski o roli katolików w procesie przekształceń polskiego rolnictwa i przeobrażeń społecznych wsi i małych miast*. Warszawa. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- 277th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1995, June 17). *List biskupów polskich: Akcja Katolicka w służbie nowej ewangelizacji*. Szczecin. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- 279th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1995, September 15–16). *Orędzie biskupów polskich o potrzebie dialogu i tolerancji w warunkach budowy demokracji*. Wigry. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- Bałtowski, M., & Miszewski, M. (2006). *Transformacja gospodarcza w Polsce*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 259th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1992, November 27). *Wyzwolenie idzie przez rodzinę. List biskupów polskich na uroczystość Świętej Rodziny 1992 r.* Jasna Góra. In *Listy pasterskie*.

- Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 295th Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1998, June 5). *List pasterski. Uświęcenie czasu pracy i wakacji w Duchu Świętym*. Pelplin. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops gathered at the 302nd Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (1999, November 25). *Słowo biskupów polskich na Wielki Jubileusz Narodzenia Zbawiciela*. Jasna Góra. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- Dylus, A. (1993). Trudna wolność katolików w Polsce. *Przegląd Powszechny*, 12(868), 360–375.
- Dylus, A. (1994). Przekształcenia własnościowe w Polsce w świetle nauczania społecznego Kościoła. *Chrześcijanin w Świecie*, 24(2–3), 197–198.
- Dylus, A. (2000). Kościół wobec bezrobocia: czy i jak “pocieszać”. *Znak*, 537(2).
- Dzięga, A. Bp. (2005, January 6). *List pasterski: O radzie i ślubie ewangelicznego ubóstwa na niedzielę przed IX Światowym Dniem Życia Konsekrowanego (30 stycznia 2005 r.) w Uroczystość Objawienia Pańskiego*. Sandomierz. http://www.episkopat.pl/?a=dokumentyKEP&doc=2005119_0
- Górowska, B. (2013). *Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, W trosce o człowieka i dobro wspólne, Tarnów 2012*. (2013). Ośrodek Analiz Politologicznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. <http://oapuw.pl/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Górowska-B.pdf>
- Komunikat z 239 Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski. Warszawa. March 8, 1990. (1990, March 18). *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 11(2125).
- Komunikat z 240 Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski. Warszawa, May 2, 1990. (1990, May 13). *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 19.
- Komunikat z 248 Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski. Łódź, June 23, 1991. (1991, July 7). *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 27(2191).
- Komunikat z 303 Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski, Podpisali: Kardynałowie, Arcybiskupi i Biskupi zebrani na 303. Zebraniu Plenarnym Konferencji Episkopatu Polski. (2000, March 2). <http://www.opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WE/kep/komunika303.html>
- Komunikat z 321 Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski, Kardynałowie, Arcybiskupi i Biskupi zebrani na 321. Zebraniu Plenarnym Konferencji Episkopatu Polski. Warszawa, March 12, 2003. (2003). *L'Osservatore Romano*, 24(5).
- Komunikat z 323 Konferencji Plenarnej Episkopatu Polski, Kardynałowie, Arcybiskupi i Biskupi obecni na 323. Zebraniu Plenarnym Konferencji Episkopatu Polski. Paradyż, June 15, 2003. (2003). *L'Osservatore Romano*, 24(7–8).
- List Episkopatu Polski na uroczystość NMP Królowej Polski 3 maja 1993 r.*, Warszawa, March 23, 1993. In *Listy pasterskie*.
- Pieronek, T. (1994/2000). Kościół i gospodarka. *Ład*, October 30. In P. Śpiewak (Ed.), *Spór o Polskę 1989–99. Wybór tekstów prasowych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Plenary Meeting of the Polish Bishops' Conference. (2001, October 30). *W trosce o nową kulturę życia i pracy*, List społeczny. <http://episkopat.pl/?a=dokumentyKEP&doc=wtrosce>
- Skowronek, K. (2006). *Między sacrum a profanum. Studium językoznawcze listów pasterskich Konferencji Episkopatu Polski (1945-2005)*. Kraków: LEXIS.

Słowo Rady Stałej Konferencji Episkopatu Polski oraz Biskupów Diecezjalnych, Kardynałowie, Arcybiskupi i Biskupi. Jasna Góra, August 25, 2003. (2003). *L'Osservatore Romano*, 24(10).

Zimoń, D., Arcybiskup Metropolita Katowicki (2001, March 19). *Kościół katolicki na Śląsku wobec bezrobocia w Uroczystość św. Józefa, Oblubieńca Najświętszej Maryi Panny*. Katowice. <http://www.episkopat.pl/?a=dokumentyKEP&doc=bezrobocie1>