



Cezary Smuniewski

From Memory to Freedom

Research on
Polish Thinking
about
National Security
and Political
Community

MONOGRAPHS OF
THE INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Cezary Smuniewski

From Memory to Freedom

Research on
Polish Thinking
about
National Security
and Political
Community

Warsaw 2018



Publication Series: Monographs of the Institute of Political Science

Scientific Reviewers:

Waldemar Kitler, War Studies Academy, Poland
Agostino Massa, University of Genoa, Italy

The study was performed under the 2017 Research and Financial Plan of War Studies Academy. Title of the project: "Bilateral implications of security sciences and reflection resulting from religious presumptions" (project no. II.1.1.0 grant no. 800).

Translation:

Małgorzata Mazurek
Aidan Hoyle

Editor:

Tadeusz Borucki, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland

Typesetting:

Manuscript Konrad Jajecznik

© Copyright by Cezary Smuniewski, Warszawa 2018

© Copyright by Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2018

All rights reserved. Any reproduction or adaptation of this publication, in whole or any part thereof, in whatever form and by whatever media (typographic, photographic, electronic, etc.), is prohibited without the prior written consent of the Author and the Publisher.

Size: 12,1 publisher's sheets

Publisher:

Institute of Political Science Publishers
www.inop.edu.pl

ISBN: 978-83-950685-7-7

Printing and binding: Fabryka Druku

Contents

Introduction	9
1. Memory - the “beginning” of thinking about national security of Poland	15
1.1. Memory builds our political community	15
1.2. We learn about memory from the ancient Greeks and we experience it in a Christian way	21
1.3. Thanks to memory, we know who a human being is	25
1.4. From memory to wisdom	33
1.5. Conclusions	37
2. Identity – the “condition” for thinking about national security of Poland	39
2.1. Contemporary need for identity	40
2.2. The complexity of thinking about identities	44
2.3. The specificity of Polish identity	47
2.4. Cultural identity	55
2.5. National identity	59
2.6. Conclusions	65

3. Christianity – the “soul” of Poland’s national security	69
3.1. Christianity’s involvement in creating Poland’s national security	70
3.2. Genesis of wars	77
3.3. First generations of Christians versus wars	80
3.4. A just war?	84
3.5. Conclusions	87
4. Culture - the “pillar of strength” in thinking about national security of Poland	89
4.1. Why culture?	90
4.2. Towards personalism, or between individualism and collectivism	99
4.3. A human being and ideologies	104
4.4. The idea of a new human being	110
4.5. Is happiness possible without a culture of living in a community?	113
4.6. Conclusions	117
5. Patriotism – the “way” of thinking about national security of Poland	121
5.1. Around the definition of patriotism	123
5.2. Love of the homeland or the nation?	128
5.3. Contexts of the Polish thinking about patriotism	131
5.4. The future of patriotism	135
5.5. Patriotism in the Bible and the teaching of the Church	140
5.6. Conclusions	160
6. Freedom – the “zone” for thinking about national security of Poland	165
6.1. Freedom – the issue from the scope of thinking about creating security	166
6.2. Slave mentality in Antiquity	167

6.3. Freedom versus realistic and integral anthropology	177
6.4. Freedom challenged and defended	180
6.5. Freedom and the threat of utopias	184
6.6. Freedom versus national and European identity	189
6.7. Conclusions	191
Bibliography	195
Index of names	215

Introduction

The topic of this study is the contribution of memory, identity, Christianity, culture, patriotism and freedom to national security in Poland. Whilst there is no doubt that research into the creation of Poland's national security is an important ingredient in contemporary academic thinking and social debate, it provokes a number of contrasting views. It is not enough to rely on statements that the future of Poland depends only on (i) economics, (ii) unspecified integration with Europe or (iii) the size and armament of the army. We know that national security is not just a cold practical concept: social values are a component, especially those passed down in the family and at school. The strength of national security is defined by the people who grow in the spirit of the nation, its traditions and beautiful but sometimes difficult history. These are people united with culture, constituting both the foundations of an individual's life as well as that of society. They are creating national security founded on the discovery and shaping of one's own as well as a common identity. Reflecting on the creation of national security (including that of military and defence) the history of Poland allows us to fully appreciate this intangible dimension – the spirit of the nation.

National security (the key concept and the subject of research in this document) is understood as the value and purpose of the state's activities

and the way to build its power, now and in the future.¹ It is therefore about a state which is developing and heading into the future. A strong and efficient state is a way to evaluate the effectiveness of national security, the highest form of national structure, condensing energy and resources not only to ensure survival, but also to create conditions for development. It is also about a state which is effective in protecting and resisting the pressure of hostile forces and able to cooperate with other states in creating international security² through:

- Its leadership
- Its own army and legal system
- Diplomacy and economy
- Religion
- Population potential.

This monograph is the result of research which makes an assumption that security studies combine elements of humanities, as well as social, legal and technical sciences. It also assumes, like Waldemar Kitler, that “the aim of research in security studies is to identify cultural, material, political and social conditions affecting the existence and development of an individual within a state, of a social group (nation) or the international environment and to define rules and forms of organization and protection against negative factors of the natural, social and cultural environment for these entities, as well as to determine the principles and regularities of this field.”³ It should be noted that, according to Waldemar Kitler, the key criterion for determining the essence of security studies is to define the purpose of research and the reason for studying it.⁴ It would be a mistake to narrow down the definition of security studies because it is not about limiting consideration of the processes and components of creating and analysing security, but about emphasizing the teleological element that

¹ Cf. W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2011.

² Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku. Wnioski dla Polski w XXI wieku*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2013, p. 15.

³ W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2018, pp. 21-22. [own translation]

⁴ Cf. *ibid*, pp. 20-21.

justifies research. Waldemar Kitler's intention is not to narrow down the scope of research. On the contrary, in his opinion, the field of security studies includes:

- General security studies (security theory; security philosophy; security theology);
- Detailed security studies (defence studies; public safety studies; common security studies; political security studies; economic security studies; ecological security studies, social security studies; information security studies; security engineering, etc.);
- Auxiliary studies (security history; security sociology; security anthropology; security administration; defence administration; military administration; security law; defence law; military law; crisis management; education for security; defence education; security/defence didactics; security, defence and military economics; security, defence and military logistics, etc.).⁵

This monograph is specifically concerned with security studies. Not only does it deal with the problem of national security, but it also aims to reflect on the Polish cultural and social determinants affecting the functioning of: an individual within the state and the entire nation in order to influence the organization of the political community in Poland and protect it on an individual and social level against the influence of various negative factors. Referring to the goal of security studies specified by Waldemar Kitler, the main social and cultural conditions identified in Poland are: memory, identity, Christianity, culture, patriotism and freedom. The analyses have been made using experience and methods aligned to research in security studies, such as philosophy, history and political science.

Security studies, like other disciplines in the scope of social sciences and humanities, must face the challenges of modern times, such as the clash of globalist tendencies with movements emphasizing the importance of localism; the diversity of individual nations; and the richness of solutions to the current problems of specific political communities. Such a perspective calls for urgent participation in a long-standing discussion on the involvement of non-military means in creating national security and building international cooperation. However, it refers only to those

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 21-25.

fundamental measures which include what should be defended and solutions based on confrontation with the use of military force. Recognizing new threats to Poland's national security, we should include research seeking answers to questions about: national memory and identity; the role of the Christian message; and culture, patriotism and freedom. According to Waldemar Kitler national security is the most important value required by a nation and a priority for its activities: "National security is connected with values which determine: the safe existence of the state (its sovereignty, stability of its borders, territorial integrity); international relations; society (nation); and essentially the constitutional democratic state."⁶

In this monograph, an insightful reader may recognize topics that have been a part of my research for many years, and which I have presented in numerous articles published in Polish and Italian. I have listed them at the end of this book. However, the elaboration in this form is a new study, I dare say that in a sense it is unique. This research and conclusions are the results of analyses characterized by an erudite-discursive approach embracing confrontation and mutual criticism of various views and opinions. The quoted or discussed texts, as well as views of various thinkers have been selected primarily in terms of their relationship with the main concepts identified and indicated as inspiring and opening deliberations on the following issues: memory, identity, Christianity, culture, patriotism and freedom, seen in the perspective of creating Poland's national security. The priority was given to Polish researchers and authors, thanks to which the specificity of homebred thoughts, achievements and perspectives could be more clearly revealed. The study clearly includes references to Christian thought, especially the Biblical message and Catholic social teaching. It results, firstly, from the undeniable contribution of Christianity to the national identity of Poland; secondly the way thinking and placing values translates into society's political decisions. Naturally, we must not forget that not all Poles are Christians or Catholics, or that there is no shortage of Poles who sincerely do not accept Christianity

⁶ W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, op. cit., p. 10. [own translation] Cf. ibid pp. 78-95 („Podstawy aksjologiczne bezpieczeństwa narodowego”), especially pp. 79-80 („Pojęcie wartości narodowych”).

and the Catholic Church and do not want to have anything to do with it. The fact is that just as it is difficult to talk about the history and sovereignty of Poland without considering Christianity, so one cannot forget that the greatness of Poland has been created not only by people identifying themselves with Christianity or Catholicism. An additional argument for reaching for sources inspired by religious thinking was the fact that this monograph was created during the celebration of the 1050th anniversary of the baptism of Poland, the 300th anniversary of the coronation of the image of Our Lady of Czestochowa and the approaching 100th anniversary of Poland's regaining its independence.

On the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
another anniversary of the Battle of Warsaw,
Polish Armed Forces Day
Genoa, August 15, 2018

1. Memory - the “beginning” of thinking about national security of Poland

Historical memories of Poles are formed by their experiences and become the catalyst for thinking about national security. The answer to the question “What must we not forget”? has shaped Polish identity and is becoming a legitimate narrative about the future. Individual and shared memories, permeating and shaping each other, allow both individuals and the whole nation to revel in their uniqueness. Seen as the beginning of thinking about national security, they set goals and ways of achieving them, without losing sight of either the good of individuals or the entire political community. The memory referred to here is fundamentally different from that of a computer. It is not computer storage, or a data-warehouse from which one can extract facts and figures on demand. Memory, the foundation of thinking about national security consists of vivid images and emotions, recognizes good and evil, seeks, concludes, and categorises. It is creative and dynamic.

1.1. Memory builds our political community

Why was memory loss and lack of concern for national identity and political community so easy for many Poles after 1989? There are several reasons for this.

First, oikophobia implanted for many generations is to blame. The partitioners and all those who deprived Poland of sovereignty propagated it with mastery. After World War II it was the USSR. However, even earlier, until 1918, when Poland regained independence after 123 years of lost sovereignty, this was done by partitioners: Russia, Germany and Austria. Both before World War I and after World War II, Poles were indoctrinated to forget who they were and who their ancestors had been.

Secondly, the factor that contributed to loss of memory – which is a consequence of the above – was the fears penetrating society of being together, revealing itself as a community. For it can be traced, identified, unmasked, defined as national, and then annihilated.

Thirdly, the deepening of this amnesia was a part of the implementation of the project of reconciliation with the communists, which was quickly implemented after the fall of the PRL (Polish People's Republic). Oblivion helped those who had recently been building People's Poland and dependence on the USSR. Memory and identity in the times of the Polish People's Republic appeared as the chief enemies of freedom and sovereignty, unnecessary ballast on the path to modernisation. Dariusz Karłowicz described the process as follows: "When in 1989 Poland was slowly regaining consciousness, at first it was thought that it did not need to remember what it was, it did not have to wonder what had shaped its political customs, reflexes, habits, its axiology, aspirations, a way of thinking, a unique lifestyle, a unique form. Many thought that it was enough to know what it would like to be, and the rest were «substitute topics». (...) Patriotism rhymed with chauvinism, community with xenophobia, republican tradition was to be inherently worse than absolutism, Catholicism not as deep as Orthodoxy, nor as ethical as Protestantism. And noble democracy? A mixed system? Well, anarchy, anachronism and decay. Caricature, disavow, forget. Renounce bad habits. Start from the beginning."⁷

The victory of 1920 in the war between the reborn Republic of Poland (the Second Republic of Poland) and the Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic (RFSRR), which following precisely defined directives aimed to conquer European countries and transform them into Soviet republics in accordance with the doctrine and declared political goals of the Russian

⁷ D. Karłowicz, *Polska jako Jason Bourne*, Fundacja Świętego Mikołaja. Redakcja „Teologii Politycznej”, Warsaw 2017, p. 13.

Bolshevik Party, is an important moment for the memory that creates the identity of the Polish political community. It is rightly considered to be the source of pride and strengthening of bonds in the nation. It allowed the Polish Republic to unite Polish society and mobilize them to rebuild the state power, as well as courageously meet the challenges of the defeat of September 1939, occupation and Soviet domination after World War II. The memory of victory in 1920 is an important moment for Poles marking their unity with all of Europe. For Western Europe, in turn, it is a reminder of those who defended it against the flood of communism. Talking about memory and identity in Poland is a reference to the book by John Paul II entitled "Memory and Identity. Conversations at the Dawn of a Millennium." In this work, the Pope addressed the subject of evil in history, especially in Europe, as well as the question of freedom in the perspective of responsibility. He also spoke about democracy and patriotism of Poles.⁸

The idea of identity connected with memory is deeply rooted in both Christian experience and political thinking. For believers, as well as for those who create a political community, it becomes necessary to tell their history to preserve the living identity of individuals and entire groups. Human identity is connected with one's memory and therefore with history. In this way, the vision necessary to create security is also shaped. If in the thematic area designated by the concepts of love of the homeland and identity, reference is made to memory, it should be thought of as composed of two components: acts of memory of a single person and common memory - an event happening between people and at the same time connecting them. What can be useful here is the definition by Barbara Szacka who says that collective memory is "a collection of ideas of members of the community about its past, individuals who populate it and past events that took place in it, as well as ways of commemorating and passing down knowledge about them, the knowledge which is considered as obligatory equipment of a member of this community."⁹ Both individual and collective memory, if it is to maintain identity, requires: expression, narration and transfer. The vital spark that shapes patriotic thinking and attitudes is individual and common memory, history passed on to

⁸ Cf. John Paul II, *Memory and Identity*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 2005.

⁹ B. Szacka, *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warsaw 2006, p. 19.

the next generation. Talking about history, however, cannot be seen only as a sentimental act, something that must be done, for example, to honour the heroes or stigmatize incorrect attitudes. Talking about history to shape national identity is something more. The purpose of such a message is:

- Firstly, drawing attention to the uniqueness of the space in which history and future meet. The space in which an individual and the community experience their present – their “today”, the unique “now” – create both history and future. The discovery of the ability to create is probably one of the greatest discoveries in individual and collective histories. It allows one to see the power to transcend oneself, to overcome the limitations that seemed to have been insurmountable before. In the space where history meets future, therefore, the power to build what is coming is revealed. Those who have discovered this power have also hope, thinking about losing is alien to them, they will not experience despair. Those who have discovered this power know that the future is in their hands.
- Secondly, discovering the tension between what was and what will be. It is about the tension in which an individual and the community can discover the meaning of their lives. Individuals and communities that do not know or are deprived of the sense of life die. Culture which exalts an individual and individual dignity without considering the sense of it becomes a claustrophobic place and eventually a death zone. Culture which dissents from what was and does not look into the future (God’s infinite horizon) narrows the cognition, reduces the potential of individuals and peoples, and thus deprives “today” and “now” of their sense, deprives time and passing of their sense. Depriving culture of its sense means condemning an individual first to imprisonment in the world and to fear which generates individual and collective pathologies, and then condemning one to loneliness, in which nothing remains but to die incessantly. Loneliness is overwhelming, it is the tightest place of death.
- Thirdly, meeting with what constitutes and makes an individual, what constitutes and makes a political community, what constitutes an individual and social forms of human existence. This

meeting becomes an experience of the diachronism of a human being and of political communities. For a human being combines the past with the future. In a sense, generations live or die in a human being. In this experience, paying attention to time should lead to responsibility for one's own and community life, responsibility for the future which is always common. If the experience of time does not lead to responsibility, it is probably because time has been wasted. Wasted time is loveless. And yet it is love that shapes individuals and the community. The tale of history which shapes national identity must be a story of love.

- Fourthly, developing a national vision is necessary to create the power and security of each individual and society. What is meant here is spiritual, intellectual, moral, cultural and material power. They are important for the sake of the defence of people and their memory, due to the security shaping a political community.

Without remembrance it is difficult to talk about any strategic activity, any undertaking aimed at ensuring success. In addition, because memory preserves the past, it somehow makes the latter present in the “now” of the one that remembers, regardless of whether they are a single person or a community. The preservation also means that the contents extracted from memory can be revealed as such without losing cognitive value, as carriers of cognitive wisdom, which is important in every generation. It is to be expected that the one who remembers will make fewer mistakes than the one who forgets. The ones who remember will survive because they know who they are. In this way, the significance of what is commonly referred to as historical policy is revealed. Among the strategic postulates of the national security organization of the Republic of Poland in the 21st century, the following one is rightly listed “to pursue an active historical policy aimed at reaching with reliable knowledge about the history of Poland the entire Polish society, especially young people, in order to make them aware of the sources of national security and the reasons for its loss.”¹⁰ Historical policy consists of:

- Firstly, showing to society the history of Poland and institutions dealing with historical research and its promotion.

¹⁰ J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 51. [own translation]

- Secondly, historical education, consistent throughout the state, at all levels of education. It is a condition for communication within the state, communication that builds a political community.
- Thirdly, support for people fascinated with their homeland's history and promotion of patriotic attitudes. It should be noted at this point that the promotion of patriotic attitudes requires what has been described above as the first and second component of a historical policy. One of the greatest threats to patriotism is depriving it of intellectual grounds resulting from historical and political research. Such activity does not allow patriotism to become a part of national culture, it degrades it to the level of feelings which are characterized by change.
- Fourthly, making historical reflection, supported with specialist research, a part of the foreign policy of the state.

In the thematic sphere designated by the concept of memory, we should consider what is forgotten. However, what is meant here is not being forced to forget, as was the case in Poland during the partitions, then after World War II and the process of "fraternizing" with the communists after 1989. Rather, it is about forgetting what should be remembered when thinking about the history of a political community. After all, the process of discovering and building national identity, on the one hand, uses the memory of common origin, habitation, shared experiences, and on the other hand – there are some things it may wish to forget, like forgetting about originating from different ancestors and about earlier divisions within the group. Those divisions that affected a given community, and whose exposure could lead to the disturbance of an integral vision of a political community are particularly important. Taking this approach into consideration, national memory appears as a kind of reality with its own teleological and projecting character. An individual remembers what others remind him of, what they teach, what they pay attention to, what they celebrate. The acquisition of national identity, with its proper memory and tendency to forget, usually happens so early that it is difficult to describe it as an external or imposed reality. What feeds national identity is practices and rituals occurring naturally, even originating from an individual.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. M. Budyta-Budzyńska, *Socjologia narodu i konfliktów etnicznych*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2010, pp. 105-106.

This feature of national identity is also important from the point of view of national security because it shows that the care for national identity can be coherent with the responsibility for the state. The concern for national memory, supported by inherent historical, philosophical and anthropological research and academic reference is a concern for the identity of a political community, contributing to the promotion of patriotic attitudes. Memory of a political community is about remembrance which shapes common life and boldly leads towards the future. Memory, however, cannot be confused with the identity of a political community. Remembering and passing down memories constitutes a political community enabling it to meet with “another” – another nation, another state, another political community, another political, economic system, another religion. This meeting is absolutely necessary, but it must be preceded by memory. It is necessary to complete the process of creating a political community’s identity. Memory and meeting ‘otherness’ are just the two conditions for identity creation. The order is important here: first memory and then the meeting. When the order is kept, a political community can grow in its own identity while meeting with otherness. In the light of the above, forgetting one’s own history – both by individuals and entire groups – and ignoring the otherness of individuals and groups living alongside seems to mean entering the process of losing one’s own identity and, consequently, the sovereignty of a political community.

1.2. We learn about memory from the ancient Greeks and we experience it in a Christian way

Poles learned about the value of memory, drawing on the wealth of Western civilization. In any case, the development of this civilization was largely possible due to the constant nurturing of memory, both individual and community memory. At the root of this process there are:

- The thinkers of ancient Greece who recollected, read and analysed the experience and legacy of their predecessors;
- The Judeo-Christian contribution along with the Biblical concept of memory and remembrance, which is presented in sacred texts as a force capable of transcending time to make salvation events present in subsequent generations.

The ancients did not only remember, appreciating the power of memory, but also reflected on memory itself. Aristotle dealt with memory as a separate issue, writing a treatise *On Memory and Reminiscence*. Plato was probably the first one who studied the question of memory as we know it. It is impossible not to notice his reflection on memory and the process of reminiscence, when reading such dialogues as *Fedon*, *Menon*, *Sophist* or *Theaetetus* which contains a record of seeking answers to the question of what exactly knowledge is. In this text the author also placed a reflection on a specific carrier of memory in a human. Let us listen to Socrates' talking with Theaetetus:

Socrates: I would have you imagine, then, that there exists in the mind of man a block of wax, which is of different sizes in different men; harder, moister, and having more or less of purity in one than another, and in some of an intermediate quality.

Theaetetus: I see.

Socrates: Let us say that this tablet is a gift of Memory, the mother of the Muses; and that when we wish to remember anything which we have seen, or heard, or thought in our own minds, we hold the wax to the perceptions and thoughts, and in that material receive the impression of them as from the seal of a ring; and that we remember and know what is imprinted as long as the image lasts; but when the image is effaced, or cannot be taken, then we forget and do not know.

Theaetetus: Very good.¹²

At the beginning of the same work by Plato there is a testimony of reflection on the need to support memory by recording, writing down the words heard. The conversation of Euclid and Terpsion on the creation of a text for future generations of people who are involved in various

¹² Plato, Theaetetus, *The Project Gutenberg EBook of Theaetetus, by Plato*, p. 77; [<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1726/1726-h/1726-h.htm>], access on November 30, 2018.

types of writing, especially writing down words heard and describing events, serves as a reminder about the role of memory and the need to control it. This may be expressed by way of a conversation and asking about minutia or some things that are forgotten with time. Euclid asked by Terpsion if he could repeat from memory what he had heard earlier from Socrates, replies “No”, but his refusal becomes the beginning of a testimony of credibility for the written words of Socrates. It is also worth noting the respect of the interlocutors for the words of the wise man and the time that they do not want to waste on doing nothing; while resting, they also want to think about something, maybe learn something more. Let us listen to the words of these ancient interlocutors:

Terpsion: (...) But what was the conversation? Can you tell me?

Euclid: No, indeed, not offhand; but I took notes of it as soon as I got home; these I filled up from memory, writing them out at leisure; and whenever I went to Athens, I asked Socrates about any point which I had forgotten, and on my return I made corrections; thus I have nearly the whole conversation written down.

I remember – you told me; and I have always been intending to ask you to show me the writing, but have put off doing so; and now, why should we not read it through? Having just come from the country, I should greatly like to rest.

Euclid: I too shall be very glad of a rest, for I went with Theaetetus as far as Erineum. Let us go in, then, and, while we are reposing, the servant shall read to us.

Terpsion: Very good.¹³

In Christian literature, we encounter a reflection, significant for future generations, on memory left to descendants by St Augustine: “Great is this force of memory, excessive great, O my God; a large and boundless chamber! who ever sounded the bottom thereof? yet is this a power of

¹³ Ibidem, p. 43.

mine, and belongs unto my nature.”¹⁴ In the same work – *Confessions* – the early Christian bishop writes: “For even beasts and birds have memory; else could they not return to their dens and nests, nor many other things they are used unto: nor indeed could they be used to any thing, but by memory. I will pass then beyond memory also, that I may arrive at Him who hath separated me from the four-footed beasts and made me wiser than the fowls of the air, I will pass beyond memory also, and where shall I find Thee, Thou truly good and certain sweetness? And where shall I find Thee? If I find Thee without my memory, then do I not retain Thee in my memory. And how shall I find Thee, if I remember Thee not?”¹⁵

The teaching of the Bishop of Hippo corresponds with the Biblical message. In the Holy Scripture, memory is peculiar to God who, remembering what He has created, sustains the world in existence. God’s memory is an active reality, and God, mindful of people, cares for them.¹⁶ People, being created in the image and likeness of God, are equipped with the ability to remember, which also has an element of creating reality in it, of course not *ex nihilo* – which is only peculiar to the Creator. By remembering, people do not only participate in the divine process active in the world, but also, in a way, they become it. Using memory for learning, people draw closer to God, memory connects them with the source and beginning of the universe and all relations. Individual memory of a human being, which is a trace of God, appears as an openness to relations, reassures a human among other creatures, indicating human uniqueness. However, common memory, peculiar to believers, is more than the sum of the memories of individuals. Memory of a single believer, being a part of the relationship with God, requires a reference to the community.

¹⁴ St. Augustine, *Confessions*, translated by Edward B. Pusey, D. D., Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, p. 186 [http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0354-0430,_Augustinus,_Confessionum_Libri_Tredecim-Pusey_Transalation,_EN.pdf] access on December 1, 2018.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, X, 17, p. 132.

¹⁶ Cf. Ps 8: 4-5: “When I see your heavens, the work of your fingers, the moon and stars that you set in place—What is man that you are mindful of him, and a son of man that you care for him.” The New American Bible [<http://www.usccb.org/bible/psalms/8>], access on November 30, 2018.

1.3. Thanks to memory, we know who a human being is

Martin Heidegger rightly pointed out that in no epoch did a human become as problematic as in ours.¹⁷ Perhaps at any time such a sentence would find its justification. However, when it resounds in the context of the present, it encourages a paradoxical insight: the question of a human being and humanity has never been given as much space in history as in modern times. This does not mean, however, that we can stop at reflecting and learning the truth about ourselves as people. “What is your idea of a human being?”¹⁸ This is the question asked by John Paul II to young people in the context of the reflection on the creation of peace. The answer to this question is also an important premise in building security. It may contain a postulate to be involved in activities for peace, information about the concept of co-creation of the world, everyday life and the culture of common life. This answer should probably contain possibly the fullest narrative about a human being and the space in which a human being is revealed. It is difficult to create security without learning about people who are really living, along with everything that shapes them, and therefore, including history, religions or their absence. It must be remembered that the way people want to build security and peace is closely related to how they understand themselves.

If philosophical anthropology, but also many other anthropologies, are born out of questions that people ask to get to know themselves, it should be said that creating security and building peace between people and in the world must consider the same questions in their foundation. Thinkers are fascinated by the originality of a human being. People appear to them, among others, as formless and unfulfilled animals, sophisticated predators and wild beasts (Friedrich W. Nietzsche), and at the same time, creatures marked by the lack of what is peculiar to predators, even the lack of fur, and thus natural protection against weather conditions, the

¹⁷ Cf. M. Heidegger, *Kant und das Problem der Metaphysik*, Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main 1951, p. 189.

¹⁸ Cf. John Paul II, Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace, 1 January 1985, *Peace And Youth Go Forward Together* (Dec 08, 1984), no 4. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/messages/peace/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19841208_xviii-world-day-for-peace.html], access on November 30, 2018.

lack of an efficient body to escape. Most animals have sharper senses than us humans and do not require unprecedented and long-term care of their young. To survive, people must eliminate their own shortcomings (Arnold Gehlen). Human's essence cannot be described (Theodor W. Adorno), and vital human dynamisms cannot be united in any system (Niklas Luhmann). If, therefore, there is no way to understand human identity, philosophical anthropology loses its *raison d'être* (Martin Heidegger). The developments of new anthropology¹⁹ are only its systematized presentations of individual broad issues, "parts" that do not lead to a transparent synthesis – an integral vision of a human being. Philosophical anthropology therefore seems to be losing its clarity, which is becoming even more noticeable with a negative response to the ability to understand human identity. The answers that are not without significance in the weakening of the voice of philosophical anthropology are the ones that have grown based on medicine, biology, sociology, psychology, linguistics and – what is particularly important for the topic of this study – security studies. Empiricism which is peculiar to them seems to attract us with its easier accessibility of argumentation. When people ask about themselves, they realize that, firstly, they want to know, secondly, that they want to know "themselves" and "others", and thirdly, that they can ask with hope for an answer. The fate of individuals, small communities, entire nations and humanity depends on the answers to questions about a human being, on the understanding and definition of a human being, because security and peace, but also war, depend on anthropology.

The memory of human complexity manifests itself especially when we think about a human being seen between the beginning and the end, between war and peace, and referring to the Bible, between the *Book of Genesis* and the *Book of the Apocalypse*. In learning about a human being, an integral vision is needed without extremes, describing a human being in the fullest possible way. That is why we are talking about a human being seen "in between." John Paul II compared in one of his catecheses the life of a human being to a pilgrim's trip along the banks of a river. This river is the history of the presence of God and His revelation in human history. He referred to two images from the *Holy Scripture*: first, to the

¹⁹ Cf. H. -G. Gadamer, P. Vogler, *Neue Anthropologie*, v. I-VII, Georg Thieme Verlag, Stuttgart i Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München 1972-1975.

river described in the Book of Genesis²⁰ and, secondly, to the river from the Apocalypse²¹: “As a brief sketch of this journey, today we will dwell on the two extremities of that river: its source and its mouth, joining them in a single horizon. The divine Trinity, in fact, is at the very origins of existence and history and is present in their final goal. It constitutes the beginning and the end of salvation history. Between the two extremities, the garden of Eden (cf. Gn 2) and the tree of life in the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. Rv 22), flows a long history marked by darkness and light, by sin and grace. Sin has separated us from the splendour of God’s paradise; redemption brings us back to the glory of a new heaven and a new earth, where «death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain any more» (ibid., 21: 4).”²² In the passage of the Pope’s statement quoted here, one can hear not only the theologian and philosopher speaking about the Holy Trinity appearing as the beginning and purpose of human life, but one can also see a reflection on a human – a pilgrim through the earthly world to the Promised Land. Learning about a human being and human life, this “long history, filled with darkness and light, sin and grace”, is an important task for those who want to help people to live in a safe world. Referring to the image recalled by John Paul II, one can see something more in it, namely important information about a human being. First of all, the truth about a human being is not only contained in “darkness” and “sin”, but also in “light” and “grace”; secondly, it is a “long story”, which means that simple and short narratives are inadequate; thirdly, people have something of God in them, and just like Him are the heroes of the *Book of Genesis* and the *Book of the Apocalypse*; and fourthly, it is about the redemption, the “new heaven” and “new earth”, and that “there shall be no more death or mourning, wailing [...]” This last element seems particularly important. One must recognize in it the hope that is peculiar to a human being. It appears to be an important truth about a human, perhaps no less important than the fact that people have something of God

²⁰ Cf. Gn. 2:10. [All quotes from the Bible, unless otherwise stated, come from The New American Bible available on the official website of the Holy See under the following web address: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0839/_INDEX.HTM]

²¹ Cf. Rv. 22:1.

²² John Paul II, General Audience Wednesday 19 January 2000 [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/audiences/2000/documents/hf_jp-ii_aud_20000119.html], access on November 30, 2018.

in themselves. Due to our memory a human being is not only complex, not only spanning extremes such as war and peace, but also – which is perhaps even more important – can recognise “a mystery” and what is an invitation to “cognition.” One of the elements of the contribution of philosophical anthropology and theological anthropology to the anthropology of security should be a reflection on a human seen just as a “mystery” and the space of “cognition.”

For a human being living in “between” – the beginning and the end, war and peace – not only the surrounding world is a mystery and provokes many questions, but a human being is a constant unknown to oneself. Of both these mysteries, the latter seems to be the one which is more tormenting and requiring an answer. The words of the Encyclical Letter *Fides et Ratio* remain in force: “The admonition «Know yourself» was carved on the temple portal at Delphi, as testimony to a basic truth to be adopted as a minimal norm by those who seek to set themselves apart from the rest of creation as «human beings», that is as those who «know themselves».”²³ In the above words one should hear an appeal addressed not only to the Christian world, but to every human being to look at themselves, at their own humanity. The words from *Fides et Ratio* are a clear imperative, calling for the question to be asked: Who is a human being?²⁴ The answer to this question seems to bring essential content to the processes of creating security, both in what concerns individuals, but

²³ John Paul II, *Encyclical Letter Fides Et Ratio* (Sept 14, 1998), no 1. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091998_fides-et-ratio.html], access on November 30, 2018.

²⁴ In the quoted *Fides et Ratio* (No. 1), John Paul II points to a sequence of questions which are the development of the call to “know yourself”: “Moreover, a cursory glance at ancient history shows clearly how in different parts of the world, with their different cultures, there arise at the same time the fundamental questions which pervade human life: Who am I? Where have I come from and where am I going? Why is there evil? What is there after this life?” These are the questions which we find in the sacred writings of Israel, as also in the Veda and the Avesta; we find them in the writings of Confucius and Lao-Tze, and in the preaching of Tirthankara and Buddha; they appear in the poetry of Homer and in the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, as they do in the philosophical writings of Plato and Aristotle. They are questions which have their common source in the quest for meaning which has always compelled the human heart. In fact, the answer given to these questions decides the direction which people seek to give to their lives.” [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091998_fides-et-ratio.html], access on November 30, 2018.

also nations and states. Without considering the answer to this question, every reflection on the creation of security is at risk of extremity, which is characteristic of ideologies. The effectiveness of the processes of creating national security depends also on the reflection on a human being, human complexity and dignity.

Human memory is the memory of a “mystery” which one carries inside oneself and which is the beginning of knowledge of oneself and of the world. Let us stop at the word “mystery.” Which meaning of the word “mystery” is meant when we talk about a human as about a “mystery”? Typically, mystery means obscurity which does not allow one to understand and describe a given reality, distances one from knowledge and truth. In Christianity, however, mystery has a thoroughly positive meaning. When a human being is defined as a mystery, it does not mean that one is impenetrable and unknowable and should not be a subject of research, but only accepted. It is the opposite. A human being is a mystery not because one lacks logic or sense, but on the contrary, one is permeated with logic, because at the beginning of a human being there is the Logos of the Father. Human beings are a mystery because of their inherent sense, because individuals emanate from the love that precedes them, and because of their “excess” of logic and sense. The richness of logic and sense is so full that our possibilities of perception are still insufficient. However, this “excess” of logic is not a curse, but hope – hope not only in the cognitive process, but also hope for a human being who recognizes oneself in one’s complexity. The mystery of a human being invites one to learn. A human being we are talking about as a “mystery”, remains a mystery not only for oneself, but also for other people. This means that each second and third person also appears as a mystery, as a unique “someone” to be recognized, and as “those” who are together, who also need to be looked at and to be known. Already at the very beginning, because in the very idea of the need to know a human being, something reminding of human dignity is revealed. A human being appears to be worthy of knowing, and therefore worthy of taking time to do it, worthy of reflection. The same applies to society which is also perceived as worthy of a cognitive effort. In this approach, the one who learns discovers one’s own dignity. In this way, in our consideration of a human being, an important truth about people becomes evident. It is not only the dignity of every human being,

but the human relationality that reveals it. A human being reveals his or her self not only as one living together with other people, but also one who constantly remains a co-human. Simply speaking, an individual is never just "oneself", but also always a part of a community. To be open to the greatest possible complexity of a human being, one must remember that just as learning about an individual cannot be done in separation from the second and third person, so it cannot be done without reference to God, and thus without the relationality to which He introduces a human being. A human being is revealed not only in "oneself" but also in the "between". A human being manifests oneself in the relations "between" people and God, "between" oneself and the world, "between" God and the world and – very simply – "between" people. Human relationality brings one not only an everyday experience of violence and war, but also brotherhood, love and friendship.

One security threat is to forget that a human being carries at the same time the ability to start and conduct wars as well as to build peace. Ancient sources which record the content related to war and peace are not only a testimony of their authors "wanting" to remember this dichotomy, but also are a constant reminder of the truth about people. Forgetting about the war constantly threatening people is just as dangerous as forgetting about the possibility of peaceful solutions to conflicts faced by subsequent generations.

The history of humanity, which we know and learn, is to a large extent a history of wars between which there are longer or shorter periods of peace. Parties to conflicts were (and still are) nations, tribes, cities, states, and civilizations – generally speaking – "interest groups". The first known ruler calling for peace was Ashoka, an Indian king from the 3rd century BC. Having seen the suffering and pain caused by war, he renounced them. He proclaimed his decision in public and called his entire kingdom to abandon the fight. He encouraged neighbouring states to adopt the same attitude. The oldest sources known to us, whether written or iconographic, are the testimony of wars. To refer to the example from Mesopotamia, let us mention the first known stele (Stele of the Vultures) showing war and its effects, tragedy and triumph. Moving to ancient Egypt, one should notice a specific "document", a slate tablet in the form of a palette with the name of the ruler – Narmer on it. He ruled Upper

Egypt in the beginning of the third millennium BC. On this pallet, we can see how Narmer is raising a mace (club?) to hit the head of a fallen opponent. On the reverse side of this “document” the same ruler is shown as a victor next to the corpses of defeated enemies with their heads cut off. These ancient testimonies point to the truth about a human being who fights and kills. Recalling the Biblical picture, one can say that people have killed people from the beginning of their existence, from the time of Cain and Abel described in the fourth chapter of the Book of Genesis. The argument advocating war can be any human experience, not only such as pain, sadness, anger, fear, regret, jealousy, lust, but also love or religious experience. History has often shown that religion, if it is not a direct cause of war, is often one of the forces used to fuel the conflict.

The *Holy Scripture*, and especially the history of Israel recorded in it, addresses the question of war, which is often the subject of research and studies both historical and theological. The *Old Testament* profusely presents descriptions of wars, and God is shown in it, among others, as a warrior, “*God of Hosts*”,²⁵ reviewing troops before battle.²⁶ Hence, there was a separate book, the “Book of the Wars of the Lord” with epic descriptions, a fragment of which is contained in the Book of Numbers.²⁷ The Israelites lived in the belief that God was fighting on their side.²⁸ This state of affairs helped to develop the concept of a “holy war.”²⁹ When reading the *Old Testament*, however, it should be remembered that it is a text that speaks not only of God, but also of a human being. In the light of the *New Testament*, earlier books appear as a path, an element of God’s pedagogy towards a human being, leading to peace. The central concept of the *Old Testament*, which in the Christian tradition will acquire a special messianic meaning is the text about the “Prince of Peace”³⁰ ruling “His dominion [...] vast and forever peaceful, From David’s throne.”³¹ There are no descriptions of wars in the *New Testament*, but the question of death and life remains central. The main event is the death and resurrection of

²⁵ Cf. Am. 4, 13; Ho. 12:6; Is. 13:13.

²⁶ Cf. Is. 13:4.

²⁷ Cf. Nu. 21:14.

²⁸ Cf. Deut. 20:1-4.

²⁹ Cf. Jer. 51:27-28.

³⁰ Cf. Is. 9:5.

³¹ Cf. Is. 9:6.

Jesus. The theme of peace appears in the immediate announcement of the coming of the Son of God to the earth, when we read about the times to come when people's steps will return to the "path of peace."³² After the birth of Jesus, angels proclaim peace: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to those on whom his favour rests."³³ Then, in the teaching of Jesus, the theme of peace appears repeatedly, including the gift of peace, which appears to be the primary gift of the resurrected Redeemer.³⁴ This does not mean, however, that the *New Testament*, along with the description of the coming of Christ, is a simple call for pacifism. It should be remembered that the first-ever baptized pagan was a soldier, and at his baptism, he was not asked to renounce his state and give up what he had done up to that moment.³⁵

Narrations about a human being and human complexity should become a source of searching for creative answers to the questions of future generations. However, this will not happen if the seekers follow the path of anthropological reductionism, understood as a view of a human being that omits some important dimensions of an individual or focuses only on some. A human being is someone who has corporeality, sexuality, an intellectual, emotional, spiritual, moral, social, religious, axiological sphere. Focusing on one dimension of a human being, it is easy to ignore the others. The essence of anthropological reductionism is, therefore, the vision of a human being which is narrow or detached from the real-historical experience. Ideologies, "political correctness" and various "fashions" that lure thinkers with novelty have invariably been fodder for anthropological reductionism. Despite the tragic experience resulting from the ideologies of the twentieth century, reductionistic thinking is still a real threat due to the promotion of hedonistic materialism and technological prometheism. Meanwhile, the complexity of a human being can become a source of hope for a better future. It is in human complexity that human potential lies as well as strength to build a safer world and peace between people and nations. In this way, the memory about and of a human being becomes one of the ways to build a safe world.

³² Cf. Lk. 1:79.

³³ Lk. 2:14.

³⁴ Cf. Lk. 24:36; Jn. 14:27; 16:33; 20, 19. 21. 26.

³⁵ Cf. Acts 10-11.

1.4. From memory to wisdom

Like the memory of a single human being, the memory of a nation and the memory of a political community are the source of wisdom. Memory is a constant reminder that the life of a human being and a nation is endangered from the very beginning, in a sense “from conception.” To deprive a nation of memory means to deprive it of the ability to think about threats, and this means overpowering it and putting in captivity. The memory of a nation is not just something closed in the past, something that we have access to in the present. It involves a constant leaning towards the future, it is even the memory of the future. It is the memory of the nation that lets us talk about what is coming. Without the experience of the past, the future may appear as determined, usually without hope. Such thinking takes the form of the following observations: “we cannot do anything now”, “it must be so”, “we will lose.” Every day in Poland, in narratives that intend to shape social life, the culture of common life, the functioning of the political community, there is struggle going on over a privileged position, a privileged voice in what concerns the role and content of collective memory. The fight for collective memory, for national memory, does not result, however, from passion for history, it is definitely more about the future. This struggle reveals not only the ambitions of various institutions and environments, but above all a realistic conviction which implies that it is in the past, or rather in its assessment, that a way to legitimize their current and future position and significance should be sought.

The analysis of national security threats based on observations of the present and drawing on experience – memory – is aimed at building the future. The answer to the awareness of threats is the contemporary development of security studies, extending beyond the issues of wars and armed forces. Research is conducted in various sectors of human life and knowledge: social, military, political, economic, public, environmental and cultural. Due to the complexity of the security question and the diversity of issues related to it, an analysis characteristic of security studies and of polarization of human questions itself should consider the multiplicity of disciplines and methods, in accordance with the nature of the subject studied. The multidimensionality and multifaceted nature of security studies reflects the truth about a human being, human complexity,

greatness, possibilities and dignity. Also, in the analyses, projects and activities related to the creation of national security, a multidimensional and multifaceted approach is necessary. Security is national security only when it takes into account the truth about the whole human being, when it remembers about the whole nation, when it remembers about their complexity. Otherwise, national security becomes a caricature of security, it secures particularisms. Therefore, a wide range of research in creating national security is necessary. This process will not exist in its full and expected effectiveness without the participation of many disciplines: philosophy, history, political science, law, cultural studies, psychology, sociology, economics, natural sciences, pedagogy and theology. Such a multifaceted approach is a starting point not only for defining security studies and drawing on the experience of military sciences, but also for dealing with the content resulting from research in various anthropologies, such as cultural, philosophical, theological and religious anthropology. It should not be surprising that theology and theological anthropology should be considered. Polish experience in this sphere and Polish national memory are unambiguous. Taking theology into consideration is also an indication of religiously motivated: human involvement, functioning in society, understanding of responsibility, e.g. for national heritage, homeland, culture, social order, international order, peace. The concept of theology includes: the reflection on the functioning of the Church in society, interreligious dialogue, ecumenism, Catholic social teaching, eschatology, but also fundamentalism. Without taking this content into account in the case of Poland, but probably also many other countries, it is impossible to fully reflect on society, the decisions of voters and political changes, and legal acts that are being created. As Aleksandra Skrabacz rightly notices, writing about the contemporary development of research on threats and security studies: "The wide range of security needs and overwhelming threats accompanying them makes us feel a special need to incorporate and use in activities aimed to create security all entities available to contemporary states and societies."³⁶ For the above mentioned author of the monograph on social security in the Polish reality, this means referring, among other things, to the

³⁶ A. Skrabacz, *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne. Podstawy teoretyczne i praktyczne*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warsaw 2012, p. 12. [own translation]

significance and role of the Catholic Church as well as other Churches and religious associations.³⁷

Great military conflicts of the twentieth century and the experience of the early twenty-first century, including terrorist attacks, leave no doubt that the inclusion of theology is important for the processes creating security. However, it should be stressed that research in the field of religious studies, undoubtedly providing essential content, is in this case insufficient. It demands supplementation of the content “from the inside” of religion. Creating security remains closely related to the religion of a given society. This is well expressed by Józef Marczak – a researcher dealing with the theory of national security in Poland, military strategy and territorial defence. In one study, he states that the rejection of religion and tradition by the French Revolution and the Bolshevik revolution led Europe to the path of utopian madness of social and state experiments whose price were millions of victims, war damage and, consequently, the continuing collapse of Europe. For Józef Marczak, the retreat from religion, which took place in Western Europe, and whose example was the opposition of the authors of the *European Union Constitution* to referring to Christian values in it, is a suicide act which poses a threat of an inevitable moral anarchy.³⁸

Recognizing the situation defined as a threat should lead to the search for real solutions that can contribute to the creation of security. Theology should be found among many fields that support security studies. The practice of the Church's life, which, realizing its own mission locally as well as on the international arena, is often associated with constantly undertaken actions for security, dignity of life of individual people as well as entire social groups and nations. This fact leads to a fundamental reflection on the correlation of theology and security studies. Undoubtedly, the Catholic Church is currently the largest single organization speaking on the international arena about the need to ensure human security from conception to natural death. It should be remembered that the cooperation of theology and broadly understood reflection inspired by theology with

³⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 233-244.

³⁸ Cf. J. Marczak, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w XXI wieku. Wyzwania i strategię*, R. Jakubczak, J. Marczak (ed.), Bellona, Warsaw 2011, pp. 32-33.

security studies is not a new phenomenon, it has already had its good experience. The reflection on war developed in history by theologians influenced societies and rulers' decisions. It can be illustrated with the examples of the thought of Saint Augustine (d. 430), Saint Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), Saint Raymond of Penyafort (d. 1275), who in *Summa de Casibus Poenitentiae* defined five conditions that must be met to declare a war a 'just war'. The contemporary commitment of the Vatican and the diplomacy of the Holy See to peace is also meaningful.³⁹

In the case of Poland, the memory of the Church has repeatedly appeared in history as being at the service of the memory of the nation. In the case of Poland, the Church can be even called a protagonist and defender of national memory. While upholding the right to ministrative activity, to live in society, and not only influencing it (which is the way of operating of entities external in relation to the nation), by demanding freedom of religious activity, it paved the way to citizens' freedom. Polish saints and the blessed, shown in the community of believers as models of life or transformation of life – conversion, were often closely related to national life. Using the vocabulary of security studies, it can be said about many of them that they were the creators of identity, social and cultural security in Poland. The words, said every day in the Church's liturgy, "Remember..." (Lat. *Meménto, Dómine...*) addressed to God, regarding both the living and the dead, are not without influence on the understanding of the role of remembering in society. Just as the Church remembers and even asks God to remember about a human being and all creation, believers in their daily lives should discover the role of memory. National memory in Poland is to a great extent shaped by the theological understanding of memory and the ritual understanding of memory connected with it. God is the One who remembers His Nation, the Nation demands

³⁹ Cf. C. Migliore, *Stolica Apostolska wobec współczesnych problemów związanych z bezpieczeństwem międzynarodowym*, in: *Chrześcijaństwo i bezpieczeństwo. Znaczenie Jana Pawła II w dyskursie polemologiczno-irenologicznym*, T. Kośmider, K. Gąsiorek, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II, Warsaw 2014, pp. 23-32; J. Czaja, *Aktywność międzynarodowa Stolicy Apostolskiej oraz członkostwo w organizacjach międzynarodowych*, in: *Chrześcijaństwo i bezpieczeństwo. Znaczenie Jana Pawła II w dyskursie polemologiczno-irenologicznym*, T. Kośmider, K. Gąsiorek, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II, Warsaw 2014, pp. 49-65.

this memory, in individual and common life, the nation remembers about God, His works in history, His rule over everything and everyone. In Poland, one can speak about a religious function of memory in the creation of national security, first, in the dimension related to identity and culture, but also social matters – the memory of God becomes the memory of a human being, a fellow human being in need. Polish narrations arising over the centuries regarding possessing its own territory, independence of the homeland, individual and collective freedom very often referred to the Biblical vision of God caring for His Nation (the Chosen Nation), God giving His nation land and freedom. It should be remembered that the Christian understanding of memory, and especially *Meménto...* pronounced during the liturgy is constantly leaning towards the future. For it is not only about what God was like and what He is like, but also what He will turn out to be like in the future, both worldly and eschatological. The understanding of memory developed based on theology can be one of the elements useful for creating cohesion and order in society and helpful in moving from national memory to wisdom.

1.5. Conclusions

The contents concerning memory in the thinking about Poland's national security presented in the above chapter lead us to formulate some basic conclusions.

1. In building a political community's identity, memory allows those who create it to realize their social nature and a courageous community of free people. The same memory becomes for them a constant school of diplomacy, not only in the sense that history is the master of life, but also because it opens the way to a diachronic community. For memory, exceeding time, increases the power of those forming a political community through synchronous communion in the "today" of every generation looking into the future. There is no room for despotism in such a community, but for the privilege of rational justice and the resulting order, for which axiology is the point of reference. Memory in a political community is the strength of rational freedom and order, constant opposition to anarchy and submission to enslavement. Such a community, being an association of free people, desires subjectivity, which is supported by the

fact that, firstly, the people who create it constitute a cause for themselves and, secondly, they recognize and define the goal they want and achieve, with their legally established authorities helping them.

2. Memory can be seen as one of the main ways of distinguishing between what is individual and what is common. It guarantees that an individual will not "dissolve" in a community. A political community in which individuals do not preserve memory ceases to be a community, and becomes a group of random people who, having no roots, are unable to set goals. Building a political community will not be possible only on the basis of shared memory. It is individual memory being the condition of individual self-awareness that is important. However, it is about such self-awareness that can become the force of a rational life amid the fullness of emotional experiences related to the functioning among other people.

3. The analysis of the functioning of totalitarian ideologies and systems leads to aspirations to make collective memory disappear, i.e. the purging of the collective memory stored for the common good of society. In totalitarian ideologies and systems, changes in the common memory turn out to be one of the ways of exercising power. The narrative of such an authority is focused on what is coming, on building the future, which, however, is in contradiction to looking back, remembering the past. Totalitarian ideologies and systems see common memory and national traditions as their enemy, so "tomorrow", their main interest, cannot grow out of "yesterday", and history is not so much studied as it is written, freshly created as a product built on the ruins of the destroyed past. Therefore, in Poland after World War II Catholicism was recognized as the main enemy. A part of the Catholic doctrine is the strong emphasis on tradition and memory. An ideological system of the totalitarian communist state could not allow anyone other than the party to teach about the past and thus build the continuity of the national identity of Poles.

2. Identity – the “condition” for thinking about national security of Poland

Self-reflection on a nation’s memories allows that nation a deeper reflection on its cultural and national identity.⁴⁰

Thus, a fuller reflection on the contemporary Polish political landscape is made possible. Of course, the actors in the drama of national identity have many faces. They show the strength and pain of the community; the hope of tomorrow being fashioned from yesterday and the suffering of being torn apart in the world of today. These facets appear to subsequent generations who also discover that it is these individual and common facets that lay bare their identity. For Poles of the first decades of the 21st century, the drama of national identity raises several challenges:

- To choose between being Polish or European
- Understanding the state sovereignty and the creation of the European community
- Religion and desacralization
- The defencelessness of an individual and the strength of society
- Ethics and the temptation of relativism.

⁴⁰ Cf. P. Warchoń, *Polsko, ojczyzno moja! Twoja tożsamość wczoraj, dziś i jutro*, Wydawnictwo “Bernardinum”, Pelplin, 2017. The monograph by prof. Jacek Grzybowski: J. Grzybowski, *Byt, Tożsamość, Naród. Próba wyjaśnienia formuły “tożsamość narodowa” w perspektywie metafizyki*, Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, Kety 2012 is a very important study on the concept of “national identity” in the perspective of metaphysics.

Reflection on national identity is a pre-requisite for constructive thinking about creating national security. The importance of this is apparent when we notice changes in narratives about national identity in Poland. In the first 25 years of the Third Polish Republic, liberal-democratic and European accounts prevailed, often as if external to Poland, and the internal ones were characterized by historical amnesia and a sense of shame towards the West. After this period, the conservative-national narrative began to gain credence, as this better fitted the Polish known historical narrative of building its cultural and economic power, free and fighting to maintain freedom.

The manner of addressing national security favoured today is within the sphere of identity analytics shining a light on the paradigm that loss of an individual citizen's identity is one of the basic threats to national security. Using the word “citizen” should be against the backdrop of the task of building a civic society which is apparent to every generation of Poles. However, it is also a reference to the “first man” who named himself a Polish citizen (*civis Polonie*) as early as 1153, which was pointed out by Andrzej Nowak in *Dzieje Polski [History of Poland]*. Zbylut from the Paluk family called himself a citizen of Poland in the document that founded the Cistercian monastery in Lekno in Greater Poland.⁴¹

2.1. Contemporary need for identity

Individual and common identity is probably something more than what I already know about myself and more than what we already know together about us. It is more than what emerges on the horizon of the path when tracing the convergence between “I” and “us.” It is also something

⁴¹ Cf. A. Nowak, *Dzieje Polski. Tom I to 1202. Skąd nasz ród*, Biały Kruk, Kraków 2014, p. 278. The Polish historian comments in the following way the *civis Polonie* record confirmed in the foundation of the monastery: “Zbylut, a man from outside of the dynasty, naturally belonging to a group of the powerful and influential, chose for himself such an unusual term: not a subject of the prince, but a Polish citizen, co-responsible for its affairs. This is a fascinating combination of the idea of citizenship with a non-particularistic, urban community as it had already happened at that time in northern Italy, but with a large, countrywide, and even – we can risk saying – national community. I cannot find (has anybody else found?) an example of a citizen of Germany or a citizen of Ruthenia or even a citizen of England, France, Czechia or Hungary from this era.” [own translation] Ibid pp. 278-279.

more than the ability of “I” and “us” to integrate in time: 1) similarities and differences, 2) recognized (and unrecognized) innate tendencies and features acquired as a result of performing different roles. In the resulting self-diagnosis and narrative, incompleteness and understatement seem to bring us closer to answers to the most important questions about identity. Who am I (who are we)? Who do I want to be (who do we want to be)? Who do I want to see in myself (who do we want to see in ourselves)? And above all: who do I want to reveal and show to others (who do we want to reveal and show to others)? These are the questions that arise in the context of reflection on the identity needs of the interested and searching “I” and “us”. Behind these questions lies the drama of individuals and societies, the drama of an individual as such and an individual seen in society. These questions indicate the need for identity, its recognition and possession, which grows with communication (clash with otherness), the desire to reveal oneself to others or, on the contrary, the will not to reveal oneself. The scene where this drama takes place seems to be constantly expanding. The reason for this is probably 1) human disappointment resulting from the smallness of the globalized world, 2) development of reductionistic anthropologies that do not seek the integral vision of a human being, 3) the virtual world full of content not only constructing avatars but wanting to define the subjectivity of a human being and society. A hunch that identity is “something more than what...”, makes us seek different types of cohesion in time and space, in different periods of life, in social situations and roles played. It is a search for the unity of existence, one’s own distinctiveness, individuality and uniqueness. Fear may unfortunately be the strength of this search. First, the fear of the lack of sense of continuity of one’s own existence in time, and then the fear of losing oneself, losing oneself on the scene of the theatre of life which is being expanded by the virtual world. It is also the fear of a secularized human being living after the ideologies that brought Auschwitz and Gulags. Such a human being is doomed to fear until one discovers transcendence, a personal God, the dignity of every human being and the possibility of doing good even in places such as concentration camps and gulags. The Saints of the times and territories of Nazism and communism sought their identity guided not by fear but by love. However, as long as fear is the strength of this search, one should expect, first of all, an increase in

the participation of extremisms in social life, and secondly, that the discovered identities will be full of limitations – the inability to transcend oneself, to choose a greater good than the one that one can achieve as a human being, and therefore they will be incapable of creative thinking. In the world of identity devoid of creativity, it is difficult to expect the development of philosophy – the love of thinking. What remains is only dealing with its history.

Political communities – just like individuals – must face their own identity every day and the identity of those who they recognize as “other”, or at least as “second” or “third”. Therefore, it is necessary to reflect on the social identity of individuals with their sense of fulfilling specific roles and their place in society. However, because social identity in a person’s life transforms, which results from the changeability of the place and role of a person in society, an individual needs support from the community. Starting with the family community, which has enormous potential for support, through religious communities, communities focused on values, culture, work, to a nation and a political community. The condition of this support is the indisputability of dignity of every human being, and above all the right to life. Only a community with a clear and legally guaranteed axiology, which is the effect of reflection on a human being and one’s dignity, drawing from the “memory about a human being”, can give permanent support. It is the support that enables an individual to co-create the culture of common life and the security of a political community.

For a political community to face its own identity requires respect for people and history and drawing from the memory of the nation. Poles know how important it is to remember social life and the culture of common life because they experienced the communist ideology characterized by the decomposition of the national narrative which had any connection with foreign models and schemes. These were patterns and schemata developed in the USSR, concerning both understanding and functioning of an individual human being and society. A characteristic feature of this decomposition of the national narrative and its modelling in Poland after World War II was selective memory, leaving certain facts unsaid and forgotten. The “new identity” could not let Poles remember their history, their attachment to the land and their love for freedom, their contribution to European culture, their republicanism, their Christianity and their ties

with Rome. Therefore, the “new identity” needed to identify enemies both external (e.g. American and English imperialism) as well as internal: social groups, such as farmers and entrepreneurs (capitalist element), political and religious organizations and institutions. Of course, workers on strike and all those identifying themselves with Solidarity were enemies. The “new identity” created in communist Poland “liked” enemies who could be systematically defined, pointed at, sought, caught and condemned, even to death as “enemies of the people”.

The narrative about the identity of future Europe is permeated by mutually exclusive concepts: similarity and distinctiveness, continuity and change. Inside it voices shout about the content resulting from the presence of subsequent countries in the European Union, discussions about the values that can build the future Old Continent, the fall of communism, social issues, ineptitude in solving immigration problems. It is not surprising in such circumstances that the people turn towards the national and local identity narrative. This is the effect of individuals being lost on the expanding stage of the drama of the shrinking world. Its shrinking should probably be understood in relation to the flattening of values to hedonism and consumerism. Therefore, a narrative wanting to describe the identity of a future Europe must describe the struggle between the power of globalization and the need for greater self-awareness and cohesion, and thus greater self-steering in the context of the reconstruction of nation states. The growing importance of the contemporary need for local and national identities results, however, not only from the need for self-governing of states, but also the development of a reflective processes of creating security. What is not without impact in the search for local and national identities is the fact that references to security are present in almost all areas of individual and collective life becoming a sound-bite and buzz word.⁴²

⁴² I use the term “fetish” here, because the contemporary reference in the argumentation from the area of common life, organization of work, leisure, sport, science, art in relation to security sounds like a magical formula, reality conjuring. The very statement that it is about the security of someone, something, “should bring luck”, “should satisfy desires”, “enchant reality”.

2.2. The complexity of thinking about identities

The processes of creating Poland's national security are, of course, influenced by current thinking about identity in the sphere of Western civilization. Meanwhile, studies by individual researchers within social sciences concerning identity differ in almost everything: from the importance of identity research in contemporary sciences, through the ontological status of the subjects of identity, the definitions of identity, the possibilities of researching it and the research tools used for this purpose. Examining the problem of identity, Paweł Ścigaj rightly observes that this concept has become one of the basic terms used to describe the “new times”. Identity seemed to the researcher also as something problematic, worth fighting for, worth building and worth having.⁴³ Leszek Korporowicz specifies research areas regarding identity issues. He claims that the issue of identity “has become a question about the human condition of a dignified life in the situation of a belief that almost everything can be designed, has become a question about the non-instrumental values of civilization and the experience of a human being who faces a challenge, but also the responsibility of designing oneself.”⁴⁴ The concept of identity has found its place in subsequent research areas. It turns out that it is desirable in academic discourse to describe and demonstrate both the good of individuals as well as communities. A multitude of analyses contributed to the development of a specific identity policy, which was reflected in the aspirations and claims made by various social groups regarding the widely understood “recognition.” It is mainly about “recognizing” both the group itself and its views, which not only defines and consolidates a given community, but also specifies its characteristics and place in society, it has the power to become a beacon which attracts or repulses. Research on ethnic, racial, sexual, class, national, religious and other identities contributed to this popularization of the concept of identity. This peculiar debate about identity directs the thinking of society towards perceiving it in terms of the process and choice, not something existing or innate.

⁴³ Cf. P. Ścigaj, *Tożsamość narodowa. Zarys problematyki*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2012., p. 54.

⁴⁴ L. Korporowicz, *Socjologia kulturowa. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2011, p. 115.

It is not surprising that an individual living in Europe has a problem with his/her own identity. This is often referred to as an individual's identity crisis.⁴⁵ It is caused by a huge complexity of incoherent social structures, fragmentary affiliation of an individual to diverse social groups, often in conflict with each other, ideological and cultural pluralism. The life of the same person is taking place in a growing number of roles, places and affiliations. One loses the sense of identity, switching from one role to another not only in biographical time but also for one day. A contemporary human being cannot, therefore, determine one's social identity by referring to the names of played roles. The matter becomes more complicated when an individual changes one's social identity (e.g. change of profession or political views), which does not mean a change of personal identity. A person may perceive such a process as one of the forms of development and self-realization.

The complexity of identity issues is revealed when we consider individualism prevalent in Western civilization, strongly associated with the narcissistic and post-heroic culture. The manifestations of such an attitude are: striving for independence from the social context, freeing oneself from social bonds and focusing on self-realization. Therefore, it may seem that in modern times the level of society's influence on an individual is decreasing. It is not controversial to say that until recently the influence of the environment on a person was mainly reflected in the formation of this individual's identity. An individual's identity did not, one could say, exist outside of a society which naturally manifested itself as a part of individual self-narratives in a given group. To deepen the analysis towards the processes guiding individual self-identification which are so strongly connected with a community with immanent bonds it would probably be necessary, first, to refer to axiology and describe the values cultivated and passed down from generation to generation. Then, the study could be deepened by recognizing universally accepted duties to be able to speak about accepted and expected obligations towards the community. However, it is possible to look differently at the relationship between an individual and one's aspirations to individualization and self-fulfilment and the impact of society. It may also be recognized that we are dealing

⁴⁵ Cf. J. Turowski, *Socjologia. Małe struktury społeczne*, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2001, p. 44.

with a society in which extreme individuality of a human being and the lack of one's immanent rooting in society, and society's rooting in an individual, leads to the inability to discover one's own identity. Whether this inability is evident is of little importance because essential energy is not used for self-discovery or for discovering one's own identity, but rather for constructing a new, “self” identity: *do-it-yourself biography*. Such a situation does not mean that identity is defined by referring to new categories. These include: interests, way of spending free time, sexual preferences, age, health and physical condition, eating habits, property status, as well as animal welfare, environmental protection, promotion of abortion or its prohibition, peace, rights of various minorities. One must agree with the observation of Piotr Burgoński that the fact that there is a sense of community among people who have a similar lifestyle or who similarly define their identity should be included among the phenomena of modernity. In this way, individual identities become collective identities. This means that in the era of individualism, longing for another person is revealed, the appreciation of community life is growing.⁴⁶

For a contemporary person from the sphere of Western civilization, the reflection on identity becomes a sort of reflection on one's existence. Identity is something to fight for. Striving for identity is seen as a contemporary way of emphasizing one's existence or even one's own *raison d'être*. One gets the impression that existence itself was not enough and something else was needed, something that justifies being and even has the power to protect against annihilation. While in the case of social groups it seems clearer and more understandable, in the case of individuals it is muddled. Is this due to the lack of a sense of one's existence? The accumulation of subsequent identities through belonging to some social groups appears as a cry for help of a modern human being who feels threatened by the prospect of alienation. Identities become something that can be collected like new products of the present times. Identity is obtained with affiliation to, for example, an organization (usually it is related to paying a fee or agreeing to loyalty), having a membership card of a given entity.

⁴⁶ Cf. P. Burgoński, *Patriotyzm w Unii Europejskiej*, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Warszawa 2008, pp. 140-141.

2.3. The specificity of Polish identity

The complexity of modern thinking about individual and common identity, and often also disputes over identity, raise many problems. It is a fact that perhaps the main source of the European sense of identity has for centuries been Christianity uniting nations and states. Especially in the case of Poland, the relationship between national identity and religion has been particularly important. The “White Book of National Security of the Republic of Poland” published by the National Security Bureau reads: “The period of the Polish Third Republic has also marked a break with the ideological approach to national identity. This meant the return to traditional elements, such as the sense of common history, special role of Catholicism and Christian traditions, as well as a strong rooting in history and simultaneous rebirth of cultural and civilization ties with the West. It has found its symbolic expression, *inter alia*, in the restoration of the image of the white eagle wearing a golden crown on the coat of arms of the Republic of Poland.”⁴⁷ Of course, it must not be forgotten that both in the past and in the present not all Poles have been Catholics. It is worth remembering that there is no shortage of Poles who do not accept Catholicism and do not wish to have anything to do with it, consistently avoiding contact with clergy and everything that is somehow related to Catholicism.

What can help in the thinking about the specificity of Polish identity is a look as if from the outside. The activity against Poland of its main aggressors – Germans and Russians – are symptomatic. The scheme of their operation over the centuries has been very similar: to eliminate Polish national identity it is necessary to attack Catholicism by, firstly, the obstruction of religious practices; secondly, moral (e.g. ridicule, defamation, public humiliation) or physical elimination (murdering) of Catholic clergy. A researcher of the persecution of the Catholic Church during the Nazi occupation states: “Germans carried out extensive actions to destroy all cult

⁴⁷ *Biała księga bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego, Warszawa 2013, p. 34. [Official English text: *White Book on National Security of the Republic of Poland*; <http://en.bbn.gov.pl/en/news/332,White-Book-on-National-Security-of-the-Republic-of-Poland-now-in-English.html>, access on November 17, 2018]

objects outside the church (crosses and roadside statues, shrines, religious monuments), and the local population was obliged to remove these objects under the penalty of fines.”⁴⁸ The second aggressor acted in a similar way against Poland in 1939. The Soviets almost immediately after entering Polish territory forbade schools to teach not only the history of Poland and Polish literature, but also religion. Bringing communism to Poland, they obviously demanded the immediate removal of crosses and other religious symbols from schools, offices and other public places. Both Germans and Russians, wanting to exercise power on the Polish territory, could not afford the normal functioning of Catholic clergy. As they were an especially “dangerous” group within the intelligentsia – not only were they educated and connected with the south of Europe – Rome, not only involved in creating national identity of Poles for centuries, but it should be emphasized, they were connected with the people. Polish priests were not that part of the intelligentsia or landed gentry who lived in their own world. From the point of view of the two totalitarian regimes that invaded Poland, the Catholic clergy was a threat, being “from the people and for the people”, distributed throughout the territory thanks to the network of parishes and monasteries. They lived among people and with people, striving for the best possible relationship with everyone. This was what their priestly mission required. It is not surprising then that many Polish priests – in total, about 25% of this population – were transported to camps or murdered.⁴⁹ The experience of two dioceses – Chełmno and Włocławek is a particularly telling and justified as an example of the Catholic priests’ holocaust during World War II.⁵⁰ The Chełmno diocese, which before the war had 701 priests, lost 450, that is 2/3 of the total number, 224 of whom were shot by Germans in the month of October 1939. The diocese of Włocławek at the outbreak of the war had 433 priests, 217 of whom were murdered.

⁴⁸ Z. Fijałkowski, *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1983, p. 260.

⁴⁹ Cf. W. Szolędrski, *Martyrologium duchowieństwa polskiego pod okupacją niemiecką w latach 1939-1945*, Wydawnictwo OO. Redemptorystów, Wrocław 1950; W. Jacewicz, J. Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939-1945*, v. 1-5, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warsaw 1971-1981.

⁵⁰ Cf. I.T. Lisiak, *Sutanna w cieniu swastyki. Holokaust duchowieństwa katolickiego w czasie II wojny światowej*, Capital, Warsaw 2015.

“In total, during the occupation time, this diocese was deprived of its priests in the number of 366 people, including 28 clerics, which is 77% of the entire clergy of the diocese.”⁵¹ The analysis of the aggressors’ actions against Poland justifies an important statement regarding the specificity of Polish national identity: Catholicism in Poland has been one of the main forces co-building Polish national identity, and thus one of the main forces creating Poland’s national security. Communists who took power in Poland after World War II knew it perfectly well evidenced by the persecution of the Catholic clergy. The communists, wanting to destroy the national identity of Poles, began a whole series of activities aimed at the secularization of society. Polish traditions and national-religious celebrations and Polish clergy were the main enemies of the totalitarian system.⁵²

⁵¹ W. Jacewicz, J. Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939-1945*, v. 4. *Wykaz duchownych zmarłych, zamordowanych lub represjonowanych przez okupanta w archidiecezjach: mohylowskiej, poznańskiej i wileńskiej oraz w diecezjach: gdańskiej, kamienieckiej, łuckiej, pińskiej, przemyskiej, sandomierskiej, siedleckiej, tarnowskiej, warmińskiej, włocławskiej, w prałaturze pilskiej i wśród duszpasterstwa polonijnego [List of clergy deceased, murdered or repressed by the occupying forces in the Archdioceses of: Mogilev, Poznań and Vilnius, and dioceses of: Gdańsk, Kamieniec, Lutsk, Pińsk, Przemyśl, Sandomierz, Siedlce, Tarnów, Warmia, Włocławek, in the Pila prelates and among Polish diaspora clergy]*, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1978, p. 408.

⁵² Cf. R. Łatka, J. Marecki, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce rządzonej przez komunistów*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017; *Sobór oczami polskich komunistów. Sobór Watykański II w świetle dokumentów MSW i MSZ*, W. Kucharski, D. Misiejuk (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017; *Pół wieku Milenium. Religijne, polityczne i społeczne aspekty obchodów Tysiąclecia Chrztu Polski (1956–1966/1967)*, B. Noszczak (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017; *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, v. 1, 1945–1956, M. Siedziako, Z. Stanuch, G. Wejman (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Szczecin 2016; *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, v. 2, 1956–1972, M. Siedziako, Z. Stanuch, G. Wejman (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Szczecin-Warszawa 2017; S. Ligarski, *W kleszczach totalitaryzmów. Księdza Romana Gradolewskiego i ojca Jacka Horszycznego życiorysy niedopowiedziane*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017; *“Bić takiego wroga jak kler.” Osoby duchowne i zakonne w miejscach odosobnienia za żelazną kurtyną*, M. Grądzka-Rejak, J. Marecki (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo Dante, Kraków 2016; *Komunistyczny aparat represji wobec Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów*, M. Miławicki OP, M. Wenklar (ed.), Dominikański Instytut Historyczny w Krakowie, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo Wysoki Zamek, Kraków 2015; *Stosunki państwo–Kościół w Polsce 1944–2010. Studia*

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński,⁵³ Archbishop Antoni Baraniak⁵⁴ and father Jerzy Popiełuszko⁵⁵ are the victims-symbols of the persecution of the Catholic Church, violation of the right to religious freedom and destruction of the national identity of Poles. The persecution of the people of the Church in post-war Poland should be considered as an attempt on the

i materiały, R. Łatka (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2013; Ł. Marek, M. Bortlik-Dźwierzyńska, *Za Marksem bez Boga. Laicyzacja życia społecznego w Polsce w latach 1945–1989*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Katowice 2014; *Komunistyczny aparat represji wobec jezuitów Prowincji Polski Południowej*, A.P. Bieś, F. Musiał (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2014.

⁵³ *W służbie Boga i Polski. Komunistyczna bezpieka wobec kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, J. Marecki, F. Musiał, P. Nitecki, R. Szczypta-Szczęch (ed.), Kraków 2014; E. Czaczkowska, *Stefan Wyszyński wobec oporu społecznego i opozycji 1945–1981*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa 2018; M.P. Romaniuk, *Prymas Wyszyński. Biografia i wybrane źródła*, Prymasowskie Wydawnictwo Gaudentinum, Gniezno 2001; J. Kotański, *Prymas Wyszyński w służbie Boga, człowieka i narodu*, Centrum Opatrzności Bożej, Warszawa 2016.

⁵⁴ Cf. K. Białecki, R. Łatka, R. Reczek, E. Wojcieszek, *Arcybiskup Antoni Baraniak 1904–1977*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Poznań-Warszawa 2017; *Z więzienia na stolicę arcybiskupią. Arcybiskup Antoni Baraniak 1904–1977*, Z. Zieliński (ed.), Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2010; M. Jędraszewski, *Teczki na Baraniaka*, v. 1, Świadek, Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza, Wydawnictwo Bonami, Poznań 2009; M. Jędraszewski, *Teczki na Baraniaka*, v. 2, *Kalendarium działań SB*, Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza, Wydawnictwo Bonami, Poznań 2009; M. Przykucki, *Arcybiskup Antoni Baraniak. Bohater Kościoła i Ojczyzny*, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Poznań 2003.

⁵⁵ *Aparat represji wobec księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki 1982–1984*, v. 1, J. Mysiakowska; J. Gołębiowski, J. Mysiakowska, A.K. Piekarska, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw 2009; *Aparat represji wobec księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki 1982–1984*, v. 2, *Śledztwo w sprawie uprowadzenia i zabójstwa ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, J. Gołębiowski (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2014; C. Smuniewski, “I saw the way the Gospel changes a man.” *God, man and Homeland in the daily life of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko*, in: *Jerzy Popiełuszko. Son, Priest, Martyr from Poland*, P. Burgoński, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, Warszawa 2016, pp. 117–134; C. Smuniewski, *La missione del sacerdote nel pensiero del beato don Jerzy Popiełuszko – un martire contemporaneo della Polonia*, “The Person and the Challenges” 3 (2013) no 2, pp. 157–171; C. Smuniewski, *Come vincere le avversità? L’attualità del pensiero del beato Jerzy Popiełuszko nel superamento delle crisi contemporanee*, in: *Kryzys i prawda. Imperatywy przywracanego porządku*, G. Noszczyk, C. Smuniewski (ed.), “Studia i Materiały Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach” no 75, Katowice 2013, pp. 224–240.

national identity of Poles. It was a blow dealt to the part of society which defended national memory, national culture and promoted patriotic attitudes often at the cost of their own life.

Lech Wałęsa,⁵⁶ the first Polish president after the fall of communism elected in free elections in 1990, in a speech delivered to the Sejm and the Senate of the Republic of Poland said: “Europe without Christianity would not be itself. Like Poland which entering Europe does not want to lose its roots.”⁵⁷ The same president, during his first foreign visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic, spoke to Pope John Paul II: “A new Poland is arising. It wants to draw strength from its centuries-old tradition related to Christianity and Western civilization.”⁵⁸ In turn, in a speech given at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm of the first term elected in the first free democratic elections, i.e. in 1991, he said, *inter alia*, “We know where we are going. Without looking back – let us remember where we come from. This tradition gives us identity. It distinguishes us from others. It allowed us to survive the years of partitions, occupation and enslavement. When the «homeland was language and speech», the Church was our national institution. It was, and it remains. Because Poland grows out of the Christian sphere. Its values have been residing in us for centuries. In culture and in everyday life. These are our roots.”⁵⁹ Also President Lech Kaczyński pointed to the connection

⁵⁶ Lech Wałęsa - President of the Republic of Poland (1990-1995), co-founder and first chairman of NSZZ “Solidarność”, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize (1983).

⁵⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród... Przemówienie wygłoszone w Sejmie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na uroczystym posiedzeniu połączonych Izb Sejmu i Senatu [As the first president elected by the whole nation... Speech given in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at the formal meeting of the combined Chambers of the Sejm and Senate] (December 22, 1990)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, przedmowa A. Zakrzewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warsaw 1995, p. 10. [own translation]

⁵⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo... Przemówienie podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Watykanie i Republice Włoskiej [The Holy Father reinforced our strength of survival and faith in victory... Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic] (February 5, 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, op. cit., p. 15. [own translation]

⁵⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... Przemówienie wygłoszone na inauguracyjnym posiedzeniu Sejmu I kadencji, wyłonionego w pierwszych wolnych, demokratycznych wyborach [Speech given at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm of the first term, elected in the first free, democratic*

between Polish identity and religion.⁶⁰ “Our nation has for a millennium based its identity on the foundation of Christian faith. Hence the great traditions of tolerance in Poland, respect for freedom of conscience, co-existence of many cultures, religions and denominations.”⁶¹

President Andrzej Duda drew attention to Poland’s specific relationship between national identity and Christianity.⁶² In his thinking, Polish experience is characterized by a permanent interweaving of the spiritual and state element, although there were moments in history when the state element disappeared because of aggression to Poland affecting Poles. The influence of Christianity, shaping Polish national identity is not cloaked in the past: “Our Christian legacy continues to shape the destinies of Poland and of each one of us, Polish people, until this very day”⁶³ said the president in the address on the occasion of the 1050th anniversary of the baptism of Poland.⁶⁴ In the same speech he drew attention to the

elections] (November 25, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, op. cit., p. 40.

⁶⁰ Lech Kaczyński - President of the Republic of Poland (2005-2010), opposition activist in the period of the Polish People’s Republic, doctor habilitatus in legal sciences, died in the government plane crash (2010).

⁶¹ L. Kaczyński, *Przemówienie podczas powitania Jego Świątobliwości Ojca Świętego Benedykta XVI w Polsce* [Speech at the welcome of His Holiness the Holy Father Benedict XVI in Poland] (Warsaw, Okęcie Airport, May 25, 2006), in: L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2006, wybór*, ed. K. Janaszek, A. Fijewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warsaw 2007, p. 62. [own translation]

⁶² Andrzej Duda - President of the Republic of Poland since 2015, lawyer, Member of the European Parliament of the 8th term.

⁶³ Cf. A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski*. [Message of the President of the Republic of Poland to the National Assembly on the occasion of the 1050th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland] (Poznań, April 15, 2016), text in Polish: <http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wypowiedzi-prezydenta-rp/wystapienia/art,37,oredzie-prezydenta-rp-przed-zgromadzeniem-narodowym-z-okazji-jubileuszu-1050-lecia-chrztu-polski-pleng.html> official text in English: <http://www.president.pl/en/news/art,143,-national-assemblys-session--on-the-occasion-of-the-celebration-of-the-1050th-anniversary-of-the-baptism-of-poland.html> (access 20 October 2017).

⁶⁴ Similar thoughts were voiced by the President the day before in the cathedral in Gniezno. Cf. A. Duda, *Przemówienie prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy z okazji 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski* [Speech of President Andrzej Duda on the occasion of the 1050th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland] (Gniezno, 14 April 2016), <http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wypowiedzi-prezydenta-rp/wystapienia/art,36,przemowienie-prezydenta-andrzeja-dudy-z-okazji-1050-lecia-chrztu-polski.html> (access October

strength resulting from the religion-state relationship in the processes of creating security: “Christianisation provided a powerful stimulus for Poland’s development. The state gained a stronger basis on which to build its security and sovereignty. Over time it became increasingly modern, more efficiently governed, more internally integrated.”⁶⁵ The baptism of Prince Mieszko I in the year 966 has, according to Andrzej Duda, remained a fundamental event constituting the Polish Nation. This historically seminal decision of the ruler influenced the entire subsequent history of the country and turned out to be a state-building event. Such a thought of the Polish president regarding the concept of state formation and state stability in the modern world distinguishes him as president among other leaders in Europe. For Andrzej Duda Christianity, giving the foundation of faith, offered the core around which the Polish nation was formed with its idea of freedom, self-determination and solidarity. Poles’ faith as a part of their identity turned out to be the most important and the last shield allowing them to win and to survive. Wisdom resulting from the experience of the Polish connection of religion and identity cannot be unused in the contemporary context: “In Poland and in Europe, debates are ongoing on how to address these new challenges. I personally believe that the thing to do in this situation is to trust the strength of our identity, to draw on the rich treasury of ideas, experiences and solutions developed in a combined mainstream of the two great traditions: the Greco-Roman and the Judeo-Christian ones. They are what we should base our actions on”⁶⁶ – said President Andrzej Duda.

20, 2017): “Thanks to what the baptism brought into the souls, into the souls of people living here, generations never let Polishness to be taken away from them. They never allowed it to be taken away from them which enabled building the tradition, culture and community. And Poland, even if it disappeared from the map, came back. It came back with the strength of Poles and with the strength of the spirit which faith and baptism gave them, and which the Church helped to protect.” [own translation]

⁶⁵ A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski* [Message of the President of the Republic of Poland to the National Assembly on the occasion of the 1050th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland] (Poznań, 15 April 2016), op. cit.

⁶⁶ A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski* [Message of the President of the Republic of Poland to the National Assembly on the occasion of the 1050th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland] (Poznań, April, 15, 2016), op. cit.

The Christian foundation of the national identity of Poles together with the institutional dimension of the Church’s functioning are inseparable and permanent features of Poland’s security, independence and sovereignty. From the very beginning of the existence of the Polish state, its development, future and the way it is present in Europe were possible based on the axiology characteristic of the Christian view of a human being and the world. The phenomenon of Polish national identity, for which religion is the foundation, has been able to exist in a permanent way thanks to the change it brought about in the functioning of people. This change is the conversion preached by Christianity, it is a call for a ‘change for the better’, addressed to an individual, and thus to the whole society. Based on the Polish experience, it can be concluded that for religion to become the foundation of social identity and the identity of a political community, it must meet the following conditions:

- Be able to harmonize with the order characteristic of reason (Lat. *Fides et ratio*),
- Create the community of people and the community between people and god,
- Offer a sense and prospect of security,
- Be the source of the creation of culture, and especially the carrier of the culture of common life,
- Refer to the whole of human life in all its dimensions,
- Have the potential to change an individual, influence one’s identity,
- Change an individual living in society for the better,
- Be a source of individual and collective freedom and kindness,
- Give an individual and society clear and reasonable direction on how to act daily,
- Point continuously to the relationship between worldliness and eternity.

The following are the constantly recurring questions regarding Polish national identity:

- Is faith the foundation of the Polishness of Poles?
- Is the Church the mother and guardian of national identity?

Regardless of what the answer to these questions will be, it is important to respect the Polishness of all those who, being Poles, think differently. This refers to those who see the privileged role of religion in the Polishness of

Poles, as well as those who think differently and who do not recognize so clearly the privileged role of the Church and Christian axiology, to whom such a vision of the unity of the nation and the Church is alien. Finally, regardless of the answer to these questions, for the future of Poland it is important for Poles to want to differ nobly in formulating these answers and recognizing diverse positions and points of view. Surely this is in harmony with the history of Polish republicanism and its characteristic of striving to reach consensus.

2.4. Cultural identity

Individual and social identity is constantly revealed in a wider context, in the structures of meaning, and therefore also in culture. In the sphere of culture what is revealed are norms, values and symbols stored, guarded and passed down at the community level. That is why we talk about cultural identity and its characteristic focus on such concepts as: language, religion and worship, values, artistic works, symbols, tradition, the manner of behaviour and being. Cultural identity, along with other types of identity, has become almost a central object of analyses of representatives of all branches of humanities. This was due to such circumstances as: globalization, multiculturalism, development of means and forms of social communication. Leszek Korporowicz's statements bear the hallmarks of the definition of cultural identity. He says that it "refers a human being to the integrated whole in which one's personal existence meets with the current and historical experience of the social environment and the group one considers as one's own and the group's achievements – the object of one's identification, care and responsibility. Cultural identity is a special type of mediating, in which "I" meets "us", and the intentions of one's own choices are composed of individual values and experiences, which, however, have a clearly constituted range of references, values and emotions."⁶⁷

The idea of cultural identity requires a reference to the experience of an individual and the experience of a community. These two experiences interpenetrate. Identity of an individual depends to some extent on the culture of a community one co-creates, in which one lives, with which

⁶⁷ L. Korporowicz, *Socjologia kulturowa. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2011, p. 115.

one is identified, or which one opposes. Undoubtedly, the issue of cultural identity becomes particularly important in the context of globalization as well as unification and universalization of culture. It is the subject of research, analyses and studies on cultural security, including the cultural security of Poland. These studies are developing increasingly faster, confirming their position in security studies. The discourse on cultural identity means stressing axiological and symbolic references. This places culture in the sphere of issues serving interpersonal relations.

The content and forms of culture satisfy several important needs of a modern individual. These include local identity, a sense of rooting, retreat from anonymity, meeting with the “living” past, unique experiences, and possessing unique objects. Cultural identity appears stronger and stronger nowadays thanks to the context of globalization processes. These processes trigger defence mechanisms that manifest themselves, *inter alia*, in striving to preserve one’s own identity. The answers to the unification of the life of societies are the tendencies to emphasize cultural signs and symbols, allowing talk of ‘otherness’, distinctiveness and specificity. This affects the sense of belonging and, consequently, the sense of security. People increasingly often refer to sources other than publicly accessible determinants in forming a sense of their own identity. That is why local cultural identities are experiencing such a great rebirth. This local renaissance is undoubtedly a reaction to globalization, a counterbalance to unification processes. The strength of this renaissance, however, is not only opposing what is global, given to everyone and almost everywhere in the world. Its strength is also the satisfaction of creative curiosity in the ability to discover. Thus, the renaissance of locality is the discovery of elements that demonstrate the distinctiveness of local communities, the discovery of their wisdom and message. Of course, for a local renaissance it is important what builds the bond and the root of shaping the identity: identification with the place of residence, with other members of a local community or maintaining tradition. In such a space of thought, the role of the state undergoes profound changes. The state must “learn” to live in what is small, local. Creating a bond between an individual and the state needs a link in the form of what is close to the individual, and what, using a category characteristic of territory descriptions, can be called local. Therefore, it is in the interest of the state to

invest resources and means in the development of the culture and identity closest to individuals.

The reflection on cultural identity becomes more important in the context of the reflection on national identity and the identity of a political community. Cultural identity is shaped by what is common, to a large extent by tradition, inseparably connected with religion and the way of life of society, the content consumed by the nation. However, this raises a question: is tradition in the times of globalization and temporariness a superfluous burden? To answer this question, it is necessary to understand tradition itself. If at this point we refer to the concept of tradition, we do not mean a reality that is fossilized, as if closed, almost dead. Even though we associate it with the continuity and durability of culture and customs, we see in it a living reality, being as if in constant motion, set by the need to create continuous references to the incessant present moment. Tradition appears to us as a safe vehicle, which relocates us, traveling through history to the future. That is how nations live. Tradition that creates culture is simply a condition for the existence and security of a political community.

Thinking about cultural identity requires reflection on “us” internally intercommunicated, or at least demanding such communication. This communication within “us” is a condition for “us” to exist at all, not just “I” next to “I”. This interpersonal communication, however, needs a system of signs, in other words culture. The issue of communication and identity, mutually referenced, becomes particularly important nowadays in the context of virtual communication and virtual identities. For example, communication via e-mail depletes the presented picture of oneself, deprives it of many features easily recognizable in direct contact or even over the phone. Communication via the Internet makes it easier to create a new image (images) of oneself, and consequently, creating a different (other) identity. This can take the form of a funny game, but it can also, unfortunately, take the form of a threat to security for the misled participants. Identity control in a communication process can have a positive dimension. Changing the presented self-image may be caused by the desire for more effective communication. No one is surprised that we precisely chose what elements of our own face (our own “I”) are revealed depending on the person with whom we are talking, creating “us”. It would be quite ridiculous if we behaved in the same way with a stranger

as with a friend; a mother’s “I” revealed to her child is different from the “I” revealed to the child’s father. Every “I” has a set of images of oneself, and, wanting to create “us”, it must effectively, depending on the role and situation, choose the elements that make up the face that reveals itself. This selection is not only a consequence of the “I’s” manners but also an important element of individuals’ cultural identity. This choice reveals:

- Values and emotions characteristic of “i”,
- The ability of “i” to recognize the existing content (e.G. Customs) in society,
- The ability of “i” to assume the roles and behaviour characteristic of these roles in that society,
- Coherence and clarity of understanding signs allowing the communication within “us.”

This selection is also a condition of recognized goals, the fulfilment of which leads through the relationship with other people. This relation, in turn, is always dependent not only on the form, content and depth of communication, but also on cultural identity of individuals forming “us”. The entire communication process requires the sphere of culture. It can happen only thanks to culture and its constituent parts, to consistency, clarity and simplicity of the system of signs. Cultural security requires a culture of communication.

Intra-national communication determines the emergence and creation of national identity. It is about the experience and a sense of identity that is born and revealed in relationships with other people, within a political community, with those living today and with those who already passed away, but always with a sense of relationship and responsibility towards those who will come after us. Communicating from childhood plays a fundamental role in shaping national identity. Every one of us starts life with a faint sense of our own common identity. We learn who we are as “us” from our own observations and from other people who define us and, at the same time, define and constitute “us”. Firstly, we participate in this “us” and over time we start to co-create it. We go from personal identity to social one. Intra-national communication is also one of the most important conditions for the cohesion of national identity. Thanks to this communication, national self-determination, a conscious declaration of nationality is possible. It is also possible to define and know

the national cultural canon. It may happen, however, that “I” has national self-awareness, but – as Małgorzata Budyta-Budzyńska notices – it does not know the national cultural canon, or vice versa, it knows the canon because it is interested in culture as a hobby or professionally, but there is no national awareness related to this culture.⁶⁸

2.5. National identity

The reflection on memory and cultural identity leads to the reflection on national identity. John Paul II drew attention to this connection, writing: “The cultural and historical identity of societies is secured and enlivened by what is within the concept of the nation.”⁶⁹ Building of national identity happens in three ways. Firstly, by emphasizing one’s distinctness from the environment – “we” are different than “them”; secondly, by maintaining a sense of continuity and perseverance; thirdly, having common historical persons (e.g. rulers, heroes, authors of culture, martyrs), thanks to whom it is easier to understand values which appear as the ones that are important and timeless for “us.” The problem of national identity seems more important if we consider the contemporary context: intercultural conflicts, intensifying globalization processes, growing migrations, changes in state structures and functions, disappearance of state borders – as is the case in the European Union. The issue of national identity took on a different meaning, there appeared the need for a new definition of the relationship between a nation and a political community, national identity and national culture, state borders and national territory. National identity is an important area of research and analysis today. At the very beginning of his *Tożsamość narodowa* [Eng. *National Identity*], Paweł Ścigaj claims: “One can (...) risk a thesis that the degree of understanding of the meaning of the term “national identity” is inversely proportional to the number of appearing works. The multitude of contexts of the occurrence of national identity in science is so great that it is difficult to clearly define this concept. More than that, the only certainty in this respect is connected with

⁶⁸ Cf. M. Budyta-Budzyńska, *Socjologia narodu i konfliktów etnicznych*, op. cit., p. 13.

⁶⁹ Jan Paweł II, *Pamięć i tożsamość...*, op. cit., p. 73. [own translation]

the conviction of the remarkable popularity of the term itself.”⁷⁰ Research on national identity raises many problems and dilemmas. Questions about national identity formulated in the context of such topics as migration, geographical mobility, indeterminacy of many boundaries, merging and syncretism of cultures are justified. For research on national identity it is necessary today to reflect on the possibility of choosing identity as well as on the multiplicity of its forms. Identity, in the past given by fate, ascribed by virtue of tradition and constant, is currently subject to choice. It is a dynamic and even negotiated phenomenon.

National identity should be thought about with reference to personal and common identity and discovered as something related to these two identities. On the one hand, it is individual, assigned and unchangeable, does not depend on roles assumed in a community; on the other hand, it has references to a group, it contains historical elements and those of continuity connected with the group. National identity is recognized gradually by socialization, it is achieved along with learning a language, becoming familiar with national culture, pointing out people and events important in history, “touching” places important for the nation, identifying connecting values. Its specificity resides in a wider connection with the common identity because a community is understood in this case not only as “us” living now, but also – and especially – “us” in the past, with the emphasis on people and events important in history. An additional element of this thinking about time is taking “us” into consideration in the future. This “us” in the future is to be in a way like “us” now and “us” yesterday. It is about intergenerational identification.

In the context of thinking about national identity, it is necessary to refer to the issue of ethnicity. In this way, in the sphere of research the issue of an ethnic concept of a nation is revealed, in which the echo of tribal ties becomes visible, understood as the main force once shaping identity of individuals and communities (e.g. tribes) and the root of using genealogies to distinguish “us” from “them.” Such a distinction means, first, the division into “own” and “foreign”, but also “friendly” and “threatening.” The use of genealogy is understood here as an indication of common ancestors, in whom the characteristics of the adopted myth should be recognized; described forefathers are so distant in time that they even do not have their

⁷⁰ P. Ścigaj, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

own present time. The function of the genealogical distinction in creating national ethnic identity turns out to be exceptionally strong. If one were to indicate the strongest point of the ethnic concept of the nation, it would probably be necessary to extract its ability to merge individuals and create a community out of them. Affiliation to this community appears to be impossible to forfeit, obtained once and for all, received with parents. A community that defines itself by reference to the category of ethnicity and builds its identity in this way, despite the fact that it highly values what is inherited from ancestors and at the same time passed down to next generations (physical traits, language, religion, culture, territory), in a sense does not need a state to function and, last, at least it does not need to be characterized by a high commitment to its creation. This peculiar lack of demand for a state is not so clear when a community that defines itself by reference to the category of ethnicity completely fills a state or at least dominates it, especially through exercised power. Then it treats such a state as its own, or at least strives to make it so. In this context, referring to the category of ethnically “foreign” allows, on the one hand, to increase the clarity of what is not foreign and is “ours”, and secondly, creates favourable circumstances for adopting a clear stance in relation to the state which an entity (an individual or a group) identifies oneself or cuts one’s ties with, treats the state as “ours”, “theirs” or “foreign”.

In the discourse on the national identity of Poles, Anna Pawełczyńska considers national awareness, universally adopted in Poland gradually thanks to the higher social strata. Identity is for her the “attribute of the whole society” and is expressed as an attitude towards life, a way of being and persevering. The essence of identity is determined by the established heritage in which a common direction of aspirations is contained. National identity is both continuation and change. The distinguishing feature of the national identity of Poles is that it is shaped by universal values, which “are the opposite of particular values in the sense that they do not represent the interests of one religious or national community. They order (following the principle of reciprocity) to protect the rights and duties of every human being, regardless of one’s social condition and identity in a multi-ethnic world.”⁷¹ The shaping of the national identity of Poles is influenced

⁷¹ Cf. A. Pawełczyńska, *O istocie narodowej tożsamości. Polacy wobec zagrożenia*, Polihymnia, Lublin 2010, p. 41. [own translation]

by the fact that they have defended not only their independence, but also universal values. This was particularly evident in the context of historical experiences with Russians and Germans as well as imperialist and totalitarian tendencies characterizing the representatives of these nationalities.⁷² Thinking of universal values and the national identity of Poles, one can point to a particularly dangerous threat to this identity. It is the totalitarian worldview, which finds fertile ground thanks to the remnants of totalitarianism (communism) influencing the society's thinking. A totalitarian worldview is a phenomenon aimed against universal values, above all Christian values. It appeals to political correctness, threatens the conscience and attitudes of an individual, deprives one of the ability to think independently and, therefore, to self-determination. In the case of Poland, the process of devaluing Christian values in the culture and organization of the life of a political community should be recognized as a phenomenon contrary to the national interest and aimed against national security and sovereignty of the state. Combining the issue of identity with religion, which appears in the research of sociologists, is also present in studies concerning the national security of Poland. Józef Marczak, together with his research team, concludes: “In defence of Western civilization, on the one hand, Poland suffered enormous human and material losses, ensuring cultural and economic protection and development to the countries of Western Europe, and on the other hand, strengthened its national identity, in which Christianity, or rather Catholicism, is one of the main determinants.”⁷³ National identity, bearing the characteristics of similarity to religious identity, is characterized by the ability to give “ultimately”, the most “fundamental” answers, while usually other collective identities can interpermeate without excluding each other, maintaining at the same time different and not so deep impact on an individual. These other collective identities, in comparison with the national and religious one, do not demonstrate such a clear “necessity” of existence or have the potential to answer questions about meaning and sense.

The analysis of threats to the national identity of Poles led Jacek Salij to describe the phenomenon which he named the “parrot syndrome”. The

⁷² Cf. A. Pawełczyńska, *O istocie narodowej tożsamości...*, op. cit., pp. 290-291.

⁷³ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 76. [own translation]

scholar refers in this way to the condition of a nation that loses its own creativity, lives off foreign values, which puts it in a state of confusion and disorientation. The parrot means the inability to make independent judgments and assessments, its “genius” consists in mindless imitation, which leads to the annihilation of a nation that loses its otherness, its uniqueness: “Satan does not have to resort to deception, the nation runs towards their own death.”⁷⁴ Pointing to the example of the process of European integration and the place of Poland in Europe, he concludes that “probably all who realized that we must not seek a union with Europe by denying our own identity, saw the marks of death in such a choice.”⁷⁵ Negligence in shaping national identity expressed in the behaviours characteristic of a parrot indicates the lack of own opinion, inability to express own standpoint and create national security.

What will the national identity of Poles have to face? What should be placed in the first place in an answer to this question are the influences of the thinking shaping totalitarian systems which Poland had to face in the twentieth century, defending universal values. This influence is currently particularly visible in totalitarianism of the worldview that primarily threatens the right to life of every human being and the family. Secondly, the above-mentioned “parrot syndrome”, which marginalizes and paralyzes the self-reflection of the nation, remains a constant threat. In the context of this threat, an important role of the state may be revealed – the promotion of its own political thought. In Poland, this means the necessity to draw conclusions from the domestic experience of republicanism. Strengthening national identity will probably be a process in which the renaissance of localism will play an important role. National identity can be revealed as something that protects local identities and is permanent, joining multitude and diversity together into one stable and bold political community – a community which through legitimization is able to maintain relations in the international order, not afraid of globalization processes, a community representing what is local, what is micro in the world of macro structures.

In the description of the cultural identity of the Polish nation, one can observe the relationship between culture, identity and the nation. National

⁷⁴ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, W drodze, Poznań 2005, p. 191. [own translation]

⁷⁵ Ibidem. [own translation]

culture, being a historical embodiment of the nation's identity, shapes its inside and living space, allows it to recognize what is its unique property and the unique way of expressing itself. The nation, on the other hand, is expressed through culture, because it does so by means of specific symbols and communicates through its own signs, and because it is recognized in certain values that demand embodiment and continuous implementation. It is impossible not to get the impression that the relationship between culture, identity and nation seems to be a recurring cycle. After all, values, by demanding embodiment and continuous implementation, demand a culture that is a historic embodiment of the nation's identity.

Speaking of the cultural identity of the nation, we think about the space in which a human being is revealed and shaped, and a community is created. This focus of attention on an individual and a community is especially important because cultural identity of the nation is an imperative of the personal dimension of culture, which when wanting to express itself, reaches for the value triad of: dignity – freedom – responsibility. These values, not only separately but also together, call for stability, which is why they must be accompanied by security. Cultural identity connects an individual and the nation, allows them not only to co-exist and to resonate, but also to co-live in a life-giving way. An individual and the nation, giving themselves to each other, give each other life. In this relation, the above-mentioned value triad is of special importance. As it guards, on the one hand, a single individual and, on the other hand, the nation. On the one hand, it gives an individual security so that one does not dissolve in the nation or lose subjectivity. It protects one from the threat of collectivist tendencies that may appear in a nation that wants to subordinate individuals to itself at all costs. It protects one from the nation-collective, the nation-god that does not see people, but only itself and its power. Such a nation quickly becomes a crowd condemned to self-destruction through trampling. On the other hand, this triad also gives security to the nation, protecting it against the loss of constitutive sense of community in the individuality of people, in egoism killing the vitality of a political community.

Identity, especially cultural identity of the nation, can be treated as a justified beginning of the reflection on the love of the homeland. In the questions relevant to the research of individual and common identity are

those concerning a human being and contexts in which one functions, as well as history and hope, and thus the future. Similar dilemmas seem justified as we learn about the homeland and this relationship with it which is usually referred to as the love of the homeland. The homeland here meaning a country and political community, as well as understood as a local community – a small homeland. These questions, for obvious reasons, rightly assume the community nature of an individual. However, is it referenced enough in discussions about the creation of a political community that the community is built, drawing from the power of generosity in giving oneself? It is about the specific interpersonal relationship in which the strong identity of individuals strengthens the existing bonds. Perhaps a strong identity in the sphere of thinking about political community and patriotism is required.

At this point, the importance of national identity of an individual bonded to the cultural identity of the nation should be emphasized. We see it when thinking about an individual with its characteristic dignity, freedom and responsibility, we want to see and understand this individual in a broader context, in the space of one's life, in the community. This space is formed by values, determined by interpersonal relations, social categorization and affiliations, but also penetrated by social threats.

2.6. Conclusions

The reflection on the concept of identity presented in the chapter above, in the context of thinking about creating the national security of Poland brings us to the following conclusions.

1. Reflection on identity is one of the fundamental requirements to create Poland's national security. This will not happen without reflection on the function of the family in a political community, culture and religion, the legacy of past generations and the complexity of contemporary methods of social communication. The future of Poland depends on the identity of contemporary Poles, on how they understand their own identity, whether they want to see in it the power connecting successive generations and integrating modern people. National self-knowledge is a protection against national pride, national shame and national fear.

National self-knowledge allows discovery of the value of cardinal virtues in the social order.

2. Identity reveals a fundamentally stable set of beliefs of a person about oneself. The identity of a single person – “I” – seems to be the process of mapping, arising as a result of creating conscious and unconscious references to “others” which allows to define oneself as belonging to “us”. The identity of a single person consists of personal identity and diverse social identities. Even though the personality of an individual may change over time, it can be assumed that the self-image that identity refers to, seeks to resist change. Recognizing one’s identity allows individuals to determine what is important to them and what is worth preserving and developing. Awareness of one’s identity helps an individual more precisely orientate in social space. It allows for more accurate, more convenient and more advantageous modelling of one’s attitudes, setting further goals and directions of action. For an individual, as well as for a nation, having an identity means more than just more conscious “being”; it means the possession of the future. It is not only the constant confirmation of self and of the strength of integrating, but also the confirmation and strengthening of the act of self-interpretation, which are, in turn, a condition for entering into relations by both a single individual in everyday life and states in the global order.

3. National identity demands specialized research and education at all levels, beginning with education and upbringing in families. Intra-national communication depends on education, both in the diachronic and synchronous dimensions. The narrative on national identity cannot be the work of one generation, neither the present nor the past one. Nor should one wait for it to be created by those who will come after us. This narrative must be the work of the whole. Therefore, neither contemporary individuals nor groups or no-one from the past can be excluded from this work. Of course, in this work, the burden of content should be weighed, and incidental voices and events should be distinguished from large-scale or universal phenomena. National identity requires education also because it is a condition for creating the subjectivity of individual citizens and the subjectivity of the political community. It is about education in which the reflection on a person leads to subjectivity and responsibility.

4. Despite the immensity of information received and its changeability; despite the tendency not to specify what currently surrounds a human being in constructs being a product of haste and despite consumption and mass culture, an individual does not seem to be overpowered by the alleged uniformity of the identity-creating offer. Individuals have not been deprived of the ability to seek answers to fundamental questions about themselves (“Who am I?”, “Who are the others?”). They formulate questions and seek such answers that allow them to think about the sense of it. A fundamental and ultimate sense can manifest itself in the power to build the type of security that a person constantly desires. Thus, a person seeks (today even more often than in the nineteenth and twentieth century) answers through discovering and adopting solid, certain identities. People gravitate towards religion, which, seeing the eschatological perspective, can become a form of human life in the “today” of the state and/or gravitate towards national culture. Immersion in religion and/or the nation becomes an identity that allows interpretation of the world and understanding about its sense.

5. A human being at the beginning of the third millennium cannot stop hearing questions formulated in the context of World War II, referring to national identities. Permeated with ideologies, the space of thinking about nations and states became a bloody political experience. The post-war period did not allow the wounds to heal. Totalitarianisms did not cease to harm people, one’s dignity and nature even in their new definitions and understandings. In this way, the twentieth century became the arena of the race of legislative processes aiming at sanctioning the novelty of a human being. In this context, a simple solution emerged – the negation of national identities and undermining the value of patriotism.

3. Christianity – the “soul” of Poland’s national security

In Poland, no one needs to be convinced that the history of Poland and her efforts for independence and sovereignty are inseparable from Christianity. This fact influences the approach to thinking about security studies. The influence of Catholic thought is particularly visible in such areas as: national identity (already discussed earlier), axiology, culture, family life, education and patriotism. In Poland, the wide variety of research characteristic of security studies cannot ignore the achievements of Catholic social thought and should also include the contemporary development of theology⁷⁶ and the activities of the Catholic Church in the international

⁷⁶ Cf. T. Płoski, A. Skrabacz, *Moralne i charakterologiczne podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w XXI wieku. Wyzwania i strategie*, R. Jakubczak, J. Marczak (ed.), Bellona, Warsaw 2011, pp. 219-241; C. Smuniewski, *Człowiek zagrożony. Perspektywa wykorzystania teologii w rozwoju nauk o bezpieczeństwie*, in: *Pragnę żyć! Interdyscyplinarna dyskusja o bezpieczeństwie i godności życia ludzkiego*, P. Wójcik, M. Składanowski, T. Syczewski, J. Połowianiuk (ed.), Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2014, pp. 61-88; C. Smuniewski, *La teologia nella riflessione sulla creazione della sicurezza*, in: *È già iniziata la Terza Guerra Mondiale? La Chiesa a servizio dell'uomo e della società tra la guerra e la pace*, G. Calabrese, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Aracne editrice, Canterano-Roma 2017, pp. 212-224; C. Smuniewski, *Chrześcijananie o wojnie. Refleksje inspirowane poszukiwaniami i “odpowiedziami” Ojca Profesora Jacka Salija OP*, in: *Credo Domine. Adiuva incredulitatem meam. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Ojcu Profesorowi Jackowi Salijowi OP*, J. Kupczak, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Wydawnictwo W drodze, Poznań-Kraków 2017, pp. 495-509.

arena, especially the activity of the popes for peace.⁷⁷ All these aspects are important as a premise for thinking about the participation of Christianity in the processes of creating security.

3.1. Christianity’s involvement in creating Poland’s national security

Christianity (the Roman Catholic Church in Poland) expressed its concern for the creation of national security, not only by affecting the morality of society⁷⁸, but also through reflection on the nation and its defence through the struggle for national identity against various attempts of denationalization and sovietisation.⁷⁹ The Church has contributed to the promotion of

⁷⁷ Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Zagadnienie pokoju w nauczaniu Jana Pawła II*, „Zeszyty Naukowe AON” 1 (86) 2012, pp. 292-305; C. Smuniewski, *Człowiek w czasach pokoju i wojny. Wybrane zagadnienia z antropologii Jana Pawła II*, in: Święty Jan Paweł II syn oficera Wojska Polskiego, A. Skrabacz, J. Dohnalik (ed.), Warsaw 2014, pp. 179-198.

⁷⁸ Cf. J. Marczak, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe*, op.cit., p. 33: “In the case of Poland, the universal Catholic faith is one of the basic elements of national identity, and its maintaining creates a chance to avoid the threat of moral anarchy.” [own translation]

⁷⁹ On the subject of the Church in the Nation subjected to sovietization, cf. *Stosunki państwo-Kościół w Polsce 1944-2010. Studia i materiały*, R. Łatka (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Księgarnia akademicka, Kraków 2013; *Represje wobec żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w PRL. Zagadnienia wybrane*, J. Myszor, A. Dziurok (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, Katowice 2012; D. Zamiatąła, *Zakony męskie w polityce władz komunistycznych w Polsce w latach 1945-1989*, v. 1, *Problematyka organizacyjno-personalna*, Wydawnictwo LTW, Łomianki 2011; D. Zamiatąła, *Zakony męskie w polityce władz komunistycznych w Polsce w latach 1945-1989*, v. 2, *Działalność duszpasterska i społeczna zakonów w latach 1945-1989*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw 2012; *Represje wobec Kościoła w krajach bloku wschodniego. Komuniści przeciw religii po 1944 roku*, J. Marecki (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2011; *Kościół Katolicki w czasach komunistycznej dyktatury. Między bohaterstwem a agenturą*, v. 3, J. Szczepaniak, M. Lasota (ed.), Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2010; *Niezłomni. W obronie Ojczyzny i Kościoła*, v. 2, *Komunistyczna bezpieka wobec biskupów polskich*, J. Marecki, F. Musiał (ed.), Kraków 2009; *Kościół Katolicki w czasach komunistycznej dyktatury. Między bohaterstwem a agenturą. Studia i materiały*, v. 2, R. Terlecki, J. Szczepaniak (ed.), Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2008; *Kościół katolicki w czasach komunistycznej dyktatury. Między bohaterstwem a agenturą. Studia i materiały*, v. 1, R. Terlecki, J. Szczepaniak (ed.), Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2007; A. Dudek, R. Gryz, *Komuniści i Kościół w Polsce (1945-1989)*,

national and patriotic attitudes through its pastoral ministry at the level of the diocese and parish, as well as through the activity of religious orders and theological and moral reflection.⁸⁰ The development of research on axiology conducted in security studies enables to discover the contribution of Christianity to the processes of creating Poland's national security and the potential of Catholicism in this area.⁸¹

Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2006; J. Żaryn, *Kościół w PRL*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw 2004; J. Żaryn, *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944-1989)*, Neriton, Warsaw 2003; *Spoleczeństwo, państwo, Kościół (1945-2000). Materials from the national scientific conference, Szczecin, June 15-16 2000*, A. Kawecki, K. Kowalczyk, A. Kubaj (ed.), Stowarzyszenie Absolwentów Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego i Wydawnictwo Zachodniopomorskie, Szczecin 2000; J. Żaryn, *Kościół a władza w Polsce (1945-1950)*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warsaw 1997; J. Prokop, *Sowietyzacja i jej maski. PRL w latach stalinowskich*, Viridis, Kraków 1997; M. Zdziechowski, *Wpływ rosyjskie na duszę polską*, Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, Kraków 1920.

⁸⁰ Cf. M. Janus, *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu w nauczaniu biskupa polowego Tadeusza Płoskiego*, Poznań 2017, (doctoral thesis, typescript, UAM Library in Poznań); J. Lisica, *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu w nauczaniu Biskupa Polowego Wojska Polskiego Sławoja Leszka Głódzia w latach 1991-2004, Toruń 2014* (doctoral thesis, typescript, Library of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń); K. Kołodziejczyk, *Dylematy polskiego patriotyzmu w perspektywie integracji europejskiej*, Warsaw 2008 (doctoral thesis, typescript, the UKSW Library in Warsaw); *Jan Paweł II Nauczycielem Patriotyzmu*, A. Bałabuch (ed.), Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Świdnickiej, Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, Świdnica 2008; I.Z. Błęszyńska, *O Jacek Woroniecki. Dominikanin-wychowawca-patriota. 1878-1949*, Wydawnictwo Fundacja Servire Veritati Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, Lublin 2006; *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu*, W. Janiga (ed.), Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 2006; Cz.S. Bartnik, *O polską mądrość*, Fundacja "Nasza Przyszłość", Szczecinek 2005; A. Zwoliński, *Teologia Narodu*, "Zeszyty Historyczno-Teologiczne" 2004, no 10, pp. 157-172; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Kiedy myślę: Naród*, Polwen, Radom 2003; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Oto Polska w was jest*, Polwen, Radom 2003; J. Lewandowski, *Naród w dziejach zbawienia*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Adam", Warsaw 2001; S. Olejnik, *Teologia moralna życia społecznego*, Włocławskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne Włocławek 2000; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Teologia narodu*, Tygodnik Katolicki "Niedziela", Częstochowa 1999; S. Olejnik, *Moralność życia społecznego*, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warsaw 1993; J. Woroniecki, *Kościół i państwo. Zagadnienie układu ich stosunków*, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Poznań 1946.

⁸¹ Cf. A. Glen, *Aksjologiczne i ontologiczne uwarunkowania badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, „Bezpieczeństwo 2010” v. 1, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, H. Świeboda, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2010, p. 16-30; W. Kitler, *Wartości, potrzeby, cele i interesy jako podstawowe kategorie bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Metodologia badań*

In a strategic analysis of the experiences of the Polish national security organization, made by a team of scientists associated with the academic center in Warsaw-Rembertów, we find a direct indication of the relationship existing between the Church and the creation of Poland's national security. Speaking about the reasons for success the researchers accentuate the adoption of Christianity as the means of creating and defending the nation and the Polish state, as well as building the power and security of Poland from the tenth to the seventeenth century. They claim that it was the most important national and state-building action of the first Piasts and of fundamental importance for the creation of Poland's security. To support such a thesis, they formulate four arguments:

1. During its creation the Polish nation was extracted from barbarity and introduced to the leading and largest Latin (Western) civilization for which Christianity is the foundation;

2. Acceptance of Christianity saved the Polish state from Christianization and colonization by Germany which threatened to impose the German language, German church administration and foreign power (viz. The example of the history of the Polabian Slavs⁸² and Prussians⁸³);

3. The ability to obtain strong support from the Papacy for the Polish state;

bezpieczeństwa narodowego, “Bezpieczeństwo 2010”, t. 2, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, H. Świeboda (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2010, pp. 96-120; A. Pieczywok, *Człowiek w sytuacji ograniczonej wolności i zniewolenia*, in: *Psychospołeczne uwarunkowania zachowań jednostek i grup społecznych w sytuacjach zagrożeń*, K. Loranty (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2010, pp. 172-315; A. Pieczywok, *Bezpieczeństwo jako kategoria i wartość edukacyjna człowieka*, “Zeszyty Naukowe AON” 2011, no 2, pp. 466-477; A. Pieczywok, *Wybrane problemy z zakresu edukacji dla bezpieczeństwa. Konteksty, zagrożenia wyzwania*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2011, pp. 126-134; A. Drabarek, *Wartości w demokracji*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2012; C. Smuniewski, *L'uomo tra l'inizio e la fine, tra la guerra e la pace*, in: *È già iniziata la Terza Guerra Mondiale? La Chiesa a servizio dell'uomo e della società tra la guerra e la pace*, G. Calabrese, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Aracne editrice, Canterano-Roma 2017, pp. 13-27.

⁸² Cf. K. Myśliński, *Polska wobec Słowian połabskich do końca wieku XII*, Wydawnictwo Templum, Wodzisław Śląski 2011; A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyków od IX wieku do utraty niepodległości w latach 1160 – 1164*, Nomos, Kraków 2004; J. Strzelczyk, *Słowianie Połabscy*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań, 2002.

⁸³ Cf. S. Salmonowicz, *Prusy. Dzieje państwa i społeczeństwa*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 2004.

4. The introduction of the system of organization of the Catholic Church (parishes, dioceses, orders, church administration, schools, church colleges, etc.), which became the most enduring part of the nation's organization and identity, acting as the unwavering refuge of Polishness in the tragic periods of history (feudal fragmentation, partitions, occupation, and Soviet domination after World War II).⁸⁴

In the *White Book on National Security of the Republic of Poland*, we find a statement pointing to the influence of Christianity on the creation of national security which refers to the category of "national interest". The document reads: "The main national interests (in the contemporary understanding of this category) at the dawn of statehood were focused on the survival of the Polish state, especially in the context of the civilization and military pressures coming from the west. These interests were advanced by the adoption of Christianity."⁸⁵

The attitudes and social thought of many Polish clergymen illustrate well the contribution of the Church hierarchy in creating national security in Poland. The main figures are:

- Paweł Włodkowic⁸⁶ (d. ~1435), a Catholic priest and Rector of the Krakow Academy, defender of Poland's interests in the international arena against the Teutonic Knights
- Piotr Skarga SJ⁸⁷ (d. 1612), court preacher of King Sigismund III Vasa and the first rector of the Vilnius University.

⁸⁴ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorrek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji...*, op. cit., pp. 15-17.

⁸⁵ *White Book on National Security of the Republic of Poland*, Warsaw 2013, p. 28. [<https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwj4gvKB8P7eAhXpAhAIHayJDy8QFjAAegQ-ICRAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bbn.gov.pl%2Fdownload%2F1%2F20897%2F-WhiteBookNationalSecurityPL2013.pdf&usg=AOvVaw28OI0c45JG7nFZkbMETSP6>], access on December 1. 2018.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Paweł Włodkowic i polska szkoła prawa międzynarodowego*, M. Cichocki, A. Talarowski (ed.), Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Teologia Polityczna, Warsaw 2008; E.A. Wesołowska, *Paweł Włodkowic – współczesne znaczenie poglądów i dokonań*, Novum, Płock 2001.

⁸⁷ Cf. P. Skarga, *Kazania Sejmowe*, Siedmioróg, Wrocław 1998; S. Obirek, *Wizja kościoła i państwa w kazaniach ks. Piotra Skargi SJ*, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 1994.

Among those closer to the present times, one should mention:

- Cardinal August Hlond⁸⁸ (d. 1948) – Primate of Poland during World War II;
- Prof. Fr. Jacek Woroniecki OP⁸⁹ (d. 1949) – theologian, philosopher, pedagogue and rector of the Catholic University of Lublin in the years of 1922-1924;
- Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha⁹⁰ (d. 1951) – bishop of Krakow and senator of the 1st-term Parliament of the Second Republic of Poland in the years 1922 – 1923;
- Bl. Fr. Prof. Michał Sopoćka⁹¹ (d. 1975) – professor at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius and the Theological Seminary of Białystok, who became famous as a confessor of St. Faustyna Kowalska;
- Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński⁹² (d. 1981) – subjected to many repressions by the communist authorities, including arrest in the years of 1953-1956;

⁸⁸ Cf. A. Hlond, *Pochodzenie państwa i władzy państwowej*, F. Mildner & Sons, Londyn 1941; A. Hlond, *O chrześcijańskie zasady życia państwowego*, F. Mildner & Sons, Londyn 1941; A. Hlond, *Nauczanie 1897-1948*, J. Konieczny (ed.), Oficyna Wydawnicza Kucharski, Toruń 2003; Ł. Kobiela, *August Hlond 1881-1948*, Stowarzyszenie Pokolenie, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw 2018.

⁸⁹ Cf. J. Woroniecki, *Katolicka etyka wychowawcza*, v. I-III, Fundacja Servire Veritati Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2013; *Człowiek – moralność – wychowanie. Życie i myśl Jacka Woronieckiego OP*, J. Gałkowski, M.L. Niedziela (ed.), Lublin 2000.

⁹⁰ Cf. M. Rożek, *Kardynał Sapieha*, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2007; B. Przybyszewski, *Adam Stefan kardynał Sapieha. Pasterz Dobry. Księżę Niezłomny. 1867-1951*, De Arte, Łańcut 2002; *Księżę Niezłomny. Kardynał Adam Stefan Sapieha*, R. Bogacz (ed.), Unum, Kraków 2001; *Działalność kościelna i narodowa Adama Stefana Sapiehy*, J. Wolny, R.M. Zawadzki (ed.), Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, Kraków 1986.

⁹¹ Cf. M. Sopoćko, *Obowiązki względem Ojczyzny*, Kuria Biskupa, Warsaw-Poznań 1922. M. Sopoćko, *O obowiązkach społecznych*, Drukarnia Archidiecezjalna, Wilno 1931.

⁹² Cf. S. Wyszyński, *Jedna jest Polska. Wybór przemówień i kazań*, Wydawnictwo im. Stefana Kardynała Wyszyńskiego “Soli Deo” Warsaw 2017; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Pedagogia narodowa prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, Standruk, Lublin 2001; J. Lewandowski, *Naród w nauczaniu kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, Warsaw 1989; A. Micewski, *Kardynał Wyszyński, Prymas i mąż stanu*, Wszechnica Społeczno-Polityczna, Kraków 1983; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Chrześcijańska nauka o narodzie według Prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, Odnowa, Londyn 1982; J. Lewandowski, *L’Eglise et la nation polonaise selon le cardinal Stefan Wyszyński*, Peter Lang, Berne – Francfort/M. 1982.

- Bl. Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko⁹³ (d. 1984) – the spiritual guide of the Warsaw “Solidarity”, defender of human rights in the People’s Republic of Poland, murdered by Security Service officers;
- Prof. Fr. Józef Maria Bocheński OP⁹⁴ (d. 1995) – philosopher, sovietologist, rector of the University of Friborg (1964-1966), and earlier a volunteer fighting in the Polish-Bolshevik war;

⁹³ Cf. J. Popiełuszko, *Zapiski, listy i wywiady ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki 1967-1984*, G. Bartoszewski (ed.), Oficyna Wydawnicza “Adam”, Warsaw 2010; J. Popiełuszko, *Kazania 1982-1984*, Z. Malacki (ed.), Akces, Warsaw 2004; C. Smuniewski, “I saw the way the Gospel changes a man.” *God, man and Homeland in the daily life of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko*, in: *Jerzy Popiełuszko. Son, Priest, Martyr from Poland*, P. Burgoński, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, Warsaw 2016, pp. 117-134; *Aparat represji wobec księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki 1982-1984*, v. 1, J. Mysiakowska (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw 2009; *Aparat represji wobec księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki 1984*, v. 2, *Śledztwo w sprawie uprowadzenia i zabójstwa ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, J. Gołębiowski (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw 2014; C. Smuniewski, *La missione del sacerdote nel pensiero del beato don Jerzy Popiełuszko – un martire contemporaneo della Polonia*, “The Person and the Challenges” 3 (2013) no 2, pp. 157-171; C. Smuniewski, *Come vincere le avversità? L’attualità del pensiero del beato Jerzy Popiełuszko nel superamento delle crisi contemporanee*, in: *Kryzys i prawda. Imperatywy przywracanego porządku*, G. Noszczyk, C. Smuniewski (ed.), “Studia i Materiały Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach” no 75, Katowice 2013, pp. 224-240; P. Burgoński, *Polski patriotyzm w dobie komunizmu. Koncepcja patriotyzmu w nauczaniu księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki*, “Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne” XXIII/1/2010, pp. 241-252; C. Smuniewski, *Kościół w myśli błogosławionego ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, “Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne” XXIII/1/2010, pp. 215-230; M. Kindziuk, *Ksiądz Jerzy zwyciężał dobrem*, Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, Warsaw 2009.

⁹⁴ Cf. J.M. Bocheński, *Szkice o nacjonalizmie i katolicyzmie polskim*, Wydawnictwo Antyk – Marcin Dybowski, Komorów 2006; J.M. Bocheński, *Polski Testament. Ojczyzna, Europa, cywilizacja*, Wydawnictwo Antyk – Marcin Dybowski, Komorów 2006; J.M. Bocheński, *Patriotyzm. Męstwo. Prawość żołnierska*, Wydawnictwo Antyk – Marcin Dybowski, Warsaw 1989.

- St. John Paul II⁹⁵ (d. 2005), without whom it is impossible to think about the fall of communism in Eastern Europe;
- Cardinal Józef Glemp⁹⁶ (d. 2013), Primate of Poland and successor of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, who prevented to a significant extent the outbreak of a civil war in Poland during the martial law period⁹⁷ introduced by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

⁹⁵ Cf. J. Połowianiuk, *Wychowanie społeczne a edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa. Inspiracje myślą Jana Pawła II*, in: *Edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa. Teoria i praktyka*, A. Skrabacz, L. Kanarski (ed.), Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, Warsaw 2014, pp. 110-133; P. Ozimek, *Watykan wobec wprowadzenia stanu wojennego w Polsce*, in: *Chrześcijaństwo i bezpieczeństwo. Znaczenie Jana Pawła II w dyskursie polemologiczno-irenologicznym*, T. Kośmider, K. Gąsiorek, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II, Warsaw 2014, pp. 131-143; C. Smuniewski, *Człowiek w czasach pokoju i wojny. Wybrane zagadnienia z antropologii Jana Pawła II*, in: *Święty Jan Paweł II syn oficera Wojska Polskiego*, A. Skrabacz, J. Dohnalik (ed.), Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, Warsaw 2014, pp. 179-198; Z.Z. Stojanowski-Han, *Nauczanie Jana Pawła II o patriotyzmie podczas jego pielgrzymek do Polski. Studium z edukacji medialnej*, Lublin 2013 (doctoral thesis, typescript, the KUL library in Lublin); M. Sztaba, *Wychowanie społeczne w świetle nauczania Karola Wojtyły Jana Pawła II*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2012; J. Jaworski, *Podstawy patriotyzmu Jana Pawła II*, Norbertinum, Lublin 2012; M. Rosik, *Biblijne podstawy patriotyzmu Jana Pawła II*, w: *Jan Paweł II nauczycielem patriotyzmu*, A. Bałabuch (ed.), Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Świdnickiej, Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, Świdnica 2008, pp. 109-120; K. Czuba, *Etos patriotyczny Polaków. Nauczanie Jana Pawła II*, in: *Oblicza patriotyzmu. Rozprawy i szkice*, H. Kiereś (ed.), Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej, Toruń 2007, pp. 16-36; H. Słotwińska, *Katecheza o Ojczyźnie według nauczania Jana Pawła II*, “*Studia Pastoralne*” 2006, no 2, pp. 104-119; J. Nagórny, *Moja Ojczyzna – Ojczyzna Jana Pawła II*, in: *Z Karolem Wojtyłą myśląc Ojczyzna*, W. Chudy (ed.), Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2002, pp. 191-203; J. Kownacka, *Wychowanie patriotyczne w nauczaniu Jana Pawła II podczas pielgrzymek do ojczyzny*, “*Studia Theologica Varsoviensia*” 35 (1997) no. 1, pp. 217-244.

⁹⁶ Cf. J. Glemp, *Między ewangelią a konstytucją. Wybór homilii*, “*Soli Deo*”, Warsaw 1992; J. Glemp, *Nauczanie społeczne 1981-1986*, Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, Warsaw 1989; S. Urbański, H. Podolski, *Prymas Polski Kardynał Józef Glemp doktor honoris causa Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie, 8 X 2001 r.*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warsaw 2002; J. Lewandowski, *Przez sprawiedliwość ku miłości. Nauka społeczna kardynała Józefa Glempa*, “*Nowe Życie*”, Wrocław 1991.

⁹⁷ Martial law in the Polish People's Republic lasted from 1981 to 1983. During this period, more than 10,000 activists associated with Solidarity were interned, and about 40 people lost their lives.

Contemporary Polish theologians also address subjects broadly related to Poland's national security in their research and publications. The main representatives of this trend include two recognized Polish thinkers: Prof. Fr. Czesław Stanisław Bartnik⁹⁸ (born in 1929) – a personalist from the Catholic University of Lublin; and Prof. Fr. Jacek Salij OP⁹⁹ (b. in 1942) – associated with the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, a theologian and dogmatist.

Beyond any doubt, the great contribution of Christianity to the creation of national security is revealed when we refer to historical sources. And it is in historical reflection that we find a starting point and the basic method of strategic thinking about the organization of the Polish nation's security. It is also important to consider this knowledge source because it is based on real world experiences and their effectiveness.¹⁰⁰

3.2. Genesis of wars

The aim of the reflection on the genesis of wars in this place does not only mean considering (i) tensions and conflicts between nations, states or ethnic groups, or (ii) instruments for pursuing policies aimed at obtaining material and non-material benefits. It is something much more fundamental and more akin to the thought process in the field of security anthropology and which was probably top of mind for *The Iliad's* author when talking about Achilles' anger. It is significant that the first word [of the Greek original], and in a sense the main theme, of the song about the greatest Greek warrior Achilles, the son of Thetis and Peleus, is wrath.

⁹⁸ Cf. Cz.S. Bartnik, *Wprowadzenie do teologii społeczno-politycznej*, Standruk, Lublin 2006; Cz. S. Bartnik, *Le Phénomène de la Nation*, Standruk, Lublin 2005; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Oto Polska w was jest*, Polwen, Radom 2003; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Gorycz pro-roctwa. Polska a Unia Europejska*, Standruk, Lublin 2003; Cz.S. Bartnik, *Idea polskości*, Polwen, Radom 2001.

⁹⁹ Cf. J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, W drodze, Poznań 2005; C. Smuniewski, *Chrześcijananie o wojnie. Refleksje inspirowane poszukiwaniami i "odpowiedziami" Ojca Profesora Jacka Salija OP*, in: *Credo Domine. Adiuwa incredulitatem meam. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Ojcu Profesorowi Jackowi Salijowi OP*, J. Kupczak, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Wydawnictwo W drodze, Poznań-Kraków 2017, pp. 495-509.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji...*, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

The word ‘wrath’¹⁰¹ opening the invocation seems to be the key to understand not only the experiences and decisions of angry Achilles, who in anger abandons the fight against the Trojans, but also episodes of the Trojan War. After reading *The Iliad*, the reader knows that it is impossible to look for the genesis of wars without thinking about wrath.

The biblical author – St. James, also asks about the genesis of wars. In his letter, we read: “Where do the wars and where do the conflicts among you come from? Is it not from your passions that make war within your members?”¹⁰² This statement is an important premise for research in the field of security anthropology. Placing the word “conflicts” next to “war”, and then “passions” creates a clash provoking deeper thought about the grounds on which military conflicts arise in subsequent epochs. Jacek Salij, referring to this biblical text and looking for ways to prevent armed conflicts, concludes that it is necessary to “dry out the spring which feeds wars:” greed, contempt for others, moral colour-blindness to human dignity.¹⁰³ Speaking of the genesis of wars, Jacek Salij takes into account the arms industry and arms trade, but in search of the answer to the question about “Where do wars come from”?, reflection on values seems essential: “Tensions in the world will certainly grow if we fail to stop the ongoing corrosion of the axiological foundation on which states have so far been based, as well as relations between them and supranational communities.”¹⁰⁴ It is about the anti-human hierarchy of values associated with the efforts to create a world without God¹⁰⁵ and give privilege to atheistic humanism. This leads to a specific “law” – harming the weaker. One of the incentives for wars is the lack of elementary respect for human life, the dignity of a person and family, which manifests itself in the propagation of an anti-birth policy, making economic aid for individual states dependent

¹⁰¹ The first words of Homer’s *Iliad* [in English] are: “Achilles’ wrath, to Greece the direful spring of woes unnumber’d, heavenly goddess, sing!”, Homer, *Iliad*, translated by Alexander Pope [<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/6130/6130-pdf.pdf>] access on December 1, 2018, but in the Greek original the first word of the song is the word “wrath” (Gr. μῆνιν).

¹⁰² Jm. 4:1.

¹⁰³ Cf. J. Salij, *Wojna o pokój? O wojnie i pokoju widzianych oczami chrześcijanina*, Wydawnictwo “M”, Kraków 2003, p. 11. [own translation]

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. [own translation]

¹⁰⁵ Cf. J. Salij, *Wybierajmy życie!*, Wydawnictwo W drodze, Poznań 2002, pp. 118-132.

on their attitude to regulating births. In the thought of the Polish scholar, contemporary sources of wars are associated with new forms of totalitarianism, which are the source of propaganda for abortion, euthanasia, human cloning and sterilization. In undertaking these topics, Jacek Salij follows the path of Pope Paul VI, John Paul II, Benedict XVI and Francis, which is reflected in their efforts in the international arena for the civilization of life. Jacek Salij's reflection on the genesis of wars reveals his focus on an individual and potential of every human being. He is far from talking about collective responsibility for both good and evil. Peace and war are works in which the contribution of individual people is important. The scholar therefore speaks of an "ordinary human being" on whom the fate of societies depends: "How much can depend on me is well reflected by what in meteorology is called the 'butterfly effect': a butterfly flying over Krakow can initiate the growth of such air movements which in time will cause a storm in Mexico."¹⁰⁶ In the sermon delivered on January 1, 2008,¹⁰⁷ he emphasized: "Even if only I were to convert myself to the path of peace, the world will be a little better and we will be a little closer to the messianic peace."¹⁰⁸ The multibillion human family in the eyes of the scholar appears like a system of connected vessels. Peace – even the world-wide peace – really depends on an individual: "on whether I am not neglecting to work on peace in my heart and in my family."¹⁰⁹ To answer the question "Where do wars come from?" according to the professor, it is first necessary to consider the issues related to contemporary moral relativism, which is directly associated with the initiation of armed conflicts. If the incitement of wars is beyond the reach of an average human being, it is not the case of moral relativism: "The war-causing moral relativism, even though it has already become so strong, does not have to win. However, whether we can overcome it depends largely on me and you."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ J. Salij, *Wojna o pokój?...*, op. cit., p. 13. [own translation]

¹⁰⁷ Each first day of January, by the decision of Pope Paul VI of December 8, 1967, is celebrated as the "World Day of Peace." On this day, also subsequent Popes direct their messages addressed not only to Catholics, but to all people of good will.

¹⁰⁸ J. Salij, *Jeśli chcesz osiągnąć życie wieczne... Kazania radiowe*, Oficyna Wydawniczo-Poligraficzna "ADAM", Warsaw 2010, p. 68. [own translation]

¹⁰⁹ J. Salij, *Wojna o pokój?...*, op.cit., p. 13. [own translation]

¹¹⁰ Ibid. [own translation]

The success of research on the genesis of wars depends to a large extent on the insight of analyses in the field of security anthropology. These studies should consider especially those sources that shape thinking, attitudes and morality. The search for the genesis of wars cannot be limited to research reaching deep into historical facts, nor can it be reduced to the analysis of maps and documents, or even to measuring of the potentials of military, economic or demographic powers growing in the international arena; nor can it be a search in the space distant from the everyday experience of a human being. This search must be a walk deep into history and humanity, the analysis of human potential and ultimately searching for a human being in one’s everyday life. It means going deeper in a way which will not omit the message coming from Achilles, nor the desires and experiences of the first killer and the first killed – biblical Cain and Abel. The genesis of wars reveals itself on the stage of human drama: existence, moment, relationships, desires, pain and disappointments, above all disappointments with oneself, with one’s own humanity. The answer to the question “Where do wars come from?” will always be incomplete if it skips the complexity of a human being.¹¹¹

3.3. First generations of Christians versus wars

Considering the attitude of the first generations of Christians to wars, it should be stipulated that this issue and dilemmas connected with it were not the main subject of their reflection. The main questions that the then Christian thinkers sought to answer were, above all, those directly related to theology. The need to refer to social and political issues, including those related to war, came with new circumstances that will be brought by listening to the words of Jesus: “Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations” (cf. Mt. 28:19). The evangelization mission conducted at the time and eventually expanded among different nations gave rise to new questions that contribute to: the development of ethical issues regarding responsibility for one’s own life and the life of others; responsibility for the present and future; responsibility for the common good; and issues directly related to war, peace and pacifism.

¹¹¹ Cf. Chapter 1, point 1.3. Thanks to memory, we know who a human being is (this monograph).

Texts created in the first centuries of Christianity are a very important point of reference for the formation of Christian theology and ethics in the following generations. They show how those believing in Christ understood his teachings when they were shaping their own moral principles and standards and how they saw their commitment to social life. Passivity and easy submission to unfavourable situations were alien to them whereas the art of war was well-known. Thinking about the attitude of Christians to war and the gradual formulation of doctrine, it is also important to read the context of the reflection on the service of soldiers correctly. They did not have a good reputation at the time when the New Testament books were being written and their work was usually not associated with emotions of peace. It resulted not so much from the moral evaluation of warfare but from the perception of how they led their everyday life. In society, they were often perceived as an underclass who were not peacefully oriented towards other people. This fact influenced the attitude towards soldiers, and thus the whole understanding of war and the processes of creating security. It should also be remembered that the first pagan who was baptised, as we read in the Apostolic history, was a soldier – centurion Cornelius (cf. Acts 10-11). Christians, however, did not expect him to abandon his profession with the acceptance of faith.

How do biblical texts address wars and creating security? It is difficult to find a condemnation of military service in the message of John the Baptist. Soldiers only received the following command: “Do not practice extortion, do not falsely accuse anyone, and be satisfied with your wages” (Lk. 3:14). However, it should be remembered that in the matter of the use of violence, Jesus of Nazareth, heralded by John the Baptist, formulated a truly maximalist program: “[...] offer no resistance to one who is evil. When someone strikes you on (your) right cheek, turn the other one to him as well” (Mt. 5:39). Also, the words of Christ, saying that “all who take the sword will perish by the sword” (Mt. 26:52) do not lose relevance. This statement seems as a warning addressed to soldiers and military leaders of all later times. The matter, however, is not so simple. In order to understand the Teacher’s words well, one should consider a whole range of New Testament texts in which references to military service appear (cf. Lk. 3:14; 7:3-5; Acts 10:1-2.7; Ro. 13:4) and try to hear the historical meaning of the words about taking a sword. Taking into consideration numerous biblical

texts and this historical sense can protect one against the manipulation of biblical statements, part-quoted in narratives, especially pacifist ones. The sentence from the Gospel of Matthew: “all who take the sword will perish by the sword” (Mt. 26:52) was uttered at a moment of tension and horror when Judas betrayed Jesus. In the historical sense, it means the rejection of the idea of a Messiah-King who would lead the Israeli people to the war against the Romans. Meanwhile, Jesus does not present himself as a political or military leader of one of the nations, even if it is the Chosen Nation. In Jesus’s words – “Put your sword back into its sheath, for all who take the sword will perish by the sword” (Mt. 26:52) – there is no mention of soldiers. The Evangelist does not recognize them in those who came with Judas. It was “a large crowd, with swords and clubs, who had come from the chief priests and the elders of the people” (Mt. 26:47). These words allow us to conclude that Jesus of Nazareth, captured in the garden, does not want to be the leader of the national uprising against the occupant – the Romans. He knows that his mission concerns a much more fundamental and much more universal freedom. Jesus brings and gives freedom to a human being at a level different from where dilemmas about belonging to states and freedom of nations are revealed. He creates the foundation of freedom and only on this basis other freedoms can rise, also the freedoms of individual nations and the sovereignty of states. In these freedoms, the obligations arising from the teaching contained in the Great Commandment and in the Beatitudes may resound even stronger. Especially in the blessing that speaks about children of God. The Gospel of St. Matthew reads: “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God.” (Mt. 5: 9).

The territories where Christianity of the first generations spread were well-organized politically, socially, economically and legally. The church developed in the context of a high material and spiritual culture. From the very beginning, the issue of the relationship between the new religion and the world in which it grew was important. In practice, it was not only about the tension between *sacrum* and *profanum*, but about the relations between the Church and the state, meeting at many levels of life. The first generations of Christians in the Roman Empire formed a religious group that sought to free people from religious and political absolutism. The dynamic development of this new religious community, which took

place not only in the Jewish diaspora, became an increasingly important religious and social theme. At the same time, there was an awareness of the emerging danger of this surprisingly rapid expansion of the new religion. The main problem was that Christians in a far more intransigent way than the followers of Judaism (although they were not always clearly distinguished from the latter) rejected state religion. Meanwhile, the new religion crossed national barriers, which certainly had to make the authorities at various levels in the Empire ponder.

For the Romans, the sphere of political life was directly connected with religion. The refusal to participate in the cult of Roman gods was both a religious and political act, and it was also a violation of the social order. The law developed by the Romans aimed to defend the institutions of the state (*ius publicum*) and its citizens (*ius privatum*). In practice, this meant that the refusal of the followers of Christ to worship the Roman gods, seen as the guardians of *rei publice*, was seen almost as a crime against the state and the emperor: *crimen laesae Romanae religionis* and *crimen laesae maiestatis*. Therefore, in research on the persecution of Christians in the Empire before the Edict of Milan (313 A.D.), it seems unjustified to try to decide between religious and political reasons for actions against the followers of Christ.

The situation of the first generations of Christians in the world contemporary to them changed radically along with the *Edict of Milan*, jointly proclaimed by Constantine the Great and Licinius. It does not make much sense to discuss this event in detail here, however it is worth paying special attention to the issue of public security, referred to in the *Edict of Milan*. Constantine and Licinius confirm in it that at the meeting in Milan they dealt with matters important for the empire and reviewed “all matters tending to the advantage and welfare of the commonwealth.”¹¹² They meant the freedom of religion. Analysing the content of the *Edict*, Zbigniew Jaworski notes that for the legislators the reason for the announcement of universal religious freedom was the will to respect religion and honour. In the text of the document it was formulated in the following way: “we mean not to derogate aught from the honour due to any religion or its

¹¹² *The Edict of Milan as in: Lactantius, De mortibus persecutorum*, [https://earlychurchtexts.com/public/edict_of_milan.htm] access on December 2, 2018.

votaries.”¹¹³ Such an approach shows perfectly the attitude of the *Edict's* authors, the sense of *sacrum* and the value of religion in both private and public life. From the historical perspective, this document should be an expression of breaking the formal relationship between the state and the pagan religion, and at the same time the state adopting the function of the guarantor of religious freedom to which every human being has a right. In this action of the emperors-authors, one should see an important event in the history of creating security. The purpose of that action was not only to gain the favour of the supreme God, but importantly progress the work for peace within the state. The *Edict of Milan* opened also the way to implementing the principle of religious and political duality. Unfortunately, the ancient concept of monism was still too strong to be completely rejected. In subsequent centuries, this resulted in a tendency to privilege monistic aspirations in a Christian version, which gradually took the form of Caesaropapism or theocracy. The consequence of the *Edict* was the freedom of Christ's followers to conduct their activities. However, in practice, the Church could not take full advantage of it. As a relatively young reality, which had already experienced persecution, it was not able to maintain full independence from secular authority. Moreover, the empire was a state with a tendency to totalitarianism, which meant for the Church a clash with the empire's aspirations to subordinate almost everything to itself. Already Constantine the Great saw himself as a “bishop for external affairs”, that is, in exchange for providing help, he believed he was entitled to control the Church's external activity.¹¹⁴

3.4. A just war?

The traditional Christian doctrine regarding a just war is an important premise in determining the conditions that must be met for armed defence to be considered morally decent. Important elements concerning a just war can be found in Cicero's thought, while its Christian deepening and refining was begun by St. Augustine. In the Middle Ages, the notion of a just war was present not only in the teaching of St. Thomas, but it also

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Cf. J. Krukowski, *Kościół i państwo. Podstawy relacji prawnych*, Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, Lublin 2000, pp. 20-21.

entered the canon law. Three conditions can be extracted from the teachings of Thomas Aquinas which must be met for a war to be considered just:

1. Only the authority empowered to do so has the right to decide about war.
2. The decision about war made by the competent authority must be a real act of power, not an act of tyranny or belligerence. This means that there must be just and sufficiently serious reasons for taking up arms, and bloodless means of defence must be ultimately exhausted.
3. The purpose of war, and not just its reason, the means used, and the spiritual attitude of those fighting should be just.

For a more complete picture of the issues of interest to us, we should recall the thought of another great medieval scholar – St. Raymond of Penyafort, who in the “*Summa de casibus poenitentiae*” described five conditions of a just war. They can be summarized as follows:

1. The purpose of war cannot be to kill enemies, it can only be fought to defend life, freedom or property.
2. In war, one must reject the spirit of revenge, hatred and greed.
3. It should strive to restore peace as soon as possible.
4. Only a monarch can decide about war.
5. Women, children or clergy must not be involved in the fight.

The principles of a just war formulated in the Middle Ages viably influenced people’s views and conduct. However, even though they greatly mitigated war habits in Europe, many times in history, people with clouded judgement saw their own aggression and atrocities as a just war. The greatest evil that resulted from thinking about war and appealing to the category of justice was dormant conscience. The greatest Polish expert in St. Augustine and St. Thomas’ thought – Jacek Salij – says: “People have acknowledged as indisputable and not unsettling that a just war is permissible. But it is not so simple. The tension has been lost characteristic of the Gospel and Christians answer to the question whether there are situations when resort to the use of violence is permitted.”¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, many times in history, human blindness and ill will accompanied the

¹¹⁵ J. Salij, *Wojna o pokój? O wojnie i pokoju widzianych oczami chrześcijanina*, Wydawnictwo “M”, Kraków 2003, p. 31. [own translation]

assessment of aggression and cruelty. A justifying name for aggression, called a just war, was also overused. But it is also a fact that the rules of a just war formulated by the Church teachers really influenced people’s views and conduct. Undoubtedly, they influenced the confirmation of the belief that every form of aggression requires judgment, that the intention of aggression is also important, and that both leaders and those who carry out orders are subject to this judgment. The tools used for warfare also require moral evaluation. Today, the principles of a just war formulated by the Church’s teachers, in contemporary wars characterized by “progress” in the development of killing techniques, seem almost unacceptable. The inadequacy of the detailed rules of a just war to contemporary armed conflicts is also influenced by the increasing moral disorientation of entire societies. The matter seems even more complicated if we consider such phenomena as “preventive war”, “pre-emptive war”, “terrorism” and “hybrid war”. In addition, measures developed for the purposes of “psychological war” should be taken into consideration. It is worth remembering that the aggressor often wishes to be hated by the victim. This is well illustrated by the situation in post-war Poland during the development of Solidarity. The communist authorities wanted the opposition representatives to commit violence, to reach for terrorism and propagate hatred towards anyone. Meanwhile, the opposition in Poland strongly adhered to the principles of Christian morality. The leaders of Solidarity and the priests accompanying this movement, such as Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, clearly hinted that the enemy and the wrongdoers also deserve love, and that reaching for violence means going down to the aggressor’s level. The basic answer to the question: “Why did the communists want so much the opposition in Poland to use violence against the authorities?” is the following: inflicting harm to completely innocent people and those who cut themselves off from violence causes great psychological discomfort. The communist authorities in Poland did a great deal to instil hatred in their victims. To a large extent, they were also interested in destroying the power of the testimony given against them by violated justice. The apparatus of the communist authorities tried to justify its actions by showing the “enemies of the people” as capable of potential violence. That is why, among other things, the communists in 1984 killed Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, known as the Solidarity chaplain

because he repeatedly evoked the principle expressed by the Biblical author of “The Letter to the Romans” – “conquer evil with good.”¹¹⁶

3.5. Conclusions

In reflecting on Catholic Christianity in the context of the creation of Poland’s national security, we form the following conclusions:

1. War and religious thinking influence each other. As in the case of Christianity, one can talk about the positive influence of religion on thinking about war and ways of waging wars, in a sense, one can talk about the “positive” impact of war on the understanding of thinking about religion, thinking inspired by religion and – finally – on social thought developed in theological environments. Let us start with the second part of this statement. Religion in the context of war is close to man and yet as a “divine reality” it should be at the same time human, which should not in the least diminish it. It is precisely this closeness of a human being and one’s everyday life that guarantees the realism of supernatural-ity. What supernatural-ity and divinity would want to save a man, yet abhorred that man’s everyday life, entanglement in absurd and violence and experience of death. Religion, wanting to save people, cannot escape from the battlefield on which a human being fights for one’s dignity and future. And now let us focus on what was presented as the first part of the statement – the positive influence of religion on thinking about war and ways of waging wars. Religion protects war against its absolutization, and a human being – against seeing war as the only or final solution. Religion that respects a human being, protects war from becoming an altar on which God-pleasing sacrifices are made. Thanks to the fact that in temporality religion speaks of eternity, of “eternal peace”, it appears as a command to think about peaceful solutions.

2. It is impossible to understand contemporary times without considering what really shapes it: human religiosity and faith and its principles. This forms the thinking and valence of individuals, entire communities and subsequent generations. Therefore, the theological content and related anthropological premises need to be considered. From the point of view of the state’s security, the failure to consider the religious element of a

¹¹⁶ Rm. 12: 21.

given population is a mistake preventing the constructive and successful shaping of the future. Religion has a characteristic, specific influence on the behaviour of a human being, nations and states. It also affects security when rejected and fought against in a given country.

3. The contemporary Catholic social teaching as well as the entire theology were influenced by the Enlightenment and French Revolution, movements for the emancipation of women, for peace and justice, movements fighting for freedom and democracy and the ecological movement. In the past, many Christian thinkers showed great or even excessive caution in relation to the social phenomena mentioned above. They were seen primarily as threats to the teaching and faith, and thus their significance was neglected. There were many attempts to build a Christian world alongside the secular one, not allowing them to penetrate each other. The model form of the meeting of *sacrum* and *profanum* was sanctification, transformation of the non-divine, and incorporation into the Christian order. With time, there came the appreciation of the autonomy of worldly realities and their influence on theological cognition. The autonomy of secular order authorizes and obliges courageous cooperation between religious and secular subjects, without which individual societies are threatened not only with the danger of perpetuating hostility between people, but also with the real harming of an individual’s right to one’s own views. Without coordinated cooperation between the secular and the religious, it is impossible to talk about the freedom of individuals, nations and states, it is impossible to talk about the good of a human being and the security of the communities created by people.

4. Culture - the “pillar of strength” in thinking about national security of Poland

What is the ‘power cell’ provoking the right way of thinking about the national security of Poland? Considering that we have already reflected on memory, identity and Christianity in this study, the answer should be unambiguously ‘culture’.¹¹⁷ John Paul II reminded us about the role of culture when he described how for centuries contributed to Poland’s strength: “I am a son of the Nation, that survived the most horrible experiences of history, that was repeatedly condemned to death by its neighbours and yet it remained alive and remained itself. It kept its own identity and its own sovereignty as a Nation throughout partitions and occupation – not taking any other means of physical power as a basis, but only its own culture, which in this case turned out to be a power greater than those powers.”¹¹⁸ In the culture of a nation, the social core of its identity and the source of its vitality should be recognized. Therefore, the biggest threat to national identity are blows aimed at the culture of the nation.¹¹⁹ The experience of Polish history shows unequivocally that any strike against its national

¹¹⁷ Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Tworząc bezpieczeństwo. O potrzebie budowania kultury życia wspólnego w cywilizacji zachodniej*, in: *Edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa. O kształtowaniu kultury bezpieczeństwa*, A. Skrabacz, L. Kanarski, K. Loranty (ed.), Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, Warsaw 2015, pp. 17-35.

¹¹⁸ John Paul II, *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego wygłoszone w siedzibie UNESCO. W imię przyszłości kultury (02.06.1980)*, p. 14. [own translation]

¹¹⁹ Cf. T. Ślipko, *9 dylematów etycznych*, Petrus, Kraków 2010, p. 100.

culture should be recognized as an attempt on its independence. It also means that culture has the power to revive the independence of a state and the power to shape sovereign thinking of a political community.

Drawing attention to culture and defining it as a "strength" in thinking about national security of Poland is at the same time an appeal to the people of culture and people of science, who bear great responsibility for the future and independence of their homeland. The creation of Poland's national security requires their commitment and openness to others and otherness. On this path, the experience drawn from the history of Poland comes in handy, as it clearly indicates Christian values, and above all the Great Commandment. One does not have to be a Christian or a Catholic to recognize the creative influence of Christian values on the culture of Poland and its authors. The first eminent Polish writers and scholars were bishops – such as Blessed Wincenty Kadłubek (d. 1223) or Marcin Kromer (d. 1589), monks – St. Hyacinth, O.P. (d. 1257) and Piotr Skarga SJ (d. 1612). Mentioning St. John Cantius (d. 1473), it should be emphasised that the Jagiellonian University founded in the 14th century was as an institution a part of the Polish Church, just as the majority of later Polish universities.

Many authors of Polish culture have their roots in religion, such as: Jan Kochanowski (d. 1584), Juliusz Słowacki (d. 1849), Adam Mickiewicz (d. 1855), Zygmunt Krasiński (d. 1859), Cyprian Kamil Norwid (d. 1883), Jan Matejko (d. 1893), Stanisław Wyspiański (d. 1907), Henryk Sienkiewicz (d. 1916), Władysław Stanisław Reymont (d. 1925), Zofia Kossak-Szczucka (d. 1968), Roman Brandstaetter (d. 1987), Zbigniew Herbert (d. 1998), Czesław Miłosz (d. 2004). The *Diary: Divine Mercy in My Soul* by St. Faustyna Kowalska OLM (d. 1938), an uneducated girl who trusted herself to Jesus, is today the most frequently published and read Polish book in the world. The whole world also learned about St. John Paul II, whose intellectual, spiritual, but also literary achievements are a real highlight of Polish culture.

4.1. Why culture?

Perhaps it is over-exaggeration to say that to achieve a future of personal, national and global security we rely on maintaining the current culture of common life in Poland and throughout Europe. However, one can theorise

that creating security will not take place without the effort to build a common culture, without thinking about what it is to be human, without a hierarchical system of values which develop a person, society, nation and international order. For the purpose of this study, the way of defining culture characteristic of personal thinking was used. Czesław S. Bartnik writes that “culture is the personalization of a human being, and then the world in relation to a human being.”¹²⁰ Expanding this synthetic statement, its author points to culture as the transformation of human nature into a person, into a community of people and shaping the world in human favour. Culture is also the main method in overcoming the thematic ambivalence of human existence (existence and non-existence, being and non-being, entity and non-entity, good and evil, truth and falsehood, love and hatred, salvation and non-salvation). It is therefore a method in overcoming the simultaneous orientation on values and anti-values.¹²¹ Culture understood in this way reveals its inseparable connection with a human being and forms of common life characteristic of people. A similar thought was expressed by John Paul II in a speech given in Paris at the headquarters of UNESCO: “Culture is the proper way of human existence. A person always lives in a way proper to one’s relevant culture, which, in turn, creates a relevant relationship between people, deciding about the interpersonal and social character of human existence.”¹²² In the same speech, John Paul II emphasized the relationship between culture and the nation. In his speech, it is impossible not to notice the mission of the nation for the sake of culture and the mission of culture for the sake of the nation. “The nation exists «from culture» and «for culture». And that is why it is the eminent educator in order to «be more» in a community, because it has a longer history than a human being and one’s family.”¹²³ There are symptomatic results of studies on the national security of Poland conducted by scientists gathered around prof. Józef Marczak. He aimed to provide a strategic synthesis of experiences shaping Poland’s national security over the centuries and use them as a source of scientific knowledge for

¹²⁰ Cz.S. Bartnik, *Personalizm*, “O.K.” Tomasz Wiatr, Warszawa-Lublin 2000, p. 449.

¹²¹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹²² John Paul II, *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego wygłoszone w siedzibie UNESCO. W imię przyszłości kultury (02.06.1980)*, p. 6. [own translation]

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 14. [own translation]

creating the national security of the Republic of Poland in the future. In the scientific work of the said research team, one of the components of the answer to the question: "What actions and measures enabled Poland to successfully counteract the, usually military, instances of German and Russian intrusion?" is the following statement: "the development of Polish culture (spiritual and material) allowing the survival of national identity even in captivity."¹²⁴ In the same work, the list of the strategic threats to the national security of Poland in the 21st century included the following: "The loss of national identity of present and future generations of Poles as a result of abandoning or wrong education of young generations of Poles omitting tradition, culture and national history."¹²⁵

The Polish thinking about culture is inextricably linked to a view of civilization. This results not only from the very understanding of culture that creates interpersonal bonds, but also the Polish experience of participating in the culture of Western civilization shaped by Christianity, Christian values, and above all the Commandments of love relating to God and our neighbours. The experience of the European Union teaches that culture is a set of values which differ in terms of quality. Taking into account this diversity allows the valuation of cultures and the recognition among them of those that serve a human being and the communities one creates, but also those that are destructive to individuals and societies. Moreover, it becomes an imperative to precisely define the hierarchy of values within culture referencing humans and human dignity. From the point of view of the state, it cannot be indifferent to mainstream culture that shapes thinking and values in the political community, since the future of the nation, the state, the life of individuals and the community depends on culture.

In culture, one should recognize the record of memory and history, the constant lesson of humanizing life, humanizing and personalizing the reality in which one lives, making social, national and political life more human. The acceptance of this lesson is the agreement to reflect on the

¹²⁴ J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorok, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji...*, op. cit., p. 32 and 33.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 92; cf. p. 100: "The upbringing of Polish youth in the spirit of traditional national values is of decisive importance in preserving national identity as well as the liberation and mobilizing of the enormous energy of all Poles for the sake of national protection and defence as well as sacrifice and work for Poland, which – due to its geostrategic location – is decisive for national security."

constant tension in which a human being participates from one's beginning. This is the tension, first of all, between: animal and human, primal and future, alpha and omega, material and spiritual, and secondly, between: freedom and determinism, planning and spontaneity, creation and being created. In this tension, one should probably recognize something that not only allows a human being to be more oneself and to realize humanity, but also something that makes one seek the truth. The experience of this tension provokes us to think about the truth. Accepting culture as a lesson of humanizing life is the consent to seek, find and accept the truth.

There are many indications that in the process of creating security we are currently at a privileged moment in the history of Western civilization for the development of culture. The juxtaposition of three directions of philosophical anthropology development in the of the first, second and third millennia gives credence to this optimistic statement. This juxtaposition – by necessity characteristic of schemata – is a great simplification and serves only to draw attention to the directions of the development of thought, not its thorough analysis. Anthropology of the first millennium, represented by Aristotle (d. 322 BC) and St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), deals with a human as a being. It describes an individual who “is.” In the second millennium, anthropology in the texts of, among others, Descartes (d. 1650) and Edmund Husserl (d. 1938) focuses on a human as a conscious and feeling being. The phrase “I am” seems to be exceptionally representative for this period. Entering the third millennium, following the anthropology of Martin Buber (d. 1965) and Emmanuel Levinas (d. 1995) and wanting to find a representative phrase for the new era, one would probably have to choose between “you are” and “we are.”¹²⁶ However, this is not about a choice, but about pointing to the relationality of a human being who not only “is”, not only says about oneself: “I am”, but discovers that “you are” and together “we are”. If we follow the line of thinking that being a human being means to be with the other, through the other and for the other, then we should consider contemporary times as a privileged time for creating the culture of common life. And yet, in the discourse on contemporary culture and common life, one of the most frequently appearing words to describe the current state is “crisis” – the culture of common life is in crisis.

¹²⁶ Cf. J. Galarowicz, *Powrót do wartości*, Petrus, Kraków 2011, p. 72.

Bearing in mind that culture is inseparably connected with a human being, we often find the sources of the crisis of the culture of common life in the contemporary understanding of a human being. In Western civilization, built on the roots of Roman law, Greek philosophy and Judeo-Christian morality, a specific Christian understanding of a human being has been shaped. It is a personal being (Lat. *persona* – ‘person’), which means that one is self-conscious, free, self-formed through decisions. The first who formulated the definitions of a person was Boethius (d. 524/526) – a Roman philosopher, translator of Aristotle and a politician who combined Hellenistic philosophy with Christianity. He wrote that “a person is an individual substance of a rational nature.” After Boethius, all the great thinkers of the Middle Ages reflected on defining a person (Bl. John Duns – d. 1308, St. Thomas Aquinas – d. 1274, St. Albert the Great – d. 1280, Bernard of Trilia – d. 1292, Thomas Cajetan – d. 1534), to a large extent developing his thought and emphasizing the uniqueness of a human being. The twilight of the fascination with the person and various forms of reductionism in understanding the person penetrated Western civilization with the views of such thinkers as William of Ockham OFM (d. 1349), Francisco Suarez SJ (d. 1617), Descartes (d. 1650), Blaise Pascal (d. 1662), Baruch Spinoza (d. 1677), Thomas Hobbes (d. 1679), John Locke (d. 1704), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (d. 1716), George Berkeley (d. 1753), David Hume (d. 1776) for whom the person was essentially an empty notion. In the views of the thinkers mentioned here, the person was usually reduced to an element: mind, idea, heart, behaviour, character, thought, temperament, etc. However, in order not to fall into a too far-reaching simplification, although sometimes it is characteristic of syntheses, it should be noted that Descartes, Leibniz and Pascal contributed to the modern discovery of a human being as a person, but only in the aspect of a chosen manifestation of human life. For example, Descartes, taking up the anthropological reflection, closed himself in the abstract *Cogito*. Immanuel Kant (d.1804) contributed to the modern discovery of a person together with transcendental personality just as – mainly – representatives of German idealism: Johann Gottlieb Fichte (d. 1814), Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (d. 1854), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (d. 1831) who in his reflection on a person rejected Fichte’s subjective idealism as well as Schelling’s objective idealism, to develop absolute idealism. Particularly

clear examples of reductionists in understanding of a person are Julien Offray de La Mettrie (d. 1751) together with the idea of a human being as a highly specialized machine, Ernst Haeckel (d. 1919) describing a human being as one of the thousands of species of the animal kingdom and accepting the origin of morality from the social instincts of the fauna world, Harry Stack Sullivan (d. 1949) for whom a human self means the roles played in relations with others, Jean-Paul Sartre (d. 1980) claiming that a human being is only a series of ventures, Richard McKay Rorty (d. 2007) with his description of a human being as an entity who does not cognise but acts and uses tools to make one's life better. A human being reduced to a part of oneself or one's functioning cannot express oneself neither in culture nor in history. Communities created by a diminished human being have an error as if in their own software, which constantly remains defective. From a functional point of view, a human being who is downgraded will either be a coward because one does not fit into the world in which one lives, and will hide from it, or will be a naive daredevil ignoring real threats. The forms of reductionism indicated above shaped "modernity" in history, followed by "post-modernity" together with the crisis of the culture common life characteristic of the latter.

"Modernity" arising from the European Enlightenment (18th century) or even, as some say, from the Renaissance (16th-17th century) should be characterized by several specific features. From the point of view of cultural anthropology, six can be listed:

- Rationalism – related to control and predictability,
- Progress – referring to the development of science, which is to improve things,
- Optimism – arising in the context of the development of social sciences, and assuming that manipulation of culture is able to build a better society, made up of better people,
- Integration – characterized by the expectation that small "traditional" identities will give way to larger, interdependent and modern ones,
- Bureaucratization – which is a departure from kings and chiefs to experts in specific areas of life,
- Secularization – appearing as perhaps the most dominant assumption related to the natural retreat of society, especially the

governance and economy, from religion, which, losing its importance, could disappear altogether in the future.

As it turns out, society based precisely on the above features has so far not existed, and it is widely recognized that "modernity" has gone down in history, and we are now living in "post-modernity". Already at the end of the 19th century, "modernity" was subjected to evaluation. Friedrich Nietzsche (d. 1900) and Sigmund Freud (d. 1939) criticized rationalism, objectivity, integration of masses and other features of a "modern" society. World War I (1914-1918) was an important moment for the growing criticism of "modernity." It contributed to the fundamental undermining of the rationality of human actions, progressivism and optimism. Later wars – the civil war in Spain (1936-1939) and World War II (1939-1945) provided further arguments for the criticism of "modernity." Western civilization in the created "modernity" was defeated.

The culture of common life in Western civilization turned in the twentieth century into "post-modernity" is characterized by other features, among which there are: irrationalism, emotionalism, doubt in progress, pessimism, mass character of culture and the development of mass-media. A contemporary human being defines oneself as unable to learn the truth nor remain faithful to previously accepted principles. Perhaps the legacy of "modernity" along with its characteristic secularization are the following elements present in "post-modernity": the lack of hierarchy of values or even axiological emptiness, development of sects, terrorism referring to religious argumentation, permissiveness, egoism and hedonistic-consumeristic materialism (since eternity lost its importance). "Post-modern" people seem to be annoyed if life and death are not absolutely subordinated to them (the lexem "absolutely" – Lat. *absolutus* – "unconditional", "unbound" – is purposefully used here to indicate the tendencies of a modern human being to attribute divine features to oneself). And this is not about a general dimension of human life, because it manifests itself in the pursuit of a maximum control over both the beginning and the end of human life. These processes could not fail to lead to the state known as the culture of death. It seems that one of the forces in moving from the culture of life to the culture of death, which manifests itself for example in the fear of a new-born baby, is the opposition of culture and human nature, which is one of the consequences of the Enlightenment.

The discourse on culture, the relationship between the human being and culture, and the creation of a culture of common life cannot ignore the subject of the relationship between culture and nature. Since “modernity”, Western civilization has been characterized by tendencies to reduce the essence of humanity to one of its dimensions (individual, social, physical, spiritual, local, global, cosmic), which should be considered as a manifestation of an experiment on human nature. After all, a human being is not only individual, but also social, not only spiritual, but also carnal, etc. Human activities that respect human nature and its characteristic complexity allow the creation of a universal culture in which intercultural dialogue takes place. Those cultures that have a distinct rooting in human nature are prepared for creative contact with otherness, for peaceful contact with other cultures. In culture, one should see the path of humanization, more and more complete and integral human development, which is incompatible with the opposition of culture and nature. This development is, among others, about processes and activities which, in turn, require appropriate tools. And yet the cultural tools that we use to transform nature emerge from it. Polixenes, one of the characters in the *Winter Tale* by William Shakespeare already expressed it in the literary language:

Yet nature is made better by no mean
But nature makes that mean: so, over that art
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes.¹²⁷

The theme of nature taken up by Shakespeare constantly encourages us to reflect ever more closely on the relationship between nature and culture. In the discourse on building the culture of common life, it seems important to emphasize the relationship between nature and culture. If we follow the path of opposing nature and culture, we will easily find an excuse for human actions aimed at transforming the earth’s reality against nature, and what follows – against a human being. Also introduced legal changes resulting in cultural changes without prior realistic reflection on human nature and the lack of respect for it will not serve to build a culture of common life, or the development of a political community, nor

¹²⁷ W. Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale*, act IV, sc. 4, [http://shakespeare.mit.edu/winters_tale/full.html] access on December 16, 2018.

finally to create security. The shape of the culture of common life is the effect of a rational activity resulting from the social nature of a human being. In this activity, not only humanity of an individual is shaped, but also the common life, groups and institutions representing the values cherished by society.

One more remark should be added to the above observations regarding the role of culture in thinking about national security. Culture can manifest itself in the nation in its moral aspect – as the conscience of the nation and political community. It is easy to see that in the space of culture, the expression of what a community recognizes as good can be revealed, and then culture can appear as a space for shaping of a proper duty for this good. It should be considered fundamental that culture can be understood as an individual and collective effort aimed at recognizing, naming and expressing the truth in the space determined by values, especially moral ones. Then, culture reveals itself as a search for the truth, its recognition, and finally the ability to express certainty and judgment. In this way, culture of the nation is intertwined with courage, which allows it to be expressed in courage and become a weapon against internal and external threats. When thinking about culture as the conscience of the nation, one should take into account the law and obedience to the law. Deep within the nation there are unwritten laws to reflect on oneself and to survive, to do good and avoid evil, to build the security of people and community. Obedience to these laws shows the greatness and dignity of the nation. In this way, too, the law is revealed which protects a human being, good and the nation. Of course, it may happen that the nation does not want to listen to one's own conscience, despises its own culture, hides it from those who come to its living space, its territory. In this way, it despises the truth, and even the search for the truth, enters the path of immorality leading to the loss of sovereignty. Unfortunately, the closure of the nation to its own conscience, the inner voice in the simplest (and the most painful) form, is revealed through the dehumanization of culture, contempt for a human being and the right to life.

4.2. Towards personalism, or between individualism and collectivism

In contemporary studies on the differences between cultures and civilizations in relation to common life, attempts to describe societies by considering their individualist or collectivist orientation seem to be more and more important. This is about the significance of correctly diagnosing the state of affairs appropriate in the processes of creating security. In Polish culture and Polish scientific achievements, the conviction is strong that individualism and collectivism do not exhaust the thinking about a human being and human actions, because they appear to be contaminated with reductionism, threatening the dignity of people, the social existence of a nation, the sovereignty of a political community. This conviction results from personalistic thought developed in Poland by Wincenty Granat, Karola Wojtyła, Józef Tischner, Antoni Jozafat Nowak, Tadeusz Styczeń, Czesław Stanisław Bartnik, Bogumił Zygmunt Gacka, Krzysztof Guzowski, Krzysztof Gózdź and Grzegorz Barth. There is a strong conviction in Polish culture which is a personalistic principle: a human being is not a means for any purpose, but a goal, a value because of who one is, not because of what one has or what one does; a person with one's transcendent nature is the creator, centre and goal of the whole common – political life. Based on this principle, one can aim for common good that does not conflict with the full realization of a person, build a society, create the culture of common life, the culture of a political community, the culture of creating security. The personalistic principle teaches individuals, society and the state of mutual relations. Communities can dispose of a person's activities to achieve common goals, but they cannot dispose of the person or the life of a human being at any stage. Human life, the right to life, is the basis of all other rights and determines thinking about what is common. The power of Polish personalistic thinking results from the undisputed influence of, among others, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński on thinking about society, nation, state and sovereignty. In his social thought, a person appears as an excellent key to assessing and evaluating political systems and is a way of deep and far-reaching understanding of the development of civilization. Polish personalistic thinking developed in the second half of the twentieth century under the influence of the clash with

collectivism, which was implanted along with the political system and the domination of the USSR. Nowadays, it is also seen in the clash with individualism that it faces in its relations with the West.

It is almost universally recognized that Western civilization, and more precisely its representatives, are characterized by a tendency to individualistic or personalistic behaviour (unfortunately, these two terms are sometimes confused or used synonymously). In an individualistic society, the following are valued: independence, competition, self-sufficiency, uniqueness, autonomy, individual security and equality. The tension between a common life in an individualistic culture and a common life in a collectivist culture becomes evident when we do not only list the characteristics of one group, but we juxtapose them and compare. If shaping the culture of common life in an individualistic community refers to individual achievements, initiatives and independent decisions, and recognition and responsibility are individual, then the situation is different in the collectivist community, where the involvement in the implementation of group tasks is valued, cooperation to achieve common benefits, collective decision-making, and responsibility and guilt are collective. People living in individualistic civilization belong to many smaller groups whose members form loose bonds. It is different with those living in collectivist civilization. They belong to a few permanent groups, but they exert a significant influence on an individual. The space of Western civilization as no other has become the arena of the clash between collectivistic thinking with individualistic and personalistic thinking. Communism and fascism (especially in the form of Nazism) not only resulted in World War II, but also left a lasting impression, even in the form of a post-communist countries' *homo sovieticus*, and a specific fear of right-wing parties, like for instance in Italy. Collectivist ideologies have placed society (a deified state) above an individual, whereas in personalistic thinking the opposite is true: a state is for a human being. It is worth recalling that 26 years before the October Revolution, in 1891, Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* wrote about the relationship between a state and an individual, demonstrating how collectivism is contrary to the truth about a person, since it puts a state higher than an individual human being.

In the analysis of the relationship between individualism, personalism and collectivism, aimed at supporting reflection on the culture of

community life, we should pause to reflect on the sources of contemporary Western individualist mentality. One cannot disagree with Jacek Salij's view who in the context of reflection on social issues especially patriotism, comes to the following statement: "individualism makes us colour blind to the value and significance of a community, which we treat almost as a necessary evil, as a possessive power and repressive factor."¹²⁸ It seems that it would be right to look for sources of this state of affairs in the idea of the social contract formulated by Thomas Hobbes and developed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. To build the concept of a social contract, it was important to take into account security achieved by creating the right community. Following the idea of Hobbes and Rousseau, it must be stated that gaining security appears to be possible when people arrange a community accordingly. In such practice, the fundamental issue is the freedom of an individual and this individual's rights. The price paid by an individual to have security from the community is the waiver of a part of one's freedom and other rights for the sake of community. This act of renunciation is an essential fact which allows us to diagnose and define the sources of contemporary Western individualism (different from personalism):

- A human community is not something natural but the result of a social contract;
- A community is seen not only as one providing security but also depriving its members of some of their freedoms and rights;
- We are dealing with an opposition of the individual to the community – that to which one belongs and that which one creates.

Speaking about the sources of contemporary individualism and stressing the importance of the idea of a social contract, Jacek Salij summarizes the views of Hobbes and Rousseau as follows: "In this theory, the community always robs its members of some of their rights. Maybe it is not always right – we are told in this theory – so let us try to regain at least some of our rights, let us try to claw back from society as much as possible our freedoms and rights."¹²⁹ A culture of community life will not exist if it is built on an anthropological error and this happens if in the relationship between an individual and a community there is distrust of what is common by a person. This is not only about the state, but also other entities

¹²⁸ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, W drodze, Poznań 2005, p. 7.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 8.

such as: family, Homeland, Church, work environment, university, party, etc. "Suspicion towards a community (...) and adopting revindicist and restitutionary attitudes towards a community are inevitable consequences of an individualistic error. A follower of individualism loses consideration for the common good. A human being starts to believe that one does not need to worry about the community and its needs at all."¹³⁰ The individual's submission to the community and the inevitable suspicion and restitutionary attitude towards it should be seen as fundamental systemic crimes against the creation of a culture of community life. Criticism of individualism, by opposing both individual and community, is at risk of falling into collectivism promoting a community at the expense of its members. In view of this state of affairs, Jacek Salij treats personalism as an alternative that promotes both an individual and a community: "only personalism will save us from the Scylla of individualism and the Charybdis of collectivism. Unlike individualism, personalism promotes the community before its members, and because its binding element can and should be love, the most natural relationship between a community and its individual members is mutual harmony. Contrary to collectivism, personalism claims that a community exists for a human being (and not the other way around) and it should serve an individual."¹³¹

The ethics and effectiveness of the processes of creating security require it to face individualistic and collectivistic thinking as well as anti-personal and anti-community ideological variations. The value of indicated personalism is the fact that it is not a theoretical creation, but that it was born in history, it was born out of an anthropological problem which became a challenge for European thought which was squeezed between the realities of liberal individualism and Marxist collectivism. Both these currents undermined the existing axiom of the value of human existence. The claim that personalism was born in history is confirmed by the fact that in its assumptions it does not want to impose a vision of an individual and society, but to discover it. For personalists, the starting point and interpretative key is the human subjectivity or self-consciousness which is experienced in a person's own acts and inner happenings. Polish personalism has a special strength that can manifest itself in the processes

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

of creating security because it was developed in a time when there was a threat to the existence of an individual and community; a threat to an individual and the nation. The threat came with Marxist materialism striving to impose by force an obligatory way of thinking, subordinating an individual to the collective. The strength of Polish personalism is undoubtedly the fact that from the very beginning it defends an individual and social person, defends the nation and its axiological tissue.

Personalism has a securitological potential because it provides the fullest answers to questions that result from every reflection on the processes of creating the security of an individual and society, nations, states and the international community. Neither individualism nor collectivism will answer these questions. Individualism recognizes and describes only a part of a human being and sees one only as turning to oneself. Collectivism, on the other hand, treats a human being only as a part of the whole (collective); it does not see an individual at all, but only society. Personalism has a securitological potential due to the fact that many of the processes of creating security directly or indirectly lead to human-kind. The processes of creating security, pursued goals and selected resources depend on the understanding and definition of a human being. Personalism, emphasizing the primacy of the person, brings to security studies the thinking about self-awareness of a human being, one's cognitive abilities and freedom; makes us take into account the complexity of a human being and the perception of an individual as a synthesis of the spiritual and material world: unity and multiplicity; it is the way to recognize in a human being the unique ability to synthesize and process information; it is the imperative of a permanent perception of the human ability to transcend oneself, to be heroic, to sacrifice, to love, to make a selfless gift of oneself. Personalism brings nations and states the opportunity to recognize their inner life – axiological depth or shallowness, and thus the possibility of building a political community. It also has a securitological potential, because the truth about a human being (or the lack of it) always has far-reaching ideological and practical consequences; in political thinking and action it is a guarantee of mutual conditioning of *logos* and *ethos*. And it is *logos* and *ethos* that shape the lofty ideas and everyday activities of political communities, evaluate history and determine the future, they are the strength or helplessness of the present.

4.3. A human being and ideologies

Observing, from the Polish perspective, the international arena, movement of people from areas affected by poverty, violence, lack of freedom (especially religious), wars, etc., makes us reflect on the situation of Western civilization consumed with the progressive process of moving away from personalism that had shaped it for centuries. The development of reflection on the human race and Western civilization, which serves the purpose of creating security, will not be accomplished without confronting the culture grown around individualism and collectivism. In this search it is worth reflecting on communism and fascism (especially in the form of Nazism), which not only brought in "harvest" in the form of World War II, but also marked lastingly social thinking and the perception of reality, especially in Western civilization. Probably even the next generations will struggle with the concept of the deification of a state (society above an individual) and with the legacy in the form of a human being described as *homo sovieticus*.

The imperative of researching identity is connected with the indispensability of referring to the memory of Western civilization, to the memory of its previous "meeting" with the "otherness" of different civilizations. However, to think about what is "different", one must first know and have what is one's "own". Without "carrying" within oneself what is one's "own", meeting with "otherness" quickly becomes the adopting of "otherness" in the place of what is "own". Individual and collective memory, which shapes the identity of society, fulfils in a political community the function of "carrying" the "own". This "carrying" of what is one's "own" and passing it on to the next generations protects against the suicidal unreflectiveness of individuals and societies. It is memory that unmasks the great mistake of the 20th century, the mistake of two ideologies: individualism and collectivism in the communist and Nazi versions. The common effect of both of them was pushing a human being into internal and external loneliness as well as into a society revealing itself as a mass in which an individual is only an element.¹³²

¹³² On what connects both ideologies, cf. R. Legutko, *Triumf człowieka pospolitego*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, Poznań 2012.

The ideologies of the 20th century led to death in concentration camps and forced labour camps. The effects of these atheistic ideologies struggling against religion, and especially against Christianity, will probably be the object of research for many years, above all for historians.¹³³ Immersed in the abyss of totalitarian regimes, Karol Wojtyła/John Paul II saw and analysed the actions of both fascism and communism. Trying to understand their mechanisms, he proposed an alternative – the anthropology based on Christian assumptions. Important concepts in his anthropological dictionary were: person, love, freedom, action, responsibility, human body, gender, speech and language, culture and art, mystery, fatherhood, radiation, sonship, participation, vocation, truth, good, beauty, experience, cognition. The voice of John Paul II seems particularly important. He spoke as someone who personally experienced World War II, atheistic ideologies and the life in a totalitarian state, and also as someone who in a way characteristic of an academic philosopher, theologian and ethicist reflected on humans and human actions, on society and relationships taking place in it. As a religious leader, he also became an advocate of peace throughout the world, a speaker of hope and a witness of the opposition to evil aimed at a human being, family, nations, especially evil constructed by ideological thinking, by the legacy of communism and fascism. “I had long been interested in man as person. (...) I was always more fascinated by man. While studying in the Faculty of Literature, man interested me inasmuch as he was a creator of language and a subject of literature; then, when I discovered my priestly vocation, man became the *central theme of my pastoral work*”¹³⁴ – said John Paul II, answering Vittorio Messori’s questions. This interest in a human being quickly led Karol Wojtyła/John Paul II along the path of insightful observation into the depths of philosophical and theological reflection. The experience of World War II and communist Poland resulted in a great sensitivity to the deceptive

¹³³ Cf. *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917-1990)*, v. 1, M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Rzeszów 2015; *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917-1990)*, v. II, M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo bł. Jakuba Strzemię Archidiecezji Lwowskiej Obrządku Łacińskiego, Rzeszów–Lwów 2017.

¹³⁴ John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, (ebook) published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1994, loc. 2072.

theses of contemporary ideologies and a great sensitivity to various forms of violence against humanity. In the letter to the Polish Episcopate, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, he wrote: "World War II made everyone aware of the extent of contempt for humanity and violation of human rights, unknown before. It was a special mobilization of hatred, trampling on humanity and what is human, in the name of an imperialist ideology."¹³⁵ The Pope, along with his interest in a humanity and human life, is a part of the horizon of the research of many contemporary thinkers. Martin Heidegger rightly pointed out that in no epoch, did a human become as problematic as in ours.¹³⁶ However, despite the reflection on a human being and humanity, despite detailed observation and research, in the contemporary times, the human being has been humiliated and violated as never before. This is evidenced by the 20th century's wars and ideologies. In a *Speech during the prayer vigil before the 8th World Youth Day in Denver*, John Paul II, recalling the history of recent decades, stressed that ideologies are linked to the actions of false prophets and false teachers: "The 20th century will be recorded as an epoch of mass attacks on life, as an endless series of wars and the constant massacre of innocent human beings. False prophets and false teachers have been the most successful in this century."¹³⁷ From the point of view of the processes of creating security, it would be a mistake to think that the deadly ideologies of the 20th century have passed, that they ended with the end of World War II. In 1984, while preparing the *Message for the World Day of Peace (January 1, 1985)*, John Paul II wrote about ideologies whose power was connected not only with politics, but also with individual thinking and contempt for a human being. The document reads: "The effective promotion of peace demands that we should not limit ourselves to deploring the negative effects of the present situation of crisis, conflict and injustice; what we are really required to do is to destroy the root cause. Such ultimate causes are to be found especially

¹³⁵ John Paul II, *List do Konferencji Episkopatu Polski na 50-lecie wybuchu drugiej wojny światowej* (26.08.1989), no. 3, (Archiwum Konferencji Episkopatu Polski w Warszawie). [own translation]

¹³⁶ Cf. M. Heidegger, *Kant und das Problem der Metaphysik*, Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main 1951, p. 189.

¹³⁷ John Paul II, *Przemówienie podczas czuwania modlitewnego przed VIII Światowym Dniem Młodzieży w Denver* (14.08.1993 r.), no. II, 3. [own translation]

in the ideologies that have dominated our century and continue to do so, manifesting themselves in political, economic and social systems and taking control of the way people think. These ideologies are marked by a totalitarian attitude that disregards and oppresses the dignity and transcendent values of the human person and his or her rights.”¹³⁸

John Paul II’s statements about a human being arise not only from philosophical and theological reflection, but also from the experience of war and totalitarian systems, from the fact that he saw with his own eyes the “contempt for a human being”. Karol Wojtyła experienced the effects of implementing Marxism, referring to the materialism of Ludwig A. Feuerbach and based on the dialectical idealism of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, but also the effects of the implementation of the concept of a human being without God, closed within the limits of life on earth. Here again the legacy of Ludwig A. Feuerbach, but also of Friedrich Nietzsche, who deified a human being, come into play. Feuerbach regarded a human being as God, and God of religion as a projection of the human self. Nietzsche, with the idea of the superhuman, deepened the theme of Feuerbach’s anthropology through a radical exchange of places – the human replaced God. It also meant that the human possesses His attributes and performs His functions. Did not John Paul II write about it in one of the *Messages for the World Day of Peace*: “Today, a person is exposed to the temptation to refuse God in the name of his or her own humanity. Wherever this refusal exists, there the shadow of fear casts its ever darkening pall. Fear is born wherever God dies in the consciences of human beings. Everyone knows, albeit obscurely and with dread, that wherever God dies in the conscience of the human person, there follows inevitably the death of man, the image of God.”¹³⁹ The 19th century bequeathed to its descendants the theory of a human being without God, which became the practice of Marxism and Nazism. The same theory created anti-culture –

¹³⁸ John Paul II, Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace (1985). *Peace and Youth Go Forward Together* (08.12.1984), no 1. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/messages/peace/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19841208_xviii-world-day-for-peace.html] access on December 17, 2018.

¹³⁹ Cf. John Paul II, Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace (1985) ..., no 5. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/messages/peace/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19841208_xviii-world-day-for-peace.html] access on December 17, 2018.

the mechanisms of destroying a human being at all levels of human existence. The 20th century became the arena of a clash between two systems of values – materialism and Christianity and of two ethics – the ethics of struggle and the ethics of love. On the one hand, materialism and the ethics of struggle, on the other, Christianity and the ethics of love are two ways, and at the same time the construction of two different visions of the future of a human being and humanity in their every dimension. How strong in this context are John Paul II's words addressed to young people: "If you have decided that your God will be yourself with no regard for others, you will become instruments of division and enmity, even instruments of warfare and violence."¹⁴⁰

Let us stop at Hegel and his dialectics of the master and the servant, expressed by the philosopher in *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* – a work published in 1807 (Marxists will be later willing to refer to the dialectics of the master and the servant). John Paul II in the book *Crossing the Threshold of Hope* expresses the fear that "there is no lack of evidence to this effect – that the Hegel's paradigm of the master and the servant is more present in people's consciousness today than is wisdom, whose origin lies in the filial fear of God. The philosophy of arrogance is born of the Hegelian paradigm."¹⁴¹ The arrogance spoken of by the Pope arises as a result of rejecting the truth about God who is love. If such God is rejected, there remains the consciousness of the master and the servant. The master is jealous of his power over the world and human being. On the other hand, a human being decides that one is called to stand against the master and fight the master – God. John Paul II concludes that if there is any force that can deal with this philosophy of arrogance effectively, it is only Christ's Gospel. For Christ has turned the master and the servant arrangement into the father and son relation.¹⁴² He brought the Good News that God is the Father who loves people with the same love that he gives to his only Son. Despite the fact that the relationship of God's children to the Father is permeated with obedience, it is characterized by love, as

¹⁴⁰ John Paul II, Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace (1985) ..., no 6. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/messages/peace/docu_m ents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19841208_xviii-world-day-for-peace.html] access on December 17, 2018.

¹⁴¹ John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, loc. 2324.

¹⁴² Cf. *ibid.*

well as freedom and trust. Such an understanding of adoption finds effects in the entire theological anthropology and the life of the Church.¹⁴³ The proposal contained in Catholic social teaching, in what concerns both individual and social life – political life results largely from the theological understanding of the adoption of a human by God – being a child of God.

The social thought of John Paul II growing out of anthropology is, on the one hand, a voice of opposition to anti-human ideologies, on the other hand, in defence of a human being and one's security. It is a voice in defence of political communities creating the common good. He boldly calls Nazism and communism the "great explosion of evil" and the "ideologies of evil."¹⁴⁴ In these totalitarianisms, it is impossible not to see a plan for the development and building on the way we previously understood and defined a human being. Totalitarianisms usually occur in visions and projects based on novelties in the implementation. Freedom of people and nations and freedom of political communities is seen as one of fundamental adversities. In totalitarianism, there is no place for freedom understood as one of the conditions for creativity of a human being and society.

The issue of depriving a human being of freedom in ideologies of the 20th century is directly related to the issue of creating the future that is now emerging from history. Taking away history from a human being or a nation is an evident crime, not so much against history, but primarily against people and nations. Attempts to do so are well known to inhabitants of countries affected by the 20th-century totalitarianisms. A similar crime against people and nations is to take away their future, the prospect of tomorrow. It is a blow against one of the greatest forces that carry a human being, a blow against hope, often combined with faith, which similarly is the power that introduces us to what is coming. Emphasizing the role of hope, John Paul II said: "It is very important to cross the threshold of hope, not to stop before it, but let oneself be led."¹⁴⁵ Knowing the Pope's involvement in social issues, in the life of nations, in political changes, even in Poland, accepting this statement as exclusively religious

¹⁴³ More on adoption in a theological sense in: C. Smuniewski, *Wspólnota łaski. Charytologiczno-trynitarna eklezjogeneza*, WAM, "Myśl Teologiczna" v. 76, Kraków 2013, pp. 231-306.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. John Paul II, *Memory and Identity*, Kraków 2005, pp. 5-13.

¹⁴⁵ John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, loc. 2325.

would be belittling. The ideologies of the 20th century could not create hope, and therefore the future, because they started by destroying what already existed and created a new reality and a new human. Meanwhile, "hope – as Józef Tischner writes – does not want to start from scratch. What it needs is historical momentum, historical background. The greater the hope, the more distant beginnings it looks for. Inside the great hopes of humanity, there is always an interpretation of the whole of history."¹⁴⁶ Without giving individuals and societies hope, it is impossible to develop political communities and create security in all its dimensions. All rational human actions are inextricably linked with the vision of the goal, with what is to come. Depriving of hope in the ideologies of the 20th century is seen as a process of depriving of creative power in creating security.

Ideologies and totalitarianisms, which grew out of them, misrepresented the God of Christians as a threat to a human being and to human freedom and sovereignty. However, it should be remembered that the influence of ideologies and totalitarian systems did not finish neither with the end of the war nor with the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. Ideologies give birth to new totalitarianisms which take new forms. Unfortunately, no proper conclusions were drawn from the experience of the 20th century. The process of questioning the person and building on the ruins of history continues. Designing a new human fascinates people of the first decades of the 21st century. The legacy of the anti-personalist ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries is still active and works by destroying the very understanding of human nature. In many ways a new human is being designed.

4.4. The idea of a new human being

A contemporary – new human in Western civilization is seen as someone seeking to escape from such determinants as: place – associated with the territory of the state; language – directly related to ethnicity; religion and national culture – defining axiology and the resultant decisions and choices of a vision (idea) of building what is common, including the state. The new human is someone functioning without boundaries defined by

¹⁴⁶ J. Tischner, *Myślenie według wartości*, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy "Znak", Kraków 2011, p. 504.

reflection on one's own nature and condition, and at the same time making a new world. One of the main fads of the new world is the absence of boundaries, or at least their decline. Depriving the world of boundaries should not be confused with the ability characteristic of a human being to cross them. We are reminded by characteristics which we admire and are amazed by:¹⁴⁷ heroic love and heroism, the desire for truth and harmony, the search for ways to create beauty, longing for God. Perhaps the ability to cross boundaries has gained in strength due the need to face cosmopolitanism and nationalism which result in deprivation of ones motherland. Initially homeland deprivation seems to be related to the shallowness and superficiality of the questions people ask themselves, in the second case – to selfishness expressed in aggression. For a person deprived of his/her homeland it is probably easier not to think about patrimony, and from such a state it is only a step to eradicate the family from ones thoughts. Is it not clear to these contemporary people that lacking homeland, patrimony and family condemns them to a life of loneliness, a hell on earth? It must be assumed, of course, that hell is endless isolation, endless non-relationality and an endless existence in an unfulfilled world.

On the way to this thought, another question arises: Does not the tendency of a person to limit themselves reveal a yearning to be like God, to which the snake provoked the first parents in Paradise, saying: "...God knows well that the moment you eat of it your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods who know what is good and what is bad" (Genesis 3:5). Is it not something inhuman or perhaps even a parody of limitless God that is revealed in the elimination of those boundaries, including the one between good and evil? Thinking about existence without boundaries cannot take place without a reference to the Absolute. However, following Biblical thought, in which the Creator calls the world into existence out of nothing and does not make this world a part of himself, it is necessary to notice the boundary between God and what is not Him. However, the boundary was crossed, and it happened in Christ. The above images taken from both theology and culture cannot be omitted: (i) when we want to describe a human being and the boundaries of human existence and we

¹⁴⁷ I am referring to amazement, because the reflections that I wrote about earlier are close to me. Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Wspólnota łaski. Charytologiczno-trynitarna eklezjogeneza*, WAM, "Myśl Teologiczna" v. 76, Kraków 2013, pp. 10-18.

want to express the thinking of the Western world; (ii) when we want to understand the meaning of boundaries (also limitations) that people recognize, name, which people intentionally or unintentionally build, guided by their own security and the security of all that in which they are expressed; (iii) in a situation when we want to talk about forms of social existence: families, nations and states, different patrimonies and homelands; and (iv) when we want to talk about identities and patriotism.

If the 'modern human' listened to the advice of Roman Ingarden, in thinking about a world without boundaries defined by differences (otherness of others) or between nations and states – one would recognize this kind of temptation, which inevitably leads to annihilation. In his *Mała książeczka o człowieku* [*A Little Book about a Person*], the person is shown by this prominent Polish philosopher as being on the boundary between the animal world and the spiritual world. The Learned Gentleman indicates that possibly a fundamental threat to a person is not creating security. The threat should be recognized in not crossing the boundary, in stopping, which inevitably leads to destruction: "Human nature consists in the constant effort to cross the boundary of animality inherent in a human being and growing above it through humanity and the role of a human as the creator of values. Without this mission and without this effort to grow above oneself, a human being falls back and without rescue into one's pure animality, which is death."¹⁴⁸ Crossing the boundary from the animal world, crossing in which one's humanity is revealed, one's ability to create – create value – means entering the spiritual world. Perhaps in such crossing of boundaries one should recognize an important step in the process of creating a secure world. Drawing inspiration from Ingarden and wanting to talk about creating security and about protecting oneself from the death written about by him, we should be aware of the overlap necessary in culture and in spiritual development. The very attempt to transcend the animality is seen as an opportunity to recognize perhaps one of the most important realizations of own "I" – the one who transcends is not God. The imperative of crossing the boundary provides for a cognitive perspective not only of oneself, but also those realities which are separated by this boundary. In this thinking, the boundary does

¹⁴⁸ R. Ingarden, *Książeczka o człowieku*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1972, p. 26. [own translation]

not appear as something that limits and closes, but on the contrary: the awareness of the boundary has the power to broaden the field of view; the awareness of being separated becomes the space for shaping identity, being oneself, and not someone else.

It is not the borders between states and admirers of their own homelands that are a problem of the modern world, but the promotion of a new human reduced both by being deprived of the ability to transcend oneself, transcend one's own limitations and impotence, and by the alleged inability to admire and be amazed. Only a human being who transcends oneself and is amazed will question the meaning of: one's own path and its circumstances, one's own life and its social forms, the meaning of communities that break out of loneliness – family, homeland, religious and political ones.

4.5. Is happiness possible without a culture of living in a community?

In *Confessions* by St. Augustine (d. 430), one of those books that have been shaping Western civilization for many centuries, we find the answer to the question that so often troubles people. It returns in different contexts. The understanding and shape of the community depends on the answer to the following question: what is happiness? After many years of searching, St. Augustine wrote: *Beata quippe vita est gaudium de veritate* – “a happy life is joy in the truth.”¹⁴⁹ And although these words are embedded in theological reflection, in the history of ideas they have found various references and contexts. Referring St. Augustine's statement to the life of a man of science, Władysław Stróżewski, writes: “There is no greater joy than the joy of finding the truth. And there is no greater concern than for what is found to be true.”¹⁵⁰ The desire for happiness and the truth associated with it can be a great force for the observation and description of common life and its culture. This force is all the greater, the more we

¹⁴⁹ St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XXIII, 23, translated by Edward B. Pusey, D. D., Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, p. 135 [http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0354-0430,_Augustinus,_Confessionum_Libri_Tredecim-Pusey_Transaltion,_EN.pdf] access on December 18, 2018.

¹⁵⁰ W. Stróżewski, *Logos, wartość, miłość*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2013, p. 335. [own translation]

desire to engage in the creation of what is common, and also what is true, good and beautiful.

Contemporary reflection on what is common and, at the same time, true, cannot be achieved without being open to subjectivisms. However, it is not them that seem to be a major problem when we consider the culture of common life. History teaches that subjectivisms, in a sense, are verified in time, subjected to its test they pass, or turn towards what is essential, empirical and important, common and community-creating. A greater barrier to overcome in reflecting on what is common and true is the tendency to "check" the truth by reference to pragmatism and usefulness. This is probably a manifestation of a functionalist mentality with its strong tendency to calculate everything, not only material things. Meanwhile, creating the culture of community demands something much more accurately "checking" than the juxtaposition of pragmatism and usefulness. If in the context of creating culture we talk about the truth, then it is about what is its essence, and therefore a clear opposition to fiction, because what is meant here is realism. Speaking of creating security and the culture of common life characteristic of this process, we mean anthropological and axiological realism. The following remark by Władysław Stróżewski may lead one to adopt this point of view: "If a culture is not based on authentic values and real facts, it is inevitably condemned to being embedded in fiction. This fiction may assume different faces: from a false ideal that wrongly demands realization (although it has nothing to do with reality, the basis of all realization), through conventions that persist although they have long since lost any justification, up to arbitrary make believe (e.g. through various pressure groups) and false faith in which we fall as a result of our own laziness, overwhelming the sense of criticism and condemning us to the hopeless misery of unreflective existence."¹⁵¹ The discourse about the truth and its place in creating a culture of common life will not be accomplished without willingly travelling along the path of reflection on human nature and what is important to a human being. The lesson given by the history of civilizations and nations should be an important voice here in the decisions concerning possible fiction, which is brought by everyday life in ideas that want to "create" a culture often on the ruins of what was. It can be a consolation to recognize a simple

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 382.

mechanism that seems to govern this “creative” process characteristic of ideologies. Namely, the scale of destruction of what existed, the size of rubble directly depends on the extent of ignorance of the “creators” of new ways of life and the new “cultures” of common life.

Following the path of the reference to the ancient triad: truth, good and beauty, personal involvement must be mentioned in creating what is common and, at the same time, good. A reflection on good comes in handy described with reference to the concept of emanation. Throughout history Plotinus’ (d. 269) idea of a common life formula has often been discussed: *bonum est diffusivum sui* - Goodness always tends to spread. The culture of common life will have the ability to affirm a human being and society as long as it is a force shaping altruistic attitudes in individuals and society. Therefore, the path of an individual seeking oneself and one’s place in society leads through rational and unselfish self-giving. A human being who has found oneself becomes a conscious creator of the culture of common life. Preceded by the gift of self, the discovery of own “I” is not done in a world other than the world of personal references. As long as a person gives “something” to another human being and keeps his/her self within oneself, one remains at the level of objective relationships. By giving of oneself, one not only recognizes oneself in the ability to make a gift of oneself, but also in the capability of giving and ability to receive. Creating the culture of common life is inseparable from the concept of personal gifts. In practice, it is about how a person gives of oneself and accepts a gift from another. The concept of giving, however, may be appropriate for shaping the culture of common life as long as it is not confused or mixed with the Hegelian dialectics of the master and the servant expressed in the *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes*.¹⁵² The gift of self and the acceptance of the personal gift mark the poles between which all authentic culture of common life stretches. It means that the culture of common life becomes the future of one being and the civilization which one creates, only if, drawing from a reflection on the category of a rational and selfless gift, it strives for the good of every human being.

Truth and good are complemented by beauty. The reflection on the culture of common life cannot fail to lead to the reflection on beauty,

¹⁵² Cf. G.W.F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, in: tenze, *Gesammelte Werke*, v. 9: W. Bonsiepen, R. Heede (ed.), Hamburg 1980.

because it is beauty that has the ability to create a community above cultures. The cross-cultural dimension of beauty is more obvious than the cross-cultural dimension of good, as beauty attracts and unites people of different views, origins, goals, cultures and civilizations. Beauty intuitively recognized by the senses reveals something that escapes empirical cognition, and at the same time something that is desired more than what is received by the senses. Do the senses experience more than the promise or anticipation of something bigger, what is above, what is hidden? The reflections on beauty contained in Plato's *Symposium* remain relevant despite the passage of centuries. Beauty invariably refers to the concept which although understood in the beauty of individual things, is not obvious what it is in its entirety. The cross-cultural and at the same time uniting dimension of beauty works in various societies as a gift. There is certain fairness in this endowment – no one will possess it completely, nor will anyone be satisfied fully. This was aptly put forward by Józef Tischner (d. 2000): "Beauty comes before us as a gift, as a grace freely given. Not only does nothing foretell beauty, but nothing can retain beauty with the one who admires it. One cannot buy beauty, possess it, take it into captivity."¹⁵³ Inspired by the philosopher's thought, we can say that the reflection on beauty leads to reflection on the culture of common life an important element – a common experience of limitation characteristic of a human being. This limitation experienced in the face of beauty, should bring to mind the important means of creating common life: the ability to be amazed and humility in the cognitive process. The first – the ability to be amazed, provokes self-examination, beauty makes one realize one's depth and openness to elements outside of ourselves not only to things, but to other humans with their ways, history and desires. Thus openness to society. This is how we come to the second element – humility in the cognitive process. Openness to the "other" without humility will be imposing oneself, domination, dictatorship, tyranny. Continuing this reflection on the culture of common life and beauty, we realize the need to reflect on something much more fundamental than culture and community. Beauty provokes thinking about life as such, its value and purpose. Is it not this kind of perception of what is important that Fyodor Dostoevsky

¹⁵³ J. Tischner, *Filozofia dramatu*, Éd. du Dialogue, Paris 1990, p. 95. [own translation]

(d. 1881) wants us to focus on: “without the English, life is still possible for humanity, without Germany, life is possible, without the Russians it is only too possible, without science, without bread, life is possible—only without beauty it is impossible, for there will be nothing left in the world.”¹⁵⁴

The search for happiness in community life promotes a culture in everyday life and a culture in the political community. The reflection on the truth, good and beauty undoubtedly serves this process. Those who have tried it and practice it do not need to be convinced. While those who claim to live consciously and yet do not build the common good, probably will not be prompted to change their own position by the thoughts presented here. Regardless of other claims, personal involvement in creating what is common, and at the same time true, good and beautiful, has a value of its own, although it may have a discouraging taste. Let the following words by Władysław Stróżewski be an encouragement to build the culture of common life by overcoming apathy and transcending what one recognizes in oneself: “The postulate of transcending human nature by culture belongs to the nature of a human being as a human being, and the eternal transgression of oneself towards the highest values – to the essence of culture. Therefore, for the culture we are building here and now, let the truth be its inviolable foundation, good – justified reason, and beauty – the fruit of the hardships devoted to it and transcending it.”¹⁵⁵

4.6. Conclusions

These conclusions mainly result from the attempt to think integrally about a human being, culture and creating security.

1. In the study of the culture of common life and the creation of a political community, an anthropological-personalistic is the preferred approach because it can extract and describe the subject of analyses, taking into account the condition, greatness and limitations of a human being.

2. Western civilization is weakened by individualism, collectivism and the approach to a ‘new human’. It will be powerless without giving

¹⁵⁴ F. Dostoevsky, *The Possessed, or The Devils* (The project Gutenberg Ebook), translated by Constance Garnett, release date 2005, chapter IV. [<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8117/8117-h/8117-h.htm>] access on December 18, 2018)

¹⁵⁵ W. Stróżewski, *Logos...*, op. cit., p. 388.

credence to reflection on the person and natural structures of common life in which a human being can be known. For constructive goal-setting, creating a secure future, and boldly revealing of one's own identity, it seems indispensable to research the legacy of recognized and emerging ideologies. These, on the other hand, usually refer to propositions which, firstly, express the negation of a community as the reality existing prior to its members, and secondly, reject harmony as a privileged relationship between society and individuals. Meanwhile, society exists for a human being and should serve a human being. Building and revealing the power of society will not be accomplished without an integral concern for an individual and a community and for the dignity of the person and the natural fabric of common life. The permanent verifier of this process is the legislation concerning the family and the protection of human life from conception to natural death.

3. The reflection on values, their perception in cultures and civilizations should be an important component of thinking about security studies. Axiology, a creative voice in security studies will protect people as long as it opposes ideologies. This is the power of reflection on values that define a human being as the highest good in the empirically discovered world. Until a human being is not seen as the main and only subject of society and as long as one is reduced to the level of the function of society, and in the ontic sense to being its part, a human being will not be able to create security. If the ontic subject of common life and the culture associated with it is society, rather than a person, then an individual cannot develop security other than as the creator of threats. The first axiological step towards the development of security studies is the reflection on the value of a person and one's dignity. It is a step towards the sense of a person (also a metaphysical sense) and the mystery of a person. It probably means going against the current of many contemporary narratives. For they, without thinking about the sense of a person and the mystery of a person, are not able to recognize the threats inherent in human degradation processes, in ignoring one's complexity and uniqueness.

4. A human being facing reality recognizes it as a duty. Common life and politics are such realities. It is our culture that constitutes the fulfilment of this task and dialogue with another person and other people. This is how a community is formed, and humanity is confirmed. A community

is not created single-handedly, in this work a person is revealed as a social being who builds a culture in community with others. In this way one creates oneself and society. This means that the culture of common life does not happen without cooperation, co-thinking and, what is essential, without communication based on mutual giving. Culture grows to the rank of the basic good of human communities if it is in constant readiness to serve the common good.

5. Culture seems to be a space where individual and social identity is shaped, and thus responsibility is built for communities in which people live. To create the culture of common life means to live together and for one another. To live together is to live for others in order to live more and more for oneself. Because culture exists for a human being, common life serves people as long as it affirms the human being.

6. A human being is the creator and addressee of the culture of common life. One creates space in it not only for meetings and common life with the second and third person, but also a space for meeting with history, with those who created culture before. The greatness of such a culture is verified in the courage and hope necessary to look into the future open to new meetings and common life.

7. The culture of common life will not be oriented towards the common good if it does not emphasize the primacy of a human being over the material world, which is connected with the primacy of being over possessing. In this primacy of being one should recognize the uninterrupted strength and encouragement for all those who give up private property for the benefit of their homeland, especially in times of threat to its freedom.

8. Axiology is an important element of the culture narrative. It is a system of values that confirm and develop a human being, society and nation. However, because culture is a set of values that are different in qualitative terms, therefore a certain hierarchy of values is essential for which a human being and human dignity will be the main point of reference. Christianity offers such a hierarchy of values. From the beginning of its existence, Poland has accepted this offer. Our national experience allows us to claim that Christianity guarantees the openness of culture to what at a given moment transcends a human being, what is beyond, what is constantly greater. It is not only about openness to transcendence, but also about what is close and even immanent. Christianity appears as one

of the guarantors of human openness to the truth about human beings and it is necessary in creating the culture of common life with a political community. One of the constitutive features of Western civilization was its communion of religion and culture, which served each other. Culture and religion were linked, among other things, by the fact that they let themselves be known not only as community and individual events, but also as community-building ones.

9. Internal and external freedom, thinking (drawing on the experience of history) and love (not limited to feelings and positive experiences) are three constitutive features that create a haven that shapes conscience from the culture of common life. Such a culture can become the conscience of a political community. In the light of personalistic thought, it is difficult to point to culture without morality. Therefore, it will be appropriate to emphasize the role of love in achieving morality. The following words of St. Augustine are apt: "My weight, is my love; thereby am I borne, whither soever I am borne."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XIII, 9, p.127.

5. Patriotism – the “way” of thinking about national security of Poland

Patriotism is connected immanently with the creation of security¹⁵⁷ in research related to military, security and defence studies, as well as by political scientists, historians, sociologists, theoreticians of education, cultural experts and theologians or philosophers.¹⁵⁸ Józef Maria Bocheński believed that the problem of homeland theory for non-Poles was only just germinating and was quite chaotic. He described the theory of the homeland developed by Poles as “consistent” and “finished.”¹⁵⁹ Accepting the above proposition, and at the same time searching for the sources of our reflection on the homeland, one should probably emphasize the role of history, recognizing in it the greatest teacher of the Polish Nation. The words of Pope Pius XII seem significant here, as he looked at the history of Poland and the situation of Poles after World War II in 1949: “The history of Poland, often glorious and miserable, in the researcher’s eyes seems similar to the stream of tears and blood, spraying your soil in the midst of

¹⁵⁷ Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Na drogach krzewienia miłości Ojczyzny. Patriotyzm jako fundament bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Klasy mundurowe. Od teorii do dobrych praktyk*, A. Skrabacz, I. Urych, L. Kanarski (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2016, pp. 39-51.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. A. Zwoliński, *Wprowadzenie do rozważań o narodzie*, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2005, pp. 141-157.

¹⁵⁹ J.M. Bocheński, *Patriotyzm. Męstwo. Prawość żołnierska*, Wydawnictwo Antyk – Marcin Dybowski, Warszawa 1989, p. 9.

constant change: here the abyss of pain, there the peaks of victory, radiant with the splendid luminosity of culture. Poland did not only know about dissent from Christ the King and His Church. By Your glory, the emblem of Your nobility is to act courageously, suffer bravely, trust unwaveringly and achieve what is great.”¹⁶⁰

Talking about patriotism as the “way” of thinking about the national security of Poland is an attempt to see such love related homeland as a process, something one should ‘go through’ and live through in both individual and collective experience. Love for the homeland also demands from every generation that wandering towards the future they should not forget that the condition for the success of this path is a journey into the past – learning about the fortunes of a political community. The theme of the way is one of those often found in the history of literature and culture. In history, many set out on a journey – sometimes until Kingdom come. The heroes walked the other worlds, like Dante Alighieri, who started the *Divine Comedy* with the words:

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
ché la diritta via era smarrita,¹⁶¹

and ended his work, talking about something perhaps the most fundamental for human wandering, the source of movement:

l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Pius XII, *List do biskupów polskich z 1 września 1949 roku* [Letter to the Polish Bishops of September 1, 1949] Archiwum Konferencji Episkopatu Polski w Warszawie. [own translation]

¹⁶¹ “In the midway of this our mortal life,
I found me in a gloomy wood, astray,
Gone from the path direct: and e'en to tell.”

D. Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy, Hell* (Canto I), translated by Rev. H. F. Cary, Project Gutenberg, Release Date: September 2005, Last Updated: November 30, 2012 [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8800/8800-h/8800-h.htm], access on December 27, 2018.

¹⁶² “In even motion, by the Love impell'd,
That moves the sun in heav'n and all the stars.”

D. Alighieri, *Divine Comedy, Paradise* (Canto XXXIII), translated by Rev. H. F. Cary,

In the history of mankind, wanderers have travelled to their homelands in the midst of great adventures. This was the case of Odysseus heading for Ithaca and Moses going to the Promised Land. Among Poles, the theme of a way is especially attested in the words of the national anthem:

March, march, Dąbrowski,
 From the Italian land to Poland.
 Under your command
 We shall rejoin the nation.
 We'll cross the Vistula, we'll cross the Warta,
 We shall be Polish.

5.1. Around the definition of patriotism

Reflection on the love of the homeland is an important part of Polish thinking in creating a political community. It is impossible not to refer here to the work of an anonymous author from Krakow in 1588: *Philopolites To iest Milosnik Oyczyzny, albo o powinności dobrego obywatela, Oyczyźnie dobrze chcącego, y one miłuiącego, krotki Traktat*.¹⁶³ In Polish thinking about those who love their homeland, it is necessary to recognize what in Latin is expressed by *patriae amator*. This phrase was used in the Roman Empire, for example in the inscription at the theatre in Leptis Magna,¹⁶⁴ and which is also asserted in the Polish literature. At Wawel, on the grave of Bishop Samuel Maciejowski – the Grand Crown Secretary in

Project Gutenberg, Release Date: September 2005, Last Updated: November 30, 2012 [<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8800/8800-h/8800-h.htm>], access on December 27, 2018.

¹⁶³ *Philopolites To iest Milosnik Oyczyzny, albo o powinności dobrego obywatela, Oyczyźnie dobrze chcącego, y one miłuiącego, krotki Traktat*, Drukarnia Macieja Wirzbięty, Kraków 1588.

¹⁶⁴ The full text reads: Imp(eratore) Caesare Diui f(ilio) Aug(usto) pont(ifice) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXIV co(n)s(ule) XIII patre patr(iae) Annobal Rufus ornator patriae amator concordiae flamen sufes praef(ectus) sacr(or)um Himilchonis Tapapi f(ilius) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fac(iendum) coer(auit) idemq(ue) dedicauit [further on the text in the Punic language]. In round brackets there are extensions not confirmed in the original text carved in stone. Cf. G. McIntyre, *A Family of Gods: The Worship of the Imperial Family in the Latin West*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2016, p. 88.

the time of Sigismund I the Old – these words were engraved: *Qui verus patriae semper amator eram. Mitis et ingenio miseris et saepe benignus: Unde aliquis dicit fors bona verba mihi.*¹⁶⁵ Cannot the *amator* from the Krakow epitaph in *patriae (...)* hear something earlier, that is, an echo of Ovid and the words: *pacis amator?*¹⁶⁶ Following such a suggestion, it can be said that “homeland” and “peace” somehow connect with each other, not only by referring to love as the concept combining *patriae amateur* and *pacis amateur*. It is about someone who reveals oneself in the ability to such love of the homeland that brings peace. It is about a human being who, loving one’s own homeland and its peace, wishes the same for others who do not have that.

In reflecting on the love of the homeland seen as the foundation for creating the national security of Poland, the words of Józef Maria Bocheński sound strong: “The act of breaking with one’s homeland is ethically false, that is sinful: it is a unilateral breach of obligations incumbent on a human being – in the field of justice, a simple dishonesty (a refusal to fulfil an obligation), and in the field of love something even worse, which public opinion rightly condemns as meanness.”¹⁶⁷ Speaking of patriotism, one should think of the understanding of the term “homeland.” The Polish philosopher, political activist and participant of the November Uprising – Karol Fryderyk Libelt, a student of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, comes to our aid. In the thesis *O miłości ojczyzny [On the Love of the Homeland]*¹⁶⁸ published for the first time in 1844, he attempts to define the essence of homeland, phrasing it in the form of three triads:

1. “Material basis:” land, nation, rights and laws.
2. “Spiritual powers:” customs, language, national literature.

¹⁶⁵ In the text the deceased speaks of himself. Own translation from Polish “I have always honestly loved the homeland. I was kind, concerned about the poor, and not indolent in generosity, And maybe therefore someone is praying for me.”

¹⁶⁶ Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, translated by G. Showerman, revised by G.P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library 41, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, London – New York 1914, p. 398 (Publius Ovidius Naso, Amores, II, VI, 25-26: *Raptus es invidia – non tu fera bella movebas; / garrulus et placidae pacis amator eras*).

¹⁶⁷ J.M. Bocheński, *Patriotyzm. Męstwo. Prawość żołnierska*, op. cit., pp. 16-17

¹⁶⁸ K. Libelt, *O miłości ojczyzny*, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Poznań 2006. On patriotic education in the writings of Karol Libelt, cf. G. Kubik, *Wychowanie patriotyczne w duchu jedności – inspiracje Karola Libelta (1807–1875)*, “Studia Socialia Cracoviensia” 6 (2014) no. 2 (11), pp. 209-219.

3. "The greatest strengths of the homeland, its externalized idea:" state, church, history.

The factors constituting the homeland mentioned by Karol Libelt are described, by Władysław Stróżewski, as important but of varying weight. The homeland does not only transcend them and therefore should be perceived as being above the mentioned triads, but also gives them meaning, not the other way around. Each of the factors listed has a value that must be cared for, to be sought after and which, if necessary, should be defended and fought for. The absolutizing of any component should be treated as a threat to security. Redefining of the nation's meaning can turn into nationalism and xenophobia, and absolutizing of the state can lead to totalitarianism. Ensuring the domination of only one religion is consent to intolerance.¹⁶⁹

In narratives about homeland, which have a tendency to appear as definitions, various elements come to the surface. From the point of view of philosophy, the homeland or motherland can be described as "a dynamic axiological structure intended to realize objective, especially social, values. As such, it is a spiritual community of people who are pervaded by the same ideals and recognize the embodiment of these ideals as their chief task."¹⁷⁰ Another thinker expresses his thought as follows: "homeland is a country which I feel a part of. I am a part of this country with my spirit and body, language and culture, memories and life environment, rooting and ideals. It is a country with which I feel deeply connected – usually because I was born here and live here, and because I feel the most at home here. I did not learn the language of this country because I sucked it in with my mother's milk. I derive the most of my spiritual juices from its history and culture. In this country, the graves of my ancestors are usually found, and I would like to contribute to the fact that the next generations could live in peace and feel really at home here."¹⁷¹ The definitions quoted above, although they accentuate different elements, have something in common. Homeland is perceived as a reality demanding constant support and human activity, as well as happening both in history and in people's hearts and minds. In this way, we can get closer to a more complete

¹⁶⁹ Cf. W. Stróżewski, *Logos...*, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.175.

¹⁷¹ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

understanding of patriotism, which demands constant implementation in every generation, as specific actions, not just declarations.

The narrative about the homeland is also a narrative about the nation, which, understood as a community based on natural law, deserves three basic moral rights: the right to existence, the right to freedom and unity and the right to participate proportionally in the common good. In Western civilization, the biblical heritage, the history of the Israeli nation, its struggle for the right to the homeland had a fundamental impact on the understanding of the connection between the concepts of nation and homeland. Nowadays, the issue of the rights of nations is an important subject of discourse in the global dimension. John Paul II spoke of them during the UN General Assembly on October 5, 1995. These rights include:

- The right of every nation to exist (this is not tantamount to the right to state sovereignty),
- The right of every nation to its own language and culture, by which a given nation expresses and strengthens its “spiritual sovereignty”,
- The right of every nation to shape its own life according to its own traditions (it cannot consist in violating fundamental human rights, especially oppressing minorities),
- The right of every nation to build its future, providing young generations with a proper upbringing.¹⁷²

The rights of nations, guaranteed by international agreements, should be seen as the protection of not only the person having the right to one’s own nation, but also the protection of the right to patriotic attitudes. It is primarily about protection against actions that are expressed in ironing out cultural differences. The rights of nations should be conducive to expressing on the international arena awareness of the responsibilities of individual nations towards each other. The primary duty of individual nations is to create security and strive for peace.

By emphasizing the dimension of action characteristic of love for one’s motherland, Władysław Stróżewski defines patriotism as “readiness to fortify the homeland with all possible values, but also to defend them. This

¹⁷² John Paul II, *Od praw człowieka do praw narodów. Przemówienie do Zgromadzenia Ogólnego ONZ, Nowy Jork 5 października 1995. [Address to the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 5, 1995]*

readiness should be the more zealous, the higher the values concerned, and the most basic should be the beginning: freedom, territory, state.”¹⁷³

In the case of Poland, defining patriotism must be a starting point as something that has a decisive impact on the security of the nation and is sometimes referred to as “general features of national character.”¹⁷⁴ Patriotism can then mean timeless emotional and volitional expression of national identity. The following are easily identified in such patriotism:

- Life force of a political community;
- Knowledge of, attachment to and continuation of national traditions;
- Dedication for the defence and enrichment of the homeland;
- Social and religious activity that is constructive for the culture of life;
- The potential to build sovereign statehood, political, economic, spiritual, cultural and defence power.

The patriotic attitude of citizens consists of the following elements:

- Attachment to the homeland;
- Knowledge of the history, language and traditions of one’s nation;
- Respect for national identity;
- Concern for the morality of the positive law;
- Concern for the morality of customs and everyday common life;
- Concern for the development of the spiritual community of the nation;
- Concern for the culture of the nation and the culture of common life;
- Readiness to defend the borders of the country and the freedom of the homeland;
- Respect for national heroes;
- Attitude of an individual to the law and civic obligations;
- Attitude to the state and its entities;
- Motivation to work, study and combine social and personal goals;

¹⁷³ W. Stróżewski, *Logos...*, op. cit., p. 181.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia...*, op. cit., p. 25: “Of all the features of national character, many of them (their possession or lack): a sense of personal dignity, love of freedom, patriotism, militancy (bravery), perseverance, respect for the law, attitude to the state, foresight, diligence, religiousness, care for the family, etc., have a decisive impact on the security of the nations.”

- Sense of national dignity;
- Respect, protection and multiplication of the cultural and material achievements of the nation;
- Respect for historical places and mementos, national symbols;
- Systematic and constructive reflection on national weaknesses aimed at eliminating them.

5.2. Love of the homeland or the nation?

An important dilemma that requires an answer for the sake of our considerations is the question: is patriotism love of the homeland or love of the nation? When asking this question, one should also consider the relationship between homeland and nation. In the resolution of this matter, Tadeusz Ślipka's statement comes to our aid: “a nation pulses with its own life in an organic relationship with the homeland, but it is able to maintain its identity also in the conditions of territorial dispersion. For this reason, too, the nation, and not the homeland, is the proper object of patriotism. Patriotism in the most general sense is therefore the love of the nation as a great, fully real, social being.”¹⁷⁵ Describing the relationship between the homeland and the nation, the scholar uses the comparison of the nation to a child and the homeland to a cradle. Such a juxtaposition may suggest that the ethicist from Lublin clearly separates the homeland and the nation from each other. One of his texts reads: “although the «nation» does not relate to the «homeland», just like a child does not relate to a cradle in which it grows and bothers its happy parents, they are connected with undeniable, deepest and creative relations. In homeland, there is a material base of existence for the nation, nation draws from rich resources of values represented by the homeland, the homeland provides the nation with a kind of building material to develop the national culture, leaving a kind of undeniable mark on it. In short, the nation lives through the homeland, the homeland brings a creative contribution to the culture-forming process of national-social existence.”¹⁷⁶ It is probably not Tadeusz Ślipka's intention to separate the homeland from the nation when describing the

¹⁷⁵ T. Ślipko, *Ekologiczne aspekty patriotyzmu w etycznym naświetleniu*, in: *Oblicza patriotyzmu*, J. Sadowski (ed.), Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2009, p. 258.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 261. [own translation]

homeland not only as the area of the earth (“cradle”) inhabited by some people, but combines it with an axiological space, with culture. Therefore, the love of the homeland should be understood as the love of the nation. The aforementioned statement that the nation, and not the homeland, is the subject of patriotism, can be interpreted as a manifestation of the scholar’s concern for the personalistic understanding of love. Love between a person and a nation is something greater than a relationship of a human being with a specific territory. The distinction between love of the nation and love of the homeland can be understood as an indication of the importance of the concept of the homeland. It is revealed even in a characteristic tendency of the homeland to support the nation. Underlining the role of the nation is, on the other hand, an important step on the way to understanding and defining the homeland. The nation confirms its power.

Separating the reflection on the nation from the reflection on the homeland can be justified, first of all, when it refers to a nation that does not have a homeland (e.g. biblical Israel during the Babylonian captivity). In standard circumstances in which a nation has a connection with a specific territory, the separation of the concept of a nation from the concept of a homeland is rather unjustified.

It would be difficult to argue with Jacek Salij, who, writing about the patriotism of Poles at the turn of the millennia, makes the following diagnosis: “Talking about homeland and about the love of the homeland annoys many Poles today and this is not just due to the contemporary allergy to pathos and groundlessness. Sociologists signal an alarmingly low assessment of their own nation in many of today’s Poles, especially young ones. When we go abroad, many of us are ashamed of being Poles.”¹⁷⁷ The quoted words are worth taking into consideration, attempting to look at the issue of the love of the homeland in other countries of the Old Continent. Piotr Burgoński, presenting the results of his research in the book *Patriotyzm w Unii Europejskiej* [*Patriotism in the European Union*], makes the following introduction to the issue in question: “Analysis of contemporary public discourse, both scientific and political, allows to notice that the theme of patriotism is on its margin or is not mentioned at all. Patriotism is given little attention because it is treated as a shameful phenomenon, to some extent regressive, or as a disappearing, declining

¹⁷⁷ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, W drodze, Poznań 2005, p. 7. [own translation]

phenomenon. Patriotism is spoken about with certain embarrassment due to contemporary political correctness which requires avoiding pathos and being restraint in expressing one's emotions in the public sphere. Among the participants of the contemporary public discourse, there is also a conviction that patriotism does not harmonize with modernity. With its advent, the «disenchantment» of reality took place, that is, discrediting the old hierarchies that gave meaning to the world. As a result of this process, a human being no longer needs to seek fulfilment in the pursuit of higher goals. The horizons of one's actions have been limited to ordinary and everyday things.”¹⁷⁸ It seems that among the many factors influencing such a horizon of reflection on patriotism in Poland and Europe the following can be distinguished as fundamental:

- Fears of nationalisms,
- Individualism which makes only a necessity out of the possibility to be with others,
- Collectivism losing an individual in the glorified crowd,
- Post-modern aversion to what is embedded in the sphere of values with a stable hierarchy,
- Reduction of love to the level of emotions, which results in the inability of love to reveal itself in a gift for another human being and common good,
- Consequences of the moral revolution of the 1960s and propaganda of pacifist movements.

Contemporary reflection on patriotism cannot ignore the negative space designated by the concept of nationalism. However, it should be remembered that before this state of affairs occurred and Europe was overwhelmed by nationalisms and war, the situation was different. The term “nationalism” was usually associated with the theory of the nation to the extent that it was seen as the basis of Catholic universalism. Nowadays, however, a clear distinction between nationalism and patriotism is important. The words of Pope John Paul II can sound for the admirers of the homeland as a valuable aid in research on patriotism: “Whereas nationalism involves recognizing and pursuing the good of one's own nation alone, without regard for the rights of others, patriotism, on the other

¹⁷⁸ P. Burgoński, *Patriotyzm w Unii Europejskiej*, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Warszawa 2008, p. 5. [own translation]

hand, is a love of one's native land that accords right to all other nations equal to those claimed for one's own. Patriotism, in other words, leads to a properly ordered social love."¹⁷⁹ Understood as a path "leading to a properly ordered social love", patriotism implies a number of state building attitudes. Probably they should include not only the need to develop civic awareness and create the culture of common life, but also participate in the life of a political community, respect for the community in which one lives, and the institution of the state, and the sacrifice of life in the event that the homeland is in danger.

5.3. Contexts of the Polish thinking about patriotism

In the same contexts in which the reflection on patriotism takes place, the foundations of national security are built. Władysław Stróżewski rightly notices that the fate of the concept of patriotism, as well as its co-constitutive concept of the homeland, was different in our country at different times.¹⁸⁰ Perhaps learning about the specifics of Polish patriotism is not only one of the conditions for its evocation and building of the power of the state, but also an important step in the search for the ways of talking about security and defence.

Contexts of the Polish reflection on the love of the homeland are not only marked by tears and hope from the times of partitions, euphoria and tensions within the state in the interwar period, but also by direct destruction of the concept of patriotism, especially after World War II. The flagship slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" being the last sentence of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" (Ger. *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*) by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and placed on the first pages of Polish propaganda newspapers of Marxist parties (e.g. "Trybuna Ludu", "Robotnik") did not encourage the love of the homeland. In the message of communism, it was obvious that workers did not have a homeland. This meant that the proletariat must first gain political power and then form a nation.

¹⁷⁹ John Paul II, *Memory and Identity...*, op.cit., p. 75.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. W. Stróżewski, *Logos...*, op. cit., p. 172.

Władysław Stróżewski wrote: “a proletarian does not have a homeland.”¹⁸¹ Recalling those times, the philosopher emphasizes that the word patriotism, when it was not pushed out by “internationalism”, it was corrupted by organizations such as the “Union of Polish Patriots,”¹⁸² “patriot priests”¹⁸³ or the “Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth,”¹⁸⁴ that is organizations that were rather a contradiction of the love for the real homeland. After the changes initiated in 1989, both in the political and systemic, economic and social dimensions, and then after joining the European Union, the Polish reflection on patriotism has, by necessity, gained a new context.

To understand Polish patriotism, what seems important is research on patriotism both in individual countries of the Old Continent as well as on supranational and national ideas. One should take into account the problem of values, identity and broadly understood spiritual reality. Research conducted by Piotr Burgoński on the prospects for the realization of European patriotism led him, among others, to a conviction about the limited results of the existing EU-wide policy measures in this area. What is particularly important, the researcher claims that European patriotism will not exist without axiological foundations, and if it is to be created at all, it must complement national identity, not exclude it.¹⁸⁵ For those living in the Old Continent, the awareness of the community of spirit that unites all European nations is essential. Only on the basis of a sense of common identity is it possible to build patriotisms serving particular political communities of Europe, and thus also all of Europe. The common market and material values do not have the power to create attitudes in

¹⁸¹ Cf. *ibid*, p. 173.

¹⁸² The “Union of Polish Patriots” was a political organization founded by Polish communists in the USSR, formally established on June 9, 1943. The union was a tool of Stalin’s and the USSR’s policy for the communist takeover of power in post-war Poland. Its activity finished in August 1946.

¹⁸³ “Patriot Priests” – a colloquially adopted term referring to priests, supporting people’s power and changes in People’s Poland after 1944.

¹⁸⁴ “Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth” – a political organization created in 1982 during martial law by the Polish United Workers’ Party and political parties subordinated to it and pro-government religious organizations in order to promote public support for martial law introduced on December 13, 1981 and announced by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. P. Burgoński, *Patriotyzm w Unii Europejskiej*, *op. cit.*, pp. 478-479, 485.

which European patriotism could be identified. One should agree with the statement by Piotr Burgoński, who writes that: “The evocation of European patriotism has once again revealed how essential to the emergence of a patriotic community are intangible values. The not entirely satisfactory effects of European integration are a proof that a community cannot represent only instrumental value. After years of integration around the common market, it was realized that a patriotic community can only arise if it is a «spiritual community».”¹⁸⁶ This concept in the context of research on patriotism should be understood as a political community being a team of people connected with each other by a system of rights and obligations aiming to create an objective set of values conditioning the spiritual development of a person, i.e. to create a collective spiritual culture.

Polish thinking about patriotism requires attention paid to the issue of ethnicity. This allows us to perceive specific threats that can be caused by the love of the homeland which accentuates ethnicity. It is about assigning to an individual only an ethnic identity, which is characteristic of primordialism. It seems that this exclusivity may lead to the denial of the individual’s right to freedom of choice and self-determination, giving precedence to randomness, fate or destiny. In this way, the path is opened to justify actions that disrespect personal dignity of a human being and, above all, one’s freedom, which in the name of patriotism demands from individuals “blind” loyalty to an ethnic group. It should be remembered that patriotism growing on the foundation of ethnic identity highly values the exclusiveness of its own community: “The bond of kinship (of common origin) in ethnic patriotism is appreciated because it gives an individual support, a sense of security and rooting. In addition, it is a source of strong group solidarity. Blood ties, although mythical, have extraordinary power and are a spiritual source that is difficult to find in social relations. This bond connects one with one’s «folks» either way «forever».”¹⁸⁷ Piotr Burgoński, taking into consideration the primordial approach in research, rightly notes the “competitive” concept of ethnicity which is situationism that perceives ethnic identification not as inherited, but as an effect created in a specific social context. In the approach referred to as situationism, individuals and groups define their ethnicity in order to achieve benefits

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.484. [own translation]

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 51. [own translation]

or to avoid persecution or oppression. “Ethnic identification can also take place in less extreme conditions, simply thanks to the interaction that occurs in contact with other social groups. Then the goal of a group’s strategy is to find a place in society. Different determinants of ethnicity can be used in the process of «constructing» ethnic identity (language, religion, customs, institutions, music, art, etc.), but they have meaning only in certain historical and spatial conditions and lose their value when these conditions change.”¹⁸⁸ The situational approach seems to overcome the main accusation against the primordial approach, the freedom of an individual is accentuated, which means that one’s identity is not determined solely by the ethnic category. In ethnically diverse states, in which patriotism would be evoked precisely by the category of ethnic identity, one should expect not only low involvement in creating civil society, but even undermining the logic of the functioning of a democratic state.

On the margins of reflecting on ethnicity, one can see a tendency observed in Europe among ethnic and cultural groups to apply for the protection of their rights and, at the same time, rights protecting their identity not at the state but at the European (European Union) level. In studies on the patriotism of ethnic groups, one of the first tasks that analysts should tackle is reflection on patriotic narratives within ethnic groups, so that it can be determined to what extent ethnicity, seen as legacy, is understood in terms of *a priori* given reality. The implementation of this research task should concentrate on the reflection on the freedom of individuals and the methods used in a group to assign to an individual only ethnic identity.

The above-mentioned argument on ethnicity needs to be developed in the context of culture. Patriotisms of communities referring in their identity to the category of culture, unlike patriotisms of communities referring to the category of ethnicity, do not need to refer to genealogy, but they require a certain sense of common memory and space. It is difficult to talk about any identity without taking into account what already was. Piotr Burgoński emphasizes that at the level of theoretical considerations, it is possible to distinguish a type of patriotism in which the object of affirmation on the part of a human being are non-political categories, but at the same time different than the ethnic ones, in which the common value in society is common culture. “It is patriotism characterized by

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 53. [own translation]

openness, the exclusivity of the community is not a highly valued asset in it, because culture offers the possibility of choice: rejection or assimilation. Not birth, as in the case of ethnic groups, but the cultural range delineates the boundaries of the community.”¹⁸⁹

When we think about patriotism and identity in the context of culture, we cannot omit one of the most important spaces – the national tradition, for which the essential issue is what makes up the phenomenon known as the chain of generations. Accepting that culture is transferable and identifiable in successive generations and as something inherited means at the same time that a patriotic community should be recognized as a being that lasts over time and is based on a common cultural heritage. Tradition is, therefore, an important feature of community culture. Speaking of transferability, one should also take into account tradition in the objective aspect, which is understood as a set of values having its source in the past, and which are currently perceived as the binding norms of activity. It is to be expected that communities building their patriotic attitudes in relation to national traditions and culture will easier function in a democratic state than those referring to ethnicity. Referring to culture, not ethnicity, also seems to facilitate the building of a civil society, which it is not only about who I am by birth, but how I live and reveal who I am; how I create relationships.

5.4. The future of patriotism

“Poland needs enlightened patriots, capable of sacrifices for the love of the Fatherland and at the same time prepared for a creative exchange of spiritual goods with the peoples of uniting Europe”¹⁹⁰ – the words quoted here are a part of St. John Paul II’s address to the representatives of the Polish academic community. Knowing the life and thought of the Pope, and earlier the bishop, priest and lecturer of the Catholic University of Lublin, it is impossible not to hear in them the professor’s care for the

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. [own translation]

¹⁹⁰ John Paul II, Address of *the Holy Father John Paul II to the Jagiellonian University Community*, Rome, September 11, 2000. [https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/2000/jul-sep/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_20000911_univ-cracovia.html] access on January 9, 2019.

good of the Homeland and the whole community. In the Polish social and historical thought, the issue of upbringing to patriotism is inextricably linked to Christianity, the mission of the Catholic Church, which in no way diminishes the important achievements of representatives of other religions and denominations.

The multitude of analyses and syntheses oscillating around patriotism is undoubtedly necessary and justified. They arise, above all, from the breadth of the problem itself, which researchers can only grasp in its specific aspects; they may never be able to consider it fully and definitively, although each time it will be a new look. The homeland is constantly revealed to subsequent generations to be known and loved. In addition, the analysis of patriotism, due to the variety of issues related to it (population, security, territory, history, religion, culture, customs, etc.) and the diversity of human questions, should take into account the multiplicity of disciplines and methods, following the nature of the studied subject. The multidimensionality of patriotism reflects the truth about a human being, one's dignity, complexity, greatness and possibilities. Patriotism remains in a close relationship with anthropologies, including philosophical and theological anthropology. Therefore, it seems important to refer to the thought developed by theological environments regarding the love of the homeland, especially in the Polish context.

To want to think about patriotism, identity and national security (and in this perspective also about international security) means to be open to getting to know a living human being and not the concept of a human being like a dream or an attempt to escape from an unaccepted reality recognized in history. It is therefore about getting to know a human being and one's place in the world among people, not be limited to territory and space but expanded with the categories of time and value. What will also be significant for the purpose of this study will be the reflection on the homeland – the work of fathers and children – and its present in which an individual and common history can be seen, and in which also setting out into the future takes place. In first thoughts patriotism we should face the problem of individual and common identity, the important component of which is to study what is important for an individual and the communities one creates. On the horizon of these communities, one cannot fail to see what transcends nations and states – international order.

In the research on the creation of the national security of Poland, the discourse on the love of the Homeland should obtain a specific concretization in three areas: family, school and the Church. It should be emphasized that there is no love of the homeland and the creation of national security without the care for the family.¹⁹¹ It is in the family that values are transferred, and subsequent generations learn love and responsibility, universally binding laws and principles. The family is also the first place where a young person learns to work, respect material goods and the common good, customs, language and national literature. It is also an introduction into the culture of common life, transferring tradition and cultural initiation. Finally, family is human relationality realized at the most fundamental level. In intra-family relationships one should recognize the basic component of social order. From the point of view of evoking patriotism, family appears as a reality introducing a person into history, first the history of the family, and then the history of the nation. Through the meeting with the past generations, the homeland community is created in the diachronic dimension, not limited, of course, to the past. However, by taking into account the past, what is directed towards the future becomes clearer. Without the experience of the intergenerational community, how difficult are the synchronous actions of the national community in the “now” of the nation and political community. Every generation’s inner ability to unity, which gains a special value in the face of threats to national security and the resulting need of defence, arises from history and the transferred ethos, which has been embodied in heroes.

If it is assumed that the awareness of one’s individual otherness, who one is, remains related to one’s attitude to one’s existence, then out of concern for patriotism, it is necessary to recognize the care for national identity and the development of the nation, without which it is difficult to talk about building security. In the discourse and studies on the love of the homeland, an important element seems to be the distinction between patriotism and national

¹⁹¹ Cf. C. Smuniewski, *W poszukiwaniu sposobów tworzenia bezpieczeństwa. Refleksja o roli rodziny w społeczeństwie*, in: *Rodzina w lokalnych i globalnych kontekstach bezpieczeństwa*, I. Urych, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2015, pp. 17-38.

identity.¹⁹² The latter is the starting point for patriotism in its complexity, which is constructed not only by the awareness of otherness and memory (the essential elements of the narrative about identity), but also the richness of behaviours and emotions revealed and nobly concealed. Two measures can be helpful on the paths of patriotism in the younger generation:

- Presenting the individual and social identity as realities which should be fought for;
- Development of localism as a counterweight for the processes of unification and commercialization of the common. However, it will not take place without identification with the place of residence and local traditions. In this area, it seems particularly important to emphasize cooperation of, among others, such entities as school, parish, as well as cultural centres and the Volunteer Fire Brigade.

Reflecting on the ways of propagating the love of the homeland, we should mention the attitudes that are not conducive to this process. The question whether a libertine can be a patriot, or a thief, a quarrelsome person who does not keep one's promises, is answered by Jacek Salij decisively: “No, someone like this cannot be a patriot, or let us put it more cautiously: the love of the Homeland, if such a person tries to love one's homeland, is seriously mutilated. In a word, the love of the Homeland requires striving for our moral integrity.”¹⁹³ For a researcher, the above answer is based on the distinction between ethics and art. In the first, human activities should be intrinsically good, while in the second it is primarily human products that should be good. It is easy to see that an immoral person can also create outstanding works of art. All one needs is talent. One can also serve the homeland in an outstanding way, using various abilities for her benefit. However, it should be remembered that the love of the homeland in the strict sense is not a work of art, but a virtue, and therefore moral integrity must be its foundation at least at the elementary level.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Tożsamość – horyzont zagadnień*, in: *Spoleczne uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa. Wybrane zagadnienia psychologii i socjologii*, part 1. L. Kanarski, M. Koter, K. Loranty, I. Urych (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2015, pp. 96-116.

¹⁹³ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, op. cit., p. 18. [own translation]

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*

Promoting patriotism is a task that is an important component of the foundation on which both civil society and national security are built. Contemporary Poles need patriotism shaped by the reflection on national identity and spiritual community. The developed national identity appears as one of the conditions for the sovereign development of the entire state among other nations. Being aware that upbringing to patriotism is an ongoing task demanding support and promotion, one should hope that the history of Poland will be a well-used mastery of the functioning of the political community in the subsequent generations. It is to be hoped that a coordinated cooperation of the secular with the spiritual will contribute to the good of the entire Polish political community. This means that it is necessary to shape the present and practise a love of the homeland in such a way so as to look boldly and prudently into the future whilst caring for heritage, material goods, territory, values, spiritual content and culture. In the promotion of patriotism, one should also see one of the ways of participating courageously in international activities for the sake of the common good. Such a process, however, will not take place without effort for individual and social morality. Referring to patriotism in Poland means creating the national security of Poland and a strategic mission of the whole society.

Upbringing to patriotism means shaping responsibility for another human being, society, nation, truth, history, land, etc. The point here is, however, to aspire to such attitudes, the realization of which does not require direct control, or eyes that reproach or praise. If we want to fully promote an experience of responsibility for the homeland, we should agree on the heroism of trust in values. In the case of Poland, it does not seem difficult. In this process, Christianity appears as one of the basic and proven means. This means presenting history and its heroes, as well as saints and blessed Poles, in such a way that they may shine in the truth of their lives: prudent for prudence itself, faithful for fidelity itself, just for justice itself, truthful for truthfulness itself. It is upbringing by entering the path of recognizing active, courageous and gallant love, love for love itself, which has the power to shape hope for hope.

5.5. Patriotism in the Bible and the teaching of the Church

The Holy Bible is a book on the basis of which subsequent generations are brought up, therefore the biblical message about the love of the homeland is seen as an important argument in the educational process.¹⁹⁵ The fact that the Holy Scripture does not use the term “patriotism” does not mean that it does not contain the content constituting the broadly understood love of one’s own country. The text of the Bible in this respect provides a number of testimonies confirming this thesis, shows the attitudes and behaviours to be discussed in terms of patriotism. The lexeme “homeland” attested 21 times in the Old Testament should be understood as a synonym of the lexeme “patriotism”. For the Chosen Nation, patriotism was closely related to their religion. Religion defined and regulated the daily life of both individuals and the people as a whole. To love the homeland meant to love the Lord and to love the Lord – to love the whole promised land. For the people of the Old Testament, being a patriot was equivalent to valuing one’s belonging to the People of God, taking care of the identity through the preservation of the Law, and in social life – actualizing the principles of love and justice.

As the basis of the biblical message about patriotism one should see the reality of God’s two acts regarding the people: giving and choosing. The first of these actions is evident in the history of Abraham, who receives from God a gift in the form of a land to become his homeland. It is worth emphasizing that this is not about human choice: it was not Abram who chose territory for life, but God gave it to Abraham and gives to other people. The homeland is seen as God’s gift: “After Lot had left, the LORD said to Abraham: «Look about you, and from where you are, gaze to the north and south, east and west; all the land that you see I will give to you and your descendants forever. I will make your descendants like the dust of the earth; if anyone could count the dust of the earth, your descendants too might be counted. Set forth and walk about in the land, through its

¹⁹⁵ Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu. Studium o miłości ojczyzny w oparciu o biblijną i współczesną myśl katolicką*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo jako problem edukacyjny*, ed. A. Pieczywok, K. Loranty, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 2015, pp. 84-103.

length and breadth, for to you I will give it».¹⁹⁶ It is a gift that includes successive generations, hence, there is mention of descendants that in the Scriptures are to be associated with God's special blessing. The bestowal of the land is the beginning of the reality which from the perspective of subsequent events in the history of the aforementioned descendants can be described as a diachronic communion.

The second act of God, which should be associated with the biblical message about the love of the homeland, is the choice. It is about choosing one particular nation, not some individual people from different places in the world. In *the Book of Deuteronomy*, we read: "For you are a people sacred to the LORD, your God; he has chosen you from all the nations on the face of the earth to be a people peculiarly his own. It was not because you are the largest of all nations that the LORD set his heart on you and chose you, for you are really the smallest of all nations. It was because the LORD loved you and because of his fidelity to the oath he had sworn to your fathers, that he brought you out with his strong hand from the place of slavery, and ransomed you from the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt."¹⁹⁷ Both the giving and the choosing indicate that the homeland and patriotism associated with it are not a matter reserved exclusively for the secular order, nor is it about the integration of a community around a chosen idea. Rather, we are dealing with a sacral community living in a specific geographic space and connected by the faith in God, which in every generation has the power to create communion despite the diversity of people. Patriotism should, therefore, be associated with the concepts of a diachronic and synchronous communion.

The Israelites were aware that all unhappiness and slavery were the result of sinfulness, the lack of faithfulness to God. The experiences of slavery and exile in the history of the Chosen People allow us to observe a specific increase in patriotic ardour. A clear example of this is *Psalms 137* expressing the nation's longing for Jerusalem during the Babylonian captivity:

"By the rivers of Babylon
there we sat weeping

¹⁹⁶ Gn. 13:14-17.

¹⁹⁷ Dt. 7:6-8.

when we remembered Zion.
 On the poplars in its midst
 we hung up our harps.
 For there our captors asked us
 for the words of a song;
 Our tormentors, for joy:
 «Sing for us
 a song of Zion! »
 But how could we sing
 a song of the LORD
 in a foreign land?
 If I forget you, Jerusalem,
 may my right hand forget.
 May my tongue stick to my palate
 if I do not remember you,
 If I do not exalt Jerusalem
 beyond all my delights.”¹⁹⁸

We find descriptions of patriotic attitudes in *Maccabees' Books*,¹⁹⁹ the texts related to the Maccabees, leaders of the Jewish uprising against the Seleucid,²⁰⁰ who tried to Hellenise conquered lands and introduce Greek forms of worship. The rise of the Maccabees (167-160 BC), which was a reaction to the activities of the king of Syria, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (d. 164/163 BC) who struck Jewish religion and autonomy,²⁰¹ was not just a religious event. It is not only about the worship of the one God and opposition to the pagan occupation, because it has characteristics of the struggle for the rights of a nation demanding freedom. Following the

¹⁹⁸ Ps. 137:1-6. [<http://www.usccb.org/bible/psalms/137>]

¹⁹⁹ The *First and Second Maccabees' Books* are of interest to us because in relation to the Septuagint (the first translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew and Aramaic into Greek, made between 250 and 150 BC) are recognized by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches as canonical (deuterocanonical). These texts in Judaism and Protestant communities are considered to be apocryphal.

²⁰⁰ The Hellenistic dynasty derived from Seleucus (d. 281 BC) (officer in the army of Alexander the Great - d. 323 BC), who after the death of Alexander became the king of a part of his empire.

²⁰¹ Cf. 1 Macc 1; 2 Macc 3-7.

biblical thought connected with the understanding of the state, Michał Wojciechowski points to the differences between the *First and the Second Book of Maccabees*. He notes that in the *First Book*, the political struggle for independence is stressed. This struggle is religiously justified, it has a religious purpose – to resume worship in the temple and to observe the Law. Armed actions and political independence are useful and even necessary tools to achieve this goal. *The Second Book of Maccabees* stresses, however, piety and martyrdom. It is thanks to the attitude of the martyrs that God forgives his people and defends Israel.²⁰² In this text there is a description of seven captured sons and their mother encouraging them to become martyrs. In the face of the threat of death, she mobilizes her sons to sacrifice their lives in the name of religious and patriotic values. One of these sons turns to the king and the oppressor, speaking about his native rights and nation: “Like my brothers, I offer up my body and my life for our ancestral laws, imploring God to show mercy soon to our nation, and by afflictions and blows to make you confess that he alone is God. Through me and my brothers, may there be an end to the wrath of the Almighty that has justly fallen on our whole nation.”²⁰³

In the New Testament, the question of the homeland is presented differently than in the Old Testament texts.²⁰⁴ We do not find the lexeme “patriotism” here, while the word “homeland” is attested eight times. Taking up the issue of patriotism in the New Testament, it is important to remember that this is not a leading theme. However, practical tips related to nurturing the love of the homeland can be found in the text. Jesus – being the central figure of the New Testament – is portrayed as a true Jew. Although his mission is universal and directed to the whole world, he does not give up what binds him with His Nation and His Homeland. He also brings the promise of the heavenly Homeland to the people, but he does not forget about his earthly Homeland, even though he had unpleasant experiences with his countrymen who rejected him. In the context of this event, Jesus said: “Amen, I say to you, no prophet is accepted in his own

²⁰² Cf. M. Wojciechowski, *Biblia o państwie*, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2008, pp. 128-129.

²⁰³ 2 Macc 7:37-38.

²⁰⁴ Cf. D. Dziadosz, *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu a orędzie Nowego Testamentu*, in: *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu*, W. Janiga (ed.), Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 2006, pp. 33-49.

native place.”²⁰⁵ His crying over Jerusalem, of which he knew it would be demolished should be seen as the expression of Jesus’s patriotism. The evangelist Luke wrote: “As he drew near, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, «If this day you only knew what makes for peace – but now it is hidden from your eyes. For the days are coming upon you when your enemies will raise a palisade against you; they will encircle you and hem you in on all sides. They will smash you to the ground and your children within you, and they will not leave one stone upon another within you because you did not recognize the time of your visitation».”²⁰⁶ Also, in Jesus’s approval for military service²⁰⁷ one should see his indication of the value of the love of the homeland.

In order to show the biblical context of the Christian reflection on patriotism, it is worth recalling an important New Testament personage, St. Paul. Before conversion, he was characterized by chauvinism, which can be described as national-religious. The experience of the encounter with resurrected Jesus and the resulting change of his life make Paul an apostle of Christ. St. Paul, going to other nations, not only does not forget about his countrymen and his homeland, but emphasizes his origin. He never lost his Jewish patriotism either. He proudly admitted being a member of the Jewish nation: “I am a Jew”, he said “born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city. At the feet of Gamaliel I was educated strictly in our ancestral law and was zealous for God, just as all of you are today.”²⁰⁸ St. Paul’s patriotism is also confirmed by his concern for the salvation of his countrymen – all Jews: “I speak the truth in Christ, I do not lie; my conscience joins with the holy Spirit in bearing me witness that I have great sorrow and constant anguish in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were accursed and separated from Christ for the sake of my brothers, my kin according to the flesh. They are Israelites; theirs the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises; theirs the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, is the Messiah. God who is over all be blessed forever. Amen.”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Lk. 4:24.

²⁰⁶ Lk. 19:41-44.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Lk.3:14.

²⁰⁸ Acts 22:3

²⁰⁹ Rom. 9:1-5.

In the texts of St. Paul, which can be referred to in connection with patriotic issues, an important motive is the concept of the “heavenly homeland.” In *Philippians* we read: “But our citizenship is in heaven, and from it we also await a saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. He will change our lowly body to conform with his glorified body by the power that enables him also to bring all things into subjection to himself.”²¹⁰ If from the above statement by St. Paul we take the phrase “our citizenship is in heaven” as his only thought about homeland and love for it, one could conclude that Christians should escape from all that is associated with temporality and concentrate only on eschatological reality. The Apostle does not do it, however, and develops his thought, presenting the situation in which Christians live on earth, in temporality. It is characterized by “awaiting” followed by “change” and “subjection”. This means that “awaiting” characteristic of temporality is of special importance, and the way in which it is experienced combines temporality with eternity, what is earthly with what is heavenly. One can, therefore, speak of a specific dependence of homelands – the heavenly and earthly one on each other. Considering morality in a political community the “awaiting” is an important way of experiencing temporality. In *1 Corinthians* the author talks about the relation between temporality and eternity: “What eye has not seen, and ear has not heard, and what has not entered the human heart, what God has prepared for those who love him.”²¹¹ In the light of this quote from St. Paul’s texts, it can be concluded that what ought to characterize temporality is love, because, on the part of a human being, it connects temporality with eternity, with the “heavenly homeland”. It also means that from a human point of view, the earthly homeland is a privileged space for realizing one’s love for God, and in God’s perspective it is a chosen place to show people the human eternal calling to the “heavenly homeland”. The opening of a temporal homeland for eternity is an important argument for the clear distinction between patriotism and chauvinism, which is always a lack of love. The prospect of an eternal homeland should shape a fully patriotic attitude in Christians, characterized by the readiness to serve the temporal homeland. People who have the prospect of eternity ahead of them will not despise other people but will look for ways to show love.

²¹⁰ Phil. 3:20-21.

²¹¹ 1 Cor. 2:9.

St. Paul is not only a teacher of love for all people, but also of the love for one's own homeland.

Numerous biblical texts take up issues that can be understood as important for the Christian discourse on patriotism and important in the process of broadly understood upbringing to patriotism. In accordance with the theocentric character of the whole Scripture, the key to this reflection on love of the homeland is to draw attention to the relationship of a human being with God, which is formed Christologically: in Christ, temporality meets eternity, Christ is the way from the earthly to the heavenly homeland. The coming of the Son of God to earth is for Christians the greatest appreciation and affirmation of what is earthly and in which God's love can be manifested and the love coming from a human being realized. It is therefore also a recognition for the earthly homeland and patriotism associated with it. God revealed his love for a human being through the Son in temporality. Also a human being is disposed to realize one's love in a similar way – in temporality. In this way, love opens one for eternity. Through the love and commitment to temporality, the earthly homeland becomes a more and more prominent promise of the heavenly homeland.

The texts of the Holy Scripture became the basis for the theological and social reflection over the subsequent centuries, which is particularly evident in the teaching of the Catholic Church. It should be noted, however, that the issue of patriotism in its documents is not a chief problem but is addressed as one of many in the area of moral and social issues. Among the world church documents about patriotism, the encyclical of *Leon XIII Sapientiae Christianae* of 1890 should be considered. This text, considering the duties of Christians as citizens, deals, among other things, with the question of the love of the homeland. The author of the document states that the order of natural law requires a human being to love one's homeland even to the extent to be willing to sacrifice life for it. The innate love for the homeland and the supernatural love for the Church have a common source, which is God the Father. Hence, these two realities should in no way oppose each other.²¹² Pope Pius X states that “patriotism is not hatred for other nations, but a love that ensures in our

²¹² Cf. Leo XIII, *Encyclical «Sapientiae Christianae»*, Wydawnictwo Te Deum, Warsaw 2003, pp. 8-9.

hearts the first place to our country and our compatriots, for this is the order established by divine Providence. This love does not exclude the love for other people (...). The Church has always taught that patriotism is a duty and related it to the fourth commandment.”²¹³ Let us also quote Pius XI who, prior to his election to Peter’s capital, worked in the Vatican diplomacy as a nuncio in Poland and became famous as one of two diplomatic representatives of foreign countries, alongside the representative of Turkey, who stayed in Warsaw during the battle of 1920. In a radio address on December 24, 1930, the Pope expressed the following opinion: “It is unlikely, not to say impossible, that peace will prevail between nations and states if in the place of true and sincere love of the Homeland selfish and intransigent nationalism reigns and prevails, i.e. hatred and jealousy in the place of mutual desire for good; distrust and suspicion in the place of fraternal trust; rivalry and struggle in the place of harmonious cooperation; lust for hegemony and domination in the place of respecting and protecting all rights, including the rights of the weak and the little.”²¹⁴

Another document dealing with the theme of the love of the homeland is the text by Pius XII (head of the Catholic Church during World War II), the *encyclical Summi Pontificatus* of October 20, 1939, condemning the war. Let us give the floor to the Pope: “Nor is there any fear lest the consciousness of universal brotherhood aroused by the teaching of Christianity, and the spirit which it inspires, be in contrast with love of traditions or the glories of one’s fatherland, or impede the progress of prosperity or legitimate interests. For that same Christianity teaches that in the exercise of charity we must follow a God-given order, yielding the place of honour in our affections and good works to those who are bound to us by special ties. Nay, the Divine Master Himself gave an example of this preference for His Own country and fatherland, as He wept over the coming destruction of the Holy City. But legitimate and well-ordered love of our native country should not make us close our eyes to the all-embracing nature of Christian Charity, which calls for consideration of others and of their interests in the pacifying

²¹³ Pius X, Apostolic Letter of April 11, 1909. [own translation]

²¹⁴ Pius XI, Christmas Eve Message of December 24, 1930. [own translation]

light of love.”²¹⁵ Knowledge of the then international situation is a prerequisite for the proper understanding of this document and its criticism of the war. The point was to emphasize that the love of one’s own country cannot lead to hatred towards other nations and instil nationalist attitudes. However, it should be noted at the same time that before various nationalisms appeared in Europe in the first half of the 20th century, the very term nationalism did not have such a negative overtone as is often the case today. For Fr. Józef Maria Bocheński (d. 1995), Catholic nationalism was not a denial of universal Catholicism, on the contrary, it was its foundation,²¹⁶ while Fr. Jacek Woroniecki (d. 1949) treated the term “nationalism” simply as a theory of the nation.²¹⁷

The issue of patriotism can be found in the documents of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). In the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* «*Gaudium et spes*», in the place where the document deals with the issue of the life of a political community, and before moving on to the argument of strengthening peace and developing a community of nations, there is a passus dealing with the cooperation of all people in public life and the following recommendation: “Citizens must cultivate a generous and loyal spirit of patriotism, but without being narrow-minded.

²¹⁵ Pius XII, *Encyclical «Summi Pontificatus»*, no. 39. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20101939_summi-pontificatus.html] The document refers to Poland plunged in the war (no. 106): “Venerable Brethren, the hour when this Our first Encyclical reaches you is in many respects a real “Hour of Darkness” (cf. Saint Luke xxii. 53), in which the spirit of violence and of discord brings indescribable suffering on mankind. Do We need to give assurance that Our paternal heart is close to all Our children in compassionate love, and especially to the afflicted, the oppressed, the persecuted? The nations swept into the tragic whirlpool of war are perhaps as yet only at the “beginnings of sorrows” (Saint Matthew xxiv. 8), but even now there reigns in thousands of families death and desolation, lamentation and misery. The blood of countless human beings, even noncombatants, raises a piteous dirge over a nation such as Our dear Poland, which, for its fidelity to the Church, for its services in the defense of Christian civilization, written in indelible characters in the annals of history, has a right to the generous and brotherly sympathy of the whole world, while it awaits, relying on the powerful intercession of Mary, Help of Christians, the hour of a resurrection in harmony with the principles of justice and true peace.”

²¹⁶ Cf. J.M. Bocheński, *Szkice o nacjonalizmie i katolicyzmie polskim*, Wydawnictwo Antyk – Marcin Dybowski, Komorów 2006.

²¹⁷ Cf. J. Woroniecki, *Katolicka etyka wychowawcza*, v. II, Fundacja Servire Veritati Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2013.

This means that they will always direct their attention to the good of the whole human family, united by the different ties which bind together races, people and nations.”²¹⁸ Another Council document, addressing the question of patriotism, is the *Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church* «*Ad gentes divinitus*» which, after the approval of the Council’s participants, was proclaimed by Pope Paul VI on November 18, 1965. The time of the *Decree’s* development is particularly important. Everyone who took part in the Second Vatican Council and worked on this document remembered World War II. It is not surprising, therefore, that it included a fragment that warned against nationalist and racist behaviour: “The Christian faithful gathered together out of all nations into the Church «are not marked off from the rest of men by their government, nor by their language, nor by their political institutions», and so they should live for God and Christ in a respectable way of their own national life. As good citizens, they should be true and effective patriots, all together avoiding racial prejudice and hypernationalism, and should foster a universal love for man.”²¹⁹

For the admirers of reflections on patriotism, a special and extensive field of research remains the teaching of St. John Paul II, one of the greatest contemporary authorities in the field of security. A very extensive collection of the Pope’s statements about love for the homeland are speeches given during pilgrimages to Poland and “words” addressed to Poles in other places around the world, mainly during audiences in Rome. In 1974, Karol Wojtyła wrote: “When I think – Homeland – then I express and anchor myself, my heart tells me so, as if a hidden boundary that runs from me towards others, to embrace everyone into the past older than any of us: from it I emerge... when I think of the Homeland – to close it in me like a treasure. I am constantly asking how to multiply it, how to expand the space it fills.”²²⁰ During the second pilgrimage to Poland, in 1983, in a welcome speech at the Warsaw airport, John Paul II said:

²¹⁸ Second Vatican Council, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* «*Gaudium et Spes*», no. 75 [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html]

²¹⁹ Second Vatican Council, *Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church* «*Ad gentes divinitus*», no. 15. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651207_ad-gentes_en.html]

²²⁰ K. Wojtyła, *Myśląc Ojczyzna...*, Kraków 1974. [own translation]

“I have come to my Homeland. The first word, spoken in silence and on my knees, was a kiss pressed on this land: the native land. (...) The kiss pressed on the Polish soil, however, has a special meaning for me. It is like a kiss on the mother’s hands – for our Homeland is our earthly mother. Poland is a special mother. Her history has not been easy, especially over the last centuries. She is a mother who suffered a lot and suffers anew. Therefore, she has the right to special love.”²²¹ In these words, and even more so in the life and specific actions of John Paul II, one can clearly see his great patriotism which resulted in his engagement in social affairs. His love for the homeland has contributed to the transformation in Poland and the dismantling of the bipolar system of the world, shaping a new face of Europe. It all led to building a new paradigm of international and national security. The Pope’s attitude made Poles realize with great force that one cannot consider the issue of security without taking into account a system of values, without the anthropological context, striving for a holistic view of a human being. This attitude, including patriotism, a global point of view and judgment, and strong words and gestures of John Paul II undoubtedly influenced the formation of solidarity in the international dimension, especially in the Euro-Atlantic security arena. The contribution of the Polish Pope to this work cannot be overestimated. He was aware of his mission in the world and at the same time knew that he should draw on the values that Poland’s history and present time taught him: “Among various experiences of my ministry, I am constantly aware of how much I owe this heritage of faith, culture and history that I took from my homeland. I am in debt to it because this heritage constantly allows me to open up to the manifold wealth of peoples and nations in the community of the universal Church. My own native heritage does not limit me but helps me discover and understand others. It allows me to participate in the situation of the great family of humanity, in which the expectation of peace and justice remains ever-present. This expectation is organically connected with the area of rights and tasks: human rights and human tasks. Rights of the nation and tasks of

²²¹ John Paul II, *Pokój tobie Polsko, Ojczyzno moja!*, in: Jan Paweł II, *Pokój tobie Polsko, Ojczyzno moja! Homilie i przemówienia w czasie drugiej apostołskiej pielgrzymki do Polski*, Londyn 1983, p. 7. [own translation]

the nation.”²²² For John Paul II, patriotism is not a theoretical concept, but a practice of life that can lead to a sacrifice of life for the good of the homeland. In this way, the issue of military service is manifested, which is a clear testimony given to the love of the homeland, considered by the Pope in terms of good. In his book *Memory and Identity*, we read: “Patriotism is a love for everything to do with our native land: its history, its traditions, its language, its natural features. It is a love which extends also to the works of our compatriots and the fruits of their genius. Every danger that threatens the overall good of our native land becomes an occasion to demonstrate this love. Our history teaches us that Poles have always been willing to make great sacrifices to preserve this good, or to regain it. The many tombs of soldiers who fought for Poland on different fronts around the world testify to this: they are widely dispersed, both at home and abroad. Yet I believe that the same could be said of every country and every nation in Europe and throughout the world.”²²³ The pontificate of John Paul II gave an important lesson in patriotism, which was to arouse consciences and indicate the tasks faced by Poles. Papal teaching about the love of the homeland results from his personal experience and through his ministry it became known all over the world. It is also an important voice on the subject of internal harmony between various works of love, in this case the love of God, homeland, people, and the Church. The Pope showed his Homeland as a gift and at the same time a task he undertook throughout his whole life. The example of his life is a clear call to respond to the gift of one’s own homeland with the virtue of patriotism.

The content related to patriotism is also present in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, approved by John Paul II on the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the Second Vatican Council – October 11, 1992. This document was addressed to Christians, the whole Church, especially Catholics, but it quickly became an important voice in discussions outside the Church in what concerns the life and functioning of people in the world, the moral evaluation of events and human attitudes. The *Catechism* speaks of patriotism in the analysis of the 4th Commandment of the Decalogue. The interpretation of the fragment regarding honouring the father

²²² John Paul II, *Speech during the audience for Poles, Rome*, October 16, 1988, p. 2. [own translation]

²²³ John Paul II, *Memory and Identity*, Znak, Kraków 2005, pp. 73-74.

and mother²²⁴ points to the duties of “citizens to their country, and to those who administer or govern it.”²²⁵ The development of this thought is the following statement: “It is the *duty of citizens* to contribute along with the civil authorities to the good of society in a spirit of truth, justice, solidarity, and freedom. the love and service of one’s *country* follow from the duty of gratitude and belong to the order of charity. Submission to legitimate authorities and service of the common good require citizens to fulfil their roles in the life of the political community.”²²⁶

The Church, especially the Catholic one, along with its supranational message, may seem as an organization that distracts from patriotism. This argument becomes even clearer when one considers its organizational structure with its “head” – the Pope, the central offices in Rome and the state – the Vatican. However, the Church’s teaching on patriotism emphasizes a different direction of reflection. Rather, it should be assumed, following John Paul II, that in the Christian perspective, which aspires to be universal, patriotism means “love for what is native, what is the fruit of the genius of the ancestors and what distinguishes [us] from other peoples, and what at the same time is a meeting and creative exchange platform in the human dimension.”²²⁷

The love of the Homeland, the Church and God in Polish society did not oppose each other. Basing on the experience of history, one can put forward a thesis that when we talk about the faith and patriotism of Poles, a significant part of these thematic spaces is common. In various

²²⁴ Cf. Ex. 20:12

²²⁵ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 2199. Regarding the authorities in the civil society Catechism teaches (no. 2234): “God’s fourth commandment also enjoins us to honour all who for our good have received authority in society from God. It clarifies the duties of those who exercise authority as well as those who benefit from it.” [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_INDEX.HTM], access on December 27, 2018. Cf. also John Paul II, *Memory and identity...*, p. 73: “We must venerate our parents, because for us they represent God the Creator. In giving us life, they share in the mystery of creation and therefore deserve a veneration related to that which we give to God the Creator. Patriotism includes this sentiment inasmuch as the patria truly resembles a mother.”

²²⁶ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 2239. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_INDEX.HTM]

²²⁷ John Paul II, Address of the Holy Father John Paul II to the Jagiellonian University Community, Rome, September 11, 2000. op. cit.

studies, the statement appears that the Church in Poland was with the people, which became particularly significant during the partitions, wars and in the period after World War II, during the dependence on the USSR. It should be noted that Polish bishops in recent decades have made efforts to confirm this state of affairs. Examples of these are the texts of the Polish Episcopal Conference, where the love for the Homeland is a frequent topic. In 1972, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the first partition of Poland, the effect of the Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate in Poznań was a letter addressed to all believers entitled “On Christian Patriotism.”²²⁸ The patriotic thought permeates the Memorial of the Polish Episcopate of 1974 addressed to the Government of the PRL [Polish People’s Republic] related to Christian culture. This document emphasizes national identity and the role of the Church: “The nation has the right to be itself and not to lose any of those goods that shaped its history and its culture (...). The Church and Catholic society have been creating and sustaining culture.”²²⁹

After the political breakthrough in 1989, Polish bishops in their speeches paid attention to patriotic issues. In 2003, the Polish Episcopate adopted the “Directory of the Pastoral Care of Families.” In this document, we read: “Every family should teach civil virtues: openness for another person, loving another person, ability to forgive, solidity in life, reliability at work, caring for the common good, etc., cultivate patriotism, get to know own history, teach respect for other nations.”²³⁰

An important voice about the love of the Homeland is a document prepared by the Council for Social Affairs at the Polish Episcopal Conference, entitled: “For the sake of a human being and common good,”²³¹ approved and published in 2012. We find there a whole fragment devoted

²²⁸ Cf. Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, *O chrześcijańskim patriotyzmie*, in: *Listy pasterskie Episkopatu Polski 1945–2000*, P. Libera, A. Rybicki, S. Łącki (ed.), part 1, Michalineum, Marki 2003, pp. 886–891.

²²⁹ *Memoriał Episkopatu Polski do Rządu PRL w sprawach istotnych kultury chrześcijańskiej w Polsce z dnia 24. 1974*, Znaki Czasu, 1988, no. 11, pp. 91–92. [own translation]

²³⁰ Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, *Dyrektorium Duszpasterstwa Rodzin*, Fundacja Vita Familiae Warsaw 2003, no. 84. [own translation]

²³¹ Cf. Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, *W trosce o człowieka i dobro wspólne*, Wydawnictwo Diecezji Tarnowskiej Biblos, Warsaw - Tarnów 2012. [own translation]

to the issue in question entitled: “Patriotism as a school of identity.” The document reminds us that “the love of the homeland is – according to the Christian teaching – a command of conscience. It is connected with a sense of duty, different from emotional experiences.”²³² The authors draw attention to the issue of upbringing to the love of the Homeland: “For patriotism, as for any spiritual skill, a human being should be educated. This requirement applies especially to actions regarding young people who are just starting their social life.”²³³ The teachers of love of the Motherland are seen in the document, first of all, in parents, so that the family home became the place where the child meets national and religious content. In fulfilling this task of education for patriotism, the family should be supported by clergy and teachers. While this approach to the issue of education for patriotism is rather common, emphasizing the role of national leaders is a courageous step: “Patriotic education is also carried out by the current testimony of national leaders. That is why the attitude of politicians, teachers and people representing the authority of important social institutions plays such an important educational role. A positive example of the educational influence of the leaders of the nation on patriotic education may be the attitude of the clergy towards the resurgent Poland.”²³⁴ It is worth noting that clergymen were also mentioned next to the national leaders. This can be understood as, on the one hand, the appreciation of their great contribution to the work of patriotic formation of successive generations of Poles, and on the other hand, as an encouragement for contemporary priests serving in parishes, schools, universities and various institutions where, meeting with people, they can give testimony of their love for God and their homeland.

The document of the Polish Episcopal Conference discussed here, also reads: “An important element shaping the Polish Catholic thought about the nation and patriotism of Poles was the history which was often referred to in search for the factor that co-shaped the nation. It is the element that unites the nation and is also a transmitter of important national values. In the national past, such values are recorded as loyalty to the traditional Christian-national virtues, the struggle for national existence and

²³² Ibid, no. 18

²³³ Ibid, no. 19.

²³⁴ Ibid.

Polish statehood, which are capable of directing the ideological actions of Poles and making their social commitment more dynamic.”²³⁵ The text quoted here should be seen as a brave voice not only regarding patriotism, but also issues such as national identity and the place and role of history in the education of children and youth. For the sake of the fullest possible picture of teaching about patriotism in the Church in Poland, some of the words used in the document should not escape our attention, such as “Polish Catholic thought about the nation”, “history that co-shapes and unites the nation”, “national values”, “fidelity to traditional Christian-national virtues”, “struggle for national existence and Polish statehood”, “ideological actions of Poles.”

Without discussing all the themes present in the document “For the sake of a human being and common good” of 2012, one should pay attention to yet another important passage concerning the identity and successive emigration waves of Poles: “The modern world is characterized by enormous national and population movement. Mass migrations, displacements, and crossing of national interests are the hallmarks of a new type of «migration of peoples» that we are now witnessing. In this situation, patriotism is still an important virtue, allowing an individual to feel at home in the world, regardless of historical turmoil and the development in the fullness of humanity. Today, it is even more than ever the source of the sense of identity of a concrete individual.”²³⁶ However, what seems most important here is patriotism as a virtue, a constant ability to do a particular good. Virtue is the skill that is constantly acquired and helps one grows in virtues. Defining patriotism as a virtue means also paying attention to the issue of education for the love of one’s Motherland as a permanent process, the common effort of successive generations. Formulated and maintained patriotism allows Poles who leave their home country – usually for economic reasons - to “feel at home in the world.”

For Poland, the second decade of the 21st century turned out to be a time of the revival of patriotic attitudes. This should be seen as an important social phenomenon shaping political debate, and at the same time, being a part of the trend of the reflection on the nations in the European Union, mainly in such countries as: Germany, France, Hungary and Italy.

²³⁵ Ibid, no. 20

²³⁶ Ibid, no. 21

Discussions on patriotism turned out to be a part of the narrative of many politicians applying for positions at all levels of state administration. Research on patriotism resulted in studies on such issues as philosophical aspects of the love of the homeland,²³⁷ the specificity of the Polish understanding of patriotism,²³⁸ patriotic attitudes, behaviours and how they are expressed by young people,²³⁹ the message of Polish literature,²⁴⁰ patriotic education²⁴¹

²³⁷ Cf. K. Majka, *Nacjonalizm a patriotyzm. Różnice, podobieństwa, zależność*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Fundacja Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warsaw 2017, pp. 63-85; M. Mazurek, *Patriotyzm kosmopolityczny*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 87-107; L. Szyndler, *Antropologiczne aspekty patriotyzmu (formuła tomizmu konsekwentnego w ujęciu prof. Mieczysława Gogacza)*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 109-131; K. Zakrzewska, *Stanisława Wyspiańskiego metafizyka narodu*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 151-170.

²³⁸ Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Ku identyfikacji współczesnej drogi miłośnika ojczyzny. Z badań nad tożsamością i patriotyzmem w tworzeniu bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 15-46; M. Szymańska, *Patriotyzm – rozumienie pojęcia na gruncie polskim. Próba rekonesansu*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 47-61.

²³⁹ Cf. J. Fiszbak, *“Choroba” nie tylko Sopliców – o polskim umiłowaniu wolności i patriotyzmie współczesnej młodzieży*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 371-404; K. Grudzińska, *O patriotyzmie współczesnej młodzieży – deklaracje i postawy uczniów klas wojskowych*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 405-426.

²⁴⁰ Cf. P. Sporek, *Rzadko na moich wargach... Jana Kasprowicza jako głos sprzeciwu wobec profanacji idei patriotycznej i afirmacja umiłowania rodzimego kraju*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 135-150; M. Gajak-Toczek, *Bonifacy Miązek w poszukiwaniu ojczystego domu. Liryczne zapiski współczesnego wygnajca*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 171-191.

²⁴¹ Cf. I. Morawska, *Blaski i cienie edukacji patriotycznej*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 195-215; L. Jazownik, *O wychowaniu patriotycznym we współczesnej szkole*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 217-244; D. Karkut, *Patriotyzm – temat ważny i zawsze aktualny na godzinach języka polskiego, historii i wiedzy o społeczeństwie*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 245-258; M. Sianko, *Mała, większa i największa ojczyzna człowieka. Kształtowanie postaw patriotyzmu na lekcjach języka polskiego (według oferty programowo-podręcznikowej To lubię!)*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 259-279; Z. Budrewicz, *Patriotyzm w polonistycznej edukacji międzykulturowej*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 281-302; H. Gradkowski, *Jak czytano, a jak czytać dzisiaj romantyków w szkole? Przyczynek*

and the political function of the Church.²⁴² The Polish Episcopate also spoke on the development of patriotic movements in Poland. A document was published titled “The Christian form of patriotism: a document submitted to the Polish Episcopal Conference by the Social Affairs Committee” (of March 14, 2017). In the first sentences of this document, Polish bishops talk about changes concerning attitudes related to the love of the homeland: “The rebirth of patriotic attitudes and the awareness of national identity which we have witnessed in recent years in Poland is a very positive phenomenon. After all, a love of one’s country and one’s national culture and traditions is not solely connected with the past; rather, it is inseparably tied to our ability today to act selflessly and unitedly in the building of a common good. Thus, such attitudes influence the shape of our future.”²⁴³ From the very beginning, the reader knows that one is dealing with a text which is a reaction to distortions concerning the love of the homeland. In the introduction, there are attitudes mentioned that cannot be considered a manifestation of patriotism: “At the same time, however, we may discern the appearance in our country of phenomena contrary to patriotism, whose shared basis is egoism. This might be individual egoism, an ambivalence to the fate of the wider national community, an exclusive concern only for oneself and/or one’s closest friends and family. Such a disregard for the riches which each of us receives from our common language and shared native history and culture, when connected with an ambivalence to the fate of our fellow countrymen,

do rozważań o kształtowaniu modelu polskiego patriotyzmu, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 303-323; I. Urych, *Od kultury fizycznej do patriotyzmu i od patriotyzmu do kultury fizycznej. O kształtowaniu postaw w tworzeniu bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 345-370; A. Kulczyk-Dynowska, *Dziedzictwo przyrodnicze a patriotyzm – na przykładzie parków narodowych*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 427-439.

²⁴² Cf. J. Królikowski, *Funkcja “polityczna” Kościoła w służbie ojczyzny*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny?...*, op. cit., pp. 327-343.

²⁴³ Polish Episcopal Conference, *The Christian form of patriotism: a document submitted to the Polish Episcopal Conference by the Social Affairs Committee*, (Warsaw, March 14, 2017), TUM Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, Wrocław 2017, (Introduction) p. 7. It is worth noting here that the quoted document was published not only in Polish, but also in English. I am using this issue in this study.

is an un-Christian attitude. However, there is also a national egoism, a nationalism cultivating feelings of its own superiority and shutting itself off from other national cultures and human society in general. So, patriotism must always be an open phenomenon. Bearing in mind the current reawakening of Polish patriotism, and also the real potential threat it poses, the Fathers of the Church in Poland seek to consider this phenomenon from the perspective of the teaching of the Catholic Church.”²⁴⁴ The publication of the document coincided with the ongoing discussion in Poland regarding the reception of refugees in Europe, mainly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, the majority of whom turned out to be Muslim.²⁴⁵ An additional context for the creation of the document was a wave of acts of terrorism in Western Europe committed by people in the name of Islam. A significant part of the document talks about what patriotism is not: “From such a Christian perspective, love of one’s native land expresses itself above all through service and concern and taking responsibility for the needs and lot of a real group of people, whom God has placed on the road before us. Therefore, one should consider totally unacceptable and idolatrous every attempt to transfer one’s native land to the sphere of an absolute. The same applies to the search in Christianity for justifications for broadening national conflicts and quarrels. Love of one’s native land can never be a justification for contempt, aggression or violence.”²⁴⁶ The following fragments of the document were commented in the media as an incentive to accept Muslim refugees in Poland: “So, we wish once again today to underline the fact that patriotism well-known from our history and which was open to honest cooperation with other nations and based on respect for other cultures and languages is necessary in our native land. Patriotism without violence and contempt. Patriotism that is sensitive to the suffering and pain affecting other people and nations”²⁴⁷ and “Also, alongside the Catholic majority, our shared native land has been well served and still continues to be so by Poles who are Orthodox

²⁴⁴ Ibid, (Introduction) pp. 7-8.

²⁴⁵ It is worth mentioning the activities of the Church in Poland to help the victims of wars in the Middle East, as exemplified by the charity campaign “Rodzina rodzinie” in cooperation with Caritas Lebanon, Caritas Syria and other Church entities working in the Middle East.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, no. 2, p. 10.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, no. 2, p. 12.

Christians and Protestants, as well believers in Judaism and Islam and other beliefs and those who do not adhere to any religious tradition.”²⁴⁸ It is worth quoting one more fragment: “Under the Polish sky and on Polish land Catholics of various persuasions, orthodox Christians, Protestants, Jews and Muslims lived side by side, earned their daily bread, prayed and created their own customs and culture. Besides the ethnic Poles the loyal citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth included Jews, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Germans, Armenians, Czechs, Tatars and members of other nationalities. We should also not forget that in those times when Europe was riven by war and religious persecution, the Commonwealth was a bulwark of hospitality and tolerance.”²⁴⁹ The discussed document of the Polish Episcopal Conference, apart from fragments being a critique of anti-patriotic behaviours (egoistic nationalism), contains a rich interpretation of the development of “hospitable patriotism.”²⁵⁰ It also speaks of the courage and heroism characteristic of Polish patriots: insurgents, soldiers, underground activists and anti-communist democratic opposition, builders of the Polish underground state, civilians of Warsaw and many other Polish cities and villages, representatives of the Church.²⁵¹ The last points of the document were devoted to the issue of education for patriotism. It mentions responsible historical policy, the mission of the family, the role of the school, the tasks of people of culture, scouting, non-governmental and self-governmental organizations, sports, organizations dealing with historical reconstructions.²⁵² The document is summarized with the incentive to support hospitable²⁵³ and noble patriotism: “Therefore, we appeal again to parents, teachers, representatives of the public and political authorities, civil servants and officers in national services, local government officials, creators of culture and people of the media, pastors, catechists, scout leaders, community activists, historical re-enactors and sportsmen lest they shy away from their role in shaping

²⁴⁸ Ibid, no. 3, p. 13.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, no. 6, pp. 17-18.

²⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid*, no. 6, p. 18.

²⁵¹ Cf. *ibid*, no. 4, p. 13.

²⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, no. 8-14, pp. 21-28.

²⁵³ Cf. Conclusion, s. 29: “Poland was, is and should remain a symbol of solidarity, openness and hospitality for modern Europe and the world.”

our Polish patriotism which is honourable and based on Christian love for those closest to us.”²⁵⁴

It should be assumed that the coming years will bring further statements of Church representatives regarding patriotism and attitudes that are its opposite. Probably emerging narratives will refer to the category of “common good” and “intercultural dialogue.” The teaching of the Church regarding patriotism, however, will be deprived of its influence if it is not supported with the reflection on the permanence and strength of Christian identity of individual nations and the reason for engaging in a dialogue with representatives of other cultures who do not want to talk with the Christian or post-Christian world. Above all, however, Catholic reflection on patriotism demands implementation in action that may take the form of the development of Catholic social thought, pastoral care over patriotic movements and groups, as well as educational and charitable support for people who do not identify themselves with nations on whose territory they stay, just as it is in the case of immigrants to Europe. The Catholic reflection on patriotism, studied by various sciences and using different methods, should be seen as one of the attempts of the meeting and dialogue in the space about which various sciences may say is common and important for society.

5.6. Conclusions

In the light of the considerations presented here regarding patriotism, the following conclusions can be made:

1. The fullest possible identification of the contemporary reflections on patriotism will not be made without reflection on national identity manifested in national self-determination directly related to the cultural canon and religion. Questions regarding identity turn out to be the key to opening the door to the human ability and strength necessary to create a culture of common life and common good. Culture, serving a human being and expressing a human being is placed in the foundations of thinking about common life and common good. With the next step of such reflection, one enters the realm of thinking about homelands and patriotisms.

2. Self-awareness seems to be a strength of the dynamics of patriotism and attitudes that arise from it, both in the lives of individuals and

²⁵⁴ Ibid, Conclusion, p. 29.

societies. The way of being of an individual in society and one's relation to the homeland, as well as the recognition of the homeland is shaped by the search for answers to fundamental questions about the identity needs of a person: Who am I? Who do I want to be? Who do I want to see in myself? Who do I want to reveal and show to others? Behind these questions lies the drama of an individual as such and an individual seen in society, in the connection or collision with a group.

3. The ways of formulating answers to questions about the meaning of human existence and contexts of one's life mean the process of developing self-consciousness. These questions cannot, however, help to specify and understand the subject of the meeting with the "second", "third" and "subsequent" human beings, without understanding how a person functions in various groups. Answers to questions about sense show in parallel human relationality and the desire to learn about oneself (which becomes a strength in a meeting with "other", "foreign" elements). However, this is not about certain knowledge acquired for its own sake, but about such self-knowledge that allows a human being to be oneself more, and being oneself, to recognize one's own ability to reveal oneself to others without fear. The epitome of revealing oneself seems to be the willingness to make a selfless gift of oneself that becomes a defensive force in the culture of nations, a patriotism that serves well during times of danger. Perhaps the desire for identity, the fact that a human being wants to know oneself and have oneself is one of the greatest forces shaping social life, also the life of nations and the life in states.

4. The characteristic, for individuals of Western societies nowadays, overpowering feeling of loneliness should be associated with the fear growing on the ground of the lack of a sense of their own existence. This fear seems to be reflected in the tendencies of a modern human being to create and gather new identities, for example, by belonging to certain social groups. The greater the fear, the greater is the destruction of natural connections in society. This is primarily about marital and family bonds. The dismantling of society at the level of the family and homeland life should be seen as a process aimed at increasing the sense of loneliness of particular individuals. This loneliness is inevitably becoming a space of chaotic activities, destructive to a political community.

5. Christianity, based on the Holy Scripture, has a number of arguments referring to faith and morals, in order to propagate patriotic attitudes among believers and in those environments in which they live. Love for the homeland, both declared and active, remains an important element that should shape the everyday life of Christians. The contemporary teaching of the Catholic Church is an important international voice on patriotism. The Church itself appears as the environment that wants to shape the attitudes of the faithful and customs in the world, promoting love for the homeland, which has nothing to do with encouragement to hostile attitudes towards other nations, but it is rather a way of realizing possible good and showing respect for those who are living today and also for the deceased ancestors. In this way, patriotism appears as an important manifestation of the Christian concern for the future of states, religious freedom and the rights of believers regardless of their religion. The Catholic Church despite being universal is an organism that cares about local issues. Covering the whole world and all people with its activity, drawing on the Holy Scripture and Tradition and referring to anthropological reflection, it promotes in its teaching respect for various nations, stressing, however, their just right to show love to their homelands. The Catholic Church, despite its transnational activities, contributes to the formation of patriotic attitudes, striving in this way to create a good co-existence among nations not by blurring differences, but in spite of them, seeking unity in diversity.

6. The meeting of national identity and the related awareness of one's own heritage, confirmed by patriotism, with Christianity as a phenomenon directed to the whole world, should result in the discovery and understanding of otherness and become a strength for persevering participation in the situation of the human family with its characteristic diversity. The teaching of the Catholic Church promotes patriotic attitudes, clearly opposing nationalist and racist behaviour. The principles of Christian morality emphasize the need to engage in social issues, creating a fair way of life for one's own nation without contempt for others.

7. The study of Polish history, taking into account the history of the Church and the promotion of this knowledge in society is an important element in the education for patriotism. If we assume that history co-shapes the thinking of a political community, the real threat to national security

is the disappearance of historical reflection. It inevitably results in an internal split in the nation, the lack of a common system of values, failure to pass on to the next generation national heritage, traditions, attitudes and Christian-national virtues, abandoning the struggle for national existence and Polish statehood. A clear message of the history of the Nation and the history of the Church in a political community is also a clear indication of a direction towards a successful and safe future, it is also a proven way of creating and correcting ideological actions of Poles and dynamizing their social commitment.

8. The family, which is the first place of education for patriotism and education for security, appears as a basic environment that should be provided with the protection of the state, the education system and the Church. A family, especially a multi-generational and large-sized family, should be seen in terms of a national good that is able to truly create Poland's national security. Manipulating with the concept of a family is an inevitable threat to Poland's national security.

9. The patriotism of Poles, deprived of the support of identity growing out of culture, is exposed to becoming a mere useless theory referring to the past or an ideology drawing its strength from contempt, a slogan or nationalism. The love of the homeland, which does not become a sacrifice full of freedom (a gift of oneself) for national security, inevitably takes the form of empty slogans, which are often expressed in exaggerated drama and sets of inadequately lofty symbols. National efforts and processes for national security, which do not refer to national memory, to culture – along with religion – are not only exposed to being transformed into ideologies building novelty on the rubble of history, but – for the sake of retaining strength – to resort to violence against own society. Memory is a “must” on the way of thinking about the national security of Poland, an indispensable tool for anyone who wants to love their homeland. The same memory is also a condition for wishing secure homelands to all people.

10. The scientific approach to patriotism, as exemplified by the Polish academic community, seems to be the right way to support the creation of Poland's national security. However, in order for research on patriotism conducted in Poland to be able to reveal its potential for creating international security, parallel and joint research is required in the scientific environments of other countries. Systematic research, the subject of which

is that which is broadly understood as love of one's own homeland or motherland can become a platform for cooperation, exchange of experiences and jointly facing modern threats.

6. Freedom – the “zone” for thinking about national security of Poland

“They wanted to wipe us off the face of the earth. Why? Because our national trait was and is the love of freedom, like the state of human dignity, respected by our own state and its legal order”²⁵⁵ wrote Jan Żaryn, showing freedom as the specific trait of Poles, shaping the nation, its laws, customs and everyday life and as the strength of the political community. The enemies of Poles knew about their love of freedom. The scholar rightly observes: “It was understood by subsequent tyrants who did not tolerate free people.”²⁵⁶ Of course, these free people were Poles. The conviction of the autonomy of a human individual, as well as the freedom of every human being, is undoubtedly a consequence of the adoption of the Christian religion. Thinking about freedom has had a great impact on the political consciousness of the ruling elite. The love of freedom, inseparably connected with the “spirit of republicanism”, led at the end of the Middle Ages to the emergence of democratic mechanisms of exercising power (*sejmiki* [legislative assemblies], *sejm* [lower chamber of parliament], senate [upper chamber of parliament], tribunals, etc.). The love of freedom combined with the idea of justice led to the development

²⁵⁵ J. Żaryn, *Jakże Polska jest Europie potrzebna!*, in: P. Warchoń, *Polsko, ojczyzno moja! Twoja tożsamość wczoraj, dziś i jutro*, Wydawnictwo “Bernardinum”, Pelplin, 2017, p. 11. [own translation]

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* [own translation]

of a country with extraordinary tolerance. Representatives of national minorities came to Poland in search of freedom and shelter. Already in the 11th and 12th century, and above all in the 13th and 14th century, thousands of Ashkenazic Jews persecuted in Western Europe settled in Poland. Poland became home also to representatives of other nations: Germans, Flemish, Vallons, Romanians, and Tatars. In 1385, the Union of Poland and Lithuania was established, which led to the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The foundation of this fact was Christianity, and a consequence – the development of an exceptional state in the history of Europe, with particularly democratic structures exercising power and religious, political and national tolerance. Thinking about freedom, consolidated in the first centuries of Poland's existence, is alive in society today. It was the characteristic love of freedom that led Poles through the years of captivity and Soviet domination. It is the national trait which is deeply rooted in individual and collective political thinking, which shapes identity, draws from the Christian idea of freedom of God's children and permeates culture and patriotic activities.

6.1. Freedom – the issue from the scope of thinking about creating security

When tackling the problem of security, the concept of freedom automatically pulls in references to philosophical, religious, economic and political issues. In studies on security, the question of freedom often appears and on various occasions. However, it is often not explicitly thematically defined, but appears as an obvious assumption or a widely accepted certainty without the need for additional justification. Meanwhile, the history of humanity is a great game and dramatisation of human freedom. Referring to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, the entire history of humanity can be understood as a human gradually progressing in the consciousness and use of one's freedom.

Modern times are largely characterized by high sensitivity to the issue of human freedom. Modern European history is to a large extent the history of emancipation, the expansion of the freedom of individuals, social groups and nations. Unfortunately, in the 20th century, it is freedom that revealed its power of destruction, which is why one can talk

about contemporary disappointment with freedom.²⁵⁷ This fact makes us reflect on the essence of freedom and its place in human life and creating security. In 1985, during a pilgrimage to the Netherlands, Pope John Paul II, referring to the 40th anniversary of the ending of World War II, in a speech at the airport in Eindhoven, said that those who gave their lives in the fight against Nazism, could ask their descendants: “What have you done with the freedom that cost us so dearly?”²⁵⁸ This is a question that cannot be narrowed down to the dimension of religion or Dutch morality. It was asked by a man who was not only a religious leader and a teacher of morality, but also a witness of World War II. The words of John Paul II inspire and empower to ask questions about the relationship between freedom and security, both in a global, European and national sense.

Let the discussion on the subject of freedom begin with the presentation of two ancient views on the lack of freedom, a reference to Ancient Greek thought and Biblical wisdom. Jacek Salij described these examples of the lack of freedom as “slave mentality”. According to the academic, slave mentality is a problem of post-communist societies, generating slave habits that have remained in society from the times of building socialism. It seems reasonable to address the issue of slave mentality in the space of security studies taking into consideration one more claim by Jacek Salij: “Slave mentality should be discussed primarily because the escape from freedom – paradoxically often carried out accompanied by great slogans of liberty – has plagued our civilization for several centuries. In order to be able to resist the disease, it is good to get to know it a little.”²⁵⁹

6.2. Slave mentality in Antiquity

The institution of slavery was perfectly well known and usually accepted in the ancient world. The voices of thinkers and philosophers (Euripides,

²⁵⁷ Cf. J. Kupczak, *W stronę wolności. Szkice z antropologii Karola Wojtyły*, Stowarzyszenie Kairos, Kraków 1999, p. 97.

²⁵⁸ Jan Paweł II, *Viaggio apostolico nei Paesi Bassi. Cerimonia di benvenuto. Discorso di Giovanni Paolo II. Aeroporto Welschap di Eindhoven, Sabato, 11 maggio 1985*, no. 4: (nl:) „Wat hebben jullie met die duurbetaalde vrijheid gedaan?” [http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1985/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19850511_arrivo-welschap_nl.html], access on August 1, 2017.

²⁵⁹ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, W drodze, Poznań 2005, p. 42. [own translation]

Plato) raised against slavery practices did not gain widespread acceptance. One could be a slave from birth, when someone had slave parents, or become a slave as a result of abduction, a lost war or indebtedness. When thinking about slavery in antiquity, the scale of the phenomenon should take into account thinkers and philosophers (Euripides, Plato). Around the 5th century BC, slaves in large Greek cities, such as Athens, Corinth, Syracuse, could constitute around 20-25 percent of residents. This means that it was not possible to live there at that time without encountering slavery on a daily basis.

Let us refer to Aristotle's thought here. It is this philosopher from among many ancient Greeks that said the most about slave mentality and shed most light on it. For this ancient thinker, politics is not domination, nor is it possible without freedom and the participation of interdependent individuals and groups. In the social dimension, the equivalent of despotic authority in private life is the master's power over the slave and this differs from the political authority exercised with respect to free people of equal origin. Ergo, despots do not fit into the Aristotelian definition of politics. For the philosopher, barbaric peoples, ruled by despots, were composed primarily of slaves, only those who had absolute power over others were free. Meanwhile, Aristotle wants to create politics based on virtues, above all the virtue of justice. Without taking up here the issue of Aristotle's attitude to slavery and accusations that he justified the slave system, attention should be paid first and foremost to the slave disposition and slave mentality in question. The philosopher wrote: “the slave is a living tool and the tool a lifeless slave.”²⁶⁰ For Jacek Salij, in this statement by Aristotle, a basic intuition is contained regarding slave mentality, which can also be considered outside the context of ancient Greece. A slave should be seen as someone whose reason and will are outside of oneself, and the susceptibility to manipulation is the basic feature of slave mentality.²⁶¹

One of the characteristic features of a modern human being seems to be succumbing to slave mentality seen in this way. An individual defines one's views as appropriate when others think the same way. In this process, there is no place to clash with the category of the good of a given

²⁶⁰ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 8, 11. [<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.8.viii.html>], access on January 7, 2019.

²⁶¹ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj ...*, pp. 42-43.

view. This means that we are dealing with the weakening of an individual. An individual seems to avoid making decisions in order to follow the results of e.g. surveys, sociological research results or fads. The result of such a practice is inevitably the diminishing ability to develop one's own opinion and defend one's beliefs.

But let us return to Aristotle. He saw happiness of a human being as the goal of all human activities, including collective or political actions. This one thought is useful in reflecting on the creation of security which inextricably should be combined with notions of: happiness, human actions, politics and the functioning of society. The philosopher in his main political works deals both with the issue of human well-being, happiness and political order thanks to which happiness can be experienced by the whole community. It means for him the necessity of reflecting not only on the state and political systems, but above all on a human being, human nature and traits. An important threat to human security seems to be the condition in which one allows oneself to be treated as a tool or, more dangerously, loses one's dignity and self-awareness, blending in with the background to such an extent that one perceives oneself as a tool.

Let us try to formulate distinctive features of attitudes that may indicate being entangled, even to a small extent, in slave mentality:

- Lack of self-esteem;
- Susceptibility to manipulation;
- Greater concentration on beneficial arrangements than on the care for the truth in interpersonal relationships;
- Disappearance of the ability to think creatively and independently, seeking ways to comply with a trend, without prior reflection of its value;
- Disrespect for oneself or others in the perspective of a possible benefit, even if it is to be temporary or appears as something more important than a person;
- Focusing on means rather than the purpose of actions, or even swapping places of the objective of activities and a measure leading to it. Slave mentality may be manifested in focusing on those values that are means leading to a goal. This is, for example, a question of material goods, where not only acquiring them is important, but also the appropriate use.

Information about slave mentality and slavery can also be found in the holy books of Israel and Christianity. The issue of slavery is taken up in the Bible in a diverse way, both in the dimension of the practice accompanying the lives of contemporary people and in the spiritual dimension. Generalising, it can be assumed that the issue may be divided into slavery considered as a social problem and as a religious topic. In this study, we are primarily interested in the first approach which, however, is not uninfluenced by religion, which seems obvious when we analyze biblical texts.

The world depicted in the Old Testament knows slavery, but in the environment created in Israel, it did not reach the size or forms known in the world around it at that time. The experience of slavery in Egypt fundamentally influenced the understanding of slavery. The *Book of Exodus* reads: “You shall not molest or oppress an alien, for you were once aliens yourselves in the land of Egypt.”²⁶² The *Book of Deuteronomy* deals similarly with the influence of the experience of slavery on the thinking about slavery: “When the Egyptians maltreated and oppressed us, imposing hard labour upon us, we cried to the LORD, the God of our fathers, and he heard our cry and saw our affliction, our toil and our oppression. He brought us out of Egypt with his strong hand and outstretched arm, with terrifying power, with signs and wonders.”²⁶³ The Hebrews treat themselves as God’s slaves, whom He acquired by giving them liberation from Egyptian slavery: “Since those whom I brought out of the land of Egypt are servants of mine, they shall not be sold as slaves to any man. Do not lord it over them harshly, but stand in fear of your God.”²⁶⁴ Slaves living among Hebrews largely recruited from foreigners captured as a result of wars. From among the slaves thus obtained, a wife could be chosen, which in a way could become a way to freedom for such a woman: “When you go out to war against your enemies and the LORD, your God, delivers them into your hand, so that you take captives, if you see a comely woman among the captives and become so enamored of her that you wish to have her as wife, you may take her home to your house. But before she may live there, she must shave her head and pare her nails and lay aside her captive’s

²⁶² Ex. 22:20

²⁶³ Deut. 26:6-8.

²⁶⁴ Lev. 25:42-43.

garb. After she has mourned her father and mother for a full month, you may have relations with her, and you shall be her husband and she shall be your wife. However, if later on you lose your liking for her, you shall give her her freedom, if she wishes it; but you shall not sell her or enslave her, since she was married to you under compulsion.”²⁶⁵ Slaves could also be purchased from traffickers: “Throughout the ages, every male among you, when he is eight days old, shall be circumcised, including house born slaves and those acquired with money from any foreigner who is not of your blood. Yes, both the house born slaves and those acquired with money must be circumcised. Thus my covenant shall be in your flesh as an everlasting pact.”²⁶⁶ The indication in this text of the circumcision of the “acquired with money” can be understood as an important element in the perception of a slave in the world of Hebrews. The slave was not a thing, but a bearer of the covenant with God, in a sense a slave was ritually introduced into the world of God. Such understanding of slavery can be seen as an important step in the evolution of the thinking regarding this issue. The biblical, non-objective message about slaves then shaped the world of Christian civilization and became an important step towards coming out of slavery.

However, it also happened that Hebrews were sold into slavery.²⁶⁷ In the *Book of Exodus*, the following indications regarding this state of affairs are attested: “These are the rules you shall lay before them. When you purchase a Hebrew slave, he is to serve you for six years, but in the seventh year he shall be given his freedom without cost. If he comes into service alone, he shall leave alone; if he comes with a wife, his wife shall leave with him. But if his master gives him a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the woman and her children shall remain the master’s property and the man shall leave alone. If, however, the slave declares, «I am devoted to my master and my wife and children; I will not go free», his master shall bring him to God and there, at the door or doorpost, he shall pierce his ear with an awl, thus keeping him as his slave forever.

²⁶⁵ Deut. 21:10-14.

²⁶⁶ Gen. 17:12-13.

²⁶⁷ Cf. 2Kings 4: 1: “A certain woman, the widow of one of the guild prophets, complained to Elisha: «My husband, your servant, is dead. You know that he was a God-fearing man, yet now his creditor has come to take my two children as his slaves.”

When a man sells his daughter as a slave, she shall not go free as male slaves do. But if her master, who had destined her for himself, dislikes her, he shall let her be redeemed. He has no right to sell her to a foreigner, since he has broken faith with her. If he destines her for his son, he shall treat her like a daughter. If he takes another wife, he shall not withhold her food, her clothing, or her conjugal rights. If he does not grant her these three things, she shall be given her freedom absolutely, without cost to her.”²⁶⁸ Hebrews could also sell themselves into slavery when it resulted from poverty. In the *Book of Leviticus* this possibility is confirmed, however, with the emphasis that this is happening inside Israel: “When, then, your countryman becomes so impoverished beside you that he sells you his services, do not make him work as a slave.”²⁶⁹ The law also envisaged slavery as a punishment, for example for thieves: “(If a thief is caught in the act of housebreaking and beaten to death, there is no blood guilt involved. But if after sunrise he is thus beaten, there is blood guilt.) He must make full restitution. If he has nothing, he shall be sold to pay for his theft.”²⁷⁰

The problem of slavery belongs to the secondary New Testament threads. In contrast to the Old Testament, however, it is seen in the light of the teaching and works of Jesus Christ. Subsequent Christian communities growing in the Greco-Roman world had to reflect on slavery, especially when it concerned Christians, both slave-owners as well as Christian slaves. An important confirmation of the reflection of the first Christian generations are the texts by St. Paul, who came into direct contact with slavery, especially in Corinth. In his teaching, however, he does not focus on analysing the social status of Christians, but especially on them being called by God to the community of believers, the community of the Church. Such an approach means for him that in the practice of everyday life there will be nothing wrong in the fact that slaves – who are Christians – will fulfil their Christian duty by serving their masters: “Slaves, be obedient to your human masters with fear and trembling, in sincerity of heart, as to Christ, not only when being watched, as currying favour, but as slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, willingly serving the Lord and not human beings, knowing that each

²⁶⁸ Ex. 21:1-11.

²⁶⁹ Lev. 25:39.

²⁷⁰ Ex 22:1-2.

will be requited from the Lord for whatever good he does, whether he is slave or free.”²⁷¹ Similarly, slave owners, if they are Christian, they should treat slaves as their brothers in faith. The next verse of the *Ephesians* reads: “Masters, act in the same way toward them [slaves - C.S.], and stop bullying, knowing that both they and you have a Master in heaven and that with him there is no partiality.”²⁷² The fact, however, that a Christian owner had a Christian slave did not mean that the owner should release the slave in spite of recognizing such a person as a brother in faith. Saint Paul writes about such a case in the *Epistle to Philemon*, discussing the treatment of Onesimus: “Therefore, although I have the full right in Christ to order you to do what is proper, I rather urge you out of love, being as I am, Paul, an old man, and now also a prisoner for Christ Jesus. I urge you on behalf of my child Onesimus, whose father I have become in my imprisonment, who was once useless to you but is now useful to (both) you and me. I am sending him, that is, my own heart, back to you. I should have liked to retain him for myself, so that he might serve me on your behalf in my imprisonment for the gospel, but I did not want to do anything without your consent, so that the good you do might not be forced but voluntary. Perhaps this is why he was away from you for a while, that you might have him back forever, no longer as a slave but more than a slave, a brother, beloved especially to me, but even more so to you, as a man and in the Lord. So, if you regard me as a partner, welcome him as you would me. And if he has done you any injustice or owes you anything, charge it to me. I, Paul, write this in my own hand: I will pay. May I not tell you that you owe me your very self. Yes, brother, may I profit from you in the Lord. Refresh my heart in Christ. With trust in your compliance I write to you, knowing that you will do even more than I say.”²⁷³ In the Christian communities established by St. Paul, he does not stress the old slave-free man antinomy, which first of all indicates a much more fundamental situation, the communion with Christ. This new status guarantees to everyone belonging to Christ the right to be heirs, which should be understood in the context of other texts as the right to eternal life: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free

²⁷¹ Eph. 6:5-8.

²⁷² Eph. 6:9.

²⁷³ Philem. 1:8-21.

person, there is not male and female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham’s descendant, heirs according to the promise.”²⁷⁴

Analyzing the problems of slavery in the Holy Scripture, Jacek Salij draws attention to the following New Testament words: “A slave does not remain in a household forever, but a son always remains. So, if a son frees you, then you will truly be free.”²⁷⁵ The theologian treats this fragment from the Gospel of St. John as a text about slave mentality and freedom. He notes that being free is to be at home: “Being free is to feel at home anywhere in God’s world. To be free means also to contribute to making other people feel at home in the God’s world.”²⁷⁶ A human being of slave mentality is someone who is not at home anywhere. One’s condition is related to one’s morality. People of slave mentality presented in the Gospel are egoists who apply different standards to their fellow human beings than to themselves. Jesus spoke about such people as recorded in the Gospel of Luke: “That is why the kingdom of heaven may be likened to a king who decided to settle accounts with his servants. When he began the accounting, a debtor was brought before him who owed him a huge amount. Since he had no way of paying it back, his master ordered him to be sold, along with his wife, his children, and all his property, in payment of the debt. At that, the servant fell down, did him homage, and said, «Be patient with me, and I will pay you back in full». Moved with compassion the master of that servant let him go and forgave him the loan. When that servant had left, he found one of his fellow servants who owed him a much smaller amount. He seized him and started to choke him, demanding, «Pay back what you owe.» Falling to his knees, his fellow servant begged him, «Be patient with me, and I will pay you back.» But he refused. Instead, he had him put in prison until he paid back the debt. Now when his fellow servants saw what had happened, they were deeply disturbed, and went to their master and reported the whole affair. His master summoned him and said to him, «You wicked servant! I forgave you your entire debt because you begged me to. Should you not have had pity on your fellow servant, as I had pity on you?» Then

²⁷⁴ Gal. 3:28-29.

²⁷⁵ Jn. 8:35-36.

²⁷⁶ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj ...*, op. cit., p. 46. [own translation]

in anger his master handed him over to the torturers until he should pay back the whole debt. So will my heavenly Father do to you, unless each of you forgives his brother from his heart.”²⁷⁷

People of slave mentality put their benefits above justice, not shying away from killing the innocent: “Hear another parable. There was a landowner who planted a vineyard, put a hedge around it, dug a wine press in it, and built a tower. Then he leased it to tenants and went on a journey. When vintage time drew near, he sent his servants to the tenants to obtain his produce. But the tenants seized the servants and one they beat, another they killed, and a third they stoned. Again he sent other servants, more numerous than the first ones, but they treated them in the same way. Finally, he sent his son to them, thinking, «They will respect my son.» But when the tenants saw the son, they said to one another, «This is the heir. Come, let us kill him and acquire his inheritance.» They seized him, threw him out of the vineyard, and killed him.”²⁷⁸ The good done by people with slave mentality is a consequence of obeying the law, carried out only under duress: “Who, then, is the faithful and prudent servant, whom the master has put in charge of his household to distribute to them their food at the proper time? Blessed is that servant whom his master on his arrival finds doing so. Amen, I say to you, he will put him in charge of all his property. But if that wicked servant says to himself, «My master is long delayed,» and begins to beat his fellow servants, and eat and drink with drunkards, the servant’s master will come on an unexpected day and at an unknown hour and will punish him severely and assign him a place with the hypocrites, where there will be wailing and grinding of teeth.”²⁷⁹ People of slave mentality are primarily interested in their own comfort and do not understand the need to transform the earth into a friendly place for all people. Developing the statement that in no place is a human being of slave mentality never feels at home, Jacek Salij talks about people who have been uprooted, noting that nothing uproots more from reality than disorientation with regard to truth and love.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Mt. 18:23-35.

²⁷⁸ Mt. 21:33-39.

²⁷⁹ Mt. 24:45-51.

²⁸⁰ J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj ...*, op. cit., p. 46.

The biblical message about slave mentality shows human freedom with reference to one's actions for the sake of common good. An important confirmation indicating this connection is the fragment of the *Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians*: “For you were called for freedom, brothers. But do not use this freedom as an opportunity for the flesh; rather, serve one another through love.”²⁸¹ This biblical thought is clearly present in modern social sciences developed by Christian thinkers. It is about unambiguous linking of human freedom with one's commitment to creating a world that is more and more friendly to people and more and more secure. Freedom is understood as a dynamic reality that can grow with taking action for the sake of serving the human community. A free human being is the one who strives to live in a place where one is at home, in one's place, and at the same time, other people nearby live better and better lives. Such views have found their synthetic expression in the documents of the Second Vatican Council. The *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, reads: “(...) human freedom is often crippled when a man encounters extreme poverty just as it withers when he indulges in too many of life's comforts and imprisons himself in a kind of splendid isolation. Freedom acquires new strength, by contrast, when a man consents to the unavoidable requirements of social life, takes on the manifold demands of human partnership, and commits himself to the service of the human community.”²⁸²

Freedom shown in the Holy Scripture is a force that allows a human being to transform the world around into a more human, more and more secure and development-friendly place. In the light of the above, it should be concluded that in the process of creating security, it seems reasonable to use the biblical wisdom about freedom and slave mentality. On the basis of slave mentality reflected in the Bible, conclusions for the process of creating security can be drawn, both for individual people and for various sizes of human communities. On the basis of the Holy Bible, it can be stated that people who do not have freedom are characterized with the following traits:

²⁸¹ Gal. 5:13.

²⁸² Second Vatican Council, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* «*Gaudium et Spes*», no. 31 [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html], access on January 7, 2019.

- They do not identify themselves with the place or circumstances in which they are currently located;
- They do not recognize truth and love as values rooted in reality given to them;
- They do not show concern for the place they live in, they do not treat their country as their home;
- They focus only on their own benefits;
- They do not seek to transform places and circumstances into a more secure place for people;
- They do not strive for social justice;
- They are not engaged in the service for the sake of social life, and thus the security of common life;
- They do not build social structures conducive to the creation of common good;
- They do not engage in creating social security.

Freedom of the nation depends to a large extent on the inner freedom of the people who create it. It is the inner freedom of people, supported by freedom guaranteed by the positive law that is the strength of civic activity in a political community. Slave mentality of citizens thus appears as one of the main threats to the development and sovereignty of a state.

6.3. Freedom versus realistic and integral anthropology

There are many ways of understanding and describing freedom, which results from diverse concepts of a human. Any discussion of freedom requires reflection on a human being. Literature, mainly philosophical, provides abundant research material, forewarning at the same time that it is difficult to work out and formulate the right and adequate concept of a human being. This fact all the more inclines us to reflect on the freedom and security of a human being, nations and states.

Realistic and integral anthropology is understood as such a reflection on a human being that describes a human being in the most comprehensive and multidimensional way possible. It is a realistic concept, that takes into account human possibilities as well as limitations, but also an integral concept – taking into account all basic dimensions and manifestations of humanity and human life as well as their complexity, mutual

connections and penetration. Referring to the thoughts of the Polish philosopher Mieczysław Gogacz, it can be said that this concept of a human being that is recognized as the basis of human behaviour and actions and which should be in harmony with one's identity so that human matters could be solved for the real good of people.²⁸³ Realistically oriented anthropological philosophy and realistic anthropology are about discussing a human being through identification. In this way, the identified and defined elements of human existence can be properly assigned to a particular position in this being. Therefore, it is about recognizing complexity and then dependence, in which the Aristotelian theory of act and potency turns out to be helpful. It makes it possible to distinguish between the spiritual and the material in a human being, so as not to fall into limitation to one element of being. Referring to the anthropology of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, a human being is described as a spiritual-corporal unity that combines two perspectives: intellectual-spiritual and material. It is also on these planes that a complex drama of upbringing and formation takes place, including education for security and peace. By focusing on realistic anthropology, we want to get to know a human being in the historical and social context, including human works such as politics, war, peace and creating security. Therefore, it is about reading the complexity of a human being that takes into account broadly the real way of one's existence and functioning, creating the environment and activity (person and deed).

Realistic and integral anthropology seems to be particularly important in creating the assumptions and education on safety. Created studies and programs will prove effective when based on knowledge of a human being, the most important part of reality. Without reflecting on a human being, human development and possibilities, all kinds of activities aimed at creating security will turn out to be narrow, ineffective or even inadequate.

By including the topic of love in human life, realistic and integral anthropology allows us to talk about freedom more fully – loving leads to giving freedom. Meanwhile, love should be perceived not only as a foundation for existence and coming to be, not only as a longed-for way of realizing life, but also as a foundation for politics, the sense and creation of

²⁸³ M. Gogacz, *Wokół problemu osoby*, Instytut Wydawniczy “Pax”, Warszawa 1974, p. 14.

security. The event of love in human life also attests to one's community-oriented nature. The experience of relations with other people, especially a relationship based on love, opens the perspective of giving freedom. Realist and integral anthropology, by emphasizing the relationality of a human being – based on love and freedom – permits discussion on creating security built on the specific presence of a human being: firstly, in the world through work and commitment, secondly, in others' life through love and responsibility.

In the face of contemporary crises (e.g. axiological, demographic, cultural) affecting Poland and Europe, it is necessary to propose a thesis that we are dealing with a serious anthropological crisis. At the basis of such a state of affairs, one should see the “negation of the primacy of a human being.” It is precisely this phenomenon, which is connected with such concepts as the financial crisis, economic dictatorship, the economy which Pope Francis wrote about in the following way: “The current financial crisis can make us overlook the fact that it originated in a profound human crisis: the denial of the primacy of the human person! We have created new idols. The worship of the ancient golden calf (cf. Ex 32:1-35) has returned in a new and ruthless guise in the idolatry of money and the dictatorship of an impersonal economy lacking a truly human purpose. The worldwide crisis affecting finance and the economy lays bare their imbalances and, above all, their lack of real concern for human beings; man is reduced to one of his needs alone: consumption.”²⁸⁴

Any changes that will bypass the plane of understanding a human being, and will focus only on human functioning and deeds, will prove to be misguided. There cannot be discussion about a social or moral change without defining a clear vision of a human being, human ability to love and the human right to freedom. The point is not for a human being and society to only function, but for a human being to utilise his abilities, discover one's potential, and to shape one's surroundings. The fundamental renewal of society begins with the renewal of the understanding of a

²⁸⁴ Francis, *Apostolic Exhortation «Evangelii Gaudium». On the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today's World*, No. 55. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html#I.%E2%80%82Some_challenges_of_today's_world], access on January 7, 2019.

human being and in human affirmation, in going beyond reductionist concepts reducing a human to being a consumer, the sum of urges, the sum of individual characteristics, self-awareness or the desires impossible to tame.

Realistic and integral anthropology is a great field for development in politics, the processes of creating security and education for peace. One of the continuous tasks shaping social processes is shaping the attitudes of free people respecting the freedom of others. This can be done not so much through bringing people up to be reigning rulers or passive subordinates, but by awakening humanity in its fullest content and form.

6.4. Freedom challenged and defended

In the discourse on security and freedom, the very existence of freedom should be emphasised, because it is already at this level that it is questioned. Such attempts appear as a form of anthropological reduction. This is the case, firstly, in philosophical deliberations that encourage some scholars to opt for total determinism, secondly, in strictly theological research, due to the pastoral activity of Churches and various religious communities having a systematic impact on society. In the latter, it even leads, in the most extreme wording, to making claims about the total destruction of freedom through sin. However, these views are argued with,²⁸⁵ and on the basis of this polemic, five general arguments can be formulated for the static position of human freedom:

1. A human being deprived of freedom is different from dead things, plants and animals only by the degree of complexity of physique. This means that one could be seen as only a machine with human shape.

2. The negation of freedom promoted by determinists means in practice that one should reject any effort, both in the dimension of the inner reflection of a single person and in the external dimension – to convince anyone. Human deeds also lose their importance. Everyone and everything are guided by deterministic laws.

3. The implementation of determinist views means that words such as ‘must’, ‘should’, ‘can’ lose their power of influence and even, in a sense,

²⁸⁵ Cf. D. Oko, *Łaska i wolność. Łaska w Biblii, nauczaniu Kościoła i teologii współczesnej*, WAM, Kraków 1998, pp. 268-272.

their *raison d'être*. After all, every appeal to a human being refers to one's freedom, just like educational and pedagogical processes. Education for security and education for peace assume that a human being can be educated and shaped so that a person and a society in which one functions, and which one creates could develop successfully and live safely.

4. One cannot expect any responsibility for actions from a human being without freedom. These deeds have neither value or merit nor immorality or unethicity and are only events closely related by cause and effect.

5. In a religious approach, a human being irreversibly deprived of freedom would be, in a sense, dead, incapable of dialogue and response to a call from God. One's responsibility and enforcement referring to the consequences of deeds would also be impossible.

The negation of the existence of freedom has also implications for security as to a large extent it is the negation of a human being. Following this path, the negation of freedom fits into the modern killing of a human being found in a significant part of philosophical discourse. Polish philosopher Józef Tischner noted that "there is no human being in the main lines of modern philosophy. (...) Philosophy is silent about a human being and humanity. The question about a person's humanity is not a basic concern of philosophers today. In its place there appear other, seemingly more basic questions."²⁸⁶ While philosophy is silent about a human being, the Church, which has been accused of betraying a human being so many times, elevates discourse on the human to the main reflection on modernity. The "death of a human being", addressed by Józef Tischner, should be understood in connection with the "death of God" proclaimed in the late nineteenth century by Friedrich W. Nietzsche. If a human being and humanity can be omitted in philosophical discourse, then it seems justified to negate the very sense of dealing with human security. This, in turn, leads to the denial of nations and states.

It is with great hope that these efforts of modern thinkers should be taken that contribute to accentuating human freedom, and thus the very need to think about the human. This is particularly important when such thinkers are involved in social issues. John Paul II seems to be an example here with his teaching on freedom, social activity and efforts to create

²⁸⁶ J. Tischner, *Śmierć człowieka*, "Akcent" 1998, no. 3, p. 181. [own translation]

international and national security, especially of Poland.²⁸⁷ The Pope’s statement in the encyclical *Veritatis splendour* is significant: “Truth enlightens man’s intelligence and shapes his freedom.”²⁸⁸ In the same text he also speaks of the “human freedom[’s] (...) essential and constitutive relationship to truth.”²⁸⁹ In the face of contemporary currents of thought which question human freedom, John Paul II emphasizes the issue of truth. In the quoted encyclical, he writes that contemporary people, succumbing to relativism and scepticism, search for an illusory freedom outside of truth itself.²⁹⁰ In the face of such a state of affairs, we can speak of one of the contemporary threats to the Western world which consists in the fact that a human being, despite being aware of the multiplicity of one’s own experiences, the power of knowledge and capabilities, surrenders to question about the truth. This capitulation cannot be without effect on the political life and security of political communities. Helplessness in answering or escaping the question about the truth is not closed in the lives of individuals, but it seeks to shape different common spaces created by people. First of all, this applies to family and political life. Polemising with those who believe in the complete destruction of human freedom through sin, John Paul II considers the truth as a factor shaping human freedom. In *Veritatis Splendour*, he writes: “But no darkness of error or of sin can totally take away from man the light of God the Creator. In the depths of his heart there always remains a yearning for absolute truth and a thirst to attain full knowledge of it. This is eloquently proved by man’s tireless search for knowledge in all fields. It is proved even more by his search for the meaning of life. The development of science and technology, this splendid testimony of the human capacity for understanding and for perseverance, does not free humanity from the obligation to ask the ultimate religious questions. Rather, it spurs us on to face the most painful and decisive of struggles, those of the heart and of the moral conscience.”²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ Cf. J. Kupczak, *W stronę wolności...*, op. cit.

²⁸⁸ John Paul II, *Encyclical «Veritatis splendor»*, Blessing. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_06081993_veritatis-splendor.html], access on January 7, 2019.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, no. 4.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*, no. 1.

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, no. 1.

In John Paul II's philosophical and theological concept, freedom is connected not only with the truth, but also with the law. Obedience to the – natural, revealed, divine, human – law does not exclude freedom, on the contrary, it leads to freedom. The Pope describes human freedom in a dynamic way, seeing in it a reality subject to continuous development. However, at the beginning of the process of growing in freedom, there is the following commandments,²⁹² which should be seen as an important voice of law for human freedom, and thus the security of individuals and political communities. The law that is revealed in the commandments is the premise of freedom, not its opponent. Living in accordance with moral principles and with the natural law, leads to freedom and is a guarantee of security.

In Western civilization, shaped to a large extent by philosophy, Roman law and Judeo-Christian monotheism, the legacy of ancient Israel plays an important role in understanding the connection between freedom and morality. An example illustrating this relationship is the history of the biblical Ark of the Covenant and the tables of the Decalogue contained therein.²⁹³ The commandments of God, in which the call for moral behaviour should be seen, were directly connected with freedom for Israelites, for they received the Decalogue after passing through the Red Sea after escaping the captivity. Observance of the commandments and a moral life helps Israelites to be free. For Israelites, the Ark of the Covenant in a tent, and then also in the temple, personified the real presence of God. And it was the Ark that Israelites lost during their captivity, in which they had fallen as a result of their immorality. Until the time of the loss of freedom, it was the only object that could be placed in the “Holy of Holies” and which gave this place its special character. After building the temple and after placing the Ark in it,²⁹⁴ it was the temple that came to the foreground, and the Ark lost its meaning. Most likely, it ceased to exist along with the temple during the time of exile. Since then, the temple was empty. Pompey must have been greatly surprised when he entered Jerusalem with the army in 63 BC. Then after three months he also captured the temple hill itself and entered the temple. He was surprised because

²⁹² Cf. J. Kupczak, *W stronę wolności...*, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

²⁹³ Cf. Duet. 10:1-5.

²⁹⁴ Cf. 1 Kings 8:1-13.

various stories were circulating among the pagans about the cult followed by the Jews in Jerusalem. Meanwhile, when he unveiled the curtain and burst into the tabernacle, he did not see any image of the Deity. Of course, neither the Ark nor the Decalogue were there – if they were, they would at least partly satisfy his curiosity. In this way, in this empty room Pompey encountered a special feature of the biblical religion. The history of the Ark of the Covenant and the tablets of the Decalogue placed in it remind us that it is difficult to speak about the freedom of a human being and a nation in isolation from morality. The lack of observance of the law or departure from the natural law inevitably leads to the loss of freedom of individuals as well as nations. Departure from the natural law should be seen as one of the main threats to political communities.

6.5. Freedom and the threat of utopias

Freedom allows people to recognize the dangers brought about by various utopias threatening them and communities. In order to argue such a thesis, we focus our attention on the internal freedom of a human being. We do not divide the issue of freedom into the freedom from something and to something, but we draw attention to the distinction of internal and external freedom of people. We associate external freedom with such factors of life as politics, the state and its borders, economics and law. A frequent expression of the desire to have external freedom is the struggle for statehood (possibly armed) and wars to free states under occupation.

What is meant here as the internal freedom of a human being is distancing from one's own feelings and needs, encountered opinions and events. Internal freedom is not a state of internal bliss or numbness alienating one from the external reality of a human being and discouraging one from action, nor is it a detachment from self-awareness and sinking into a “being” (something or someone) greater or different. Internal freedom of a human being becomes available through one's inner effort and is associated with prudence. The experience of this freedom is an important event in the shaping of individuals' identity, it allows us to enter into relationships, especially those shaped by the desire for the good of others and relationships in which one shares deeper dialogue and mutual acquaintance. For the analysis of the problem of internal freedom of a

human being, the concept of a gift is important when freedom is shaped to a large extent by giving oneself. Internally free people are masters of themselves, they can make a gift of themselves and do so. It is not, however, an unquestioning gift. A human being acquires this freedom by making a wise gift of oneself. The person knows to whom and how one wants to give oneself following the logic of love which is inseparably connected with the knowledge of the beloved who thus becomes the recipient of love. From the above, it also follows that internal freedom pursues the path determined by the category of gift as affirmed by the recipient. The experience of internal freedom means that an individual not only has a sense of self-worth and dignity, but also a well-understood strength and ability to act. The state of internal freedom is achieved by persevering because it requires constant effort to be preserved. We are talking here about acquiring rather than having internal freedom because it is a constant effort that involves many areas of human life and contributes to integral development. In the dimension of a religious life, a human being acquires one's internal freedom to the extent to which faith, hope and love consolidate in him. So understood internal freedom and its acquisition shape a special sense of perception and understanding of reality in a human being; allow one to see what is and what it is like; does not focus on the experience stimulating enthusiasm or discouragement but takes into account the current circumstances and the history and strength leading one towards the future.

It is the acquiring of internal freedom that is needed for a human being to recognize the threatening utopian currents, which are a recurring threat to individuals and entire societies. Utopias play an important role in the lives of societies. "We should not think badly of utopia,"²⁹⁵ wrote Józef Tischner, noticing the truth about a human being in utopias. The philosopher notes that utopias speak much more about a human being than many statistics. Also, unlike statistics, they shape the world to a large extent. Utopias, however, are a real security threat because they neglect the power of evil and provide easy and naive answers that provoke simple actions. They argue that little is needed to eliminate evil from the world: it is enough for people to love and give up private property, get rid of

²⁹⁵ J. Tischner, *Myślenie według wartości*, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy "Znak", Kraków 2011, p. 501. [own translation]

gold, money or a tyrant. Utopias can be divided into those that are a fairy tale, and those that can become a potential action plan. “In any case, the utopian projects of tomorrow do and will constantly accompany social life. They constantly problematize our social factuality and are then themselves problematized by this factuality.”²⁹⁶ Internal freedom as the strength to be the human capacity necessary to recognize utopias. This kind of freedom becomes useful in relation to utopias, because they have, in the language of Józef Tischner, two “limitations of thinking.” And internal freedom can recognize these “limitations of utopian thinking”.

This is how the philosopher writes about the first “limitation”: “our spontaneous utopian thinking does not always reckon with the objective logic of historical development, it is feverish, focused on consolation of hearts, on mobilizing enthusiasm. A dream about heaven cuts off the ability to associate events. It wants to join water with fire, a wolf with a sheep. It sometimes happens that it calls for readiness for the highest sacrifices in the name of absurd fantasies.”²⁹⁷ Meanwhile, internal freedom distances a human being from one’s own feelings, needs, opinions and events one encounters, which makes one recognize the feverishness of utopia. Inner freedom, by shaping the human inner self and developing prudence makes one sensitive to what is only comforting of hearts, mobilizing of enthusiasm, dreaming about heaven or an absurd fantasy.

The second “limitation of utopian thinking”, in the belief of Józef Tischner, is “the very nature of social factuality”. It is understood by the scholar as: dreams of full happiness, living without diseases, without death and without misunderstandings, full freedom, brotherhood and equality. Such desires are perhaps a human need, but “they are not the projects for this world.”²⁹⁸ At this point it should be taken into account what internal freedom brings for the recognition of utopia, by equipping a human being with a special “sense of reality”. Let us give the floor to Józef Tischner who characterizes the second limitation of utopian thinking as follows: “Utopian consciousness too easily breaks away from the ground. It feels well in the world of ideals, but does not like the street, the desk, the factory. That is why it needs the control of the «sense of

²⁹⁶ Ibid. [own translation]

²⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 502. [own translation]

²⁹⁸ Ibid. [own translation]

reality», which can determine what of all possibilities open today must be implemented, what should be implemented, what can only be realized. Utopian consciousness cannot do without criticism based on seeing what is real.”²⁹⁹ This “sense of reality” distinguishes the concepts characteristic of this world from utopian ones, characteristic of the world of ideals, it also recognizes what must, what should and what can be put into practice.

Remaining in the area of the second “limitation of utopian thinking”, Józef Tischner refers to the concept of “cult”. He notes that the lack of criticism based on seeing what is real leads to a “cult of violence”. The author points out that the “cult of violence” occurs when the attachment to dreams is too great and reality is too resistant to dreams.³⁰⁰ Introducing the concept of “cult” to the discourse should be understood as strengthening the indicated idea of “violence” which the philosopher strongly associates with utopias. This strengthening becomes more important if we remember that Józef Tischner was also a theologian and clergyman for whom cult was an everyday religious experience, in accordance with the Catholic teaching, the source and summit (Latin: *fons et culmen*) of Christian life and the life of the Church. The collocation “cult of violence” according to the philosopher specifies the subject of considerations by drawing attention to commonly known totalitarianisms. The cult of violence characteristic of these systems of government manifests itself in the destruction of the personality and identity of individuals, the use of psychological terror crippling the awareness of subjectivity of individuals. The restoration of internal freedom in people affected by the rule of modern totalitarian regimes, such as Nazism and communism, turns out to be a very difficult process. With regard to communism, there is the *homo sovieticus syndrome*³⁰¹ (a sovietized-enslaved human being), which is impossible to escape without the internal transformation of a human being, above all, in the dimension of one’s freedom.

The twilight of utopia is when it spreads the cult of violence. Józef Tischner emphasizes that “the cult of violence means the suicide of utopia.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. [own translation]

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Cf. J. Tischner, *Etyka solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus*, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy “Znak”, Kraków 1992.

For it deprives a human being of the right to utopia.”³⁰² Thus, the theologian summarizes his argument about the second “limitation of utopian thinking”. Let us try to elaborate on this synthetic statement of the philosopher. In a sense, the cult of violence is the beginning of the end of utopia, because it means descending to such a level of a human being and one’s actions where there is no place for freedom; no place for what is great and no place which allows an individual to recognize oneself and one’s potency. In the cult of violence, a human being does not have to be a human being, one can be a machine used for destroying and killing or a trained animal focused on stimuli and action. If a utopia becomes the cult of violence, it may mean that a thought gives way to action, actions cease to be a consequence of rational thinking, but they draw strength from momentary sensations. The cult of violence means that we are dealing with a departure from reason and free decision towards feelings that arise under the influence of strong stimuli. If this is the case, then the cult of violence should be associated with affects whose indispensable component is the limitation of rational actions. Let us return to the statement that the cult of violence deprives a human being of the right to utopia. Such an approach becomes clearer if we consider it at the level of philosophical anthropology, a significant part of which oscillates around the issue of human freedom. It should be assumed that taking away a human being’s right to utopia comes with one’s dehumanization. The cult of violence attests to the fact that a human being has been deprived of freedom, in the right to think and the ability to reason, and yet it is the human thought that is the space in which utopias are born, it is the beginning of utopia. The cult of violence deprives one of the right to utopia, because utopia demands continuous reflection and creative use of thought. It is no longer a thought or a social project, but the cult itself that appears to be the most important and becomes the objective of action, violence becomes the main tool, like the main character of the unfolding drama. There is no room for internal freedom in utopias, for creative thinking and the resulting creation. And, therefore, there is no place for a human being in utopias.

Internal freedom with the power to oppose utopias is much more difficult to achieve than external and physical liberation. Christianity along

³⁰² J. Tischner, *Myślenie według wartości*, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy “Znak”, Kraków 2011, p. 502. [own translation]

with the doctrine of faith, hope and love can play an important role in this process. Only a cult based on love, faith and hope that come with it can respond to the cult of violence. The virtues of faith, hope and love have their own reference not only to God, but also to a human being (a fellow human being) and they have their characteristic social dimension. To believe “others” is to let them be free individuals, let them act, agree to their invention, accept their gift. In a sense, it is difficult to talk about the Christian faith in God and entrusting oneself to God without believing another person. This does not mean, however, that this is about naivety, but about the affirmation of another living next to us. In turn, to have hope means to look boldly into the future. In this way, hope becomes the source of strength – the one who hopes, wants to live differently, better. Hope is not only associated with faith, but results from faith and responds to faith. The author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* closely associates “absolute trust” with “hold[ing] unwaveringly to our confession that gives us hope.”³⁰³ Ultimately, however, this is love accomplished through a gift that allows a human being to find one’s own freedom, to know oneself and to find oneself. Therefore, the most loving love is the freest freedom.

6.6. Freedom versus national and European identity

The European discourse on freedom in the current axiological space, and also in the thematic area designated by the notion of security inclines us to reflect on the identity of Europeans. It is shaped by the meeting/collision with otherness and such an event brings specific threats to security. Nowadays, in Europe there is no common understanding of neither identity nor freedom shaping security, there is also no pan-European context common for all specifying the concept of freedom. If freedom understood as value connects Europeans it is only in its general abstract meaning, in isolation from the national sense that defines identity. Meanwhile, Poland’s experience shows that nothing has shaped the national identity that constantly affects national security more than the aspirations for freedom.

Contemporary European integration processes show that European identity is much weaker than national identity. Europeans are ready to agree that lofty sounding and common slogans referring to freedom

³⁰³ Cf. Heb 10:22-23.

should resound in their living space. The problem arises when specifying those slogans, above all by referring to identity. It turns out that values, including freedom are often repeated or shouted in the form of lofty slogans, because they have the power of attraction contained in their simplicity. Their capacity and magnetism increase along with their generalization and universality. However, the greater the generalization and universality of a given slogan, the more one should expect the weakening of communication and ability to agree among its supporters. The fact that many people identify with the value of freedom does not mean that everyone for whom it is an imperative will agree to joint ventures and actions. The common and repeatedly expressed desire for freedom, if it is not related to identity, does not directly contribute to the building of a political community or creating security.

Freedom understood as a value unifying under its banner many different people constantly demands clarification by referring to the identity of those who appeal to it or who demand it. Such clarification can be realized by referring to the context of specific events or the national context – if there is no freedom in a given society – or by referring to the religious context that also shapes identity. The notion of ‘freedom’ ceases to be a mere slogan only in a defined space and begins to gain the hallmarks of a good and a driving force.

In the light of the above, one can notice the fundamental dilemma of freedom and identity, which has a direct impact on security. Well, the postulate of freedom proclaimed as the slogan has the undisputed power to attract the masses and unite them, but it is only superficial unity. Because the application of such a slogan will go as if in a different direction, it will introduce divisions and separate by referring to the context related to identity. An elevated banner of freedom uniting uncoordinated masses will not create a secure community or space. This is because, while freedom has the power to attract masses, it has no means to organize them. Such means and strength are associated with identity. The awareness of freedom is not enough to realize the common good, introduce the order necessary for the security and functioning of a political community. The raised banner of freedom has a chance to contribute to the shaping of security as long as it refers to identity. Only the awareness of who a particular person is determines one’s place in society, and also specifies one’s

tasks. The higher the banner with the inscription 'freedom' is raised, the more often people are blindly offered the slogan of freedom, the greater the likelihood of security being threatened, a departure from effort for the common good and the breakdown of a political community. The louder the declaration of freedom is shouted, the more one should expect a faster assault on identity. Behind the demand for freedom that does not refer to identity, there may be hidden a simple desire to gain power over a disordered and thus internally disunited mass. The loss of national and European identity by societies, which takes place through denationalization and detachment from religion, by depriving them of the proper context of history and place, continuity of events and values, may lure with the temptation of easily attainable freedom. Uncoordinated masses, only gathered in the name of freedom, will quickly transform into individuals permeated with the will to create a new reality. Freedom without identity is like building on rubble.

In the light of the above, it should be stated that in the social space, freedom proclaimed as a slogan without a reference to identity does not contribute to the creation of security. It is even a security threat to promote freedom without reference to national identity.

6.7. Conclusions

In the light of the above analysis and also on the basis of the reflection on the "achievements" of the 20th-century ideologies aimed at enslaving societies, general observations can be formulated that can be used to create constructive concepts of security. Drawing conclusions from history is seen as one of the most important conditions for building security in the area of practical activities. In the theoretical dimension, one can talk about the process of studying security anthropology:

1. The mere declaration of civil liberties or enthusiastic approval for freedom will not make people free. Freedom demands effort to be free and is conditioned by the level of spiritual imagination.

2. Slave mentality may manifest as adapting to humiliation and a life deprived of hope. It can also be manifested in the absence of longing for freedom. The history of Poland shows clearly that after the end of political enslavement, slave mentality persists in the mentality of society and

it can take the form of an escape from participation in building a society of responsible people who create security.

3. The experience of Nazism and communism shows that the threats to the security of individuals and societies result, among others, from the degradation and destruction of the understanding of a human being. The recapitulation of a person through personalism may become a force that can resist such a current of actions, such destruction.

4. The ideologies of the 20th century misguidedly showed Christian God as a threat to a human being, and above all one's freedom and sovereignty. The rejection of the God of Christians (death of God, state atheism) quickly resulted in the emergence of “idols” and morality in which governance largely consisted in the use of violence and oppression. The practice of exercising power in states overpowered by Nazism or communism largely boiled down to causing fear, which grew the more irrationality and nihilism increased with inevitable degradation of reason. Intimidation of society resulted in the minimization of the role of an individual, and thus the internal crippling of a characteristic human strength for creating security. The experience of the 20th-century ideologies makes posterity aware that the cult of violence is characteristic of the slave consciousness. The declared “death of God” in political practice meant the killing of millions of people. The world without God becomes less and less human.

5. The ideologies which gave rise to the totalitarianisms of the 20th century first destroyed personality in order to make a human being a slave, and thus the object of manipulation and abuse. They wanted a human being not to decide for oneself, but passively obey someone else's will. Overcoming the vision of the world based on the master and servant relationship appears as one of the essential conditions for the development of a human being capable of creating security.

6. The ideologies of the 20th century, depriving a human being of freedom, crippled the human awareness of one's own subjectivity. Getting out of this type of captivity, which can be described as the enslavement of minds or mental enslavement, requires the work of subsequent generations. This, however, cannot be done without reference to human dignity. Aiming at enslavement tells primarily of the one who enslaves and who in essence turns out to be a slave to oneself, one's own visions and the

appetite for domination. Only an internally free person does not seek to enslave others. The liberation of individuals and society from the pursuit of violence is an extremely difficult task, because it involves overcoming the fear of losing the occupied position. Unfortunately, this is not only about the position occupied by the master, but also about the loss of the slave status.

7. The contemporary inability of many individuals to live creatively in a civic society can have its origin in the ideologies of the 20th century. In the process of education, totalitarian systems sought to completely deprive a human being of freedom, make one incapable of freedom in forming judgments and opinions, which are an indispensable element of creating security. A society built on the basis of the master and servant relationship raises people who are frightened, who close themselves in their small world and which leads to egocentricity. The world created by egocentrics is very simple, it consists of two realities: “I” and “not-I”, with the latter seen by egocentrics as threatening – other people, even the closest ones, are perceived as potential enemies. Freedom of a human being consists, among other things, in the ability to go beyond “I”, beyond “mine” or “I am entitled to”. It is realized in the creation of a relationship that does not consist in domination and ruling or submission and slavery. The realization of freedom takes place through openness to another person, which broadens the horizons of the one who opens.

8. People crippled by the ideologies of the 20th century or their consequences choose slavery because it is seemingly easier than, for example, freedom, which is characterized by the necessity of making choices not only between good and evil, but above all, the choices between goods. People crippled by ideologies choose slavery because it is more predictable, it appears to them as a “safe” option whilst they are afraid of freedom which demands effort to acquire and maintain and to choose a greater good among many good realities. Freedom appears to them as difficult because it is uncertain and therefore “dangerous”. Taking away the freedom from people in societies struggling with the legacy of the 20th-century ideologies results in a lack of creativity, standstill, fear of otherness and change. In these societies a pattern has been created in which an important principle is that “it is not worth distinguishing/standing out”. Meanwhile, freedom is associated with continuous development,

a creative act. A free individual has the strength to deal with an unfavourable environment.

9. Today, there is no shortage of promoters of fear, discord and death, promoters of the world without God, religion and values. The legacy of anti-God and thus anti-human ideologies is still active and works by destroying the very understanding of human nature.

Bibliography

- Alighieri D., *The Divine Comedy, Hell* (Canto I), translated by Rev. H. F. Cary, Project Gutenberg, Release Date: September 2005, Last Updated: November 30, 2012 [<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8800/8800-h/8800-h.htm>], access on December 27, 2018.
- Aparat represji wobec księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki 1982-1984*, v. 1, J. Mysiakowska (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2009.
- Aparat represji wobec księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki 1982-1984*, v. 2, Śledztwo w sprawie uprowadzenia i zabójstwa ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki, J. Gołębiowski (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2014.
- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 8, 11. [<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.8.viii.html>], access on January 7, 2019.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Chrześcijańska nauka o narodzie według Prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, Wydawnictwo Odnova, Londyn 1982.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Gorycz proroctwa. Polska a Unia Europejska*, Standruk, Lublin 2003.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Idea polskości*, Polwen, Radom 2001.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Kiedy myślę: Naród*, Polwen, Radom 2003.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Le Phénomène de la Nation*, Standruk, Lublin 2005.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *O polską mądrość*, Fundacja "Nasza Przyszłość", Szczecinek 2005.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Oto Polska w was jest*, Polwen, Radom 2003.

- Bartnik Cz.S., *Pedagogia narodowa Prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, Standruk, Lublin 2001.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Personalizm*, Wydawnictwo "O.K.", Warszawa-Lublin 2000.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Teologia narodu*, Tygodnik Katolicki "Niedziela", Częstochowa 1999.
- Bartnik Cz.S., *Wprowadzenie do teologii społeczno-politycznej*, Standruk, Lublin 2006.
- White Book on National Security of the Republic of Poland*, National Security Bureau, Warsaw 2013.
- Białecki K., Łatka R., Reczek R., Wojcieszek E., *Arcybiskup Antoni Baraniaś 1904–1977*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Poznań-Warszawa 2017.
- "Bić takiego wroga jak kler." *Osoby duchowne i zakonne w miejscach odosobnienia za żelazną kurtyną*, M. Grądzka-Rejak, J. Marecki (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo Dante, Kraków 2016.
- Błeszyńska I.Z., *O. Jacek Woroniecki. Dominikanin-wychowawca-patriota. 1878-1949*, Fundacja Servire Veritati, Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, Lublin 2006.
- Bocheński J.M., *Patriotyzm. Męstwo. Prawość żołnierska*, Wydawnictwo Antyk, Warszawa 1989.
- Bocheński J.M., *Polski Testament. Ojczyzna, Europa, cywilizacja*, Wydawnictwo Antyk – Marcin Dybowski, Komorów 2006.
- Bocheński J.M., *Szkice o nacjonalizmie i katolicyzmie polskim*, Wydawnictwo Antyk – Marcin Dybowski, Komorów 2006.
- Budrewicz Z., *Patriotyzm w polonistycznej edukacji międzykulturowej*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 281-302.
- Budyta-Budzyńska M., *Socjologia narodu i konfliktów etnicznych*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2010.
- Burgoński P., *Patriotyzm w Unii Europejskiej*, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Warszawa 2008.
- Burgoński P., *Polski patriotyzm w dobie komunizmu. Koncepcja patriotyzmu w nauczaniu księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki*, "Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne" XXIII/1/2010, pp. 241-252.
- Catechism of the Catholic Church* [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_INDEX.HTM], access on December 27, 2018.

- Czaczkowska E., *Stefan Wyszyński wobec oporu społecznego i opozycji 1945–1981*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa 2018.
- Czaja J., *Aktywność międzynarodowa Stolicy Apostolskiej oraz członkostwo w organizacjach międzynarodowych*, w: *Chrześcijaństwo i bezpieczeństwo. Znaczenie Jana Pawła II w dyskursie polemologiczno-irenologicznym*, T. Kośmider, K. Gąsiorek, C. Smuniewski (red.), Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II, Warszawa 2014, pp. 49-65.
- Człowiek – moralność – wychowanie. *Życie i myśl Jacka Woronieckiego OP*, J. Gałkowski, M.L. Niedziela (red.), Lublin 2000.
- Czuba K., *Etos patriotyczny Polaków. Nauczanie Jana Pawła II*, in: *Oblicza patriotyzmu. Rozprawy i szkice*, H. Kiereś (ed.), Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej, Toruń 2007, pp. 16-36.
- Dostoevsky F., *The Possessed, or The Devils* (The project Gutenberg Ebook), translated by Constance Garnett, release date 2005, chapter IV. [<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8117/8117-h/8117-h.htm>] access on December 18, 2018)
- Drabarek A., *Wartości w demokracji*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2012.
- Duda A., *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, April 15, 2016)*, original text in Polish: <http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wypowiedzi-prezydenta-rp/wystapienia/art,37,oredzie-prezydenta-rp-przed-zgromadzeniem-narodowym-z-okazji-jubileuszu-1050-lecia-chrztu-polski-pleng.html> official text in English: <http://www.president.pl/en/news/art,143,-national-assembly-session--on-the-occasion-of-the-celebration-of-the-1050th-anniversary-of-the-baptism-of-poland.html> (access on October 20, 2017).
- Duda A., *Przemówienie prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy z okazji 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Gniezno, April 14, 2016)*, <http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wypowiedzi-prezydenta-rp/wystapienia/art,36,przemowienie-prezydenta-andrzeja-dudy-z-okazji-1050-lecia-chrztu-polski.html> (access on October 20, 2017).
- Dudek A., Gryz R., *Komuniści i Kościół w Polsce (1945-1989)*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2006.
- Dziadosz D., *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu a orędzie Nowego Testamentu*, in: *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu*, W. Janiga (ed.), Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 2006, pp. 33-49.

- Działalność kościelna i narodowa Adama Stefana Sapiehy*, J. Wolny, R.M. Zawadzki (ed.), Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, Kraków 1986.
- Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, v. 1, 1945–1956, M. Siedziako, Z. Stanuch, G. Wejman (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Szczecin 2016.
- Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, v. 2, 1956–1972, M. Siedziako, Z. Stanuch, G. Wejman (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Szczecin-Warszawa 2017.
- Fijałkowski Z., *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1983.
- Fiszbak J., “Choroba” nie tylko Sopliców – o polskim umiłowaniu wolności i patriotyzmie współczesnej młodzieży, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 371-404.
- Francis, *Apostolic Exhortation «Evangelii Gaudium». On the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today’s World* [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html#I.%E2%80%82Some_challenges_of_today’s_world], access on January 7, 2019.
- Gadamer H.-G., Vogler P., *Neue Anthropologie*, t. I-VII, Georg Thieme Verlag, Stuttgart i Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München 1972-1975.
- Gajak-Toczek M., *Bonifacy Miązek w poszukiwaniu ojczystego domu. Liryczne zapiski współczesnego wygnańca*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 171-191.
- Galarowicz J., *Powrót do wartości*, Petrus, Kraków 2011.
- Glemp J., *Między ewangelią a konstytucją. Wybór homilii*, Soli Deo, Warszawa 1992.
- Glemp J., *Nauczanie społeczne 1981-1986*, Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, Warszawa 1989.
- Glen A., *Aksjologiczne i ontologiczne uwarunkowania badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, “Bezpieczeństwo 2010” v. 1, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, H. Świeboda, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2010, pp. 16-30.
- Gogacz M., *Wokół problemu osoby*, Instytut Wydawniczy “Pax”, Warszawa 1974.

- Gradkowski H., *Jak czytano, a jak czytać dzisiaj romantyków w szkole? Przyczynek do rozważań o kształtowaniu modelu polskiego patriotyzmu*, w: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 303-323.
- Grudzińska K., *O patriotyzmie współczesnej młodzieży – deklaracje i postawy uczniów klas wojskowych*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 405-426.
- Grzybowski J., *Byt, Tożsamość, Naród. Próba wyjaśnienia formuły “tożsamość narodowa” w perspektywie metafizyki*, Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, Kęty 2012.
- Hegel G.W.F., *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, in: *ibid.*, *Gesammelte Werke*, v. 9: W. Bonsiepen, R. Heede (ed.), Hamburg 1980.
- Heidegger M., *Kant und das Problem der Metaphysik*, Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main 1951.
- Hlond A., *Nauczanie 1897-1948*, J. Konieczny (ed.), Oficyna Wydawnicza Kucharski, Toruń 2003.
- Hlond A., *O chrześcijańskie zasady życia państwowego*, F. Mildner & Sons, Londyn 1941.
- Hlond A., *Pochodzenie państwa i władzy państwowej*, F. Mildner & Sons, Londyn 1941.
- Homer, *Iliad*, translated by Alexander Pope, Project Gutenberg.
- Ingarden R., *Książeczka o człowieku*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1972.
- Jacewicz W., Woś J., *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939-1945*, v. 1-5, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1971-1981.
- Jan Paweł II *Nauczycielem Patriotyzmu*, A. Bałabuch (ed.), Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Świdnickiej, Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, Świdnica 2008.
- John Paul II, *Encyclical Letter Fides Et Ratio* [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091998_fides-et-ratio.html]
- John Paul II, *Encyclical «Veritatis splendor»*, Blessing. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_06081993_veritatis-splendor.html].

- John Paul II, General Audience Wednesday 19 January 2000 [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/audiences/2000/documents/hf_jp-ii_aud_20000126.html].
- John Paul II, *List do Konferencji Episkopatu Polski na 50-lecie wybuchu drugiej wojny światowej* (26.08.1989), (Archiwum Konferencji Episkopatu Polski w Warszawie).
- John Paul II, *Od praw człowieka do praw narodów. Przemówienie do Zgromadzenia Ogólnego ONZ*, Nowy Jork 5 października 1995.
- John Paul II, Message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace, 1 January 1985, *Peace and Youth Go Forward Together* (Dec 08, 1984) [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/messages/peace/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19841208_xviii-world-day-for-peace.html].
- John Paul II, *Memory and Identity*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 2005.
- John Paul II, Address of the Holy Father John Paul II to the Jagiellonian University Community], Rome, September 11, 2000. [https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/2000/jul-sep/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_20000911_univ-cracovia.html].
- John Paul II, *Pokój tobie Polsko, Ojczyzno moja! Homilie i przemówienia w czasie drugiej apostołskiej pielgrzymki do Polski*, Katolicki Ośrodek Wydawniczy Veritas, London 1983.
- John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, (ebook) published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1994, loc. 2072.
- John Paul II, *Przemówienie Ojca Świętego wygłoszone w siedzibie UNESCO. W imię przyszłości kultury* (02.06.1980).
- John Paul II, *Przemówienie podczas czuwania modlitewnego przed VIII Światowym Dniem Młodości w Denver* (14.08.1993).
- John Paul II, *Viaggio apostolico nei Paesi Bassi. Cerimonia di benvenuto. Discorso di Giovanni Paolo II. Aeroporto Welschap di Eindhoven, Sabato, 11 maggio 1985*. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1985/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19850511_arrivo-welschap_nl.html (access on August 1, 2017).
- Janus M., *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu w nauczaniu biskupa polowego Tadeusza Płockiego*, Poznań 2017, (praca doktorska, maszynopis, biblioteka UAM w Poznaniu).
- Jaworski J., *Podstawy patriotyzmu Jana Pawła II*, Norbertinum, Lublin 2012.

- Jazownik L., *O wychowaniu patriotycznym we współczesnej szkole*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 217-244.
- Jędraszewski M., *Teczki na Baraniaka*, v. 1, Świadek, Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza, Wydawnictwo Bonami, Poznań 2009.
- Jędraszewski M., *Teczki na Baraniaka*, v. 2, *Kalendarium działań SB*, Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza, Wydawnictwo Bonami, Poznań 2009.
- Kaczyński L., *Przemówienie podczas powitania Jego Świątobliwości Ojca Świętego Benedykta XVI w Polsce (Warszawa, Lotnisko Okęcie, 25 maja 2006 roku)*, in: L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2006, wybór*, ed. K. Janaszek, A. Fijewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 2007, pp. 62-64.
- Karkut D., *Patriotyzm – temat ważny i zawsze aktualny na godzinach języka polskiego, historii i wiedzy o społeczeństwie*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 245-258.
- Karłowicz D., *Polska jako Jason Bourne*, Fundacja Świętego Mikołaja. Redakcja "Teologii Politycznej", Warszawa 2017.
- Kindziuk M., *Ksiądz Jerzy zwyciężał dobrem*, Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretańek, Warszawa 2009.
- Kitler W., *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2011.
- Kitler W., *Wartości, potrzeby, cele i interesy jako podstawowe kategorie bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, „Bezpieczeństwo 2010”, v. 2, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, H. Świeboda (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2010, pp. 96-120.
- Kobiela Ł., *August Hlond 1881-1948*, Stowarzyszenie Pokolenie, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2018.
- Kołodziejczyk K., *Dylematy polskiego patriotyzmu w perspektywie integracji europejskiej*, Warszawa 2008 (doctoral thesis, typescript, UKSW library in Warsaw).

- Komunistyczny aparat represji wobec jezuitów Prowincji Polski Południowej*, A.P. Bieś, F. Musiał (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2014.
- Komunistyczny aparat represji wobec Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów*, M. Miławicki OP, M. Wenklar (ed.), Dominikański Instytut Historyczny w Krakowie, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo Wysoki Zamek, Kraków 2015.
- Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, *Dyrektorium Duszpasterstwa Rodzin*, Fundacja Vita Familiae, Warszawa 2003.
- Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, *O chrześcijańskim patriotyzmie*, in: *Listy pasterskie Episkopatu Polski 1945–2000*, P. Libera, A. Rybicki, S. Łącki (ed.), part 1, Michalineum, Marki 2003, pp. 886-891.
- Konferencja Episkopatu Polski, *W trosce o człowieka i dobro wspólne*, Wydawnictwo Diecezji Tarnowskiej Biblos, Warszawa - Tarnów 2012.
- Korporowicz L., *Socjologia kulturowa. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2011.
- Kościół Katolicki w czasach komunistycznej dyktatury. Między bohaterstwem a agenturą*, v. 3, J. Szczepaniak, M. Lasota (ed.), WAM, Kraków 2010.
- Kościół Katolicki w czasach komunistycznej dyktatury. Między bohaterstwem a agenturą. Studia i materiały*, t. 2, R. Terlecki, J. Szczepaniak (ed.), WAM, Kraków 2008.
- Kościół katolicki w czasach komunistycznej dyktatury. Między bohaterstwem a agenturą. Studia i materiały*, v. 1, R. Terlecki, J. Szczepaniak (ed.), WAM, Kraków 2007.
- Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917-1990)*, v. 1, M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Rzeszów 2015.
- Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917-1990)*, v. II, M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo bł. Jakuba Strzemię Archidiecezji Lwowskiej Obrządku Łacińskiego, Rzeszów–Lwów 2017.
- Kotański J., *Prymas Wyszyński w służbie Boga, człowieka i narodu*, Centrum Opatrzności Bożej, Warszawa 2016.
- Kownacka J., *Wychowanie patriotyczne w nauczaniu Jana Pawła II podczas pielgrzymek do ojczyzny*, "Studia Theologica Varsoviensia" 35 (1997) no. 1, pp. 217-244.

- Królikowski J., *Funkcja "polityczna" Kościoła w służbie ojczyzny*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 327-343.
- Krukowski J., *Kościół i państwo. Podstawy relacji prawnych*, Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, Lublin 2000.
- Księżę Niezłomny. Kardynał Adam Stefan Sapieha*, R. Bogacz (ed.), Unum, Kraków 2001.
- Kubik G., *Wychowanie patriotyczne w duchu jedności – inspiracje Karola Libelta (1807–1875)*, "Studia Socialia Cracoviensia" 6 (2014) no 2 (11), pp. 209-219.
- Kulczyk-Dynowska A., *Dziedzictwo przyrodnicze a patriotyzm – na przykładzie parków narodowych*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 427-439.
- Kupczak J., *W stronę wolności. Szkice z antropologii Karola Wojtyły*, Stowarzyszenie Kairos, Kraków 1999.
- Legutko R., *Triumf człowieka pospolitego*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, Poznań 2012.
- Leo XIII, *Encyklika «Sapientiae Christianae»*, Te Deum, Warszawa 2003.
- Lewandowski J., *L'Eglise et la nation polonaise selon le cardinal Stefan Wyszyński*, Peter Lang, Berne – Francfort/M. 1982
- Lewandowski J., *Naród w dziejach zbawienia*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Adam", Warszawa 2001.
- Lewandowski J., *Naród w nauczaniu kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, Warszawa 1989.
- Lewandowski J., *Przez sprawiedliwość ku miłości. Nauka społeczna kardynała Józefa Glempa*, Nowe Życie, Wrocław 1991.
- Libelt K., *O miłości ojczyzny*, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Poznań 2006.
- Ligarski S., *W kleszczach totalitaryzmów. Księdza Romana Gradolewskiego i ojca Jacka Hozzyckiego życiorysy niedopowiedziane*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017.
- Lisiak I.T., *Sutanna w cieniu swastyki. Holokaust duchowieństwa katolickiego w czasie II wojny światowej*, Capital, Warszawa 2015.

- Lisica J., *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu w nauczaniu Biskupa Polowego Wojska Polskiego Sławoja Leszka Głódzia w latach 1991-2004*, Toruń 2014 (doctoral thesis, typescript, UMK Library in Toruń).
- Łatka R., Marecki J., *Kościół katolicki w Polsce rządzonej przez komunistów*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017.
- Majka K., *Nacjonalizm a patriotyzm. Różnice, podobieństwa, zależność*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 63-85.
- Marczak J., *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w XXI wieku. Wyzwania i strategie*, R. Jakubczak, J. Marczak (ed.), Bellona, Warszawa 2011, pp. 13-77.
- Marczak J., Jakubczak R., Skrabacz A., Gąsiorek K., Przeworski K., *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku. Wnioski dla Polski w XXI wieku*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2013.
- Marek Ł., Bortlik-Dźwierzynska M., *Za Marksem bez Boga. Laicyzacja życia społecznego w Polsce w latach 1945–1989*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Katowice 2014.
- Mazurek M., *Patriotyzm kosmopolityczny*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 87-107.
- McIntyre G., *A Family of Gods: The Worship of the Imperial Family in the Latin West*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2016.
- Memoriał Episkopatu Polski do Rządu PRL w sprawach istotnych kultury chrześcijańskiej w Polsce z dnia 24. I. 1974 r.*, "Znaki Czasu" 1988, no. 11, pp. 91-92.
- Micewski A., *Kardynał Wyszyński, Prymas i mąż stanu*, Wszechnica Społeczno-Polityczna, Kraków 1983.
- Migliore C., *Stolica Apostolska wobec współczesnych problemów związanych z bezpieczeństwem międzynarodowym*, w: *Chrześcijaństwo i bezpieczeństwo. Znaczenie Jana Pawła II w dyskursie polemologiczno-irenologicznym*, T. Kośmider, K. Gąsiorek, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II, Warszawa 2014, pp. 23-32.
- Morawska I., *Blaski i cienie edukacji patriotycznej*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów*.

- Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 195-215.
- Myśliński K., *Polska wobec Słowian połabskich do końca wieku XII*, Wydawnictwo Templum, Wodzisław Śląski 2011.
- Nagórny J., *Moja Ojczyzna – Ojczyzna Jana Pawła II*, in: *Z Karolem Wojtyłą myśląc Ojczyzna*, W. Chudy (ed.), Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2002, pp. 191-203.
- Niezłomni. W obronie Ojczyzny i Kościoła*, v. 2, *Komunistyczna bezpieka wobec biskupów polskich*, J. Marecki, F. Musiał (ed.), Kraków 2009.
- Nowak A., *Dzieje Polski. Tom I do 1202. Skąd nasz ród*, Biały Kruk, Kraków 2014.
- Obirek S., *Wizja kościoła i państwa w kazaniach ks. Piotra Skargi SJ*, WAM, Kraków 1994.
- Oko D., *Łaska i wolność. Łaska w Biblii, nauczaniu Kościoła i teologii współczesnej*, WAM, Kraków 1998.
- Olejnik S., *Moralność życia społecznego*, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1993.
- Olejnik S., *Teologia moralna życia społecznego*, Włocławskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, Włocławek 2000.
- Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, translated by G. Showerman, revised by G.P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library 41, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, London – New York 1914.
- Ozimek P., *Watykan wobec wprowadzenia stanu wojennego w Polsce*, in: *Chrześcijaństwo i bezpieczeństwo. Znaczenie Jana Pawła II w dyskursie polemologiczno-irenologicznym*, T. Kośmider, K. Gąsiorek, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II, Warszawa 2014, p. 131-143.
- Paweł Włodkowic i polska szkoła prawa międzynarodowego*, M. Cichocki, A. Talarowski (ed.), Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Teologia Polityczna, Warszawa 2008.
- Pawęcznyńska A., *O istocie narodowej tożsamości. Polacy wobec zagrożeń*, Polihymnia, Lublin 2010.
- Philopolites To iest Milosnik Oyczyzny, albo o powinności dobrego obywatela, Oyczyźnie dobrze chcącego, y one miłuiącego, krotki Traktat*, Drukarnia Macieja Wirzbięty, Kraków 1588.
- Pieczywok A., *Bezpieczeństwo jako kategoria i wartość edukacyjna człowieka*, "Zeszyty Naukowe AON" 2011, no. 2, p. 466-477.

- Pieczywok A., *Człowiek w sytuacji ograniczonej wolności i zniewolenia*, in: *Psychospołeczne uwarunkowania zachowań jednostek i grup społecznych w sytuacjach zagrożeń*, K. Loranty (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2010, pp. 172-315.
- Pieczywok A., *Wybrane problemy z zakresu edukacji dla bezpieczeństwa. Konteksty, zagrożenia wyzwania*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2011, pp. 126-134.
- Pius XII, *Encyclical «Summi Pontificatus»*, no. 39. [http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20101939_summi-pontificatus.html]
- Pius XII, *List do biskupów polskich z 1 września 1949 roku*. Archiwum Konferencji Episkopatu Polski w Warszawie.
- Plato, *Theaetetus*, *The Project Gutenberg EBook of Theaetetus, by Plato* [<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1726/1726-h/1726-h.htm>] access on November 30, 2018.
- Płoski T., Skrabacz A., *Moralne i charakterologiczne podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w XXI wieku. Wyzwania i strategie*, R. Jakubczak, J. Marczak (ed.), Bellona, Warszawa 2011, pp. 219-241.
- Polish Episcopal Conference, *The Christian form of patriotism: a document submitted to the Polish Episcopal Conference by the Social Affairs Committee*, (Warsaw, 14 March 2017), TUM Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, Wrocław 2017.
- Półowianiuk J., *Wychowanie społeczne a edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa. Inspiracje myślą Jana Pawła II*, in: *Edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa. Teoria i praktyka*, A. Skrabacz, L. Kanarski (ed.), Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, Warszawa 2014, pp. 110-133.
- Popiełuszko J., *Kazania 1982-1984*, Z. Malacki (ed.), Akces, Warszawa 2004.
- Popiełuszko J., *Zapiski, listy i wywiady ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki 1967-1984*, G. Bartoszewski (ed.), Oficyna Wydawnicza "Adam", Warszawa 2010.
- Pół wieku Milenium. Religijne, polityczne i społeczne aspekty obchodów Tysiąclecia Chrztu Polski (1956-1966/1967)*, B. Noszczak (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017.
- Prokop J., *Sowietyzacja i jej maski. PRL w latach stalinowskich*, Viridis, Kraków 1997.

- Przybyszewski B., *Adam Stefan kardynał Sapieha. Pasterz Dobry. Książę Niezłomny. 1867-1951*, De Arte, Łańcut 2002.
- Przykucki M., *Arcybiskup Antoni Baraniak. Bohater Kościoła i Ojczyzny*, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Poznań 2003.
- Represje wobec Kościoła w krajach bloku wschodniego. Komuniści przeciw religii po 1944 roku*, J. Marecki (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2011.
- Represje wobec żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w PRL. Zagadnienia wybrane*, J. Myszor, A. Dziurok (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, Katowice 2012.
- Romaniuk M.P., *Prymas Wyszyński. Biografia i wybrane źródła*, Prymasowskie Wydawnictwo Gaudentinum, Gniezno 2001.
- Rosik M., *Biblijne podstawy patriotyzmu Jana Pawła II*, in: *Jan Paweł II nauczycielem patriotyzmu*, A. Bałabuch (ed.), Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Świdnickiej, Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, Świdnica 2008, pp. 109-120.
- Różek M., *Kardynał Sapieha*, WAM, Kraków 2007.
- Salij J., *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, W drodze, Poznań 2005.
- Salij J., *Wojna o pokój? O wojnie i pokoju widzianych oczami chrześcijanina*, Wydawnictwo "M", Kraków 2003.
- Salij J., *Wybierajmy życie!*, W drodze, Poznań 2002.
- Salmonowicz S., *Prusy. Dzieje państwa i społeczeństwa*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 2004.
- Second Vatican Council, *Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church «Ad gentes divinitus»*, no. 15. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651207_ad-gentes_en.html], access on January 7, 2019.
- Second Vatican Council, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World «Gaudium et Spes»*, no. 75 [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html], access on January 7, 2019.
- Shakespeare, W. *The Winter's Tale*, act IV, sc. 4, [http://shakespeare.mit.edu/winters_tale/full.html].

- Sianko M., *Mała, większa i największa ojczyzna człowieka. Kształtowanie postaw patriotyzmu na lekcjach języka polskiego (według oferty programowo-podręcznikowej To lubię!)*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 259-279.
- Skarga P., *Kazania Sejmowe*, Siedmioróg, Wrocław 1998.
- Skrabacz A., *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne. Podstawy teoretyczne i praktyczne*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2012.
- Ślotwińska H., *Katecheza o Ojczyźnie według nauczania Jana Pawła II*, "Studia Pastoralne" 2006, no. 2, pp. 104-119.
- Smuniewski C., "I saw the way the Gospel changes a man." *God, man and Homeland in the daily life of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko*, in: *Jerzy Popiełuszko. Son, Priest, Martyr from Poland*, P. Burgoński, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, Warszawa 2016, pp. 117-134.
- Smuniewski C., *Chrześcijananie o wojnie. Refleksje inspirowane poszukiwaniami i "odpowiedziami" Ojca Profesora Jacka Salija OP*, in: *Credo Domine. Adiuva incredulitatem meam. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Ojcu Profesorowi Jackowi Salijowi OP*, J. Kupczak, C. Smuniewski (ed.), W drodze, Poznań-Kraków 2017, pp. 495-509.
- Smuniewski C., *Come vincere le avversità? L'attualità del pensiero del beato Jerzy Popiełuszko nel superamento delle crisi contemporanee*, in: *Kryzys i prawda. Imperatywy przywrócanego porządku*, G. Noszczyk, C. Smuniewski (ed.), "Studia i Materiały Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach" no. 75, Katowice 2013, pp. 224-240.
- Smuniewski C., *Człowiek w czasach pokoju i wojny. Wybrane zagadnienia z antropologii Jana Pawła II*, in: *Święty Jan Paweł II syn oficera Wojska Polskiego*, A. Skrabacz, J. Dohnalik (ed.), Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, Warszawa 2014, pp. 179-198.
- Smuniewski C., *Człowiek zagrożony. Perspektywa wykorzystania teologii w rozwoju nauk o bezpieczeństwie*, in: *Pragnę żyć! Interdyscyplinarna dyskusja o bezpieczeństwie i godności życia ludzkiego*, P. Wójcik, M. Składanowski, T. Syczewski, J. Połowianiuk (ed.), Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2014, pp. 61-88.
- Smuniewski C., *Kościół w myśli błogosławionego ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, "Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne" XXIII/1/2010, pp. 215-230.

- Smuniewski C., *Ku identyfikacji współczesnej drogi miłośnika ojczyzny. Z badań nad tożsamością i patriotyzmem w tworzeniu bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 15-46.
- Smuniewski C., *La missione del sacerdote nel pensiero del beato don Jerzy Popiełuszko – un martire contemporaneo della Polonia*, “The Person and the Challenges” 3 (2013) no. 2, pp. 157-171.
- Smuniewski C., *La teologia nella riflessione sulla creazione della sicurezza*, in: *È già iniziata la Terza Guerra Mondiale? La Chiesa a servizio dell'uomo e della società tra la guerra e la pace*, G. Calabrese, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Aracne editrice, Canterano-Roma 2017, pp. 212-224.
- Smuniewski C., *L'uomo tra l'inizio e la fine, tra la guerra e la pace*, in: *È già iniziata la Terza Guerra Mondiale? La Chiesa a servizio dell'uomo e della società tra la guerra e la pace*, G. Calabrese, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Aracne editrice, Canterano-Roma 2017, pp. 13-27.
- Smuniewski C., *Na drogach krzewienia miłości Ojczyzny. Patriotyzm jako fundament bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Klasy mundurowe. Od teorii do dobrych praktyk*, A. Skrabacz, I. Urych, L. Kanarski (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2016, pp. 39-51.
- Smuniewski C., *Tożsamość – horyzont zagadnień*, in: *Społeczne uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa. Wybrane zagadnienia psychologii i socjologii*, part 1. L. Kanarski, M. Koter, K. Loranty, I. Urych (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2015, pp. 96-116.
- Smuniewski C., *Tworząc bezpieczeństwo. O potrzebie budowania kultury życia wspólnego w cywilizacji zachodniej*, in: *Edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa. O kształtowaniu kultury bezpieczeństwa*, A. Skrabacz, L. Kanarski, K. Loranty (ed.), Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, Warszawa 2015, pp. 17-35.
- Smuniewski C., *W poszukiwaniu sposobów tworzenia bezpieczeństwa. Refleksja o roli rodziny w społeczeństwie*, in: *Rodzina w lokalnych i globalnych kontekstach bezpieczeństwa*, I. Urych, C. Smuniewski (ed.), Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2015, pp. 17-38.
- Smuniewski C., *Wspólnota łaski. Charytologiczno-trynitarna eklezjogeneza*, WAM, “Myśl Teologiczna” v. 76, Kraków 2013.

- Smuniewski C., *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu. Studium o miłości ojczyzny w oparciu o biblijną i współczesną myśl katolicką*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo jako problem edukacyjny*, ed. A. Pieczywok, K. Loranty, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2015, pp. 84-103
- Smuniewski C., *Zagadnienie pokoju w nauczaniu Jana Pawła II*, "Zeszyty Naukowe AON" 1 (86) 2012, pp. 292-305.
- Sobór oczami polskich komunistów. Sobór Watykański II w świetle dokumentów MSW i MSZ*, W. Kucharski, D. Misiejuk (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2017.
- Sopoćko M., *Obowiązki względem Ojczyzny*, Kuria Biskupia, Warszawa-Poznań 1922.
- Sopoćko M., *O obowiązkach społecznych*, Drukarnia Archidiecezjalna, Wilno 1931.
- Spółczesność, państwo, Kościół (1945-2000). Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej, Szczecin, 15-16 June 2000*, A. Kawecki, K. Kowalczyk, A. Kubaj (ed.), Stowarzyszenie Absolwentów Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Wydawnictwo Zachodniopomorskie, Szczecin 2000.
- Sporek P., *Rzadko na moich wargach... Jana Kasprowicza jako głos sprzeciwu wobec profanacji idei patriotycznej i afirmacja umiłowania rodzimego kraju*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 135-150.
- Stojanowski-Han Z.Z., *Nauczanie Jana Pawła II o patriotyzmie podczas jego pielgrzymek do Polski. Studium z edukacji medialnej*, Lublin 2013 (doctoral thesis, typescript, KUL Library in Lublin).
- Stosunki państwo-Kościół w Polsce 1944-2010. Studia i materiały*, R. Łatka (ed.), Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Księgarnia akademicka, Kraków 2013.
- Stróżewski W., *Logos, wartość, miłość*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2013.
- Strzelczyk J., *Słowianie Połabscy*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań, 2002.
- Szacka B., *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa 2006.
- Szołdrski W., *Martyrologium duchowieństwa polskiego pod okupacją niemiecką w latach 1939-1945*, Wydawnictwo OO. Redemptorystów, Wrocław 1950.
- Sztaba M., *Wychowanie społeczne w świetle nauczania Karola Wojtyły Jana Pawła II*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2012.

- Szymańska M., *Patriotyzm – rozumienie pojęcia na gruncie polskim. Próba rekonesansu*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 47-61.
- Szyndler L., *Antropologiczne aspekty patriotyzmu (formuła tomizmu konsekwentnego w ujęciu prof. Mieczysława Gogacza)*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 109-131.
- Ścigaj P., *Tożsamość narodowa. Zarys problematyki*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2012.
- Ślipko T., *9 dylematów etycznych*, Petrus, Kraków 2010.
- Ślipko T., *Ekologiczne aspekty patriotyzmu w etycznym naświetleniu*, in: *Oblicza patriotyzmu*, J. Sadowski (ed.), WAM, Kraków 2009, pp. 257-264.
- St. Augustine, *Confessions*, translated by Edward B. Pusey, D. D., Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library [http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0354-0430,_Augustinus,_Confessionum_Libri_Tredecim-Pusey_Transaltion,_EN.pdf] access on December 18, 2018.
- The Edict of Milan as in: Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, [https://earlychurchtexts.com/public/edict_of_milan.htm], access on December 2, 2018.
- The New American Bible* available on the official website of the Holy See under the following web address [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0839/_INDEX.HTM].
- The New American Bible, Psalms*, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops [<http://www.usccb.org/bible/books-of-the-bible/index.cfm>].
- Tischner J., *Etyka solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus*, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy "Znak", Kraków 1992.
- Tischner J., *Filozofia dramatu*, Éd. du Dialogue, Paris 1990
- Tischner J., *Myślenie według wartości*, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy "Znak", Kraków 2011.
- Tischner J., *Śmierć człowieka*, "Akcent" 1998, no 3, pp. 180-185.
- Turasiewicz A., *Dzieje polityczne Obodrzyków od IX wieku do utraty niepodległości w latach 1160 – 1164*, Nomos, Kraków 2004.
- Turowski J., *Socjologia. Małe struktury społeczne*, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2001.

- Urbański S., Podolski H., *Prymas Polski Kardynał Józef Glemp doktor honoris causa Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie, 8 October 2001*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa 2002.
- Urych I., *Od kultury fizycznej do patriotyzmu i od patriotyzmu do kultury fizycznej. O kształtowaniu postaw w tworzeniu bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 345-370.
- W służbie Boga i Polski. Komunistyczna bezpieka wobec kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, J. Marecki, F. Musiał, P. Nitecki, R. Szczypta-Szczęch (ed.), Kraków 2014.
- Wałęsa L., *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród... Przemówienie wygłoszone w Sejmie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na uroczystym posiedzeniu połączonych Izb Sejmu i Senatu (22 December 1990)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, przedmowa A. Zakrzewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 1995, pp. 9-10.
- Wałęsa L., *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę... Przemówienie wygłoszone na inauguracyjnym posiedzeniu Sejmu I kadencji, wyłonionego w pierwszych wolnych, demokratycznych wyborach (25 November 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, przedmowa A. Zakrzewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 1995, pp. 39-45.
- Wałęsa L., *Ojciec Święty umacniał nasza siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo... Przemówienie podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Watykanie i Republice Włoskiej (5 February 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, przedmowa A. Zakrzewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 1995, pp. 15-16.
- Warchoń P., *Polsko, ojczyzno moja! Twoja tożsamość wczoraj, dziś i jutro*, Wydawnictwo "Bernardinum", Pelplin, 2017.
- Wesołowska E.A., *Paweł Włodkowic – współczesne znaczenie poglądów i dokonań*, Novum, Płock 2001.
- Wojciechowski M., *Biblia o państwie*, WAM, Kraków 2008.
- Woroniecki J., *Katolicka etyka wychowawcza*, v. I-III, Fundacja Servire Veritati Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2013.

- Woroniecki J., *Kościół i państwo. Zagadnienie układu ich stosunków*, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Poznań 1946.
- Wychowanie do patriotyzmu*, W. Janiga (ed.), Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemysł-Rzeszów 2006.
- Wyszyński S., *Jedna jest Polska. Wybór przemówień i kazań*, Wydawnictwo im. Stefana Kardynała Wyszyńskiego "Soli Deo" Warszawa 2017.
- Z więzienia na stolicę arcybiskupią. Arcybiskup Antoni Baraniak 1904-1977*, Z. Zieliński (ed.), Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2010.
- Zakrzewska K., *Stanisława Wyspiańskiego metafizyka narodu*, in: C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek (ed.), *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, Instytut Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 151-170.
- Zamiatała D., *Zakony męskie w polityce władz komunistycznych w Polsce w latach 1945-1989*, v. 1, *Problematyka organizacyjno-personalna*, Wydawnictwo LTW, Łomianki 2011.
- Zamiatała D., *Zakony męskie w polityce władz komunistycznych w Polsce w latach 1945-1989*, v. 2, *Działalność duszpasterska i społeczna zakonów w latach 1945-1989*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2012.
- Zdziechowski M., *Wpływy rosyjskie na duszę polską*, Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, Kraków 1920.
- Zwoliński A., *Teologia Narodu*, "Zeszyty Historyczno-Teologiczne" 2004, no 10, pp. 157-172.
- Zwoliński A., *Wprowadzenie do rozważań o narodzie*, WAM, Kraków 2005.
- Żaryn J., *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944-1989)*, Neriton, Warszawa 2003.
- Żaryn J., *Jakże Polska jest Europie potrzebna!*, in: P. Warchoń, *Polsko, ojczyzno moja! Twoja tożsamość wczoraj, dziś i jutro*, Wydawnictwo „Bernardinum”, Pelplin, 2017, pp. 9-12.
- Żaryn J., *Kościół a władza w Polsce (1945-1950)*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 1997.
- Żaryn J., *Kościół w PRL*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2004.

Index of names

- Abel 31, 80
Abraham / Abram 140, 174
Achilles 77-78, 80
Adorno Theodor W. 26
Albertus Magnus (Saint) 94
Alexander the Great 142
Aristotle 22, 28, 93-94, 168-169, 178
Ashoka 30
Augustine (Saint) 23-24, 36, 84-85,
113, 120
- Bałabuch Adam 71, 76
Baraniak Antoni 50
Barth Grzegorz 99
Bartnik Czesław Stanisław 71, 74, 77,
91, 99
Bartoszewski Gabriel 75
Benedict XVI 52, 79
Berkeley George 94
Bernard of Trilia 94
Białecki Konrad 50
- Bieś Andrzej Paweł 50
Błeszyńska Imelda Zofia 71
Bocheński Józef Maria 75, 121, 124,
148
Boetius 94
Bogacz Roman 74
Bortlik-Dźwierzynska Monika 50
Brandstaetter Roman 90
Buber Martin 93
Buddha 28
Budrewicz Zofia 156
Budyta-Budzyńska Małgorzata 20, 59
Burgoński Piotr 46, 50, 75, 129-130,
132-134
- Cain 31, 80,
Calabrese Gianfranco 69, 72
Cantius John (Saint) 90
Chudy Wojciech 76
Cicero 84
Cichoński Marek 73

- Confucius 28
 Constantine the Great 83-84
 Czackowska Ewa 50
 Czaja Jan 36
 Czuba Krystyna 76

 Dante Alighieri 122
 David, the king of Israel 31
 Descartes, René 93-94
 Dohnalik Jan 70, 76
 Dostoevsky Fyodor 116-117
 Drabarek Anna 72
 Duda Andrzej 52-53
 Dudek Antoni 70
 Dziadosz Dariusz 143
 Dziurok Adam 70

 Elisha 171,
 Engels Friedrich 131
 Euclid 22-23,
 Euripides 28, 167-168

 Fichte Johann Gottlieb 94
 Fijałkowski Zenon 48
 Fiszbak Jolanta 156
 Francis, Pope 79, 179
 Freud Sigmund 96

 Gacka Bogumił Zygmunt 99
 Gadamer Hans-Georg 26
 Gajak-Toczek Małgorzata 156
 Galarowicz Jan 93
 Gałkowski Jerzy 74
 Gamaliel Starszy 144,
 Gąsiorek Krzysztof 10, 19, 36, 62, 73,
 76-77, 92, 127

 Gehlen Arnold 26
 Glemp Józef 76
 Glen Andrzej 71
 Gogacz Mieczysław 156, 178
 Gołębiewski Jakub 50, 75
 Gózdź Krzysztof 99
 Gradkowski Henryk 156
 Gradolewski Roman 49
 Grądzka-Rejak Martyna 49
 Granat Wincenty 99
 Grudzińska Katarzyna 156
 Gryz Ryszard 70
 Grzybowski Jacek 39
 Guzowski Krzysztof 99

 Haeckel Ernst 95
 Hegel Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 107-
 108, 115, 124, 166
 Heidegger Martin 25-26, 106
 Herbert Zbigniew 90
 Hlond August 74
 Hobbes Thomas 94, 101
 Homer 28, 78
 Hoszycki Jacek 49
 Hume David 94,
 Husserl Edmund 93,

 Ingarden Roman 112

 Jacewicz Wiktor 48-49
 Jakubczak Ryszard 10, 19, 35, 62, 69,
 73, 77, 92, 127
 James (Saint) 78
 Janiga Waldemar 71, 143
 Janus Marek 71
 Jaruzelski Wojciech 76, 132

- Jaworski Jan 76,
Jazownik Leszek 156
Jędraszewski Marek 50
Jesus of Nazareth /Christ 32, 80-84,
90, 108, 111, 122, 143-146, 149,
172-174
John (Saint) 81, 174,
John Duns Scotus 94
John Paul II (Saint) / Wojtyła
Karol 17, 25-28, 51, 59, 76, 79, 89,
90-91, 99, 105-107-109, 126, 130-
131, 135, 149-152, 167, 181-183
Judas 82
- Kaczyński Lech 51, 52,
Kadłubek Wincenty (Blessed) 90
Kanarski Leszek 76, 89, 121, 138
Kant Immanuel 25, 94, 106
Karkut Dorota 156
Karłowicz Dariusz 16
Kawecki Arkadiusz 71
Kiereś Henryk 76
Kindziuk Milena 75
Kitler Waldemar 10-12, 71
Kobiela Łukasz 74
Kochanowski Jan 90
Kołodziejczyk Krzysztof 71
Koneczny Jan 74
Korporowicz Leszek 44, 55,
Kośmider Tomasz 36, 76
Kossak-Szczucka Zofia 90
Kotański Janusz 50
Koter Marek 138
Kowalczyk Krzysztof 71
Kowalska Faustyna (Saint) 74, 90
Kownacka Janina 76
- Kraśniński Zygmunt 90
Królikowski Janusz 157
Kromer Marcin 90
Krukowski Józef 84
Krzysztofiński Mariusz 105
Kubaj Artur 71
Kubik Grzegorz 124
Kucharski Wojciech 49, 74,
Kulczyk-Dynowska Alina 157
Kupczak Jarosław 69, 77, 167,
182-183
- La Mettrie Julien Offray de 95
Łacki Sylwester 153,
Lao-Tze 28
Lasota Marek 70
Łatka Rafał 49-50, 70
Legutko Ryszard 104
Leibniz Gottfried Wilhelm 94
Leo XIII 100, 146
Levinas Emmanuel 93
Lewandowski Jerzy 71, 74, 76,
Libelt Karol Fryderyk 124-125
Libera Piotr 153
Licinius 83
Ligarski Sebastian 49
Lisiak Ireneusz T. 48
Lisica Jarosław 71
Locke John 94
Loranty Krzysztof 72, 89, 138, 140
Lot 140
Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach 107
Luhmann Niklas 26
Luke (Saint) 144, 148, 174

- Maciejowski Samuel 123
Majka Konrad 156
Malacki Zygmunt 75
Marczak Józef 10, 19, 35, 62, 69-70,
73, 91-92, 172
Marecki Józef 49-50, 70
Marek Łucja 50
Marszałek Maciej 10, 71-72
Marx Karl 131
Matejko Jan 90
Matthew (Saint) 82, 148
Mazurek Marcin 158
McIntyre Gwynnaeth 123
Messori Vittorio 105
Micewski Andrzej 74
Mickiewicz Adam 50, 90
Mieszko I 53
Migliore Celestino 36
Miławicki Marek 49
Miłosz Czesław 90
Misiejuk Dariusz 49
Morawska Iwona 156
Moses 123
Musiał Filip 50, 70
Mysiakowska Jolanta 50, 75
Myśliński Kazimierz 72
Myszor Jerzy 70
- Nagórny Janusz 76
Narmer 30-31
Niedziela Maurycy Lucjan 74
Nietzsche Friedrich Wilhelm 25, 96,
107, 181
Nitecki Piotr 50
Norwid Cyprian Kamil 90
Noszczak Bartłomiej 49
- Noszczyk Grzegorz 50, 75
Nowak Andrzej 40,
Nowak Antoni Jozafat 99
- Obirek Stanisław 73
Ockham William 94
Odysseus 123
Oko Dariusz 180
Olejniki Stanisław 71
Onesimus 173
Ovid 124
Ozimek Piotr 76
- Pascal Blaise 94
Paul (Saint) 144-146, 172-173, 176
Paul VI (Saint) 79, 149
Pawełczyńska Anna 61-62,
Peleus 77
Philemon 173
Piekarska Anna K. 50
Pius X (Saint) 146-147
Pius XI 147
Pius XII 121-122, 147-148
Plato 22, 28, 116, 168
Płoski Tadeusz 69, 71
Podolski Henryk 76
Polixenes 97
Połowianiuk Jacek 69, 76
Pompey 183-184
Popiełuszko Jerzy (Blessed) 50, 75, 86
Prokop Jan 71
Przeworski Krzysztof 10, 19, 62, 73,
77, 92, 127
Przybyszewski Bolesław 74
Przykucki Marian 50

- Raymond of Penyafort (Saint) 36, 85
Reczek Rafał 50
Reymont Władysław Stanisław 90
Romaniuk Marian Piotr 50
Rorty Richard McKay 95
Rosik Mariusz 76
Rousseau Jean-Jacques 101
Różek Michał 74
Rybicki Andrzej 153
- Sadowski Jerzy 128
Salij Jacek 62-63, 69, 77-79, 85,
101-102, 125, 129, 138, 167-168,
174-175
Salmonowicz Stanisław 72
Sartre Jean-Paul 95
Schelling Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph
von 94
Ścigaj Paweł 44, 59-60
Seleucus 142
Shakespeare William 97
Siedziako Michał 49
Sienkiewicz Henryk 90
Sienkiewicz Piotr 71-72
Sigismund I the king of Poland 124,
Sigismund III Vasa 73
Skarga Piotr 73, 90
Składanowski Marcin 69
Skrabacz Aleksandra 10, 19, 34, 62,
69-70, 73, 76-77, 89, 92, 121, 127
Ślipko Tadeusz 89, 128
Słotwińska Helena 76
Słowacki Juliusz 90
Smuniewski Cezary 36, 50, 69-70, 72,
75-77, 89, 109, 111, 121, 137-138,
140, 156-157
- Socrates 22-23
Sophocles 28
Sopoćko Michał (Blessed) 74
Spinoza Baruch 94
Sporek Paweł 156-157
Stalin Joseph 132
Stanuch Zbigniew 49
Stojanowski-Han Zbyszko
Zbigniew 76
Stróżewski Władysław 113-114, 117,
125-127, 131-132
Strzelczyk Jerzy 72
Styczeń Tadeusz 99
Suarez Francisco 94
Sullivan Harry Stack 95
Świeboda Halina 71-72
Syczewski Tadeusz 69
Szacka Barbara 17
Szczepaniak Jan 70
Szczypta-Szczęch Roksana 50
Szołdrski Władysław 48
Sztaba Mariusz 76
Szymańska Marta 156
Szyndler Lech 156
- Talarowski Adam 73
Terlecki Ryszard 70
Terpsion 22-23
Theaetetus 22-23
Thetis 77
Thomas Aquinas (Saint) 36, 84-85,
93-94, 178
Thomas Cajetan/ Gaetanus 94
Tirthankara 28
Tischner Józef 99, 110, 116, 181,
185-188

Turasiewicz Adam 72

Turowski Jan 45

Urbański Stanisław 76

Urych Ilona 121, 137-138, 157

Vogler Paul 26

Wałęsa Lech 51-52

Warchoł Paweł 39, 165

Wejman Grzegorz 49

Wenklar Michał 49

Wesołowska Eugenia Anna 73

Włodkowiec Paweł 73

Wojciechowski Michał 143

Wojcieszek Elżbieta 50

Wójcik Piotr 69

Wojtyła Karol cf. John Paul II (Saint)

Wołczański Józef 105

Wolny Jerzy 74

Woroniecki Jacek 71, 74, 148

Woś Jan 48-49

Wyspiański Stanisław 90, 156

Wyszyński Stefan 50, 74, 76-77, 99

Zakrzewska Karolina 156

Zakrzewski Andrzej 51

Zamiatała Dominik 70

Żaryn Jan 71, 165

Zawadzki Roman Maria 74

Zbylut z Pałuków 40

Zdziechowski Marian 71

Zieliński Zygmunt 50

Zwoliński Andrzej 71, 121

