

IMMIGRANT WORLDS

ABSTRACTS

From the Editors (full text) – To Save the Albatross (D. Ch.)

“The world is a big present,” says one of the characters in Sándor Márai’s novel *San Gennaro vére* [“Saint Gennaro’s Blood”].¹ Does it mean though that the world is a global homeland, one that does not divide into particular, national homelands with separate histories and cultures? Is the concept of homeland broad enough for the human being to feel «at home» anywhere? In the same novel, which describes the existential situation of emigrants of various nationalities awaiting, in post-war Italy, their departure for other countries, also other significant words are said: “In this world, no one will ever be in his homeland again,” and their undertone is definitely pessimistic. Europe is stigmatized with the cruelties of war and with totalitarianism, with the frontiers being shifted, with the mass exodus of those who see no hope for themselves in the new reality, with experiences impossible to overcome in the anthropological sense. Notwithstanding his affirmative attitude to the world as a present for human beings, Márai, Hungarian writer who spent a large part of his life in exile and considered himself a continuator of the tradition of Western culture and its universalism, seems to hold that the life of an emigrant, a life without a homeland or a life away from one’s homeland is difficult and handicapped in the deepest human sense. The experience of emigration, according to Márai, is accompanied by a tragic discovery of one’s subjectivity and of its impenetrable abyss. Such an experience makes the human beings aware of their helplessness in the face of their own efforts to deaden in themselves this inner consciousness, which turns out to be an unremovable part of their being. “For some time the émigrés act like people who know what they want. It seems to them that they still decide about their future. [...] They appear before various commissions, they give their names, their personal data, they speak about their past occupations. Then they appear before the medical commission. They take samples of their blood and urine with them, and this they already find somewhat embarrassing. There are academics among them, there are priests, who do not understand why they have

¹ Since there is no English edition of *San Gennaro vére*, all the quotations used in the above text have been translated from the Polish edition of the novel: S. M á r a i, *Krew świętego Januarego*, transl. F. Netz, Czytelnik, Warszawa 2006.

to provide samples of their urine, when they are seeking a new homeland?... [...] These people have nothing to lose, except their identities. [...] once they realize they have lost their family homes, their relatives, their homelands and their native languages, and that now, away from home, they have lost their identities, they become strangely and unexpectedly nervous. One day they come to understand they no longer have their names, they no longer have their own names, whether with the accent marks or without them... Because their names do not matter. What matters is their fingerprints and the file numbers that denote them. [...] There are also those among them who do not understand why their fingerprints are taken, as if they were criminals, after all they are émigrés, who fled from their countries on the grounds of conscience..."

The experience of emigration involves one's sense of identity being threatened, the feeling of being misunderstood and objectified, humiliation, indeed, reification of the human being in question. "Chile accepts only those who are taller than one hundred and seventy centimeters. [...] Those with hard livers cannot go to Canada." The subjectivity of the human being inevitably revolts against such a situation, but this revolt is hopeless in itself. There is no solution. What is left is an ersatz of the homeland: those strange, worthless things, seized by the émigrés hurriedly right before their departure, the things that they will nervously protect later in their lives. It is owing to those things that they find solace, it is these things that help them develop a sense of the continuity of their lives, and that become their identification.

The immigrant «world» the Hungarian writer witnessed and in which he himself participated exposed the existential drama inherent in the life of an émigré, a person without a homeland. The present volume of the quarterly *Ethos*, entitled *Immigrant Worlds*, is an attempt to present – against the background of the anthropological and existential analysis of the phenomenon of emigration – various contexts and fields of life in which the phenomenon in question appears, with a particular consideration of the newest situation, when the prospect of the global homeland seems closer due to increasingly free circulation of people and the so far unprecedented developments in the communication technologies in the scale of the world. However, we attempted to interpret emigration in a broader sense than that delineated by the traditional meanings of the concept, and to see it not only as either an unhindered departure from one's homeland for the purpose of settling abroad or a forced political exile. Our intention was to uncover various immigrant «worlds,» to reconstruct the «deep structure» of the phenomenon whose surface layer usually consists in leaving one's native land on political or economic grounds. The objective we set for the authors was to extract most importantly the philosophical: anthropological and existential, sense of the concept of emigration and its cultural, social and psychological implications, as well as to describe how the concept and the phenomenon of emigration function in various areas of life.

The articles we present show, above all, the extraordinary culture-generating power of emigration, as well as the fact that being an émigré enables one to adopt a special point of view, which is in a way a meta-level view of one's own culture and of one's nation. The exceptional nature of this view lies in

the fact that while being a look «from the outside,» it remains a look «from the inside» and enables one to combine participation, a subjective attitude, with objective reflection unmediated by emotions. Thus culture created in exile becomes the testimony to a particular experience which embraces concepts becoming fuzzy and crisscrossed, and one's tradition being put into doubt. For this reason such culture often reflects continuous mental pursuit of meaning. From the Polish perspective, emigration was always a national cause. The «Great» 19th century Emigration, the emigration «for bread» at the beginning of the 20th century, the emigrations forced by the second world war, the difficult post-war exodus of those who would not accept the necessity of living under a totalitarian regime, the emigrations after the events of 1956, 1968, and 1970, the emigrations of the «Gierek age,» and finally, the great wave of emigration after the martial law was imposed in Poland in 1981 – to the Polish mentality, all of them had a deeper sense and they always denoted “something more.” They involved tragic dilemmas, and what turned the scale was always the rescue for some value: culture, sovereignty, freedom or conscience. Emigration informed Polish culture of the latest centuries so deeply that we sometimes find it difficult to look at the phenomenon of emigration as such with the eyes of other nations, in whose history it also played a significant role, while not always being perceived through the prism of purely axiological relations. We frequently tend to forget, or rather we tend not to realize, that nations such as the Americans, the Australians, the Canadians, the Argentinians or the Brazilians grew precisely due to waves of emigration. Also the first citizens of the state of Israel were émigrés. All those emigrations certainly had marks of the condition so expressly described by Márai, and in this sense they were mosaics of painful individual stories. So, also for other nations, emigration evokes a certain conceptual context, a culture-generating impulse worth examination, however distant it might be from the one frequently described as the «Polish experience.»

It seems though that the notion of emigration is subject to systematic transformation in the integrating and globalizing world of today, in particular in Europe, and that the range of the concept of emigration has become closer to that of migration: the circulation of people no longer carries the mark of ultimacy: one can return to the place one has left, one's place of residence is more and more often only temporary, and the itinerant mode of life enhances the growth of the human being - it enables acquiring new skills, learning new languages, participating in the cultures of the nations so far considered as «foreign.» One might even say that in this sense Pope John Paul II, the patron of our journal, was an immigrant *par excellence*. A Pole by birth and a Pole in his heart, he spent twenty seven years away from his native land, persistently breaking cultural, language and tradition barriers in continuous exchange with the world.

Mixed reactions are evoked by the migrations and emigrations of Poles motivated in the recent years above all by economic reasons, but also – as many acknowledge – by the intention to distance themselves from the Polish tradition and from the Polish ways in the political and social life. On the one hand, taking advantage of the opportunity to improve one's material living standard

is considered a natural impulse, but on the other hand, one frequently hears negative comments on Polish immigrants abroad: that they abandon patriotism, that they forget their homeland and the national values, that they are conformists. Still other opinions express unrealistic, in a way messianist expectations of them: that they will restore Catholic faith in the secular Europe, that they will give examples of Christian life and prevent European culture from being overcome by the avalanche of immigrants from the Middle and Far East. Simultaneously, the problem appears whether Poles should integrate in the local communities in which they live, including their parish communities, or whether they had better remain in a way closed groups of immigrants who live within the space of their national culture, yet transferred into a new place. The truth might be though that the entanglements on both sides simply do not allow factual integration. It seems that despite the novelty of today's situation the burden of cultural difference turns out a substantial attribute of emigration, and not merely an accident. Márai would express this idea concisely, saying, "It is not so difficult to learn English, but it's much more difficult to keep silent in English," and adding, in a similar context, "A residence permit does not mean a life permit." This problem is particularly acute in the case of those who have consciously rejected their native heritage, by putting it into doubt. Their existence turns out to be particularly difficult: "Those who deliberately went to exile believe, for a long time, that there is a kind of homeland standing by them, and that, in exile, there forms a certain solidarity around them. But there comes the day when they wake up. And suddenly they realize that they are completely alone. Such a state of spirit is very dangerous. The homeland they freely abandoned stopped being their homeland since they did not simply cross the border of their country, but freely, of their own accord, left a given community of emotion. And the world into which they stepped never accepted them." Thus a timely issue is still that of the lot of an immigrant who carries the burden of the experience and the heritage of ideas not infrequently alien to the society in which he arrives. So is the one about the immigrant's capability of dialogue with that society, and, in the deepest sense, about the common plane of ideas against which good and evil can be perceived. A lack of such a plane, or even a lack of ways leading towards it, generates emptiness, and "there is an emptiness that, perhaps, is worse than the emptiness of a prison cell".

In this context, it might be worthwhile considering the evolution of the concept of cosmopolitanism, which once contracted a definitely pejorative meaning and signified an attitude devoid of ideals, a moral vacuum, or lack of identification with the world of values. As opposed to that tendency, today's cosmopolitanism embraces a proposal of a global ethic, one that aims at transgressing ideological and religious divisions in the name of respect for the good human life is.

One cannot possibly investigate the essence of emigration without a reference to the phenomenon of inner emigration. In the Polish cultural awareness, this phenomenon is usually associated with the attitude of refusal to participate in the official social, political and cultural life in the situation of a communist state. This attitude was adopted in a pure way by Polish poet Zbigniew Herbert, whose inner emigration did not have a political character, one might say, but

rather a moral, intellectual and aesthetic one. Herbert's insight into the essence of inner emigration was well expressed in his poem *The Power of Taste*, dedicated to Professor Izydora Dąmbska, showing how tightly the aesthetic sense and taste are braided with moral sensibility – what is good is beautiful, evil is ugly:

It did not take any great character
our refusal dissent and persistence
we had a scrap of necessary courage
but essentially it was a matter of taste
Yes taste²

Márai will say: „Crime is always monotonous. Only goodness is interesting.” Yet the phenomenon of inner emigration did not end together with the breakdown of the Communist regime, since it has an inherent universal and transcultural character. In its broadest sense, it embraces the attitude of withdrawal, of entering one's own inward being, of solitude chosen in order «to see and hear» better, in order to perceive more and to perceive things with a deeper sensibility. This attitude, however, can be inspired and conditioned in various ways, and it can engender various consequences. One of its cultural paradigms, the legend of the Wandering Jew, shows that also guilt can provide motivation for a withdrawal from the world and that guilt can, paradoxically, become the source of the attitude of contemplation. A good literary illustration of this conviction can be found in the figure of the Ancient Mariner from Samuel T. Coleridge's ballad *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, beautiful in its simplicity. The Ancient Mariner crosses the world in order to tell people about his tragic experience: while out at sea, he killed, without a reason, an albatross, the bird that the sailors “hailed in God's name,” “as if it had been a Christian soul,” the bird that “every day, for food or play, / Came to the mariner's hollo” and sought protection with human beings. The Ancient Mariner killed the bird that “made the breeze to blow,”³ and in this way he as if refused the “big present” the world is to the human beings. Let us also not forget that in the perspective of Catholic theology, the human being always remains an emigrant, he is always an exile from Paradise, awaiting his return to the eternal homeland and living within the horizon of this prospect. In a way Satan is also an exile, yet his drama consists in the fact that he is an exile without a chance to return.

Emigration has something in common with the belief in a miracle, and in the ultimate sense it expresses the need for salvation, as well as the conviction that salvation is possible. This is probably why emigration accompanies man throughout his history, driving it and determining its direction.

While reading the theoretical articles collected in the present volume: papers in philosophy, sociology, literary criticism and history, it is maybe worthwhile bearing in mind two simple ideas: that the world is a big present, and that there is room for the albatross in it.

² Z. H e r b e r t, *The Power of Taste*, trans. A. Valles, in: by the same author, *Collected Poems 1956-1998*, HarperCollins Publishers, New York 2007, p. 409.

³ S. T. C o l e r i d g e, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner in Seven Parts*, in: by the same author, *Verse and Prose*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1981, p. 46f.

JOHN PAUL II – Preserving One’s Identity and the Need for Integration

1. No one is unaware of the identity conflict that often comes about in the meeting of persons of different cultures. Positive elements do exist in this. By introducing themselves into a new environment, immigrants often become more aware of who they are, especially when they miss the persons and values that are important to them.

In our society, characterized by the global phenomenon of migration, individuals must seek the proper balance between respect for their own identity and recognition of that of others. Indeed, it is necessary to recognize the legitimate plurality of cultures present in a country, in harmony with the preservation of law and order, on which depend social peace and the freedom of citizens.

Indeed, it is essential to exclude on the one hand assimilationist models that tend to transform those who are different into their own copy, and on the other, models of marginalization of immigrants, with attitudes that can even arrive at the choice of apartheid. The way to take is the path of genuine integration [...] with an open outlook that refuses to consider solely the differences between immigrants and the local people [...].

Thus the need arose for a dialogue between people of different cultures in a context of pluralism that goes beyond mere tolerance and reaches sympathy. A simple juxtaposition of groups of migrants and locals tends to encourage a reciprocal closure between cultures, or the establishment, among them, of relations that are merely superficial or tolerant. We should encourage instead a mutual fecundation of cultures. This implies reciprocal knowledge and openness between cultures, in a context of true understanding and benevolence.

Christians, conscious on their part of the transcendent action of the Spirit, can also recognize in the various cultures the presence of “precious elements of religion and humanity” (*Gaudium et Spes*, No. 92) that can offer solid prospects of mutual understanding. It will, of course, be necessary to combine the principle of respect for cultural differences with the protection of values that are in common and inalienable, because they are founded on universal human rights. This gives rise to that atmosphere of “civic reasonableness” that permits friendly and serene coexistence.

Moreover, if they are coherent with themselves, Christians cannot give up proclaiming the Gospel of Christ to all creation (cf. Mk 16:15). Obviously, they must do so with respect for the conscience of others, always resorting to the method of charity, as St Paul had already recommended to the early Christians (cf. Eph 4:15).

The image from the Prophet Isaiah, to which I have several times referred at the meetings with the youth of the whole world (cf. Is 21:11-12), could also be used here to invite all believers to be “morning watchmen”. As such, Christians must above all listen to the cry for help that comes from a multitude of migrants and refugees, but they must then foster, with active commitment, prospects of hope that will herald the dawn of a more open and supportive society. It is up to them in the first place to make out

God's presence in history, even when everything still seems to be enveloped in darkness.

Keywords: intercultural dialogue, integration, migrants, immigrants, refugees

Extracts from the *Message of the Holy Father John Paul II for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees 2005*. Originally published in "L'Osservatore Romano", Polish Edition 26: 2005, No. 3, p. 7, © Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano; see: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/migration/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_20041124_world-migration-day-2005_en.html//.

2. Paris is a place which enables a special perception of the Polish history and its frequently dramatic events. The French people, who have valued highly their independence and sovereignty, have always demonstrated sensibility to the predicament of those who were in a difficult situation in this respect. Therefore, France, and in particular the city of Paris, offered refuge to Polish exiles both in the 19th century, when a great wave of political émigrés left Poland, and later, before and after the second world war, as well as during the communist rule in Poland. Thus it was in France that large part of Polish culture was created and the foundations of the new vision of the independent Poland and of the sovereign Polish people were laid. Polish political refugees: thinkers, poets, writers and artists, considered their stay in Paris as service to their homeland and to the Polish people, and that service became the goal of their artistic, political and religious activity.

Today, however, integration is important, universal and necessary an issue. Polish immigrants must not question their roots, but they are nevertheless called to the service of the countries where they live, they are to love their countries of residence and to contribute to their growth by developing their humanity.

Summarized by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Polish Great Emigration, Polish patriotism, Polish-French relations

Extracts from the Holy Father's address to the Polish Community of Paris, France, delivered on 31 May 1980 in Paris. Originally published in: Jan Paweł II, *Nauczanie papieskie*, ed. by E. Weron, SAC, A. Jaroch, SAC, Pallottinum, Poznań–Warszawa 1985, vol. 3 (1980), part 1, p. 683-685.

Cezary RITTER – From a Far-Away Country... John Paul II on the Phenomenon of Emigration

John Paul II was the first Pope in many centuries to have come to Rome, his new Bishopric See, from a «far-away country.» The faithful of John Paul II's new Diocese were not very familiar with Poland, the country from which the

new Pope came to Rome in 1978, although the Pope's homeland had remained spiritually close to Rome through its faith, culture and its over a thousand year long relations with the See of Peter.

The phenomenon of emigration has had an important impact on the history of Poland for over two hundred years. The causes of that situation were both political (the 19th century partitions of Poland, the second world war, and 20th century communist rule) and economic (poverty spread in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century). A significant part of Polish culture was created and developed by the Polish diaspora, in particular in France (by the so-called 19th century Great Emigration) and in England (in particular after the second world war). Owing to this Polish experience, John Paul II remained particularly sensitive to the economic, social, cultural and religious problems of migrants.

However, the Pope's sensibility to the problems immigrants encounter, which he considered deeply human problems, had its additional source in his philosophical (personalistic) formation.

He also drew upon the Old and the New Testament, where the condition and history of man are shown as those of one who remains a «pilgrim,» who is always on the way to his homeland, but has not reached it yet. Also the Church, the People of God, is the Pilgrim Church, and in this she resembles the Old Testament people crossing the desert. Sensibility to the lot of the migrant and the refugee – hospitality towards them and solidarity with them – are significant elements of the Christian ethos. John Paul II would voice this idea in his annual address on the International Day of the Migrant and the Refugee, stressing that the experience of migration affects people and nations in many places all over the world.

During his numerous apostolic travels, John Paul II addressed the problems of Polish migrants in a special way. He would always find time to meet members of the Polish diaspora and of the Polish milieus in exile, and he would often give special addresses to them. In particular, during his first visit to France, Great Britain and the United States of America, he spoke extensively on the heroic nature and the ethos of the Polish diaspora and demonstrated the unity of Polish culture. The opinions voiced by the Pope were particularly significant at the time of the communist rule in Poland, when state censorship was used in order to deprive the mentality of the nation of numerous motifs concerning Polish history and culture, and when contact with the Polish milieus abroad was deliberately hindered by the authorities. Polish emigrants in turn considered an encounter with the Pope as a kind of gratification for sometimes years long humiliation experienced in exile.

After the fall of communism, followed by the accession of Poland to the European Union, the political aspect of the Polish diaspora expired, a symbolic manifestation of which is that the Polish government-in-exile no longer exists. In the new situation, the issue the Pope most frequently addressed was that Poles living in the pluralist societies should preserve their faith and identity. By contributing to the fall of communism, John Paul II as if closed a certain epoch in the history of the Polish diaspora. Simultaneously, by contributing to the advent of the democratic Poland, a country with a market economy,

and by his support for the presence of Poland in the European structures, he began a new chapter in the history of the Polish diaspora, which, composed of migrants rather than emigrants today, has a completely different character than it was the case in 1978, when the pontificate of the Polish Pope began.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Polish diaspora, John Paul II, emigration, migration, national identity, national culture

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Grzegorz BABIŃSKI – The Nation or the National Bond? On the Transformation of the Concept of Nation in Modern Culture

The article presents an outline of the basic problems related to the transformations of modern nations. While the author considers the discussed problems as basic, he stresses that their proposed selection is by no means exhaustive. The issues thus singled out are primarily definitional problems, including that of the impossibility to formulate a universal definition of «nation.» Others embrace the origin of nations, their «morphology» and the internal structure of the national bond, the relationship between the nation and the state, international relations and the function of the nation as such.

The succeeding part of the paper is devoted to a tentative description of the basic characteristics of a nation, which comprise territoriality, cultural distinctiveness, the ambition of creating and maintaining a national state, as well as national identities.

The further considerations include a general survey of the current transformations of national communities, as well as a brief outline of the main currents of theoretical approaches to these transformations. The following tendencies in approaching them have been distinguished: (1) to abandon the concept of one universal model of the transformations of nations and to adopt a concept allowing for numerous models; (2) to replace the objectivist understanding of the direction of inner changes in all the national communities with fluctuation approaches, in which no universal or «necessary» stages of the transformations of the communities in question are distinguished; (3) to abandon perceiving the direction of the transformations of ethnic communities in universal and objective terms and to adopt an increasingly activist, or even voluntarist approach to their interpretation; (4) to change the focus of interest from the «historic» nations to the «first nations»; (5) to pass from «geology» to «cafeteria» in determining the attributes and foundations of modern national identities, (6) to abandon «objective» cultural approaches that stress the significance of the cultural heritage and indispensability of history for the

sake of subjectivist identity centered approaches that focus on the importance of choice and creation in accomplishing both individual and collective identifications and identities; (7) to replace the relatively close relationship between the nation and the state, almost fully congruent both in reality and in the theories of nation, with one of increasing mutual independence and autonomy of the two.

The concluding part of the paper comprises a tentative description of the inner changes of the concepts of nationalism and patriotism, as they evolve in the modern consciousness.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: nation, nationality, state, identity, national identification, definition of «nation», origin of nations, transformations of ethnic communities, nationalism, patriotism

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Krzysztof DYBCIAK – Historical Significance and Variety of Migration Movements and Migrating Communities

One can observe an immense diversity of migrations of human populations, as well as that of the modes in which various human populations have come to reside away from their native lands. However, three essential types of human mobility and of the dynamics of human existence have predominated in general history in this respect, namely, (1) colonization, which consists in leaving one's homeland in order to settle permanently elsewhere; (2) emigration, of which one can speak in situations whenever a population is forced to leave its homeland, yet it does so with the intention of returning there in the future; (3) migration, which can be defined as a number of repeated short stays away from one's homeland. Today, due to the rapid advancement in information technologies, accompanied by the global spread of democracy and the human right to freely choose the job and the place of residence, migrations have become the most vivid manifestations of the universal mobility of human populations.

However, certain populations combine characteristics of emigration and colonization, for instance the Jewish and Armenian diasporas. The borderline communities include also communities of migrant laborers (German *Gastarbeiter*) comprising several million people in Western Europe today.

National mentality and national character are variously shaped, depending on whether it is the phenomenon of emigration or that of colonization that predominates in the case of the given nation. In Polish history, emigrational processes have prevailed, which has had both positive and negative consequences.

Since the ancient times, colonization (started by Phoenicians and Greeks) has had a major influence on the course of world history and it largely contributed to the proliferation of Christianity and, in the modern times, of European civilization.

Despite the fact that Poles did not show extensive colonizationist activity throughout history, after the second world war they were made to participate in the largest migration in the history of humanity, namely, in the one started by the shifts of the borders of Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: emigration, colonization, evangelization, migrations, diaspora, Jews, history of Poland, *Gastarbeiter*

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Marcin KULA – Citizen of the State and of the World

Nations have been, and are today, effects of migration processes. European history and world history can be perceived as histories of migrations. Since the hypothetical beginning of historic times, no “pure” nation has existed. One must also note the presence in today’s world of nations which are multi-ethnic by definition and which, in numerous cases, have originated in processes of migration. Indeed, the social collectivities that nations are, were formed in the course of history. The frequent debates on whether a given group first experienced the common lot and only then worked out its ideology as a community or it was rather the idea of a nation, once it appeared, that determined the group’s cohesion are similar to those about whether the hen or the egg came first. Without doubt, an accidentally formed group having no sense of its own distinctiveness or an accompanying sense of community would split at the first opportunity. On the other hand, if an accidentally formed group not sharing a common history has declared itself a nation regardless of the absence, both in its past and in its current condition, of any factors favoring this kind of unity, such a group would be considered one of mentally disturbed individuals.

The available evidence proves that nations will not disappear with the globalization of the world or with the unification of Europe. Rather, they will evolve, just as national minorities, national diasporas and national identities will do. One may well expect that the processes of rapprochement, accompanied by intensified migrations, will result in a large number of individuals with an undefined or a double national identity.

The Polish Card (also called as the Polish Charter), the document confirming the national identity of Poles living abroad who are not Polish citizens, enact-

ed by Polish Parliament in 2007 is not a good solution. The author criticizes it referring to practical concerns and pointing to the Card's incompatibility with the current tendencies in the evolution of the national phenomenon. According to the current legal state, the Polish Card may be granted to Poles living in post-Soviet states. However, in less stable countries, as well as in those having strong nationalistic tendencies, the Card may cause significant problems to its holders. Even in the case of more stable countries, granting the Polish Card to their citizens acts against the tendency of definite borders of particular nations being blurred, the phenomenon that is likely to occur.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: nation, national identity, national identification, migration, The Polish Card (The Polish Charter)

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Anna GŁĄB – Disputes Over Frontiers, or On the Ethics of the Citizens of the World

The article discusses one of the most important problems concerning emigration, namely, that of cosmopolitanism, as well as issues pertaining to the ethics of immigrants, refugees, cosmopolites and all the inhabitants of the Earth, called the ethics of the citizens of the world. The concept of moral cosmopolitanism, as used in the text, comprises the moral duty to provide universal help for all those in need, including strangers, accompanied by the duty to respect and promote human rights. So understood, the notion of cosmopolitanism, generates a concept of ethics that embraces both awareness of the duties towards others and the belief that one should recognize the value of the lives of other human beings and show interest in their activity and convictions. In this context the problem of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and patriotism is discussed. It is stressed that the foundation on which the ethics of the citizens of the world can be built is loyalty towards one's immediate environment, while loyalty towards one's own country, manifested in extreme patriotism, may prove destructive and undermining to the measures taken for the sake of world peace. Following Martha Nussbaum, three following arguments for building the society of the citizens of the world are enumerated: from moral education, from progress in solving world problems and from moral duties towards others. The latter argument is discussed also in reference to the problems of world hunger and poverty.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: cosmopolitanism, global ethics, universal moral duty, patriotism

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Piotr MATWIEJCZUK – A Branchy Tree

Since continuous transformation appears to be a constitutive mark of Western civilization, the past tends to be perceived as better than the present. Thus, while passing a judgment on contemporaneity, one should try to retain moderation and common sense, taking into consideration the fact that the ongoing changes are essentially of quantitative nature.

However, due to the processes of globalization, standarization and mass communication, so-called «light music,» which has always constituted the main component of the sound space, has spread in the modern times on a scale so far unknown. Nikolaus Harnoncourt has aptly observed that, today, music is merely a “pleasant trinket” which is to be merely “nice.” One might add that music has also been deeply affected by the constantly growing noise that marks the entire human world. A manifestation of this influence can be seen in the common use of sound compression.

An escape from the «contaminated» sound space is simultaneously an act of defense and an expression of objection. It manifests one’s decision to «listen,» (listening being an act of the intellect) rather than merely to «hear» (hearing constituting no more than a physiological response). A sphere to which one can withdraw is that of World Music, the genre that precisely reflects the condition and complexity of the reality of the global village.

However, restoring the sensibility of our sense of hearing seems still feasible, provided it will be adequately protected and exercised. An escape from the littered phonosphere is simultaneously a gesture that demonstrates a turn towards one’s inner self, towards the final things. One can see such a gesture in the life of Gioacchino Rossini, who, after over thirty years of artistic silence, returned to composing. Instead of operas, however, he would produce a cycle of over two hundred music pieces collected under the title *Sins of Old Age*, which expressed his examination of the world, of his own life and his own self.

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Andrzej GNIAZDOWSKI – Phenomenology as a Form of Inner Emigration

The article is an attempt to determine whether emigration, a social phenomenon by nature, can become a problem of phenomenology as «pure» theory. The start-

ing point of the analyses is the thesis that the task of phenomenology, as opposed to that of a scientific theory which perceives the phenomenon of emigration as an issue related to social pathology, is to address not only the social (objective and «external») sense of emigration, but also the «inner» one, and thus to grasp the «essence» of this phenomenon.

As a result, the main question posed in the article is about the conditions of the possibility of pure phenomenological theory of emigration, or, to be more precise, about the kind of experience that might provide the basis for such a theory. From the perspective adopted in the paper it appears that the experience that enables phenomenology to confront the phenomenon of emigration in an absolutely inner and primordial way is phenomenology's own methodic reference to the world. Indeed, the attitude of «impartial» and «disinterested» observation adopted in an act of phenomenological reduction (and essential for phenomenology as such) can be itself perceived as a form of emigration which, as opposed to its «external», empirical available forms, might be called «inner emigration.»

In order to determine the specificity of both the phenomenological experience of the world and the theoretical ethos of phenomenology that aims to make the phenomenological experience possible, the author analyzes the relation between the attitude of inner emigration, essential for phenomenology, and the classical theoretical ethos of the *vita contemplativa*, as well as the relation obtaining between the attitude of inner emigration and the «professional» ethos of modern science.

The conclusion of the present reflections is that much as the primordial source of the specificity of the theoretical ethos of phenomenology is its underlying messianic, religious motivation, the possibility of the problematization of the phenomenon of emigration remains among the fundamental challenges to phenomenological «theoretical practice.»

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Keywords: phenomenology, emigration, inner emigration, theoretical ethos, pure theory, religion

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Krzysztof BILICA – A Song in the Foreign Land. The Prelude, Three Fugues and the Cadenza

The human being has always been itinerant pilgrim. However, while *homo viator*, the wanderer, acts of his own will, *homo migrans* is forced to embark on a journey. Not infrequently does he emigrate from his homeland or leave his fatherland because he has no other choice but seek refuge due to various

reasons of ideological, political, religious or economic nature. Yet the human being does not find comfort in exile. As some say, one's homeland is "the only place where one would wish to die."

Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849), the composer to whom the first part of the essay is devoted, must have had some premonitions while leaving Warsaw on 2 November 1830. "I believe I am going away in order to die away. And how sad it must be to be dying in exile, to be dying away from one's native land," he wrote to a friend. Soon afterwards the November uprising broke out in the part of Poland which was then the Russian partition and was suppressed less than a year later. Chopin settled in Paris. Having failed to fulfill the duty to prolong the validity of his passport, the obligation imposed on Poles by the Russian authorities, he could not come back to his homeland. He became, *de facto*, an expatriate. He would never see his native land again. And yet he received a chance to be in contact, however briefly, with the part of his homeland he considered the dearest: He was able to meet his parents, who, in August 1835, went to a spa outside the territory annexed by Russia. The family is an atom of the homeland.

Simon Laks (1901-1983), the second composer whose profile is discussed in the essay, came to Paris simply to complete his music studies in composition, but was forced to return to Poland in tragic circumstances. In 1942, he was deported to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp by the Nazis, which started a period of paradoxical, forced and tragic emigration in his life. It was a paradox, since he was expatriated to the country he came from. It was forced, because he had been given no choice. And it was tragic, because the only way out of the camp seemed to be the one through the crematorium chimney. However, it was music that saved Laks from imminent death in the camp. As he was a violinist, he was able to become a member of the camp orchestra. He survived despite the fact that he was later deported to Dachau. After the war Laks never returned to his native land.

The third Polish composer whose life is discussed in the essay, Andrzej Panufnik (1914-1991), also left his homeland in the way that had all the marks of refuge, as he defected from the communist regime. After the war, Panufnik had reached the position of Poland's number one composer and the country's most admired conductor. The inevitable price he had to pay for those honors, however, was frequent concessions to the regime and an indiscriminate support he had to show for the communist authorities. In 1954, unable to bear the pressure of the system any longer, he asked for asylum in Great Britain.

The lives of the three Polish composers, who were brought to exile either by history or by their own decisions, have been symbolically and metaphorically described in the present essay as a musical fugue. The name of the fugue as such derives from the Latin word *fugio* (*fugere*), which means "to escape." However, in the context of the present reflections, one must bear in mind also a related word, namely, *fugo* (*fugare*), meaning "to force escape, to banish."

One may not completely leave one's homeland though. Throughout their stay in exile, immigrants experience homesickness and nostalgia. The protagonists of the present essay would frequently express those feelings in their compositions.

Fortunately, in today's Europe, which is on the way to unity, *homo migrans* appears less and less frequently, while excellent opportunities open before *homo viator*. Let him discover new roads, both for himself and for others, and let him follow these roads towards a better world, but let him remember the place from where he embarked on his journey, as well as those he left there and the language in which he spoke to them.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Frédéric Chopin, Simon Laks, Andrzej Panufnik, emigration, native land, homesickness, art

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Józef F. FERT – SuperSłowacki, or Norwid as an Admirer, Critic and Commentator of Juliusz Słowacki

Nineteenth century critics took pleasure in seeking similarities between Norwid and Słowacki, and they did so guided by the worst intention possible: They would use the analogy with the unfavorably received or openly hated author of *Mazepa* only to point to the alleged or actual «drawbacks» in the works of Norwid, or rather, only to qualify them as senseless.

Norwid's reactions to such insinuations and to the unkind reception of his work are thoroughly interesting though. He would not engage in a polemic, but would rather take advantage of the criticism in question in order to work out his own strategy and enter the main current of Polish culture by way of his negation of the negation.

An excellent opportunity for Norwid to present his arguments to the public opinion was provided by the series of lectures on Słowacki which he delivered in the spring of 1860. The lectures were indeed a great monologue on the phenomenon one might call the «Poet», the phenomenon described by Norwid precisely in relation to the author of *Beniowski*. The lectures in question, much as they were remote from academic precision, had at least three characteristics that attracted Poles representing all social strata and all ideological options. Firstly, they offered a possibility of personal confrontation of the «black legend» of Norwid with the actual reality of the inconceivable poet. Secondly, they were intriguing as they referred to Słowacki, who was known at the time through gossip and various tales, in particular through the epithet of an «anti-Mickiewicz» he had earned. Thirdly, they promised reflection on the role of Słowacki in the «national cause.» That latter thing was announced in the brochure advertising Norwid's open lectures as ones «on the works and poetic standpoint of Juliusz Słowacki, as regards the national cause.»

Juliusz Słowacki occupies a prominent place in the thought of Norwid, side by side with his contemporary masters of the Polish verse, Mickiewicz, Krasiński and Malczewski, with the world masters of poetic verse and action, in particular «the one,» namely, Byron, with the poets from the past: Dante, Tasso, Cervantes, Jan Kochanowski and Piotr Kochanowski, and with the «poets» of action: Moses, Socrates, St. Paul, Caesar, Napoleon... Not only did Norwid extol the author of *Król-Duch* ["The Spirit King"], but he made the personality of Juliusz Słowacki, the ironist, the critic, the prophet and the advocate of the new Poland, inform the entire «fabric» of his speeches, as well as most of his artistic works... One must not fail to see that Norwid, having adopted such an attitude to Słowacki, was no exception. Słowacki was a noble myth to the entire generation to which Norwid belonged: to the next generation of Polish Romantics.

Did the Polish Romantic song meet the most difficult one among the difficult challenges of its time, namely, did it prepare the Polish soul for individual and social freedom? Did Mickiewicz, Krasiński, Słowacki, and the most extraordinary one, the SuperSłowacki, or Cyprian Norwid, meet that challenge?

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Keywords: Polish Romantics, Cyprian Norwid, Juliusz Słowacki, struggle for freedom

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Fr. Alfred M. WIERZBICKI – The Pope Whose Life Was Poland: The Polish Identity, as seen by John Paul II

From the perspective of time, the speeches delivered by John Paul II during his eight travels to Poland can be read as one coherent text about his home country. The Pope both explained the present meaning of the past events, making recourse to the pastoral method of a «pilgrimage through history,» and contributed to the shaping of the newest history of Poland and Europe, also to the epochal event of the 1980 Solidarity and to the transformations triggered by the fall of communism in Middle and Eastern Europe in 1989. The Pope's teaching on Poland has got its theological and pastoral aspects. In order to point to the close link between the Polish identity and Christianity he would make use of categories derived from sacramentology and ecclesiology, such as the «Baptism of the Nation» and the «Confirmation of the Nation.» He would interpret the nation as a community sharing a common culture and founded on a common hierarchy of values. Christianity, in turn, introduces the «personalistic» understanding of the human person and of the national

community, and it unites the ethnically and linguistically diversified nations into a broader cultural community of the nations of Europe.

It is culture that determines national identity. John Paul II proclaims the principle of the sovereignty of the nation through culture and he simultaneously stresses that the key historical experiences of the Polish nation have confirmed this principle, in particular those dating from the Jagiellonian age, when Poland was a multiethnic and multireligious state, but also those from the period when Poland was deprived of political sovereignty and its territory was partitioned among other states.

To John Paul II, the event of the Solidarity marked a revival of the Jagiellonian spiritual depth and openness. The religious and moral sense of the Solidarity, resulting from its non-violent struggle against the totalitarian system, conforms to the Christian vision of man.

Side by side with the ideas that shaped the concept of the Polish identity, John Paul II shows personal paragons of patriotism. While referring to the many-centuries-long history of Poland and to its multicultural background, he rejects the narrow model of a Catholic Pole as the paradigm of patriotism. Instead, he stresses the patriotism of Polish «personalities of the borderland» that contributed to the unity of the Polish people with other peoples of Europe, the patriotism of the Protestants, that of the members of the Orthodox Church, as well as that of Greek Catholics and Jews.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: John Paul II's teaching on Poland, theology of the nation, sovereignty of the nation through culture, Polish history, patriotism

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Justyna CHŁAP-NOWAKOWA – “Fatherland is hypodermic memory”: Continuity and Change in the Poetic Output of the Succeeding Generations of Polish Expatriates after 1945

Can one describe the Polish expatriate writers today as a homogenous milieu, or even as a milieu centered around one idea, in the way one would - despite all the reservations - describe Polish emigrant authors during the second world war and in the after-war period? Can one see in the contemporary Polish literary milieu on emigration continuators of or heirs to the war period emigrant circles, just as one would be justified in seeing parallels between the wave of immigrants from the period of the second world war and the 19th century Great Emigration? What are the common denominators of the poetry created on emigration between 1945 and 1985?

While the present paper does not provide an attempt to answer the above questions exhaustively, it evokes some ideas and motifs that without doubt determined the character and the «spirit» of the patriotic Polish emigration poetry created during the second world war and thematically centered around the struggle for the independence of Poland. Another attempt undertaken in the present paper is that to follow, at least to some extent, the struggle of Polish emigration poetry with the problems concerning its spiritual mission or identity.

The focus of the analysis is the output of some chosen poets representing the first wave of wartime emigration, namely, Jan Lechoń, Kazimierz Wierzyński, Józef Łobodowski, Marian Hemar, and Waław Iwaniuk, as well as that of other representatives of that generation, among them Czesław Miłosz and Aleksander Wat, who emigrated from Poland in the later period and distanced themselves in their poetry from patriotic commitment, although they referred to the motifs of exile or disinheritance. The analysis attempted in the present paper is focused also on the output of the poets of the milieu of the *Kontynenty* ["Continents"] (who were in a way mediators between those who emigrated during the war and the new generations of immigrants), as well as on the poetry of some representatives of the *Nowa Fala* ["New Wave"] and of the succeeding poetic "tides." Those who arrived in the West in the 1980's, after the communist authorities had declared martial law in Poland, continued, due to their political stigma, at least partly, the mission of after-war immigrants and in a way became another generation of poets to suffer the «damned» Polish fate. They were also torn by doubts that disturbed their peace, probably by doubts similar to those experienced by their predecessors: To return to Poland or not? Which is being a traitor: returning to your homeland or leaving it when it needs you? However, reference to the old tradition, to the rhetoric of exile and wandering and to the national martyrdom was being gradually abandoned in their poetry, as was also the pompous style.

The poets in question tried to recreate the tensions inherent in emigration poetry: the one between the experience of the exile and the memory of the homeland, as well as that between the lofty mission inherited from the poets of the Great Emigration and the tendency to adjust oneself to the modern globalized world. While those tensions were never identical in the case of each immigrant poet, they definitely tend to be diminished in the output of the younger generation. The question remains, however, whether they have been resolved completely.

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Keywords: Polish immigration poetry, Polish literary tradition, patriotic literature, Polish culture in exile

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Maciej NOWAK – “Freedom without any foundation”: Andrzej Bobkowski on the Basis for Ethics

The article discusses the moral beliefs expressed by Andrzej Bobkowski, Polish emigrant writer, as they are presented in his works dating from the second part of the 1950's. The author does not embark on a philosophical interpretation though, rather, he attempts an analysis of Bobkowski's output as seen against the literary background of his time. The focus of the analysis is the diary *Z notatek modelarza* ["From the Notes of a Modeler"], which the writer kept during his stay in Guatemala and in the United States, from 2 June 1954 to 8 August 1954.

The author first presents some critical remarks on the tendentious attitudes certain critics have demonstrated in their readings of Bobkowski's works and observes that the writer's views follow the critique of culture made from the standpoint of conservative liberalism.

In the interpretational part of the essay, the author presents a more detailed discussion of some chosen parts of *Z notatek modelarza* and concludes that Bobkowski deeply criticizes Western liberalism which provides the ideological support for democracy. Bobkowski holds that liberal attitudes deprived of a transcendent foundation become axiologically void. They lose their ideological gravity, thus forfeiting their causal potential and falling prey to the expansion of the Soviet communism, widespread at the time. To Bobkowski, liberalism devoid of any foundation appears to be no more than a comfortable pose adopted by the milieus that decide about the tone of social debate. Those who participate in this debate are tainted by abstraction: they ignore the factors at play in the particular situation of the time, and content themselves merely with thought constructions detached from the reality. Bobkowski perceives abstraction as a threat to entire human culture and asserts, in the Heideggerian spirit: "We are abandoning confrontation with the reality, or we may have already abandoned it; abstraction will kill us, we will die anesthetized with abstraction, as if we were anesthetized with ether." It was in a strong bond with the reality, the source of the metaphysical experience as such, that Bobkowski saw a rescue for the modern cultural formation. The fundamental moral attitude inherent in his works is that of value affirmation.

The author stresses the continuity of motifs in Bobkowski's autobiographical works and in his fictional prose. In this context, an episode from the short story *Spotkanie* ["Encounter"] of 1956 is discussed. A comparative analysis of some entries from Bobkowski's diary and the short story in question leads the author to the conclusion that in both cases Bobkowski postulates the axiological sanction. Whenever freedom is devoid of a foundation, it results in conformist attitudes, both in the dimension of political life and in the one of individual morality. God is the only possible foundation of freedom and existence that Bobkowski refers to, yet he does so using the conditional mood. Bobkowski is one of the few Polish emigrant writers who freely and without complexes analyzed the intellectual condition of the West. While he considered himself as belonging to the Western culture and an heir to the precious heritage of its past, he would furiously oppose the tendencies he found dan-

gerous to its continuity and identity. Freedom, grounded in the absolute reality, was considered by him the foundation of that civilization.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Andrzej Bobkowski, values in literature, literature of personal document, autobiography, conservative liberalism, liberalism, Western civilization, abstraction, reality

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Edward FIAŁA – *Homo idolatricus*, as seen in Short Stories by Witold Gombrowicz

The essay develops the thesis that the category of *homo idolatricus* informs the entire literary output of Witold Gombrowicz. However, the focus of analysis is Gombrowicz's debut collection of short stories in which an idolatrous person is recognized and interpreted in two texts, namely, *Lawyer Kraykowski's Dancer* and *Virginity*.

The concept of idol, as defined in the essay, follows the definition formulated by modern American psychoanalyst Erich Fromm: "An idol is the figure to which a person has transferred his own strength and powers. The more powerful the idol grows, the more impoverished the individual himself becomes. Only by being in touch with the idol can he try to be in touch with himself. The idol, the work of his hands and fantasy, stands over and above him; its maker becomes his prisoner" (*The Revision of Psychoanalysis*, Westview Press, Boulder-San Francisco-Oxford 1992, p. 42).

As a result of the analyses of the two short stories in question two distinct profiles of *homo idolatricus* are discovered. The one found in *Lawyer Kraykowski's Dancer* is a variant of human person worship: the idolized object is another human being («personatry»), while *Virginity* presents extraordinary worship of the idea of pure and innocent virginity («ideatry»).

The main idolaters are the eponymous dancer, who subserviently idolizes the lawyer, and Paul, who indulges in the adoration of his fiancé Alice. In both texts, the predominating poetics is that of grotesque, which serves to discredit the attitudes of the idolatrous protagonists. This is accomplished through revealing the unconscious sources of their exaggerated projections of worship which disguise their hidden motivations that actually spring from anxiety.

Throughout the discourse, clearly inspired by psychoanalysis, the author refers to various aspects of *homo idolatricus* found also in other works by Gombrowicz, in particular in *The Marriage*, where the famous monologue delivered by Henry evokes the sharp contrast between the idea and the partic-

ular human person, the fundamental poles of Gombrowicz's humanistic vision.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Witold Gombrowicz, idolatry, psychoanalysis as a literary inspiration

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Krzysztof DOROSZ, SJ – Passion Is the Method: Józef Mackiewicz's Attitude Towards the Catholic Church

The subject matter of the analyses included in the article is the image of the Catholic Church, as it can be reconstructed on the basis of the political writings of Józef Mackiewicz. Mackiewicz's consistently negative attitude to communism, the system he considered as inherently evil and as one that must be ultimately overthrown, influenced largely also his perception of the Catholic Church, in which he saw a political structure and an anti-communist power of an international range.

In the opinion of Mackiewicz, the Church should adopt a firm stance towards communism, express her absolute condemnation of the system that declared itself as overtly atheistic, and refrain completely from negotiations with it. The turn in the policy of the Vatican in that respect, which took place during the pontificates of John XXIII and Paul VI, the Popes of the Second Vatican Council, provoked Mackiewicz's reaction. He expressed it in his two books of political comments which were characteristically entitled: *In the Shadow of the Cross* (London 1972) and *The Vatican in the Shadow of the Red Star* (London 1975). In them, he accused the hierarchs of the Polish Church, among them Card. Stefan Wyszyński, the Primate of Poland, of having renounced the attitude of resistance towards the communist system of enslavement, and of having adopted a policy of compromise and concessions. To Mackiewicz's dismay, the scope of the conciliatory attitude the Church had adopted in that political game, motivated by an intention to rescue Catholicism in the communist states, resulted in her total surrender. The pontificate of John Paul II did not bring any significant changes in that respect either, instead, it justified and continued the earlier *Ostpolitik* of the Vatican.

The critics of Mackiewicz would hold that while he addressed topics concerning the Church, he let his political commentaries transform into fantasy novels, thus abandoning the documentary character of his reflections and turning towards a kind of political or ecclesiastical fiction. Jerzy Mirewicz, SJ, Polish expatriate and writer in London, and probably the most matter-of-fact critic of these works, accuses Mackiewicz of having mistaken fiction for the reality,

and stresses the strong emotional element in Mackiewicz's vision of the world, as well as his excessive subjectivism in the evaluation of historical facts. However, Mirewicz also recognizes the asset of these books in their capability of inducing the readers to think more deeply and to seek truth, also the inconvenient one.

The value of the output of Mackiewicz was stressed also by Innocenty Maria Bocheński, OP, Polish expatriate writer, highly esteemed among Polish immigrants. According to Bocheński, Mackiewicz's literary output is discussion and reflection stimulating material.

Mackiewicz would defend his work explaining that the one-sidedness of which his critics accused him resulted from the writing strategy he had adopted, namely, from his focus on issues that normally are not subject to discussion, issues that are ignored or openly put into question.

However, in his criticism of the Church, Mackiewicz would not speak about the essence of the Catholic faith, neither would he question its dogmas. Rather, he was interested in the so-called social commitment of the Church, which today may become subject to a more reflexive analysis and appraisal.

The provocative style of Mackiewicz's writings may provide a good starting point for researchers who may thus approach the controversial issues he embarked on in the light of the already available and still newly discovered documentary sources.

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Keywords: Józef Mackiewicz, *Ostpolitik*, the Vatican, communism, Second Vatican Council

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Wacław LEWANDOWSKI – A Mind That Is Not Religiously Indifferent: Józef Mackiewicz's Attitude to Religion and the Catholic Church

The article addresses two issues. The first of them is the absolutely false stereotype employed in the reception of the work of the writer and political commentator Józef Mackiewicz. According to this stereotype, Mackiewicz is to be seen as an "enemy of the Church." However, once this stereotype is abandoned and a closer analysis of the output of Mackiewicz, in particular an analysis of the way he addresses issues concerning the Catholic Church, is made, one can clearly see that while the writer was against modernization of the Church after the Second Vatican Council, he simultaneously remained a zealous defender of the Church and a proponent of the need to strengthen the voice of the Holy See in the modern world.

The second issue undertaken in the article is that of the worlds created in Mackiewicz's novels. Their design exhibits the working of a mind that is not religiously

indifferent: the worlds Mackiewicz creates are not devoid of a metaphysical background, while faith and religious attitudes turn out significant elements of the spiritual endowment of the characters that populate these worlds.

In the course of the article, the history of the reception of Mackiewicz's political commentaries on the Church is presented together with an explanation of the causes and of the spreading of the false stereotype concerning their interpretation.

It is also stressed that Mackiewicz was not an obsessed critic of the Polish Episcopate, of which he was frequently accused, but remained an analyst and acute observer of the activity of the Catholic Church in the world. He was concerned above all about strengthening the independence and spiritual guidance of the Church. He tended to perceive the Vatican as the center of power having the potential to defend the modern world against secularization, materialism and communist influence. He considered it an absolute imperative that the Church should not engage in the dialogue with communism or believe in the possibility of an evolution of that system. In his opinion, the reverse attitudes developed by the Church paradoxically resulted in the weakening of her position, and, consequently, in her surrender to communism. According to Mackiewicz, the Church should not adapt herself or conform to the modern tendency to think in terms of the "progress," to the predominant social attitudes or to the current social likings. In his opinion, it was Pope Pius XII who himself demonstrated a paragon of proper attitude the Pontiff should adopt.

In his commentaries regarding the Church, Mackiewicz would consider only the question of her activity in the modern world, against the background of the existing political currents. He never delved into theological speculation, neither did he produce a study of religion. In his opinion, the religious content in the teaching of the Church was not to be delved into by the laity, since a human being that has neither received a priestly vocation nor participated in the mystery of the priesthood, should remain concerned merely about how to strengthen his or her own faith in God. The question of religious teaching should be left to the clergy. Thus Mackiewicz did not approve of the post-conciliar increase in the role of the laity in the Church.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Józef Mackiewicz, the Catholic Church, the Holy See, Pius XII, *Ostpolitik*, Catholic Church in Poland

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Horst MÖLLER – The Exodus of Conscience: On the Emigration from the Nazi Germany (trans. W. Niemirowski)

The twentieth century was one of the migrations of nations, part of which was the forced emigration of large political, religious and racial groups. While the immediate causes of their exile were multifarious and differed in particular cases, the decisive factor that triggered most of the migrations was the totalitarian character of the ideologies that prevailed in Europe in the 20th century, namely, communism, fascism and nazism.

In the present article, the author considers the phenomenon of emigration from the Nazi Germany and describes its political background, as well as the immediate causes of the particular waves of emigration, concentrating on its numerical aspects and sketching a map of the destinations where the German émigrés settled. In the concluding part of the paper, the phenomenon of repatriation is subject to the author's analysis.

Generally, German emigration after 1933 was motivated by the increasing Nazi influence, which embraced anti-Jewish measures and a growing terror. The social groups it embraced were chiefly Jews, political activists and intellectuals. The political emigration from the Nazi Germany was not only a voice of conscience, but it was also a proof to the world that Hitler and Goebbels did not have the mandate to speak in the name of the entire country.

Contemporary investigations have confirmed a mass Jewish exodus of 300 000. Political emigration due to a rejection of the regime embraced a group of 30 000. The political spectrum of those who deflected from the Nazi Germany after 1933 ranged from communists and social democrats (the leftists prevailing among the political émigrés) to conservatives who opposed Hitler, and representatives of political Catholicism. Among them were two former German Chancellors, Heinrich Brüning and Joseph Wirth, members of the German Center Party. The exodus of the men of letters and culture embraced over 5 500 scientists, writers, artists and journalists.

The succeeding waves of emigration were immediate consequences of the radicalization of the Nazi dictatorship. The significant stages of that process were: the *Reichstagsbrandverordnung* (the Reichstag Fire Decree, or: The Order of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State) of 1933, which abolished the fundamental rights; the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service) of 1933, which provided a legal basis to dismiss those civil servants who either demonstrated opposing political views or were of Jewish origin; the ban on the activity of trade unions of 1933, the self-dissolution of political parties with the exception of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeitspartei, followed with the *Gesetz gegen die Neubildung von Parteien* (Law against the Creation of Political Parties) of 1933; the «Book burning» of 10 May 1933; the anti-Jewish laws of 1935; the «Entartete Kunst» («Degenerated Art») exhibit held in Munich in 1937; the forced resignation of Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann from the Prussian Academy of Arts.

The «Crystal Night» of 9 November 1938 began the open terror and persecution of the Jews and confessors of the Jewish religion. At the Wannsee Con-

ference of 20 January 1942 the plan of the so-called «final solution to the Jewish question» was adopted.

Political émigrés from the Nazi Germany expressed their political views and dissent in over four hundred emigration journals. However, on the basis of the *Gesetz über die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit* (the law depriving them of German citizenship) about 40 000 émigrés, among them communists, pacifists, social democrats and members of Jewish intelligentsia, were expatriated.

Having left their homeland, the German émigrés settled in about seventy five different countries, but for many of them the decision about the place to stay took time, and meanwhile they lived temporarily in various states. Some of their immediate destinations were: Prague, Paris, and Amsterdam. While Great Britain and Switzerland demonstrated a rather unwilling attitude towards German exiles, some of them, surprisingly, found asylum in the fascist Italy.

Before 1938, the centers of German political émigrés were Czechoslovakia and France. The Soviet Union accepted many German communists. Other destinations of German speaking exiles included Spain, Sweden, Palestine and the United States of America, but also Latin America and China (Shanghai). To German artists and intellectuals, emigration seemed a journey of no return. However, a surprisingly large number of them returned to Germany after the war. It is noteworthy that while the cultural repatriates to the Soviet occupation zone were politically homogenous, most of them demonstrating communist or Marxist views, among those who returned to the Western sectors of Berlin, to the Western occupation zones and the later to the Federal Republic of Germany, were representatives of all political currents, as well as politically indifferent individuals. After 1945 over 26 percent of the intellectuals who made up the first wave of emigration returned to the countries that became successors to the German Reich.

Among those who returned, humanists, writers and artists prevailed, next came actors and directors, then representatives of sciences, engineers and those with medical professions. Those for whom the German language was the main tool of expression, for instance philosophers Theodor W. Adorno and Ernst Bloch, returned to Germany very soon after the war.

Summarized by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Nazi Germany history, emigration from the Nazi Germany, intellectuals, Jews, political emigration, German emigration centers, repatriation

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Lucjan SUCHANEK – The Human Experience of Trauma: Emigrantology, as seen on the Example of 20th Century Russian Diaspora

Emigrantology is a vast interdisciplinary field of research. It embraces the study of the conditions of life in exile, where the determinants of existence, once familiar, have no parallels and where the living space sometimes turns out unfriendly and not infrequently hostile. Such a situation generates a cultural and anthropological trauma. In the case of the 20th century Russian diaspora, two models of overcoming the trauma were shaped, namely, that of acculturation and that of rejection of the Western system. The latter embraced a simultaneous rejection of bolshevism, and those who adopted it would seek the ideal in the past, in the pre-communist Russian history.

The political life of the so-called first-wave Russian emigration embraced a wide spectrum of ideas and attitudes, and its participants were, on equal terms, monarchists, members of rightist and rightist center parties, as well as fascists and members of leftist groups. However, there was a common ideological plane that united various political formations, namely, the idea of the restoration of Russia combined with firm anti-bolshevism.

A serious split among the Russian émigrés was caused by the form of National Bolshevism known as *smenovekhovstvo*. On the other hand, an interesting attempt at finding the «third way» was made by the proponents of the Euroasiatic option (the *Yevraz*), whose political program embraced a very strong anti-European sentiment and the affirmation of the significance of the East in the shaping of Russian culture.

Among the afterwar Russian diaspora, the so-called third-wave Russian emigration, were also representatives of various ideological and political options. However, two main political wings could be distinguished, namely, the liberal democratic one and the authoritarian nationalist one, marked by their understanding of the main ideas of the ontology of the social organization, among them the idea of nation, the idea of homeland and that of patriotism, as well as their concept of international community.

The sociopolitical writings of the Russian diaspora addressed also the ideological debates taking place in the West. In particular, issues concerning the right attitude to Marxism, socialism and communism were discussed. Another subject to debate was the condition of the West. In his famous Harvard address of 1978, Alexander Solzhenitsyn presented a negative view of Western culture and was accused by his opponents of Russo-centrism.

Among the most important objects of debate and analysis undertaken in the sociopolitical writings of the Russian diaspora has been Russia, its nationalist dimension, its past and presence, as well as its future. The transformations taking place in the Soviet Union after the breakdown of communism have had particularly wide repercussions in the texts published by Russian émigrés.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: emigrantology, the first-wave and the third wave Russian diasporas

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Fr. Maciej HUŁAS – Emigration as an Option

The times when emigration stigmatized Mid-Europeans willing to settle in the West as patriotic and civil dissenters is now a thing of the past. Under the circumstances of a united Europe emigration became an option, and there is no reason to perceive it any longer as either a moral or patriotic offence. Since the day after the UK Government had opened the British labour market to migrants from the A8 countries, the UK has experienced a vast influx of people from Eastern Europe. The wide range of employment possibilities in the North East of Scotland, due to the oil industry, was the magnet for thousands of migrants, many of whom were Polish citizens, to arrive.

Emigration in its own right is an ultimate choice that requires efforts, determination and persistence. The motives of emigration are predominantly defined by the lack of acceptance of the life conditions in the country of origin. Immigrants in the first stage of their new existence in the UK are being subjected to culturally adverse conditions. Despite all those off-putting factors immigration creates in migrants a kind of personal approach toward the new circumstances. And this is what motivates the migrants and makes them capable of achieving their goals.

An inseparable question that comes up in the context of immigration is the one concerning the way immigrants are to integrate in local society. Integration that aims to combine immigrants into harmonious body of the British society must respect their past and be a continuation of it. Imposed integration is a wrong approach in every respect. Any categorical demand for integration violates the right of an individual to self-determination. Statute law cannot force immigrants to integrate in the local community, as integration is not a category of legal obligation, but a kind of ethical postulate. Therefore, all that can be done in order to attract immigrants to integrate is creating a friendly ambience so that integration be an unconstrained choice resulting from a deep personal conviction. In the current debates on immigration within the European Union a supranational dimension should be more decidedly underlined. The united Europe finds itself in a quest for the new value that might be shared and accepted by the entire society living previously within the boundaries of national states. As in economy the emergence of the global markets launched the third wave of marketization that set free economy from the grab of national states making it a global category, it is possible that the analogous turn may occur in relation to civil society as well.

Keywords: Polish immigrants in the United Kingdom, integration, integration problems, self-determination

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Zofia KAWCZYŃSKA-BUTRYM – Health Effects of Emigration

The paper considers the relationship between the situation of immigrants and their health. The health risk factors taken into consideration include: poor working conditions, bad accommodation, inadequate diet, decrease in the social status, social exclusion resulting in limited access to health care services, as well as accumulation of negative emotional states, such as helplessness, surrender and withdrawal, caused by isolation and distance from the closest ones and the countries of origin.

Additionally, the paper considers the health risk experienced by victims of human trafficking, who are a special group of migrants.

The health of immigrants is usually described on the basis of a comparative analysis in relation to two populations, namely, that of the host country and that of the home country. In both cases emigrants show higher rates of mental disturbances, alcoholism and hospitalization in psychiatric wards, a high rate of infectious diseases (such as tuberculosis or HIV), as well as a high death rate caused by cardiology illnesses. Moreover, immigrants show somatic symptoms, including various kinds of pain and discomfort, as well as gastric and intestinal problems caused by the malfunctions of the urogenital system. Generally, also the population of immigrants over 50 years old in the host countries is characterized by worse health than that of the population of non-immigrants in the same age group. The generally worse health condition of the population of immigrants is commonly described by the term “immigrant syndrome.”

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: health impacts of emigration, migration, mental health, immigrant syndrome

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"Everything that makes us human": Grzegorz PRZEBINDA Talks to Natalya GORBANEVSKAYA

The interview was made in Paris in 1987, as part of a series of interviews for the underground quarterly *Arka* ["The Arc"], published outside censorship in Cracow, Poland. *Arka* was at the time concerned to publish statements from independent Russian intellectuals who were either involved in the underground movements in the Soviet Union or active outside the country and who worked for the sake of abolishing communism and for the sake of a mutual understanding between Poles and Russians.

Natalya Gorbanevskaya (born in 1936) is eminent poet and political commentator, translator of Polish literature into Russian, author of numerous texts in defense of Poland during the time of martial law.

In the present interview, Gorbanevskaya speaks about her dissident activity to defend human rights in the Soviet Union, about the famous demonstration of August 1968 against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. Gorbanevskaya took part in the demonstration, held in the Red Square in Moscow, together with seven other dissidents: Konstantin Babitsky, Larisa Bogoraz, Vadim Delaunay, Vladimir Dremluga, Pavel Litvinov, Viktor Feinberg, and Tatiana Baeva.

Referring to the most famous pages of Vladimir Bukovsky's *To Build a Castle: Samizdat*, Gorbanevskaya describes her dramatic experience of being submitted to forced treatment in the psychiatric prison hospital in the city of Kazan.

Natalya Gorbanevskaya also talks about her experiences with the Polish language, and about her gradually improving translations of works of Polish literature into Russian (she translated works of Marek Hłasko, Tadeusz Konwicki, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, Cyprian Kamil Norwid and Czesław Miłosz, in particular the *Poetic Treatise* by the latter one).

In the concluding part of the interview, Gorbanevskaya talks critically about Gorbatshev's perestroika (about its amoralism and minimalism) and she advises Polish underground publishers to take into consideration a Polish edition of Vladimir Maksimov's great novel *Seven Days of Creation*, which, however, has not been translated into Polish until the present day.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: dissident movement, Soviet Russia, underground publications, Polish-Russian relations

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“Emigration is an abnormal state”: Grzegorz PRZEBINDA Talks to Irina ILOVAYS-KAYA-ALBERTI

The interview was made in Paris in 1987 and 1988, as part of a series of interviews for the underground quarterly *Arka* [“The Arc”], published outside censorship in Cracow, Poland. *Arka* was at the time concerned to publish statements from independent Russian intellectuals who were either involved in the underground movements in the Soviet Union or active outside the country and who worked for the sake of abolishing communism and for the sake of a mutual understanding between Poles and Russians.

Irina Ilovayskaya-Alberti (1924-2000) was eminent Russian journalist and political commentator active in emigration. She lived outside Russia all her life. Born in Belgrade, she studied in Rome and in Cambridge. Throughout her life, she was committed to working for the sake of the democratization of Russia and its rapprochement with the Christian Europe. She spoke many languages, was familiar with various cultures, and considered the Polish-Russian rapprochement as foundational for the future united Europe. From 1980 to 2000, she was Editor-in-Chief of the Paris based weekly *Russian Thought*, meritorious for the democratic Russia.

In the present interview, Ilovayskaya-Alberti talks about herself as an immigrant from the Soviet Union (she was descendant of so-called first-wave emigrants who left Russia immediately after the 1917 revolution), about her rootedness in the European culture, about her relations (through her husband) with Italy, and, last but not least, about her work as Assistant to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (in Cavendish, Vermont, USA) from 1976 to 1979. She shares with the readers the fact that, baptized in the Orthodox Church and having received an Orthodox upbringing, she ultimately converted to Catholicism, which, however, she never manifested, being a follower of the ecumenical idea of the two – Orthodox and Catholic – lungs of Christianity, proposed by Vyacheslav Ivanov.

Irina Ilovayskaya-Alberti critically speaks about the factions of the Russian emigration which, lost in feuds and dissensions, fell into nationalism and renounced the relations with the Christian Europe.

Since the interview took place in the years of Gorbachev’s perestroika, Irina Ilovayskaya-Alberti expresses hope that the process of liberation will be continued within the Soviet Union and that it will result in freedom in the true sense of the word, in turning down the nightmare of the inhuman communist utopia.

In the concluding part of the interview, Irina Ilovayskaya-Alberti refers to John Paul II’s spiritual participation in the celebrations of the Millennium of the Baptism of Kievan Russia and thanks the Polish Pope for “holding out a hand for reconciliation and forgiveness, for the sake of unity, even if it were to be accomplished in the future only, and yet today – in the hearts of many.”

The ideas expressed by Irina Ilovayskaya-Alberti twenty one years ago deserve attention and reflection also today, when, unfortunately, the Polish-Russian relations frequently involve murmured threats on both sides, and

when the Orthodox-Catholic agreement seems much more remote than in that, also difficult, epoch.

Translated by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Russian emigration, Polish-Russian relations, perestroika, John Paul II, ecumenism

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Alina MERDAS, RSCJ – The Heavenly Homeland of Norwid

The author of the essay analyses the poetry of Cyprian Norwid in order to convey the idea that the poet considered the wisdom coming from the Bible as the ultimate wisdom for man. Interestingly, Norwid also showed an interest in astronomy. He not only commented on certain astronomical phenomena in his *Notes*, but also applied in his poems the vocabulary that pertains to astronomy, for instance, words such as: “planet”, “constellation,” “meteor,” “satellite,” and “telescope”. Owing to this measure, he succeeded in building brilliant and unique poetic images which carried deep metaphysical ideas.

In seeing the world in the perspective of the infinite and in stressing the cosmic dimension of the world, Norwid developed a motif typical of Romantic poetry. His originality lies in the philosophical and theological interpretations he gave to his poetic vision. According to Norwid, the Heaven, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, and the stars – all of them – have a symbolic meaning, as each of them, in its own way, expresses an idea of God’s and embraces an image of the eternal Wisdom. In Norwid’s symbolism, Heaven denotes the place where God and the saved ones dwell, the Heavenly Kingdom, or the Kingdom of God. Heaven is the metaphor conveying the fullness of salvation and the state of eternal happiness which is the privilege of those who have followed Christ in their lives.

In Norwid’s lyrical poetry, also the «blue» Heaven is frequently evoked. Sometimes the poet describes it as «azure,» sometimes he calls it the «firmament.» Occasionally, he will speak about the «sky» using the colloquial language, saying it is populated by the Sun, the Moon and the stars. On other occasions he evokes Heaven in the sense of the heavenly homeland, the homeland of those who believe. In human conscience, Norwid finds a reflection of Heaven: the intellectual capabilities of man, as well as his creations and his ability to perceive moral values. The human openness to truth, beauty and

good has its source in the One, who himself is the Truth, the Beauty and the Good. In Norwid's poetry, there is no opposition between Heaven and Earth, between the sacred and the profane. The human being reconciles these opposites in his heart.

Summarized by *Dorota Chabrajska*

Keywords: Cyprian Norwid, poetry of Romanticism, religious poetry, the symbolism of heaven, heaven as a metaphor

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Cezary RITTER – And This One “Is Also from My Homeland”

Feuilleton inspired by a trip to Japan and by Japanese Culture

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