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i Dziedzictwa Narodowego

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L'Institut polonais des Arts et des Sciences au Canada et la Bibliothèque polonaise

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in Canada and the Polish Library

Polski Instytut Naukowy w Kanadzie

i Biblioteka Polska im. Wandy Stachewicz



Polski Instytut Naukowy w Kanadzie i Biblioteka Polska im. Wandy Stachiewicz

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Od Redakcji

Przedstawiamy Państwu kolejny, XIV numer Biuletynu Polskiego Instytutu Naukowego w Kanadzie. Zawiera on sprawozdania z działalności Instytutu i Biblioteki za mijający rok akademicki 1996-1997. Podobnie jak w poprzednich latach, wydanie niniejsze jest poszerzone o artykuły, o napisanie których, zwróciliśmy się do naszych członków. Umieszczone są też dwa artykuły naukowców z Polski, którzy wygłosili odczyty w naszym Instytucie.

Podajemy również do wiadomości Państwa skład zarządu Instytutu i przewodniczących jego oddziałów.

REDAKCJA

Mot de la rédaction

Nous présentons à nos lecteurs le numéro 14 du Bulletin de l'Institut polonais des Arts et des Sciences au Canada. Comme précédemment, ce numéro contient les comptes rendus de l'activité de l'Institut et de la Bibliothèque pour l'année académique 1996-1997. En suivant l'exemple de l'édition de l'an passé, nous ajoutons des articles rédigés par les auteurs invités parmi les membres de l'Institut ainsi que les conférenciers venant de Pologne.

LA RÉDACTION

From the Editors

We are pleased to present to you the 14th annual bulletin of the PIASC. We are continuing the tradition of publishing the annual reports of the Institute and the Library in three languages. The current bulletin contains invited articles by members and visiting Polish lecturers.

THE EDITORS

Józef Lityński

DZIAŁALNOŚĆ POLSKIEGO INSTYTUTU NAUKOWEGO W KANADZIE W ROKU AKADEMICKIM 1996-1997

Działalność Instytutu w minionym roku skierowana była, podobnie jak i w latach ubiegłych, na rozwijanie Biblioteki Polskiej i zbieranie funduszy koniecznych na ten cel, oraz organizację odczytów. W ramach zbiórki udało się nam zebrać kwotę \$ 20,000 od osób prywatnych i instytucji polonijnych (patrz lista ofiarodawców na str. 17)

Na początku roku akademickiego prof. Witold Kieżun, przewodniczący Rady Programowej, w porozumieniu z Zarządem opracował ramowy kalendarz imprez. Łącznie zorganizowano 19 odczytów, niektóre z nich wspólnie z Fundacją im. Tadeusza i Zofii Romerów, lub z Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation. Na szczególną uwagę zasługuje odczyt laureatki nagrody Fundacji Romerów, Janiny Ochojskiej, która opowiadała o krajowej i zagranicznej działalności Polskiej Akcji Humanitarnej. Instytut sponsorował również kilka imprez artystycznych odbywających się w Montrealu, m.in. Koncert Muzyki Kompozytorów Polsko-Żydowskich.

Instytut udziela poparcia działalności grupy studentów polskiego pochodzenia z uniwersytetów montrealskich, którzy oprócz serii spotkań zorganizowali promocję i rozpowszechnianie videokasety *Land of My Mother*. Videokaseta zmontowana z oryginalnej polskiej kroniki dokumentalnej, z narracją Ewy Curie, jest doskonałym dokumentem o przedwojennej Polsce.

Jak co roku, PINK współuczestniczył w organizowaniu Letniego Uniwersytetu Kultury Polskiej w Rzymie. Polski Instytut Naukowy w Kanadzie kontynuuje stałą współpracę z podobnymi placówkami polonijnymi w innych krajach. Ważnym elementem tej współpracy jest wymiana publikacji i informacji. Na terenie Kanady, Instytut współpracuje z Kongresem Polonii Kanadyjskiej.

Instytut składa podziękowanie panu Wojciechowi Oczechowskiemu za coroczne weryfikowanie naszych sprawozdań finansowych.

ZARZĄD INSTYTUTU

Prezes	Józef Lityński
Vice-prezes oraz	
Dyrektor Biblioteki Polskiej	Hanna M. Pappius
Vice-prezes	Aleksander M. Jabłoński
Sekretarz	Ryszard Grygorczyk
Skarbnik	Stefan Kuczyński
Członkowie	Anna Glazer, Izabella Górską-Flipot, Alfred Hałasa, Leopold Kurcz, Stanisław Latek, Juliusz Łukasiewicz, Zbigniew Małecki, Mieczysław Marcinkiewicz, Barbara Sharratt, Paweł Wyczyński

Przewodniczący Oddziałów

Ottawa	Aleksander Maciej Jabłoński
Toronto	Barbara Sharratt
Vancouver	Bogdan Czaykowski

Imprezy zorganizowane przez PINK w roku 1996-1997.

- | | | |
|---------|--------------|--|
| 17 | października | Leszek Chelmiński
<i>Niezbędne zmiany w Polsce przed przystąpieniem do Unii Europejskiej i NATO</i> |
| 23 | października | Irena Harasimowicz, Krzysztof Zarzecki
<i>Sztuka przekładu - mity i rzeczywistość</i> |
| 7 | listopada | Prof. dr Józef Lityński
<i>Wiek XX - wiek konfrontacji demokracji z totalitaryzmem</i> |
| 14 - 19 | listopada | Promocja polskiej książki podczas Salon du livre de Montreal |
| 16 | listopada | Prof. dr Włodzimierz Krysiński
<i>La poésie de Wisława Szymborska, Prix Nobel 1996</i> |
| 18 | listopada | Dr Włodzimierz Bolecki
<i>Życie literackie w Polsce po 1989 roku;
od monoetniczności do wielokulturowości.</i> |
| 23-24 | listopada | Promocja polskiej książki w Konsulacie Generalnym RP |
| 28 | listopada | Polskie miejsca w Internecie - prezentacja
Współorganizator : Biuletyn Polonijny |
| 5 | grudnia | Prof. dr Witold Kieżun
<i>Kształtowanie się nomenklatury w PRL</i> |
| 19 | grudnia | Dr Maciej Zięba
<i>Powstanie świata według RYGWEDY</i> |
| 16 | stycznia | Prof. dr Juliusz Łukasiewicz
<i>Cywilizacja przemysłowa - nieunikniona i niezbadana</i> |

- 6 lutego **Dr Dobromir Dziewulak**
Problemy polityki oświatowej
- 13 lutego **Ks. prof. Andrzej Guryn**
Ekumenizm jako symbol współczesności w Kościele katolickim
- 1 kwietnia **Janina Ochojska**
Polska Akcja Humanitarna
Współorganizator : Fundacja im. Tadeusza i Zofii Romerów
- 2 kwietnia **Michał Okoński**
Polish Humanitarian Organization
Współorganizator : Fundacja im. Tadeusza i Zofii Romerów,
Polish Students Association of Montreal
- 3 kwietnia **Michał Okoński**
*"Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej" - Rola ludzi TYGODNIKA
POWSZECHNEGO w dialogu chrześcijańsko-żydowskim*
Współorganizator : Fundacja im. Tadeusza i Zofii Romerów
Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation
- 10 kwietnia **Dr Leszek Missala, prof. Krzysztof Gabiel-Łącki
Barbara Jakubiec, dr Mariela Nitostawska**
Nowoczesne pojęcie oryginalnego dzieła sztuki - Panel
- 24 kwietnia **Projekcja filmu "Germans" w reż. Zbigniewa Kamińskiego**
- 9 maja **Dr Barbara Sharratt**
Portret damy - Maria Pawlikowska -Jasnorzewska
- 15 maja **Dr Maciej Zięba**
Doktryny i praktyki buddyzmu Mahajany

22 maja

Dr Marta Manikowska

*Polak z Kanady, czy Kanadyjczyk pochodzenia polskiego?
Procesy psychologiczne towarzyszące życiu na emigracji*

29 maja

Prof. Bohdan Czarnocki

Dylematy ustrojowe: wolność, przemoc, państwo

**Odczyty zorganizowane przez Polish Students Association of Montreal
sponsoringowane przez Instytut.**

20 października

Prof. Piotr Wróbel

*20th Century Poland:
The Age of Discontinuities and Experiments*

21 października

Prof. Piotr Wróbel

*Double Memory:
Poles and Jews After the Holocaust*

Aleksander Maciej Jabłoński

POLSKI INSTYTUT NAUKOWY W KANADZIE. ODDZIAŁ W OTTAWIE.

W ostatnim roku odszedł do wieczności wieloletni członek, pani Jadwiga Domańska. Ś.p. Jadwiga Domańska należała do najwybitniejszych przedstawicieli starszej niepodległościowej Polonii w Kanadzie. Przemówienie nad Jej trumną wygłosił m. in. prezes oddziału.

We wrześniu i październiku 1996 r., prof. dr Paweł Wyczyński odwiedził szereg polskich uniwersytetów i wygłosił sześć wykładów. Spotkał się też trzykrotnie z prof. dr. hab. Kazimierzem Kowalskim, prezesem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie. Prof. Kowalski obiecał przesłać wszystkie publikacje PAU od czasu wznowienia działalności w 1989 r.

18 września 1996 r. prof. Paweł Wyczyński otrzymał doktorat *Honoris Causa* w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim, gdzie z tej okazji wygłosił wykład na temat interakcji kultur.

Instytut współpracował w ostatnim roku akademickim z większością organizacji polonijnych w Ottawie, a w szczególności z Kołem nr 8 SPK, Stowarzyszeniem Inżynierów Polskich w Kanadzie, z Kołem Przyjaciół KULu. Wykłady i spotkania odbywały się tradycyjnie na Uniwersytecie św. Pawła, a także w Domu Polskim SPK w Ottawie. Oddział Ottawski PINK liczy obecnie 54 członków.

Oddział ottawski z zalem przyjmuje zakończenie kadencji J.E. dra Tadeusza Diema, pierwszego Ambasadora III Rzeczypospolitej w Ottawie. Państwo Ambasadorostwo Ada i Tadeusz Diemowie zapisali się w pamięci Polonii ottawskiej, a okres ich pobytu będzie niewątpliwie należeć do najpiękniejszych kart z życia naszej Polonii. Państwo Diemowie wielokrotnie uczestniczyli w spotkaniach i wykładach urządzanych przez nasz Instytut. W tym roku akademickim Akademię Świeta Niepodległości 11 Listopada zorganizował nasz Oddział pod patronatem Zarządu Okręgu Stołecznego KPK. Część artystyczną przygotowała, już niestety po raz ostatni, ś.p. Jadwiga Domańska. W programie zawarte były teksty Kajetana hr. Morawskiego, Kazimierza Wierzyńskiego, Jana Lechonia - jako *Kartka z historii, rok 1918* - słuchowisko oraz tekst p.t. *Kongres Wersalski* Adama Grzymały-Siedleckiego (w wykonaniu artystów z Ottawskiego Klubu Teatralnego). Wystąpił też Chór im. I. J. Paderewskiego z piękną wiązką narodowych pieśni polskich. Przemówienie okolicznościowe z przeżyciami p.t.: *Wpływ Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego na sprawę polską w latach 1910-1919* wygłosił dr Aleksander Maciej Jabłoński, prezes naszego Oddziału. Pod koniec uroczystości głos zabrał nowowybrany Prezes ZG KPK dr Andrzej Garlicki, członek naszego zarządu. W imieniu władz Rzeczypospolitej wystąpił dr Tadeusz Diem, Ambasador RP.

Prezes Oddziału i prof. dr Jerzy Wojciechowski wzięli udział jako delegaci PINK w XXXIV Zjeździe Kongresu Polonii Kanadyjskiej, który odbył się jesienią w Montrealu.

Oddział nasz włączył się też w obchody 40-lecia parafii polskiej p.w. św. Jacka Odrowąza w Ottawie. Prof. dr Paweł Wyczyński wygłosił odczyt na temat historii parafii w Domu Polskim w dniu 18. II 1997 r.

Zarząd Oddziału Ottawskiego przygotowuje dokument p.t. "PINK - Ku przyszłości", który omówi współczesne szanse i kierunki rozwoju naszego Instytutu.

Odczyty i spotkania

W ostatnim roku akademickim urządzono 12 spotkań i odczytów. Frekwencja wahała się od 20 do 150 osób.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 17. IX 96 r. - | Spotkanie autorskie z prof. dr Andrzejem Wolskim , autorem książki p.t. " <i>Drzwi bez klamki</i> ", powstałej na tle przeżyć w więzieniu MBP na Mokotowie w latach powojennych PRLu. (wspólnie z Kołem nr 8 SPK). |
| 22. X 96 r. - | <i>Wiek XX - wiek konfrontacji między demokracją a totalitaryzmem</i>
prof. dr Józef Lityński , Prezes ZG PINK, Montreal |
| 10. XI 96 r. - | <i>Wpływ Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego na sprawę polską w latach 1910 - 1919</i> - dr Aleksander M. Jabłoński , Ottawa |
| 19. XI 96 r. - | <i>Wspomnienia pilota doświadczalnego</i> -
mjr pil. Janusz Żurkowski , Barry's Bay
(wykład zorganizowany wspólnie z STP i SPK) |
| 22. XI 95 r. - | Spotkanie autorskie na temat książki <i>A Search for Knowledge and Freedom - A la recherche du savoir et de la liberté</i> podczas targów książki polskiej, urządzonych przez Bibliotekę Polską im. W. Stachewicz w Montrealu. Udział wzięli:
prof. dr Paweł Wyczyński i dr Aleksander M. Jabłoński |

18. II 97 r. - *Parafia św. Jacka Odrowąża: panorama czterdziestolecia*,
prof. dr. Paweł Wyczyński
(wykład zorganizowany wspólnie z SPK)
20. II 97 r. - *Portret architekta: osiągnięcia Jerzego Szeptyckiego w Ameryce*
pokaz filmu video - słowo wstępne wygłosił **inż. Bronisław Szpakowski**, Kanata (pokaz zorganizowany wspólnie ze Stowarzyszeniem Inżynierów Polskich w Kanadzie)
25. II 97 r. - *Ewolucja polszczyzny współczesnej: najnowsze zapożyczenia leksykalne* - **dr Henryk Duda**, KUL, visiting lecturer, University of Ottawa
18. III 97 r. - *Sylwetka rotmistrza Pileckiego - bohatera Polski Podziemnej*
- **dr inż. Aleksander Maciej Jabłoński**, Ottawa (odczyt urządzony wspólnie z Kołem nr 8 SPK)
22. IV 97 r. - *Linie rytmiczne Wacława Szpakowskiego*
- **inż. Bronisław Szpakowski i inż. arch. Wojciech Kujawski**
(odczyt zorganizowany wspólnie ze Stowarzyszeniem Inżynierów Polskich w Kanadzie)
25. IV 97 r. - *8 milionów sztucznych Kanadyjczyków*
prof. dr Karol Krótki, University of Alberta, Edmonton
29. IV 97 r. - *Space - Last Frontier* - pokaz filmu-video

Barbara Sharratt

POLSKI INSTYTUT NAUKOWY W KANADZIE. ODDZIAŁ W TORONTO

W okresie od kwietnia 1996 do maja 1997 roku zorganizowano 7 następujących imprez:

- 11 kwietnia 1996 **prof. Stanisław Dubiński:**
Rozkwit i zmierzch opery w XVII wieku
- 25 kwietnia 1996 **dr Barbara Sharratt:**
Wizerunek Słowian w literaturze kanadyjskiej
- 1 czerwca 1996 **Wojciech Strahl:** wystawa rzeźbionych ikon *Powrót do źródła*
- 3 czerwca 1996 sesja *Borderlands* na konferencji Sławistów, Brock University, zorganizowanej przez dr Barbarę Sharratt. Wystąpili:

**prof. Piotr Wróbel, mgr Wojciech Wojnarowicz,
dr Barbara Sharratt;**

20 czerwca 1996

mgr Teresa Ross: *Sztuka ikonograficzna*

6 marca 1997

prof. Krzysztof Grzymiski: *Nowe wykopaliska nad Nilem*

6 maja 1997

mgr Krzysztof Kasprzyk: *Gdańsk - miasto wielokulturowe*

Prof. John MacErlean powrócił z Korsyki, gdzie dał szereg wykładów o Napoleonie. Wydał książkę p.t. *Napoleon Bonaparte and Pozzo di Borgo in Corsica and After, 1764 - 1821*.

Dr Barbara Sharratt przygotowuje do druku książkę esejów o literaturze polskiej, która ukaże się jako trzeci tom publikacji Polskiego Instytutu Naukowego (Koło Toronto).

Anna Lubicz-Łuba

POLSKI INSTYTUT NAUKOWY W KANADZIE. ODDZIAŁ VANCOUVER

Oddział PINK w Vancouverze zorganizował w roku akademickim 1996 kilka odczytów i spotkań z wybitnymi twórcami, politykami i naukowcami z Kanady, z Wielkiej Brytanii i z Polski.

25 maja 1996

Wieczór literacko-muzyczny *Poetyckie spotkanie po latach* - Adam Czerniawski wśród przyjaciół.

Spotkanie i prezentacja twórczości trzech poetów z londyńskiej Grupy Kontynentów - Adama Czerniawskiego, Bogdana Czaykowskiego i Andrzeja Buszy.

Z wędrówek po kabaretach - teksty Mariana Hemara, Tadeusza Boya-Żeleńskiego i Jarosława Abramowa-Nevery w wykonaniu aktorów: Marii Nowotarskiej, Agaty Pilitowskiej i Piotra Biernata.

23 lipca 1996

Wieczór publicystyczny *Polska z daleka i z bliska* zorganizowany z okazji wizyty Małgorzaty Dzieduszyckiej-Ziemilskiej, Konsula Generalnego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Montrealu i gości z Polski: prof. dr. Marii Trawińskiej, znanego socjologa z Warszawy, specjalisty od spraw rodziny i prof. dr Izabelli Galickiej, historyka sztuki PAN. Trzy prelekcje:

Małgorzata Dzieduszycka-Ziemilska - *Obraz Polski w Kanadzie*

prof. Maria Trawińska - *Rodzina polska i sytuacja młodzieży*

prof. Izabella Galicka - *Czy sztuka ma szansę w nowej polskiej rzeczywistości*

15 listopada 1996

Odczyt **dra Włodzimierza Boleckiego**, kierownika Katedry Historii Literatury Instytutu Badań Literackich PAN w Warszawie:

The grotesque in Polish Literature and Art in the Twentieth Century - zorganizowany wspólnie z Comparative Literature Program UBC, Green College.

29 stycznia 1997

Julian Tuwim - Wspomnienia, poezja, piosenki - z udziałem aktorów: Marii Nowotarskiej, Agaty Pilitowskiej i Krzysztofa Jasińskiego.

2 lutego 1997

Wędrowki po kabaretach lwowskich, krakowskich i warszawskich w wykonaniu Marii Nowotarskiej, Agaty Pilitowskiej i Krzysztofa Jasińskiego.

29 marca 1997

Wizyta w Vancouverze prof. dr Hanny M. Pappius - Dyr. Biblioteki Polskiej w Montrealu. Spotkanie w Bogdanem Czaykowskim, prezesem PINK Vancouver i prof. Andrzejem Buszą, wiceprezesem oddziału.

Hanna M. Pappius

Stefan Władysiuk

DZIAŁALNOŚĆ BIBLIOTEKI POLSKIEJ im. WANDY STACHIEWICZ W ROKU AKADEMICKIM 1996-1997.

W minionym roku 1996-1997 praca w Bibliotece postępowała systematycznie naprzód. Obecnie liczba regularnych członków przekroczyła 1,700. W okresie ostatnich 12 miesięcy wypożyczyli oni ponad 18,000 książek. Do księgi inwentarzowej wpisano ponad 800 pozycji. Księgozbiór biblioteki przekroczył 43,800 książek. Wraz z 1,500 pozycjami wpisanymi w ubiegłym roku, nasz komputerowy katalog liczy ponad 11,900 tytułów. Do katalogu komputerowego biblioteki McGill' u, wpisano ponad 700 tytułów. Opisów takich z zaznaczeniem lokalizacji *Polish Institute Library* istnieje już około 10,000. Uzupełniają się one z książkami na polskie tematy w McLennan Library, łącznie stanowiąc wartościową kolekcję dla zainteresowanych naukowców.

W roku 1996-1997 na kupno książek, oraz na prenumeratę czasopism przeznaczono \$ 8,000.

Tak jak w poprzednim roku Biblioteka otrzymywała egzemplarze okazowe najbardziej poczytnych w Polsce czasopism: *Rzeczpospolita*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Polityka*, *Warsaw Voice*, *Wprost*, oraz czasopisma polonijne takie jak: *Czas*, *Gazeta*, *Głos Polski*, *Związkowiec* z Kanady i inne z całego świata. W czytelnicy Biblioteki przeczytać można również gazety z Polski które docierają do nas z opóźnieniem od 3-6 dni.

Podobnie jak i w latach poprzednich, dzięki bezpłatnemu biletowi lotniczemu podarowanemu Bibliotece przez Polskie Linie Lotnicze LOT, bibliotekarz pan Stefan Władysiuk mógł w Polsce zakupić nowości wydawnicze po korzystnej cenie.

W wyniku przeprowadzonych z dyrektorem Biblioteki McGill' u rozmów ustalono, że część książek polskich lub o Polsce, zakupionych przez McGill' z *Funduszu Kraków / Stenthal, Hansa i Eugenii Jutting* będzie przekazana do naszych zbiorów. Książki te pozostają własnością Uniwersytetu McGill, ale znajdować się będą w zbiorach Biblioteki Polskiej. W minionym roku nasza Biblioteka wzbogaciła się w ten sposób o ponad 200 książek zakupionych w Polsce przez bibliotekarza Stefana Władysiuka, za pieniądze z tego funduszu.

Polska Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie przekazała naszej bibliotece całość wydawnictw PAU po jej restytucji w 1989 r. Jesteśmy z tego specjalnie dumni ze względu na historyczne korzenie Instytutu, założonego ponad 50 lat temu przez członków PAU na emigracji.

Fundacja Dziedzictwa Polsko-Żydowskiego przyznała Bibliotece kwotę \$ 360 na zakup książek o tematyce polsko-żydowskiej.

Ważnym źródłem powiększania księgozbioru są również dary od wydawnictw oraz osób prywatnych. W tym roku wśród tych ostatnich wymienić należy książki z księgozbioru ś. pamięci Andrzeja Wołodkowicza z Ottawy, a wśród nich 28-tomową *Encyklopedię Powszechną* Samuela Orgelbranda z lat 1859-1868), podarowaną przez wdowę Annę.

Pani Wanda Poznańska, nasza długoletnia wolontariuszka, podarowała do naszych zbiorów dwie unikalne książki: wydania bibliofilskie Leopolda Wellisza *Les amis romantiques: Ary Scheffer et ses amis polonais, Paris 1933* no.198, oraz *Felix-Stanislas Jasiński - graveur, Paris 1934* no.55

Na specjalne wyróżnienie zasługuje też dar dwóch portfolio grafik Stanisława Toegla podarowane Bibliotece przez pana Ludwika Wielgosza (omówienie na stronie 15).

Będąc podłączoną do głównego komputera Uniwersytetu McGill, biblioteka ma dostęp do tak zwanej poczty elektronicznej. Za jej pośrednictwem nadal otrzymujemy codziennie bieżący serwis informacyjny z Polski: m.in. *Donosy*. Otrzymujemy też regularne notowania Giełdy Warszawskiej. Biblioteka posiada pełny dostęp do INTERNETU, a przez niego do sieci World Wide Web.

Podczas obrad Walnego Zjazdu Kongresu Polonii Kanadyjskiej biblioteka zaprezentowała wystawę o swoich zbiorach.

W czasie tegorocznego *Salon du livre de Montreal* w dniach 13-19 listopada, Biblioteka Polska zorganizowała prezentację polskiej literatury. Nasze uczestnictwo było możliwe dzięki poparciu udzielonemu nam przez Biuro Radcy Handlowego RP w Montrealu, oraz Polską Izbę Książki z Warszawy, która przekazała nam książki od ponad 50 wydawnictw krajowych. Polskie Linie Lotnicze LOT przewiozły książki z Warszawy do Montrealu za minimalną opłatą. Na stoisku były także licznie reprezentowane tłumaczenia literatury polskiej na język angielski i francuski. W związku z nagrodą literacką Nobla przyznaną Wisławie Szymborskiej, stoisko nasze cieszyło się dużym zainteresowaniem. Tablica informacyjna o laureatce, przygotowana w tym celu przez Bibliotekę wystawiona była następnie w Konsulacie RP i w bibliotece miasta Outremont.

W dniach 23-24 listopada w Konsulacie RP w Montrealu, zorganizowaliśmy promocję polskiej książki. Podczas tej imprezy zaprezentowano wystawę poświęconą sztuce polskiej książki, pokaz najnowszego CD-ROM o Polsce, oraz wydawnictwo ottawskiego oddziału PINKu: *In Search of Knowledge and Freedom*.

Podobnie jak w latach ubiegłych Biblioteka uczestniczyła w kiermaszach Polonii montrealskiej. Ze sprzedaży dubletów książek łącznie uzyskano ponad \$1,000. Udział w kiermaszach jest także formą propagowania Biblioteki wśród Polonii.

Działalność Biblioteki opiera się w znacznej mierze na ofiarnej pracy wielu osób. Od lat prowadzeniem wypożyczalni zajmują się panie Anna Baryga, Joanna Korwin-Łopuszańska, Magda Wilimowska. Panie Stanisława Kamińska, Wanda Maciejewska, Leokadia Magdziarz, Zofia Romer i Halina Tokarska zajmują się porządkowaniem księgozbioru. Przy prowadzeniu księgi inwentarzowej, włączaniu kart książek i kart katalogowych pracowały panie Zofia Kirste i Janina Kędzińska. Wpisywaniem informacji do komputerowej bazy danych zajmują się panie Anna Czerwińska, Krystyna Missala, Teresa Żółtowska, oraz pan Czesław Lorenc. W pracach biurowych pomagają panie Marieta Brzeska, Anna Giżycka, Małgorzata Porowska i Krystyna Sokołowska. O estetykę Biblioteki dba pani Teresa Brodowska.

Bibliotekarz pan Stefan Władysiuk zajmuje się gromadzeniem i selekcją materiałów, udzielaniem informacji, katalogowaniem oraz koordynacją pracy wolontariuszek. Bibliotekarka pani Zofia Bogdańska kataloguje nasze książki na Uniwersytecie McGill. Funkcję dyrektora Biblioteki piastuje nadal wiceprezes Instytutu, prof. Hanna M. Pappius, będąc odpowiedzialną jednocześnie za kontakty z Uniwersytetem McGill.

Bibliotekarz Stefan Władysiuk przedstawił działalność Instytutu i Biblioteki na obradach XVIII sesji Stałej Konferencji Muzeów, Bibliotek i Archiwów Polskich na Zachodzie, która odbyła się w sierpniu 1996 roku w Zakładzie Narodowym im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu. Biblioteka utrzymuje kontakty oraz prowadzi wymianę z bibliotekami należącymi do Stałej Konferencji oraz z krajowymi bibliotekami uniwersyteckimi. W minionym roku w Dziale Zbiorów Specjalnych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie, rozpoczęto katalogowanie naszych zbiorów grafiki.

To, że Biblioteka Polska może prowadzić skutecznie swoją działalność zawdzięczamy w dużej mierze poparciu finansowemu jakie udzieliła nam Polonia podczas naszej zbiórki jesiennej oraz dotacjom ze strony Polskiej Fundacji Społeczno-Kulturalnej (w 1996 r. otrzymaliśmy \$12,500), Funduszu Wieczystego Milenium (\$ 3,000) oraz Fundacji im. A. Mickiewicza (\$ 500).

Dziękujemy redaktorom gazet polonijnych za pomoc w propagowaniu naszej, tradycyjnej już, Jesiennej Zbiórki na Bibliotece.

Wypożyczalnia Biblioteki czynna jest w :

poniedziałki	od 10-tej do 20-tej.
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soboty	od 14-tej do 18-tej.

Czytelnia i serwis informacyjny czynne są **codziennie z wyjątkiem sobót i niedziel**
od 10-tej do 17-tej.

INTERNETowy adres "electronic mail" Biblioteki Polskiej:
CXSW@MUSICA.MCGILL.CA

Stefan Władysiuk

NOWOŚCI BIBLIOTEKI POLSKIEJ

Hitleriada Macabra i Hitleriada Furiosa Stanisława Toegla

Wśród broni zaczepnej i odpornej, stosowanej powszechnie podczas drugiej wojny światowej, nie zabrakło satyry politycznej. Miała ona duże znaczenie jako jadowite narzędzie dywersji propagandowej, była też skutecznym lekarstwem dla uciśnionych społeczeństw przeciw rezygnacji, przeciw desperacji, przeciw frustracji.

Mury, kamienie, parkany uliczne wszystkich państw okupowanych przez Niemcy, pstrzyły się od wielorakich napisów satyrycznych, wyszydzających hitleryzm i potęgę militarną Rzeszy. Ulotki i wydawnictwa prasy podziemnej posługiwały się satyrą w szerokim zakresie, od wyrafinowanego dowcipu, aż do ordynarnej kpiny.

Karykatura polityczna zdobyła szerokie zastosowanie od samorodnych bazgrań na parkanach, po artystyczne rysunki w pismach dywersji propagandowej jak np. ilustrowany barwny miesięcznik w języku niemieckim *Der Klabautermann*, osobliwość podziemnej prasy wojskowej w Polsce.

Tam właśnie, w prasie konspiracyjnej pojawiać się poczęły w latach 1943-44 zjadliwe rysunki satyryczne Stanisława Toegla, wówczas oczywiście anonimowe. Autor (ur. 20.VIII.1905), prawnik z zawodu, debiutował jako karykaturzysta lwowski przed wojną. Talent samorodny, amatorski, nie kusił się o artyzm i laury sztuki. Jego satyra wynikała z poczucia humoru i dobroduszej pasji ośmieszania brzydoty czynów, nie ludzi. W roku 1932 wydał Toegel album karykatur politycznych nakładem Księgarni Narodowej we Lwowie, i na tym jednym wydawnictwie poprzestał. Rysował jednak stale, a w czasie wojny - tym więcej.

Tematów przybywało. Błazeństwa pychy niemieckiej i makabra terroru hitlerowskiego sięgały granic absurdu. Refleksem tej parady łotrostwa stały się karykatury Toegla, których zbiór powstał w niewoli, do której Toegel dostał się po kapitulacji Powstania Warszawskiego. Niepohamowana pasja satyryczna kazała Toeglowi zapomnieć o cenie życia, która kosztowała tego rodzaju twórczość w razie ujawnienia przez Niemców. W warunkach obozu jenieckiego i przymusowych robót powstały oto obrazy, których tematem były świeże wypadki bestialstwa niemieckiego i dramatyczne losy walącej się pod ciosami oręża alianckiego Rzeszy. Były to dokumenty zbrodni, były to przepowiednie nieuchronnej kary.

W ukryciu, potajemnie, niemal « na kolanie » rysowane piórem i podmalowywane kiepską akwarelą, powstawały śmiałe, ba, zuchwałe szkice, reporterski notatnik karykaturzysty. Krażyły konspiracyjnie z rąk do rąk, trafiały też do patrzących na klęskę swą hitlerowców.

Wiosna 1945 roku przyniosła ostateczną klęskę Rzeszy i wolność jeńcom. Toegel rozpoczął pracę w prasie obozowej D.P. pod pseudonimem « Szafa », a wydawnictwo Antoniego Markiewicza zajęło się wydaniem dwu cykli jego karykatur: *Hitleriada Furiosa* i *Hitleriada Macabra*.

W pracy tej natrafiono na wielkie trudności. Brak kartonów, farb, cynku, kliszarni, kłopoty techniczne. Praca została jednak ukończona, choć aktualność karykatur doznała szwanku. Wartość jednak dokumentarna - pamiątkowa - nie została stracona. Wartość artystyczna? Pozwólmy autorowi pozostać amatorem.

Tym, co przeżyli kaźń hitlerowską, rzuci się w oczy spotwornianie rysów zbrodniarzy, sprzeczne często z rzeczywistym faktem, że oprawcami i sadystami okazywali się ludzie pospolicci, na pozór zwyczajni. Autor nie chce się widać pogodzić z myślą, że zwykły człowiek może być

potworem, transponuje piętno czynu na oblicze ludzkie. Jest to licencja artystyczna, świadcząca o humanitaryzmie autora. Szyderstwo zbioru *Karykatur* uderza w ludzi dziś już ukaranych, nieżyjących często. Lecz szyderstwo to wyrosło jeszcze za czasu ich życia i zbrodni, a przeto nie obciąża sumienia karykaturzysty.

Dwa portfolia: *Hitleriada Macabra* i *Hitleriada Furiosa* przekazał do zbiorów Biblioteki p. Ludwik Wielgosz.

**Ofiarodawcy na Bibliotekę Polską w Montrealu
za okres
1 maja 1996 - 30 kwietnia 1997**

PATRONI BIBLIOTEKI POLSKIEJ

Polska Fundacja Społeczno-Kulturalna	\$12,500
Fundusz Wieczysty "Milenium"	\$ 3,000
Fundusz Marii Morawskiej i Stanisława Picholtza	\$ 1,000
Edmund Danowski	\$ 1,000
Halina Gonerko - <i>ku uczczeniu Ś.P. Męża, Jerzego</i>	\$ 1,000
Olgierd Brzeski	\$ 700
Hanna M. Pappius	\$ 630
Polonijna Kasa Kredytowa	\$ 500
Fundacja im. Adama Mickiewicza	\$ 500
Irena Tokarzewska-Petrusewicz	\$ 500
Kajetan Bieniecki	\$ 500
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\$ 100 Grupa 10 PKTWP, Andrzej Białkowski, Jadwiga Chruściel, Celia Czapliński, Wanda de Roussan, John DeCorwin, Tadeusz Graff, Stan Ludwik Grzesiewicz, Andrzej Gutkowski, E. Hajdukiewicz-Edwards, Paweł Haliński, Danuta Hyjek, Edmund S. Idziak, Zbigniew Jarnuszkiewicz, Maria Jarochońska, Stan Jasiński, Jerzy Kazimierski, Jadwiga Keats, Witold Kieżun, Olga Krzyczkowska, Maksymilian Kubacki, Bohdan Ławruk, Leon Ligus, Dagna Liszkowski, Mieczysław Marcinkiewicz, Roger Morawski, Mieczysław Nitostawski, Anna i

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\$ 35 Tadeusz Granosik,

\$ 32 Michael Zurowski

\$ 30 Lidia Adamkiewicz, Edward Kemnitz, Joseph Klis, J. Korwin-Łopuszańska, Jadwiga Kudlaciak, Eustachy Lenko, Zofia Maliszewski, Antoni Potocki, H.S. Sienicki,

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\$ 15 Ireneusz Bogajewicz,

\$ 10 Anna Milewski, Helena Rioutord, Kazimierz Sulatycki, Zbigniew Wozniak,

Zamiast kwiatów dla uczczenia pamięci następujących osób dar na Bibliotekę złożyli :

Ś.p. Jerzego Giżyckiego:

- \$ 75 Wojciech Oczekowski,
- \$ 50 Olgierd Brzeski, Andrzej Czerwiński, Teresa D. Nałęcz
- \$ 30 Wiesław i Janina Kędziński, Hanna Szymańska, Stefan Władysiuk,
- \$ 25 Krystyna Buckiewicz

Ś.p. M. Kowalskiego :

- \$ 100 Gwendolyn Edwards
- \$ 50 Chris Kowalski, M.W. Tyszewicz,
- \$ 40 J. Gadomski, Walter Pacholka,
- \$ 25 E. A. d'Abadie, Krystyna Buckiewicz, M. Pogórska, Janina Rudzicz,
- \$ 5 Charlie Downey

Św.p. Władysława Marcinkowskiego:

- \$ 20 D. L. Lindsey

Św. p. Ireny Brudnickiej:

- \$ 100 Andrzej i Anna Nowakowski

Św.p. Izabelli Kwiatkowskiej-Pieniążek

- \$ 25 Wanda Poznańska

Ci co odeszli...

IZABELLA KWIATKOWSKA-PIENIAŻEK

5 grudnia 1996 roku licznie zgromadzona w Misji św. Wojciecha na N.D.G. montrealaska Polonia żegnała zmarłą po krótkiej chorobie, niezwykle zasłużoną działaczkę społeczną ś.p. Izabellę Pieniążek. Uroczysta msza św., odprawiana przez Rektora Misji O. Jerzego Naglewskiego, w asyście Księży ze wszystkich polskich parafii, była dla obecnych wielkim przeżyciem!

Izabella Kwiatkowskaa urodziła się 3 lipca 1907 roku w Warszawie. Jej matka była nauczycielką języka francuskiego, a ojciec urzędnikiem. W r. 1923 Iza poślubiła Wiktora Pieniążka. Z ich dwojga dzieci, syn Zbyszek poległ pod Tobrukiem, córka zmarła w niemowlęctwie.

W czasie wojny Iza udała się przez Francję do Anglii, gdzie po ukończeniu szkoły pielęgniarzkiej rozpoczęła pracę w Szkocji - na początku w Dublin Castle, a później w prywatnym szpitalu wojennym. Za jej ofiarną pracę odznaczono ją medalem wojennym.

W roku 1954 Iza i Wiktor osiedlili się w Montrealu. Iza rozpoczęła pracę zawodową w Hudson's Bay Company, w której pracowała przez 18 lat. Wiktor zmarł w roku 1975.

Iza pracowała na wielu odcinkach życia polonijnego Montrealu. Przez przeszło 7 lat była duszą Komitetu Pomocy Dzieciom Polskim, organizując coroczne kiermasze. Przez blisko 20 lat pracowała jako wolontariuszka w Bibliotece Polskiej. Od roku 1981 działała w Komitecie Pomocy Polsce, a w ostatnich dwóch latach również w montrealaskim Kole Przyjaciół Fundacji Jana Pawła II.

Jej niespożyta energia i radość życia były zupełnie wyjątkowe! Uderzała w niej ogromna życzliwość i serdeczność dla ludzi. Nie słyszało się u niej słowa krytyki w stosunku do bliźnich, ani też złośliwych uwag. Zawsze uśmiechnięta i gotowa do usług i pomocy - wytwarzała wokół siebie klimat pogodny i życzliwy.

W uznaniu jej wielkiego wkładu w życie Polonii montrealaskiej, Rząd R. P. na Uchodźstwie odznaczył Izę srebrnym Krzyżem Zasługi, a jeszcze wcześniej została odznaczona Medalem Wojska Polskiego.

Brak nam ogromnie naszej drogiej Izy, pamięć o niej zachowamy na zawsze.

Edward Kemnitz

JADWIGA MARIA z Braunów DOMAŃSKA

Urodzona 9 października 1907 r. w Dąbrowie Tarnowskiej, zmarła 19 grudnia 1996 r. w Ottawie. Wdowa po ś.p. Ludogierdzie, matka ś.p. Ewy Bożeny Barry. Wychowana w znanej rodzinie o tradycjach harcerskich i niepodległościowych. Absolwentka (1932) Państwowej Szkoły Dramatycznej w Warszawie, artystka dramatyczna teatrów w Łodzi, Bydgoszczy, Ziemi Wołyńskiej, w Wilnie i w Katowicach.

Żołnierz-kurier Związku Walki Zbrojnej (ZWZ), aresztowana przez NKWD w maju 1940 r. w czasie kolejnego przekraczania granicy pomiędzy strefami okupacyjnymi i skazana na 8 lat łagrów. Żołnierz II Korpusu gen. Władysława Andersa - dyrektor Teatru Dramatycznego. Współzałożycielka i kierowniczką Teatru dla Dzieci "Syrena" w Londynie.

Od roku 1960 zamieszkała w Kanadzie. Organizatorka wielu przedstawień teatralnych, akademii i narodowych spektakli w Wielkiej Brytanii i w Kanadzie. Porucznik Wojska Polskiego, honorowy członek Stowarzyszenia Polskich Kombatantów w Kanadzie.

Odznaczona krzyżami oficerskim i kawalerskim Orderu Odrodzenia Polski (Polonia Restituta), Srebrnym Krzyżem Zasługi z Mieczami, Krzyżem Monte Cassino, Złotym Krzyżem Kombatanckim SPK w Kanadzie, Złotą Odznaką Honorową Kongresu Polonii Kanadyjskiej, Krzyżem Corona d'Italia, Krzyżem Civitas Christiana i wieloma innymi odznaczeniami.

Członek Polskiego Instytutu Naukowego w Kanadzie, Federacji Polek w Kanadzie, Stowarzyszenia Polskich Kombatantów w Kanadzie, Związku Artystów Sceny Polskiej i innych organizacji.

Pogrzeb odbył się w Ottawie 21 grudnia 1996 r.; prochy zostały przewiezione do Kraju.

Cześć Jej Pamięci!

Aleksander Maciej Jabłoński

ARTYKUŁY - PAPERS - ARTICLES

Andrzej Busza

STEFAN BOBROWSKI AND JOSEPH CONRAD

*The victorious are called great;
the vanquished – dreamers*

(from Franciszek Rawita-Gawronski's
monograph on Stefan Bobrowski)

The richness of Conrad's Polish background is today a commonplace. Every serious student of Conrad is familiar with the father's, Apollo Korzeniowski's, literary and political careers, as well as the grim pathos of his exile and last days. Taking their cue from Conrad's own autobiographical testimony in the letters and in such texts as the Author's Note to *A Personal Record*, scholars have related characteristic aspects of Conrad's sensibility and outlook to "the exalted and dreamy temperament," the "terrible gift of irony and ... gloomy disposition" of the father (*Collected Letters*, 1: 247), while literary critics have discerned traces of Apollo's psychological and ideological make-up in various characters -- Kurtz of *Heart of Darkness*, Jose Avellanosa of *Nostromo*, Heyst of *Victory* -- to mention three often cited figures. Or, to take a recent example, John Batchelor has argued in his critical biography that "the post-romantic view of the relationship between the artist, the art and the audience is more likely to be indebted to Apollo Korzeniowski's mid-nineteenth-century post-romantic view of Shakespeare than it is ... to the English romantic tradition" (6).

Similarly, Tadeusz Bobrowski, the maternal uncle and the other temperamentally and ideologically antithetical coordinate of Conrad's dual family heritage, has received, especially since Jocelyn Baines' critical biography, considerable attention. Select passages from Bobrowski's letters and memoirs now form a crucial part of the Conradian documentary canon. We have all come to recognize as a key ingredient of Conrad's polyphonic (largely bitonal) discourse the Bobrowski voice: sober, sceptical, ironic (not without the occasional drop of universal scorn), puncturing illusions, deriding utopianism and all formulas for the betterment of the human condition, and yet, not only rejecting nihilism but preaching an austere brand of moral pragmatism, hinged on the virtues of duty, work, restraint, self-discipline and perseverance *usque ad finem*. On the other hand, critics like Zdzisław Najder have tended to emphasize Bobrowski's dialogic significance and its corollary: the poignant, painful and deeply unsettling, although in the final effect highly fruitful, tensions generated by the clash between the uncle's rationalist temper and positivist philosophy and the heroic romanticism of the father. Indeed, the underlying paradigm of much of Conradian drama at the axiological level is a dialogue between these two discourses. In the case of *Lord Jim* this paradigm affects even the form of the narrative, where the focus of interest is shared by Jim the protagonist and Marlow the dramatized narrator.

Materials relating to Ewa Korzeniowska included by Najder in *Conrad Under Familial Eyes* together with Conrad's own few, brief accounts of his far-from-ordinary mother, to my mind, shed more light on Conrad's portrayal of women than feminist speculations developed within the ideological horizon of West European bourgeois capitalist society.

Even individuals whose lives barely, or only indirectly, touched Conrad's, like his grand-uncle Nicholas Bobrowski or Prince Roman Sanguszko, because of the memorable role that each plays in a Conrad narrative, have become the objects of (at times perhaps inordinate) scholarly scrutiny.

But there is one portrait in Conrad's Polish family album which, in my view, deserves a second, closer look: Stefan Bobrowski, Tadeusz's and Ewa's younger brother, Apollo Korzeniowski's political disciple, and Conrad's ideologically most radical relative. Of course, Stefan Bobrowski is anything but an unknown figure. He makes a cameo appearance in every Conrad biography, and has acquired an increasingly prominent place in historical narratives on the 1863 insurrection. If Romuald Traugutt is the tragic hero of the last act of the uprising (he was hanged by the Russians in the Warsaw Citadel on 5 August 1864), the tragic protagonist of the initial phase is Stefan Bobrowski.

Let me rehearse briefly the salient facts of this extraordinary young man's short life, his meteoric rise into the arena of national politics and early violent death. Born in 1840, Stefan Bobrowski, on the death of his father in 1850, came into the care of his older brother Tadeusz almost at the same age as his orphaned nephew Konrad. For two years Stefan was tutored jointly by Tadeusz and his sister Ewa (Conrad's future mother). "My sister and I," writes Tadeusz Bobrowski in his *Memoirs*, "undertook to prepare our brother for school. My sister taught him religion and languages and I gave him lessons in classical subjects; he was a good pupil and his education progressed smoothly" (CUFE 26). Tadeusz continues: "He always carried about him a book which absorbed him at the time, and he used to open it and read it whenever possible. He was extremely short-sighted, and in spite of exhortations he insisted on reading with each eye in turn" (CUFE 26). Stefan then went on to secondary schools, first locally in the Ukraine, then in St. Petersburg. In 1856, when the post-Crimean "thaw" was at its warmest, Bobrowski enrolled as a student of philosophy at the University of St. Petersburg. He had already some experience of dissident activity from his schooldays in the Ukraine, but in the Imperial capital he increased considerably the scope of his political engagement, becoming involved both in the conspiratorial work of Polish democratic groups and the Russian revolutionary underground.

Next, Stefan moved to Kiev, ostensibly to study philology, though, as a matter of fact, he did not even enroll at the university and merely pretended to be a student. For instance, he appears in academic uniform on group photographs. Indeed, by now he was a full-time clandestine political activist. From the Kiev period dates the episode of the secret lithographic press, which via Tadeusz Bobrowski's account in the *Memoirs*, probably contributed to the atmosphere and certain elements in the plot of *Under Western Eyes*. According to Tadeusz Bobrowski, whose version of the story diverges in some details from established historical facts, in 1861 Stefan Bobrowski together with a printer from Warsaw named Hoffman set up a secret lithographic press on the premises of a Kiev monastery. Before, however, the press was able to develop its activities fully, Hoffman was suddenly arrested and Bobrowski had to flee the country. The discovery of the press and the conspiratorial cell was the work of an informer who, Tadeusz Bobrowski narrates, "having been caught in Warsaw at revolutionary practices, agreed to undertake spying. Since he could not work in Warsaw, where he was known, he was sent to Kiev to discover the secret lithographic press which had been causing trouble to the police for some time. In Warsaw he had been a student, and so in Kiev he also mixed with students, pretending to be one himself" (2:466).

The parallels between this informer (in Tadeusz Bobrowski's account) and Razumov, the protagonist of *Under Western Eyes*, are intriguing. There are also points of similarity between Stefan Bobrowski's behaviour and that of Haldin. One of the precautions that Bobrowski took, before starting work on the secret press, was to change his lodgings. Haldin also leaves his usual residence some time before the attempt on de P--'s life. After Hoffman's arrest, Bobrowski hid in the rooms of a fellow-student, who was trusted by the authorities on account of his political views. When the watchfulness of the police abated, he escaped from Kiev by sledge, as Haldin plans to do in Conrad's novel. Finally, it is worth

adding that Tadeusz (in spite of his strong disapproval of dissident activities) helped his brother materially to elude the police.

From the historical point of view the most important period of Stefan Bobrowski's life were the first three months of 1863 (the insurrection began on January 22), when on his return from France he was first appointed to the Central National Committee and then shortly afterwards assumed the responsibilities of Commander of the City of Warsaw. For a while, this young man from the provinces, barely twenty-two years old, was, in effect, the leader of the whole insurgent movement. Tellingly, Tadeusz Bobrowski devotes in his 900-page *Memoirs* a single paragraph to this phase of his younger brother's life. Moreover, he stresses Stefan's moderating influence on the leaders of the insurrection. Stefan's influence "on the National Government," writes Tadeusz, "was resolute and humanitarian, as even Russian historians of the period admit. As long as he was a member of the government, he restrained it from terrorist and Jacobin practices!..." (2:472).

The circumstances of Stefan's death get the more typical anecdotal treatment in the *Memoirs*. Admitting gaps and lack of certainty in his knowledge of the facts, Tadeusz loyally tries to present his brother's conduct in the best possible light -- although it should be remembered (as I have already indicated) that he disagreed in significant ways with Stefan on ideological and political grounds. In his overview of Stefan's character, Tadeusz writes: "He knew me and my views too well not to realize that if I heard about his revolutionary activities I would try to discourage him. This was probably why he never confided in me on the subject..." (CUFE 73).

An element of mystery continues to hang over the final act of Stefan Bobrowski's tragic life. The historical context of the events, characterizing the second phase of the insurrection, was the questioning of the nature of the government of the newly and suddenly created counter-state. Bobrowski together with the more radical "Reds" resisted vigorously the abandoning of a democratic leadership in favour of some form of dictatorship linked to military prestige and power. The "Whites", as well as some of the moderate "Reds" such as Agaton Giller, arguing in terms of efficiency and fearing excessive radicalism particularly in the area of social policy, favoured the dictatorial option. In the version of the events presented by Tadeusz Bobrowski and believed by many historians, Stefan became the victim of a "White" plot aimed at eliminating an awkward opponent. Stefan's integrity, political straightforwardness as well as his impetuosity and aristocratic sensibility, were effectively exploited by a certain Count Adam Grabowski, a man of seedy reputation and a willing pawn of the "White" faction. When Bobrowski refused to shake Grabowski's proffered hand during a meeting in Cracow, the latter challenged him to a duel. At first Bobrowski declined to accept the challenge in view of his official function and the exigencies of the wider political situation, as well as the lack of proof that his behaviour was not justified, but then the ruling of a "court of honour" stacked with "White" supporters made him change his mind. Although Bobrowski knew that he could not come out of the duel alive, his sense of honour prevented him from ignoring the court's ruling. The odds were exceptionally uneven: Bobrowski was very short-sighted and Grabowski was a well-known marksman and consummate duellist. The duel took place on 12 April 1863 near Rawicz. Stefan Bobrowski was shot straight through the heart. Tadeusz Bobrowski gives the assassination plot theory a twist of his own: "It is my conviction that, having lost faith in the cause he had embraced -- his mind was too alert and realistic to harbour illusions -- he no longer wished to live and preferred to die by another's hand than by his own..." (2:476).

One is tempted to continue Bobrowski's elegaic reflections by putting into his mouth some phrases from the end of *Lord Jim*: "And that's the end. He passes away under a cloud, inscrutable at heart, forgotten, unforgiven, and excessively romantic." Responding to "the call of his exalted egoism", he goes away "to celebrate his pitiless wedding with a shadowy ideal of conduct" (416). When chaos returns to Patusan and the edifice of social order, security and trust, "the work of his own hands, had fallen in ruins upon his head" (408), Jim (like Stefan Bobrowski at Rawicz) comes forward unflinchingly to meet certain

death. Moreover, the meaning of both deaths remains obscure: Jim, having asked Jewel for forgiveness, leaves the girl to lead "a sort of soundless, inert life" (416), while Bobrowski before the fatal duel entrusted to his second a letter to his mother and family in which he asked them to forgive "this last painful blow" (2:476). The ambiguities of Tadeusz Bobrowski's judgement on the life and death of his younger brother seem to have been carried over into the open ending of Conrad's great and in some respects his most personal novel.

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IDENTITY AND TOLERANCE

Introduction

Nineteen-ninety-six, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, has been declared the year of tolerance.¹ Half a century has elapsed since the end of the most atrocious war in the history of mankind. During that war tolerance of other nations, cultures, beliefs and outlooks, value and meaning systems was in a state of acute crisis.

Today the problem of tolerance and identity is once again beginning to ripen and to acquire a new meaning - hence, at the close of the twentieth century, the UN has taken the initiative to remind people and nations once more of the consequences to which lack of tolerance may lead.

Tolerance may be viewed from many different perspectives. In this essay I suggest that we look at this issue through the prism of group identity. I shall first try to analyze two crucial concepts: "identity" and "tolerance" and then I shall try to show the relationships between the two. This analysis is basically psychological but I shall also touch upon the axiological aspect of the problem.

Both concepts are very difficult to define and describe. It is even more difficult to capture the nature and forms of relationships between them. Despite these obstacles such attempts are necessary because the problem under discussion is an extremely important one, both theoretically and socially, especially within the context of education for the future.

A detailed presentation of the concept of "identity" has been given, among others, by Erikson (1974) and since his publication the term has appeared more and more frequently in the social sciences and psychologists continue to seek new ways of operationalizing it.

Earlier the concept had functioned under the rather metaphorical label of "social bonding" with or within the group. Nowadays the concept of "identity" overlaps with such concepts as "identification" and "self-definition"; it refers to both the intrapersonal psychological processes which form the basic structure of the self and to interpersonal social relationships which affect the shape of the self. This is why various scientific disciplines are interested in the concept of identity, although - it must be emphasized - in each of these disciplines it means something slightly different and these different meanings are not always easy to distinguish and define. An enormous bulk of literature has accumulated on the psychological and social aspects of identity. Many different distinctions and specifications have been suggested, many empirical investigations have been carried out (cf. e.g., Boski, Jarymowicz & Malewska-Peyre, 1992; Jarymowicz, 1989; Kłoskowska, 1990; Mostwin, 1985). After Jarymowicz, I distinguish two forms or types of human identity: subjective identity and social identity. Subjective identity is based on the striving for uniqueness of the self whereas social identity is based on the tendency expressed in the need of belonging and similarity to other people. Identity is often presented in terms of "I in relation to the group", "I in relation to the collective". People feel a strong need to belong to various groups. The fact of belonging to certain groups has a very special meaning for people and provides a significant basis for the development of the sense of agency and self-worth. National and denominational groups certainly must be mentioned here because people identify very strongly with these groups and feel strong bonding with them. Identification with some collective is a significant determinant of participation in the culture of that group and - as we shall show shortly - also fulfils several other functions as well.

The concept of "tolerance" is probably even more difficult to define than the concept of "identity". Tolerance is not a specifically psychological term; rather, it should be considered an

axiological concept. Etymologically the word "tolerance" is derived from the Latin verb *tolerare* - "to endure", to "bear out" and in the past it was used to mean the patient "endurance" of another person, i.e., it had a slightly negative tinge. Today the concept of tolerance has taken on a positive connotation. It means not only the "endurance of someone who is different", with all his or her faults, but a specific, positive approach to "others". Both substantially and formally it meets the criteria of "attitude", a concept which has been used by psychologists for a long time. "Tolerance", therefore, is an attitude towards other people which manifests itself in giving them the right to be different, to have and voice their own opinions, even if these opinions differ from those which are generally accepted or which the individual believes to be true and right. The postulate of tolerance developed in opposition to the tendency to impose one's beliefs on other people by means of various forms of coercion. Initially the term applied only to religious beliefs. Gradually, however, it became more general and shortly began to encompass much more than strictly religious issues. The term "tolerance" came to be used to mean one's approach to those philosophical and political beliefs which differed from one's own, different interests, styles of life etc. Today, "tolerance" is considered to be a kind of moral value, to be accepted and implemented in interpersonal relationships. Nowadays the minimum of tolerance requires not only refraining from fighting those who are "different" and setting up a simple coexistence with them; it requires a positive attitude towards them, cooperation with them, good deeds on their behalf within the framework of one's nation, state and religion.

In many countries the litmus test of tolerance is the extent to which many different groups, varying with respect to ethnicity, religion, philosophy of life and political outlook, are capable of coexisting and cooperating within the same society. In this context tolerance is a wise systemic postulate. Naturally, the concept of tolerance is associated with a host of specific problems, often from the crossroads of ethics, law and politics, e.g., should we tolerate ethically dubious scientific experiments, intolerant people - especially if they somehow pose a threat to specific values or groups etc.

For this reason constitutions in some countries include clear indications permitting state authorities to suspend the activities of certain institutions, e.g., political parties whose principles and actions violate the rules of tolerance set out in the constitution. Many other attempts to abuse tolerance can also be observed, e.g., when people, in the name of tolerance, demand understanding and lenient treatment of their own immoral behaviour, i.e., harming other people. The concept of tolerance has many other controversial aspects as well, i.e., where are the limits of tolerance (cf. Siemaszko, 1993). Analysis of this problem is beyond the scope of the present essay, however.

Here I shall limit myself to the discussion of tolerance towards those who are "different" ethnically and those who are "different" with respect to their approach to religion and philosophical outlook². In most general terms, to demand tolerance is to demand acknowledgement of and respect for so-called human rights which guarantee equal rights, including the right to one's own group, national, religious and philosophical identity, to each individual and each national group, every religion, as well as unbelievers and agnostics³.

As I already mentioned, the concept of "tolerance" is very difficult to define precisely. Wittgenstein (1972) has shown that there are many concepts which are very difficult to define. The reason lies in their complex structure, in the fact that they have whole families of meanings. One way to define such concepts is to formulate partial definitions. It would probably be advisable to discuss and define the concept of "tolerance" in relation to its object. One may also try to identify an ideal type of tolerant or intolerant person. I shall return to this issue later.

Culture as a System of Meanings

I shall now try to describe the basic psychological mechanism of identification of the individual with the group. People living in a community create a culture of their own, a world of

meanings. Popper (1972) calls this world no. 3 - the world of objective thought contents. Popper's world no. 3 is a man-made world but nevertheless it cannot be reduced to the two remaining worlds (no. 1, i.e., the world of physical objects and physical states and no. 2, i.e., the world of states of consciousness or states of mind). Popper compares world no. 3 to unknown lands which can be explored, in which discoveries can be made etc. Ontologically, culture belongs to world no. 3. Reykowski (1995) calls culture a "collective system of values". World no. 3 or this collective system of values is a necessary prerequisite for the survival and development of every human collective. The level of awareness and verbalization of the elements which make up the meaning system may differ considerably. Culture as a system of meanings provides the context in which human life acquires its sense.

Many authors, adhering to the principles of methodological functionalism, view the "system of meanings" shared by a given group as the most fundamental "mechanism" of individual adjustment to the accidental and frustrating elements of the structure of the world. According to this view, the system of meanings which the individual accepts allows that individual to participate in the collective which shares that system of meanings and therefore to realize a number of adaptive functions. Membership in the collective helps the individual adapt to 1° - uncertain conditions of life (the fleeting nature of human existence), 2° - control his/her own life (the powerlessness of human existence), 3° - helps the individual in situations of deficiency (deprivation) of basic commodities. The adaptive interpretation of culture cannot, however, explain the genesis of culture. Culture is the effect of various human-specific, transgressive and creative activities (Kozielecki, 1987). Of course functionalism explains some individual and group behaviours within the context of its characteristic perception of social reality (for a different view on this issue see Ingarden, 1987).

The "shape" which human personality takes on is partly determined by various axiological identifications with the significant others and groups which the individual views as important and meaningful. Social scientists frequently point out that this has a very significant impact on people's experiences and histories and even on the developmental dynamics of the collective and the psychological equilibrium of the individual. Awareness of being a part of the group manifests itself in loyalty towards the group ideology, reverence for common values and symbols, the awareness of shared interests and goals. Every family, nation, religion not only shares a common system of meanings with all mankind, it also has its own unique sub-set of meanings (beliefs); these provide the collective with the basis for social identity.

Assessment of the degree of identification with the group is an important scientific and empirical issue. In order to be able to make such an assessment it is necessary to have a set of indices of acceptance of the "collective system of meanings" of the group in question. Basically, the degree of comprehension and acceptance of a "system of meanings" may be measured by means of various behaviours of group members whereas subjective identification with the group is often expressed in the use of categorizing pronouns: "we - they". In this type of self-identification the basic component of identity is the sense of belonging to the group. This sense or belief may be variously understood and interpreted.

Not all the groups with which the individual identifies are held in equally high esteem. Psychologists and sociologists have a concept of "reference group"; the reference group is a group comprising a special source of meaning for the individual. In this essay we shall analyze two types of reference groups: the nation and the religious community. In reference groups systems of meanings are closely related and therefore group members can easily communicate with each other.

Among other things, meaning systems determine the normative expectations of group members. They also contain a set of behaviour patterns, i.e., provide sufficiently general behaviour scripts which serve the common good. Meaning systems affect people's perception of the social world (their cognitive representation), the terms in which they categorize other people (ethnic, denominational etc.), how they evaluate people morally and, in case of threat, mobilize members to

defend the system and motivate them to self-sacrifice. This attitude is manifest e.g., in the fact that when there is conflict of interests the individual puts group interests before his/her own or at least is aware that the former should be valued higher than the latter.

In large communities such as the state, members differ greatly with respect to their systems of meanings. Understanding or even acceptance of the general meanings which constitute a given group, e.g., the state, may be accompanied by distinct differences between subgroups with respect to specific meanings.

The existence of many different markers of meaning is a characteristic feature of pluralist society. Within society on the macro scale there exist many groups which differ from each other considerably. I am referring here not only to groups which are ethnically identical but speak different languages and whose systems of meanings (values) differ so diametrically that we may legitimately talk of "different nations". These specific groups may form stable formations and even ones which are somehow institutionalized (I am not referring here to ephemeral groups representing e.g., youth subcultures). Various conflicts may and *de facto* do emerge in such cases.

Motivation rooted in the "world of meanings" may sometimes be aggressive, move people to fight against other people (morally or even physically), whose "world of meanings" differs from their own at least partly. People often think that their own "system of meanings" is universal. This phenomenon has been described at length by investigators of ethnocentrism (e.g., Adorno et al., 1950).

A shared value system is not the only factor responsible for the development of identity. Maintenance of high and sometimes even exaggerated group-esteem is a frequent strategy of group integration and defense of the shared system of values. This self-esteem need not be based on objective criteria. The belief in the superiority of one's own group is usually irrational. It is expressed, among other things, in the myth that one's own group has an exceptional role to play. Various ideologies, myths concerning race or class, messianic myths (e.g., Polish messianism) etc. are characteristic features of many cultures and mobilize their members. The value of one's own group is also frequently boosted by propagating the idea that other groups, nations, organizations etc. are basically inferior to one's own. This belief in the inferiority of other groups is usually consolidated in the form of stereotypes and related prejudices. Others are often presented as a threat, appeals for vigilance and a defensive stance are made to one's own group (cf. the rich literature on the genesis and functions of stereotypes and biases, e.g., Bar-Tal et al, 1989; Chlewiński & Kurcz, 1992; Kurcz, 1994).

Identity and Tolerance

The structure of the relationships between identification with a national or religious group on the one hand and tolerance towards other people on the other hand is very complex. Often, the rather general hypothesis is adopted, according to which the more people strongly identify with their own group the more frequent their tendency to compete with or even aggress against other groups, especially those groups which threaten them in one way or another (cf. Reykowski, 1995). Therefore it may be concluded that strong group identification motivates people to manifest intolerant attitudes. Indirectly, it may further be concluded that strong identification with a national or religious group is inadvisable for ethical and educational reasons because it may inspire intolerance. On the other hand, however, without sufficiently strong identification with their own national or religious group, the members of that group would be insufficiently motivated to strive for the group's well-being and that in turn would significantly undermine the effective functioning of the group and, as a consequence, lower its chances for survival.

It is worth considering this issue further. The problem has been discussed by e.g. Boski (1992), Jarymowicz (1992, 1994), cf. also Reykowski (1995). Writers on this topic often draw attention not only to the strength of the individual's identification with the collective but also to the

nature of the bonds which bind the group together. One of the important elements of the process of identification with the group is the type of values which bind the individual to the group and the degree to which the individual internalizes the values represented by the group. The sense of identification with the group is an extremely complex phenomenon and a very individual one. However, for purposes of illustration, it is possible to distinguish certain facets of group identification which are decisive for the quality and degree of in-group and out-group tolerance.

There is a cognitive strategy which is frequently applied in science: creation of ideal types. As a rule, in this strategy factors which are peripheral to the context of the theory are eliminated. The basic path leading to the implicit relationships between various phenomena is idealization. In idealization, certain simplifying assumptions are accepted in order to cancel out those factors which are peripheral and to present the main factors in as pure a form as possible (Nowak, 1974). Using this technique it is possible to distinguish two model types of identification with the social structures which are the object of discussion in this essay. Each of these models points to different relationships between sense of identity and tolerance.

I distinguish two bi-polar types of identity: one is identification with the national group, the other is identification with the religious group. Both models are bi-polar: one pole will be termed "open", the other - "closed". These extremes are arbitrary, although they have certain evaluative connotations. I shall first discuss national identity and then religious identity in the context of tolerance.

"Open" national identity type. "Open" identity is based on close ties with the national group, rooted in shared cultural values which are accepted by the group and considered by that group to be specific (this type assumes a certain degree of familiarity with one's own culture). A characteristic feature of this type is that the values accepted by the group (values which constitute a significant prerequisite of identity) include acknowledgment of the right of other groups (nations, ethnic minorities) to have the same rights as those which are attributed to one's own group. If one identifies with a national group one must have a well-developed national consciousness. Such identification consists in a type of bond which leads to the development of a world of "shared meanings", i.e., culture (literature, music, architecture, art, mores, history, folklore etc.), and also a language of one's own which is the main conveyor of culture among its members and between generations. Basically, every nation has a different culture, each one contributes something to the universal culture while at the same time retaining certain specific values which only it can really understand. In accordance with the axiological thesis accepted in this essay which states that tolerance is a value and that all people are equal, each nation and ethnic minority has the same rights. However, the individual is not determined by the "system of meanings" of any given culture. Therefore every individual has the right to choose his/her nation, i.e. his or her own national identity. Membership in a nation is not a matter of genes but identification with the culture of that nation. Individuals may therefore identify with a different culture than the one into which they were born. Representatives of the open identity type acknowledge the fact that every human being has the fundamental and indissmissible right to choose his/her national identity. Similarly, ethnic minorities, no matter what country they inhabit, have the full moral right to preserve their own national identity and should by no means be discriminated against. They should have the same rights (to education, promotion etc.) and the same obligations. This approach safeguards against any tendencies toward denationalization.

"Closed" national identity type. The opposite of the "open" national identity is the "closed" identity. The bonds with the national group on which this type is based are rooted in nationalist and, in extreme cases, chauvinist ideology - "my nation is better, more valuable than other nations". This ideology is an expression of ethnocentrism, national megalomania, contempt of "others" and at the same time fear of "others, i.e., xenophobia. Representatives of this type claim that the values represented by their own national group are fundamental and universal, obvious and good. The

consequence of this attitude is that any differences, especially in the cultural sphere, are rationalized and viewed as a sign of superiority of one's own group over other groups. Structurally inherent in this identity type are more or less implicit racist elements, manifest e.g., in such slogans as "blood ties", ethnic purity ("true Poles" is the Polish variation). In its extreme form the "closed" national identity type postulates ousting all ethnically "alien" elements from the home culture. "Others" are often presented as a threat to the nation and the culture, they are refused the right to identify with "my" nation. Such attitudes co-determine the formation of various "positive" self-stereotypes and "negative" other-stereotypes.

The two Poles presented above represent two diametrically different types of national identity (symbolically - "black" and "white") and two types of tolerance towards "others". Between these two extremes there lies a whole range of possible relationships between identity and tolerance, ones which actually can be observed in different populations. The two poles, representing ideal types, may be viewed as a theoretical framework for empirical analysis of the relationships under discussion.

"Open" religious identity type. The "open" type of identification with the religious group is based on acceptance of the belief and value systems which are specific for the religion in question. The strength of this type of identity depends on the degree of internalization of these beliefs and values. If this type of identity is to develop, a certain level of conceptual familiarity with religion as an object of personal choice is necessary. As a result religion is treated as an autotelic value. Another specific feature of this model is the practicing of the ethical system implied by one's religious beliefs: the moral injunctions of the religion in question are treated seriously, e.g., in Christianity these imply a specific relationship with every human being. The system of accepted religious values includes, as a significant condition, the acknowledgement of the rights of other groups (religious or nonreligious) to the same privileges as those which are granted to one's own religious group. In other words, "open" religious identity assumes a sense of responsibility for the well-being of the group, openness to dialogue, and the resultant acceptance of ecumenism.

"Open" identification with a formal or informal atheist group. This type accepts atheism as the outcome of the individual's own personal choice, motivated by specific argumentation. This argumentation has convinced the individual that this religious outlook is the one to be accepted. Some individuals were brought up without religion and do not have sufficient arguments at their disposal to change their atheist outlook. Here, as before, we may speak of various degrees of internalization of beliefs and values. "Openness" is based on this important prerequisite that religious groups other than one's own are given the same rights (to their own beliefs and their expression) as those which are attributed to one's own group. Individuals with this type of identity are open to dialogue and discussion.

Another "open" attitude with respect to religion must also be mentioned, i.e., agnosticism. Here the conditions of openness are analogous to those mentioned previously, i.e., others are given the right to beliefs of their own and to the expression of their own views; the open type is open to dialogue. In the name of greater precision it is necessary to emphasize that agnosticism has its own specific features, it lies, so to say, between religious denomination and "suspension of judgement" and is generally characteristic for individualistic-noncollective viewpoints.

"Closed" religious identity type. The "closed" type of identification with one's own religious group is expressed in bonding of an instrumental and adaptive rather than specifically religious quality. Religion is not treated as an autotelic value. Its acceptance is not the result of personal reflection and choice. Allport (1988) calls this type of identity "external religiosity". Persons whose identification with the religious group is "closed" believe that only their religion is true whereas others are basically false or even harmful. They should therefore be approached defensively, contacts with "others" should be avoided because such contacts may jeopardize one's own religion.

Representatives of this type are anti-ecumenical, anti-dialogue and, in extreme cases, fundamentalist in their attitudes.

It is also possible to distinguish a "closed" atheist identity. This type of identity (in its model form) results when the individual takes on certain beliefs (or rather suppositions) which function in the group. In other words, this is basically an adaptive type. Frequently it is determined by environmental factors and therefore is not based on personal reflective decisions. The beliefs which underlie this type of identity are not submitted to reflection or discussion, neither do they give way to any existential or metaphysical questions. People with this type of identity may exhibit lack of tolerance for "others", manifested in aggressive and fanatical negation of other people's right to their own religious beliefs. This type of intolerance sometimes takes the form of bellicose atheism wherein only one's own beliefs are thought to be legitimate and true, "scientifically supported" and worthy of propagation. Fundamentalist tendencies may accompany this type of attitude.

Let us repeat once more that the description presented here is only a model, black-and-white one. In practice we are confronted with a multitude of factors. People not only identify with the group, they also manifest a number of structural personality characteristics: flexible vs rigid, introvert vs extravert, democratic vs authoritarian personalities, various degrees of reflectiveness etc.

To summarize the foregoing, as far as religion is concerned, tolerance is the right to one's own religious beliefs and their propagation, the right to bring one's children up according to one's religious and moral principles etc. Members of different religious denominations as well as nonbelievers and agnostics have the same rights.

One example of a tolerant approach to religious outlook is the *ecumenical movement*. This movement claims that all religions accept universal truths and certain fundamental values to a greater or lesser extent and no religion, even pagan religion, can be viewed as basically wrong. The adherents of the ecumenical movement believe that no religion adequately reflects its object conceptually and verbally.

Ecumenism towards others by no means implies indifference, however. Ecumenism does not preclude dialogue which, essentially, means sharing in the search for truth and for answers to fundamental philosophical and metaphysical questions in order to reach a deeper understanding of that truth. Members of different religious denominations frequently pose the same universal religious questions and in answering them refer to different conceptual frameworks, based on different "systems of meaning". Dialogue allows people to reach more abstract, shared meanings which enable them to acknowledge that the answers offered express the same beliefs. Dialogue should proceed in a climate of sincerity and trust. The goal is to eliminate the fear that the partner in dialogue intends to conquer our mind and conscience, i.e., impose his or her own beliefs on us.

Fear of Tolerance

In order to deepen our psychological understanding of the problem of tolerance it is necessary to highlight several fears which may deform our conceptualization of this universal, humane idea. These fears, along with several other factors, lead to the development of a false concept of tolerance. From a psychological point of view these fears form a barrier which is difficult to surmount in contacts with "others". These "others" are perceived as a threat to the beliefs and the very existence of the individual or group. If we were able to identify these fears it may be easier for us to explain the reasons for certain forms of psychological resistance against the acceptance of the principles of tolerance and to apply sociotherapy more successfully. As we know, fears emerge easily and are easily propagated and reinforced. They are difficult to eliminate and are passed on from generation to generation. Successful elimination of false conceptions of tolerance should facilitate more open acceptance of genuine tolerance.

I shall now list the most frequent negative opinions concerning tolerance which are associated with various fears and resultant defensiveness.

1. *Negative opinions on tolerance held by "closed" identity groups.* Tolerance towards national groups other than one's own, especially those which are active and expansive. These groups are frequently associated with the danger of loss of one's own identity and culture, with the threat of gradual denationalization by alien insurgents. Tolerance towards these groups is viewed as a kind of xenophilia, admiration of alien elements and devaluation of one's own culture. These fears are generally manifested in nationalist ideology (mentioned earlier). They sometimes take the form of real phobias and therefore the idea of tolerance which assumes that the nationally alien should be treated as equals is viewed as a threat to one's own national identity and culture, sometimes also to the economy. No doubt, such attitudes are often a sign of more or less suppressed lack of faith in the attractiveness of one's own culture and its creative inspirations⁵.

Manifestation of tolerance towards people whose outlook is different is viewed as a threat to one's own fundamental beliefs, e.g., religious beliefs and the concomitant system of moral values. This type of tolerance is sometimes associated with the propagation of permissiveness and moral relativism. These fears lead to a defensive approach towards tolerance thus conceived.

2. *Sham tolerance in "closed" identity groups.* There is a form of tolerance which may be called tactic tolerance. It is manifested mainly by totalitarian political systems. This is a sham tolerance or to be more precise, lack of tolerance under the veil of tolerance. It consists in declarations of "tolerance" for one's own ideology and the simultaneous attacking of enemies for their real or would-be intolerance in order to deceive public opinion. This is not genuine tolerance, the kind which helps to constitute an accepted value system. It is merely a technique whereby the fashionable slogan of "tolerance" is manipulated in order to conceal one's own lack of tolerance. This form of "tolerance" may have many faces and it may also be determined by a number of different factors - e.g. lack of any beliefs of one's own, indifference towards others etc. Such "tolerance" is merely an instrument which the group, e.g., the ruling party, uses to realize its own goals and therefore it evokes suspicion and defensiveness in citizens.

Tactical tolerance also has other, even more deeply camouflaged manifestations. The concept of tolerance is rich in meaning (it has a whole family of meanings) and therefore some ideologies try to gain sole possession of it. There is a tendency to attribute the ability of tolerance to oneself and one's own ideology and to accuse other people, who do not approve of that ideology, of lack of tolerance. For example a salient concept in contemporary American culture is the concept of "political correctness". However, many critics of modern culture have voiced the opinion that this concept is a form of linguistic and conceptual stereotyping. It is a kind of cryptic yet ubiquitous censorship - not only of the language people use but also of their way of thinking. The use of various sociotechnical means, e.g., in the media, forces people not only to speak "correctly" but also to think "correctly". Otherwise they would be accused of crimethinking and be labeled intolerant. This example goes to show that it is relatively easy to coerce people's minds and to propagate a conception of tolerance which precludes any form of dialogue and discussion on "taboo" issues. This leads to hypocrisy and insincerity.

The fears and deformations of the concept of tolerance mentioned above may make it difficult to accept genuine tolerance. Controversies which are very difficult to resolve may emerge at the meeting point of tolerance and ideological threats. Therefore, if the concept of tolerance is so ambiguous and may be interpreted in so many different ways, then perhaps it should be submitted to serious semantic analysis as quickly as possible.

Preventive and Therapeutic Postulates

Various conflicts frequently emerge between individuals, groups, nations and religious denominations. As I already mentioned, a number of factors may be responsible for these conflicts;

the source of discord may lie in the "collective system of meanings", discrepant interests, false conceptualizations of tolerance, as well as various different fears⁶. Social scientists have found that lack of tolerance correlates strongly with "negative" stereotypes of "others" and particularly with biases. However, the key to the resolution of conflicts and promotion of universal brotherhood - even if we acknowledge that full realization of these ideals is a utopia - is tolerance. It is most important therefore, that tolerance be viewed as a value and that all the "costs" involved be understood and accepted. It is reasonable to hypothesize that those people who have a well-consolidated personal identity, formed on the basis of internalized and consciously accepted higher values, are generally tolerant of "others".

Contemporary societies are and probably will be increasingly more pluralist under many different aspects. Real tolerance requires the universal acceptance of the belief that all nations, large and small, have equal rights to independence and the members of ethnic minorities have the same rights as other citizens and moreover have the right to maintain their own national and religious identity, to cherish their culture and language. One should also be tolerant of one's political opponents insofar as they do not pose a threat to the fundamental values on which the well-being of the entire society is based: state sovereignty, the rights and freedom of each and every group and human being, social justice, peace. Another significant component of tolerance is the belief that no single group or party can usurp the right to political welfare.

Another very important sphere of tolerance is tolerance with respect to religion and philosophy of life. As far as religion is concerned, tolerance does not mean resignation from one's own beliefs; rather, it means the enrichment, deepening and precision of these beliefs. It looks as if the idea were maturing in the world today that properly understood tolerance should be incorporated in every national ideology and set of beliefs constituting one's philosophy of life. There is hope, therefore, that tolerance will cease to be an empty tactical slogan and will become a significant element of the accepted value system. If this type of internalization is to develop it must be based on open personal identity, giving others the right to be different, a positive approach to others, propagation of the idea of universal brotherhood, and - above all - dialogue.

The basic assumptions of genuine dialogue are respect for the partner of the dialogue and the will to understand his or her point of view and argumentation. If it is not possible for the partners to reach a mutually acceptable level of understanding of the meaning of their beliefs - a frequent case in disputes - then the most important goal which the partners should reach is acceptance of the fact that they differ. Tolerance is acknowledgement of the right of the other person to seek the truth and even to err (or so we think), the right to be "different".

Religious tolerance means respect for the religious beliefs of every religious denomination. It is important to propagate the ecumenical spirit among believers, the spirit of dialogue between members of different religions as well as between atheists and believers. As we know, no human cognition is complete, adequate, comprehensive; no human cognition is capable of embracing all and every aspect of reality. Cognition is multi-faceted and hence the multitude of different points of view, their diversity and sometimes their contradictoriness. No form of human cognition contains the absolute truth, truth which can be expressed in one way only, although all forms of human cognition are in a way "true". In pluralism and dialogue lies the chance for mutual enrichment, exchange of experiences. Pluralism and dialogue provide the cues for deepening one's own view of the world.

An extremely important prerequisite of dialogue is openness, i.e., the ability to understand other people's argumentation. By being open to "otherness" we have the opportunity to enrich our own beliefs because it is possible that our partner in dialogue has found the truth which we ourselves have not yet stumbled upon. It is also important to understand why the "other" person's thinking differs from our own. Therefore, despite the fact that we are convinced that our own religion (philosophy of life) is true, we may accept that the dialogue will lead us to understand our

own beliefs slightly differently and to acknowledge the plausibility of other approaches. As is often the case, different points of view are, at the roots, complementary, not contradictory. Confrontations referring to religious outlook seldom encompass that outlook in its entirety. Usually they refer to fragments only, to a few selected beliefs which are sometimes marginal or situational.

When we enter a dialogue with others we get to know their argumentation. This way we are able to gain a fuller, more comprehensive picture of reality. As I tried to show earlier, the fact that we understand the beliefs of someone whose thinking differs from our own does not mean that we accept them. Sometimes, paradoxically, we find that we understand the arguments of our partner in dialogue better than he or she is able to understand or express them. In such cases it is only honest to highlight the partner's arguments and their power of proof even better than he or she has been able to do. At times dialogue gives way to polemic. If this happens it is important to conduct the polemic in a proper atmosphere. It is also important for the participants to remain open, not only towards themselves but also toward truth itself because truth will be their meeting point.

Lack of tolerance may spring from many sources but, as I already mentioned, it often has its roots in various fears. When people who think differently remain "open" in their mutual contacts, fear is reduced and gives way to mutual trust and faith in the sincerity of the mutual pursuit. In the field of education it is important not only to propagate tolerance but also to explain and popularize the underlying ideas because tolerance, being an ambiguous concept, may be easily manipulated for the sake of pure propaganda. As I already stressed before, the concept of tolerance has led to many misunderstandings.

There is an urgent need to propagate the principles of tolerance and dialogue among those who are responsible for the media, political activists, the clergy, teachers and educators. If a culture of tolerance is to develop, it is necessary for people to be informed about other cultures, belief systems and value systems. Such information will help them to understand "others" better and at the same time to gain a deeper understanding of their own beliefs. It is important to seek out those elements which are shared by different beliefs and value systems, to enrich one's own experience by means of familiarizing oneself with other cultures, i.e., to gain a genuine acceptance of pluralism.

Tolerance develops not only when people with different beliefs meet and conduct dialogues with each other. It is also fostered through shared activity on behalf of the common good, e.g., charity work. When people cooperate, the barriers which hinder communication are overcome. Through various types of contact and shared activity it is possible to disseminate the idea that one of the criteria of social maturity is acknowledgement of the fact that people differ under many aspects and that tolerance of variety is a value.

Conclusion

Let me conclude with the hypothesis that tolerance is a function of type of personal and group identity, i.e., of the value and belief systems accepted by the individual and the group. Internalization of tolerance as a central value is a necessary precondition of tolerance. If this precondition is fulfilled, tolerance will become a basic feature of people's attitudes towards every other person, whose right to opinions of their own is acknowledged.

I have limited the discussion in this essay to two types of identity - national identity and religious identity (including philosophy of life). These are two different identities but they probably have an element in common, i.e., "openness". I have juxtaposed "open" and "closed" identity. Between these two extremes we shall find various concrete human identities.

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Footnotes

¹ This essay is a slightly modified and extended version of my presentation at the plenary session of an interdisciplinary conference "Identity, Difference and Tolerance as related to the Culture of Peace" which took place on December 5-7, 1995. The conference was initiated and organized by the Institute of Mid-Eastern Europe in Lublin. Since the participants represented several different disciplines the technical and methodological aspects of the presented issues were reduced to the bare essentials.

² I shall not discuss in this essay the very complex problem of tolerance with respect to those behaviours which are the object of study of ethics. This is a controversial issue which requires a separate, specialist analysis.

³ Human rights were formulated and codified by several international organizations and authorities, e.g., the United Nations. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed on December 10 1948, states that: "All people are born free and equal in their dignity and their rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should behave unto others in the spirit of brotherhood" and article 18 states that: "Every human being has the right to the freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right encompasses the right to preach one's religion or faith, individually or together with other people, in public or in private, by means of the teaching, practicing, worship and religious practice." (cf. Przyborska-Klimczuk, 1992). See also Michalska (1994). The Human Rights Committee: Competencies, functions, jurisdiction]. Warsaw: Helsinki Human Rights Foundation.

⁴ Two model types of identification with the national group may be distinguished. The first type is based on the sense of shared territory, behaviour and rituals; we may call this type "mythological". The second type is based on shared culture: familiarity with the nation's history, high esteem of the nation's scientific, artistic and literary heritage; we may call this type "culture-centric". The latter is conducive to tolerance whereas the former is ethnocentric and is conducive to lack of tolerance.

⁵ Of course this issue should not be simplified. Such fears are not always purely phobic. They are usually characteristic of small nations which, in the past, were abused politically and economically, denationalized by imperial states and which are still not safe from these threats. Countries experiencing such threats are not usually fertile grounds for the development of tolerance for "other" nations, especially when these nations are the source of political insecurity.

⁶ As I have already underscored, the concept of tolerance is difficult to define and therefore it is sometimes difficult to establish the criteria for genuine and false tolerance.

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HEART AS AN ENDOCRINE ORGAN

Water immersion in therapeutic baths was used as the only treatment of dropsy (swelling of the limbs) before the discovery of beneficial effects of *Digitalis purpurea* by W. Withering (1741-1799). The displacement of blood into the cardiothoracic region resulted in diuresis and natriuresis (water and salt elimination). Similarly, the acute volume expansion endows the plasma with the capacity of inducing natriuresis. Historically, two factors were considered important for regulation of renal water and salt output - the glomerular filtration and aldosterone, the adrenal hormone which facilitates sodium reabsorption from nephron. However, both those factors have not proven adequate to explain the diuresis and natriuresis due to the extracellular volume expansion. In the series of compelling experiments, de Wardener (1) demonstrated that diuresis and natriuresis associated with blood volume expansion were not prevented by controlling glomerular filtration or aldosterone level. In the sixties De Wardener hypothesized that volume expansion - induced natriuresis, inhibition of sodium transport and increase in vascular reactivity - are due to an enhanced release of at least two substances, one short-acting natriuretic hormone and another long-acting natriuretic hormone, which induces natriuresis 1 hr after volume expansion and still increases it after 2 hrs. Twenty years later, the existence of the short-acting hormone, the atrial natriuretic peptide (ANP) was demonstrated in rat atria. The existence of a cardiac hormone had long been suspected. Tang, in 1922, described a cytologic cycle in the Purkinje's cells of birds leading to the vesiculation of the chondriome similar to the mitochondrial cycle of secretory cells. More recent investigations have suggested that the heart may be a censor of body fluid volume. Peters (2) speculated that there must be a mechanism in or near the heart to "sense the fullness of the blood stream" and regulate the blood volume. Furthermore, Gauer et al (3) demonstrated that the mechanical distention of left atrium was accompanied by a rapid natriuresis and diuresis. These observations gave birth to the hypothesis for the existence of atrial stretch receptors. It has been postulated that the heart itself may be an organ which "translates the changes in volume and subsequently in the degree of stretching of the great vessels into changes in glomerular filtration rate and sodium balance" (2). For many years however, the mechanism by which the heart could rule the kidney remained unclear. The advent of electron microscopy was a big step forward to understand this mystery. The first morphological study suggesting the endocrine function of the heart was published by Kisch (4) who detected peculiar cytoplasmic "dense bodies" in the muscle cells of the guinea pig atrium. Few years later Jamieson and Palade (5) described these structures as specific granules occurring in cardiocytes of all mammalian species that are similar to those found in endocrine cells. The morphometric analysis of these granules showed that the density of atrial granularity varies with water and sodium intake. Total water restriction for 5 days increased granularity in the right atrium, while sodium restriction for 3 weeks increased granularity in the left atrium. Finally, De Bold in 1981 (6) showed that atrial extract contains potent diuretic and natriuretic properties and a new class of hormones known as atrial natriuretic peptides (ANP) had been discovered.

The atrial granules were used to purify ANP and several groups of researchers isolated peptides of various length ranging from 21 to 126 amino acid (aa) residues. Further studies showed that ANP is synthesized as 149-153 (depending on species) amino acid pre-prohormone composed of a 126 amino acid prohormone and signal peptide. The bioactivity resides on the carboxy-terminal part of the molecule. A 28 amino acid C-terminal peptide Ser99-Tyr126 formed by cleavage of prohormone by proteolytic enzymes is released into the circulation. ANP is a short-lasting peptide; its

half life in rats is between 16 to 27 sec and is closely associated with tissue uptake and degradation. ANP cDNA clones were isolated from atrial cDNA libraries of several species. The DNA sequence encoding human ANP shows a high degree of homology with other species. The structural organization of ANP gene is similar in all species. The gene consists of three exons and spans about 2000 base pairs including two introns. The human ANP gene was found on the distal short arm of chromosome 1 at band 1p36 and on mouse chromosome 4. ANP synthesis in the heart is sensitive to volume changes and is also hormonally regulated. Atrial ANP mRNA decreases significantly during water deprivation or with a low sodium diet, while volume overload increases atrial and ventricular ANP synthesis. The ANP is not exclusively an atrial hormone, the ANP gene is expressed in several organs including adrenal gland, lung, male and female reproductive organs and brain (7). The two major forms of ANP isolated from brain contain 24 and 25 aa. These differences in the structure of ANP isolated from atria and brain, most likely result from post-transcriptional events which may be tissue-specific.

Functional Properties of ANP

Several modern techniques of molecular biology and classical biochemical, physiological and pharmacological approaches were used to clarify the functions of atrial natriuretic peptide. In addition to the potent diuresis and natriuresis, ANP produces a shift of fluid to an extravascular space, decreases in cardiac output and blood pressure, interacts with several hormonal systems participating in cardiovascular homeostasis such as renin-angiotensin-aldosterone or vasopressin. ANP activity has been demonstrated in the brain where ANP antagonizes the dipsogenic effect of angiotensin II and also affects the salt intake. While the initial description of the pharmacological effects of ANP were focused on central and peripheral mechanisms involved in cardio-renal homeostasis, the presence of ANP and its specific receptors in number of tissues suggested additional effects of this peptide, such as regulation of steroid synthesis in gonads. These findings indicate that ANP is a powerful regulator of cardiovascular, renal, central and endocrine functions.

Other Members of Natriuretic Peptide Family

In the past few years, two other natriuretic peptides with remarkable structural homology to ANP have been isolated from porcine brain: brain natriuretic peptide (BNP) and C-type natriuretic peptide (CNP). While the physiological activities of BNP mirror those of ANP, CNP does not show any diuretic or natriuretic action but induces potent hemodynamic effects in humans and animals. The comparison of cDNA sequences encoding the three natriuretic peptides revealed differences in the gene structure. In fact, the three peptides are derived from distinct genes, which suggests that they arose separately in the course of evolution. Nonetheless, they belong to a family of natriuretic peptides and elicit similar spectrum of biological properties.

ANP Receptors

The biological actions are mediated by specific receptors. Two different types of ANP receptors have been isolated from various tissues and characterized: a 120 to 140 kDa (R1) and 66-70 kDa (R2). The ANP R1 receptor is an integral part of the guanylyl cyclase molecule and two subtypes of this receptor have been isolated, GC-A and GC-B, both acting via formation of cGMP. The R2 receptor has a homologous extracellular domain to R1 but its cytoplasmic domain is shorter and contains only a 37 aa tail. The ANP binding to this receptor does not activate guanylyl cyclase. It has been proposed that R2 receptors are "clearance" receptors that eliminate ANP from plasma by internalizing the peptide and delivering it to lysosomal proteases for degradation. Recently, some evidence has been shown that the "clearance" receptors may also mediate physiological activities of ANP likely via adenylyl cyclase and cAMP, but this remains still controversial. The peptide receptors are distributed widely throughout the body organs and vascular beds.

Renal Actions

Bolus injection of circulating form of ANP (Ser99-Tyr126) causes a diuresis and natriuresis of rapid onset and short duration. It is now clear that ANP affects kidney function via direct and indirect pathways. ANP acts on various segments of nephron, causes afferent arteriole dilation and efferent arteriole constriction which results in increased glomerular capillary perfusion pressure, and glomerular filtration rate. ANP has a direct tubular effect to decrease fluid reabsorption in collecting duct and inhibits sodium transport in the proximal tubules. ANP indirectly influences renal functions by inhibiting renin release as well as angiotensin II mediated aldosterone production (8).

Effect on Smooth Muscle

ANP has major effects on the renal vasculature of the isolated kidneys, counteracts the effect of norepinephrine in the isolated rat aorta and relaxes the precontracted large arteries, facial veins and intestinal smooth muscle. There is strong evidence that cGMP is the secondary messenger of the ANP vasorelaxant effect, and this effect is at least partly mediated by alteration in the intracellular calcium homeostasis.

Effect on Blood Pressure

A direct role of ANP in the pathophysiology of hypertension was hypothesized because of the unique profile of antihypertensive actions such as natriuresis, diuresis and vasorelaxation.

There have been many controversial reports on plasma ANP levels in hypertensive patients. In general, the earlier reports found higher plasma ANP in hypertensive patients than in normotensive controls but more recent studies have shown little or no differences unless in severe hypertension and end organ damage. However, metaanalysis of plasma ANP concentrations in normal and hypertensive subjects revealed a higher ANP level in age-matched, untreated hypertensives.

The infusion of ANP has been shown to decrease blood pressure in normotensive and hypertensive patients as well as experimental animals. Nevertheless, the use of ANP as an antihypertensive drug was hampered by the very short half-life in the circulation. Recently, inhibitors of ANP degrading enzyme, neutral endopeptidase, and of the "clearance" receptors have enhanced the antihypertensive actions of endogenous and exogenously administered ANP. These studies as well as the use of guanylyl cyclase antagonists may yield new therapeutic approaches to the treatment of hypertension.

Lung ANP

The lung is not only the first target organ for cardiac ANP, but also a source of ANP. The ANP gene is expressed in the lung, and human and rat lung release biologically active peptides. The localization of ANP receptors in highly specialized pulmonary cells such as alveolar cells type II suggests the role for this peptide in lung physiology (9). Indeed, ANP has vasorelaxant activity on the pulmonary vasculature and dilates the trachea and bronchi of different species. Experimental data suggests a role for ANP in the regulation of bronchial tone in pathological conditions. Independently of its vasodilator action, ANP induces a shift of fluid out of the vascular space, which could be explained by an increase in filtration pressure and/or permeability at the capillary level. The role of ANP has been proposed in the prevention of pulmonary edema. The antiedematous action of ANP is thought to be receptor-mediated involving cGMP. ANP induces the surfactant synthesis in type II alveolar cells. The increased ANP lung synthesis was observed in genetic cardiomyopathy (progressive heart dysfunction) when ANP cardiac stores and synthesis are decreased indicating a compensatory role of lung ANP during cardiac dysfunction. Finally, beneficial effects of ANP have been noted in several pulmonary diseases. Chronic infusion of ANP at the concentrations seen in

pathological conditions attenuates the development of pulmonary hypertension and right ventricular hypertrophy, and decreases the wall thickness of small peripheral pulmonary arteries. Interestingly, hypoxia-induced pulmonary hypertension is aggravated by the injection of ANP monoclonal antibodies indicating the protective role for ANP by attenuating hypoxic pulmonary vasoconstriction. In the condition of high bronchial resistance such as asthma, ANP given by inhalation, inhibited the histamine induced bronchospasm, without apparent side effects. Therefore, ANP modulates bronchial tone.

ANP in the brain

The peptide is localized in neurons in hypothalamic and brain stem areas involved in body fluid volume and blood pressure regulation, and its receptors are located in regions that contain the peptide. Although atrial stretch releases ANP from cardiac myocytes, the experiments indicate that the response to acute blood volume expansion is markedly reduced after elimination of neural control. Volume expansion distends baroreceptors in the right atria, carotid-aortic sinuses, and kidney, resulting in stimulation of oxytocin release from the neurohypophysis that circulates to the atria and subsequently causes the release of ANP. Atrial natriuretic peptide released into hypophyseal portal blood vessels inhibits release of adrenocorticotrophic hormone (ACTH), thereby decreasing aldosterone release and enhancing natriuresis. Furthermore, the ANP neurons inhibit AVP release leading to diuresis and decreased ACTH release. Activation of hypothalamic ANPergic neurons via volume expansion also inhibits water and salt intake. These inhibitory actions may be partially mediated via ANP neurons in the olfactory system altering salt taste. Atrial natriuretic peptide neurons probably also alter fluid movement in the choroid plexus and in other brain vascular beds. Therefore, brain ANP neurons play an important role in modulating not only intake of body fluids, but their excretion to maintain body fluid homeostasis (10).

Natriuretic Peptides and the Reproductive Function

Although ANP has been localized in the pituitary gland, ANP has no direct effect on gonadotropin secretion. However, a hypothalamic action to alter LH release has been demonstrated. ANP inhibits prolactin secretion in humans and animals. On the other hand, the entire natriuretic peptide system has been found in gonads. ANP is present in ovary, follicular fluid and corpus luteum. Leydig cells possess specific ANP receptors and respond to physiological levels of ANP with stimulated testosterone production. Similarly, granulosa cells possessing ANP transducing receptors respond to ANP with increased cGMP formation and increased progesterone secretion. The action of ANP within hypothalamus and gonads might reflect a unified system by which central and peripheral mechanisms are coordinated to induced reproductive competence.

Summary

The first publications of De Bold in 1981 stimulated worldwide research. Approximately 8,000 publications have appeared since then and remarkable advances have been accomplished in the characterization of this new hormonal system. The discovery of ANP and elucidation of its action led to a better understanding of blood volume regulation and may yield important insights into the pathophysiology of and therapy for hypertension. Nevertheless many questions still remain unsolved. There are several pathological situations in which substantially high circulating levels of ANP are not accompanied by the renal excretion of sodium and potassium. Until a better understanding of the interactions of ANP and other known factors that regulate sodium excretion and regulation of natriuretic peptide receptors is available, the precise role of natriuretic peptides in the regulation of cardiovascular and renal homeostasis will remain elusive.

In addition, natriuretic peptides inhibit cellular growth and proliferation which may be of great importance in such tissues as ovary which undergoes cyclic growth and involution.

Current evidence indicate the role of natriuretic peptides as neurotransmitters or neuromodulators. Cerebral functions may be influenced by circulating ANP via receptors present in the circumventricular organs, brain areas, lacking the blood brain barrier as well as by the local ANP synthesis in the brain.

Although the physiological role of natriuretic peptides has not yet been established conclusively, it is an exciting new field of endocrinology. The new chapter "Heart" is being added to Endocrinology book.

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Witold Kieżun

MODEL OF THE MIDDLE-LEVEL *NOMENKLATURA* IN POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

1. Introduction

The subject of my considerations is the middle management personnel (directors, vice-directors, department heads in banking, heads of university and research units) in the years 1945-1989. These positions belong to the so-called *nomenklatura* of the United Polish Workers' Party (a cryptonym of the Polish Communist Party) with their rank corresponding to appropriate positions in the hierarchy. *Nomenklatura* positions could not be filled without consent of the corresponding Party committee (at the central, regional, municipal or local level). The *nomenklatura* system was to assure the pro-regime political attitude of the management personnel. Personal data concerning all members of this personnel were kept in the files of the Party committees. The *nomenklatura* was formed into four parallel lines of management which played the role of reserve lines: the Party, the administration, the security apparatus, the army. The object of this structure was to secure to a maximum the reliability and safety of the system. According to the general theory of a system as such, when a set of parallel reserve subsystems exists, the reliability and safety of the megasystem equals the reliability and safety of any of its subsystems.

Thus, the concept of the *nomenklatura* was an essential element of the process aimed at the realization of the regime's ultimate goal: to build and maintain the Communist system which, in terms of the ideology, was seen as that of constituting a new civilization (with the following stages: acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist principles in the period of Stalinism, and of the Marxist-Leninist principles only, in the subsequent period). The tasks of management at all levels, however, were not merely organizational and aimed at achieving a specific efficiency level in the unit under control; they also had an ideological objective to form the "socialist attitude" in their subordinates. Hence the assumptions determining the suitable choice, education and control of the management. It was a rule that management positions were filled by the United Polish Workers' Party members; a small percentage by the United People's Front members and an even smaller percentage by people belonging to the Democratic Front; two other political satellite organizations were also accepted. However, one could also encounter a few rare cases of managers who did not belong to any of the above parties; they were, as a rule, exceptionally good specialists in their fields. In 1984, 95% of managers in state enterprises were members of the PZPR and 6.8% of these directors held parallel functions in the Party, those of the first secretary of their Party unit, or those of the Party executive members (Mozołowski 1986).

My discussion in this paper are concerns the attitudes and typical behaviour of the *nomenklatura* personnel, specifically of the management at the Polish National Bank. The sources of this analysis are my personal observations as a participant and the results of a research carried out at the time of the Polish People's Republic.

2. Development of management personnel in the Polish People's Republic (1945-1989)

Before World War II, the Communist movement in Poland was very weak. The Communist Party of Poland was banned and operated as an underground movement. Since it was heavily dependent on the Komintern and directly on Moscow, its attractiveness to the Polish working class was diminished, not to mention the memory of the not so distant invasion of Poland by the bolsheviks in 1920, which did not help the Party's popularity. The liquidation of the Polish Communist Party in 1937 through the act of murder of all the leaders of the Party, who were secretly called to Moscow and then killed on Stalin's order, resulted in a situation where on the political map of Poland Communists played no significant role. The close cooperation of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in the years 1939-1941 confirmed the

political failure of Communism in the mentality of the Poles. Therefore, an attempt at a reconstruction of this movement in Poland during the war, made by Communist agents sent from Moscow, consisted in the creation of an underground Polish Workers' Party which in its programme exploited the ideals of national independence, full democratization and religious tolerance in the tri-sectional economic system based on state, cooperative and private ownership. When the Red Army entered Poland in 1945, the Communist Party, protected by this army, started to build a Communist system in the country, camouflaging its true objectives and its Communist origins throughout the first few years after the war. This camouflage reached its highest point perhaps, when the general public was informed that the well-known activist of international Communism and the then president of Poland, was not a Party member. Thus, the process of building the new socialist (later Communist) civilization foreseen in the programme of the Polish Workers' Party ("from everybody according to his abilities - for everybody according to his work", and later, in Communism: "for everybody according to his needs") had to be well spaced in time. The strategy of building a new managerial elite looked similar. In the period immediately after the war the pre-war management was called to return to their jobs and positions. These calls were not real, however, in most of the cases because of the physical absence of the Polish intelligentsia, who had been liquidated by the Nazi and Soviet occupants during the war. The number of potential managers was also greatly reduced by the fact that many Polish professionals, who had emigrated to the West during the war, remained there, and a significant part of the Polish intelligentsia in the country were unwilling to join in the process of building the new reality. Two opposite attitudes could be observed among the members of the Polish intelligentsia who had survived the war and remained in the country: those who held a decidedly negative attitude towards the new regime and did nothing to get into managerial positions, and those who decided to take part in the management work either by committing themselves politically or by remaining outside any party. With the exception of a few cases of the intelligentsia members who joined the Polish Workers' Party, the majority accepted Mikołajczyk's Polish People Party, the Labour Party, the Democratic Party or the Polish Socialist Party. In the resulting situation the highest positions in the organizational hierarchy were filled mainly by the members of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR), the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) as well as of the Polish People Party (PSL) and the Democratic Party (SD), while the intermediate level positions were often given to managers who had professional pre-war experience and had not joined any party as yet. Soon, however, personnel service departments directed by the PPR or the PPS members were put into operation. As a rule, these services were informally linked to the Secret Service offices, and were engaged in the steady policy of making all managers politically active by joining the Party. Up till 1956, political terror was greatly intensified; a high level of threat and the ensuing social conformity were observed. One cannot deny that this period was marked by a dynamic development of the young people who came from the urban working class milieu. They were given the possibility of free education and quick career which depended on the acceptance of the regime's philosophy and the declared membership in the Polish Youth Union (ZMP), the only political organization for adolescents and young adults since 1948 and subsequently in the United Polish Workers' Party. Membership in the satellite parties the United People Party and the Democratic Party, did not offer such career opportunities as membership in the Communist Party, but in many situations was also a positive factor.

In this over-all sketch of the political structure, the general picture of the *nomenklatura* represented a wide-ranging variety. The most important political functions were fulfilled by the security apparatus *nomenklatura* which was subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior (Ministry of Public Security) directed by General Radkiewicz and the infamous figures of Felgin, Róžański, Światło and Bystygierowa. General control of this apparatus remained in the hands of Berman. Except for General Radkiewicz, all the main posts in the security apparatus, the "pillars" of the system, were filled by functionaries of Jewish origin, a fact which led to the popular "Jew = Communist" stereotype image of Jews in the post-Polish society. This stereotype was extremely harmful and unjust, and it encouraged anti-semitic tendencies in the society¹.

An authentic pro-Communist political role was, of course, played also by the Party (the Polish Workers' Party - PPR and the Polish United Workers' Party - PZPR) *nomenklatura*, which contained an apparatus of salaried managers working full time at the level of the central, regional, municipal and local Party committees. After 1949, however, this apparatus was substantially modified in terms of the reform process aimed at the liquidation of the "rightist-nationalist" trend represented by Władysław Gomułka and General Marian Spychalski. The cleansing process in the Party *nomenklatura* apparatus, that had been formed in the years 1945-1949, continued until 1954, i.e. till the moment when the Ministry of Public Security was dissolved and the period of certain political relaxation (the period of *odwilż* = the period of a political *thaw*) started. Thus, from the point of view of the structural development of the political and administrative-economic *nomenklatura*, the following periods can be distinguished:

a) 1945-1947, till the Elections (January 19, 1947) and the creation of the Information Office of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Kominform) on September 17, 1947 at a meeting in Szklarska Poręba. The *nomenklatura* structure in this period is seemingly a multiparty structure, in which a still relatively weak Polish Workers' Party (PPR) has to take into consideration the existence of the other parties. The Polish People Party (PSL) led by the former Prime Minister of the Polish Government in Exile operating in London, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, is still active. In this period the middle management personnel still contains many pre-war professionals who are not Party members, such as former landowners who now run the State Agricultural Enterprises, some excellent engineers who have not joined the Party and are managers of big state enterprises (e.g. Professor Zalewski, director of the Ostrowiec steel-works), the pre-war high officers in the Polish People's Army (e.g. Generals Prugar Ketling, Boruta-Spiechowicz, Tatar, Kuropieska, Colonel Oborski). Many positions of the "starostas" (district heads) in the state administration of the period were held by members of the Polish Socialist Party, the Polish People Party and the Labour Party.

b) The second period covers the years 1948-1956, the darkest period of Stalinist Poland which started when the Polish People Party (PSL) was dissolved and transformed into the satellite United People Party (ZSL); the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) were merged and the "nationalist-socialist deviating trend" was liquidated while its leaders, Władysław Gomułka and Marian Spychalski, were imprisoned. In this period the management was changed and the Communist Party members were put in crucial managerial positions regardless of their professional qualifications. It was a period of terror, when the country was ruled by a three-way administration, with Bierut-Berman leading in the sphere of politics and interior security, Hilary Minc directing the country's economics, and General Konstanty Rokossowski controlling the army. Many trials against the former managers from the years 1945-1948 were conducted in which the ex-managers were accused of treason, spying, etc. In the army, many officers were shot, e.g. in 1953 19 officers were executed together with Colonel Mieczysław Oborski. The former Vice-minister in the Ministry of Agriculture, Stanisław Kowalewski, was sentenced to several years of imprisonment.

The new professional middle *nomenklatura* consisted first of all of people of the right origin: sons and daughters of workers and farmers (but not those of rich farmers, the *kulaks*) who were members of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) or of the Polish Youth Union (ZMP), in many cases not having sufficient professional qualifications. In that period a secret "plan of personnel replacement" was prepared in all sectors, according to which a long-term (till 1958) process of personnel modification was foreseen aiming at the substitution of the old, politically uncertain, management by a new, fully indoctrinated Communist *nomenklatura* that would be also appropriately prepared in professional terms. These plans, however, were not fully realized because of the increasing process of political "thaw" after the death of Stalin, which eventually resulted in the out-break of the "Polish October" in 1956.

c) The years 1956-1968 constitute the third period, the time marked by clear liberalization of Poland's interior policy. The secret plans for personnel replacement became public in many institutions and many employees, who had lost their jobs in the period of terror, were given work again. The horrible and cruel figures from the former Ministry of Public Security, Anatol Felgin, the ex-director of the 10th

Department, and Józef Różański-Golberg, the ex-director of the Investigation Department were arrested and sentenced. In this period the few professionals who never became Party members were given important managerial positions and an intensive process of management education was started. In the army and in state administration an action of obligatory schooling of management began. Managers were requested to complete their high-school leaving diplomas or university degrees in the prescribed time and they engaged in full-time management evening studies. In 1961, the Institute for Management Personnel Development, organized by UNESCO, was created and it operated under the direct supervision of the head of the Ministers' Council Office. A certain "fashion" for completing doctoral studies was observed among the directors at the central and regional management levels. Thus, this period was marked by a clearly new personnel policy which led to a significant professional improvement of the *nomenklatura*, which continued to represent the political profile of the Party. Also at that time, the Central School of Social Sciences, a new institution of academic education, was created under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Party, for the purpose of professional education of the Party management. In 1968, however, a new destructive action aimed at the "de-zionization" of the country's management apparatus began. Many directors of Jewish origin were removed from important managerial positions of directors, presidents and vice-ministers in the Party, as well as in the state administration. This action was linked with strong pro-Israel tendencies in this milieu during the six-day war between Israel and Egypt and with the fact that many leaders of the democratic dissident movement among the Polish students were of Jewish origin. As a result, about 13,000 people of Jewish origin emigrated from Poland, most of whom had previously held managerial positions in the Polish Workers' United Party, state administration and in the Polish security apparatus².

d) The fourth period covers the years 1968-1989. Three sub-periods can be distinguished here: 1968-1970 when the strikes broke out in Gdańsk and Szczecin; 1970-1980, the so-called "Gierek's Era"; and 1980-1989, the Solidarity period, which later turned into the period of martial law. In this fourth period, characterized by gradual "liberization" (i.e. loosening, slackening and easing) of the personnel policy, new management was formed, which could be described as satisfactory on the professional level. It was composed of managers who, as a rule, completed university studies, and frequently held Ph.D. degrees. In universities, a new institution known under the title of the so-called "March docents" ("March associate professors") was created. This university position was awarded to certain professors in spite of the fact that they did not complete their second degree doctorate (of the "habilitated" doctor). The objective of the policy involving the "March docents" was to politicize Polish scholarship and Polish universities, since after 1956, the professorial and research personnel were dominated by scholars and scientists who were not Party members. These facts show that the principle of the Party-controlled *nomenklatura* was still operational, even though this *nomenklatura* was now professionally efficient. The period of "opening onto the West" started by Gierek in 1971, brought about many international contacts with countries representing the free-market economy. The fact that Austria, Sweden and Finland did not require entrance visas for Polish citizens facilitated access to western information. All these factors helped in the formation of the awareness of the Polish *nomenklatura*, which was now qualitatively different from that of the first periods of the Polish People's Republic.

3. Structure and attitudes of the Polish *nomenklatura* as exemplified by the management of the Polish National Bank

It seems that the best method of arriving at the most appropriate characteristic of the Polish People's Republic's *nomenklatura* is provided by situational analyses in specific institutions. The Polish National Bank, a central financial institution in the country, played an enormous monopolistic role in the area of cash turnover, crediting and financial control of the country's national economy. That's why it played an exemplary, in a sense, role in the structure of the Polish *nomenklatura*. In the light of the research I have carried out and on the basis of my own participating observation I can determine, in a

relatively precise manner including concrete personal examples, both the typology of the attitudes in the *nomenklatura* and its statistical structure.

The most important figure in the bank *nomenklatura* was the President of the Polish National Bank and the Finance Vice-Minister at the same time - Dr. Witold Trąpczyński. He represented a definite political attitude, adopted also by a certain number of followers. Witold Trąpczyński was a nephew of Wojciech Trąpczyński, a pre-war senator in the Second Republic, active in the anti-Communist National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe). He studied in the USA before the war and under German occupation worked in the Emission Bank (Bank Emisyjny). After the war he became a vice-president of the Polish National Bank as a non-Party member. In 1947 he joined the Polish Workers' Party and was nominated President of this institution. Trąpczyński's attitude could be described as that of "ideological opportunism". As I was a person he trusted and in whom he confided, I had an opportunity to get to know the reasons which, according to him, justified this form of opportunism. Trąpczyński maintained that the only chance for Poland's survival and progress lay in the country's economic development, involving essential changes in the professional structure and the high-level education of the management. In 1945 Poland was a country with a population of 30% illiterates and 73% of rural people, who represented a low level of farming culture and a very low level of intellectual culture (only about 0.4% of these people had university education). In these conditions a country needs rapid industrialization, elimination of illiteracy, popularization of full primary and secondary education, at least 10% of university-educated citizens and a creation of an employment structure that would contain no more than 5 to 10% of farmers. In other words, such were the necessary conditions for Poland to reach a truly European economic status. This development process concurred with the programme of the Polish Workers' Party.

One has to be aware of the fact that from the purely political point of view the introduction in Poland of the socialist regime under the auspices of the Soviet Union was the doing of the USA and the United Kingdom. Already during the conference in Teheran in 1943, and even earlier, Roosevelt represented Tocqueville's vision of the division of the world into two spheres of power, that of the USA and the USSR. Under these conditions, an independence-oriented action, whatever it might be, had no chances of success.

Trąpczyński consciously disregarded the problem of political indoctrination, maintaining that the Christian traditions consolidated and preserved in the Polish national ethos are so strong that any Communist ideological declarations would always be considered fictitious by the Poles, as they would find no confirmation in their convictions, deeply rooted in the traditional culture³. He also believed that given a long enough period of time, the economic efficiency of the West will have to result in the fall of Communism. However, in order for the industrialization of Poland to be effective, the country had to be managed by people who represented appropriate intellectual and moral values and not by the *nouveauriche* Party members with no professional qualifications in management, careerists whose only aim was their personal success. Hence his decision to join the Polish Workers' Party, a move which made it possible for him to organize the bank in a rational manner. One has to admit that, indeed, the bank as managed by Trąpczyński became an extremely efficient organization, in which the personnel recruitment system depended on professional qualifications which were treated at par with political criteria⁴. On the other hand, having isolated himself totally from political activity, Trąpczyński transferred political responsibilities to his subordinate, a pre-war Communist, General Jakub Prawin.

The model represented by Trąpczyński was not popular in Poland, creating a situation contrary to that in Czechoslovakia, where the majority of the powerful Czech Nazi party "Narodni Sourecenstvi" (which, with its 4,000,000 members, united all the working Czech population at the time of the German occupation) joined the Czech Communist Party after the war (Snejdarek 1986).

In the Polish National Bank, however, a philosophy similar to that of Trąpczyński was also represented by the bank's Vice-President Bronisław Piotrowski and a group of department directors: The fictitious character of an apparent acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology with the parallel

preservation and maintenance of the traditional Catholic faith led to many conflicts. Well known was the case of Director Wacław Boratyński, a very efficient professional, who was denounced for participating in Church services. When interrogated by a Party committee, Boratyński bravely declared his Catholic faith. Upon consideration of his professional qualifications, however, as well as his positive "social attitude", he was not expelled from the Party but merely delegated to an intensive Party schooling course in order to "rationalize his backward attitude towards religious superstitions".

The Trąpczyński model found several followers after the 1956 turning-point. A classical personal example here was that of Professor Zdzisław Fedorowicz, who joined the Party and took the position of the bank's vice-president. Fedorowicz maintained that the new anti-Stalinist policy of the Polish United Workers' Party led by Władysław Gomułka created a real basis for rational development activities. This attitude was represented by a relatively large group of managers who were not members of the Polish United Workers' Party. They were the people with professional qualifications and experience high enough for the Party to assign them to managerial positions or to give them the function of presidential advisors. These managers, however, remained under strict and constant surveillance of Party members (e.g. director of the Planification Department and later of the Foreign Department - Mieczysław Karczmarski, director of the Administration Department - Mariusz Zembruski; director of the Regional Sector - Zbigniew Krzyżkiewicz). The main figure illustrating this attitude was that of Vice-President Leopold Gluck, who was removed from the bank's staff in 1952 for representing an "ideologically foreign element". He was rehabilitated after 1956 under the terms of the general rehabilitation embracing all professional personnel laid off for political reasons in the period of Stalinism. All of them were people who considered the Communist Party membership as an act of some sort of denial of their cultural identity. They wanted, however, to take an active part in the process of the country's development according to their individual abilities.

This type of attitude among the *nomenklatura* was frequently observed in various areas of activity outside the Polish National Bank. One should mention here the names of Professor Kazimierz Secomski, a non-Party government member, Professor Witold Trzeciakowski, a director for many years of the Market Analysis Department in the Foreign Trade Ministry and a whole range of professors and outstanding scholars who managed to stay in their positions, such as Tadeusz Kotarbiński, Władysław Tatarkiewicz, Jan Zieleniewski, Stanisław Kowalewski, Marian Mazur, Aleksander Gieysztor, Adam Sarapata, Andrzej Koźmiński, Tadeusz Pszczółowski, Witold Jarzębowski, Zbigniew Szeloch, Xymena Gliszczynska, Jerzy Kurnał, Jerzy Trzcieniecki, Adam Podgórecki, Tadeusz Trajdos and many, many others. All these people, who worked as department or institute heads or simply as university professors were included in the official register of the *nomenklatura*, creating a specific Polish structure that would have been totally impossible in the USSR where all managerial positions of university professors were reserved exclusively for members of the Communist Party. Even such outstanding reformers as Andrei Sacharow had to be members of the Communist Party.

At the lower level of the bank's central management most of the positions of the department heads were occupied by non-Party personnel referred to as the "non-Party Communists", which meant that they realized the programme, in terms of particular task, determined by the Party. The regional management, however, consisted, as a rule, of Party members: out of the 17, later 49, regions (vojevodships) only one region manager, that of the region of Warsaw, was not a Party member. The same principle applied to the directors of operational departments, who usually held also various social and Party functions. A decisive role in the process of practical application of Marxist philosophy to everyday professional activities in the bank was played by a small group of fervent Party activists, who enjoyed the obvious prerogative powers. Some of them realized the Party's policy, clearly identifying themselves with it and treating it as an expression of their own views. Some others, however, treated their political activity as an indispensable condition of their personal career. In the Polish National Bank the latter group was represented by part of the administration management, by the personal services apparatus known as the Protection Department, an agency of the Ministry of Public Security operating

until 1954, and by particular individuals who had clear agent-like connections. With the highly professional president who, however, had no political traditions and what's more, was burdened with the landed aristocracy origin, the question of political purity in the bank was entirely in the hands of the vice-president, General Jakub Prawin. He was an extremely colourful personality, a pre-war Communist with a Ph.D. degree in law from the University of Vienna, famous as a co-writer, with Jakub Berman, of the Manifesto of the National Liberation Front composed in Moscow in 1944. He was, no doubt, a Communist by conviction, but his exceptionally high intellectual qualifications and a temperament of a *bon vivant* must have stirred anti-totalitarian tendencies in his mind.

The authentic orthodox Communist Party rigour was represented in the bank by the director of the Foreign Department and an ex-functionary of the Public Security Ministry, Comrade Wójcikowa, by the director of the Credits Department and a temporary first secretary of the Basal Party Organization, Henryk Kisiel, who later became Finance Minister and a vice-Prime Minister, and finally, by the Personal Department apparatus, the Protection Department and by the subsequent salaried secretaries of the Basal Party Organization and secretaries of the departmental Party organizations. The personnel apparatus was undoubtedly an agency of the security apparatus; its successive heads organized a system of political control and supervision as well as that of the personnel examination and the denouncing service. The Personnel Department often called staff members for "explanatory talks", concerning certain behaviour, such as acts of sexual harassment or unacceptable verbal expressions. Sometimes the cases were very trivial, mere trifles that became subject of complicated investigations. I remember the case of a colleague who, seeing that in one of the bank's rooms the portraits of the three leaders of the country, Head of the State Council Bierut, Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz and Marshal Rokossowski were not evenly arranged on the wall, jokingly told a secretary: "Would you hang this Russian troika properly?". There were more people in the room and the unfortunate colleague was called to report to the secretary of the Basal Party Organization, where he was accused of an anti-Party verbal statement. Obviously, the personnel apparatus had its own staff of secret informants who were, on the whole, well known as such. People knew who should not be frankly talked to. It can thus be stated that a generally accurate social estimate of the co-workers' political honesty did exist and that it was independent of the employees' political affiliation.

The director of this sector, which later became the Personnel Department, was the most authentic representative of the Party *nomenklatura*. He was the man who voiced current political slogans on any suitable occasion. Tadeusz Kropiniewicz was the most restrictive director of this department. He executed an enormous personnel purge in the years 1951-1954 removing many worthy managers from the bank's staff for the "evils of the past" (working in the Polish Bank before the war, having family abroad, Home Army membership, being a practicing Catholic, having a bourgeois social origin).

In the Stalinist period the *nomenklatura* of the security apparatus was well formalized: there existed a Protection Department in the bank which was functionally subordinated to the Ministry of Security. The head of this department, Manager Dines, spread real terror in the bank⁵. He would call to his office for interrogation even the department directors, where he would ask them to relate their c.v. over and over again trying to spot some inconsistencies. The collaboration between the Protection Department and the Personnel Department was very close. There can be no doubt that the informants' network in existence was used by both of these units, with one possible difference: the Protection Department transferred its reports to the Public Security Ministry, and the Personnel Department informed the Party units at appropriate levels.

The Party structure of the Polish National Bank head office can be defined accurately in terms of the unique research investigations which were accomplished in 1956. The research was carried out by the employees who were not Party members and could therefore be objective. In the completed classification twelve types of attitudes were distinguished as stereotypes of Party members:

1. Rational missionaries - people accepting Communism as the right ideology of social justice based on a scientific ideology of dialectical materialism.

2. Missionary believers - people who believed in Communism as the right idea; for them, Communism was a kind of religion, where rational acceptance was not necessary; it was a matter of emotional acceptance.

3. Traditional leftists - primarily former members of the Polish Socialist Party which was united with the Polish Workers' Party, who did not accept all Communist strategies but approved of the Party's long-term objectives.

4. People contesting all capitalist reality, the wealth of capitalists and their exploitation of the poor. They were older people wronged by the pre-war capitalism in Poland.

5. Missionaries who did not accept the materialist ideology; they believed in the superiority of the Communist economic system (nationalization, social justice) but remained Christians in the sphere of ideology.

6. Nationalist patriots - people who have not accepted Marxist ideology but wanted to work for the good of the country ("My country and our society are more important than ideology; Communism is here today but it might be gone tomorrow; yet, my homeland will remain here forever".)

7. People who always adjust to the milieu ("All my friends are Party members, so I must be with them".)

8. Professional success-oriented people - "I can do well in my profession, if I have a good working place; all this depends on my membership in the Party".

9. Opportunists - "What else can I do if I want to work quietly and do my job well? It is better to be a Party member. Let us not forget that I have a wife and children to provide for".

10. People seeking protection - "I am weak, I have no skills; the Party is strong and it will protect me".

11. Careerists - people who live to pursue their personal career. They would accept any ideology to be appointed to a managerial position which guarantees power and money.

12. Criminals - people who were looking for suitable conditions to make money by committing criminal acts.

This tentative classification of attitudes represented by Party members was based on an analysis of real cases, with clearly identifiable employees ascribed to each category. One essential problem came to light, however, at the time: that of an obvious conflict between traditional Catholicism and Party membership. According to the results of much sociological research, a prevailing majority of the Polish society declare themselves as Catholics.

According to the data presented by Professor Ziółkowski, Chairman of the Polish Sociological Society (Ziółkowski 1985) *94 out of 100 (Polish) children are baptized; out of 100 civil marriages registered in city halls, 84 are also celebrated in church; 97 out of 100 funerals are performed according to the Catholic Church ritual. Sociological research has also established that 60% of the Polish people are the so-called "dominicans" (people who attend Mass on Sunday) and 85% are the "paschants" (those who go to confession and participate in the Sacrament of Holy Communion at least once a year). On the basis of questionnaire surveys it can be stated that 85% of the population declare themselves as religious believers, 5% as atheists, and 10% are indifferent to the question of religion.*

In an interview given by the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), General Wojciech Jaruzelski, to the editor of the French newspaper *Le Monde* in March 1986, the General said: *associations of Catholics and lay Christians... are represented in our parliament, in the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, in various departments of our government administration... Let me add that even in our Party, the number of religious believers is not small* (Jaruzelski 1986).

Dialectical materialism obviously does not agree with Christian spiritualism; these two ideologies are mutually exclusive. One cannot be a materialist (an atheist) and a spiritualist (a believing Catholic) at the same time. A Catholic who is a Communist Party member faces an internal conflict if he treats his

convictions seriously. A lack of such a conflict points to the superficiality, even artificiality, of his ideological involvement. People with such double ideology are the people who live for the sake of appearances and cannot be treated seriously.

There is no doubt that the percentage of genuine communists, represented by the first four categories in the above classification, was relatively small in the Polish Communist Party. According to the analysis completed in the Polish National Bank in 1956, only 3-5% of the Bank's central headquarters personnel, who were members of the Party, were included in these categories. There appear to be two main reasons for joining the Party:

- a. ideological reasons, not necessarily identical with the assumptions of the Party ideology (the first six types in our classification)
- b. non-ideological reasons, focused on personal advantage (the last six types in the classification)

With time, independently of the initial motivation, an attitude of subordination, well-suited to the realization of the Party objectives, was eventually formed thanks to the Party discipline. As a rule, careerists were the most disciplined and the most orthodox members. That's why in the period of the Party's dynamic growth in Poland, just after the Second World War, recruitment actions were organized with a message which clearly implied that "if you join the Party, you will have clearly defined advantages". Awareness of the obstacles which hindered quick personal advancement if one has no Party membership card was frequently the factor determining one's decision to join the Party, often extending to all members of a social group.

The results of this personnel policy were not satisfactory, however. The fact that all of the greatest (above 1 million zlotys) frauds in the history of the Polish National Bank until 1970 were committed not just by the regular members of the Party but also by the members of the Party's management was something of a shock to some political authorities in the bank. For example a robbery of about 5 million zlotys at the branch in Nowy Port in 1951 turned out to be organized by the branch director who was also a member of the executive of the Regional Committee; a sophisticated robbery of about 10 million zlotys at the branch of Wolów was master-minded by the first secretary of the Basal Party Organization; a most complex fraud at the branch in Gniezno in 1952 was committed by the general bookkeeper, a member of the Municipal Committee of the Party, and the defraudation of the personal account of the Prime Minister was carried out by the president of one of the biggest Warsaw branches, the former head of the Personnel Department at the headquarters, who had enjoyed a reputation of a righteous and devoted communist.

4. Conclusions

This empirical analysis of the structure and attitudes of the *nomenklatura* carried out on the example of the Polish National Bank warrants a thesis that the plan to build in Poland a strong homogenous management group that would be devoted to the cause of Communism succeeded only to a very small extent. In the light of the research highlighting members' motivation for joining the Party it can be suggested that the prevailing majority of the members were opportunists and careerists, obviously ready to leave this political organization whenever any change of circumstances occurred⁶.

Thus, the thesis I first formulated in 1971 (Krall 1971) has been confirmed by the above analysis: that the phenomenon observed was that of **pretended** living. Life was a game of appearances in which the prevailing majority of the *nomenklatura* voiced official socialist slogans but in reality never truly accepted them in their mind and soul. One witnessed a constant conflict between home and office, between things official and things private. In this way Communism was being built without communists, in a way, which did not affect the fact that there existed some terrifying figures of dangerous fundamentalists who, in their pursuit of personal gain, realized the policy of the Party.

It is only natural that within the *nomenklatura* various personal mafia-like relations were formed on the basis of common interests and mutual support for the realization of particular members' personal

goals. Personal links aiming at the reformation of the system were also formed, however. A good example here can be furnished by the spontaneously formed committee which in 1956 outlined as its goal the "de-stalinization" of the bank. In this committee the leading role was played, next to the non-Party members of the managerial staff, also by the Party members in the *nomenklatura*.

There is no doubt that the most fundamentalist attitude in the *nomenklatura* was represented by the highest management of the Party structure (secretaries and the executives of the committees) as well as that of the security apparatus. There also existed a network of secret collaborators of the security apparatus, but the collective social instinct was able to identify these people with great accuracy. On the whole, people knew well whom they could talk to frankly and without fear and whom they should beware of and they double-thought each word before uttering it in their presence.

To sum up, it can be said that just as an attempt to build a new civilization and to form a new socialist man has failed in Poland⁷, so has ended in failure an attempt to create a homogenous and loyal *nomenklatura*. A decidedly prevailing majority of the Polish *nomenklatura* was a pretended *nomenklatura*, existing for the sake of appearances. This fact explains why during the crises of the regime the *nomenklatura* was, in the most cases, passive. It also explains why the Polish *nomenklatura* gave up their leading role with such ease and agreed to the "Round Table" in 1989 and to the dissolution of the Party in 1990. Here also lies an explanation of the facility which characterized the transfer of a large part of the *nomenklatura* from the position of power to the position oriented on making "capital" and of their success in private business⁸. If the majority of the Polish *nomenklatura* had represented a real potential in the ideological involvement, the events of 1989 would have had a totally different turn. A strong Party *nomenklatura* in the army and in the security apparatus (98% of the personnel), in state enterprises (95% of the head managers) had every possible chance of retaining power by force. Its peaceful surrender testifies to the fact that it was ideologically weak and that its commitment to the cause of socialism was not real, and that the whole philosophy of forming a strong and devoted *nomenklatura* was a complete failure.

A problem which arises at this point, however, is that of a moral damage brought about by the life of pretending, distortion of one's own identity and permanent game of appearances, that was lived in the country for so many years. It seems, however, that the authentic character of democracy and the free market economy will, in a sufficiently long period of time and acting on the principle of the "invisible hand" and a free social evaluation, result in the selection of an authentic management, with satisfactory moral and professional values that will guarantee an efficient administration of the state.

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Footnotes

1. Jerzy Topolski (1993): *Historia Polski*, Warsaw: Polczek, p.315:

"In the attitude towards the Jews old stereotypes of the "Jewish commune" ("Zydo-komuna") were often reflected. Many people considered Jews as supporters of foreign business and of communism. For this opinion to be formed it was enough that a certain number of Jews held important functions in the security apparatus organs, subordinated to the NKWD (the Polish KGB). This fact became at the time the main reason for resentment against Jews..."

2. Jerzy Topolski (1993) writes the following: *"At the same time, emphasizing the fact that many of the leaders of the student movement were of Jewish origin, the Polish United Workers' party instigated a wave of anti-semitism forcing, directly or indirectly, about 13,000 people of Jewish origin to leave the country. This fact greatly tarnished Poland's international prestige"*. (ibid., p.332)

3. Also Jan Szczepański emphasizes the significance of the Christian culture tradition in the process of opposing communism: *"Religion and its institutions opposing communism in all areas of social life and in the human individual were a powerful factor hindering the introduction of communism in Poland and modifying the process of the communist model realization in the society, economy and culture"*. (1993: *Polskie Losy*, Warsaw: BGW: 24)

4. Trąmpczyński introduced a system of the so-called "practicants". Students of the departments of Economics and Law received scholarships from the bank. In terms of these scholarships they had to spend a practice period in every banking department. Every year a joint grade was given to them on the basis of their practical knowledge of banking and their university results.

5. Manager Dines emigrated to South America in 1958 where he made a lot of money running his own trading company.

6. In the years 1980-1981 the number of party members in Poland decreased by about one-third.

7. Krystyna Kersten (1994) writes the following: *"Every attempt at remaking the collective consciousness by substituting new "socialist" values for the traditional ones, all the efforts, especially those in the years 1949-1956, aiming at a formation of a "new man" ended in a practically complete failure. Rejection by the cultural tissue of a transplant that was so foreign led to the situation in which instead of the communization of the nation, the process of the "nationalization of communism" was in progress. This nationalization was, to a significant degree, instrumental in character, but it was also real"*.

8. Research carried out by Wasilewski and Wnuk-Lipiński (1984) showed that almost every second manager in big private enterprises was a director of a socialist enterprise before 1989.

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"VIRTUAL" PROPERTY AND POST-COMMUNIST GLOBALIZATION

The thesis of my paper is twofold. Firstly, I argue that the nature of the so-called transition period in former communist countries can only be grasped in the context of a broader global transition. In other words, the specific shape the post-communist societies are taking is conditioned by the historical moment in which the collapse of communism has occurred. Secondly, I suggest that our understanding of the process of privatization and economic transformation in post-communist countries can be enhanced by recognizing the "virtuality" and transnationalization of their newly emerging property rights.

The Global Transition

Before explaining the peculiar nature of post-communist property relations, I would like to place them in a broader context. I believe that a conjunction of four interrelated forms (or layers) of contemporary capitalism can provide a useful framework for such an explanation.

1. Globalized post-industrial capitalism. This refers to the stage of capitalism which involves economic transnationalization and the weakening of the state's capacity to regulate the market; high capital mobility due to the liberalization of international financial rules; deregulation; the "global free-market" rhetoric; the erasing of the line between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" economies; a rapid shift to new post-industrial digital technologies; multiplication of forms of capital (e.g., access to information as capital); and the emergence of new forms of property (e.g., intellectual, suprajurisdictional). It also involves the process of transnationalization of capital accumulation that can be witnessed in the increasingly dominant role of both multinational corporations and their illicit counterparts which, however, are moving rapidly into the world of "legitimate" business.

Globalization should not be equated with the modernist pattern of homogenization, uniformization or unification (de Sousa Santos, 1994:253, 270). Linked as it is with a simultaneous process of regionalization, it is far more complex, ambiguous, and contradictory.

2. Supranational regional capitalism. This refers to the tendency to create and consolidate regional markets and to limit the autonomy and relevance of the nation-state. It also implies a pressure on lesser countries to adopt regional rules even before a guarantee of entry has been issued. Furthermore, it leads to the creation of a new hierarchy of states within new regional blocs. For the East/Central European states it may mean that they become a new periphery within the new regional power, the European Union. It also means entering another super-bureaucracy with all its drawbacks and familiar opportunities for corruption, fraud and skilful appropriation of public funds and subsidies. "Europe" has already become a convenient reference, evoked to justify all kinds of changes or policies or to score points in internal power struggles. General ignorance about the specific requirements of potential European membership allows them to be used as a shield for powerful local and foreign interests.

3. Globalized mafia capitalism. This refers to a growing tendency of hierarchical criminal organizations that are specialized in certain illicit markets (drugs, arms, sex trade, gambling, etc.) to diversify and form international business links among themselves. This in turn enhances their efficiency at raising and laundering huge amounts of capital for strategic investments in foreign or transnational markets. The size of this readily deployable capital may easily exceed the GDP of at least some of the post-communist states.

4. Post-communist capitalism (or "red-web capitalism"). This refers to the formation that emerged from the gradual transformation of the communist ruling (or nomenklatura) class¹ into the new capitalist class without leaving behind its heritage. It is a formation founded, on the one hand, on the removal of ideological and political obstacles to the full economic endowment of that class, and on the other hand, on a platform of integration with world/regional capitalism.

The East/Central European states' withdrawal from the Soviet bloc and the subsequent disintegration and anarchization of the Soviet Union have led to a rapid privatization of economic and security relations within that region. Particularly well positioned to steer and exploit this process has been the web of secret services² that formerly linked these states into one police edifice. Moreover, these countries' military/industrial complex - the symbol and legacy of the cold war - has become the driving force in the post-communist economies' integration into world-wide arms smuggling and illicit trading.

As a result of the Soviet bloc's collapse, the East/Central European countries underwent rapid redefinition of their national and territorial identity, but their long-awaited sovereignty came at a time when the modern concept of the independent nation-state is no longer perceived as a viable or even justifiable entity. Thus, the weakness and vulnerability of the new states cannot even be meaningfully addressed within the new framework of an open-ended and ambivalent process of globalization/regionalization.

This twin process of simultaneous **globalization** and **regionalization** appears to be mediated by a third trend that could be called "**networkization**." One of the consequences of globalization is a normative vacuum. International legal space is a contested area in which many interests, cultures and pressures - of course some more dominant than others - converge. It is an immense field where the urgent need for regulation co-exists with a profound scepticism about its totalitarian or imperialistic potential and its practical viability. The sense of global, paradigmatic change and a disillusion with modern concepts underlying the idea of law (rationality, formality, objectivity, closure, specialization, hierarchy, instrumentalism and possibility of planning³) open this vast space to multiple competing quasi-normative orders used instrumentally by various international networks. They are of paramount importance for doing business in the lawless international arena. Informal network rules replace and substitute for legal regulation, while digital technology and fast transport facilitate rapid internationalization of networking. It may be claimed that this international social capital becomes one of the key features of the global post-industrial economy.

All these processes occur in a time of profound cultural change, whereby turbulent interactions between modernity, post-modernity, and their as yet unnamed successor result in **paradigmatic chaos** and multiple unsynchronized shifts in our mental landscape.

Virtual Property and the Global Environment

The multiple processes that I have sketched constitute the context in which the former communist state property is being transformed into transnational property. The emerging pattern of ownership in the fledgling post-communist capitalism is a type of property that is ephemeral, diffuse, flexible, network-based, web-like, neither state nor private and neither local nor foreign.⁴ The new type of property rights

¹ Or, rather, its more dynamic elements. The final period of communism was marked by intense competition within the ruling party class, resulting in the advancement of those individuals and networks that were the most viable candidates for class conversion. They were generally younger, better educated, with military or security connections and managerial skills.

² They include the military special services.

³ See, for example, Cotterrell, 1984:22-4.

⁴ My conceptualization of this type of property constitutes a further elaboration of Stark's (1996) concept of "recombinant property." My interpretation accounts, however, for the transnationalization of post-communist property rights, the specificity of the class of actors involved and the post-industrial/post-modern environment which makes such arrangements possible. These vital elements are missing in Stark's elaboration of property rights in Hungary.

can best be described in terms of "virtual" property since it promises pleasure and profit without pain and liability.⁵

Just as "virtual reality" allows for the training of pilots while sheltering them from the physical effects of a navigational error, or for the experience of a risk-free sexual adventure, virtual property opens the door to recreating the gains involved in laying claim to something while avoiding the corresponding hazards and responsibilities. The "something" to which the claim is made may be used, for example, as a security against new credit. While it may not in fact exist, it may be "virtually" there in terms of its desired effects. Alternatively, it may exist but only ephemerally (destined for immediate bankruptcy or dissolution) as a means of legitimating, transmitting or laundering something else which, in turn, may be but a stage in an endless money-making virtual property chain.

The space in which virtual property thrives (technology-based, network-based, information-driven,⁶ long-distance) is characterized by speed, extraterritoriality and frailty of regulation. Yet it also has deep roots in the past, both in the systemic features of communist regimes and in the corresponding qualities and mentalities of their elites.

There is enough empirical evidence to conclude that transformations in East/Central Europe brought relatively little change in the composition of these countries' elites. The process of the "endowment of the nomenklatura" - launched well before the official collapse of the communist order - has been continued under the new, quasi-capitalist conditions.⁷ A large-scale, comparative study of elite recruitment conducted in 1993-94 in Russia and five East/Central European countries, demonstrates convincingly that, cross-national variations notwithstanding, most members of the new economic elites originate from the old nomenklatura (Szelenyi and Szelenyi, 1995; Wasilewski, 1995; Wasilewski and Wnuk-Lipinski, 1995).

This and other research have pointed primarily to the process of reproduction of the former communist managerial elite (or the economic nomenklatura) as the new owner/share-holder/manager stratum. This has been described as an almost unavoidable process, given not only their hands-on managerial experience - inaccessible to non-party members, who had been barred from these positions - but above all their "inherited political assets, which granted them easy access to information, decisionmaking, powerful networks, low-interest loans, etc." (Wasilewski and Wnuk-Lipinski, 1995:689). They were also best positioned to restructure the assets and liabilities of the state economy so they could freely exploit the former while leaving the latter to the state (Łoś 1992:125-8; Staniszkis, 1994-95 and 1995; Stark, 1996). To achieve this result they have been prepared to go to great lengths to complicate and muddle the new property rights arrangements. Based on his research in Hungary, David Stark characterized one common form of such arrangements when he talks about "a limited liability company owned by private person, by private ventures, and by other limited liability companies owned by joint stock companies, banks, and large public enterprises owned by the state" (Stark, 1996:1007). Stark calls it a "corporate satellite." Various corporate satellites are likely to be linked to each other within peculiar "metamorphic networks."

While thorough surveys can reconstruct the economic careers of many members of the former economic nomenklatura, it is much more difficult to trace the career paths of the former political nomenklatura (members of the party and security service apparatus). It is my contention, however, that by appreciating the "virtual" nature of property rights in post-communist countries it is possible to get at

⁵ In a sense, this perpetuates, albeit in a radically revised version, the earlier situation when the Communist party elites became accustomed to treating the state economy as their own, enjoying virtually all the privileges of private ownership without the obligations and responsibilities which normally come with it (Łoś 1990:8).

⁶ This includes compromising information that may be used against other players, but also introduces a common bond of complicity and interdependency.

⁷ See, for example, Gabryel and Zieleniewski, 1996; Handelman, 1994; Łoś, 1992, 1994; Staniszkis, 1994-95; Tarkowski, 1990; Tittenbrun, 1992.

least some insight into the complicated webs of profit-making schemes by these seemingly propertyless individuals and networks.

Full ownership or other predefined forms of property rights or managerial authority may not offer the same flexibility and profit opportunities as do more inventive strategies based on a subtle understanding of the new logic of business. This new logic is related to the following factors: emergence of new, inexperienced financial markets; inherent weakness of the reforming states; foreign trade liberalization (both domestically and globally); a multifaceted process of transnationalization of markets; and, finally, the opening of the borders between East and West as well as within the two new regional entities, the European Union and the multistate territory formerly occupied by the Soviet Union.

Considerable published evidence - available to anyone interested in piecing together the scattered investigative reports on large-scale economic scandals, dazzling fortunes and internationally connected financial operations - points invariably to the involvement by former party and secret service officials (Grajewski, 1996:14; Handelman, 1994; Knight, 1996; Los and Zybertowicz, 1996; Raport, 1992; Shelley, 1994:347; Sterling, 1994; Zybertowicz, 1993).

They may have few visible domestic property entitlements, but their fleeting property arrangements allow them to draw enormous untaxed profits. These are made possible by: their old networks of connections; insider information; preferential credits and subsidies; possession of sensitive/compromising material useful for blackmail/extortion/political pressure schemes; control over many domestic financial institutions; openness to co-operation with foreign partners, including intelligence services and organized crime syndicates; as well as receptiveness to unconventional lines of international business, including money-laundering, drugs- and arms-trade facilitation, smuggling, forging of import-export licences, etc.

Countless examples of spectacular cross-national networking include a gigantic scheme, launched at the beginning of the 1990s, to buy up at artificially low prices a large proportion of the Soviet currency in exchange for unencumbered access to and export of that country's immense natural resources on the eve of its imminent demise (for the best description of this, see Sterling, 1994, Part IV; also Sinuraja, 1995:38-41). The losses incurred by the Soviet (and, later, Russian) treasury ran into many billions of dollars.

In another scheme, a special fund for external debt management (the notorious FOZZ) was established in Poland in the last months of communist rule. While it was designed to buy up surreptitiously the Polish debt at the secondary market, the Fund, run by people connected to the Communist party and the intelligence and security services, became involved in complicated national and international banking and business operations, using several international intermediaries (Bikont, 1991; Dakowski and Przysław, 1992; Raport, 1992; Zybertowicz, 1993). The scam, which continued after the collapse of communism, involved the deliberate misuse of state funds in the range of one billion dollars.

The frantic patterns of constant reconstitution of their property rights by these former communist officials may be at least partly explained by their efforts to detach themselves from their communist past, forestall possible expropriation or prosecution, and build sound financial foundations for their refurbished political party and their own political careers.

While a flexible and fuzzy merger of state and private property might have been a sufficient strategy for the economic nomenklatura, the fears and aspirations of the political nomenklatura (party and security apparatus) seem to have led them to search for an even more open-ended concept of property. They have been looking for profit-producing entitlements unencumbered by registration, taxation, materiality or durability - in short, virtual property. This kind of property is a perfect enrichment mechanism for those who need to hide their economic pursuits, who are afraid their past may catch up with them, who need to generate secret funds to sponsor political activities and who are used to operating surreptitiously.

A good illustration is provided by the efforts of some representatives of the Polish Social Democratic party to secure a financial base for their organization and provide for its elite. This party

(which is currently the senior partner in the ruling coalition) is the direct successor of the Communist party and had taken over its numerous assets. Those assets included Western bank accounts in which the Communist party had stashed considerable amounts of money.⁸ Additionally, the nascent Social Democratic party received a special loan from the KGB to invest in profitable ventures⁹ as well as to finance its founding congress and the publication of a newspaper.¹⁰ Private businesses were to be set up in such a way as to attract foreign capital and to distance the ownership from the party itself, while making sure that the profits could be used to finance its agenda (Hugo-Bader, 1996; Janecki, 1996a,b; Janecki and Szoszkiewicz, 1996). A whole host of joint ventures, foundations, joint-stock companies, partnerships and financial organizations were then launched, dissolved, converted, and multiplied, with amazing speed. The pattern adopted made it practically impossible to track down any abuses of trust, appropriation of public money, the use of "paper" companies or assets as securities, or the actual involvement of the Social Democratic party or the KGB.

Driven by their unique combination of insecurity, greed and power designs, many former communist officials and agents have skilfully meshed into the broader process of simultaneous transnationalization of organized crime and the world economy.¹¹ They seem to have both precipitated and capitalized on the growing fusion of the two. It can be argued that the global tendency towards blurring the line between the criminal and legitimate economies has a peculiar appeal for people whose earlier experience within the secretive political structures of a monopolistic party/police state has equipped them with unique operational skills and intelligence, a network mentality and organization, as well as profound axiological nihilism.

It also appears that the post-communist economies have a special appeal for international organized crime and "mafia capitalism."¹² The many reasons for this include: normative chaos; a well-established culture of corruption and clientelism; poorly defined property rights;¹³ currency and foreign exchange fluctuations; preferential tax treatment offered to foreign investors; abundant opportunities for safe money laundering;¹⁴ the absence of extradition treaties; easy access to cheap military equipment (including nuclear material); and cheap natural resources (at least in some of these countries).¹⁵

In sum, while the uncertainty of the domestic economic scene has probably played a role in the preference of former communist power networks for locating their capital abroad, their background and the personal/group uncertainty related to their political past and future are vital to understanding their style of operation and preferred forms of property rights arrangements. The absence of international property rules makes it relatively easy for the post-communist networks to invest their dubious funds abroad and maintain their anonymity. The rules of operation they employ are not so different from those

⁸ For similar efforts of the Soviet Communist party, see Handelman, 1994:88-91.

⁹ Handelman's investigation led him to believe that "the KGB was... perhaps the most important [player] in bridging the criminality of the old regime with the criminality of the postcommunist era" (1994:92; see also Waller, 1994).

¹⁰ The criminal case against those involved in the Moscow loan scandal was eventually dropped when one prosecutor refused to sign the request to strip one of the main figures of his parliamentary immunity and another prosecutor discontinued the proceedings (in 1993) due to "the minimal social harm involved" (Janecki, 1996a; Parchimowicz, 1991). On both occasions, the Prosecutor General was a former communist official.

¹¹ This process has been facilitated by deregulation of financial markets, liberalization of international comers, increased mobility of capital, information and people, and regional supra-state bureaucratization (for the latter, see Passas and Nelken, 1993 and Fiorentini and Peltzman, 1995; see also Sinuraja, 1995 and Taylor, 1992 on internalization of criminal activities).

¹² I borrow this term from Paoli (1996) who used it in the Italian context.

¹³ According to Fiorentini and Peltzman, existing studies indicate that criminal organizations prefer allocating their resources in "regions where there are problems in the definition of the property rights" (1995:25)

¹⁴ According to a Russian estimate, about 16 billion dollars have been brought to Russia for money-laundering over a two-year period in the early 1990s (Sinuraja, 1995:46).

¹⁵ For elaboration of some of these aspects, see Shelley, 1996 and Sterling, 1994.

used by organized crime syndicates.¹⁶ But the line between the "legitimate" and "illegitimate" is blurring anyway, and from their vantage point, the new post-communist capitalists, accustomed to the same phenomenon under communism, do not find it problematic. Not surprisingly, the post-modern questioning of the validity of conventional (or any other) standards of legitimacy or legality becomes embodied and enthusiastically exploited in the practices of these new arrivals on the international scene.

Indeed, the new property rights that are typical of post-communist transformations can best be described by reference to the post-modern vocabulary. Is this simply a coincidence? It is important to realize that the actors who are shaping the post-communist economy from within (mostly the ruling elite/organized underworld of the past regime) have had no direct experience of the democratic nation-state, industrial capitalism or the ethos of modernity. These are empty concepts, of little value in the pursuit of their goals. What they have witnessed through their frequent travels and international contacts, especially in the final, decadent years of their former political lives, was the world of international business unconstrained by any fixed rules, dominated by transnational corporations and organizations skilled in passing costs to taxpayers or less developed countries, hospitable to international criminal consortia because of their huge financial power, discreet in its provision of banking services, rapidly embracing new technologies and open to new markets, opportunities and new "friends" from the East.¹⁷ They saw the world at the brink of the 21st century and they decided to join it.

The virtual property that became their choice vehicle for enrichment,¹⁸ both within their countries and transnationally, is a type of property that is fluid, easily disposable, convertible, invisible or hidden behind false names or short-lived fronts. Whereas traditional property is well entrenched in space and time, virtual property is freed from both these dimensions. It is here, there, and nowhere; one moment it exists, in another it is no more, or it has become something else. It knows no borders, respects no laws and is easily transferable by wire or other means of speedy communication. It escapes the law by virtue of the speed with which it transforms itself, its cross-jurisdictional reach, its web-like, network-based nature and its fundamental disconnectedness that renders modern, rational law powerless.

A wide range of versatile virtual property transactions has been facilitated by the unclear and shifting ownership status of much of the national wealth of post-communist countries and the inherently problematic conceptualization of cross-national ownership and property rights transfers (see de Sousa Santos, 1994:291). Moreover, and ironically, although born from the shock of totalitarianism, the post-modern climate, with its rejection of any form of normativism, objectivism, formalism and historical (or biographical) responsibility, has also helped legitimize the nihilistic, post-totalitarian mentality epitomized in the proliferation of the elite network-based virtual property chains.

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¹⁶ Margaret S.Beare explains how the latter use a strategy of "layering" whereby "a series of otherwise legitimate transactions are carried out which due to the frequency, volume or complexity of the transactions create a paper-trail that is hard or impossible to follow" (1995:172).

¹⁷ It may be suggested, using the current sociological lingo, that what is happening here is a process of internationalization of social capital.

¹⁸ Of course, they also invest in very solid and traditional property, e.g., expensive real estate in Western capitals.

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THE HIDDEN STRUCTURES OF THE LAW

Introduction

The way the law operates is shaped on at least three distinctive levels by a series of independent factors that occasionally conjoin or conflict with each other.

At the first level these factors are connected with the self-image of the law and consist of invisible determinants associated with a rudimentary perception of its workings. This is the level of *invisible* factors.

At the second level law is governed by factors connected with *intuitive law* which manifest themselves in various socially accepted understandings of the law; in the particular area of social life in which they operate; or, within a given area of social life, to a combination of other social elements surrounding the law. It is on this level that different sub-categories of law operate.

The third level is connected with residual forces that operate in society taken as a whole in a given historical period of its development. This paper is concerned with the post-totalitarian period in Central-East European societies, where law is influenced by a concert of various factors that may be called *post-totalitarian elements*. These forces can become visible, like in the case of invisible factors or in the case of intuitive law, only after a complicated process of abstraction.

To describe the workings of these factors, and to grasp how law functions within a given social reality, the three levels identified here will be considered separately and systematically.

Factors Based on Self-Image (Invisible Factors)¹

In the sixties, Polish scholars in the sociology of law devoted themselves to the task of differentiating, specifying, describing and defining certain invisible factors of the operation of law. This was because, by then, legal metastudies had been virtually prohibited, or reserved for those with an exclusively marxist perspective. Hence the interest of independently minded legal sociologists was forced into newly as yet unexploited areas of inquiry concerning aspects of social life that Marxist scholars ignored. It became evident that there was a plethora of such factors influencing the law, factors operating separately or in conjunction with others that were more or less easily discernible. The inquiries included a nationwide study conducted in 1962 of the relatively new institution of divorce law (introduced in Poland in 1945), which was conducted with 2,355 subjects; a nationwide study of parental authority conducted in 1963 with 2,723 subjects (comparative to a similar American study with 800 subjects); a basic study in the area of law and order and the prestige of the law conducted in the 1964 with 2,820 subjects; an inquiry on the legal and

¹ Compare: Adam Podgórecki, *Law and Society* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), Sub-chapter: "Invisible Factors" (pp.97 -106).

moral attitudes of the general Polish population conducted in 1966 with 3,167 subjects; and research on knowledge of the law done in 1970 using 2,197 subjects.²

An inquiry on the death penalty was particularly *exemplary and dramatic* because the factors that proved most influential were exclusively oriented to the subjective and personal, such as forms of insecurity, maladjustment to life, how the subjects perceived their own upbringing (easy-going, tolerant, strict, harsh, etc.), whereas the classical variables such as age, socioeconomic status and education *were found to have no significant influence*.

The typical sociological categories indicated relatively better knowledge of the law, among males of the 35-49 age group; persons of a higher educational level; persons actively involved in social service work; those with legal experience (criminal or civil), and particularly experience in court; persons who declared a past or present need for legal advice, and persons interested in mass media reports that dealt directly with legal matters.

With respect to the prestige of law, both classical sociological variables as well the invisible factors played an important role. The basic question relating to the issue of legal prestige used in the Polish study of 1964³ was:

There are different views on the question of the practical observance of the law. Please choose from the opinions listed those which appeal to you most:

Urban Rural

1. The law should always be obeyed even when we think it is wrong.⁴

44.3 45.3

² These studies yielded interesting results, some of which were subsequently published. For example, Adam Podgórecki, *Law and Society*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974; Adam Podgórecki, *A Sociological Theory of Law*. Milan, Giuffrè, 1991; Jerzy Kwaśniewski, Margaret Watson (eds.), *Social Control and the Law in Poland*. Oxford, Berg, 1991.

³ It should be noted that this question has often been used in subsequent studies of a similar kind but usually without reference to the Polish studies which triggered them. See, for example: James L. Gibson & Gregory A. Caldeira, "The Legal Cultures in Europe" in *Law and Society Review*, 30, No 1, (1996): p. 65. The existence of invisible factors was not recognized during those studies. Professor (distinguished) James L. Gibson acknowledged in his private letter that he was not familiar with the Polish studies.

⁴ This question has been repeated in different forms in several studies in various countries. Originally in Poland: Adam Podgórecki, *Prestiż Prawa (Prestige of Law)*, (Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw: 1966). 2) In Germany: Wolfgang Kaupen and W. Werle, "Knowledge and opinion of law and legal institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany. Preliminary results" (unpublished paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology, Research Committee of Sociology of Law, Evian, France, 1965). 3) in Belgium and Holland: J. van Houtte and P. Vinke "Attitudes Governing the Acceptance of Legislation among Various Population Groups," in Adam Podgórecki, Wolfgang Kaupen, J. Van Houtte, P. Vinke and Berl Kutchinsky, *Knowledge and Opinion about Law*, Oxford, Robertson, 1973. 4) in Japan: Masaji Chiba, "Results and Problems of K.O.L. Research in Japan. Preliminary Report" Noordwijk, unpublished material, 1972. 5) In Canada pilot study conducted by A. Podgórecki in the summer of 1974. The sample was randomly taken by summer students at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. This particular study was conducted during the Watergate hearings. See also: Adam Podgórecki, *A Sociological Theory of Law*, (Milano: Giuffrè, 1991). Although the question in various studies was formulated differently its basic sense remained the same. The results were: Poland - 45%; W. Germany - 66%; Holland - 47% U.S.A. - 51%; Japan - 73.4; Canada - 40%.

2. When one is confronted with a regulation one considers wrong one should only appear to conform to it, but in practice one should violate it.	22.7	22.5
3. One should in general disobey laws considered wrong.	17.7	18.8
4. I have yet another opinion.	4.7	4.1
5. It's hard for me to say.	10.6	9.3

N = 2,820

Thus, with the empirical formulation of this question the problem of invisible factors shaping the law and its connection to the essential problem of the prestige of law was introduced to legal sociology of law.⁵ The problem thus formulated revolved around the following issues:

- whether the law has its own independent motivational force,
- whether law can be analyzed from the point of view of invisible factors, or
- whether the law can be seen from the point of view of classical sociological variables.

The comprehensive Polish studies in this area conducted in 1966 showed that the law is supported by people with secondary or higher education whose family background is intellectual, and by white-collar workers. As for subjective factors, law was supported by rational, non-dogmatic people who show no signs of insecurity and who have bonds with their own group and are engaged in voluntary social service work.

As a general remark one might suggest: usually a mixture of the classical, objective factors and the invisible subjective ones blur a given area of social reality and muddy the picture of the influence exerted by invisible factors. So, what is theoretically important here is that before 1966 such *invisible factors* were not recognized as an independent cause of change in legal attitudes. The existence of invisible factors and their distribution in social and legal systems is significant for the following reasons. *If invisible factors challenge the legitimacy of a given social system, and if they lead to examination of the links between the legal and social systems, that may reveal that the legal system is weakly anchored in the social system. This in turn may indicate that its motivational force is weak.* Thus, invisible factors influence in a hidden manner the efficiency of the whole system, unlikely as that may seem. But such was the case in the Polish communist system before 1989. That was well demonstrated by an insightful, but not well promoted, work of Jerzy Kwasniewski. His fastidious study has shown that Polish society, on the whole, was not demoralized, since its members were able to distinguish precisely, bad from good on the cognitive level. Nevertheless, members of this society were under constant demoralizing pressures since they show high emotional and behavioural tolerance of recognized epidemic forms of social deviance. See Jerzy Kwasniewski, *Society*

⁵ Before these empirical studies the problem of the prestige of law was regarded exclusively as a normative one. It was perceived in the following way: why should law be considered as binding? was Nature or God implicated in that obligatory force? What type of historical circumstances turned law into this respected phenomenon? What type of social and economic groups have an inclination to treat law as a body of obligatory regulations? Why?

and Deviance in Communist Poland, (Leamington Spa, Berg Publishers, 1984). From this diagnosis it was one only step to predict the revolutionary changes in 1989.

Areas of Legal Operation (Intuitive Law)

Sometimes rather than the work of a team, the work of a single scholar can specify virgin domains of sociolegal research.

In his influential book *The Hidden Society* -- but still not enough appreciated work⁶ -- Vilhelm Aubert mentioned several areas where law operates in ways that remain largely unrecognized. For example, Aubert investigated sleep as human behaviour and noted that the act of sleeping represents a special period of insecurity. The sleeper is, "for physiological reasons, [in] an insecure and exposed state" (p. 189). In connection with that he says that "During the night the legal structure of society is laid bare, stripped of the complex system of informal social controls that are the meat and blood around the skeleton of law in daytime" (p. 197). This situation presents the apparatus of formal control with a

ample possibilities for raids, searches, arrests and other types of controls.

Aubert notes that "generally sociologists have shied away from the study of love" (p. 201), but he states that "secrecy seems to be an intrinsic characteristic of sexual life" (p. 204). The secrecy that usually surrounds love not only bars inquiries into this area but also shows that realms of human life can differ substantially; being plastic here and intimate there, varying with mutual individual preferences.

Aubert analyses the seclusion of those who are thrown together during sea voyages. On the basis of empirical research conducted with Oddvar Arner he generalizes that a seaman lives in a congested state at his place of work (which is also a place of leisure) together with his colleagues and superiors; he lives there separated from his family and from his local neighbourhood and national community; turnover among seamen is much higher than among industrial workers and that the position of a seaman on board is more highly specialized and graded than that of industrial workers on land. In sum, Aubert concludes that seamen live in a highly transparent, secluded community which resembles a formalized, strictly governed totalitarian society. He does not, however, specify the character of that formalization.

Of particular interest is Aubert's analysis (based on his own participant observation) of the situation in the Norwegian Underground Home Army, which operated during WWII in Norway. He stresses that secrecy "is the basic weapon" of the organization; that the members of an illegal community have defined social roles that make them appear to be members of legitimate society; that recruitment to the organization is based on friendship (which protects the organization against infiltration, agents provocateurs and other dangerous aliens), patriotism and loyalty; that the members of the organization should have certain technical skills and should be sufficiently "invisible" in general society; that they should be prepared for the fact that their status within the organization may oppose their outside social position; that in an underground organization the leadership doesn't have sufficient means to enforce its orders; that access to information is strictly related to rank; that the members of illegal organizations should be aware of relative deprivation of those who do not belong to such an organization; that they should avoid any written messages and diaries and leave as few written traces of their activities as possible, etc.; that their networks should be as decentralized as possible; that they should know how to play "double roles"; and that secret organizations are invariably temporary. Aubert says, "The total institution shapes and supports identity,

⁶ Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1965.

whereas secrecy constitutes a treat to identity. Secrecy creates counter-forces against the establishment of an inner feeling of being shut off from the rest of society, of being a group set apart. Strong attitudes of organizational loyalty and emphasis upon subcultural uniqueness (the myths and ritual secrecy) may accomplish what walls, locks, and spacial segregation accomplish among the members of total institution" (p. 306).

The settings and conditions Aubert describes, such as sleep, love, being a seaman or being a member of an underground organization, pinpoint areas of social life, that for one reason or another, have not been included among traditional investigations which control themselves mutually by systematic feedback and follow-up studies. But Aubert does not venture beyond these colourful and suggestive presentations. He does not say that all social institutions are coordinated from inside and regulated towards the outside by rigorous and strictly respected norms of intuitive law. He does not say that time, place and setting in relation to others are strictly regulated by mutually accepted norms; he does not say that lovers have, for example, their own secretive code that tells them what is acceptable in their intimate behaviour toward others and themselves; he doesn't analyze the intertwining of intuitive law with more formal regulation (for example, the formalized relations of seamen). He doesn't examine the necessity of this formalization given the high turnover among sailors: and finally, he doesn't specify that it is precisely intuitive law that provides the secret organization with its necessary integrity.

Therefore one may generalize: *the more social behaviour is in the grips of intuitive law,⁷ the stronger the influence of this law (whether supportive or obstructive) on the existing official legal system and, in consequence on all other intuitive-law behaviours taking place inside a given social system.* This particular generalization is theoretically important; it indicates that intuitive law and the cumulative potential of invisible factors and also the intuitive law influence (by strengthening or frustrating) the official legal system sometimes very strongly.

One might also say that *the more law is connected with individual, private matters, the more intuitive law is at the fore.* Thus, the private self, being oriented towards intimate substance, accepts a more flexible, subtle and subjective construct of law (love, sleep, sex, freedom, dignity), whereas the external selves being associated with matters of an objective nature (property, administrative matters, bureaucracy, governance), prefer to select the model of a formalized, reified and objectified official law. Therefore, social systems that accentuate the urgency of efficiency and order and command uniformity dress themselves in formalized garments (official legal systems), while those representing more advanced systems of civilization permit themselves the luxury in forms that are more adapted to individual tastes and demands.

Hidden Social Elements (Post-Totalitarian Elements)

Although the theory of post-totalitarian societies is still not fully developed, several points are clear. Among other things, one can speak of:

⁷ The concept of intuitive law was introduced by Leon Petrazycki, although it is attributed to Eugene Ehrlich; see Adam Podgórecki, "Intuitive Law Versus Folk Law", in *Zeitschrift für Rechtssoziologie*, (Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981); Petrazycki understands intuitive law as emotions linking partners by mutually connected rights and duties. The best exposition of intuitive law is in "O Prawie Pozytywnym i Prawie Intuicyjnym (About Official and Intuitive Law)," in Leon, Petrazycki. 1985. *O Nauce Prawa i Moralności* (About Sciences Law and Morality), (eds. Jerzy Licki and Andrzej Kojder), Warsaw, PWN, 1985, 267 - 85.

- a) the lack of legal impersonality among the public and on emotionally tainted treatment of the law;
- b) the influence on legal actors of hidden and former totalitarian institutions or hidden totalitarian norms (which still influence human behaviour);
- c) constant uncertainty regarding recommended directions for the behaviour of citizens and the practices of the authorities;
- d) the prevalence of strange psychosocial bodies which, as the creatures of prolonged existence in totalitarian structures, haunt the actual practice of institutions and citizens;
- e) hidden sociopolitical groups that carefully observe the development of public events and deftly intervene when they consider it expedient to do so.

With regard to the first point, some (usually those whose knowledge of Polish history is weak) regard the lack of legal impersonality as symptoms of the underdevelopment of Polish democracy. They forget that the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1772 was the second to be devised in the world (after the American and before the French) and they attribute to the vagaries of Polish society what are in fact creatures of the totalitarian system. Since the problem of "impersonality" of Polish and Central-East European law has elsewhere been discussed in detail (see Onati 1995), here it needs only to be mentioned.

With respect to *the constant influence of totalitarian legal institutions*, let's start with an example that the more dogmatically lawyers find shocking. Under the influence of the Latin legalistic tradition, judicial institutions, like *pacta sunt servanda* seem to have validity independently of the system in which they operate. According to this principle, an obligation once accepted is valid (binding) even if later conditions are drastically changed.⁸ But even in 1997 some lawyers remain, consciously or unconsciously, under the totalitarian ideology. They may dress themselves in non-totalitarian practices, and may regard "pacta sunt servanda" as obligatory. But is it also valid in revolutionary conditions? More particularly, is it valid during a transitory period?

The institution of *pacta sunt servanda* is a cognitive, but in the posttotalitarian socio-political reality this rule still operates as many old totalitarian establishments did. Indeed, it and other rules function under new and different colours. The average citizen is not quick enough to trace the genealogy of all suspicious institutional bodies. Therefore he falls easily into the political traps set by clerks who are well trained in survival techniques and primarily interested in keeping their jobs.

Political parties (especially totalitarian, operating before 1989) shrewdly developed one simple technique: that of hiding themselves behind their own proxies and then, using largely the same personnel and the same equipment, working continuously for the old, publicly discredited goals. This apparently happened with the Polish United Workers Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza), which now operates as the Democratic Left Alliance.

Uncertainty regarding norms and obligatory practices of the authorities is closely connected with the previous point. The public does not really know what the real practices of current authorities are. From one point of view these authorities are indeed legitimized by the democratic and successful revolution of 1989 and enjoy popular support; yet they expose the public to practices that originated during the various fluctuations of totalitarianism. This ambivalence contributes to a "warped social reality," which pertains to the situations where reactions to certain stimuli are accidental and unpredictable. Unforeseeable acts on the

⁸ In a well-known study by Stuart Macauley businessmen stick to arrangements which have been made informally (even during the lunch-break): they prefer to be treated as trustworthy partners, than to enjoy short-term benefit. (See Stuart Macauley, "The Relations Between the Law and the Legal System," in Lawrence Friedman and Stuart Macauley, *Law in the Behavioral Sciences* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977), pp. 171 - 91.

part of the authorities generated during the period of totalitarianism remained for a considerable period of time obligatory for the relevant personnel. For totalitarian regimes they had the advantage of keeping the population in constant uncertainty, since members of the population might be punished whimsically for transgressions of which they knew nothing. Now, in the post-totalitarian period, virtually the same personnel is doing what it was trained to do earlier. In general this period can be characterized as one of "dotted democracy," (a democratic order that retains some pockets of totalitarianism⁹). In dotted democracy a) elections, as a rule, follow the pattern of the majority principle: b) mass media are not under the restrictions of censorship and: c) freedom of movement outside the country is respected, but d) several post-totalitarian sub-cultures remain alive.

The period that started in 1989 is still too recent to secure sufficient confidence among the public. The public is still not sure whether the present practice of governance will persevere; the public does not know whether what is valid in 1997 will be obtainable in the near future, and the public is not sure whether tomorrow will nullify the agreements of today.

Additionally, in post-totalitarian regimes, the public does not know whether the current post-communist political coalition has already displayed its full arsenal of weapons. It watches those who govern carefully: if it supports them ambivalently (the present semi-communist coalition in Poland was anyway elected through the democratic process), it is not because of any inherent enthusiasm for or dedication to post-communist life, but because it is sceptical towards the new governing elites. The former minister of finance introduced rational anti-inflationary measures which instead of bringing some immediate relief, demanded further sacrifices from the population. The first president after 1989 – Wojciech Jaruzelski was (and still is) accused of treason: was he a new Konrad Wallenrod¹⁰ or was he just a janizary?¹¹ The next, very popular president, who was regarded by many as a charismatic and legendary Solidarity hero, did not have the right manners for a Polish intelligentsia ruler; nor did the governing elite understand that the ability to win a revolution did not go hand in hand with a talent for running the country in democratic circumstances. All these conditions perversely support the current post-communist government. Additionally, on the opposite side of the political spectrum there seem to be no appropriate leaders at all. Turning to the point d) that states that *there existed strange psycho-social bodies, which as the peculiar creatures of the prolonged existence in totalitarian structures, and still haunt the practical behaviour of citizens*, one may say that a prolonged existence in totalitarian structures develops unique psychosocial bodies that modify human and social behaviours in quite persistent ways. Such bodies are peculiar to the totalitarian context and can be fully comprehended only from within the totalitarian environment. Here I shall mention three: 1) oblique behaviour, 2) dirty togetherness, and 3) warped social behaviour.

"Oblique behaviour." The philosophy of mistrust is the first phenomenon. In Poland this phenomenon started to flourish just after WWII, when everybody, everyday, was nourished by his or her own portion of fear (during the war the population was so uniformly against the Germans that people knew precisely "who was who"). Straight behaviour appears when people trust themselves. Complete trust appears only occasionally in circumstances of profound love; in everyday life one encounters degrees of trust and

⁹ *Totalitarian and Post-Totalitarian Law* See Adam Podgórecki and Vittorio Olgiaati, (eds). Dartmouth, Aldershot, England, 1996.

¹⁰ A fictitious Polish general who consciously engaged the Prussian army in the 15th century in a battle with the Poles to destroy the Prussian Army (and himself).

¹¹ Janizary: any very loyal or submissive follower or supporter (originally a slave in the Turkish sultan's guard, established in 14th century, abolished in 1826).

nothing more. But mistrust has several of forms and degrees: it appears on the social level, in small property dealings, in family matters, and in all areas of public life. The scientific literature on totalitarian systems has not dealt sufficiently with these matters. It is no easier to do so in a post-totalitarian system; problems do not appeal to the minds and hearts of a new generation, which being steeped in Catholicism is against all attempts to "settle accounts." Those who didn't personally experience institutionally organized mistrust were incapable (except for some writers of genius like John-Paul Sartre) of understanding this state of mind since they lacked the antennas necessary to grasp its signals. In such a situation even elementary human ties like friendship are poisoned by a lack of trust.

In totalitarian settings human beings cannot easily strengthen the ties of natural friendship (although these ties might give them independent and necessary psychic support). Instead, they develop something new, something peculiar to their environment: an "artificial friendship" based on the possibility of mutual blackmail. From this arises the phenomenon of "dirty togetherness." Dirty togetherness means that individuals generate an operational mixture of informal and formal ties that are mutually binding. Such ties (usually illegal) are transplanted to official institutions, which they exploit for their own private gain. (See Adam Podg, "Tertiary Social Control"¹²). It is important to stress that in a situation of overwhelming totalitarian oppression, dirty togetherness serves as an essential instrument of a general survival. It creates a support that is needed to survive ubiquitous oppression.

Another phenomenon that appears as a result of prolonged totalitarian pressure is an already mentioned "warped social reality." Social reality becomes warped when the social target of intended activities -- an inability to identify the target, the changeability of applied policies, systematic questioning of the legitimacy of these policies, etc. -- gradually falls into a condition in which all guiding rules are systematically rejected.¹³ This phenomenon manifests itself when rational activities appear to be senseless; when any reaction may produce a totally unexpected outcome; when reasonable expectations appear to be irrational -- when people have become conditioned to behave in totally unreasonable and unpredictable ways.

The phenomena of oblique behaviour, dirty togetherness and warped social reality are important since they are characteristic of a society that has become the target of semirational activities. At a certain point, it has become so saturated with applied measures, that it starts to reject all new, rational strategies indiscriminately.

Finally, there is point e) the existence of hidden sociopolitical groups that carefully observe the development of public events and deftly intervene when they regard it as expedient. It is clear that practically any important social problem has a "pressure group" attributed to it.¹⁴ Since this text is not devoted to legal pressure groups, let's try to analyse those groups that are illegal or which operate on the borderline of legality. These groups are built up by those who belonged (or still belong) to: 1) the former nomenklatura, 2) former police formations, 3) the new type of instrumentally oriented power elite for whom immediate gain has the highest value, 4) those who willingly reorient their value hierarchies according to their actual interests. None of these groups are interested in revealing their internal mechanics.

¹² See Adam Podgórecki and Maria Łoś, *Multidimensional Sociology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) pp. 202-03.

¹³ See Adam Podgórecki (ed.) *Sociotechnika* (Warsaw, Książka i Wiedza, 1973 ("Various Understandings of Sociotechnics and the Scope of its Usefulness"), p. 54.

¹⁴ This text is not concerned with legitimate pressure groups about which a great deal has been written. Rather, it is interested in pressure groups that pretend to be legal while engaging in mainly illegal activities.

Hence they must be studied carefully using all possible sociological methodologies, with the proviso that the existing technics are too simplistic to fulfil that task.

These reflections can be summarized thus: *the more social reality remains under the influence of bodies that were produced by the totalitarian system, the less it can be guided by impersonal, rational legal means.*

Conclusion

Bearing in mind that law should be analyzed at three different levels, one can conclude from the foregoing investigation that, in general, *the more the role of invisible factors is recognized in processes guiding the law, the clearer it becomes that more areas are regulated by intuitive law; and the more post-totalitarian elements shape the official legal system, the more unpredictable the social, economic and political life of this system remains.*

Nonetheless, the more hidden social forces (invisible factors, intuitive law, post-totalitarian elements) coincide with the values of a given society, the less the official law is needed to implement those values. Further, the motivational force of the official law is close to zero, when invisible factors, intuitive law and post-totalitarian elements oppose its commands. Finally, the broader the gap between hidden social forces and the hierarchy of a society's moral order, the more paralysed official law is by this conflict; and the narrower the gap between hidden social elements and the hierarchy of the moral order, the less pressure is needed to infuse official law into the inner life of the society in question.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST CLASSIFICATION OF DHARMAS: "PAÑCAVASTUKA" OF VASUMITRA.

The origins of the theory of dharma and its implications.

It is well known that Buddhism calls the basic elements "*dharma*". Much has been written on the meaning of the word, or rather on the multitude of its meanings within the Buddhist religion and philosophy¹. The purpose of this article is not to discuss the 20 or so meanings and uses of the word, but rather to concentrate on a single one - dharma as elements.

So far I have not found a single Buddhist scholar who tried to answer the question: Why has the Buddha called the elements dharma? Why has he chosen a word so full of ambiguity, a word that he had already used in a couple of other situations and contexts? In my view, there may only be one answer to this question: The same word had already been used in a similar context by someone else before. If we look for such an use in the wider spectrum of ancient Indian philosophy, the answer is immediate: *Vaiśeṣika*. There, the seven categories of reality (existence and non-existence) are called *dharma* - or bearers of the features. The basic features are called *dharma*.

Vaiśeṣika, this ancient doctrine having its roots in the Upanishads, has much in common with Buddhism and its fellow-heresy: Jainism. Let us enumerate some of the common traits²:

- Radically pluralistic concept of reality as opposed to the monistic views of *Vedānta* and *Yoga* and the dualistic view of *Sāṃkhya*.
- Atomistic (*paramāṇu*) view of the matter.
- Admitting only four "great elements" (*mahābhūta*) and treating ether (*ākāśa*) in a special way.
- *Asatkāryavāda* doctrine of causality ("the effect is something completely new from the cause").
- Acceptance of only two means of valid cognition - perception (*pratyakṣa*) and reasoning (*anumāna*) - and rejection of the authority of the scripture (*āgama*).

There are however significant differences. One of them lies in the notion of "substance". *Vaiśeṣika* is a realistic school, very close to what we call the common-sense philosophy, accepting that what we perceive - exists. Things are. They are substances. The substances are subjects to qualities and movements. When we perceive changes - it is qualities that change or movements that take place, the substance remains the same.

The opinion of the Buddha was just the opposite: Our perception proves that the change is primary, inherent, and stability, duration - secondary. Everything we perceive is impermanent. As we perceive constant changes, we can infer that no substance exists and that reality is but a infinite flow of what we call qualities or features i.e. basic elements. No things are substances.

The Buddha has devoted much time to disavowing the common-sense view of the world, with its "things", "beings", "persons" and "souls". He considered this substantialist, "eternalist", view to be the main obstacle on the way to liberation.

The original enumerations of the elements made by the Buddha were meant to prove his position and reflect his basic anti-Vaiśeṣikan tendency. Most often used are three canonical classifications into 5 *skandhas*, into 12 *āyatanas* and into 18 *dhātus*. These should comprise all the phenomenal (conditioned) reality, and at least one unconditioned element, namely *nirvāṇa*, should remain outside these classifications.

Five *skandhas* - are five aggregates, "heaps", groups of personality components, as we perceive them when analyzing ourselves and everything that is somehow related to ourselves:

1. *rūpa* - form, or what is material or physical (perceived by the 5 senses)
2. *vedanā* - feelings or sensations
3. *saṃjñā* - notions or perceptions, cognitive elements
4. *saṃskāra* - "co-operating psychical elements" or volitions, dispositions etc.
5. *viññāna* - awareness or consciousness

The aim of this classification was to prove that there is no *ātman*, personality, ego, "I", soul, spirit, beyond the temporary conjunction of these five groups. There is no permanent subject to these elements.

Twelve *āyatana*s - or fields of knowledge - are divided into two groups: six internal ones comprise five senses and mind, as the organs of perception, six external ones are their respective objects:

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| 1. <i>cakṣurindriya</i> - eye-sense | 7. <i>rūpa</i> - forms (and colours) |
| 2. <i>śrotrendriya</i> - ear-sense | 8. <i>śabda</i> - sounds |
| 3. <i>ghraṇendriya</i> - nose-sense | 9. <i>gandha</i> - odours |
| 4. <i>jihvendriya</i> - tongue-sense | 10. <i>rasa</i> - tastes |
| 5. <i>kāyendriya</i> - body-sense | 11. <i>spraṣṭavya</i> - touchable |
| 6. <i>manāindriya</i> - mind-sense | 12. <i>dharma</i> - features or elements |

*Āyatana*s are the causes of all the psychological phenomena. This classification proves that cognition (*citta*=*viññāna*) never deals with a thing-in-itself as a permanent subject to sensitive qualities, that every object of cognition is but a group of impressions-and-representations constituted by both an organ of sense and a mind-organ. The sense of a "thing-in-itself" lies in it being an object of cognition or "thing-for-the-other" (*vastutva ity arthamātratā*). It further proves that matter or the body (*rūpa-skandha*) is not a substance but a combination of senses and their impressions. *Rūpaṃ ity ālambanam*.

The third classification - into 18 *dhātus*, "elements" - is a quasi repetition of the second, enlarged with 6 types of awarenesses, resulting in what we call "consciousness":

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|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>cakṣurvijñāna</i> - eye-awareness | 7-12 - repeats <i>āyatana</i> 1-6 |
| 2. <i>śrotravijñāna</i> - ear-awareness | 13-18 - repeats <i>āyatana</i> 7-12 |
| 3. <i>ghraṇavijñāna</i> - nose-awareness | |
| 4. <i>jihvavijñāna</i> - tongue-awareness | |
| 5. <i>kāyavijñāna</i> - body-awareness | |
| 6. <i>manovijñāna</i> - mind-awareness | |

This approach tries to prove the non-existence of a permanent "Ding-an-Sich" on the side of the "subject" of cognition, the consciousness being only a "body of six awarenesses" (*ṣaḍvijñānakāyā*) conditioned by 6 senses and their objects. *Ālambanaprativijñaptir iti vijñānam*.

We can see that the Buddha uses his classifications to deny every kind of subsistence. The substance or subsistence denied is called *ātman* or "(it)self" - the Sanskrit reflexive pronoun used in Indian philosophy to denote "me", "ego", "soul" or "Spirit". Its opposite is called *anātman*, "non-self", which for the Buddha is equivalent to all elements (both the phenomenal and the unconditioned). To deny the notion of an everlasting soul, he had to deny that both consciousness and matter be a "thing", and to do so he had to deny the very notion of the substance itself.

Given the denial of all those relations, the notion that the bearer of the feature is identical with the feature arises automatically. Furthermore, the Buddha implicitly denied the views of the

Vaiśeṣikas, and to be more effective, he has done so using their own terminology: Using the word "dharma" and therein denying the *dharma-dharmin* relation which is the basis for the *Vaiśeṣikan* classification of the categories. The element is not different from its phenomenal appearance. *Svalakṣaṇadhāraṇād iti dharmah* - "it is called *dharma*, «what is borne», because of its bearing its own characteristics".

THE SENSES OF *ANĀTMAN* ("NON-SUBSTANTIALITY")
IN THE EARLY-BUDDHIST CLASSIFICATION OF DHARMAS (ELEMENTS).

Classification	Type of <i>ātman</i> denied (kind of subsistence negated)		Type of relation negated	
5 <i>skandha</i>	<i>pudgala</i> <i>jīva</i> <i>sattva</i>	person soul being	<i>aham</i> - <i>maya</i> <i>svamin</i> - <i>sva</i>	I - mine owner - owned
12 <i>āyatana</i>	<i>dravya</i> <i>vastu</i> <i>rupavastu</i>	substance thing matter	<i>guṇin</i> - <i>guṇa</i>	substance (subject to a quality) - - quality
18 <i>dhātu</i>	<i>jñātṛ</i> <i>viññānavastu</i>	"the knowing one" consciousness	<i>viṣayin</i> - <i>viṣaya</i>	subject of cognition (subject of an object) - - object

These doctrines are summarized as follows:

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|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sarvā dharmā anityāḥ,</i> | - All elements are impermanent; |
| <i>sarvā dharmā anātmāḥ,</i> | - all elements are non-substantial; |
| <i>sarvā saṃskarā duḥkhāḥ,</i> | - all conditioned elements are (with) suffering; |
| <i>nirvāṇam eva sukham.</i> | - only the <i>nirvāṇa</i> is (with) bliss ³ . |

The use of the word *dharma* was by no means accidental, it was a conscious choice to use a philosophical term in order to oppose most effectively the conceptions of one's adversaries, to contrast them with one's own teachings. Selecting the word *dharma* for the name of the basic category of existence shows a step further in the anti-*Vaiśeṣikan* tendency of primitive Buddhism, the denial of even the meanest kind of subsistence. *Dharmamātratā iti nirdharmitva*.

This way of thinking was brought to perfection with the *Sautrāntika* school of Buddhism which denied any existence whatsoever beyond the mere phenomena, and as to the phenomena: there was nothing that "phenomenized itself" beyond "the phenomenizing" - no difference between *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Therefore, out of the group of 75 elements of *Sarvāstivāda*, only 46 appear to be the "real" phenomena, the other being but "pure notions" (*viññāpti*).

"Pañcavastuka" of Vasumitra and the new view of the dharmas.

The problem of how to classify all the basic elements (dharmas) of reality, and how many of them there are, arose very early in the Buddhist tradition. The schemata given by the Buddha himself (described above) were of little help for the more critically thinking, those who, with a religious attitude, wanted to philosophy instead of merely accepting the Master's standpoint.

The problem lies in the fact that with the three classifications mentioned above, the elements classified into the 4th *skandha*, the 12th *āyatana* and the 18th *dhātu*, are very numerous and mostly heterogenous, whereas the remaining categories often only comprise single elements and these elements often have characteristics similar to elements belonging to another class⁴. What's more, in the *pañcaskandhaka* classification, the unconditioned elements (at least *nirvāṇa*) are completely left aside. The classifications mentioned above are certainly made from the point of view of the subject cognizing and thriving for liberation and not from the point of view of the objective characteristics of the elements.

The challenge to establish a new and objective classification was undertaken by the school of *Sarvāstivādins*. They were Buddhist scholars who made their *abhidharma* ("philosophy") part of the all-Indian philosophical tradition⁵. First and foremost, they were open to discussions with others, they would study and discuss the works of the Brahmanical schools: *Sāṃkhya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Nyāya*, and last but not least, they would write in the widely understandable classical Sanskrit⁶, not in an obsolete vernacular or Pāli. The thesis which I intend to present, is that the adoption of the new schema of the classification of dharmas, as well as the general development of the philosophy of *Sarvāstivāda*, is due to the "*Vaiśeṣikan* formation" present therein.

The new classification appeared around the III-IV century after Nirvana (II-I century B.C.). The final formulation of the scheme can be found in the first two chapters of "*Abhidharmakośa*" by Vasubandhu⁷, but Vasubandhu mentions that the original formulation thereof can be found in the "*Pañcavastuka*" treatise by Vasumitra. While many Buddhist authors bore that name, I think we can without greater error identify the author as Vasumitra, author of "*Prakaraṇapāda*"⁸, one of the 7 fundamental works of the *Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma*⁹. The scheme has been incorporated in chapter one, bearing the name of "*Pañcavastuka*", in almost the same words¹⁰. The treatise must have evoked great respect among the *Sarvāstivādins*, as it has been translated into Chinese as one of the first documents of the school (by An Shigao, ca. 148-170 A.D.) and has been translated three times - a record unsurpassed.

This classification is called *pañcavastuka* as contrasted to the traditional *pañcaskandhaka*. It divides all dharmas into five categories called "things" (*vastu*), "states" (*avastha*) or again "features, properties" (*dharma*)¹¹. Vasumitra, of course, stands in a position of early Buddhist phenomenalism, admitting no Ding-an-Sich beyond phenomena, nevertheless his pluralism is less radical and he admits some kind of similarity between several elements enabling to classify them into almost homogenous groups due to the objective characteristics of their nature. All the dharmas being in the number of 62, can be divided into five categories¹²:

1. *rūpa* - form or matter;
2. *citta* - mind or consciousness;
3. *caitasika* - psychological elements always connected with mind;
4. *cittaviprayukta-saṃskāra* - conditioned elements separated from the mind;
5. *asaṃskṛta* - unconditioned elements.

The criterium for the first three groups is positive (similar common nature), the criterium for the last two groups is negative. The first category comprises 4 great elements (*mahābhūta*) and 11 elements secondary to them: 5 senses, 5 sense-objects and the form non-recognizable (*avijñāptirūpa*). The common factor is that they take place in space. The second category is mind or intellect or consciousness composite of the 6 bodies of awareness (*citta* = *manas* = *buddhi* = *ṣaḍvijñānakāyāḥ*).

The third category comprises psychological states and states that are inseparable from the mind,

such that they always accompany an awareness: emotion, volition, notion, cognitive contact; elements of mental purification: reasoning, reflection, attention, concentration, intention, decision, energy, intelligence, wisdom, faith, mindfulness, meditation (contemplation), joy, compassion, loving-kindness, dispassion (equanimity); and mental defilements such as: passion, hatred, lust, anger, nescience, envy, indulgence, torpor, false view, doubt, hopelessness, distraction, scruples, stupidity. The latter are subdivided into subcategories and some may seem repeated several times in some subcategories, due to different interpretations (as for example passion as "acute" state and as a permanent tendency). In the later work of Vasumitra, the IVth chapter of "*Prakaranapāda*", these subcategories were arranged according to a newly found criteria, that of a kind of consciousness (be it every kind of mind or only morally good, bad or neutral, or slightly defiled) which constitutes the basis (*mahābhūmi*) for these elements.

The fourth category, *cittaviprayukta*, contains the remaining elements of the *saṃskāraskandha* which are either never connected to the mind or are applicable to both mind and matter. We find here such categories as 4 phases of existence of a phenomenon (arising, duration, decay and disappearance), 3 kinds of connection (*pratilabha*) - to place, among the elements within one stream of existence (granting continuation in the stream of personality), and of the senses to what is knowable by them, generality or similarity biological genus and kind (*sabhāgatā* or *nikāyasabhāga*), (biological) vitality, masculinity and femininity, obtention (*prāpti*) and dispossession (*aprāpti*) or two subconscious factors that determine the continuation on the road to liberation, three categories of speech (phonemes, words and sentences), unconsciousness and finally two meditational states which turn out consciousness.

The last class - 3 *asaṃskṛta* dharmas - are those dharmas which are neither cause nor effect of *saṃskṛta* dharmas (i.e. of categories 1-4): 1) the (empty) space (*ākāśa*) being the "non-obstruction to the movements of the elements of matter"; 2) the "suppression due to insight" (*apratisaṃkhyānirodha*) which is the destruction of the elements of the stream of personality leading to rebirth (thanks to the insight into the nature of things); and 3) the "suppression not due to insight" or the destruction of the stream of personality due to destruction of causes: "non-appearance of new effects in absence of due causes"¹³. The last two are two "kinds" of *nirvāṇa* - the one obtained during lifetime and the final one obtained with death. In this way Vasumitra introduces the special interpretation of space as "empty receptacle" - contrary to other Buddhist schools who ascribe a material (*rūpa*) characteristic to it, but in accordance with *Vaiśeṣika*. He also puts the negative categories on the same level of philosophical investigation as the others - a specialty of the *Vaiśeṣikan* thought - completely in disaccord with the early Buddhist thought which wanted the *nirvāṇa* to be a "reality apart" to which no reasoning or investigation is applicable. He does not claim that *caitasikas* and *asaṃskṛtas* have the same kind of reality, but like the seven categories of *Vaiśeṣika* (7 *padārthas*, "word-meanings") contain all kinds of reality from substance to non-existence, out of which 6 categories are categories of being (existence), each different but still existing, all of them knowable and nameable, so the categories of Vasumitra (5 *vastus*) are somehow similar and the comparison and analysis are possible. Striking fact - for *Sarvāstivādins* the meaning of the terms "*dharma*", "*vastu*" and "*padārtha*" is identical!¹⁴

Now, even as most of these elements are known to primitive Buddhism and to other sects of Buddhism, we can see that the role of Vasumitra is much more important than just having arranged them differently. Vasumitra has tried to make an objective basis for the classification of reality - and has succeeded. He and his school have been accused by other Buddhist schools to renounce the idea of momentariness (what is impermanent cannot exist longer than one moment) and total plurality (what is totally plural is individual therefore dissimilar) by admitting several phases within a moment and a

kind of universal (generality). Their opponents within the Buddhist tradition called them "heretics (*tīrthika*) scarcely different from the *Vaiśeṣikas* and *Sāṃkhyas*"¹⁵. On the other hand Vasumitra has been called within his school "victor over the *Sāṃkhyas* and the *Vaiśeṣikas*"¹⁶. These two remarks made me think: maybe Vasumitra in order to lead a discussion with the other two schools, used again their terms - if not their terminology like the Buddha himself - and maybe this time, their methods. This hypothesis seems plausible. Similarly to *Vaiśeṣika*, Vasumitra introduces his definitions of classes (categories) by showing the similarities and individualities. Consequently these two notions cannot be absent from his treatise. Distinguishing in every dharma a level of unique characteristics (*svalakṣaṇa*) and of common characteristics (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) - like the *Vaiśeṣikas* used to show in every category an individuality (*viśeṣa*) and a universal (*sāmānya*) - Vasumitra obtained the criteria of the "common sign" for classification and has given to his school the mark of realism.

This analysis lead *Sarvāstivādins* a big step further. They have understood that for a dharma to only exist for one moment is impossible. They started pronouncing the new theory according to which (similarly to the *Vaiśeṣikan* atoms) every dharma exists in "its own nature" (*svabhava*) eternally but only when the conditions appear favourable, will the dharma manifest itself for a moment with "its own activity" (*svakāritra*). The analysis of reality according to the *skandha* schema would have never lead to this conclusion, states Vasumitra, as *pañcaskandhaka* show dharmas in their "closed" aspects, whereas the *pañcavastuka* shows dharmas in their "open" aspect, i.e. in interrelation with the other elements¹⁷. This point gave the school its name, *Sarvāstivādin*, claiming the doctrine (-*vādin*) that everything (*sarva*) exists (*asti*), or that the dharmas eternally (*sarvadā*) exist (*asti*), as the later interpretation wants. This analysis continued to lead the *Sarvāstivādins* to finally reject the *asatkāryavāda* doctrine of causality, common to early Buddhism and *Vaiśeṣika*, and to accept the contrary doctrine of *satkāryavāda*: The effect being nothing new, there is nothing new in the effect which has not existed originally in the cause. The conditions to the arising of the phenomena (*pratītyasamutpada*) are not their causes, the only cause of a phenomenon in "its activity" must be "its own nature", existing eternally. And so *Sarvāstivāda* started resembling *Sāṃkhya*¹⁸.

I think that without the "*Vaiśeṣikan* formation" present in the Buddhist thought since its very beginning, the arising of the *pañcavastuka* scheme would be less probable. This "*Vaiśeṣikan* formation" was present in the thought of the Buddha himself, visible in his anti-*Vaiśeṣikan* attitude. this same "*Vaiśeṣikan* formation" must have been present till the time of Vasumitra, 300 years later, when he developed his classification, never ever claiming its originality, and declaring that his treatise was meant only to present more clearly the thoughts of the ancient masters of *Abhidharma* and of the Buddha himself¹⁹. In my view, *Sarvāstivāda* has the right to claim it was only developing the original Buddhist doctrines. Vasumitra, of whom we know very little, was the turning point in the history of the school.

ENDNOTES:

1. Especially, see the basic work by Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"*, London 1923.
2. The facts below are valid for the early stages of all three philosophies mentioned and may not hold for their later development.
3. Traditional verses.

4. This is especially visible in the classifications into *āyatanas* and *dhātus*, and maybe that's why they are rarely used in the latter philosophical investigations.
5. The other *abhidharmic* schools, especially *Theravāda*, remained sectarian in their discussions - which means almost unknown to the thinkers from other philosophical streams (*darśana*). The only other school of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism which made such contribution - *Sautrāntika* - is not *abhidharmic* but anti-scholastic.
6. According to some traditions - even against the advice of the Buddha himself; see S. Dutt, op.cit. p. 136.
7. Although, as Frauwallner argues, this scheme is an alien insertion in the whole body of "*Abhidharmakośa*", following rather the *pañcaskandhaka* scheme. See; E. Frauwallner, *Abhidharma-Studien I. Pañcaskandhakam und Pañcavastukam*, WZKSO VII/1963, p. 20-22. An diese Stelle will ich Herrn Professor L. Schmithausen aus Hamburg, der mir im 1988 Frauwallners *Abhidharma-Studien* stellte, herzlich danken.
8. Frauwallner describes "*Prakaraṇapāda*" as a late work of early *Abhidharma*, seeing nevertheless a novelty in it having its source in "*Pañcavastuka*", which defines the beginning of a new era, end of the ancient *Abhidharma*. See: *Abhidharma-Studien II*, p. 98.
9. See: E. Frauwallner, *Abhidharma-Studien II. Die kanonischen Abhidharma-Werke*, WZKSO, VIII/1964, p. 86-87; *idem*, *Abhidharma-Studien V. Der Sarvāstivādaḥ*, WZKSO, X/1966, p. 102-103; S. Dutt, op.cit. p. 5; N. Aiyaswami Sastri, *Pañcavastuka Śāstra and Pañcavastuka Vibhāṣā*, *Visva-Bharati Annals*, X/1961, p. ii, iv-v; J. Imanishi, *Das Pañcavastukam und die Pañcavastukavibhāṣā*, *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wissen. zu Göttingen, I Klasse*, 1969 No. 1, p. 22; J. van den Broek, *La Saveur de l'Immortel de Ghoṣaka*, *Louvain-la-Neuve*, 1977, p. 8, 13, 18-19; P. Demieville, *L'invention des "cinq états" de l'Abhidharma*, *T'oung Pao*, vol. 46, p. 420-426; E. Lamotte, *La traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nagarjuna*, vol. III, *Louvain* 1970, introduction; further bibliography see: *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 1975 No. 2.
10. If we can judge by the Chinese translations (*Taishō Tripitaka*, Nos. 1555-1557 and No. 1541-1542) made by different persons in different time - the Sanskrit original of neither of the texts has been preserved, except for a few scattered fragments edited by Imanishi, op.cit.
11. Hence sometimes called *pañcadharmaka*.
12. See the table at the end of this article to see all of them.
13. K. Regamey, *Filozofia buddyjska*, "Zet", vol. IV/1935-36, Nos. 8, 10, 12, 13, 14; vol. V/1936-37, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 12; C. Régamey, *Le problème du Bouddhisme primitif et les derniers travaux de Stanisław Schayer*, *RO*, vol. XII/1957, p. 37-58; S. Schayer, *Anityatā, Zagadnienie nietrwałości bytu w filozofii starobuddyjskiej*, "Przegląd Filozoficzny", vol. 36/1933, I. fasc. 1. p. 3-12, II. fasc. 2. p. 224-236; S. Schayer, *Contributions to the Problem of Time in Indian Philosophy*, *PAU*, *Cracow* 1938, p. 18; F. Tokarz, *Z filozofii indyjskiej kwestie wybrane*, vol. I, 2nd ed., *TN KUL*, *Lublin* 1988, p.128-129, 148-149.
14. "*Pañcavastukavibhāṣā*" of Dharmatrāta, *Taishō Tripitaka* 1555, vol. 28 p. 989 b.
15. S. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, *Delhi* 1978, p. 136, 155.
16. *Pañcaviṃśatitattvanirāśi paramāṇusaricayāvādonmāthī ca*. See E. Frauwallner, *Abhidharma-Studien V*, p.106.
17. S. Schayer, *Anityatā I*, p. 5-6; M. Van Velthen, *Le traité de la descente dans la profonde loi*, *Louvain-la-Neuve* 1977, p. XIV-XVIII.
18. W.W. Lai, *Chinese Buddhist Causation Theories*, *PEW*, 27/1977, p. 243-246; for a contrary opinion see: D.J. Kalupahana, *Causality, the Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, *Honolulu* 1975.

19. Dharmatrāta, op.cit., p. 989b-c; N. Aiyaswami Sastri, op.cit., p. 13-15.

PAÑCA VASTU ACCORDING TO EARLY VASUMITRA (62 DHARMAS)

I. rūpa:

A. mahābhūta:

1. pṛthivīdhātu
2. abdhātu
3. tejodhātu
4. vāyudhātu

B. upādāyarūpa:

1. cakṣurindriya
2. śrotrendriya
3. ghrāṇendriya
4. jihvendriya
5. kāyendriya
6. rūpa (6)
7. śabda (2)
8. gandha (3)
9. rasa (3)
10. spraṣṭavyaikaśeṣa (7)
11. avijñaptirūpa

II. citta:

citta = manas = vijñāna =

= śaḍvijñānakāyāḥ:

1. cakṣurvijñāna
2. śrotavijñāna
3. ghrāṇavijñāna
4. jihvāvijñāna
5. kāyavijñāna
6. manovijñāna

III. caitasika:

1. vedanā (3)
2. saṁjñā (3)
3. cetanā (3)
4. sparśa (3)
5. manaskāra (3)
6. chandā
7. adhimokṣa
8. śraddhā
9. vīrya
10. smṛti
11. samādhi
12. prajñā

13. vitarka

14. vicāra

15. pramāda

16. apramāda

17. kuśalamūlāni:

- a) alobha
- b) adveṣa
- c) amoha

18. akuśalamūlāni:

- a) lobha
- b) dveṣa
- c) moha

19. avyākṛtamūlāni:

- a) tṛṣṇa (10)
- b) dṛṣṭi (12)
- c) māna (10)
- d) avidyā (12)

20. saṁyojanāni:

- a) rāga (3)
- b) pratigha
- c) māna (7)
- d) avidyā
- e) dṛṣṭi (3/5)
- f) parāmarśa (2)
- g) vicikitsā
- h) īrṣyā
- i) mātsarya

21. bandhanāni:

- a) rāga
- b) dveṣa
- c) mohā

22. anuśayāḥ:

- a) kāmarāga (5)
- b) dveṣa (5)
- c) bhāvarāga (10)
- d) māna (15)
- e) avidyā (15)
- f) dṛṣṭi (36)
- g) vicikitsā (12)

23. upakleśāḥ:

- a) kāmarāga (5)
- b) dveṣa (5)
- c) bhāvarāga (10)
- d) māna (15)
- e) avidyā (15)
- f) dṛṣṭi (36)
- g) vicikitsā (12)
- h) anye caitasikāḥ saṁkliṣṭāḥ

23. paryavasthānāni:

- a) styāna
- b) middha
- c) kaukṛtya
- d) īrṣyā
- e) mātsarya
- f) ahrīkya
- g) anapatrāpya

24. jñāna (10)

25. darśana (18)

26. abhisamaya (8?)

IV. cittavipravukta saṁskāra:

1. prāpti
2. asaṁjñisamāpatti
3. nirodhasamāpatti
4. āsaṁjñika
5. jīvitendriya (3)
6. nikāyasabhāga
7. deśapratilabha
8. vastupratilabha
9. āyatanapratilabha
10. jāti
11. jārā
12. sthiti
13. anityatā
14. nāmakāya
15. padakāya
16. vyañjanakāya

V. asaṁskṛta:

1. ākāśa
2. apratisaṁkhyānirodha
3. pratisaṁkhyānirodha

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Hanna M. Pappius

ACTIVITIES OF THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN CANADA IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1996-1997.

As in past years, the activities of the Institute consisted mainly of organizing lectures and cultural events and fund raising for the Polish Library. Nineteen lectures were organized, several of them in cooperation with the Tadeusz and Zofia Romer Foundation and the Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation.

An event of special importance was the lecture by Mrs. Janina Ochojska, founder of the Polish Humanitarian Foundation, elected *Woman of Europe 1994*, well known for her humanitarian activities in Bosnia and in Chechnya. This meeting was initiated and co-organized with the Romer Foundation.

The Polish Institute and Library participated in this year's *Salon du livre de Montreal* with books from over fifty publishers from Poland, as well as translations of Polish literature into French and English. The Polish stand attracted a lot of attention because of the 1996 Nobel Prize for Literature awarded to the Polish poet Wisława Szymborska. A lecture on Szymborska's poetry by prof. W. Krysiński was also organized.

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in Canada continues its traditional cooperation with Polish cultural and scientific institutions around the world.

PIASC: Ottawa Section

Last year, Madame Jadwiga Domańska, a long time member of the Institute and an illustrious representative of the generation who fought for the independence of Poland, died.

In September and October Mr. Paweł Wyczyński visited several Polish universities and gave six lectures; on three occasions he met with professor Kazimierz Kowalski, president of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) who promised to send all his publications to our Institute. On September 18, 1996, the Catholic University of Lublin granted professor Wyczyński an honorary doctorate. On that occasion, he pronounced an address on the interaction of cultures.

The activities of the Ottawa Section were mainly concentrated on the lectures given at Saint-Paul's University and at the Polish House SPK. The Section collaborated with many Polish organizations: SPK, section no. 8, STP, KPK, TP KUL.

The Ottawa Section has 54 members at present.

To commemorate November 11, Poland's Independence Day, a formal celebration was organized by the Ottawa section.

Dr. Jabłoński, Section President, took part in the deliberations of 34th Congress of the KPK held in Montreal.

The Ottawa Section of the Institute took part in the organization of the ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of Saint Hyacinth Parish in Ottawa. On February 18, 1997, Prof. Paweł Wyczyński gave a talk on the foundation and the history of the Polish parish in Ottawa.

The Executive of the Ottawa Section of the Institute is preparing a document to be titled *Toward the Future* which will outline ideas on the development of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in Canada.

Twelve conferences and meetings were organized during the past year. Attendance varied from 20 to 150 persons.

PIASC: Toronto Section

In the year 1996-1997 the Toronto section organized seven events. The highlight of the season was a symposium organised by Dr. Barbara Sharratt under the title *Borderlands*, at the Slavic Conference at Brock University.

Dr. Sharratt is preparing for publication a third volume of essays on Polish literature.

PIASC: Vancouver Section

In 1996-1997 the Vancouver section organized a program of five lectures and poetry readings by outstanding Polish writers, politicians, scientists and artists.

Of particular interest was an evening of reminiscences with three Polish poets, formerly members of a London poetry circle, two of whom are now on the Faculty of University of British Columbia.

The Executive of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in Canada

President: Jozef Lityński

Vice-Presidents: Hanna M. Pappius and Aleksander M. Jabłoński

Secretary: Ryszard Grygorczyk

Treasurer: Stefan Kuczyński

Hanna M. Pappius

ACTIVITIES OF THE POLISH LIBRARY DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1996 - 1997

The academic year 1996-1997 has been another year of growth and development in the Polish Library. This was possible mainly because of the financial support of the Polish community during the fall fund raising campaign. Once again we received substantial donations from the Polish Socio-Cultural Foundation of Quebec and the Millennium Fund of Toronto.

The number of regular users of the library reached 1,700. In the past twelve months they borrowed more than 18,000 books from our 43,000 collection. 800 new volumes were added to the inventory and 1,500 titles incorporated into the computerized internal catalogue. We are continuing to implement our earlier agreement with McGill University to have a large portion of our academic collection included in their online catalogue, where our holdings are identified by the location code "Polish Institute Library". More than 10,000 titles are already listed in this way. According to a new agreement with the McGill Libraries some Polish books purchased from the Juttings Foundation funds will be housed in the Polish Library.

In the year 1996-97 \$8,000 was set aside for new books and periodicals. As in the previous few years, thanks to the generosity of the Polish Airlines LOT, our librarian, Mr. Stefan Władysiuk, was able to do much of the library acquisitions personally in Poland obtaining a good selection of the latest publications at excellent prices.

Numerous gifts from publishing houses and individuals continue to enrich our holdings. This year special mention must be made of complimentary subscriptions to leading Polish newspapers *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita* and the weeklies *Warsaw Voice*, *Wprost* and *Polityka*.

Two gifts received in 1996-97 are of particular interest. The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (Polska Akademia Umiejętności - PAU) of Cracow sent us their complete publications since 1989. This institution abolished by communist authorities after World War II, was revived in 1989 following free elections in Poland. Among the founders of our Institute were several members of PAU, including Dr. Wilder Penfield. We are therefore very pleased to have renewed our contacts with them. Secondly, from the collection of the late Mr. Andrzej Wołodkiewicz, a longtime member of PIASC we received the 28-volume Samuel Orgelbrand's *Encyklopedia Powszechna* (1859-68) which is now a very rare item.

As has been the case since our inception, the Polish Library relies heavily on the efforts of its eighteen volunteers who work unfailingly at a variety of library tasks.

Director of the Library

Hanna M. Pappius, Ph.D.

Personnel

Stefan Władysiuk, M.L.S.

Librarian

Sophie Bogdański, M.L.S.

Librarian Cataloguer

Opening Hours

Monday from 10:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Thursday from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Saturday from 2:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Józef Lityński

L'INSTITUT POLONAIS DES ARTS ET DES SCIENCES AU CANADA ACTIVITÉ DURANT L'ANNÉE SCOLAIRE 1996-1997.

L'activité de l'Institut était orientée, comme durant les années précédentes, vers le développement de la Bibliothèque polonaise et vers la collecte des fonds nécessaires à ce but, ainsi que vers l'organisation de conférences.

Au début de l'année, le Conseil programmeur, dirigé par le professeur Witold Kieżun, créa un calendrier d'activités. En somme, 19 conférences ont été organisées, souvent avec l'aide de la Fondation Tadeusz et Zofia Romer ou avec celle de la Fondation du patrimoine polono-juif (Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation).

Une conférence donnée par Mme Janina Ochojska, fondatrice de la Fondation Humanitaire Polonaise, élue Femme d'Europe 1994, renommée par ses activités humanitaires en Bosnie et en Tchétchénie, mérite une mention spéciale. La conférence livrée en polonais au Consulat de Pologne et en anglais à l'Université McGill, fut sous l'initiation et organisée par la Fondation Romer.

L'Institut Polonais et la Bibliothèque prirent part au Salon du Livre de Montréal (1996), exposant des livres de plus de 50 éditeurs de Pologne, en plus des traductions de littérature polonaise en français et anglais. Le kiosque polonais attirait beaucoup d'intérêt public, d'autant plus que la poétesse polonaise, Wisława Szymborska, a récemment obtenu le Prix Nobel de littérature. Prof. W. Kryński a donné au Salon une conférence sur la poésie de Szymborska.

Ainsi qu'à chaque année, l'Institut collabora à l'organisation de l'Université estivale de la Culture polonaise à Rome. L'Institut continue sa collaboration avec d'autres organisations polonaises semblables situées dans les différents coins du monde. L'échange des publications et de l'information est ici un élément majeur. Au Canada, l'Institut travaille étroitement avec le Congrès Canadien Polonais.

SECTION D'OTTAWA

L'an dernier est décédée madame Jadwiga Domańska, depuis longtemps membre de notre Institut, illustre représentante de la génération des luttes pour l'indépendance de la Pologne.

En septembre et octobre 1996, M. Paweł Wyczyński a visité plusieurs universités polonaises; il a prononcé six discours, il a rencontré à Cracovie, à trois reprises, professeur Kazimierz Kowalski, président de l'Académie polonaise des arts et des sciences (PAU) qui allait envoyer à notre Institut toutes ses publications. Le 18 septembre 1996, professeur Wyczyński s'est vu décerner un doctorat *honoris causa* par l'Université Catholique de Lublin. À cette occasion, il a prononcé un discours sur l'interaction des cultures.

L'activité de la section d'Ottawa de notre Institut s'est manifestée surtout par ses conférences tenues à l'Université Saint-Paul autant qu'à la Maison polonaise SPK. La section d'Ottawa compte présentement 54 membres.

Il convient de souligner notre collaboration avec plusieurs organisations polonaises: SPK, section no 8, STP, KPK, TP KUL. Nous déplorons le départ prochain de Son Excellence M. Tadeusz Diem, ambassadeur de la République de Pologne.

Pour commémorer le 11 novembre le Jour de l'Indépendance, une célébration solennelle s'est déroulée sous le patronat de KPK, section d'Ottawa.

Le président, M. Jabłoński, a pris part aux délibérations du 34e Congrès du KPK à Montréal.

La section d'Ottawa de notre Institut a été de la partie dans l'organisation des cérémonies soulignant le 40e anniversaire de la paroisse Saint-Hyacinthe d'Ottawa. M. Paweł Wyczyński a prononcé une conférence, le 18 février 1997, au sujet de la fondation et de l'histoire de la paroisse polonaise d'Ottawa.

Le Bureau de la section d'Ottawa de notre Institut est en train de préparer un document - *Vers l'avenir (Ku przyszłości)* - qui devrait regrouper nos idées ayant trait au développement de l'Institut polonais des arts et des sciences au Canada.

SECTION DE TORONTO

Sept événements ont été organisés par la section de Toronto pendant l'année 1996-1997. Le clou de la saison fut un symposium organisé par Dr. Barbara Sharratt sous le titre *Borderlands (Les Limitrophes)* à la Conférence Slave de l'Université de Brock.

Madame Sharratt est en train de préparer un troisième volume d'essais sur la littérature polonaise.

SECTION DE VANCOUVER

Pendant l'année 1996-1997 la Section de Vancouver a organisé un programme de cinq conférences et lectures de poésie données par des écrivains, personnes renommées en politique, sciences et arts.

La plus intéressante fut une soirée de souvenirs avec trois poètes polonais, anciens membres d'un groupe de poètes à Londres, dont deux sont présentement membres de l'Université de Colombie Britannique.

BUREAU DE DIRECTION DE L'INSTITUT POLONAIS

Józef Lityński	président
Hanna Pappius	vice-présidente
Aleksander M. Jabłoński	vice-président
Ryszard Grygorczyk	secrétaire
Stefan Kuczyński	trésorier

Hanna M. Pappius
Stefan Władysiuk

LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE POLONAISE WANDA-STACHIEWICZ ACTIVITÉ DURANT L'ANNÉE SCOLAIRE 1996-1997.

La Bibliothèque polonaise à Montréal a enregistré en 1996-1997 un progrès systématique et notable. Le prêt de livres se chiffre à plus de 18,000 titres. On a inscrit aux registres 800 acquisitions nouvelles. L'état livresque a dépassé 43 000 volumes. En tenant compte des entrées de 1 900 titres de l'an dernier, notre catalogue opérant par ordinateur groupe quelque 10,400 titres. Par le fait même, 1,100 nouveaux titres passent au catalogue électronique de l'Université McGill dans lequel, jusqu'à date, plus de 6,500 volumes portent l'indice de localisation : «Polish Institute Library».

En 1996-1997 on a désigné 8,000 \$ pour l'achat des livres et l'abonnement des journaux. À la salle de lecture de la Bibliothèque polonaise à Montréal, les intéressés peuvent consulter les journaux et revues de Pologne, de même que la presse en langue polonaise du Canada. À titre d'exemple, parmi les journaux qui nous arrivent de Pologne, nous citons: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *Polityka*, *Rzeczpospolita* et *Wprost*. Les journaux nous parviennent avec quelques jours de retard par rapport à la date de leur émission.

Comme dans le passé, la tradition continue de nous accorder un billet gratuit par les Lignes polonaises aériennes LOT, ce qui a permis au bibliothécaire Stefan Władysiuk d'aller en Pologne et d'acheter au-delà de 700 nouveaux livres.

Grâce à l'ordinateur de la Bibliothèque de l'Université McGill, la Bibliothèque polonaise peut profiter de l'«Internet» et, par le fait même, de ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui «l'auto-route électronique». Ainsi donc nous recevons quotidiennement, directement de Pologne, *Donosy*, *Gazeta Polska*,. Nous recevons également, régulièrement, les données ayant trait à la Bourse de Varsovie.

Le bibliothécaire, M. Stefan Władysiuk a présenté le profil de notre Institut et de la Bibliothèque pendant la XVIII^e session de la Conférence permanente des musées, des bibliothèques et des archives polonais en Occident, qui avait lieu à l'Édition Ossolineum de Wrocław au mois d'août 1996. Notre Bibliothèque maintient les contacts et échanges avec les bibliothèques participant à la Conférence permanente ainsi qu'avec les bibliothèques universitaires polonaises.

L'activité de la Bibliothèque polonaise s'appuie, en grande partie, sur le travail volontaire de quelque vingt personnes. On compte beaucoup sur les dons en provenance des institutions et des personnes sensibles à nos appels pendant la traditionnelle quête d'automne ainsi que des dotations de la Fondation polonaise socioculturelle (en 1996 nous avons reçu 12,500\$), du Fonds Millenium (3,000\$) et de la Fondation Adam Mickiewicz (500\$).

Le personnel de la Bibliothèque polonaise

Professeure Hanna M. Pappius - directrice
M. Stefan Władysiuk, M.L.S. - bibliothécaire
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