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## From the tradition of Polish political science (part 1) : political science, political culture at the turn of XIX and XX centuries

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**Bronisław Pasierb**

**FROM THE TRADITION OF POLISH POLITICAL  
SCIENCE (PART 1). POLITICAL SCIENCE,  
POLITICAL CULTURE  
AT THE TURN OF XIX AND XX CENTURIES**

**1.**

„Each self-respecting discipline points to its beginning with Herodotus, or at least, with Aristotle”. Karl Birket-Smith, an eminent expert on Eskimo culture commented in this way on the genealogy of his discipline<sup>1</sup>. What is to be said in the circumstances by representatives of political science which may hardly be not included in „respected disciplines” at least by virtue of the fact that in essence it was great Aristotle himself who had laid its foundations? It is necessary to identify sources of knowledge concerning the phenomenon in order to investigate the tradition of Polish political science. Such is fairly commonly accepted truth which was expressed by W. Markiewicz in the following way: „Precision and legitimacy of statements which are formulated within any given scientific discipline, depends to a large, and frequently, to a decisive degree on the nature of sources a given researcher-specialist may take advantage of within the given discipline”<sup>2</sup>. Following this point, a variety of orientations in the Polish political thought, sources of intellectual inspiration, influences of external conditions, academic milieu’ potential must be all considered so that the researcher could

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<sup>1</sup> K. Birket-Smith, *The Paths of Culture*, Wydanie polskie, Wiedza Powszechna Warszawa 1974, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> W. Markiewicz, *Socjologia a służba społeczna*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 1972, p. 496.

form a neutral opinion referring to the nature of the phenomenon and rules which govern it. Another reason supporting the need to be interested in the tradition of the Polish political science results from the fact that it is a discipline that hides its past in a way. In addition, the choice of what and how is to be taken as the tradition of Polish political science, its history, achievements, institutions and organizations, staff, research methods as well as its very name is quite arbitrary<sup>3</sup>. Nowadays no one perhaps says the discipline is in crisis or regress but many are willing to set it up „from scratch”, based on different foundations. Although pessimism related to its perception and critical evaluation might have vanished, many students of politics appear to make a new beginning, not knowing the history of the discipline. Rapid developments in political science, coming from the West and the East, make us wonder where Polish political science is located today, when it was started to be built, when and who posed its first research questions, lay its organizational foundations. Therefore it is worthwhile looking back at the achievements of Polish political science at the turn of XIX and XX centuries. It is the period when the concept of politics „ceases to refer to »knowledge« or »art«; it starts to describe politics as action first and foremost, including motivations, developments and effects”<sup>4</sup>.

Politics makes a strange object of interest, which has been located in culture understood as „continuous train of human experience”, for long centuries. Within intellectual tradition of humankind, politics is located in

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<sup>3</sup> There function paralelly notions such as *politology*, *political sciences* and *political science*. There exist *Towarzystwo Nauk Politycznych* [Society of Political Sciences], *Komitet Nauk Politycznych PAN* [Committee of Political Sciences at the Polish Academy of Sciences], institutes or chairs of political science or politology, faculties, degrees and titles of PhD and habilitated doctor of political sciences. In a word, when we think about politics as science, we describe it as: *political science*. Other functions that follow from the basic, scientific one, e.g. educating graduates qualified in politics, are called *political sciences or politology*. Practical and not factual reasons seem to be decisive in this respect. Also, the very ability to make politics professionally is distinguished. “In the modern period, political science started to be called »philosophy of politics«, or »political philosophy«, whereas in XX century, a division was established between »philosophy of politics« (more general, related to fundamental issues) and »politology«, dealing with current political life, its dynamics, regularities as well as specific facts and phenomena in the sphere of politics”. J. Hartman (ed.), *Słownik filozofii*, Kraków 2004, p. 76–77.

<sup>4</sup> F. Ryszka, *O pojęciu polityki*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1992, p. 10.

between knowledge and art. As knowledge it stemmed from human needs. Political skills, the art of reaching aims, have always been crucial for human beings. The world of ideas belongs to science whose source is in reason. Art, in turn, is created out of emotions and imagination.

Knowledge and science are two different things. In the tradition of human activity, politics might be perceived in two ways. On one hand, there are practitioners, gaining the knowledge of its mechanism directly from experience, participating in political life. On the other hand, men of science who have chosen politics as an object of their enquiry, analyse it and describe it, deciphering its developmental trends according to scientific requirements<sup>5</sup>.

Speaking of the tradition of Polish political science, the latter should be understood as part of universal science, governed by specific principles. It contains truths such as “statements which are to be recognized as true, irrespective of their source, which have to correspond to pre-defined objective criteria: they are to comply with observation and with the knowledge which has been accumulated before. Accepting or rejecting statements which are to enter scientific discourse may not depend on personal or social features of their protagonist: his race, religion, class, personality as such are irrelevant. Objectivity excludes particularism”<sup>6</sup>. It used to be called „the spirit of science” which creates „emotionally flavoured system of values and norms thought to be obligatory for men of science”, in a word – its ethos<sup>7</sup>.

Polish political science is rooted both in European tradition and global politology; it draws on them for its development and shares with them its research results and experiences in building the discipline. Such was the case in XIX and XX centuries, such was the case even in the period of ideological indoctrination by schematic marxism-leninism. Polish participation in global science is testified by its membership in international political

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<sup>5</sup> „Respect the memory of your predecessor – F. Bacon wrote – speak about him with respect only and cordially; if you castigate him, your successor will pay you back”. Cf. F. Bacon, *O wielkich urządach i godnościach*, [in:] *Szkice polityczno-etyczne*, Warszawa 1910, p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> *Nauka i demokratyczny ład społeczny*, [in:] R. K. Merton, *Teoria socjologiczna i struktura społeczna*, Warszawa 1982, p. 581–82.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 579 and ff.

science associations, active participation in IPSY as well as publishing yearbooks in the *lingua franca* of the discipline<sup>8</sup>.

Politics is an ambiguous and, simultaneously, controversial concept<sup>9</sup>. The volume of scientific publications grows rapidly so that a single „searcher” is not able to monitor them all, while scientific approach to politics is neither the broadest nor exclusive. It is accompanied by what may be dubbed para-scientific reflection on political life and political culture.

One of the difficulties in dealing with the „matter” of politics is to define whether we are talking about politics as a human activity or as an academic discipline called politology. Misunderstandings appear at the verge of „popular language” and „language of political literature”. The latter may be divided into „language of political practice” and „language of scientific description”. While the former is an instrument of „persuasion, game and struggle”, the latter – an „instrument of explication as well as of critical review of the former”<sup>10</sup>. They are, as it seems, two different things but political practice may not do without political ideas, without understanding politics which is inclusive of broadly defined „power”.

„Politics embraces a broad array of situations in which people guided by different interests act jointly to reach shared aims and compete with one another when their aims are divergent. Both co-operation and competition could be subject to negotiations, persuasion and enforcement. The art of making politics often entails taking notice of opportunities instead of antagonisms between different groups”<sup>11</sup>.

It has been accepted for a long time that continuity marks mature science. The development of modern science is, as every one knows,

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<sup>8</sup> “Polish Association of Political Sciences, Polish Round Table”, Yearbook 1978, t. VIII, Ossolineum 1979.

<sup>9</sup> Does the concept not belong to so „entangled” ones that a human being “faces tasks similar to a forester’s duties who in dense woods has to either make paths or chop everything out”. W. Tatarkiewicz, *Dzieje sześciu pojęć. Sztuka – piękno – forma – twórczość – odtwórczość – przeżycie estetyczne*, Warszawa 1982, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> F. Ryszka, *O pojęciu polityki...*, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> S. D. Tansley, *Politics: The BASICS*, Polish edition [Nauki polityczne], Poznań 1997, p. 18–19.

not so much „collecting single individual achievements but a process in which every succeeding link is dependent on preceding links”<sup>12</sup>.

How is one to distinguish the „links” which constitute a scientific discipline? Where to look for them? What our attitude to our predecessors should be like, to which historical periods, to which achievements ought we to refer to? Which literature of the subject is to be taken as the basis for analyses? What milestones have actually marked the progressive development of the discipline? What is then to be searched in the literature, which topics, issues, which views on politics which have remained untouched by the passing time and could inspire research today?

Following the suit of other disciplines, it might be worthwhile selecting from among the achievements of Polish science and recollecting names of people who have contributed greatly to the reflection on politics<sup>13</sup>. It is also worthwhile presenting their works, quoting from them profusely and not only limiting oneself to one’s own interpretation of them. Some doubts and questions arise at the occasion. First and foremost, who may and must be included in the set of figures representing the discipline? In other words, how to teach, write and evaluate the subject matter of politics while there are so many different questions and doubts?

Ruminations about politics cannot be ceased since they constitute an important current which, like many others, constitutes the discipline. Reflections on the nature of politics cannot be not acknowledged; neither can politology be not an academic discipline. First of all however, what is important is what may be called a continuity in political science that is related to the question how to understand our attitude to our predecessors. We should begin with an overview of Polish political literature which deals with politics as science and art, political skills, politics as virtue. It is important to reveal sources of inspiration of the

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<sup>12</sup> S. Ossowski, *Dziela*, t. IV: *O nauce*, Warszawa 1967, p. 220.

<sup>13</sup> It is a complex task for which criteria to choose while evaluating their achievements? Class interests which their science served? The criterion of progress or preservation? Or perhaps the principle of objectivity? Maybe it is enough to restrict one’s role to mediation between present and past, being a relatively competent guardian of the „store-room of political science”, who collects and displays everything that might be useful now. J. Kulczycka-Saloni, *Kilka uwag o znaczeniu nauk humanistycznych w naszych czasach*, „Przegląd Humanistyczny” 1977, nr 9, p. 2–7.

knowledge, principles according to which empirical data were collected, analyzed and described, which was, in a word, the theoretical background of the various conceptions of politics. Intellectual style of the authors dealing with those issues decided about authenticity and importance of the Polish political thought in this area of science. Doubtless, Polish politological literature was enormously indebted to achievements of German and French researchers and most particularly, to the mature works of the classical writers which constituted the basis for research at the turn of XIX and XX centuries. Inspirations in the sphere of politics, their authenticity depended on many factors. Not only on individual experience of a researcher or his creative vision but also their ability to draw on rich experience of generations, to translate them into the needs of the discipline. „Life itself, practice, development of relations precedes codification here, while any theories and principles, if they are to be useful in practice, must be limited to acute formulas, expressing through norms what is dictated by life. This is why in the discipline in which every thought is a product and achievement of millions, only rarely do we hear of people who, owing to their genius, point to new solutions, lighten up the darkness with their discoveries. If such a genius does turn up, their merit lies only in the fact that earlier and more attentively than others, such an individual can perceive which of the already existing factors is the leading one, more aptly than others will he capture in formulas what already exists and is recognized. Discoveries made by political geniuses, seeming premature and immature in their contemporary epochs start to work as a rule only after whole centuries pass or remain utopias while their authors suffer from total lack of recognition by their contemporaries”. Such was S. Kot’s comment on so called authenticity and theoretical background of Frycz-Modrzewski’s design of political reforms<sup>14</sup>.

Tackling politological issues of the turn of XIX and XX centuries, the researcher faces various difficulties, some of them so basic as for instance the lack of separate bibliography of political writers or political

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<sup>14</sup> S. Kot, *Wpływ starożytności klasycznej na teorie polityczne Andrzeja Frycza z Modrzewa*, Kraków 1911, p. 10 and ff.

researchers of the period. One has to rely on intuition here and on the widely known achievements of historians from the earlier periods<sup>15</sup>.

Another research current is constituted by an urgent task of deciphering history of institutions of the discipline, such as university chairs, institutes, schools etc., institutions which educated young people in political science. Various milieux stressed the importance of education based on political science. The idea was vivid among supporters of the so called Krakowska Szkoła Historiografii [Cracow School of Historiography], characterized by its critics as a form „obsolete in its tendencies, reactionary in terms of the nation – nevertheless, in its foundations right and important” to create a school of national politics: „a collective organization of historical consciousness”. Examples of other states were adduced. It was emphasized that in Europe since A. Tocqueville’s time political knowledge was built on historical background<sup>16</sup>. The example of H. Treitschke who „preceded Bismarck”<sup>17</sup> was given for Germany. In the discussed period in Germany there already existed schools of political science in Berlin, Koeln and Frankfurt am Mein<sup>18</sup>. After 1871 *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* was founded in France, based on historical sciences, mainly of XIX

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<sup>15</sup> S. Tarnowski, *Pisarze polityczni XVI wieku. Studia do historii literatury polskiej*, t. I, II, Kraków 1886; Also: S. Kot, *Rzeczpospolita Polska w literaturze politycznej Zachodu*, Kraków 1919; W. Konopczyński, *Polscy pisarze polityczni XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1966.

<sup>16</sup> Only towards the end of XIX century, Tocqueville’s works, translated and brilliantly interpreted by P. Janet became accessible in the partitioned Polish lands, although they might have been known earlier in the original. Cf. Wydawnictwo im. T. T. Jeża, Seria II, vol. I, *Zagadnienia wieku XIX. Polityka przez Pawła Janeta* (tłumaczenie z francuskiego). Składy Główne w Warszawie Gebethner i Wolff, w Petersburgu B. Rymowicz, 1890, p. 88. The author is known as a historian of ideas. An earlier „grand essay” of his, as K. Grzybowski described it at some point, was: *Historie de la philosophie morale et politique*, Paris 1858. Cf. K. Grzybowski, *Z zagadnień metodologii historii doktryn politycznych*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Polityczne” 1956, t. VIII i. 1, 297, footnote 2.

<sup>17</sup> H. Treitschke, *Historische und politische Aufsätze*, Leipzig 1865.

<sup>18</sup> J. Milewski, *Uwagi nad znaczeniem i zadaniem wymowy politycznej*, Kraków 1907, s. 18.



century. In England, alongside many different institutions and political organizations, a similar school was founded in London<sup>19</sup>.

In the Polish territory, in the period of partitions, Galicja [Galicia] with its academic centres in Lvov and Cracow initiated the organization of political education. W. Studnicki was the organizer. The school survived for three years. In 1909 S. Grabski established a similar school in Lvov as well. It was „one-sidedly party political”, as a critical observer, M. Sokolnicki, noted. In 1909 a project of „Szkola Nauk Politycznych” [School of Political Sciences] originated also in Cracow. In September 1909 a request for funding was filed with the Sejm. It was signed by professors of Jagiellonian University – M. Rostworowski, W. Czerkawski, B. Ulanowski and S. Kutrzeba<sup>20</sup>. At the same time, Towarzystwo Polskiej Szkoły Nauk Politycznych [Society of the Polish School of Political Sciences] founded in Cracow in 1911 a Szkoła Nauk Politycznych [School of Political Sciences], which according to its founders was to be comparable to the French *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques*<sup>21</sup>. The school was managed by Zarząd Główny [the Main Council] Towarzystwa „Polska Szkoła Nauk Politycznych” including Michał Rostworowski as its chairman, MP, Professor dr Władysław Leopold Jaworski as its vice-chairman, Professor dr Władysław Czerkawski, Professor dr Jerzy Michalski, MP dr Stanisław Staromiejski, Professor dr Stanisław Kutrzeba as a secretary of Towarzystwo. His assistant, dr Bohdan Winiarski was the School’s Secretary<sup>22</sup>. At the same time, also in Cracow, Wilhelm Feldman founded Szkoła Nauk Społeczno-Politycznych [School of

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<sup>19</sup> M. Sokolnicki, *Porozbiorowe dzieje Polski*, „Krytyka”. A monthly devoted to social affairs, culture and art, ed. by W. Feldman, R. XI, t. I, Kraków 1910, z. II, February 1910, p. 103. It is e.g. accepted that in Europe the French were the first to initiate establishing a school of political sciences. Americans followed (Sprawozdanie Szkoły Nauk Politycznych we Lwowie za rok administracyjny 1903/1904, Lwów 1905). 24 X 1909 r. Por. *Polska Szkoła Nauk Politycznych*, [in:] *Kronika miesięca*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, sierpień 1911, p. 400–402; Also: *Wiadomości naukowe, literackie i bibliograficzne*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, wrzesień 1911, p. 606–607.

<sup>20</sup> *Wiadomości naukowe, literackie i biblioteczne...*, p. 606–607.

<sup>21</sup> *Polska Szkoła Nauk Politycznych*, [w:] *Kronika miesięca*, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, wrzesień 1911, p. 606–607.

<sup>22</sup> *Wiadomości naukowe, literackie i biblioteczne...*, p. 606–607.

Socio-Political Sciences] to rival the existing one. An excellent team of lecturers was announced: F. Bujak, Z. Golińska-Daszyńska, A. Gross, Z. Heryng, A. Krzyżanowski, L. Kulczycki, F. Stefczyk, W. Studnicki, L. Gumplowicz, W. Jodko, L. Wasilewski, W. Feldman, B. Limanowski, F. Perl, J. Piłsudski<sup>23</sup>.

In Warsaw in turn, in August 1915 a bevy of graduates from Leipzig University, headed by Jan Edmund Reyman, began to work on establishing the first academic institution to educate *cadres* for administration and social work<sup>24</sup>. The initiative was motivated by hopes for soon rebirth of the Polish statehood. As soon as December 1915, an academic institution called Szkoła Nauk Społecznych i Handlowych [School of Social and Commercial Sciences], a predecessor of Akademia Nauk Politycznych [Academy of Political Sciences] was opened and functioned until 1950s<sup>25</sup>.

Traditions of political science education are vivid in Vilnius as well, where the interest in the science of politics has had a long tradition<sup>26</sup>.

Entering the research field, which is also cognitively important and relevant in the process of contemporary education of political scientists as well as in the shaping of politological knowledge, does not mean starting from scratch but joining the stream of postulates and reflections of others<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> *Szkoła Nauk Społeczno-Politycznych w Krakowie*, „Krytyka”, czerwiec 1911, p. 333–335; Also: „Krytyka”, t. XXXI, Kraków 1912, p. 210–212, t. XXXV, Kraków 1912, p. 147. Cf. J. Puchalski, *Z dziejów nauk politycznych w Polsce*, „Studia Nauk Politycznych” 1981, no 3, p. 45–46.

<sup>24</sup> A biographical note of Landau in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. XXXI, Ossolineum 1988–1989, p. 217–218.

<sup>25</sup> *Przyczynki do historii Szkoły Nauk Politycznych w Warszawie. Z okazji 50-lecia jej założenia 1915–1965*. Wydawnictwo własne członków założycieli Szkoły, Warszawa 1968. Ilustracje, p. XIV+250. The Committee of Editors comprises: prof. dr Jerzy Loth, – chairman, Józef Szaniawski, Wincenty Trzcziński, Witold Czipicki – members; Also: Instytut Społeczny w Warszawie, *Roczniki*, t. XXII, t. XXIV and t. XXV.

<sup>26</sup> M. Kosman, *Kilka uwag o politologii historycznej*, [w:] *Między historią a politologią*, Poznań 1998, p. 92–96; J. Puchalski, *Z dziejów nauk politycznych...*, p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> It is unfortunately by no means a rich or systematic current. Chronologically, O. Wyszomirska’s paper, published in the volume 4 of „Studia Nauk Politycznych” by Centralny Ośrodek Metodyczny Studiów Nauk Politycznych in November 1970 was the first. The paper was actually a short, informative note with a promising title: *Tradycje nauk politycznych w Polsce* [Traditions of political sciences in Poland] (p. 273–274)

## 2.

Who of the great milieu of Polish scientists, mainly philosophers, lawyers, historians, anthropologists, geographers could be seen as the father or fathers of the discipline? May a move be made similar to the ones that were performed while other disciplines had been created?<sup>28</sup> Who, within, Polish political science, could be named as such? We enter a very sensitive area related to science. Firstly, each discipline jealously protects people and their scientific achievements. We are dealing here with a discipline which is in principle new but has enjoyed the longest and most complex legitimacy. Every scientist, in principle, who deals with the state, and later with society or nation, whether a lawyer, economist, anthropologist, historian or philosopher, has undertaken studies concerning the subject matter of politics. In the case of lawyers it was lecturing on „political skills”. It developed differently at different universities, even within different faculties. In the period of absolutism, it was treated marginally and only towards the end of XIX century its importance was acknowledged. Polish scientists contributed to this, explicitly stating precious remarks related to political science<sup>29</sup>.

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within the section: *Nauki polityczne w Polsce i za granicą*. Three years later, in a new form, under a new editorship, still in „*Studia Nauk Politycznych*” an important paper by Maria Nodzykowska-Gromadzka, entitled: *Z dziejów polskich nauk politycznych* [Of the history of Polish political sciences] (Warszawa 1973, no 2, p. 105–112) was published. A few years later, Jan Puchalski published, in *Studia Nauk Politycznych* a paper *Z dziejów nauk politycznych w Polsce* [Of the history of political sciences in Poland]. The paper is important because it constitutes an attempt to search for primary sources of data concerning traces of tradition of the institutions of political sciences (no 3, 1981, p. 33–53). So far, it is the largest paper written on the topic. Cf. B. Pasierb, *Nauka o polityce-tradycje i współczesność*, [in:] *Uniwersytet Wrocławski. 40 lat w służbie nauki, kultury, gospodarki. Materiały Sesji Naukowej zorganizowanej z okazji 40-lecia Uczelni, Wrocław, 14–15 listopada 1985 r.*, Wrocław 1988, p. 62–78; M. Kosman, *Kilka uwag o politologii historycznej*, p. 91–96. A. J. Chodubski, *Wstęp do badań politologicznych*, Gdańsk 2004; Also: C. Mojsiewicz, *Od polityki do politologii*, Toruń 2004.

<sup>28</sup> Today August Comte is commonly acknowledged as the father of modern sociology. Cf. *Słownik filozofii*, ed. J. Hartman, Kraków 2004, p. 284; Also: H. Olszewski, *Słownik twórców idei*, Poznań 2001, p. 62–66.

<sup>29</sup> *O nauce umiejętności politycznych przez prof. dra Franciszka Kasparka*, reprinted from „Przegląd Sądowy i Administracyjny”, Lwów 1876, p. 58.

Every single proposal by a scientist who either seriously or superficially only took interest in political science may only be taken as authentic [with caution]. Besides, it does not suffice to adduce the name of the scientist; this must be supplemented with an analyses of his achievements, pointing out his contributions to the Polish political science so that an impression is avoided that we are dealing with a random and not purposeful selection of the discipline's representatives. Such people are to be identified and their achievements adduced; their theses, conceptions, suggestions, analyses considered, deciphered, developed, made more precise, made deeper, verified so that their contemporary value could be easier estimated<sup>30</sup>.

Notably, there already are candidates for classical writers in the Polish politology. A. J. Chodubski believes that the development of politology in Poland began for good in the modern period when „intellectual interest in politics”<sup>31</sup> increased. He compiled a list of people who could be recognized as representatives of the discipline. The prime position is attributed to three uncontested scientific figures. Those are: Paweł Włodkowic, Jan Ostroróg and Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski. Paweł Włodkowic (1370–1435), a scholar of the turn of XIV and XV centuries holds the first rank on Chodubski's list. I am not opposing the candidate but I think that others are to be convinced about it. It is difficult to spell out competent judgements concerning that period of the development of the Polish political science. The issue might prove to be much more complex. Initial research justifies the statement that in the literature, Paweł Włodkowic is, alongside Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, perceived as an author of „treaties which are deeply theoretical and infused with patriotism”<sup>32</sup>. Such is an opinion of specialists on political-legal doctrines. Historians of Polish literature cite Włodkowic in

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<sup>30</sup> „Achievements”, similarly as „heritage” is not judged as good or bad here, it is analysed and evaluated as a whole. Cf. R. Wapiński, *O niektórych problemach kultury politycznej*, „Przełęcz Humanistyczny” 1977, no 9, p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> A. J. Chodubski, *Wstęp do badań politologicznych*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2004, p. 40 and ff.

<sup>32</sup> H. Olszewski, M. Zmierzak, *Historia doktryn politycznych i prawnych*, wyd. II, Poznań 1994, p. 107. By means of a curiosity, it might be noticed that in the cited publication, of the Seria „Poznańskie Słowniki Biograficzne” by H. Olszewski, among 12 Poles, „creators of the idea”, the name of Paweł Włodkowic does not appear. *Słownik twórców idei*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2001, p. 474.

turn as a rector of Jagiellonian University, who took part in the ecumenical councils of Konstanz and Basel and „in his writings eloquently and effectively defended Polish interests against mean plots by the Knights of Teutonic Order, who had claimed the right to christianize Lithuania”<sup>33</sup>. Concluding on this basis only, one may say that the proposal to recognize Paweł Włodkowic as a potential „father” of the Polish political science would require a sounder justification. The same could be said about other individuals characterised by A. J. Chodubski. Focusing on the turn of XIX and XX centuries he names such scholars as: Bolesław Limanowski (1835–1935), Ludwik Gumplowicz (1838–1909), Ludwik Krzywicki (1859–1941), Leon Petrażycki (1867–1931), Edward Józef Abramowski (1868–1918), Wilhelm Feldman (1868–1919), Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872–1905)<sup>34</sup>. The issue seems much more complex, which does not mean that it is not worth consideration. On the contrary, it is difficult to oppose the search for the „father of the Polish political science”. I believe, however, that there is much struggle ahead of us in the matter. The list of the remaining representatives of reflection on politics, from subsequent historical periods is likewise problematic. I would like to contribute to the discussion. The proposals by Chodubski and initial comments on them by M. Kosman as well as further ones to appear play an important role in the reasoned exchange of views. The debate needs to be carried on. Any proposal is welcome, each of us has the right to present his vision of „Polish political science”, to point out sources of its intellectual genealogy. The proposals must however be justified by references to analyses of empirical data<sup>35</sup>.

Today, tentatively, names of several scholars might be enumerated who created or co-created the history of the Polish political science at the turn of XIX and XX century. Those were most frequently philosophers, economists, historians and first of all lawyers specializing in a variety of legal disciplines, most often lecturers in so called political arts, political law and international law. The following could be included: August Balasits, Antoni Bialecki, Franciszek Kasperek, Józef

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<sup>33</sup> I. Chrzanowski, *Historia literatury niepodległej Polski* (z wypisami), wydanie XIII, Warszawa 1983, p. 33.

<sup>34</sup> A. J. Chodubski, *Wstęp do badań...*, p. 42.

<sup>35</sup> M. Kosman, *Kilka uwag o politologii...*, p. 91–96.

Milewski, Józef Bohdan Oczapowski, Antoni Peretiakowicz, Alexander Rembowski, Józef Siemieński<sup>36</sup>.

If the heritage of the people is to be scrutinized more closely, one has the impression that there are many valid ideas, clearly formulated, or at least more inspiring new research than it could seem while reading modern literature<sup>37</sup>. The list of scholars is not closed. Some of them have already been examined more in depth. Admittedly, not all of them deserve the name of „creators” or even „co-creators” of the Polish political science at the turn of XIX and XX century on equal terms. There are people, however, such as F. Kasperek who should be granted an undisputable position, based especially on his works related to political skills, most specifically his handbooks in political law<sup>38</sup>. Notably, he has already been a subject of bibliographical research<sup>39</sup>. Others, like A. Rembowski, who produced many press papers, critical reviews of literature dedicated to social sciences, still remain anonymous. Rembowski was particularly keen on following, correcting and complementing research, on characterizing Polish po-

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<sup>36</sup> S. Borowski, *Szkola Główna Warszawska 1862–1869. Wydział Prawa i Administracji*, Warszawa 1937; A. Śródka, *Uczeni polscy XIX i XX stulecia*, Warszawa 1994; Also: K. Pol, *Poczet prawników polskich*, Warszawa 2000; Also: *Idee jako źródło instytucji politycznych i prawnych*, ed. L. Dubel, Lublin 2003.

<sup>37</sup> A series of essays by A. Balasitsa, written „from June to July 1917”, entitled *Polityka, prawo i etyka (Szkieł próby naukowego ujęcia i uporządkowania)*, „Rok Polski”, R. II, no 2, luty 1917, p. 56–65; „Rok Polski”, R. II, no 5 i 6, maj–czerwiec 1917, p. 24–52; „Rok Polski”, R. II, no 7–8, lipiec–sierpień 1917, p. 69–83; „Rok Polski”, R. II, no 10, październik 1917, p. 58–91. The author of the biographical note in PSB apparently is not aware of the publications; he does not mention them writing only that towards the end of his life Balasitsa “figured in the monthly »Rok Polski«, published by a group of national democrats headed by Roman Rybarski in Kraków to propagate the programme of uniting Poland” (Z. Próchnicki, *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. I, Kraków 1935, p. 229–230). (Cf. *Szematyzm Królestwa Galicji i Lodomeryi i Wielkiego Księstwa Krakowskiego*, R. 1889, Lwów 1889, p. 367).

<sup>38</sup> *O nauce umiejętności politycznych*, published first by „Przegląd Sądowy i Administracyjny”, subsequently as a separate leaflet in 1876 (p. 57).

<sup>39</sup> K. Opałek, *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. XII, Ossolineum 1966–1967, p. 176–178.

litical literature<sup>40</sup>. He was involved in a discussion with F. Kasperek over the way the latter understood politics<sup>41</sup>.

Those individuals lived and created their works in the period of history when science had been universally recognized as „separate from the social roles of the wiseman, prophet or wizard”<sup>42</sup>. The development of political science, initiated in the second half of XIX century, accompanied the growing crisis of faith in liberal capitalism, the state as it used to be then and economy, pre-monopolistic capitalism was approaching its end<sup>43</sup>. New political schools took shape, being more of political parties than schools which should be neutral and reliable despite „the pressure of the moment”. In the Polish territory during the partition period, the changes were shaped by a new intellectual current, called positivism<sup>44</sup>. Positivism grew against the background of dynamically developing science, it shaped a new style of thinking, different, positivistic attitudes matured. They were produced by the spirit of the new times in which transformation of capitalism consolidated while the society became fully bourgeois. In the complex period the Polish nation also matured and transformed, mainly as a result of universal democratization of life. Farming and working classes emerged posing new social challenges<sup>45</sup>. These issues meant a serious challenge for Polish intellectu-

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<sup>40</sup> Rembowski's literature reviews deserve to be mentioned separately, especially his interest in many, unknown today, writers. A. Rembowski, *Pisma Alexandra Rembowskiego*, t. I, Kraków–Warszawa, nakładem autora 1901 r., p. 304.

<sup>41</sup> Dr F. Kasperek, *Prawo polityczne ogólne z uwzględnieniem austriackiego razem ze wstępną nauką ogólną o państwie opublikował A. Rembowski w czasopiśmie „Niwa” w 1878 r.* Cf. A. Rembowski, *Pisma*, t. II: *Sprawy publicystyczne; Krytyki naukowe*, Warszawa 1902, nakładem autora, p. 496–546.

<sup>42</sup> S. Ossowski, *Stanowiska i szkoły*, [in:] *Dzieła*, t. IV: *O nauce*, Warszawa 1967, p. 226.

<sup>43</sup> P. Janet, a great classic of political doctrines was adduced, who described XIX century as a „century of disbelief” and XVII century, a „century of belief”. Cf. K. Forster, *Do Matek Polek!*, [in:] *Dzieło uwieńczone przez Akademię Francuską: Rodzina. Lekcje filozofii moralnej przez Pawła Janeta prof. logiki w Liceum Ludwika Wielkiego*, przekład z francuskiego z przedmową Karola Forstera, Własność Wydawcy Biblioteki, Berlin 1862, p. 215.

<sup>44</sup> A. Świętochowski (1849–1938), the main ideologue of positivism in Poland. Cf. H. Olszewski, *Słownik twórców idei...*, p. 426–429.

<sup>45</sup> „Social movement – is the future; the social issue is anyway a background against which the image of the future has already managed to be sketched. Within the image, which today starts to be shaped, there are, doubtless, many dark and threatening points; it is not all darkness though, all evil, pure negation. The demand to change the current relations is based, to a great degree, on the simplest, sometimes extraordinarily

al elites. Such was the atmosphere when the debate concerning politics as science and practical skill was carried out<sup>46</sup>.

### 3.

Entering the field of scientific enquiry into the nature of politics, by necessity I must limit myself and select issues out of the broad array of the tradition of political science. I would like to explain the activities initiated by Poles in the period of partitions in the area of culture and politics, known as political culture. The term is well established in the intellectual tradition. The moment a man stated his opinion about politics for the first time, „something akin to political culture” was created<sup>47</sup>. Elements constituting the image of political culture of a given nation have been debated for a long time. Factors shaping the image of culture of governance, the composition and characteristics of the particular, both ruling and ruled groups are named, cultivated values coded in habits, norms, symbols. Inherited traditions are analyzed. Political culture arises out of a social-historical background, consisting of national heritage, beliefs, existing social structure. The oldest concept of

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violated justice. Hence, the social movement is righteous to a large extent; it is not to be extinguished then – which anyway is not possible – but manage it and guide it appropriately; whoever is able to do it, will be the leader of the twentieth century”. *Kongresy Katolickie*, „Przegląd Powszechny”, t. XXII, nr 66, czerwiec 1889, p. 10. Cf. J. Milewski, *O kwestii socjalnej. Wykład publiczny miany w Krakowie dnia 12 marca 1890 r.* W Krakowie 1890, p. 40; Also: J. Milewski, *O kwestii socjalnej. Mowa na wiecu katolickim we Lwowie 7 lipca 1896*, Kraków 1896, p. 18.

<sup>46</sup> „Our aim is progress- a desire to make sure that humankind can progress equally well on the Vistula as it does on the Seine, the Thames, the Danube or the Tiber; to this end, one must take advantage of the already existing achievements of the human knowledge and, on the other hand, to be able to avoid the errors of the past as well as to check the ideas conceived in the extensive realm of reason against the mundane reality”. From the programme: „Czasopismo Poświęcone Prawu i Umiejętnościom Politycznym”, wydane pod red. Członka Wydziału Prawa i Umiejętności Politycznych WCK Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, R. 1863, z. I, styczeń, red. odpowiedzialny: prof. dr Miller-Koczyński, W Krakowie 1863, w Drukarni CK Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

<sup>47</sup> G. A. Almond, *The Civic Culture Revisited*, Little Brown and Co, Boston 1980. The author’s tenets, contained in the paper. Cf. G. A. Almond (Stanford), *Intelektualny rodowód pojęcia obywatelskiej kultury politycznej*, „Studia Nauk Politycznych” 1986, no 1 (79).



„national character” is particularly useful when discussing political culture. It refers to political behaviour of members of the given nation. The literature characterises Poles in the following manner: spontaneity and flexibility. „If a Pole guided by his noble spirit could select a just privilege for himself, the love of his country would make one”<sup>48</sup>. All of the elements of political culture were known both to prophets and Greek and Roman historians, poets, playwrights; its concepts are found in a variety of ancient writings. They are accompanied by a significant volume of literature. Controversies relate not only to its object, the scope of the concept, functions the category performs in social life of various collectivities, but also problems of scientific primogeniture. As concerns Polish circumstances, the problem has not evoked much research interest so far<sup>49</sup>. It seems a broader outlook is needed to explain the phenomenon which during the first half of 1970s became the object of research not only by historians but mainly by political scientists and sociologists<sup>50</sup>. Currently, political culture is incorporated into the mainstream of politology as an academic discipline taught to young people at different levels of further education.

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<sup>48</sup> S. X. *Duch narodowy*, „Pamiętnik Warszawski”, marzec 1899, p. 378–382. Cf. A. Bodnar, *System polityczny a podłoże historyczne*, „Studia Nauk Politycznych” 1981, no 1, Also: A. Bodnar, J. Stefanowicz, *Kultura polityczna*, Warszawa 1981. As J. Kulczycka-Saloni rightly noted, the flash in the pan „is a feature particularly dangerous if characteristic of someone who decides about the direction and character of others’ action”. J. Kulczycka-Saloni, *Kilka uwag o znaczeniu nauk humanistycznych...*, p. 6. B. Szacka doing research on the image of the past in the consciousness of the Polish intelligentsia, formulated 8 groups of features, characteristic of the historical stereotype of the Pole: an immaculate knight, a flash in the pan, poor manager, a decent, hard-working man, a drunkard, a man of no manners, a lordish man, a cunning man, a man of twisted and suspicious arrangements. Cf. B. Szacka, *Przeszłość w świadomości inteligencji polskiej*, Warszawa 1983, p. 130–131.

<sup>49</sup> Regretably, the valuable voices of the discussants were very few. Cf. R. Wapiński, *O niektórych problemach kultury politycznej społeczeństwa polskiego w pierwszej połowie XX wieku*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1977, no 9, p. 9–28 as well as G. Bokszańska, *Koncepcja kultury politycznej w pracach historyków*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1978, no 10, p. 93–103.

<sup>50</sup> E. Młyniec, *Kultura polityczna i jej uwarunkowania*, [in:] *Elementy metodologii nauki o polityce. Rozważania pojęciowe*, red. M. Surmaczyński, Wrocław 1989, p. 93–126.

There is no doubt nowadays who was the first to introduce the term of „political culture” to the discourse of humanities; this did not, however, end the debate<sup>51</sup>. The use of concept in itself does not suffice to prove primogeniture. It is important who infused the equivocal term with contents<sup>52</sup>.

Studying the intellectual achievements of the Polish political science of the turn of XIX and XX centuries, I came across two scholars who enriched the research on political culture by their own research, research topics, analytical modes, terminology they used, language. I mean individuals who represented a variety of university milieux: Józef Milewski, a lawyer, economist, playwright of Jagiellonian and then Lvov University and Józef Siemieński, a lawyer and a historian, archive specialist who represented the Warsaw milieu<sup>53</sup>. Both were almost simultaneously involved in research on political culture, doubtlessly pioneering the work. Their achievements deserve broader consideration, which will make the subject of the subsequent publications.

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<sup>51</sup> It was J. G. Herder, a German scholar of XVIII century, the Enlightenment period. Cf. F. M. Barnard, *Culture and Political Development, Herder's Suggestive Insights*, „American Political Science Review” 1969, June, p. 392. Cf. G. A. Almond, *Intelektualny rodowód pojęcia obywatelskiej kultury politycznej*, „Studia Nauk Politycznych” 1986, no 1, p. 12, footnote 14; Also: A. Kłoskowska, *Kultura masowa. Krytyka i obrona*, Warszawa 1983, p. 14 and ff.

<sup>52</sup> I mustn't at this point omit the organizational and scientific achievements by M. Kosman and his collaborators as well as his efforts to launch a series of publications. *Kultura polityczna w Polsce*, t. I: *Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, ed. M. Kosman, Poznań 1996; *Kultura polityczna w Polsce*, t. II: *Mity i fakty*, ed. M. Kosman, Poznań 1999; *Kultura polityczna w Polsce*, t. III: *Wizje przyszłości*, ed. M. Kosman, Poznań 2000.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the entry in the *Polski słownik biograficzny*, concerning Józef Milewski, written by Marian Tyrowicz, t. XXI, Ossolineum 1976, p. 213–214. The figure of J. Siemieński was presented in *Polski słownik biograficzny* by Stanisław Konarski, t. XXXIII, p. 19–23.