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*On the reception of totalitarianism in Polish interwar philosophy. The study of Kazimierz Czapiński's political philosophy.*

**Abstract**

The area of the research undertaken falls within the scope of political philosophy, and the main research objective pursued within the framework of this dissertation is the reconstruction of Kazimierz Czapiński's political philosophy and the analysis of the impact of totalitarian ideologies on Polish interwar philosophy, as his legacy contains numerous works referring to philosophical traditions on the subject of the developing totalitarian systems and their possible influence on the situation in Poland.

The first stage of research conducted within the framework of the present research was based on the assumptions of two methods: analytical and comparative, i.e. on the collection and analysis of philosophical theories developed so far, in particular in the field of the history of philosophy and the philosophy of politics. This enabled a comparative analysis of these theories and the creation of an overall picture of Polish interwar philosophy. On the basis of these analyses and the conclusions drawn from them, the developmental tendencies of Polish interwar philosophy were specified, and their determinants further served as analytical tools for conducting research on the documents collected in the further part of the work.

Then, on the basis of the source materials collected in the archives and institutions where the author conducted queries, a qualitative and critical analysis of them was carried out. The theoretical basis built on philosophical interpretations of totalitarianism served as the determinants of the directions of these analyses. A thorough analysis of the collected materials made it possible to synthesise the conclusions drawn from them, which in turn contributed to the reconstruction of the actual situation that prevailed in Polish interwar philosophy and the presentation of the actual views of the thinkers of the time.

The biographical method was auxiliary here, which allowed the life and views of Kazimierz Czapiński to be presented.

This dissertation has been divided into five chapters. The first one is entirely devoted to the theoretical foundations of political philosophy and presents an overview of the theories that make up political philosophy. It reveals the important role of this branch of philosophy and of politics itself in the life of the individual. Its content is also devoted to ways of interpreting totalitarianism and the individual ideologies that comprise it. It presents different views of the

problem of totalitarianism, both historical and contemporary. This chapter systematises the theoretical reflections on totalitarianism and at the same time provides a basis for further, more detailed reflections.

The next chapter presents a picture of the political orientations represented by Polish philosophers of the interwar period. Polish interwar philosophy is a unique phenomenon on the pages of philosophy, as it was particularly connected to the political situation of the country. Just as diverse as the Polish state was in many respects, so diverse theories were present in Polish philosophy. Therefore, this chapter presents in a systematic way the main philosophical orientations that took shape in Poland at that time. While describing selected tendencies, the author also focused on outlining the political thought that was represented by selected representatives of the described schools. In addition to political thought, this chapter of the dissertation also addresses the problem of the important role of philosophy in the reconstruction of the Polish state.

The third chapter of the dissertation was entirely devoted to Kazimierz Czapiński and is an attempt at a biography of his character. When compiling this chapter, the author focused on presenting his biography from a philosophical point of view, and such themes were primarily discussed in this chapter. This is because philosophy was extremely close to Czapiński, accompanied him at every stage of his life, and undoubtedly shaped him as a publicist and politician.

The fourth chapter of the work provides a comprehensive picture of Kazimierz Czapiński's conception of political philosophy and at the same time presents his reception of totalitarian ideologies - Bolshevism and fascism. First, the author presents Czapiński's philosophical sources of inspiration, among which he mentions Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Otto Bauer, Karl Kautsky or Georgi Plekhanov. Drawing on the philosophical output of the above-mentioned thinkers, Czapiński created his own philosophical system, which in turn served him as a kind of analytical tool for evaluating the totalitarianisms that were emerging at the time. For Czapiński, philosophy was the main point of reference in his evaluation of totalitarianisms, and it was to its assumptions that he referred when describing and evaluating Bolshevism and fascism. In the case of both Bolshevism and fascism, this chapter presents a comprehensive picture of these two ideologies that emerges from Kazimierz Czapiński's texts.

The last chapter of the dissertation presents Kazimierz Czapiński's critical analysis of the influence of totalitarian ideologies on the development of the situation on the Polish political scene, in particular the activities of the Communist Party of Poland and the national camp. Moreover, the chapter also presents Kazimierz Czapiński's conception of the system of the

Polish state. As an experienced politician and, at the same time, philosopher, Czapiński created his own vision of the state system, which was closely linked to socialist humanism and the idea of social justice. Therefore, in this part of the dissertation, the author presents Czapiński's outlook on several key issues for the state, such as the political system, culture, education, relations with the church and foreign policy.

The conclusion of the dissertation also provides a summary of the research. It is followed by a detailed list of the literature used in the course of work on the dissertation.

Analysing the thought output of Kazimierz Czapiński, one can come to the conclusion that his political philosophy was a strong criticism of the totalitarianisms developing in the interwar period. He saw that both fascism and Bolshevism not only questioned the values of democracy, but also rejected humanist ideas in favour of the idea of centralism. Czapiński was therefore very adept at unmasking the propaganda and demagogy that was smuggled by the ideologists of these two regimes under a philosophical guise, and almost immediately recognised the dangers of this and even predicted the outbreak of the Second World War with its most tragic consequences, such as the Holocaust. It should be noted, however, that the philosopher's reflections were not entirely objective, which does not mean that they cannot be considered accurate. They are imbued with the spirit of socialism, by which he saw certain positive features in certain aspects of totalitarian ideologies, in particular the Bolshevik and later communist ideologies (such as, for example, the outbreak of the revolution or the subsequent economic development of the USSR under Stalin). The socialist spirit also set the tone for Czapiński's reflections on systemic issues and the vision he built of a state in which there was no room for class and social conflicts. It should be noted, however, that although Kazimierz Czapiński's philosophy was maintained in a socialist spirit, it was not dogmatic. He did not hold tightly to Marxist assumptions, but was open to discussion and the existence of other systems of thought. Importantly, he did not adapt the thoughts of other philosophers to suit his own needs in creating his ideology, which, after all, guided almost the entire PPS. In setting the direction of his philosophy, he was firmly guided by the good of society as a whole and sought to halt the development and influence of totalitarian ideologies in Poland.

**Keywords: polish interwar philosophy, totalitarianism, fascism, Nazism, communism, bolshevism, Kazimierz Czapiński**