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Confederation or Federation and Primary Factors of Integration of Europe in Polish Socialist Thought

The idea of a united Europe at the regional or continental level was not only present in the Polish socialists' minds. Many political trends, parties and social circles took this idea into theoretical consideration. Moreover, the issue of European integration was not characteristic of the 19th- and 20th-century Polish political thought.

The question of European integration was discussed in the Piasts' period. However, the discussions were not extensive and did not develop distinct conceptions. The ideas resembled idealistic aspirations, which European countries should achieve drawing on the experience of Imperium Romanum and adjusting it to the conditions of European in which states were in the early Middle Ages.¹ Simplifying: Polish political thought started from the assumption that Europe would be a confederation of federal associations, and a primary integrating factor should be the state and monarch. So integrated the continent was to be led by an emperor or a pope in whose powers were international policy, questions of war and peace, the forming of ideological and cultural bases of the community as well as education and science.² However, federal associations were to include individual regions of the continent, thus states: Germanic, Latin and Slavic. Polish political thought did

not consider the issue of national identity and European awareness. However, feudal economy existing at that time exempted the contemporary ideologists and politicians from the analysis of economic integration within the European framework.

Analysing Polish thought in this scope, one might find that integrating factors were to be the following: the state-monarchy, the institution of an emperor or a pope, ideologically Christian community and the achievement of European aims — peace, security and hegemony in the world at that time. Universities and the administration system of the Church as an integrating factor seem to be noteworthy. Although, in Polish political thought these institutions are not indicated directly, political elites acknowledged their role in forming a European community.³

In the Renaissance, the idea of integration awoke keen interest. This period was of special importance to the development of Polish political thought and it did not take place due to both the cultural progress of Europe and the progress of civilisation of Europe. Polish political thought on integration met with its political realisation in the form of Central European union of the Jagiellons which survived till 1526.⁴ Its beginning and the first phase was connected with the Union of

Krewo and the Union of Horodlo, giving rise to the establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian state of a confederation character. The Jagiellonian idea in the scope of integration basis and political solutions was not understood by the political West and East of Europe, in which modern universalism and absolutism dominated. In the studies on political and historical issues, there has not been found a full explanation. Concerning efficient functioning of so-called Jagiellonian democracy, which supported a superpower role of the Jagiellonian confederation under the leadership of Poland. The functioning of internal bodies in the confederation and its position in the European arena surrounded by absolutism need some thought. It is also an important research postulate. The assumptions of the Jagiellonian democracy were more in line with the ideology of the Renaissance than the doctrine of absolutism.

The Jagiellonian idea of integration, from the second half of the 14th century to the first half of the 17th century, endorsed regional associations in Europe, mainly in its central and southern regions. However, the possibility of the creation of a continental association was discounted. It results from the fact that the organisation of the continent in the form of regional confederations was a proposal to the whole Europe. It must be underlined that the Jagiellonian confederation competed with absolutist states, taking on national character, and for Ottoman empire, with which it fought for a sphere of influence in southern Europe. In spite of defeats experienced in the 16th century, the idea of the Jagiellonian confederation was an ideologically political inspiration to the societies of central and southern Europe till the first half of the 17th century.⁵ Another matter is why the Jagiellonian confederation suffered a defeat in a clash with universalism and absolutism. The idea of confederation in the era of forming national awareness

did not stand a chance of quickly becoming a reality on the continent. Only intellectual elites of the West advocated the concept; political elites desired integration through conquest.⁶ Integration was associated with incorporation. One needs to notice that the terms — union, confederation and federation — were used very rarely in European and Polish political thought and were used interchangeably while referring to a confederation of states.

Polish and European thought of the Renaissance still did not appreciate the role of the nation and cultural and historical ties with other societies. Polish political thought was original in this matter as it pushed civil rights and political solutions as important factors up the integration agenda. Obviously, they were not as important as the institution of the state itself.⁷

For Polish political thought, the state was the most important integration factor. Only at the end of the 19th century one might observe a gradual redefinition of Polish integration conceptions in which the nation understood as a civil nation or a civil society was equally valued.⁸

The system of mixed monarchy and the liberal rule of the Jagiellons based on the developed local government of the gentry were valued by the civil part of societies of the Central European confederation. It may be assumed that the Jagiellonian democracy demonstrated also a good example for those societies surrounding the Central European confederation. Thus, one might agree with Jan Ekes who stated that "The rule of the Jagiellons facilitated the process which enabled the development of more independent and more national society and which brought some kind of specific character to Central Europe. This process unfolded till the first half of the 17th century, and before it slowed down later on, it brought relatively beneficial results both in political and cultural respects. The Czechs, Hungarians and southern Slavs

had an opportunity to show their cultural development under the Jagiellonian rule.”⁹ As this quotation illustrates, the Jagiellonian confederation also facilitated the process of national integration stimulating Slavic ties.

From the second half of the 17th century till the collapse of Polish statehood, the Polish idea of the integration of Europe in Polish political thought appeared sporadically. The main emphasis was put on the retaining of independence of Poland as a result of system reforms. Attempts were made to erase a separate identity of Latvia, as reflected in the regulations of Constitution of May 3, 1791 and attempts to restrict civil rights and the scope of local authorities.¹⁰ Even a democratic and patriotic trend was “swept by a political wind” from the East and West despite the gradual materialisation of the Enlightenment slogans. Additionally, the Enlightenment ideas reached the country with some delay.

However, the collapse of the Polish state and the Enlightenment values spreading widely, originating from the doctrine of Charles L. Montesquieu, François M. Wolter and Jean J. Rousseau had an influence on the return of the integration concepts to Polish political thought. The most developed conceptions in the light of the Enlightenment common values and ideas were presented by Stanisław Staszic and Hugo Kołłątaj. However, their assumptions were burdened with the collapse of statehood, thus liberal values and democratic political solutions were marginalised as integration factors. The issue of awareness of national and cultural identity, which was becoming thorny in Europe, and which Staszic and Kołłątaj were familiar with, could not be dealt with in the context of the issue of integration. It was noticeable in the deliberations of Staszic about the role of the Slavs in Europe. Thus, the main subject of integration was to be the state. The interest of existence of the state

became the most principal political recommendation or even moral one.¹¹ Both thinkers were supporters of a continental confederation in which a superpower would take the lead. Such a political order in Europe was to lead to the rebuilding of independence. The all-Europe confederation was to be a means, and not an objective in the assumptions of Staszic and Kołłątaj. One might need to notice two cases of differences in the opinions of Enlightenment thinkers: firstly, Staszic saw the future of integrated Europe under the leadership of the Slavs, that is Poland and Russia; secondly, Kołłątaj did not consider Russia as a European country, Europe stretched only as far as Polish eastern borders. Moreover, he assumed that France should lead a confederate Europe.¹² Stanisław Leszczyński in the book titled *Memoriał utwierdzenia pokoju generalnego* presented the ideas similar to those expressed by Kołłątaj.¹³ Jan K. Skrzetuski proposed the most developed project of integration in whose assumptions not only a pacifistic threat but the prevalence of international law over national law must be emphasised. Skrzetuski's project proved that a participant in the Thursday Dinners spoke for a European league of states as a closer confederation in political terms than it resulted from the assumptions of Staszic, Kołłątaj or Leszczyński.¹⁴

Polish socialists of the 19th and 20th centuries not only referred to integrative assumptions of the Jagiellonian period or to the Enlightenment thinkers mentioned above, but also to the ideas of the Romanticists, in particular the Polish Democratic Society (PDS) and the Communities of the Polish People. It must be acknowledged that socialists were affected by the principles of the Romanticists' thinking, according to which intentions were more important than the existing reality. Such a perception of the world was present in the 1890s as well as in the interwar period.¹⁵

In the first half of the 19th century contemporary nations started to form states emphasising their national character. The ideas of the Polish Romanticism were under the influence of philosophic system of Georg Hegel who underlined, among others, the significance of an individual's role in the history of humankind and the order of the political world. Mysticism also influenced Polish emigration thought; Adam Mickiewicz, who had a monopoly on defining the forms of struggle for liberation and the future of a Polish political system among Polish thinkers, identified with its views for some time.¹⁶

European political thought of the Romantic period valued especially the categories of the nation and the role of an individual as much as Poland tried to combine the value of the nation and the necessity of democratic changes in its structure with the value of the state. According to Polish Romanticists' opinion, the value of the state could not be separated from the value of the nation.¹⁷ At the same time, the nation was understood as a civil society which would be one of the most important factors integrating Europe. The Polish society was a symbol of such a nation owing to its historical and political experience. Thus, a democratic state, a civil nation and a political system based on vast local government of people coming into existence as a result of a national democratic revolution driven by the ideas of patriotism, would be the most fundamental factor serving integration. Such opinions, taking on the shape of conception, were visible in Maurycy Mochnacki, Joachim Lelewel, Józef M. Hoene-Wroński and Wojciech B. Jaszczękowski, who drew on Jan K. Skrzetuski's assumptions concerning the integration of Europe.¹⁸

According to the assumptions of Polish ideologists, Europe was to be a confederate association of national states in which freedom, ownership and a cultural life would be subject to national laws; however, exist-

ence, independence and economic development were to be subject to all-European laws. Democratic political system based on the supremacy of legislative power over executive and administrative powers and vast local government was to be introduced in all European countries. One might say that de Gaul's concept of "Europe of Nations" referred to the idea of integration of Polish Romantic thought. For the sake of accuracy of description of the Polish idea of integration, in the development to which Adam J. Czar-toryski contributed, it must be underlined that economic issues were underestimated and the role of the Slavs was significant to the future development of mankind. Opinions concerning the creation of central European confederation, as part of continental confederation, were aired here and there.

Polish political thought regarding European integration in the 1830s and 1840s advanced mainly by Polish thinkers in exile. It was under the influence of ideologists from PDS and the Lambert Hotel. Other movements, for example the Communities of Polish People, had a small influence on the formation of political thought. PDS, to which the socialist movement would refer in the future, adhered to radical reforms, aiming for profound changes in social and political relations present at that time in the pre-partition Poland. Those changes were to be brought about by a social revolution. The revolution was to take on the nature of a national uprising, combining the aims of regaining the independence with reforms of political system.¹⁹ Hopes for all-European, socio-democratic confederation were linked with the outbreak of a national uprising. From the mid-thirties social democrats abandoned airing the view on the possibility of the outbreak of an all-European revolution. The idea of continental integration was toned down in favour of the association of Central-European states.²⁰

The conceptions of PDS concerning integration were so general that it is difficult

to define the principles of integration of Slav countries. Obviously, it was to be a confederation; however, the core principles of integration were applied to Poland and Lithuania because of the legacy of joint statehood. The nation as an integration factor was equal to the state, especially that social democrats equated the nation with the state. The minorities living in the territory of the pre-partition Republic of Poland were considered as constituting a Polish nation. Also, a social revolution and a republican system, brought about by the above-mentioned social revolution, were important factors determining integration based on the separation of powers and local government of citizens.²¹

Social democrats, being under the influence of Romanticists, highlighted the significance of human rights and civil societies in their programmes. They equated these two values with the state. Some researches hold an opinion that the category of civil society was fundamental for the theoretical thought of PDS.²² A closer analysis of programmes and articles of the Society justifies this view as it indicates that the theories of the nation and a future model of political system of the Republic of Poland formulated by social democrats derived from the notion of civil society.

Adam Czartoryski and the Communities of Polish People had a lesser influence on the concept formation of integration of the socialist movement. Programme and ideological assumptions of the latter were an example of Romantic socio-radical utopias. The leaders of PDS were familiar with utopianism, they did not recognise, in the case of integration concepts, the social and political international reality of that time.

Polish socialist thought developing since the 1870s referred not only to theoretical discussions of social democrats, but also to the Jagiellonian idea. Federalist concepts referred also to Central-East Europe. A conception of the European confederation ap-

peared rarely and only in articles on political subjects. However, it appeared frequently in programmes of the revolutionary Polish Socialist Party-Left, which promoted a utopian and vague plan of a popular revolution leading to the socialist European confederation based on the rules of a federation. An issue of national identity was of secondary importance for the Polish Socialist Party-Left's ideologists.²³ The Polish Socialist Party, later the Polish Socialist Party — former Revolutionary Faction, took into consideration national identity, but this issue was a weak point of a regional confederation. The Polish Socialist Party leaders were solving this national identity problem by the politically organised structure of a confederation, adopting the rule “free with the free, equal with the equal” and creating a civil society.²⁴ The key factor of integration was of course the state; a regional confederation was to be of a federated confederation character, which was to evolve into a federation. Analysing the programmes, one may conclude that Poland and Lithuania were to create joint statehood with federal characteristics. The Polish Socialist Party — Revolutionary Faction specified neither the basis for this federation nor its rules. Latvia and Estonia were to create a confederation.

An economic factor was of minor importance for the concept of integration. The confederation was to secure the independence and sovereignty of Central-East European countries — Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — against Russia and Germany. Hence, the state was the main factor of integration. It is worth mentioning that Polish socialists limited the territory of the future confederation to the north of Central-East Europe, with Poland in its borders from 1772. This territorial concept would be present in socialists' plans till, at least, 1922.²⁵

The adopted rule “free with the free, equal with the equal” was to refer to the states of

the confederation and to create a political system and the relations between a state and a citizen. For confederated statehood, a political system was to be created by three main concepts: democracy, socialism and liberalism. That is why the subordinate role of the state's institutions to a citizen, parliamentary democracy with the elements of direct democracy and the actual freedom and equality of citizens in the social sphere were assumed. The concept of the social state was to be based on social free market economy. Reforms, not a revolution in the form of civil war, were to lead to the creation of vast local governments: territorial, cultural and professional and organizations, which are now called non-governmental. A vast local government was appreciated by members of the Polish Socialist Party because of ideological reasons and was based on the fact that national minorities existed in the first Polish Republic.²⁶

Polish socialists also had a backup plan for the concept of integration. Its assumptions were present in articles of the Polish Socialist Party on political subjects till 1916. As the assumptions were rather defined in general terms, it is difficult to carry out a detailed analysis. It is important to mention that such a plan existed, and it aimed at transforming the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy into a tripartite one, with the participation of Poland.

Political thought of the Polish Socialist Party towards the integration of Europe till 1922 did not undergo any significant changes. It is proven by the idea of creating the Baltic Union and the confirmation of factors influencing substantially the regional integration.²⁷

A marked change in the idea of integration occurred since 1924. European integration in the form of the Union of Nations of Europe or the United States of Europe (USE) or a regional confederation under the aegis of Poland, was not included in

programmes and the Polish socialist movement was not interested in it any more. The socialist movement and the Polish Socialist Party were interested in the issue from a perspective of creating a continent-wide political structure. Vagueness of concepts of the United States of Europe and a regional confederation was caused by bad political conditions in the international arena and the perception of confederate associations as the ideal to achieve.²⁸

The state remained the key factor which was to integrate Europe. It was visible that this factor was gaining importance. Members of the Polish Socialist Party and the adherents of Józef Piłsudski assumed that the state was threatened by the USSR and Germany. However, a bigger threat was posed by the eastern neighbour. The importance of the state and its security creating European integration was emphasised by a foreign policy rule adopted by the Polish Socialist Party, under the influence of the Geneva Protocol, the triad: security–disarmament–arbitration. The USSR could have joined the USE only after democratisation of its political system.²⁹

The factor of integration such as a civil society was not present in thought of the Polish Socialist Party. It does not mean underestimating its importance, but the confederation was to, first of all, provide Polish national security and keep the world peace; that is why the main focus was on international issues. It was proposed to create the Union of Nations, as a loose confederation securing the world against war, and to dissolve, not very effective in this area, the League of Nations.

A novelty in political thought was an emphasis on a socio-economic factor. The Polish Socialist Party proposed rules and social and economic solutions which are now present in the European Union. Emphasised since mid-twenties, the socio-economic factor, with the possibility of free movement of people and capital, shows how realistic the party leaders

were and proves that the concept equalized political and economic factors.³⁰

Polish socialists focusing on the security of the Republic of Poland and political realities, proposed to organise the USE as a confederation in their enunciations, and used a modern expression, at two speeds. It was taken into account that European integration is only possible with the co-operation with Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. That is why the Polish Socialist Party was ready to accept the political and economic dominance of these countries in the future association. However, it was made clear that such dominance, especially the political one, cannot be used against any USE member.³¹

A similar position on European integration was taken by the Polish Socialist Party — former Revolutionary Faction. However, being under the Sanation it could not accept the dominant political role of western superpowers and Germany in the continental bloc. It did not admit the possibility of joining the confederation by the USSR, even after defeating Bolshevism. Even left-wing socialists of the Independent Socialist Labour Party did not take the idea of the USE up. It occasionally appeared in articles on political subjects. The independent admitted the possibility of creating the socialist Union of Nations. It was to take place after introducing the socialist rule in all countries and changing some solutions in the political system of the USSR.³²

The Polish Socialist Party rarely returned to the regional concept only during the periods of political tensions in Europe. The Polish Socialist Party — former Revolutionary Faction and socialist left wing did not express any opinions. Since mid-twenties the Polish socialist movement appreciated the socio-economic factor in creating the basis for the future regional association in Central-East Europe. It is worth mentioning that members of the Polish Socialist Party changed their minds as to a scope

of the territory of the potential integration. The main partner for that happened to be Czechoslovakia, not the Baltic states. The future Polish-Czechoslovak federation was to be the core of the regional confederation, including Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia and other small Baltic states. At this point of the research, it is hard to estimate the influence of the Jagiellonian idea, but the influence of the political situation in Europe in the mid-twenties was substantial.³³

The war and the occupation of Poland influenced the development of political thought in the area of integration of the socialists connected with the Polish Socialist Party — Freedom, Equality, Independence and socialist left-wing — the Workers' Polish Socialist Party. It is not a unique phenomenon that in the periods of statelessness or political tensions, Polish political thought marked its development. It was easy to produce ideas, plans and programmes when there was no state, because it was difficult to verify them and confront with the reality. That is why the ideas and concepts were revolutionary and utopian. It is not an accusation, as many utopias contributed to the creation and modification of the socio-political reality. Paradoxically, national tragedies contribute to theoretical disputes and political thought. It was like that in the case of the Polish socialist movement between 1939 and 1945, when the socialist democrats and the left-wing socialists developed their concepts of integration.

Under the new political circumstances, socialist political thought of the Freedom, Equality, Independence partially modified the range of key factors, which were to build the regional, continental and world integration. The crucial factors were to be the national security and civil society, shaped as a result of the political system called "civil democracy."³⁴ The emphasised significance of the state was visibly limited, the same happened to the economic factor. The inte-

gration was to include all the countries, in the shape of the Union of Nations. However, socialist thought analysed mainly the organising of Europe. The European continent was to be divided into regional confederations. The ideologists disputed over the creation of the United States of Europe. The policy of the "two speeds" and the dominance of superpowers were feared. That is why it was emphasised that superpowers should not be included in the continental and regional confederations, with the exception of Great Britain. The federal regional confederations were supported, and Central-East and South European countries and confederations such as the United States of Europe and the Union of Nations were emphasised.³⁵

Gradually, the federation of Central-East and South Europe was to take over sovereign laws of each country, becoming the super-state, following the example of the United States of America, the "third power" in Europe. The Union of Nations was also to evolve into a federation. However, in Polish socialists' opinion it would be a lengthy process. After the war, the Union was to secure peace, rebuild all that the war destroyed, deal with the colonial policy and ensure fair access to resources and markets.³⁶

As to a scope of the territory, the future Central-East and South Europe federation was to include peoples living between the USSR and Germany, in the belt from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and the Adriatic. Such a vision of the territory of the future confederation referred to the Jagiellonian idea; however, it was not the only one which influenced the concepts of the Polish Socialist Party — Freedom, Equality, Independence. The main one was the concept of security and fears of the imperialist policy of the USSR and Germany.³⁷

Socialist left-wing parties assumed that the socialist United States of Europe would be supranational. The key features which were to lead to the creation of a federation

were the forming of civil states in Europe as a result of the revolution "with the sanction of the law" and the economy based on planning and the dominance of social property over private and public property, and a vast territorial and cultural local government. This concept was based on the assumption that can be expressed by three words: war-revolution-federation.³⁸

With the exception of Poland, the creation of a regional federation or confederation was not taken into account. Poland, because of historical and cultural reasons, could create a confederate association with "people's" republics of Belarus and Ukraine.

National minorities living in the future Republic of Poland were to enjoy the local government organised in the same way as the Swiss one.

The economy of the USE was to improve the standard of living and to be planned economy. In the future federation the borders would be open and a single currency would be introduced. As it can be seen, left-wing socialists' thought referred to the concepts of the Polish Socialist Party from the mid-twenties.³⁹

Political thought of the socialist left wing emphasised the slogan "free with the free, equal with the equal" more than the Freedom, Equality, Independence. That is why it also negated the possibility of joining the USE by the Western superpowers and the USSR. It is worth mentioning that in its theoretical discussions, the socialist left wing did not deliberate over the Union of Nations. Perhaps it was connected with a revolution that was to take place in Europe at first. It was to be a social revolution, not only a political one like in Russia, led by the ideal of democracy and approved by parliaments elected in free and fair elections.

The year 1944 brought an end to discussions over the integration by Polish socialist thought. The position of Poland in Europe

was defined by superpowers, especially by the USSR. That is why all discussions became pointless, at least for ideologists of the Polish socialist movement.⁴⁰

The issues of values and factors, which were to be the basis for creating the regional integrations, the European and world ones, were not analysed in details due to the limited length of the article and a vast range of the problem. However, even a brief analysis allows to conclude as follows:

- integration in Polish socialist thought was important. It was the basis for analysing the socio-political system and the position of Poland in Europe;
- socialist thought benefited from Polish political thought, which dealt with the issues of integration in Europe;
- socialist thought was influenced by the Jagiellonian idea in its internal terms — connected with the development of democracy of the gentry, and the creation of the civil

state of that time — and in its international terms when the Jagiellonian Union became the European and world superpower;

- Polish socialist thought supported confederate unions, the concept of federation was developed during the war and occupation;
- the key factors which were to create and develop the integration in the form of a confederation or federation were: the state, its national security and civil society. The economic system and improving the standard of living were of secondary importance;
- Polish political thought rarely used arguments in favour of integration such as a community of history and ideas of Europe, civilisation and cultural ties and a community of ethnicity and language. The political factors were to decide about integration, consequently confederation or federation were of only political character.

¹ E. Jara, *Historia polskiej filozofii politycznej 966–1795*, London 1968, p. 11–29.

² *Ibidem*; W.B. Jaszczębowski, *Traktat o wieczystym przymierzu między narodami ucywilizowanymi: Konstytucja dla Europy*, prep. F. Ramotowska, Warszawa-Łódź 1985, p. 7–15.

³ Z. Karwowska, *Działalność św. Brunona z Kwerfurtu na gruncie polskim w związku z ideologicznymi podstawami państwa Bolesława Chrobrego*, "Sprawozdanie Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego" 21, 1928, p. 1–18; J. Baszkiewicz, *Mysł polityczna wieków średnich*, Warszawa 1970, p. 74–122, 213–234; J. Ekes, *Złota demokracja*, Warszawa 1987, p. 20–21; A. Przybylski, *Utopie, idee, projekty związku narodów i powszechnego pokoju*, Warszawa 1932, p. 41–43; J. Kłoczowski, *Młodsza Europa. Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w kregu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1998, p. 42 ff.; K. Łastawski, *Od idei do integracji europejskiej. Od najdawniejszej idei do Unii 25 państw*, Warszawa 2004, p. 25–31.

⁴ J. Ekes, *op. cit.*, p. 55, 59–61.

⁵ See R. Heck, *Polityka dynastyczna Jagiellonów w Czechach i na Węgrzech*, Wrocław 1970; Z. Spieralska, *Zofia Paleolog adresatką listu Kallimacha*, "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce" 23, 1978.

⁶ P. Keneky, *Mocarstwa świata. Narodziny, rozkwit, upadek, przemiany i konflikty zbrojne w latach 1500–2000*, Warszawa 2004, p. 21–33; A. Marszałek, *Z historii europejskiej idei integracji międzynarodowej*, Łódź 1996, p. 14–16, 24; J. Kłoczowski, *op. cit.*, p. 115; J. Tazbir, *Europejska wspólnota obronna*, [in:] *Europa. Drogi integracji*, Warszawa 1999, p. 60–62; K. Łastawski, *op. cit.*, p. 31–37; Z.M. Doliwa-Klepacki, *Integracja europejska (łącznie z uczestnictwem Polski w UE i Konstytucją dla Europy)*, Białystok 2005, p. 53–60; *Podstawy europeistyki*, W. Bokajło, A. Pacześniak (eds), Wrocław 2008, p. 162–167, 280–296.

⁷ See J. Tazbir, *Dzieje polskiej tolerancji*, Warszawa 1973; J. Maciszewski, *Kultura polityczna Polski „złotego wieku”*, [in:] *Dzieje kultury politycznej*, J. Gierowski (ed.), Warszawa 1997; E. Opaliński, *Kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej w latach 1587–1652. System parlamentarny a społeczeństwo obywatelskie*, Warszawa 1995.

⁸ E. Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, Warszawa 2008, p. 31.

⁹ J. Ekes, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁰ T. Merta, *Konfederacja barska — odnowienie polskiego republikanizmu*, [in:] *Póki my żyjemy... Tradycje insurekcyjne w myśli polskiej*, J. Kloczkowski (ed.), Warszawa 2004, p. 24–26.

¹¹ A. Rzegocki, *Racja stanu a polska tradycja myślenia o polityce*, Kraków 2008, p. 280.

¹² S. Staszic, *Ród ludzki*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1959, p. 301–321; *idem*, *Myśli o równowadze politycznej*, [in:] *Dzieła S. Staszica*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1916, p. 1–28; F. Ramotowska, *op. cit.*, p. 73–78; E. Stadtmüller-Wybor-ska, *Polska myśl o wojnie i pokoju do 1918 r.*, [in:] *Idea pokoju i myśli politycznej w przeszłości i współczesności*, K. Fiedor (ed.), Wrocław 1986, p. 80 ff.

¹³ *Memoriał króla S. Leszczyńskiego*, Preface and edited by J. Życki, Warszawa 1932; A. Przybylski, *op. cit.*, p. 30–33.

¹⁴ S. Skrzetuski, *Projekt, czyli ułożenie nieprzerwanego w Europie pokoju*, Warszawa 1775; A. Przybylski, *op. cit.*, p. 33–35.

¹⁵ B. Łagowski, *Łagodny protest obywateli*, Kraków 2001, p. 134 ff.; A. Rzegocki, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

¹⁶ J. Juchnowski, *O niektórych założeniach myśli politycznej głównych nurtów Wielkiej Emigracji*, [in:] *Studia historyczne i politologiczne*, R. Gelles, M.S. Wolański (eds), Wrocław 1997, p. 69.

¹⁷ *700 lat myśli polskiej. Filozofia i myśl społeczna w latach 1831–1864*, prep. A. Walicki, J. Garewicz, Warszawa 1977, p. 118–127; B. Urbankowski, *Myśl romantyczna*, Warszawa 1979, p. 125.

¹⁸ M. Mochnacki, *Dzieła*, vol. 4, Poznań 1963, p. 24 ff.; M.H. Serejski, *Naród a państwo w polskiej myśli historycznej*, Warszawa 1977, p. 79–132. See also B. Łagowski, *Filozofia polityczna Maurycego Mochnackiego*, Kraków 1981; A. Marszałek, *op. cit.*, p. 29–31; *Polskie wizje Europy w XIX i XX w.*, prep. P.O. Loew, Wrocław 2004, p. 51–70.

¹⁹ J. Juchnowski, *op. cit.*, p. 70–72.

²⁰ *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie. Dokumenty i pisma*, B. Baczko (ed.), Warszawa 1954; A. Bar-szewska-Krupa, *Reforma czy rewolucja. Koncepcje przekształcenia społeczeństwa polskiego w myśli politycznej Wielkiej Emigracji 1832–1863*, Łódź 1979, p. 188–191.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ K. Grünberg, *Koncepcje federalistyczne w polskim ruchu socjalistycznym 1864–1918*, Warszawa 1968, p. 143–146; J. Juchnowski, *Federalizm w myśli politycznej PPS a sprawa niepodległości Polski (1893–1918)*, "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Nauki Polityczne" 28, 1983, p. 33 ff.

²⁴ *IV Zjazd naszej partii*, "Robotnik" 1898, January 13; M. Luśnia (cor. K. Kelles-Krauz), *Nasz kryzys*, "Przedświt" 1902, no 3; *VI Zjazd PPS*, "Robotnik" 1902, August 5; L. Wasilewski, *Stosunki polsko-litewskie w dobie powstania*, "Niepodległość" 1, 1928, p. 38–42; P. Łossowski, *Stosunki polsko-litewskie w latach 1918–1920*, Warszawa 1966, p. 24–27.

²⁵ L. Wasilewski, *Polityka narodowościowa w Rosji*, Kraków 1916, p. 50; J. Cynarski, *Łotwa współczesna*, Warszawa 1925, p. 51 ff.; J. Kukulka, *Niektóre aspekty międzynarodowej polityki Piłsudskiego wobec ziem litewsko-białoruskich*, "Studia z Najnowszych Dziejów Powszechnych" 2, 1962, p. 39; T. Tych, *Polskie programy socjalistyczne 1878–1918*, Warszawa 1975.

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²⁸ J. Juchnowski, *Federalizm i integracja europejska w myśli politycznej socjalistów polskich (1922–1939)*, [in:] *Federalizm. Teorie i koncepcje*, W. Bokajło (ed.), Wrocław 1998, p. 183.

²⁹ *Sprawozdanie z działalności PPS za okres 2 lat (1924–1925) na XX Kongres*, Warszawa 1925, p. 4.

³⁰ *Zagadnienie Stanów Zjednoczonych Europy. Europejska Unia Celna; Zagadnienie Stanów Zjednoczonych Europy. Socjalistyczny program polityki handlowej*, "Robotniczy Przegląd Gospodarczy" 1926, no 9.

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³² J. Juchnowski, *Polski ruch socjalistyczny wobec Niemiec okresu Republiki Weimarskiej 1919–1932*, Wrocław 1997, p. 294–301.

³³ If., *Wielka gra dyplomatyczna*, "Naprzód" 1923, February 24; *idem*, *Blok kontynentalny*, "Naprzód" 1923, March 8; J. Juchnowski, *Federalizm...*, p. 179.

³⁴ S. Ciesielski, J. Juchnowski, *Dylematy i poszukiwania. Studia nad polską myślą socjalistyczną 1939–1948*, Wrocław 1991, p. 30–61.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 112–114.

³⁶ *Materiały do Programu Polski Ludowej*, vol. 3, *Socjalizm a organizacja pokoju*, Warszawa 1942; M. Śliwa, *Polska...*, p. 236.

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³⁸ J. Juchnowski, *Koncepcje...*, p. 107–114.

³⁹ S. Ciesielski, J. Juchnowski, *op. cit.*, p. 119 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 117 ff., 122.