WYKŁADY POZNAŃSKIE Z FILOZOFII 7

Wistful Hope: A Dialogical Study on Revolt

Piotr Leśniewski

PTPN

Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk

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Wistful Hope:
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Since the founding of the The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences in 1857, philosophers have played an active role in the Society's scientific work, as well as in activities aimed at propagating knowledge among fellow citizens. We need only mention the first president of the Society, Count August Cieszkowski, and Karol Libelt.

Continuing in this tradition, the present leadership of the PTPN Philosophy Committee took the initiative to publish, jointly with the Faculty of Philosophy of the Adam Mickiewicz University, the series *Wykłady Poznańskie z Filozofii* [Poznań Lectures in Philosophy], the ambition of which is to restore the spirit of *res publica literaria* to our times, but in a new form: democratised and open to critical citizens who are striving for an enlightened understanding of the world around them.

When absorbed in research that seeks to deepen the current state of human knowledge, we often underestimate the importance of sharing the results with a wider circle of educated readers. We hope that the series of *Poznań Lectures in Philosophy* and the accompanying public lectures will serve as an agora for deliberations between scholars and enlightened citizens of the Republic of Poland.

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I dedicate this book to my mother, Sabina

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Introduction

To a little mind, nothing is great.

On Monday, June 24, 1991, Frank Zappa performed at The Sportovni Hala in Prague. He played with the Czech band Pražský Výběr (The Prague Selection). It was a concert "Adieu CA" ("Soviet Army – Goodbye", CA is the abbreviation of the name "Советская Армия"). Zappa said, among other things:

> This is the first time that I have had reason to play my guitar in three years. I'm sure you already know it, but this is just the beginning of your new future in this country. *And I hope that your new future will be very perfect, very perfect*. And as you confront the new changes that will take place, please try and keep your country unique. Don't change into something else. Keep it unique. And now I will try and tune my guitar… [emphasis added – P. L.].

The Polish "Solidarity" movement in 1980–1981 was something unique. The fact that this revolt took place is the first great positive value. The second such value is that for 496 days this revolt was accompanied by great hope,

despite all the anxieties, social tensions, sorrows and disappointments. It was the only trade union independent of the communist authorities in the so-called Eastern Bloc countries: its full name was The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" (Polish: *Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy "Solidarność"*). And at the time it seemed that this movement could change everything. Lech Wałęsa said on December 13, 1981 (i.e. the date of the introduction of martial law in Poland and the so-called defeat of "Solidarity"):

> Did we lose in the end? Let us think for a moment: after all, we won 500 days after all! Therefore, despite December 13, 1981, these 500 days – the feast of freedom – will always revive the hope of Poles (Wałęsa 1989: 235).

This is my translation of the quote. Later as a rule, if a given quote has not previously been translated into English, then I provide my translation of that quote. Sometimes I include an original text together with my translation.

So this is a book about hope and revolt. I collected their traces because they can be a path to a philosophy of rebellion. Perhaps it will be as Albert Camus wrote: "If (…) rebellion could found a philosophy it would be a philosophy of limits, of calculated ignorance, and of risk" (Camus 1960: 256).

The direct inspiration for the presented considerations is the conviction that the Revolutions of 1989 (also called the Autumn of Nations and the Fall of Communism) have not been completed and still need to be properly

implemented. Such opinions were formulated, among others, by Václav Havel and Józef Tischner. NB, President Havel was at the Zappa concert in Prague in 1991. Moreover, these revolutions can be interpreted as a profound transition from a monological society to a dialogical society, in Tischner's sense. But the "Solidarity" movement at the time, as Michał Sutowski wrote:

> (…) was already a myth, not a movement – and not because its intellectual authorities started scandalous disputes, but because martial law turned a mass movement into an underground *cadre organization*, and pushed the once involved masses into mass privacy (Sutowski, 2015) [emphasis added – P. L.].

In April 2004, Richard Rorty gave a lecture at the Center for Cultural Studies in Tehran. He concluded this lecture with the following statement:

> If we anti-foundationalists are right, the attempt to place society on a philosophical foundation *should be replaced* by the attempt to learn from the historical record (Rorty 2007) [emphasis added – P. L.].

Therefore a kind of a report is proposed here, that is, I am offering – sometimes very subjective – testimonies of hopes and revolts, or, in other words, of an experience of hope and revolt.

Although *multa mentiuntur poëtae* (poets tell many a lie, [Arystoteles 1996b: 17]), contrary to this ancient proverb and grim tradition, in contrast to Plato and Aristotle, perhaps it is worth trusting poets. In this book, I refer to poets on several occasions.

Thus two old questions from Pedro Henríquez Ureña remain valid:

(1) Will we overcome the discontent that has provoked so many consecutive rebellions? (Spanish: *¿Venceremos el descontento que provoca tantas rebeliones sucesivas?*), and

(2) Will we keep the ambitious promise? (Spanish: *¿Cumpliremos la ambiciosa promesa?*) (Henríquez Ureña 1978: 33).

This book hopes to prepare you to answer them.

I would like to thank the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Professor Roman Kubicki, for the proposal to participate in this publishing series of The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences: it is a great honor for me. I would also like to thank the Vice-Dean of our faculty, Professor Karolina Cern and Professor Piotr W. Juchacz for kindness and all valuable suggestions related to the publication of this book. I would like to thank my friend and colleague Dr. Katarzyna Gan-Krzywoszyńska for all our conversations, absolutely amazing advices, great help, prodigious support and unique books: in fact, we have been cooperating for 20 years! I thank my friends: Estelle Carciofi for professional and excellent help straight from Paris, for Camus speech and Professor Przemysław Krzywoszyński for the unique, archival issue of the underground magazine *Krytyka. Kwartalnik Polityczny* from 1983. I would like to thank both benevolent reviewers, Professor Juan Manuel Campos Benítez and Professor Marcin J. Schroeder, for all important

remarks and comments. I would like to thank Mr. Stephen Dersley for reading the text thoroughly and all crucial notes and Mrs. Izabela Baran for the exact correction. I would like to thank especially my beloved and cheerful wife, Małgosia, for wonderful discussions, also during our walks and impressive suggestions for delightful readings. I also thank Małgosia and her fantastic friends, Izabela Zawartowska, Beata and Waldek Gdeczyk for their memories of our 1980s.

Obviously, the motto of my book is a simple reversal of the famous remark by Sherlock Holmes: "To a great mind, nothing is little (…)" (Doyle 1989: 31).

1

Traces of Hope

I BEGIN THIS CHAPTER WITH TWO POETIC VISIONS. We remember that according to the *Divine Comedy* (Canto III, 1–9), there is an inscription on the gates of hell (Alighieri 1867: 14):

> THROUGH me the way is to the city dolent;
> Through me the way is to eternal dole;
> Through me the way among the people lost.
> Justice incited my sublime Creator;
> Created me divine Omnipotence,
> The highest Wisdom and the primal Love.
> Before me there were no created things,
> Only eterne, and I eternal last.
> All hope abandon, ye who enter in!

Indeed often, in line with this poetic vision, we say metaphorically: whoever has no hope lives in hell. As we remember, Aquinas ponders the issue: Is despair the greatest of sins? He juxtaposes three theological virtues and their opposites: faith – unbelief, hope – despair, love – hatred of God. And he writes:

> Hence of itself it is a greater sin not to believe God's truth, or to hate God, than not to hope to obtain glory of Him. But if we make

> the comparison of despair with the other two sins so far as they affect ourselves, in that light despair is the more dangerous; because, as it is by hope that we are held back from evil-doing and led on to goodness, so the taking away of hope plunges men headlong into vice, and disgusts them with the labor of doing good. Hence Isidore says: "A guilty deed is the death of the soul; but to despair is to go down to hell" (Aquinas 1923: 477).

I will point out one more similar text belonging to the Christian tradition. John of Karpathos (Greek: *Ιωάννης ο Καρπάθιος*) wrote:

> It is more serious to lose hope than to sin. The traitor Judas was a defeatist, inexperienced in spiritual warfare; as a result he was reduced to despair by the enemy's onslaught, and he went and hanged himself. Peter, on the other hand, was a firm rock: although brought down by a terrible fall, yet because of his experience in spiritual warfare he was not broken by despair, but leaping up he shed bitter tears from a contrite and humiliated heart. And as soon as our enemy saw them, he recoiled as if his eyes had been burnt by searing flames, and he took to flight howling and lamenting (Palmer, Sherrard, Ware 1979: 318).

For the record, I also provide the Greek text here:

> *Χειρότερο από το να αμαρτάνει κανείς είναι να απελπίζεται. Ο Ιούδας ο προδότης ήταν μικρόψυχος και δεν είχε πείρα του πολέμου, και γι' αυτό απελπίστηκε· έπεσε πάνω του με ορμή ο διάβολος και τον έβαλε να απαγχονιστεί. Ο Πέτρος όμως, η στερεά πέτρα, αφού έπεσε σε σοβαρό παράπτωμα, της αρνήσεως του Χριστού, σαν εμπειροπόλεμος που ήταν δεν παρέλυσε, ούτε απελπίστηκε από τη λύπη του, αλλά αφού σηκώθηκε πρόσφερε πικρά δάκρυα μέσα από καρδιά θλιμμένη και ταπεινωμένη. Και αμέσως ο εχθρός, όταν τα είδε αυτά, σαν να τον έκαψαν δυνατές φλόγες στο πρόσωπο, έφυγε με ορμή μακριά, με φοβερούς θρήνους* (Γαλίτης 2004: 223).

Now I will leave hell behind and present another poetic vision: a cheerful song from the USSR and an expression of a childish hope to last until the end of time (this is not a hope of lasting for eternity; i.e. a hope to last forever, beyond time). This song is called "May There Always Be Sunshine" (Russian: *Пусть всегда будет солнце!*) or "Sunny Circle", (Russian: *Солнечный круг*). The music was composed by Arkady Ostrovsky (Russian: *Аркадий Островский*) and the lyrics were written by Korney Chukovsky (Russian: *Корней Чуковский*). According to the poet's testimony, the words of the refrain were supposed to have been composed in 1928 by a four-year-old boy, Kostya Barannikov (Russian: *Костя Баранников*). This chorus in English sounds like this:

May there always be sunshine,
May there always be blue skies,
May there always be mummy,
May there always be me!

The song, performed by Maya Kristalinskaya (Russian: *Майя Кристалинская*), was presented on the radio in July 1962. For the performance of this song at the International Song Festival (August 15–16, 1963, Gdańsk) Tamara Miansarova (Russian: *Тамара Миансарова*) won the first prize, *ex-aequo* with Simone Langlois, who sang the song "Toi et ton sourire" (You and your smile). Nikolay Charukhin (Russian: *Николай Чарухин*) drew a poster that was popular at the time in the USRR "May

there always be blue skies! May there always be sunshine!" Currently, a drawing of the face of the boy who wanted "the sun to always be" is the dominant element of the graffiti in a tenement house in Petropavlovsk (Russian: *Петропавловск*). If anyone is interested in this story, please read the text (*Новиков* 2017).

I have juxtaposed the use of the term "hope" in two completely different contexts. Let me repeat that the Dantesque context is a poetic vision of a perspective that transcends human "terrestrial" life, in other words that oversteps a *tåredalen* (a valley of tears, the Swedish term from Ingmar Bergman's movie *Scenes from a Marriage*). The Soviet song is all about life "here and now", without any supernatural perspective. Let me recall that Camus wrote: "Real generosity to the future lies in giving all *to the present*" (Camus 1960: 271) [emphasis added – P. L.]. I did so because I want to put a strong emphasis on the fact that, in line with this, I am only interested in hope that is related to our life in our bodies, i.e. bodies that are perhaps instruments of pleasure according to Herbert Marcuse, and which wear out and die over time. And I emphasize that I adopt this perspective even when I speak of the future. So I could say that I actually always mean hope in terms of "terrestrial" prospects. This is also the case when we think of those for whom hope is not given (Benjamin 2002: 365). Finally, this is the case when we agree with Ernst Bloch's approach and assume that in fact we are still living in prehistory; that, as he says: "(…) all and everything still stands before the creation of the world,

of a right world" (German: *alles und jedes steht noch vor Erschaffung der Welt, als einer rechten*). Metaphorically speaking, this future world is – according to Bloch – our homeland and it is the »root« of human history: "True genesis is not at the beginning but at the end and it starts to begin only when society and existence become radical, i.e. grasp their roots" (Bloch 1986: 1375–1376). So I accept the old formula: "Nature inclines us to hope for the good which is proportionate to human nature (…)" *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Aquinas 1882: 160). (Latin: (…) *natura sufficienter inclinat ad sperandum bonum naturae humanae proportionatum.* (Aquinas 1882: 160). Father Pius Bełch decided to translate the formula into Polish: "Nature is self-sufficient when it comes to awakening the hope of good in proportion to human nature" (Polish: *Natura jest samowystarczalna, gdy chodzi o budzenie nadziei dobra proporcjonalnego do ludzkiej natury*) (Tomasz z Akwinu 1966: 299).

1.1. Philosophy of dialogue: a revolution in philosophy

The philosophy of dialogue was going to be a new philosophy. The first edition of Franz Rosenzweig's *The Star of Redemption* was poorly received and the book was rather treated as Jewish. It should be remembered that Rosenzweig, brought up in an assimilated Jewish family, he discovered Judaism for himself, when on Saturday,

October 11, 1913, i.e. on Yom Kippur, 10 Tishrei, 5674, during the service, he entered the Berlin synagogue at 53 Rykestrasse Street. After this conversion, in a letter to Rudolf Ehrenberg of October 31, 1913, he wrote explicitly: "So I remain a Jew" (German: *Ich bleibe also Jude*). Incidentally, this synagogue in Berlin still exists. The building survived World War II. Rosenzweig wrote "The New Thinking." I emphasize the word "new." This "novelty", inter alia, includes an interpretation of the "old" philosophical tradition "from Thales to Hegel", in other words "from the Ionian Islands to Jena."

What is criticized in this interpretation is idealism. Idealism would consist in indicating a certain sphere (or layer) in the metaphysical universe. The existence of objects of this higher sphere is in some sense "better", "more valuable" than the existence of such objects as ours mortal bodies for example. Valuable human knowledge should concern this higher sphere. Lev Shestov gave the best characterization of idealism in this sense. In his opinion, the more the ideal is absolutized, the less the value of what really exists here and now is appreciated. We juxtapose this "higher" sphere with the life that Remarque wrote about as follows: "We learned that a bright button is weightier than four volumes of Schopenhauer" (German: *Wir lernten, dass geputzer Knopf wichtiger ist als vier Bände Schopenhauer*) (Remarque 1987: 21).

It can be said that one of the founding fathers of the philosophy of dialogue, as indicated directly by Rosenzweig, is Ludwig Feuerbach. I will recall here selected

fragments of his *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* (Principles of the Philosophy of the Future). The introduction to this work is dated 1843 and includes a radical philosophical turn. Feuerbach wrote:

> The *Philosophy of the Future* addresses itself to the task of leading philosophy from the realm of »detached souls« (German: *abgeschiedenen Seelen*) back into the realm of embodied, living souls; of compelling philosophy to come down from its divine and self-sufficient blissfulness in thought and open its eyes to human misery. To this end, it needs nothing more than human understanding and human speech" (Feuerbach 2012: 175).

It is worth recalling at this point the fundamental role of love in Feuerbach's concept. Here is the most important part of paragraph 33:

> Love is passion, and passion alone is the distinctive mark of existence. Only that which is an object of passion, exists – whether as reality or possibility. Abstract thought, which is devoid of feeling and passion, abolishes the distinction between being and nonbeing; non-existent for thought, this distinction is a reality for love. To love is nothing else than to become aware of this distinction. It is a matter of complete indifference to someone who loves nothing whether something exists or not, and be that what it may. But just as being as distinguished from non-being is given to me through love or feeling in general, so is everything else that is other than me given to me through love. Pain is a loud protest against identifying the subjective with the objective. The pain of love means that what is in the mind is not given in reality, or in other words, the subjective is here the objective, the concept itself the object. But this is precisely what ought not to be, what is a contradiction, an untruth, a misfortune – hence, the desire for that true state of affairs in which the subjective and the objective are not identical. Even physical pain clearly expresses this distinction. The pain of hunger means that there is nothing

> objective inside the stomach, that the stomach is, so to speak, its own object, that its empty walls grind against each other instead of grinding some content. Human feelings have, therefore, no empirical or anthropological significance in the sense of the old transcendental philosophy; they have, rather, an ontological and metaphysical significance: Feelings, everyday feelings, contain the deepest and highest truths. Thus, for example, love is the true ontological demonstration of the existence of objects apart from our head: There is no other proof of being except love or feeling in general. Only that whose being brings you joy and whose not-being, pain has existence. The difference between subject and object, being and non-being is as happy a difference as it is painful (Feuerbach 2012: 225–226).

It can therefore be said that Feuerbach restores feelings (including love in particular) to a fundamental role. Previously they had been disregarded or even despised: it seems that the radical philosophy of dialogue should not forget about Feuerbach's position. Two subsequent quotations from his works characterize the dialogical relationship, that is, the relationship between "I" and "Thou." In paragraph 60, Feuerbach wrote:

> *Solitude* means being *finite* and *limited*, community means being *free* and *infinite*. For *himself* alone, man is just man (in the ordinary sense); but man *with* man—*the unity of "I" and "You"*—that is God." (Feuerbach 2012: 244), (German: *"Einsamkeit" ist "Endlichkeit" und "Beschränktheit", "Gemeinschaftlichkeit" ist "Freiheit" und "Unendlichkeit". Der Mensch "für sich" ist Mensch (im gewöhnlichen Sinn); Mensch "mit" Mensch – "die Einheit von Ich und Du" – "ist Gott"*) (Feuerbach 1922: 91).

Paragraph 62 provides a description of the so-called *true dialectics*:

> The *true* dialectic is *not a monologue of the solitary thinker with himself*; it is a *dialogue between "I" and "You."*, (German: *Die "wahre" Dialektik ist "kein Monolog des einsamen Denkers mit sich selbst", sie ist ein "Dialog zwischen Ich und Du"*) (Feuerbach 1922: 91) [emphasis added – P. L.]).

It can be assumed that hope is the basic element of the dialogical relation, that is, the relation between "I" and "Thou" and/or "I" and "Others", especially if hope plays a fundamental role in the process of forming a given community. Perhaps hope should be accurately interpreted only as some complementation of this relation. But maybe hope is an alternative to concepts such as encounter, love, responsibility, or choice of the Other. This supposition is an immediate consequence of a definition given by Gabriel Marcel in January, 1942, when he said:

> (…) hope is essentially the availability of a soul which has entered intimately enough into the experience of communion to accomplish in the teeth of will and knowledge the transcendent act the act establishing the vital regeneration of which this experience affords both the pledge and the first-fruits (Marcel 1951: 67).

In other words, hope is the openness or broad-mindedness of the soul. Of course, from the point of view of this book, the main emphasis must be placed on the experience of communion. And when Marcel (1) spoke about communion, it should be remembered that Lévinas wrote: "To speak is *to make the world common, to create commonplaces*" (Lévinas 1979: 76) [emphasis added – P. L.]; and when (2) wrote about vital regeneration, one should remember

the formula "All real living is meeting" (German: *Alles wirkliche Leben in Begegnung*) (Buber 2006: 11).

1.2. Greece: at the root of philosophy of hope

The Corpus Aristotelicum contains a short treatise, "Virtues and Vices" (VV in short). Jonathan Barnes and Anthony Kenny wrote: "As for VV, it is a trifle, and *if* it is Aristotelian in its ultimate inspiration, rare is the scholar who has ever thought that it came from Aristotle's own hand" (*Aristotle's Ethics*, 2014, p. 6) [emphasis added – P. L.]. Regardless of the question of authorship, I will quote the final, summarizing passage of this treatise. The ancient author wrote:

> Virtue is accompanied by goodness, decency, good sense, *optimism*, and further by such qualities as love of relations, love of friends, love of comrades, love of strangers, love of men, love of the noble: all these qualities are praiseworthy. To vice belong the contrary qualities, and the contrary qualities accompany it; and all that belongs to vice and accompanies it is blamed (*ibid.*: 484) [emphasis added – P. L.].

The relevant Greek text is as follows:

> *ἔστι δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς ἀξίους, καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθούς, καὶ τὸ μήτε κολαστικὸν εἶναι μήτε τιμωρητικόν, ἀλλὰ ἵλεων καὶ εὐμενικὸν καὶ συγγνωμονικόν. ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρηστότης, ἐπιείκεια, εὐγνωμοσύνη, ἐλπὶς ἀγαθή. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἷον φίλοικον εἶναι καὶ φιλόφιλον, φιλέταιρον, φιλόξενον, φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόκαλον: ἃ δὴ πάντα τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἐστίν. τῆς δὲ κακίας ἐστὶ τὰ ἐναντία.*

I pay a special attention to the phrase *ἐλπὶς ἀγαθή* (Aristoteles 1831: 1251b).

The author of the English translation simply used the word *optimism*, while in the Polish translation, Leopold Regner wrote the phrase simply as a *good hope* [Polish: *dobra nadzieja*] (Arystoteles 1996a: 504).

If one accepts that optimism is good hope, then pessimism can be called *bad hope*, respectively. But this is obviously a simplification. It is worth noting that the Greek term *ἐλπὶς* also means, among other things, an anxious thought on the future or even a sense of foreboding. So hope may include a negative element, namely anxiety.

Václav Havel pointed out the fundamental difference between hope and optimism. According to him, we should not think that hope is believing that something will work out well. This is what plain optimism is all about. By contrast, in Havel's approach, hope is the certainty that what we are doing makes sense – regardless of what turns out to be (Havel 2014: 220). Perhaps it is worth adding at this point that Fromm used the following metaphor in relation to hope: "It is like the crouched tiger, which will jump only when the moment for jumping has come" (Fromm 1968: 9).

There is an inscription on the tombstone of Nikos Kazantzakis (in Heraklion): *Δεν ελπίζω τίποτα. Δεν φοβουμαι τίποτα. Είμαι λεύθερος.* (I do not hope for anything. I do not fear anything. I am free.). In my opinion, it is worth noting that this is a fragment of the work *Ασκητική. Salvatores Dei* [*The Saviors of God: Spiritual Exercises*] on which Kazantzakis worked in the years 1922–1945.

Nowadays, this inscription is written on T-shirts, mugs, pens, key rings, etc. There is a temptation to treat this inscription as a definition of the term "freedom", i.e. as the formula: "∀ *x* (*x* is free iff *x* has no hope for anything and *x* is not afraid of anything)." This, of course, would be a simplification, since the entire relevant passage of Kazantzakis' work reads as follows:

> I know now: I do not hope for anything. I do not fear anything, I have freed myself from both the mind and the heart, I have mounted much higher, I am free. This is what I want. I want nothing more. I have been seeking freedom (Greek: *Ξέρω τώρα: Δεν ελπίζω τίποτα. Δεν φοβουμαι τίποτα, λυθρώθηκα από το νου κι από την καρδιά, ανέβεκα πιο παθω, είμαι λεύθερος. Αυτό θέλω. Δε θέλω τίποτα αλλο. Ζητουσα ελευθερία*) (Καζαντζάκης 1964: 26).

Perhaps it is worth noting here the "Polish trace" in Kazantzakis's life, in a kind of a joyful manner: there is a photo of him with friends, including Rachel Lipstein (called "Ralla", she was the first great love of his life) and Dina Matus, in a village which at that time had the German name Puschow (now the Polish Pustkowo), on the Baltic Sea in July 1923, (Μανδηλαρά 2019). It was thanks to Ralla that Kazantzakis was introduced to the circles of Rosa Luxemburg.

It is worth noting for the sake of order that Erich Segal discussed the unique attitude of ancient Athenians and the role that hope played in their lives, including their military expeditions, and pointed out relevant passages from Thucydides' *The History of the Peloponnesian War* that illustrate this role (Segal 2001: 86 and 491). In our time Paulo Freire describes the close relationship

between, on the one hand, fighting and hope, and, on the other hand, between resignation and despair. He writes:

> Hopelessness is a form of silence, of denying the world and fleeing from it. The dehumanization resulting from an unjust order is not a cause for despair but for hope, leading to the incessant pursuit of the humanity denied by injustice. Hope, however, does not consist in crossing ones arms and waiting. As long as I fight, I am moved by hope; and if I fight with hope, then I can wait (Freire 2017: 64–65).

We cannot forget about people who are depressed. After all, we slowly learn, assimilate and begin to understand the realities of depressed people. Surprisingly, we learn that Spike Milligan struggled with depression from 1953–1954. He said, among other things:

> The whole world is taken away and all there is this black void. This terrible, terrible, empty, aching black void and the only thing that helps is the psychiatrist that coming in with the right tablet (Milligan, Clare 1994: 18).

Let me recall one of the sentences of Kostas Karyotakis' farewell letter (a suicide note in fact): "Every reality seemed disgusting to me" (Greek: *Κάθε πραγματικότης μοῦ ἦταν ἀποκρουστική*).

It was he who wrote the poem "Optimism" (Greek: *Αισιοδοξία*): with the suggestion that perhaps we have not reached a dark situation with no way out, the abyss of the mind, the poem with forests that came in imperial dress of morning triumph, with the saviors of the Savior (Greek: *σωτήρες του Σωτήρος*), with demons in the

interior of the earth and with people celebrating high over them. Mara Psalti in her book compares it with the *Ασκητική* and indicates that Karyotakis' poem is intentionally a confrontation with the work of Kazatnzakis. Karyotakis used carefully selected and obviously ironic references to this work to indicate the utopism and fruitlessness of Kazantzakis' project (Ψάλτη 2017).

It should be noted that the Greek noun *ἐλπίς* (hope) does not appear in the four gospels at all, while the verb *ελπίζω* (have hope, hope to) appears only once (Matthew 12: 21) and it is a quotation from the Old Testament (Isaiah 42: 1–4); see (Léon-Dufour 1996: 244–245).

1.3. Hope and four Kantian questions

We remember that Kant writes about three questions in the *Critique of Pure Reason* (Kant 1929: 635). In his lectures on logic he talks about another one. These questions are: (1) What can I know? (2) What ought I to do? (3) What may I hope? and (4) What is Man? (Kant 1885: 15). In Kant's approach, the first three questions refer to the fourth question. I would like to say that questions (1)–(3) are reducible to the anthropological one. Peters' book from the early 1990s provides an insightful and detailed discussion of Kant's concept of hope (Peters 1993). In this context I would like to draw attention to an erotetic aspect, because in my research on erotetic logic I dealt with the reducibility of questions, in

particular generalized reducibility. In my research, I used model-theoretic semantics; for the main theorems see (Leśniewski 1997) and (Leśniewski, Wiśniewski 2001). Since the third question is about hope, it can therefore be said that, according to the Kantian approach to the relations between these four questions, if we deal with the question of hope, we obtain, at least in part, an answer to the fundamental anthropological question. Ricœur's remark is worth mentioning here:

> Kant expressly brings religion closer to the question: "what can I hope for?". I am not aware of any other philosopher who defined religion exclusively by this question (Ricœur 2013: 576).

On Kant's questions, see also (Heidegger 1962: 212–214).

1.4. Nietzsche and Pandora's box

Nietzsche accepted this interpretation of the ancient myth that hope is the worst evil. I will quote the relevant passage:

> (…) Pandora brought the box of ills and opened it. It was the gift of the gods to men, outwardly a beautiful and seductive gift, and called the Casket of Happiness. Out of it flew all the evils, living winged creatures, thence they now circulate and do men injury day and night. One single evil had not yet escaped from the box, and by the will of Zeus Pandora closed the lid and it remained within. Now for ever man has the casket of happiness in his house and thinks he holds a great treasure; it is at his disposal, he stretches out his hand for it whenever he desires; for he does not know the box which Pandora brought was the casket of evil,

> and he believes the ill which remains within to be the greatest blessing, – it is hope. Zeus did not wish man, however much he might be tormented by the other evils, to fling away his life, but to go on letting himself be tormented again and again. Therefore he gives man hope, – in reality it is the worst of all evils, because it prolongs the torments of man (Nietzsche 1910: 82).

I have quoted this entire text because some authors of memoirs from concentration camps and forced labor camps condemn hope. If you hope that you will survive the camp somehow and return to "normal life" (however you understand the phrase) after leaving, you are not rebelling: you are following orders. For example see (Herling-Grudziński 2000: 62–69). But it should also be remembered that, as Allison Merrick writes, the cited negative opinion of Nietzsche concerns such a hope that support ascetic ideal. Moreover, a more nuanced interpretation of Nietzsche's position leads to a postulate according to which "(…) a proper understanding of hope and of history makes evident our need for an alternative mode of historiography (…)" (Merrick 2019: 108).

1.5. Human face: an intact dread

Lévinas wrote: "The face to face remains an ultimate situation" (Lévinas 1979: 81). I would like to draw your attention at this point to two approaches to the human face. In my opinion, they could be considered as alternative ultimate situations. First, I will quote a fragment of a book by Witkiewicz:

> As the owner of a large portrait company, which is simply a psychological portrait painter, I have the disadvantage that I am extremely interested in the human mug. Normally walking down the street, I have to register every face, take it into myself, digest it quickly, »intuitively« define it and vomit it out; each – well, it is an exaggeration, but every second, third for sure; and our country is full of heavily hypocritical, interestingly masked and strange, complicated and massacred muses – this must be admitted to our country. After a quarter of an hour of such an arduous walk, I was ready: all the joy of life and carelessness was escaping from me, the mugs poisoned me with more or less explicitly expressed contempt (Witkiewicz 2004: 245).

Please note that not only ordinary fatigue is a consequence of studying other people's faces, according to Witkacy. Other outcomes include loss of joy in life and loss of carelessness. I suggest that this carelessness be treated as a bondage. (For a funny and rather sour look at the joy of life, I suggest the now classic text by Philip Lopate "Against Joie de Vivre.") And, of course, one has to hope to make the assumption that, metaphorically speaking, "beneath" these terrible masks are faces whose meaning is *tu ne tueras point* (you won't kill). As Lévinas wrote:

> Responsibility for the other – the face signifying to me *thou shalt not kill*, and consequently also *you are responsible for the life of this absolutely other other* – is responsibility for the one and only. The *one and only* means the loved one, love being the condition of the very possibility of uniqueness (Lévinas 1998: 168).

I am moving to the second alternative approach. Adam Wajrak is a Polish activist for nature protection, journalist and writer. *The TIME magazine* named him "European Hero"

in 2005. (In the book *Nadzieja* [Hope] he published the text "Śmierć w Puszczy" [Death in Forest].) In a 2015 interview, he answered Robert Rient's questions, saying:

> For animals, the human faces in the woods are *the scariest pictures from the scariest horror movies*. The face is most visible, white, pale with distinctly set eyes. When I go to the woods, I often cover my face. Wolves, wisents, roe deer, birds – all fear the human face (Rient 2015: 46) [emphasis added – P. L.].

Perhaps it is this reaction of animals to the human face that should be interpreted as the ultimate situation. Especially when we consider the complex status of the species *Homo sapiens* in the environment and gradually and slowly try to elucidate the status. This is a lesson that lasts; we have a lot of work and catching up to do. In any case, it should be recalled that Nietzsche wrote: "The Ugliest of All. – It may be doubted whether a person who has travelled much has found anywhere in the world uglier places than those to be met with in the human face" (Nietzsche 1910: 272).

1.6. Repudiation of responsibility

We remember that Karl Jaspers, in a series of lectures given in the winter semester of 1945/46 at the University of Heidelberg, distinguished four types of guilt: criminal guilt, political guilt, moral guilt, and metaphysical guilt. Of course, one can consequently speak of four

kinds of responsibility respectively, and again moral responsibility and metaphysical responsibility are of particular interest. Jaspers indicated the relevant jurisdiction (German: *Instanz*) for each type of guilt (Jaspers 2000: 25–26). Obviously, I am interested in moral guilt and metaphysical guilt only. Jurisdiction in the case of moral guilt, as Jaspers says, "(…) rests in my conscience, and in *communication with my friends and intimates who are lovingly concerned about my soul*" [emphasis added – P. L.]. In German, the underlined phrase is as follows: *die Kommunikation mit dem Freunde und dem Nächsten, dem liebenden, an meiner Seele interessierten Mitmenschen*. According to Jaspers, there is "(…) a solidarity among men as human beings that makes each co-responsible for every wrong and every injustice in the world, especially for crimes committed in his presence or with his knowledge" and this solidarity is the basis of the concept of metaphysical guilt. The jurisprudence in this case is only God, as Jaspers said (German: *Gott allein*). I would like to highlight three things at this point. Firstly, many people seem to assume that there is such universal human solidarity among us without appealing to the concept of God. For example, Hannah Arendt wrote:

> Professor Buber went on to say that he felt "no pity at all" for Eichmann, because he could feel pity "only for those whose actions I understand in my heart", and he stressed what he had said many years ago in Germany that he had "only in a formal sense a common humanity with those who took part" in the acts of the Third Reich (Arendt 2006: 229).

One could say that, according to Buberian criteria, Eichmann was outside the circle of human solidarity.

It seems that the acceptance of this solidarity leads in particular to the question of responsibility towards future generations (for example, see Birnbacher 1988: *passim* or Birnbacher 1999 and Birnbacher 2009). Let me remind you of the classic text here:

> We can learn about it from exceptional people of our own culture, and from other cultures less destructive than ours. I am speaking of the life of a man who knows that the world is not given by his fathers, but borrowed from his children (…) (Berry 1971: 26).

It is hard not to notice that such a point of view can lead to arguments that are examples of moral harassment.

Thirdly, the philosophy of dialogue deals with the relationship between man and God. In the context of institutionalized extreme violence, please bear in mind the inscription at the Mauthausen concentration camp: "If there is a God, he must ask my forgiveness" (German: *Wenn es einen Gott gibt, muß er mich um Verzeihung bitten*) (*Annäherungen an Mauthausen* 1997: 98). I am just signaling this issue here in order to indicate what problems we face when we refer to the concept of responsibility and, consequently, when we abandon this concept in ethical considerations.

The relationship of responsibility plays a fundamental role in the philosophy of dialogue. Moreover, when Reyes Mate discusses the history of ethics he assigns an appropriate basic concept to each period. Therefore, he

proposes the following pairs in the *period – concept* form, namely: (1) antiquity (and the Middle Ages) – virtue, (2) modernity – duty, and (3) contemporaneity – responsibility. It is also worth noting that Pope Francis briefly and bluntly raised the question of responsibility when asked during a short press conference on a plane from the Philippines to Rome. He said:

> That example I mentioned shortly before about that woman who was expecting her eighth child and already had seven who were born with caesareans. That is an irresponsibility. That woman might say "no, I trust in God." But, look, God gives you means to be responsible. Some think that – excuse the language – that in order to be good Catholics, we have to be like rabbits. *No*. Responsible parenthood (Francis 2015: 8) [emphasis added – P. L.].

It is precisely by referring to the concept of responsibility and to the concept of guilt that Agamben clearly separates ethics from law. He writes:

> But ethics is the sphere that recognizes neither guilt nor responsibility; it is, as Spinoza knew, *the doctrine of the happy life* (Italian: *la dottrina della vita beata*). To assume guilt and responsibility – which can, at times, be necessary – is to leave the territory of ethics and enter that of law. Whoever has made this difficult step cannot presume to return through the door he just closed behind him (Agamben 1999: 24) [emphasis added – P. L.].

2

Memories of Revolts

Revolt (and rebellion) is spontaneous action: at the first moment there is no plan. You say "no, I disagree": loudly, quietly, even in a whisper, or only in your mind, and you protest anyway. Revolutions can be opposed to revolt. For example, Julia Kristeva strongly rejects limiting the scope of the term "revolt" to politics only and treating it as a synonym for "a very schematic political revolution." Such an approach is, in her opinion, a necessary condition, "if we still want to conquer the new horizon" (Kristeva 2002: 99–100). Harold Cruse wrote in turn: "A rebellion is not a revolutionary movement unless it changes the structural arrangements of the society or else is able to project programmatic ideas toward that end" (Cruse 2009: 101–102). An outbreak of revolution is usually a shock. "The actual revolution is always a surprise" as Brinton Crane said (Crane 1965: 66).

But revolutions have the dangerous tendency to end with the establishment of new rulers: institutions are created in which the former oppressed people become "lords", and over time they persecute subjects. Adam

Michnik wrote in a letter from the communist prison in Gdańsk:

> I am afraid not of what they will do to us, but of what they can make us into. (…) I pray that we do not return like ghosts who hate the world, cannot understand it, and are unable to live in it. I pray that we do not change from prisoners into prison guards. (Michnik 1987: 99).

Arendt claims decidedly that the very hope "for a transformation of the state, for a new form of government that would permit every member of the modern egalitarian society to become a »participator« in public affairs" was buried by catastrophes of the twentieth-century revolutions (Arendt 1990: 264–265). Therefore, Leszek Nowak believed that only revolutions that did not succeed were worthwhile. The failure of the revolution protects the revolutionary movement from taking part in the structures of power. Even when he was interned, he insisted that, from this point of view, the introduction of martial law was the optimal solution for "Solidarity." He was in an internment camp (from December 13, 1981 to December 4, 1982). For his activities (underground publications and lectures) he was fired from the Adam Mickiewicz University (from February 14, 1985 to March 31, 1989). The immediate pretext for kicking him out of the university was the lecture "On Evolutionary Progress Through Failed Revolutions", which he delivered at the Faculty of Psychology, University of Warsaw, on May 18, 1984. The transcript of this lecture was prepared by an officer

of the communist Provincial Office of Internal Affairs in Poznań. It has been preserved and is in the files of the Institute of National Remembrance; see (Nowak 2011a).

It is also worth noting that, according to Kristeva, in contemporary everyday realities, the issue of liberating mental life, restoring the depth of this life, stands in opposition to the culture of automated work and entertainment, the information and services market, where the possibility of acquiring ever newer commodities is important. In 1995, the documentary film "Wharton" was released by the Poznań branch of the Polish Television. It is directed by Monika Górska, who was also the author of the screenplay. The film was produced by Katarzyna Janyska. In this film, William Wharton emphatically states: "Public life is no life." Hence we say figuratively, in front of each of us basically, it should be a chance to return to the inner life. Rebellion begins then with questioning the status quo, especially the norms and standards that were previously respected, often unconsciously. It is a state of invigorating conflict, though this may be uncomfortable or even painful, above all: a struggle within the interior of human being. Such a rebirth of the inner life also takes place through memory, by returning to oneself: this is the method indicated by Freud. According to Kristeva, one can speak of a certain analogy between Freud's approach and the classic works of confessional literature, for example, Augustine or Marcus Aurelius. The similarity lies in the fact that thanks to memory man discovers the truth about himself. However, the result of this

search is different. Instead of stabilization, contemplation or reconciliation with, for example, God or/and nature, the state of conflict testifies to rebirth, to rejection of the aridity, cf. (Kristeva 2002: 100–101). She stresses:

> There are two things: there is daily anguish because people live in instability, but we should also mention what is proposed in relation to that anxiety. The Society of Spectacle tells us to not to worry: this is the revolutionary product, you are going to become consumer and arrive at a solution. (…) Let's imagine you suffer from anxiety; this is a pathological state. Or you are no longer anxious and you become a consumer, a totally stabilized individual that can be manipulated like a robot. Midway between these solutions, lie intellectual works and art. These are the actual sites of this anxiety and revolt. The artist's goal is to find a representation of this state of anxiety. It's not a question of claiming that this does not exist or to accept living in marginality, but to represent this revolt in order to survive (*ibid*.: 104–105).

In the context of the role of memory, I will add, in passing, that in my previous book (Leśniewski 2014) I refer to Mate's research and introduce the concept of an anamnestic perspective.

I think that in the context of these critical remarks about revolutions it is also worth quoting Heidegger's negative opinion about them. In *Black Notebooks* he writes:

> Revolutions (…) can never overcome a historical age, because within the age they want to bring out what has hitherto been suppressed, what has not yet been recognized; revolutions spread the appearance of a new beginning in history, and yet this is only the mask behind which the establishment in the historical takes place (…) (German: *Revolutionen* (…) *können nie ein geschichtliches Zeitalter überwinden, denn sie wollen ja innerhalb des Zeitalters das bisher Unterdrückte, das Nochverkannte zur Geltung bringen,*

> *sie wollen das Zeitalter gerade erst durch seine Vollendung und in dieser festhalten. Revolutionen verbreiten den Schein eines neuen Anfangs der Geschichte, und doch ist dies nur die Maske, hinter der sich die Festsetzung im Historischen breitmacht* (…)) (Heidegger 2014: 53).

According to this approach, revolutions do not transcend their epochs: they only reveal social tensions and only contribute to the formation of new rulers. But at the same time, although revolutions can never be radical then, as Heidegger says, they

> (…) are always the beginning of the completion of that which first tentatively seeks to realize its essence (German: (…) *aber sind jeweils der Beginn einer Vollendung dessen, was erst tastend seine Wesensverwirklichung sucht*) (Heidegger 2014: 229).

Whenever Polish uprisings are mentioned, the cult of freedom must be remembered. For example, Norman Davis wrote:

> Poland had a tradition of fighting for its freedom like no other country in Europe. Armed Polish risings against the partitioning powers were a regular and well-publicized fixture of the nineteenth-century scene. But even before the partitions, in the days of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the nobles had steadfastly defended their right to form confederations or "armed leagues" and to contest the policies of the kings, which they themselves had elected. The cult of the country's "Golden Freedom", therefore, had thrived for centuries, and had been celebrated by poets and balladeers for generations (Davis 2003: 167).

It is important that the institution of *liberum veto* be accorded its proper place in the history of this cult. On

this point, I warn against forgetting the opinion of John Adams, and of Hegel in particular; see (Adams 1851: 63), (Hegel 1914: 448), and (Hegel 1920: 902). The *liberum veto* is sometimes called maliciously *liberum rumpo*; the Latin word "rumpo" means "I break, interrupt, annul or destroy."

It should be remembered that, according to Vercors and Camus, life cannot be separated from revolt: life is revolt. We are increasingly aware that we do not have an accurate answer to the question: what is life? (Haris 2010: 35). At least some of us have learned that there is a difference between "βιο-φιλία" ("bio-philia", i.e. fondness for life) and "βιο-λατρία" ("bio-latria", i.e. full of sacrifice and reverence, service, or worship of life). We are slowly trying to understand evolutionary processes: perhaps this is one of the paths by which we are trying to establish meaningful relationships with nature.

Of course, a certain type of rebellion is a youthful or even childish provocation. A classic example in the Polish tradition is a one-day newspaper called *Knife in the Belly*, which was published on November 1921 in Cracow. On the first page appeared the slogan formulated by Bruno Jasieński: "(…) we want to piss in all colors" (deliberately incorrect Polish: *Hcemy szczać we wszystkih kolorah*) (cf. Lipiński 2002: 307).

2.1. Poznań June 1956: The Bread and Freedom Uprising

On June 28–30, an uprising took place in Poznań, which began with a strike at The Joseph Stalin Metal Industries in Poznań (in Polish Zakłady Metalowe im. Józefa Stalina w Poznaniu, in short ZISPO). This huge factory was located on Dzierżyński Street. The reason for this protest was the worsening situation of the workers. The strike started on Thursday. Since then, this day has been known as "Black Thursday." As usual, the start of the first shift was announced that day by the factory siren. At 6:30 a.m. the factory siren sounded for a second time, which was something out of the ordinary. At this point, all the workers realized that something unusual was happening. The siren had been started by a locksmith, Bogdan Marianowski, who was also a party and trade union activist (Makowski 2006: 56). About 10,000 people marched from the factory towards the Presidium of the City National Council in the Königliches Residenzschloss Posen (The Imperial Castle in Poznań) in the city center. The workers stopped trams. Around 30,000 people come to Stalin's Square. At about 10:00 a.m., the demonstration already numbered about 100,000 people. The capture of weapons by demonstrators after they had stormed the buildings of the party authorities and a prison led to an attack on the office of the Ministry of Public Security and fighting in the city, and eventually to military pacification. The pacification ended on Saturday, June 30. It is

assumed that 74 people died and 573 people were injured, although the latter number may be higher (*ibid*.: 165–172).

On June 29 in the evening, the radio broadcast a speech by Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz, who said: "Let every provocateur or madman who dares to raise his hand against the people's power be sure that the people's power will cut his hand off him, in the interests of the working class, in the interests of the working people of towns and villages" (*ibid*.: 165–179). From June 2, 1981, the southern part of Dzierżyński Street (from the People's Guard Street) was named June 28, 1956 Street.

This building of the Presidium of the City National Council was unfortunately named the "New Town Hall" at the time. During the Prussian partition, the occupiers had built a second Town Hall (German: *das Neue Rathaus in Posen*) in the Old Market Square, which had just such a name. Perhaps it is worth remembering that in this Prussian building, Heinrich Himmler gave the second of the two *Posener Reden* (the Posen Speeches, given on October 4, 1943 and October 6, 1943). This building was damaged during the Red Army's attack on Poznań, which was focused in particular on the Zitadelle Posen (Poznan Fortress), and then demolished. The *Königliches Residenzschloss* still occupies the city center, but today it is the "Zamek" ["Castle"] Culture Centre. For a detailed study of the history of this building in the years 1939–1945, I recommend the book by Heinrich Schwendemann and Wolfgang Dietsche with the collaboration of Bożena Górczyńska-Przybyłowicz, entitled *Hitlers Schloss: die*

»Führerresidenz« in Posen [Hitler's castle: the "Führer Residence" in Poznań] (Schwendemann, Dietsche 2003). This order of the authors' surnames follows the order on the title page and on the cover.

2.2. Camus and the Poznań Uprising

On July 12, 1956 a rally organized by the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) in solidarity with Poznań workers took place in the Salle Wagram (39–41 Avenue de Wagram, 75017 Paris) with the participation of Pierre Commin (the interim director of the SFIO in the years 1956–1957), Albert Camus, André Philip, David Rousset, Nikolai Lazarevich, Edmund Stocki, Jerzy Rencki (*Wiadomości Polskiego Związku Federalistów* 1956: 5). The poster announcing the rally read:

> Tired of dictatorship, hunger and forced labor with bare hands against Russian tanks, the workers of Poznań demanded freedom. They paid for it with hundreds of dead and wounded, thousands of arrested. The people of Paris will respond to their call and express their solidarity with them.

Camus definitely pointed out that the Poznań revolt must not be forgotten – it is a duty of faithfulness that must be mentioned along with respect and solidarity for the rebellious workers. Bread and freedom are inseparable. When you live in a system where there is no freedom, then you receive bread in accordance with the will of the

authorities. The workers from Poznań stood up against the authorities. But at the same time it was a rebellion against the ideology (Camus used the word "mystification") which says that you have to sacrifice your freedom and work so that there is enough bread for everyone. The workers' revolt thus refutes a myth that was very attractive to many supporters of socialism in the countries of the so-called West at the time. After all, the USSR and other countries of people's democracy are the realization of dreams of a more just social system. Anyone who goes against these countries is an enemy of social progress. Workers' revolts in the countries of people's democracy prove that this is in fact a system of poverty based on the exploitation of working people. Camus spoke:

> In recent months, a myth has irresistibly collapsed before our eyes. Today we know the sadness of having been right in refusing to consider the regimes of the East as revolutionary and proletarian. Sadness indeed: who would rejoice to have been right in announcing that millions of men were truly suffering from misery and oppression? Today the truth, the terrible truth comes to light, the myth is shattered (Camus 2017: 300).

He points out that although this myth, this ideology blinds people, rebellion, metaphorically speaking, restores sight. If there are people who will still be supporters of the system despite the revolt, they will be its accomplices. Camus, it goes without saying, rejects this attitude. Of course, if someone forces you to choose between freedom or bread at all, it is worth recalling – following Russell – the old recommendation of G. D. H. Cole: "Poverty is the

symptom: slavery the disease" (Cole 1918: 111). So if you are on the side of the rebels, freedom should be your goal as Jacek Kuroń wrote: "The only hope is utopia, the order of human freedom" (Kuroń 2009: 369). But Camus in his speech rhetorically juxtaposes not freedom and bread, but freedom or barbarism (French: *liberté ou barbarie*). And he states outright:

> The choice then will not be difficult. We will choose freedom against the old and new barbarians and we will choose it once and for all, until the end, so that not a single day of sacrifice by the militant workers of the still oppressed Poland is wasted (Camus 2017: 304).

Today we could treat this appeal as an example of an act against hermeneutic death. Hermeneutic death consists in erasing any traces of victim's existence. Mate uses the Spanish term "invisibilización" (making-something-invisible) in such cases. Even if the smallest trace of a crime is still left, the villain is restless. On the treatment of the *invisibilización* by Mate, see for example (Leśniewski 2014: 33–39).

It is worth mentioning that already in the fall of 1980, Poznań "Solidarity" was beginning its preparations for the 25th anniversary of June 1956. The Social Committee for the Construction of the Monument to June 1956 was established. It was headed by a Poznań writer, Roman Brandstaetter (1906–1987). Despite extremely tight deadlines, the unveiling of the monument took place on Sunday, June 28, 1981. The Poznań Publishing House

published the book "Poznań Czerwiec 1956" (30,000 + 250 copies). The editors of this book were professors from Adam Mickiewicz University, Zofia Trojanowiczowa (1936–2015) and Jarosław Maciejewski (1924–1987). Still, time was of the essence. This book was signed for printing on June 2, 1981, and it was completed in June.

It is worth also noting that three days before the "Black Thursday" on Monday, June 25, 1956, Camus wrote a letter to Gustaw Herling-Grudziński regarding the publication of the book *A World Apart: The Journal of a Gulag Survivor*. Camus wrote that although he appreciated this Herling-Grudziński's book and would try to get it published, Gallimard would not publish *A World Apart*. Camus adds that this decision was probably made for commercial reasons (Herling-Grudziński 2000: 262). Today we know, thanks to Catherine Camus, that André Malraux, who did not want to expose himself to French communists (Kieżun 2018), was the opponent of the release. Herling-Grudziński's book was finally published by Gallimard with a preface by Jorge Semprún in October 1995.

2.3. Poland: August 1980 – December 1981

The history of workers and students' strikes in the Polish People's Republic is now widely known and better documented. On January 19, 1999, pursuant to the Act of December 18, 1998, the Institute of

National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation was established. The European Solidarity Center has had new headquarters in the area of the former Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk since August 31, 2014. In this situation, I will mention only a few selected events from this period. I will also allow myself a few short personal memories from those years.

For example, the films of the communist Security Service made during the sessions of the 1st National Congress of NSZZ "Solidarność" Delegates at the "Olivia" Hall in Gdańsk were made available. During this congress, the authorities reluctantly agreed to short news programs on the state television: quite late in the evening on the second channel. I watched these programs in the fall of 1981 and I remember the following scene: two men with a bucket full of white paint and a brush approached the camera set up outside the hall. While the cameramen were filming them, one of these men painted the big white letters "TELEVISION LIES" on the road. On communist television such an image was something extraordinary, of course.

The strike that began on Thursday, August 14, 1980 at the Gdańsk Shipyard Lenin during the morning shift was a reaction to the dismissal of Anna Walentynowicz (1929–2010). She was an activist of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast (Polish: *Wolne Związki Zawodowe Wybrzeża*, *WZZ* in short: the last part of the name, i.e. "Wybrzeża" [of the Coast] is most often omitted), which

was outlawed and repressed by the communist authorities. "The Declaration of the WZZ Founding Committee" was published on April 29, 1978 and was signed by three persons: Andrzej Gwiazda, Antoni Sokołowski and Krzysztof Wyszkowski. Andrzej Gwiazda, however, definitely emphasizes that the official date of establishing the WZZ should be 1 May 1978 (Gwiazdowie Joanna i Andrzej 2009: 84). The activists of these unions were, among others, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda, Anna Walentynowicz and Lech Wałęsa. The leaflets were prepared by Bogdan Borusewicz and copied together with Piotr Kapczyński (8,000 copies). They are handed out to workers on Fast Urban Rail trains from 5:00 a.m. President Wałęsa recalls:

> We made an appointment at the Shipyard at five or six in the morning. I looked out the window and there are security officers. They were already watching me carefully then, I had permanent protection. Three cars followed me. I figured I had no chance, I would not complete this task. I did not know what to do. And waited. After two hours, I realized that I must move on. I left the house, and the security officers are riding next to me, one of them even jumped into the tram behind me. But they didn't touch me. I was surprised by this. Before the gate to the Shipyard, I broke off from them. I tried to enter through the gate, but the guards wouldn't let me in. I went on, some school workshops, there was a tree next to the fence. I climbed that tree and managed to jump. It was around ten o'clock (Wałęsa 2017: 67).

Jerzy Borowczak, Bogdan Felski and Ludwik Prądzyński with others distributed leaflets in the shipyard. Lech Wałęsa arrived at the shipyard around 10:00. Today, there is controversy around this delay. Dorota Karaś and Marek

Sterlingow simply gave three versions and at the same time three explanations for this event: the heroic version (given by Wałęsa), the conspiratorial version, supported by his opponents, and the authors' version (Karaś, Sterlingow 2020: 240–242). Other workplaces and factories gradually joined the strike, not only in Tricity, but also in Szczecin and Elbląg. After three days of strike and negotiations, the management agreed to pay increases. Workers began to leave the shipyard area. And then four women, Ewa Ossowska, Alina Pieńkowska, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda and Anna Walentynowicz stopped some of those leaving because the strike was still going on in other factories. They saved the strike.

This is how Anna Walentynowicz remembered those moments:

> Alinka Pieńkowska stood next to me. (…) What to do? How to stop people? We both ran towards the third gate, because that is where the most numerous departments K-1, K-3 and C came out. I gasp for breath: "We need to close the gate, continue the strike…" I don't think they hear. An activist of the Works Council passes me and shouts: "If you like, you can go on strike for three days, I have not seen my wife and children, I am fed up with this strike." I started crying. And then I saw this, always quiet, gentle and shy Alinka in action. In a pink blouse with light hair falling over her shoulders; she stood on some plastic barrel and said calmly but firmly: "We are announcing a solidarity strike. It is our duty to help those who helped us. Without us, they cannot defend themselves…" (Walentynowicz, Baszanowska 2011: 90).

On August 17, 1980, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda, Andrzej Gwiazda and Bogdan Lis formulated "The Demands of the Striking Crews" (Polish: "Żądania załóg

strajkujących") of the Interfactory Strike Committee (Polish: *Międzyzakładowy Komitet Strajkowy*, abbreviated to *MKS*), which were finally edited by Bogdan Borusewicz. It is commonly accepted to refer to them simply as the 21 postulates of the MKS. They were written on two large pieces of plywood and the next day hung on the roof cover of the guard-house at the Gate No. 2 of the Gdańsk Shipyard. Arkadiusz Rybicki and Maciej Grzywaczewski made these plaques on Monday, August 18, 1980. Rybicki recalled the moment of hanging these boards:

> We wrote, and Edward Gierek thundered on the radio: "No free unions! There will be no hesitation in this!" The finished boards were put on two battery carts, workers got on the carts and then we went to the gate. *The closer we got to the goal, more and more workers were getting off the carts* [emphasis added – P. L.]. We reached the gate alone. Then I experienced a moment of doubt. But people standing at the gate noticed us and hung up boards. On the other side of the gate there was a roar of applause. I regained my faith in people (Sterlingow, Wąs 2005).

Negotiations conducted in the Occupational Safety and Health room (Polish: *Bezpieczeństwo i Higiena Pracy*, *BHP* in short) were broadcast outside the building. The strike in Gdańsk ended with the signing of agreements on August 31, 1980. Even before the official signing of the documents (i.e. the August Agreements), Lech Wałęsa said:

> It is a victory for both sides. My dears! We go back to work on September 1st. We all know what this day reminds us of. What we are thinking about this day. About the homeland, about the common interests of the family called Poland. We got everything

> that could be achieved in the current situation. *We will also get the rest*, because we have the most important thing: our independent, self-governing trade unions. This is our guarantee for the future. I declare the strike over! (Giełżyński, Stefański 1981: 188–189) [emphasis added – P. L.].

The agreement was signed and at 4:56 p.m., the signing of the documents was broadcast live: both television channels stopped their scheduled broadcasts and transmitted this moment as it happened (*ibid.*: 190). I remember that moment very well: some movie was interrupted on the Polish Television's first channel. I do not remember the title of this movie, but I do remember that in this movie, after some substance was drunk (maybe just a drink with a drug), the world was yellow-purple.

I would like to add a few words about the subsequent fate of the boards. After the strike, they were in the headquarters of "Solidarity" at the 103 Grunwaldzka Street. Then, in 1981, they were transferred to The National Maritime Museum in Gdańsk. An exhibition dedicated to the August '80 strikes has been prepared in this museum. As the original boards were borrowed from time to time, the museum's conservator, Mirosław Brucki, prepared copies within two days. Years later, he said:

> The originals came to the Museum in a bad condition. First of all, because they were written on ordinary plywood and the texts were written with charcoal. The titles and consecutive numbers of the postulates were written in red oil paint. Ultimately, before they came to us, they hung on the gate of the Shipyard – the sun, wind and rain did their job ("Niezwykła historia Postulatów Solidarności" 2012).

In order to secure the boards, he used a fixative. Due to their condition, the director of the museum, Przemysław Smolarek, decided to put them in a warehouse. The exhibition includes copies made by Brucki. During martial law, Wiesław Urbański, the "Solidarity" chairman at the museum, secretly took the boards from the warehouse and hid them in his house, in the attic. When the authorities confiscated the most valuable exhibits from the exhibition, only copies fell into their hands. The originals have been exhibited at The European Solidarity Center since 2014. On October 16, 2003, UNESCO's Secretary General, Kōichirō Matsuura, decided that they should be entered on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List.

When the militia beat up "Solidarity" activists in Bydgoszcz on March 19, 1981, the union announced a four-hour national warning strike on Friday, March 27. A general strike was scheduled for Tuesday, March 31st. It was the biggest confrontation in 1980–1981. The state authorities started negotiations with representatives of the union in Warsaw. These representatives were accommodated in various different hotels and had difficulty discussing and preparing their positions. In the midst of this heightened social tension, on Monday evening, March 30, 1981, at the beginning of the main issue of the Television Journal at 7:30 p.m., Andrzej Gwiazda read a short statement: "Representatives of the KKP NSZZ »Solidarność«, after the end of talks with the Committee of the Council of Ministers for trade unions, decided to suspend the general

strike announced for tomorrow." After this abandonment of confrontation, the union never again reached full mobilization. Mass support was wasted. It is definitely worth noting that there was no mass enthusiasm: most people realized that a general strike resulted in a paralysis of public life.

For the record, it is worth remembering that the name "The August Agreements" refers to the four settlements signed at the turn of August and September 1980. They are as follows: (1) in Szczecin on August 30; (2) in Gdańsk on August 31; (3) in the Coal Mine "Manifest Lipcowy" in Jastrzebie-Zdrój on September 3; (4) in Dąbrowa Górnicza in the huge metallurgical plant "Huta Katowice" (Katowice Steelworks) on September 11. The construction of this giant factory, a great socialist undertaking, is shown in Andrzej Wajda's film „Man of Marble" (1977). It may also be worth remembering that the meeting of the main characters (Agnieszka and Maciej Tomczyk), which is the penultimate scene of this film, takes place at Gate No. 1 of the Gdańsk Shipyard. As if the creators of this film (first of all, the director, Andrzej Wajda, and the author of the script, Aleksander Ścibor-Rylski) prophetically indicated a place that would become a symbol of the Polish Revolution in August 1980. For the record, Wajda's film "Man of Iron" was devoted to the events of December 1970 and that of August 1980 in Tricity. Let me add that this film was shown in Polish cinemas in 1981. I went to cinema "Wilda" at the end of August, and when I was waiting in front of the building, I thought: "It is worth watching

this film now, because nobody knows what will happen in Poland, maybe this film will be banned." Martial law was introduced four months later.

It should be remembered that Andrzej Rozpłochowski was elected to the strike committee in "Huta Katowice" on August 29. On September 6, he sent a proposal (appeal) to Szczecin and Gdańsk to create one nationwide union leadership. Rozpłochowski recalls that Marian Jurczyk, the leader of the strike in Szczecin, responded positively and quickly to this proposal. On September 17, 1980, a meeting of the representatives of strike centers was held in Gdańsk, at the headquarters of the Inter-Factory Founding Committee [Polish: *Międzyzakładowy Komitet Założycielski*, in short *MKZ*] at 103 Grunwaldzka Street. Rozpłochowski emphasizes the symbolic date: on September 17, 1939, the Bolshevik troops entered Poland, i.e. units of the PKKA. The Russian "PKKA" is abbreviation of the full name: *Рабоче-крестьянская Красная армия* (Workers' and Peasants' Red Army). I admit that these Soviet abbreviations still awaken a kind of special respect in me. They always give me the creeps when I see them. The main results of the discussions and open voting at this September meeting were: the decision to establish one, nationwide representation of the entire union, i.e. the National Coordination Committee (Polish: *Krajowa Komisja Porozumiewawcza*, in short *KKP*), which was to meet regularly, and the election of Lech Wałęsa as the chairman of this committee (see Rozpłochowski 2011: 69–71).

In 2009, Andrzej Gwiazda assessed the August Agreements of 1980 as follows:

> It was obvious that the hole in the system caused by the rise of "Solidarity" was irreparable. As predicted, the system turned out to be vulnerable to an attack from the left flank. The Polish United Workers' Party could not cope with this, because the leftism meant the massiveness of the rebellion and their pro-social character. "Solidarity" did not allow any dogma to be imposed on itself, and that was another reason for the headache of all the ideologues. Nobody raved about the superiority of state property over private property or, conversely, about the leading role of the working class or the intelligentsia. The alternative that "Solidarity" put before the authorities was simple and it could be formulated more or less as follows: Either you rule without lies, exploitation and violence, or go ahead and we will manage without you (Gwiazdowie Joanna i Andrzej 2009: 173).

It should be remembered that Gwiazda belonged to the group of 11 activists interned on December 13, 1981, adamant opposition leaders who consistently rejected all proposals of the communist authorities negotiated in the presence of Catholic activists. Regarding the allegations that the Military Prosecutor's Office brought against seven activists of NSZZ "Solidarność" in this group of 11, see (Friszke 2017: 317). Karol Modzelewski also belonged to the group of 11. He formulated a similar opinion, writing: "The great »Solidarity« was a deeply egalitarian and collectivist movement in which equality and community were highly valued" (Modzelewski 2021: 296). This sentence in the Polish edition is formulated a bit differently: "The great »Solidarity« of 1980–1981 was a communal, egalitarian and essentially socialist movement" (Modzelewski 2013: 340).

On March 8 and 9, 1981, Oriana Fallaci interviewed Wałęsa and did not have a very favorable opinion. Years later, she wrote: "If you think, for example, that this drunken Yeltsin was the tsar, and this ignorant Walesa was the symbol of Freedom (Italian: *un simbolo di Libertà*), you are out of breath" (Fallaci 2004: 85–86).

Rozpłochowski was the other member of this eleven. As an example of the Polish 'knot of snakes' (as Witkacy would say) related to martial law I would like to mention a rather unusual meeting. Rozpłochowski was in prison on Rakowiecka Street in Warsaw. On December 3, 1983, the then Prime Minister Mieczysław Rakowski went to Katowice and later, because he went on a private visit to his friends, he wanted to buy a bouquet of flowers. And he bought it in a flower shop where Barbara Zawada, Rozpłochowski's fiancée, was standing behind the counter. Zawada's letter to her imprisoned fiancé of December 4, 1983 was officially published in 2019. She wrote:

> I work all the time and literally nothing, apart from what I will write to you in a moment, has happened. On December 3, my customer in the store was Mr. M[ieczysław] Rakowski himself. Feel the blues (Rozpłochowski 2019: 358, cf. Rakowski 2004: 633; the Polish idiom 'czuć bluesa' ['to feel the blues'] means 'to sense the particularity of some matter, a weird atmosphere around', etc.).

But this "knot of snakes" is even more tangled. At that time, Zawada was the secret collaborator "Marta" of the communist Security Service. In December 1983 this service resigned from cooperation with "Marta." Thanks to

the US Embassy in Poland, on January 1, 1988, the Rozpłochowski family and the son of Barbara left for this country due to the necessity of the operation of Mrs. Zawada. It was only at Christmas 2006 that Andrzej Rozpłochowski found out about the scope of cooperation between Mr. Zawada and the communist Security Service. He said he had forgiven her.

At the end of this section, I will give two more opinions relating to the "Solidarity" revolution. It was an "epigonian-bourgeois" revolution according to Tadeusz Kowalik, a Polish economist, who was very active in the democratic opposition movement (Kowalik 2009: 3).

Jerzy Giedroyc formulated the following opinion:

> "Solidarity" was an uprising of great importance, I do not hesitate to say – of global importance. Social issues were then in a dead end, and to everything from trade unions in the West to South America, "Solidarity" seemed to be some new light. Therefore, it aroused great interest and *great hopes*. But that spurt was wasted because arguments started right away (Giedroyc 2006: 243) [my translation, emphasis added – P. L.].

2.4. September 1980: a high school

The normal school year began on September 1, 1980, on Monday, the day after the agreement was signed at the Gdańsk Shipyard. In the People's Republic of Poland, a few days during each school year, whole classes participated in the so-called social work: we went to

factories or to farms to help with the field work. In September 1980 we went potato digging for a day. The next day, when we came back to school it turned out that the pupils had gone on strike. They left the lesson and started negotiations with the headmaster. One of the demands was to change the student council. The new council was to be elected in a completely democratic state. As an aside, let me add that I was nominated as a candidate and then elected as one of the four vice-presidents. I suppose it was because of my activities at school, which were not exactly conventional and a bit unruly. It was a huge honor and a great joy for me. After a year, I resigned because, in practice, it turned out the position mainly involved debating. For some people this debating was sufficient, some of them became very passionate in the course of discussions that ultimately did not lead to any concrete action. It was a unique experience because then I was imbued with the belief that we can change everything through our actions. It was my hope in 1980–1981.

In April 1981, in accordance with the 11th demand of MKS, [i.e. the introduction of food coupons for meat and meat products (until the market stabilizes)], rationing was introduced: food coupons (the so-called "cards") for butter, wheat flour, groats, cereals, rice (sugar was rationed from August 12, 1976), and additional cards after five months for washing powder. There were also cards for meat, cigarettes and alcohol.

Throughout the year of compulsory military service, from September 1987 to August 1988, we did not use toilet

paper (because this product was scarce on the market) but newspapers cut into pieces. There were two titles: "Trybuna Ludu" (People's Tribune) and "Żołnierz Wolności" (Soldier of Freedom). The latter was the only one that could be bought on Monday, December 14, 1981, the day after the imposition of the martial law. This is a practical application of the communist press that aptly illustrates the relationship between the people and the authorities in the eighties.

2.5. The Soviet Army and food

Units of the Soviet Army were stationed in Poland. The last units left for Russia on September 18, 1993, from the Eastern Railway Station in Warsaw. I will give just one example of the actions taken by the Soviet Army in 1981: the West-81 (Russian: *Запад-81*) maneuvers (September 4–12, 1981). They were headed by the then Minister of Defense of the USSR, Marshal Dmitry Ustinov (Russian: *Дмитрий Устинов*). These were maneuvers carried out, as Major General Franciszek Puchała writes, „on an unprecedented scale" (Puchała 2011: 356). General Puchała, together with Lieutenant General Eugeniusz Molczyk, watched these exercises on behalf of the General Staff of the Polish Army. One day, General Wojciech Jaruzelski came to oversee these maneuvers. Puchała writes:

> (…) the First Belarusian Front was to carry out an offensive operation in the Warsaw operational direction, combined with an air operation and the activities of the Baltic Fleet, and on

> the 12–15th day of the operation to capture the border: Gdynia, Warszawa, Radom, Łuck. (…) The strength and efficiency of landing operations is demonstrated by the testimony (…) of General V. Achalov [this refers to Major General Vladislav Achalov (Russian: *генерал-майор Владислав Ачалов*) – my remark, P. L.] and Polish observers of the maneuvers. In their course, at 9:20 on September 10, 1981, the main forces of the 7th DPD [the 7th Guards Mountain Air Assault Division; full Russian name of this airborne division is *7-я гвардейская десантно-штурмовая Краснознамённая, орденов Суворова и Кутузова дивизия (горная)*] under his command within *48 minutes* (emphasis added – P. L.) were dropped in 3 landing areas east of Minsk in Belarus. There were 6,100 paratroopers and about 300 units of combat equipment, including IFVs [Infantry Fighting Vehicles]. In the next task, on the 11th or 12th day of the operation, the 7th DPD was to be landed in the area east of Warsaw in the direction of OGM [Operational Maneuver Group] based on the APanc [Panzer Army] (Puchała 2011: 356–357).

I have given this military example to provide the context of a joke from that year. On August 26–30, the 19 National Festival of Polish Song was held in Opole. During the cabaret review, two of the performers were Zenon Laskowik and Bohdan Smoleń (Cabaret "Tey" from Poznań). At one point, Laskowik said: "There are 36 million of us, and 42 million cards have been printed. This means that eight million are stationed without being registered." And please believe: all the people in the Opole amphitheater clapped and laughed loudly. Those were the days.

There are three more radical developments I would like to mention here: (1) the announcement and preparation for a general strike scheduled for Tuesday, March 31, 1981, (2) the 1st True Song Review "Forbidden Songs"

(August 20–22, 1981) in the "Olivia" Hall in Gdańsk, and (3) the publication of the "Message to the Working People in Eastern Europe" on September 8, 1981 during the First National Congress of Delegates of NSZZ "Solidarność." I am mentioning only these three events, but from the point of view of the practice of dialogue, I would like to add that this message, which outraged the communist authorities, was a response to a certain non-official letter addressed to the Congress from the USSR, i.e. "The Letter to Solidarity from the Founding Committee of Free Trade Unions in the USSR." This message was delivered privately, secretly and, of course, completely illegally to Kornel Morawiecki by Nikolai Ivanov (Russian: *Николай Иванов*). It contains the following passage:

> Before the Congress, we Soviet workers and intellectuals (although there are few of us today) solemnly swear to do everything possible in our homeland to help you and spread the truth about you, to expose the lies and – if necessary – to defend you with all available means (Morawiecki 2017: 180; Iwanow 2010: 23).

The tensions between the highest organs of the communist "empire" in the USSR were not widely known to ordinary citizens of this "empire." To illustrate such tensions, I will give one event at the turn of 1980 and 1981: strains between the Committee for State Security (Russian: *Комитет государственной безопасности*, in short *КГБ*/ KGB) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Russian: *Министерство внутренних дел СССР*, in short *МВД*/MVD and to the murder at the »*Ждановской*« ("Zhdanovskaya") metro

station. In 1980, it was the end station on the Moscow subway's purple line. The current line is extended by several stations. On December 26, 1980, the KGB major Vyacheslav Afanasyev (Russian: *Вячеслав Афанасьев*) was returning home from the building in Lubyanka. Because it was his birthday, he had cognac, sausage and a gift for his daughter – Bulgarian shoes – in his briefcase. He fell asleep on the subway and did not get off at the right stop. At the "Zhdanovskaya" stop, a station attendant woke him up and called the metro police. Today, the Russian author Alexey Baykov (Russian: *Алексей Байков*) explains to readers that there were times when a KGB officer traveled by regular subway, and not by official limousines (Байков 2019). After the interrogation, the drunken policemen beat the KGB officer, then transported him to the dacha area to simulate a bandit attack. When, after taking him out of the trunk, it turned out that the major was still alive, the policemen killed him. By the decision of Yuri Andropov, the then head of the KGB, the policemen were placed in a KGB prison. This situation led to a clear conflict between the KGB and the MVD. The court building was protected by KGB troops at the time of the policemen's trial, as it was feared that the Ministry of the Interior troops might attempt to rescue the accused. Ultimately, the four main defendants received the death penalty. In 1992, Sulambek Mamilov directed the feature film "The Murder at »Zhdanovskaya«" (Russian: *Убийство на »Ждановской«*). This video is still hosted on YouTube. These events took place at a time when high ethical standards were officially

in force. The minister of the MVD at that time was Nikolay Shchelokov (Russian: *Николай Щёлоков*). The retired police colonel Alexei Teslenko (Russian: *Алексей Тесленко*) recalls that Shchelokov was highly respected, he was in charge of the service, saying: "Besides the police, there is no one to help people!" (Russian: *Кроме милиции, некому людям помочь!*). Events of this type should be taken into account, because it must be remembered that from November 1982 it was Andropov who was the secretary general of The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. When I write that the hope of the workers revolt of 1980–1981 was linked to the belief that everything could change, I mean that events could happen like the Soviet *coup d'état* attempt in August 1991 ("the Yanayev coup" in short), ten months after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The Berlin Wall was demolished in November 1989. Gennady Yanayev (Russian: *Геннадий Янаев*) was the president of USSR for three days: 19–21 August, 1991. So when I use the phrase "anything can happen", I mean such sudden and total changes in the course of events: Soviet communism was still dangerous.

Stanisław Ciosek was one of the government's main "Round Table architects" and participated in the first talks with Lech Wałęsa. When he was the Polish Ambassador in Moscow, he spoke with the Russian General Viktor Dubynin (1943–1992) [Russian: *Виктор Дубынин*] about the possible Soviet intervention in Poland in December 1981. Dubynin was the commander of the 8th Guards Armored Division in Belarusian Military District from December 1979 to February 1982. Dubynin said:

"Everything was ready! Full readiness, penetrated terrain, specific tasks, rehearsed variants of actions. We only waited for a signal to open the envelopes with orders. You wouldn't even notice when you were gone. In one night" (*Generał* 2014: 587). It is worth knowing what General Dubinin's subsequent military career looked like in order to fully understand and accurately assess his statement about a possible Soviet invasion in December 1981. From September 1984 to April 1986, General Dubynin was deputy commander of the 40th Joint Armed Forces Army of the Turkestan Military District (i.e. the majority of the Restricted Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan). From April 30, 1986 to June 1, 1987 he was the commander of this army. From June 10, 1992, general Dubynin was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and the first Deputy Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation.

Gabriel García Márquez in the text "Polonia: verdades que duelen" (Poland: truths that hurt) of December 30, 1981 (i.e. 18 days after the introduction of martial law in Poland) recalled his stay in the sad, gray Warsaw in 1955. He wrote also about the consequences that Central America would have as an immediate US response in Nicaragua and Cuba after a possible USSR intervention in Poland. He ended the article as follows:

> They are truths that hurt, but you have to say them. The opposite would be to leave them in the hands of those who need them least, who are the same old anti-Soviet and anti-communist professionals, and the usual reactionaries, who are now going out together

and scrambled through the streets of the whole world to shed their crocodile tears in Poland (Spanish: *Son verdades que duelen, pero hay que decirlas. Lo contrario sería dejarlas en manos de quienes menos las necesitan, que son los antisoviéticos y los anticomunistas profesionales de siempre, y los reaccionarios de siempre, que ahora están saliendo juntos y revueltos por las calles del mundo a derramar por Polonia sus lagrimones de cocodrilo* (García Márquez 1981: 6).

2.6. Poland after December 13, 1981

The Poland of the 1980s was a country of pacified revolt, wasted hope and gradually deepening stagnation and the resignation of rebels. The communist authorities introduced counterfeit reforms that did not actually bring about any decidedly positive changes. They did not bring any decisive results. The slaves were morose. Many disaffected young people left Poland and emigrated precisely at the end of the 1980s, because of this numb atmosphere of public life: despite the happy endings, stories of their private revolts repeatedly begin sorrowfully. In order not to succumb to this mood, I strongly suggest looking at the Poland of those times from a completely different standpoint.

2.6.1. Pentti Linkola and Polish roadsides

Pentti Linkola (1932–2020) was the most famous Finnish ecologist – a radical deep ecologist, but also an ornithologist, writer, and fisherman. He also founded the Natural Heritage Foundation. This foundation collects funds for the purchase and protection of old forests. For many years he

struggled with severe depression as he witnessed the process of nature devastation in Finland. He was a real fine rebel of our time with definitely controversial views. Perhaps some would see some similarities between his beliefs and the antinatalist concepts, such as those related to the Voluntary Human Extinction Movement; for these opinions, see for example the 2002 film *Thank You For Not Breeding* by Nina Paley. Moreover, although Linkola was a respected person, after his death, publications appeared that cast a shadow on him. For example, the text by Mikko Paunio or the that by Petteri Hillebrand. Of course, I am not discussing the issue here, as I am not presenting Linkola's views. I only pay attention to his memories from Poland.

In the 1980s he came to Poland and Hungary. After returning to Finland, he published his impressions from the trip in the newspaper *Suomen Luonto* (The Finnish Nature) and wrote about Poland:

> But Poland, oh Poland! In Poland, I find lovely vast primeval forests, circling eagles and black herons, only the roar of deer breaking the silence of the work tent, the buzzing of a spinner and the shout of an arrow hawk in the tops of thirty-meter pines (Linkola 2020: 8).

As he was a very attentive observer and nature lover, he also mentioned this:

> In Poland I find lovely people and lovely villages where cows, pigeons, sheep, pigs, little girls, ducks, dogs, herons, sparrows, little boys, millions of swallows, chickens, cats, geese and turkeys form a single living tapestry over the whole area; even on

> the roadside on long uninhabited walks every thirty meters away a small-country vigilant dog, follows the traffic with big ears upright (Linkola 2020: 7).

And a note that I would like to highlight the most:

> The roadsides in Poland are as clean as in the footsteps of God the Father, as there are no packaging, wrapping paper or plastic wrap. There is no plastic anyway, and how could it be, in a country without oil wells. In household shops, long rows of sturdy sheet metal buckets and porcelain dishes shimmer. (…) In Poland, I regain my faith in life so much that it still bears and stains for months and years, and everything I write for the survival of the human race is inspired by Poles, and without Poland these painful lines would not have been written, thanks and a curse to Poland (Linkola 2020: 8).

"Thanks" because such Poland delighted him and at the same time "curse" because such Poland is like "scratching the wound": it is a reminiscence of old rural lifestyle in Finland and it triggered his depression. I would like to add that under the influence of this remark by Linkola, my wife and her friends remembered which nutritional products in stores had plastic packaging in the 1980s: powdered milk, some type of regular milk (milk was commonly sold in glass bottles), homogenized cheese (there was only one type in all Polish groceries), kefir (similarly, only one type of this fermented milk drink), candies in foil bags and lollipops on plastic sticks, an artificially colored lemonade (with a drinking straw added), prepared rice and Donald Bubble Gum. By the way, in the Polish free-thinkers tradition, we have the following

fond memory from the beginning of the 20th century. Irena Krzywicka writes: "When there was no money for dinner, my mother used to say: »Well, we'll buy candies, there will be enough money for candies.« I adored my mother" (Krzywicka 2013: 25).

2.6.2. Veteran wishes in April 1986

In the fourth year of my studies, once a week, on Wednesdays, there were classes at the Military College. Even the girls had nursing training. On the last Wednesday of April, that is April 30, 1986, we had a meeting with WWII veterans at Park Cytadela in Poznań, previously part of the Poznan Fortress. During the last lecture, on a beautiful spring day, and under a sunny sky in the open air, the old colonel in a uniform decorated with medals ended his lecture as follows: "Well, we hope that you will avoid the misfortune of the war. Let it not happen to you." Yes. Beautiful and certainly sincere wishes. But on the previous weekend (April 26–27), four days earlier, the Chernobyl disaster had taken place, and a cloud of radioactive pollution was now hovering above us.

2.6.3. Social functions of philosophy

Let me make two more personal remarks. Here I will briefly recount two anecdotal situations. The first concerns the usefulness of philosophy, while the second addresses the workers' vision of philosophy in the Polish workplace in the first half of the 1980s. After graduation,

I did my one-year mandatory military service in the anti-aircraft artillery. After four months of training, we were assigned to regular military units. In the brigade division in which I was serving, the commander, a major, who was nicknamed "Hyena" by the soldiers, organized a meeting with all the new cadets. We sat around a large table in his office. There were about 30 of us. The major asked each of us in turn what we had studied. He started the question from the left side, I was sitting next to him, on his right side. So I was the last one to be asked. My colleagues gave their fields of study. Graduates of polytechnics, and from academies of economics and agriculture, mathematics and computer science, dominated in the anti-aircraft artillery. Of course, I was expecting, as always, an amused look when I said what I had studied. Nevertheless, I admitted: "I was studying philosophy." Hyena bent down to the desk drawer, took out a book, threw it on the desk with great force, and with a smile on his face said: "Excellent! I have an exam in philosophy to pass. You will teach me!" So you never know when philosophy will come in handy – it was even useful in the communist army.

I worked during the summer holidays, in the bindery in two shifts. I chose to work at The Voluntary Labor Corps (Polish: *Ochotnicze Hufce Pracy*, in short: *OHP*), because in the student cooperative all the better jobs were shared out among "friends." After a few days of work, during the afternoon shift, the foreman called me to his office and said: "You study philosophy, but you are not

going to start a revolution here, all right?" Thus, he was well aware of the social role of philosophy. Ultimately, our job is revolt.

3

A Legacy of Revolution: Next Revolt

Albert Camus defined a rebel precisely as a man who said NO! He also knew very well that saying the word "NO" is not enough. Today this belief is almost universal. Robert B. Reich wrote in 2012: "Moral outrage is the prerequisite of social change. But you also need to move beyond outrage and take action" (Reich 2012: xi). John Paul II wrote in 1995: "It is very important to cross the threshold of hope, not to stop before it, but to let oneself be led" (John Paul II 1995: 164). Let me reiterate here that the main theme of my work is the relationship between revolt and hope.

3.1. The fruits of revolt and hope

Let me begin with a quotation from memories of a lady, the First Lady of Poland, Mrs. Danuta Wałęsa:

> Besides, my husband probably quickly began to understand that he had aroused some hopes and that if something did not work

> out, he would be blamed. He did not have the right people to work for him. His problem is that he likes to lead, he is a loner type with limited trust in co-workers and friends. After all, to make an idea come true, you need a team of people, and they did not have one (Wałęsa 2011: 364).

In the above excerpt the emphasis should be on the word "hopes", because in this book I propose a recollection of some hopes that accompanied the Polish workers' revolt against exploitation and communist power.

Danuta Wałęsa points to two fundamental issues. Firstly, Lech Wałęsa "had aroused some hopes", of course. Moreover, he is a man of hope. *Wałęsa. Człowiek z nadziei* (Wałęsa. Man of Hope) is the title of a film directed by Andrzej Wajda. The film has its world premiere at the 70th annual Venice International Film Festival on 5 September 2013. The film was selected for the out of competition section.

It is also worth remembering that on the cover of the first official edition of Lech Wałęsa's autobiography *Droga nadziei* [A Path of Hope], published in Poland in 1989, there is a huge anchor: a symbol of hope. Possibly due to the publishing cost, this anchor is black.

Second, Mrs. Danuta Wałęsa states that "he did not have the right people to work for him." But it must be recalled that millions of Poles trusted Lech Wałęsa not only in the years 1980–1981 and during the period of Martial Law in Poland (December 13, 1981–July 22, 1983). To go back to Sunday evening, December 9, 1990. We all already knew that the leader of the "Solidarity" movement would be the President of Poland. One could

say that there was a giant community gathered and united around great hope for the future. I only remember the moment when Lech Wałęsa went out to the enthusiastic crowd of cheering people. He said "We won. And tomorrow – go to work" (Polish: *Wygraliśmy. A jutro – do roboty*). I had a moment where I thought to myself, "They really have no plan." And I had a lump in my throat. Please understand me well: I did not *know* for sure that "Solidarity" had no future plan. Only the thought "They really have no plan" depressed me terribly at that moment. In mid-July 1989, even Tadeusz Mazowiecki was not convinced that the democratic opposition should co-rule Poland with the communists, because "Solidarity" did not have a coherent program of overcoming the economic crisis (*Lech. Leszek* 2019: 131). But on August 24 this year, the Sejm appointed him prime minister (in fact, the last prime minister of the Polish People's Republic and the first prime minister of the Third Republic). Let me remind that on September 12, 1989, he made his famous *exposé*, during which he collapsed (Klein 2008: 226–228).

3.2. Conditions of revolt

In this short section, I briefly pay attention to three factors that affect a course of revolt: they are all related to specific attitude of people who rebel.

3.2.1. Luxemburgian spirituality

Rosa Luxemburg criticized Lenin's terror. She wrote:

> Socialism in life demands *a complete spiritual transformation* [German: *eine ganze geistige Umwälzung*; emphasis added – P. L.] in the masses degraded by centuries of bourgeois rule. Social instincts in place of egotistical ones, mass initiative in place of inertia, idealism which conquers all suffering, etc., etc. No one knows this better, describes it more penetratingly; repeats it more stubbornly than Lenin. But he is completely mistaken in the means he employs. Decree, dictatorial force of the factory overseer, draconian penalties, rule by terror – all these things are but palliatives. The only way to a rebirth is the school of public life itself, the most unlimited, the broadest democracy and public opinion. It is rule by terror which demoralizes (Luxemburg 1961: 71; 1940: 35).

Carlo Tresca (1879–1943), one of the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World in the 1910s, criticized the Bolsheviks as sharply as Luxemburg and stated decidedly in 1922: "(…) the Bolshevik government has stolen final victory from the Russian revolution, suffocating that generous people in the bonds of dictatorship" (Pernicone 2005: 124). Perhaps it is worth reminding here that the hymn of the Industrial Workers of the World is the song "Solidarity Forever."

The point is that this "complete spiritual transformation" does not have to be limited to socialist projects. Nowadays, we already have extensive literature, data, concepts and theoretical models that constitute an idealizing view of the fundamental regularities occurring in social structures during a revolution. In this case, see for example (Sztompka 1999: 301–321).

3.2.2. Ideological weakness of revolt

Jon Savage's book mentions a very instructive opinion – in my view – of Caroline Coon concerning the British government's attitude to the punk movement in the latter half of the 1970s. This artist, journalist and political activist said:

> The residue of the impotence that everybody felt at the end of hippie was implanted into those kids (…) The politics being fed to those kids was that old-fashioned anarchy. That was the undoing of the Punk movement, they chose a philosophy that annihilated them. I went rushing to *Release* [*Release* is the national centre of expertise on drugs and drugs law, founded by Coon and Rufus Harris in 1967 – P. L.] and said, "Look up the law on offensive weapons, because I think the government is going to use the fact that punks are wearing razors to annihilate the movement." But very quickly it was obvious that they weren't going to be any problem to the government at all (Savage 2009: 323).

The barren ideology meant that the British government could disregard the punk movement. In the case of the Polish "Solidarity", we had to deal with a mixture of at least four ideologies. This ideological mixture was a weakness of "Solidarity" in 1980–1981 and, as it turns out, also in subsequent years. Leszek Nowak was convinced that the mass social movement must have a concise and clear program. In 1981 he stated:

> The theses for the discussion in "Solidarity" are a terrifying text for me. It is 4-egg scrambled eggs – patriotic-democratic-Christian-socialist. The social doctrine must be simple and based on the recognition of the conflict and the place that society occupies, etc. Well, all of this is not in the theses. In short, the masses will

> rise to the occasion in an extraordinary way, while the intellectuals have failed in an extraordinary way. No trace of any genuinely serious social program adapted to the situation has emerged (Nowak 2011b: 273).

In a 2014 interview, Marcin Król said: "(…) since the Round Table, to this day, not a single proposal has been made in Poland to organize a political community" (Król, Pawłowski, Sawczuk 2014).

3.2.3. *La fatigue* of Vercors

Jean Bruller (1902–1991) was a French writer, illustrator and member of La Résistance. During the German occupation, Bruller co-founded, with Pierre de Lescure, "Editions de Minuit." This underground publishing house distributed a series of underground books, including two books by Bruller himself, under the pseudonym "Vercors": *Le silence de la mer* et *La marche à l'étoile*.

In the preface to *Les yeux et la lumière*, Vercors (Bruller) wrote about revolt and a state of rebellion against the natural condition of self-consciousness (French: *un état de rébellion contre la condition naturelle des consciences de soi*) (Vercors 1950: 13). Furthermore, he calls this natural condition "exile" and claims that we are all "exiled" from the Cosmos, plunged into ignorance and solitude, and condemned to die. According to Vercors, only human beings reject this exile, refuse to accept ignorance, and try to break out of loneliness. This unique feature causes people to discuss their fate. Therefore, a rebel is the one who refuses and fights against the law passively accepted by all. He wrote:

> Out of the thousands and thousands of diverse species endowed with self-awareness, only one refuses this exile (does not accept this ignorance, tries to break this loneliness), only one discusses its fate and demands an account from Heaven: the human race. If we call a rebel whoever refuses a law passively accepted by all (and the fight), man is therefore a rebel (Vercors 1950: 13).

Vercors spoke about a very well-known yet underestimated phenomenon: the attachment to one's own anguish. People often enjoy this kind of anxiety, somehow. He himself admits that there was a time when he considered his despair as a sign of the sublime character of his spirit. He felt more comfortable in despair than when he revolted. He explains this phenomenon in a very poignant way:

> Despair contains relief, a cure: it relieves us of all other responsibilities. How attractive it is (and soothing) to live in an absurd world as a powerless, inevitably helpless victim. When, in the meantime, to be rebellious, aware of your rebellion and the tasks and duties that come from it (both towards other rebels and yourself), while living with the awareness that living humanly means living at the post without a moment of rest, that the slightest weakness, the slightest defect, makes us immediately unworthy of being called a human being, they reduce us to the order of an animal – *let us admit, if this perspective is more optimistic, it is also bloody tiring* (Vercors 1950: 19–20) [emphasis added – P. L.].

This is, in my opinion, a perfect text. (You can compare it with Sergey Nechayev's [Russian: *Сергей Нечаев*] the "Catechism of a Revolutionary" from 1869.) This is why I am also giving also the original French text here:

> Tandis que d'être un rebelle, conscient de sa rébellion, et des obligations et devoirs qui s'ensuivent (vis-à-vis des autres rebelles

> comme aussi de soi-même), tandis que de savoir que vivre en homme c'est vivre sur la brèche, sans trêve ni repos, que la moindre faiblesse, le moindre relâchement vous rendent tout aussitôt inégal à ce nom d'homme, vous ramènent à la bête – reconnaissons que si c'est une perspective plus tonique, elle est aussi bougrement plus fatigante! (Vercors 1950: 19–20).

Thus, in other words, according to Vercors, a rebel (1) is *aware* of his rebellion, (2) is aware also of the tasks and duties towards other rebels resulting from rebellion, (3) and also the tasks and duties towards himself, (4) he is aware that living humanly means live at the post without a moment of respite, (5) is aware that the slightest weakness and/or defect makes him an animal. Vercors writes elsewhere directly: "(…) the very essence of man is rebellion – and therefore rebellion the essence of all that he does (French: *l'essence même de l'homme est la rébellion – et par suite, la rébellion l'essence de tous ses actes*)." (Vercors 2010: 77).

3.3. Tischnerian project

In an interview with Jacek Żakowski, Tischner stated that he had been working for years not on love, not on faith, but on hope (Tischner, Żakowski 2000: 94).

3.3.1. Józef Tischner: philosophical roots

When, on Apri1, 1990, Ernest Gellner prepared a report on the Conference on Ethics and Politics, Bratislava, 5–6 April

1990, for The Spectator magazine, he succinctly described Tischner as "a noted Polish phenomenologist" (Gellner 1990, p. 6). Although the aforementioned report was not finally published, it draws attention to the philosophical sources of Tischner's concepts. It is therefore worth noting the main moments of his philosophical research. In 1962 he finished writing his doctoral dissertation "The Transcendental Ego in the Philosophy of Edmund Husserl." The supervisor was Roman Ingarden, a direct student of Husserl. It is worth noting that in the fall of 1913 Ingarden had suggested to Husserl that the subject of his dissertation would be "On the Human Person" (German: *Über menschliches Person*). However, Husserl responded: "You will work on this for five years." Years later, on April 6, 1968, Ingarden recalls: "I had no time" (Ingarden 1988: 180). Almost a year later, World War I broke out. The reviewers of the Tischner's doctoral dissertation in 1963 were Władysław Tatarkiewicz and Jan Leszczyński. In April 1963, the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy and History of the Jagiellonian University awarded Tischner with the academic title of doctor of humanities. Nine years later, on June 27, 1972, his habilitation colloquium took place at the meeting of the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw (now the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University), on the basis of the dissertation "Phenomenology of Egotic Consciousness." This work is dated 1971. The date of November 28, 1972 is given in the „Introduction." The reviewers were: Izydora Dąmbska, Marian Jaworski, and Władysław Stróżewski. Unanimously, 13 eligible

persons voted in favor of the colloquium and in the next vote Tischner was awarded the title of habilitated doctor in the humanities in the field of philosophical anthropology. On February 25, 1974, the Central Qualification Committee for Scientific Affairs at the Prime Minister sent a letter to the Rector of the Christian Theological Academy informing of the approval of this resolution of 1972. It is worth adding that the dissertation was published in 2006 (in the volume „Studies in the Philosophy of Consciousness"), although it had been accepted for publication in March 1972 at the Polish Theological Society. All these facts are of course very important if someone would like to have a good understanding of Tischnerian concepts.

3.3.2. Tischner about his approach

I will now refer to the cooperation between Tischner and his student Anna Karoń-Ostrowska.

She earned her PhD thesis "The Drama of the Encounter of Man with God and the Other in the Thought of John Paul II" in 1992. The dissertation was supervised by Tischner. The idea for the book, containing her conversations with Tischner, was proposed by the editor, Ewa Bluszcz from the Polish Scientific Publishers PWN, in the same year.

The conversations took place from December 26, 1992, during two weeks of Christmas holidays, and then for two weeks of winter holidays in February 1993. About his research, Tischner said:

> (…) my intention is different from that of Lévinas. For him, everything is limited to an attempt to describe the relationship *I–Thou*.

> And I'm not getting into it, the concept is theoretical. I deal with the philosophy of a person and ask how a person must be built for a meeting to take place. I did a fairly cursory analysis of the *I–Thou* relationship and stepped back to examine the subject. I want to deal with the inner space of the axiological self. I use the broadly understood method of transcendental analysis. It looks like this: first we look for the source experience (in this case it is a meeting on the way), and when we already have this *source*, we need to add the question to the description of the experience: how must the earth be built for the source to flow out of it? I do not play with questions about the source, where the water flows, where to. I am asking about the soil from which the spring can emerge. Well, the source is the meeting, and the earth is the person who meets. I am asking how it must be built so that it can meet the other. I ask about the *self*, about the dimensions of his soul, how he sees what he hears, I ask about the experience of good and evil in him, I ask about the axiological and agathological *self*. This is what interests me most of all (Tischner 2008: 132; cf. Tischner 2015: 223–224).

When Karoń-Ostrowska asks with amazement, disappointment or even a slight indignation:

> You want to say that you are not really interested in the philosophy of meeting, but – in the philosophy of man, the theory of the person? That the meeting is only the starting point? This makes us look at the Father's philosophy differently! (Tischner 2008: 132; cf. Tischner 2015: 224).

Tischner replied:

> Well, yes. The music played and it ended. And now I am doing the theory of the violin. There will be no music without a violin (Tischner 2008: 133; cf. Tischner 2015: 224).

Karoń-Ostrowska interrupted these talks because Jacek Żakowski's interview with Tischner on similar topics was

published in *Gazeta Wyborcza*. She had not known anything about this interview before. She tossed the tapes of the recorded conversations into a shoe box. Although in 1997 she met Tischner at the train station in Cracow, following which they became reconciled and they met later when he was ill, she returned to editing the book only after Tischner's death. Let me add here that he died on June 28, 2000. This day was the 44th anniversary of "Black Thursday", the day on which The Bread and Freedom Uprising in Poznań began.

3.3.3. The Tischnerian concept of freedom

I propose to interpret Tischner's concept as a certain version of the philosophy of liberation. He sketches a specific model of man as a dramatic being. The noun "drama" (Greek: *δρᾶμα*) is translated as: (1) action, occupation; (2) performance, theater play, stage action; and (3) a tragic event, a tragic accident. Obviously, I draw your attention to meaning (3).

If we pose the Kantian question, that is, "What is man?", then, according to Tischner's approach, the answer is: man is a dramatic being; in other words, man's life consists essentially in the fact that man takes part in the drama.

Tischner defines freedom as the power that liberates hope (Tischner 1998: 317). According to the Sartre's old formula "there is no determinism – man is free, man is freedom" (Sartre 2007: 29). Let me remind you that Hegel in the *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften* (§ 521) wrote:

> The ethical principle which is conjoined with the natural generation of the children, and which was assumed to have primary importance in first forming the marriage union, is actually realized in the second or spiritual birth of the children, in educating them to *independent personality* (Hegel 1894: 121–122) [German: *selbständigen Personen*; emphasis added – P. L.].

Tischner writes directly: "Man as such is freedom and an expression of freedom" (Tischner 1998: 161). Consequently, it can be said that, according to this approach, man is the power that liberates hope. It is also assumed that freedom is the way good exists, and therefore man is the way good exists; speaking freely, "the place where the good is revealed." According to Tischner, meeting with the Other is an opening of the agathological horizon of interpersonal experience, i.e. opening to good. Man makes a choice and either chooses good or rejects good. It is worth emphasizing, following Tischner, that at the same time, apart from making such a choice, man makes a second choice; to put it bluntly, the latter choice is the choice itself. It is the latter choice that is the primary choice, the fundamental one. Thus, Tischner defines the first choice, i.e. the choice of the good, as the secondary choice (*ibid*.: 299). Freedom establishes a dialogical space.

Tischner also outlines three characteristics of the Other. Thus, he assumes that the Other is: (1) the difference and similarity of drama, (2) heritage and hope, and (3) difference and similarity in the fight against evil (Tischner 1998: 339). In other words, the dialogical space with the Other has at least three dimensions and/or that

the dialogical relationship can be studied in at least three aspects. I will only add in passing that the term "difference" and the term "similarity" play a fundamental role when we are talking about an analogy between, for example, certain objects, processes, structures or persons. On the use of the analogy concept, see for example, works collected in the volume *Philosophies on Analogy*, and the papers (Gan-Krzywoszyńska, Leśniewski 2015; 2016; 2019; Leśniewska, Leśniewski 2016).

Tischner wrote metaphorically: "To be a dramatic being is to believe – whether it is true or not – that death or salvation is in the hands of man." And further:

> A man may not know what ultimately his demise is and what is his rescue. Nevertheless, he may be aware that this is what life is all about. He will be convinced that his loss and salvation are in his hands, man directs his life according to this conviction (Tischner 1990: 13–14).

In the *Philosophy of Drama* we read: "Tragedy ends with an event in which good shows its powerlessness in a dispute with evil" (*ibid*.: 53). Tischner emphasizes that evil is not free, evil is not freedom. He wrote: "Evil depends on the hatred of good" (Tischner 1998: 317).

Tischner even introduces the term "agathological existence" and strongly contrasts this term with the terms "pure existence" and "neutral existence." He reserves these two terms for the perfection that is the realization of essence. In this context, it should be remembered that Lévinas is definitely against the so-called "Philosophy of

the Neuter" (French: *la philosophie du Neutre*). He wrote in *Totality and Infinity*:

> This book's insistence on the separation of enjoyment was guided by the necessity of liberating the I from the situation into little by little philosophers have dissolved it as totally as reason swallows up the subject in Hegelian idealism. Materialism does not lie in the discovery of the primordial function of the sensibility, but *in the primacy of the Neuter*. To place the Neuter dimension of Being above the existent which unbeknown to it this Being would determine in some way, to make the essential events unbeknown to the existents, is to profess materialism. Heidegger's late philosophy became this faint materialism (Lévinas 1979: 298–299) [emphasis added – P. L.].

With regard to the last sentence of the above quotation, it is worth noting, for the sake of order, that the Lévinas' phrase "matérialisme honteux" is translated as "faint materialism." Let me point out that this French phrase can also be translated as „shameful materialism."

Wojciech Bonowicz is one of the chief editors of the posthumously published works of Tischner. He recalled the circumstances of the last text written by Tischner:

> Already very sick, two months before his death, in April 2000, he began working on another sketch devoted to this issue; he wrote on Tomasz Tabako's order for the book *The Idea of Solidarity*, which was to be published on the 20th anniversary of the August Agreements. This text has not been completed; what was left was published in the monthly "Znak" as *Fragment about solidarity* (Bonowicz 2005: 290).

Here is a part of this text: "*The ethics of solidarity is still waiting for its historian and theorist*. Unfortunately, my

health does not allow me to work any more closely" (Tischner 2000: 21) [emphasis added – P. L.].

3.4. After revolution: anger and money

"»Only the money counts here, my dear. Money is our god, our faith, our hope.« Right, absolutely right. And how much money will I make? Ten, fifteen, twenty million? Even more, if I am smart." This is a fragment of the Oriana Fallaci's first novel *Penelope alla guerra* of 1962 (Fallaci 2014: 212–213). I chose it because changes in Poland led to capitalism, the operation of which is laden with protective actions of the state. And capitalism is a system that, as Modzelewski said, is doing itself: there is therefore no need to fight for this system. "Solidarity" as a mass movement, which began with strikes against the exploitation of workers and the formation of a trade union, was marginalized and lost. This process is described, among others, by two classic books by David Ost (1990; 2005).

The first meeting between Lech Wałęsa and general Czesław Kiszczak took place on Wednesday, August 31, 1988. I had finished my military service the day before, but I knew that until I went out of the barracks' gate, the scenario from December 1981 could repeat itself at any moment. Then the soldiers were detained in the army longer. This scenario was real: we knew about the strikes in Poland. Martial law could be reimposed at any time.

There had been two strike periods this year: the first in April and May and the second in July and August.

The strikes began on April 25 in Bydgoszcz and Inowrocław, and lasted until May 10. From April 26 to the night of May 4/5, there was a sit-in strike in the Lenin Steelworks. There was a crackdown that night: the strikers were attacked by an anti-terrorist brigade. From 2 to 10 May, there was a strike in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk, but it ended with the strikers' leaving, because there was a threat of a crackdown by ZOMO units (ZOMO is an abbreviation of Polish: *Zmotoryzowane Odwody Milicji Obywatelskiej* – Motorized Reserves of the Citizens' Militia). In the 1980s, selected conscripts were offered military service in ZOMO. These were special units. To understand today how people treated these units, I will tell you a story. On my estate, back in the nineties, there was a large inscription on the building, taking the form of an announcement: "I will exchange my son, a ZOMO officer, for a daughter – she may be a whore." Unfortunately, this building was renovated at the beginning of this century. I will also give another simple example. On June 28, 1983, at 10 p.m., I finished the afternoon shift at the bindery and walked home. It was the 23rd anniversary of the Black Thursday. A truck full of ZOMO officers stood by the military hospital. Their commander sat in the slightly ajar door of the cab. There was no one on the street but them and me. This commander yelled at me "Do you wanna get a beat up?" – I did not want to, so I passed them in silence, but this moment has stayed with me. A few years later I talked to a ZOMO officer whom

I had met by chance at my friends. He explained to me that they were told that their truncheon was a rubber extension of the constitution. This was their witty phrase. So funny.

While these strikes of 1988 were underway, we wondered whether we would be directed to pacify them. We would be taken to another city, we would be given live ammunition, and we would face the strikers. We would be bound by orders: we had taken a military oath. We were subject to the military prosecutor's office.

A year later it was a different country: there was hope for a new Poland. By the way, I would like to add that my colleague's military service was shortened by two months. The rulers finally decided to share their power, and it turned out that the "Solidarity" side had not prepared a comprehensive reform plan in advance. Parliamentary elections were held on June 4, 1989, after the Round Table Agreement. The results surprised both sides. In the elections to the newly created Senate, the communists agreed not to introduce any restrictions on the number of representatives of individual parties and political groups. Out of one hundred seats, 99 were won by representatives of the "Solidarity" side. One mandate was won by the owner of a company which specialized in the production of fertilizer and the disposal of animal carcasses and slaughterhouse waste. In the presidential election, as I wrote, Lech Wałęsa won in the second round in December 1990 and it was, as Crane writes, "(…) a brief period of joy and hope, the illusory but charming honeymoon of that impossible pair, the Real and the Ideal" (Crane 1965: 79). The system change has begun

– privatization. In 2007, the Zysk i S-ka Publishing House released an extensive, four-volume work about this process with a well-chosen subtitle "The Meandering of the Polish privatization" (Polish: *Meandry polskiej prywatyzacji*, Tittenbrun 2007: *passim*), [i.e. turnings or windings; meander – a winding path, a winding course, and also a circuitous movement, a circuitous journey].

When Marcin Król recalled 1990, he wrote:

> For the first months of 1990, I left to teach, free from politics, at Yale and when I returned, I found a completely different Poland. It is *very difficult* to explain what this difference consisted of. Everything was more expensive, a lot of goods appeared in stores, everyone was talking only about money (Król 2015: 77) [emphasis added – P. L.].

But perhaps the search for an explanation should begin with a brief opinion of Jacek Fedorowicz, who fifteen years after the Round Table Agreement wrote: "(…) freedom has been bought at a price, and one cannot act as if one fight for it" (Fedorowicz 2005: 82).

Now is the time for an epilogue of this brief history of The Great "Solidarity" and a beginning of a new story: an unknown adventure. Karol Modzelewski recalled the anniversary meeting in Gdańsk and at this meeting Lech Wałęsa said: "We fought for capitalism and we won." Modzelewski continues:

> After a while, he was speechless embarrassedly. And he said complementarily: "But we didn't tell people that, because they wouldn't have understood." *I was pissed* (Modzelewski 2013) [emphasis added – P. L.].

So here we have a perfect example of wasted hope and lost trust. The trick is not to waste this lesson. At the end of the review of Naomi Klein *No Is Not Enough: Resisting Trump's Shock Politics and Winning the World We Need*, Saul Setter wrote that an analysis of the contemporary situation would require: (1) a new theory of power, (2) an updated criticism of ideology, and (3) a broad geopolitical analysis (Setter 2017). In my opinion, such an analysis should be supplemented with inquiries devoted to hope: it will come in handy when the next revolt breaks out, i.e. when, the decoration falls down, as Camus said. When Marcin Król explained the possibility of making not entirely fair changes at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, he stated forthrightly:

> Hope. It was a mechanism that allowed people to endure *the increasing stratification* without complaining. But it stops working. Because the chasm has become so big that no matter how long a run-up I take, I will not be able to jump over it (Król, Sroczyński 2014) [emphasis added – P. L.].

It is worth remembering that when, in line with the demands of August 1980, the industrial and service industries started negotiating pay rises with the communist government, the weakest group were rural librarians. Steelworkers suspended negotiations with the government for two weeks so that the pay rises first went to the weakest group, i.e. to rural librarians: such was the strong sense of solidarity in 1980–81 (Gwiazdowie Joanna i Andrzej 2009: 176). After the Round Table Agreement, the weakest were disregarded: employees of the State Farms were not allowed

to lease land. Since there were no more jobs, workers were forced to engage in petty trading. So-called bootleg mines (also called "shoemaker mines", i.e. simple but illegal mining excavations) began to appear in Poland. In a conversation with Król, Andrzej Smolar recalled:

> I was associated with two governments. First of all, I was an advisor to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. I then returned from France, where I spent almost twenty years. (…) What really shocked me was the language of the public debate (…). It was often a brutal language, a language of class contempt. A symbol of this can be the then popular concept of *homo sovieticus*, introduced into Polish circulation after Aleksander Zinoviev by, an otherwise wonderful man, Fr. Józef Tischner (Król, Smolar 2018: 87).

Smolar believes that hired workers (including laborers) wanted job security, predictability and fair wages. It was a concern for personal and collective dignity. Therefore, it is difficult to talk about the "Soviet man" in this situation, i.e. about the anthropological model that was an unintended result of the Bolshevik project to form a "new man." For this model, see first of all (Zinoviev 1985: 200–203).

Years later, we are no longer surprised by opinions asserting that the Autumn of Nations is an unfinished revolution. Václav Havel dreamed of an existential revolution and spoke about it in an interview with Adam Michnik in 2008. It is all the more worth emphasizing that, in Tischner's terms, the decisive factor in the decay of communism was a moral defeat. At the Bratislava conference, these were his exact words:

> Without belittling the significance of military defeats, e.g. Afghanistan, and economic failure, we have to acknowledge that the disintegration of Communism was determined by moral catastrophe. Communism is wasting away because *its ethical hopes and promises* have not been realized. Thus, the policy of Communist parties and governments not only failed to free man from oppression, but proved antagonistic to the rights of man by thrusting him into a new oppression (Tischner 1991: 1), cf. (Tischner 2005a: 160) [emphasis added – P. L.].

But Tischner also said in Bratislava in April 1990:

> *The memory of the original revolt of conscience is lost*. Might even get the impression that society has entered into state of disintegration (Tischner 1991: 5), cf. (Tischner 2005a: 166) [emphasis added – P. L.].

Therefore we should go back to the hope from 1980–1981, i.e. to our wistful hope. At the end, I quote an excerpt from the text "Dialog" by Tischner:

> The suffering of the worker gives high moral standing to the words of solidarity. These are not ordinary human words; they are not even the words of complaint; they are, above all, the words of testimony. For us to go through the world of suffering of the worker and to give testimony – this is the solidarity of consciences. Giving testimony means, first of all, to call things by their right names, to use language that fits the objects. Giving testimony also means evoking in people an opposition to the needless pain of the worker. From either meaning emerges the key question concerning dialogue: What to do to eliminate this pain? The answer does not come easy, but in the final analysis one thing is particularly precious here: hope. Hope is awakening that things and events can be changed. The people involved in dialogue about solidarity *must guard this hope as the apple of their eye* (Tischner 1984: 13) [emphasis added – P. L.].

So this is the Tischnerian heritage: a project and a task to be performed.

Only a fire is needed to keep this hope alive. This fire: the fire of your interior, and Kazantzakis wrote: "I don't love man, I only love the flame that eats him!" (Greek: *Δεν αγαπώ τον άνθρωπο, αγαπώ τη φλόγα που τον τρώει!*) (Kazantzakis 1958: 734).

3.5. A conversation with Enrique Dussel

In the book "Filosofía de la liberación" Dussel wrote:

> When alienated labor frees itself from capital, when it creates the community of free people, face-to-face, human life objectified in products can be subjectified in justice. Fiesta is possible, the joy, the satisfaction, the song… (Spanish: *Cuando el trabajo alienado se libera del capital, cuando crea la comunidad de hombres libres, cara-a-cara, la vida humana objetivada en los productos puede ser subjetivada en la justicia. La fiesta es posible, el gozo, la satisfacción, el canto…*) (Dussel 1996: 85).

Therefore during the lecture "Homo Compassiblis. The Art of Analogy-Making" given at The Second World Congress on Analogy in 2017, I referred to this view of Dussel and indicated two, definitely different questions: (1) Is a fiesta possible?, (2) How is the fiesta possible? Then I said that I trust Dussel and to the first, yes-no question I give an affirmative answer. Only the open question (2) should be posed. After a three-hour

conversation with Dussel in Poznań, I am firmly convinced that the culmination of the "hope-revolt" relationship should be fiesta. In other words, it is "the ultimate horizon"; i.e. a completion and fulfilment of this relationship. Our conversation took place in Poznań, after The Second World Congress on Analogy, on Friday, May 27, 2017. We walked along the Saint Martin Street, which in 1945–1989 was called the Red Army Street. We talked, among other things, about Marx and revolutions, contemporary China, a concept of reconciliation, and about Polish "Solidarity."

A Final Remark

This book is simply an invitation to think about hope, that is, as Tischner would say – to work on the hope of your neighbor (Tischner 2005b: 84).

Actually, I probably should not even repeat in this context Stephen Hessel's famous statement, but here it is: "To create is to resist, to resist is to create" (Hessel 2011: 19).

However, if someone, despite the narrative contained in this book, comes to the conclusion that drawing lessons from the experience of hope and revolt is too difficult, even hopeless, then I would have to quote, at the very end, the definite opinion by Jorge Luis Borges: "A gentleman is interested in lost causes only" (Sorrentino 2010: 101, cf. Borges 1974: 492).

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Summary

The first chapter presents the philosophy of dialogue as a certain revolution, and thus a new discourse rejecting the idealistic tradition "from the Ionian Islands to Jena", according to Lev Shestov's rule: the higher the absolute is valued, the more everyday values are neglected. Selected "glimmers of hope" are indicated: in Greece, among Kant's questions, in Nietzsche's stories about Pandora's box. Two approaches to the human face are proposed as two final situations. A number of criticisms are also made regarding the application of the concept of responsibility, as suggested by Giorgio Agamben. The second chapter contains memories of selected revolts and revolutions. The fundamental differences between the invigorating revolt and the stagnant revolution are discussed, as well as the "Freedom and Bread" Uprising in June 1956 in Poznań, Albert Camus' speech at a rally of solidarity with the workers of Poznań, the August strikes and the rise of the mass "Solidarity" movement, memories of 496 days of revolt and hope until 13 December 1981, with the Soviet Army units stationed in Poland at

that time and the exercises of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact "*Союз-81*" and "*Запад-81*". It is assumed, following Leszek Nowak, that the introduction of martial law was the optimal solution from the point of view of the "Solidarity" strategy: the union avoided being drawn into the power structures exercised by the triple-lords. This chapter contains a few selected Polish memories already after 1981. The last chapter discusses the results of the transformations of the late 1980s and early 1990s and other issues: the requirement of spiritual transformation formulated by Rosa Luxemburg, contained in her critique of Bolshevik terror, ideological mixture as a weakness of a mass movement, and Tischner's project of working on hope.

Keywords: hope, revolt, revolution, dialogue, solidarity.

Streszczenie

Tęskna nadzieja: dialogiczne studium buntu

W rozdziale pierwszym jest przedstawiona filozofia dialogu jako pewna rewolucja, a zatem nowy dyskurs, odrzucający tradycję idealistyczną „od Wysp Jońskich po Jenę", zgodnie z regułą Lwa Szestowa: im wyżej ceni się to, co absolutne, tym bardziej lekceważy się wartości codzienności. Są wskazane wybrane „ślady nadziei": w Grecji, pośród pytań Kantowskich, w Nietzschego opowieści o puszce Pandory. Dwa ujęcia ludzkiej twarzy są zaproponowane jako dwie sytuacje ostateczne. Podano również szereg krytycznych uwag związanych ze stosowaniem pojęcia odpowiedzialności, zgodnie z sugestią Giorgio Agambena. Rozdział drugi zawiera wspomnienia o wybranych rewoltach i rewolucjach. Omówiono zasadnicze różnice między ożywczą rewoltą a stagnacyjną rewolucją oraz Powstanie „Wolności i Chleba" w czerwcu 1956 w Poznaniu, wystąpienie Alberta Camus na wiecu solidarności z robotnikami Poznania, strajki sierpniowe i powstanie masowego ruchu „Solidarności",

wspomnienie 496 dni rewolty i nadziei do 13 grudnia 1981 roku ze stacjonującymi w tamtych latach w Polsce oddziałami Armii Radzieckiej oraz ćwiczeniami Zjednoczonych Sił Zbrojnych Układu Warszawskiego „*Союз*-81" i „*Запад*-81". Przyjmuje się, za Leszkiem Nowakiem, że wprowadzenie stanu wojennego było optymalnym rozwiązaniem z punktu widzenia strategii „Solidarności": związek uniknął wciągnięcia w struktury władzy sprawowanej przez trój-panów. Ten rozdział zawiera kilka wybranych wspomnień polskich już po 1981 roku. W rozdziale ostatnim są omówione rezultaty przemian z późnych lat osiemdziesiątych i wczesnych lat dziewięćdziesiątych oraz dalsze zagadnienia: wymóg przemiany duchowej sformułowany prze Różę Luksemburg, zawarty w jej krytyce terroru bolszewickiego, mieszanka ideologiczna jako słabość ruchu masowego oraz Tischnerowski projekt pracy nad nadzieją.

Słowa kluczowe: nadzieja, rewolta, rewolucja, dialog, solidarność.

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