| Chapter 9 |

Polish Precursors of United Europe

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ABSTRACT

The idea of a supra-state and transnational political unions in Europe has been present in Polish political thought since the beginning of modern times. It became the foundation for the creation of a common Polish-Lithuanian state in 1569 – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, based on the principle of voluntary political union, equality of the constituent states, and respect for national differences and religious tolerance. Despite the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the 18th century, these ideas were adapted to the political programmes of Polish representatives of European political thought in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Even at the beginning of the 19th century, visionaries such as Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski proposed a supranational and pan-European agreement between superpowers and smaller European states, based on the principles of equality, political balance, peaceful coexistence and cooperation, as well as respect for national aspirations. Others, such as Walerian Krasiński or Franciszek Smolka, linked their hopes for a new, just European order and the preservation of Polish national identity with the idea of autonomy within the Slavic community (pan-Slavism) or the multinational Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The visions of a united Europe remained alive in the Polish political doctrine of the interwar period. The traditions of the multicultural pre-partition Republic of Poland constituted the basis for the federal concepts offered to its former nations, on the grounds of equality and respect for their separateness (the Jagiellonian idea). In the views of political thinkers such as Witold Kamieniecki or Stefan Gużkowski, the Republic of Poland shaped in this way, was to serve as a bridge connecting the European nations in their opposition of German or Soviet expansion, and to build mutual relations between states based on common political and economic interests (Intermarium, Three Seas). The distinguishing features of the views of the Polish precursors of the idea of a united Europe were the beliefs that, in international relations, it is possible to reconcile national egoism with the desire to build supranational and pan-European structures, and that European nations, treated equally, are able to develop universally accepted principles of cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

KEYWORDS

Federalism, Panslawism, Jagiellonian Idea, Intermarium, Threseas

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Introduction

The partitions and liquidation of the multinational Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the 18th century opened a period of over one hundred years of struggle by Polish society and its political elites, for the independence of their state and rightful place for Poles among European nations. These aspirations, regardless of the political views of the theorists examined onindividual concepts of the struggle for independence, were united by their determination to pursue the assumed goal and vision of a new, just political order in Europe and the place of the reborn Polish state within this order. Visionaries such as Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, already at the beginning of the 19th century, proposed a supranational and pan-European agreement between superpowers and smaller European states, based on the principles of equality, political balance, peaceful coexistence and cooperation, as well as respect for national aspirations. Others, such as Walerian Krasiński or Franciszek Smolka, linked their hopes for a new, just European order and the preservation of Polish national identity with the idea of autonomy within the Slavic community (pan-Slavism) or the multinational Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Visions of a united Europe also remained alive in the Polish political doctrine of the interwar period. The traditions of the multicultural pre-partition Republic of Poland constituted the basis for federal concepts offered to its former nations, on the basis of equality and respect for their separateness (the Jagiellonian idea). In the views of political thinkers such as Witold Kamieniecki and Stefan Gużkowski, the Republic of Poland shaped in this way, was to serve as a bridge connecting European nations in their opposition of German or Soviet expansion and to build mutual relations between states based on common political and economic interests (Intermarium, Three Seas). The distinguishing features of the views of the Polish precursors of the idea of a united Europe were the beliefs that, in international relations, it is possible to reconcile national egoism with the desire to build supranational and pan-European structures, and that European nations, treated equally, are able to develop universally accepted principles of cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

1. Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861)[1]

'*For several decades his name was repeated with admiration, reverence, dislike or hatred. He was one of the most famous Poles of his era; his name meant something not only to his compatriots, but also to the educated French, English and Russians*'[2]

1.1. Life and achievements

Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was one of the most prominent representatives of the Polish political elite at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. He went down in the history of post-partition Poland as a statesman, patriot and founder of the political conservative-liberal camp in exile in France, the so-called Hotel Lambert. In his activities, he combined political actions with the patronage of Polish culture and art. Through his life and dedication to the national cause, he gained a prominent place in the Polish national pantheon.[3]

Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was born on 14 January 1770 to Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski and Princess Izabela Czartoryska née Fleming in Warsaw. He received a thorough home education during his childhood and early youth, and his tutors were Gotfryd Ernest Groddeck and Grzegorz Piramowicz. As a result of their efforts and his own work, Prince Adam acquired a great knowledge of history, Polish and foreign political arrangements, classical languages, basic mathematics and the natural sciences. Apart from Polish, he was fluent in French, English, German, Russian and Italian. He was extremely hardworking and conscientious, and throughout his life, never stopped improving his mind and moral principles. In the years 1786–1791 he made many trips to European countries such as: Germany, France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland. Of particular importance to Prince Adam was his stay in Scotland and his studies at the University of Edinburgh. It was here that he became acquainted with British self-government institutions, the parliamentary and cabinet system, economic system and political life, on the basis of which he formulated his programme of liberal Toryism, to which he remained faithful throughout his life.[4]

1 Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Polish politician, unknown author, in: National Library of Poland, source of the picture: https://polona.pl/item/ksiaze-adam-czartoryski-prezes-rzadu-narodowego-w-roku-1831,NTY5Mzg0Nw/.
2 Szwarc, 2002, p. 45.
3 Skowronek, 1994, p. 6.
4 Handelsman, 1938, p. 257.

He returned to Poland in the spring of 1791. He was present at the adoption of the Constitution of May 3, of which he became an ardent advocate. He was also a member of the Assembly of Friends of the Constitution. In 1792, he joined the Polish army as a volunteer in its defence against the aggression of Russia and took part in military operations. He was awarded the highest Polish military order, the Virtuti Militari Cross, for his participation in the Battle of Granne. After with the loss against Russia, he left the army and travelled to Vienna, London and Brussels, where he stayed during the Kościuszko Uprising of 1794.[5]

After the final partition of Poland in 1795, Prince Adam returned to Poland and a year later, together with his brother Konstanty, went to St. Petersburg to seek the abolition of the sequestration of the Czartoryski family estate. He obtained this in exchange for joining the Russian service– which he did without enthusiasm and with a sense of humiliation. His time in Petersburg greatly influenced his political future. In 1796, he became friends with the heir to the Russian throne, Grand Duke Alexander, and became not only his adjutant but also an advocate of the Polish cause. After a short period of service as the Russian ambassador to the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1799–1801, Prince Adam returned to St. Petersburg where, together with the young heir to the Russian throne who was brought up in the spirit of liberalism, and with Pavel Stroganov and Nikolai Novosiltsov, formed an unofficial committee to prepare and carry out reforms of the Russian state. The effect was the reform of ministries and the Governing Senate in 1802 – both prepared by Czartoryski. Among the new authorities, Prince Adam took the position of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and a member of the School Affairs Council. In 1803, he became the curator of the Vilnius scientific district covering the Polish lands that had been taken by Russia, where he preserved the Polish school system and expanded the network of primary schools with Polish as an official language. He also played a key role in the renewal of the Polish University in Vilnius. In 1824, he resigned from these functions in protest against the arrests of members of the secret society of students with Adam Mickiewicz at the head of the so-called '*philomaths and philarets*'.[6]

As the foreign minister of the Russian Empire in 1804–1806, Prince Adam Czartoryski was a strong supporter of the reconstruction of independent Poland in close connection with Russia. He presented his views on this matter to Emperor Alexander I in 1805 in Puławy, urging the Russian ruler to war not against France, but Prussia – this was the so-called '*Puławski Plan*' or '*Tschartoryskis Mordplan gegen Preussen*'. However, the emperor chose an alliance with Prussia against Napoleonic France, which ended with his defeat at Austerlitz and Czartoryski's. Despite the creation of a substitute for the Polish state under the name of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prince Adam remained loyal to the pro-Russian orientation. After Napoleon's attack on Russia in 1812, he resigned from the Russian service and went abroad.[7]

5 Ibid. 1938, p. 258.
6 Ibid.
7 Skowronek, 1994, p. 88.

Following the defeat of Napoleonic France in 1814, Czartoryski returned to active politics. During the Congress of Vienna, he became an official adviser to Tsar Alexander I. During the negotiations, he advocated for the preservation of the principle of European balance and respect for the distinctiveness of individual nations. In Poland's case, he proposed that Russian emperor take over the territory of the Duchy of Warsaw and to take part in the so-called '*taken governorates*', i.e., eight eastern Lithuanian-Belarusian governorates of the former Republic of Poland. He also proposed giving these lands the form of a constitutional monarchy, connected by a personal union with Russia (the so-called '*Chaumont plan*'). The result of these efforts was the creation of a constitutional Kingdom of Poland from the central Polish lands, connected by a personal union with the Russian Empire. Prince Adam himself participated in the development of the liberal constitution of the Kingdom, and became the president of its Provisional Government, and then a member of the Senate and Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland. He also contributed to the creation of the Free City of Kraków and the autonomous Grand Duchy of Poznań in the Prussian monarchy. However, he did not play a major role in the political life of the Kingdom of Poland. Thanks to Grand Duke Konstanty and Senator Nikolai Nowosiltcow – former friends from his youth – he was removed from political functions in the government of the Kingdom of Poland, and after the death of Tsar Alexander I in 1825, he joined the conservative opposition, which was critical of the violation of the constitution and combating all manifestations of freedom in the Kingdom. Prince Adam then focused on family matters – in 1817 he married Princess Anna Zofia née Sapieha – and the development of Polish education in the western governorates of the Russian Empire.[8]

He returned to active politics during the November Uprising. Following its outbreak on 29 November 1830, he accepted the position of the President of the Provisional Government, and then the head of the National Government, which he held until August 1831. Although as a realist, he was a strong opponent of the armed uprising against Russia, and as an ardent patriot, was involved in its continuation. In the first months of the uprising, he hoped for a settlement with Tsar Nicholas I and for a diplomatic intervention of the Western powers. He supported the dethronement of Tsar Nicholas I from the throne of the Kingdom of Poland, even though he was fully aware of the political consequences that he and his family would face. For his participation in the uprising, Tsar Nicholas I sentenced him to death in absentia, and ruled in favour of the confiscation of his property.[9]

After the fall of the uprising in September 1831, Prince Adam emigrated to Western Europe. He originally came to Great Britain, where, through old acquaintances, founded an association encouraging British public opinion to support the Polish cause – this was the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland. In 1833, he moved to France, where in Paris, he purchased the Hotel Lambert residence

8 Ibid. p. 92.
9 Handelsman, 1938, p. 259.

on Saint Louis Island, which became the center of activity of the conservative-liberal wing of the Polish emigration, known under the same name. As the leader of this camp, Prince Adam developed a lively diplomatic activity, envisioning the possibility of rebuilding independent Poland, in connection with the anti-Russian policy of the Western powers – mainly England and France. In anticipation of a European armed conflict against Russia, Prince Czartoryski tried to win over French and English politicians to the Polish cause and was involved in anti-Russian military actions of the Circassians in the Caucasus and Balkans, in an attempt to prevent the spread of the Russian idea of Pan-Slavism in those regions. In 1841, he established a permanent diplomatic agency in Istanbul, and in 1844, the same in Rome, seeking to win the favour of the Holy See for the Polish cause. The peak of Prince Adam Czartoryski's political activity and that of the political party of Hotel Lambert occurred the period of the Spring of Nations and Crimean War. In 1848, during the Spring of Nations, Prince Czartoryski hoped for the disintegration of the multinational Austrian monarchy. It was on his recommendation that General Wojciech Chrzanowski became the commander-in-chief of the Sardinian army, and General Józef Bem and General Henryk Dembiński took command positions during the Hungarian revolution. After the collapse of the Spring of Nations' revolutionary movement, the political camp led by Prince Adam Czartoryski continued to engage in anti-Russian actions. During the Crimean War 1853–1856, on his initiative, Polish military formations were created in Turkey to support the war effort of France, England, Turkey and Sardinia. After the Peace of Paris of 1856, which thwarted hopes of reviving the Polish cause in the international arena, Prince Adam Czartoryski gradually resigned from managing his political camp, handing over the leadership to his son Władysław. The final period of his political activity proceeded the outbreak of the January Uprising against Russia in the Kingdom of Poland. During this period, Prince Czartoryski engaged in close cooperation with the leader of the '*white*' camp, Count Andrzej Zamoyski, who represented the conservative and landed gentry elites of Polish society in the Kingdom of Poland. Their political programme was to fight for the restoration of constitutional freedoms to the citizens of the Kingdom, and in social matters – for the enfranchisement of peasants and the liquidation of feudal remnants, while maintaining the economic and political advantage of large landowners. Despite this programme being opposed by left-wing and centrist political groups in the country and abroad, Prince Adam Czartoryski enjoyed universal authority and respect until his death on 15 July 1861, in Montfermeil. With his death, his ideas were forgotten and his political camp – Hotel Lambert lost its importance.[10]

In addition to the political activities described above, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski was also a patron of literature and science. From 1829 he was an active member of the Royal Society of Friends of Science in Warsaw. While in exile, he organised numerous literary, scientific, pedagogical and charitable associations. He was a

10 Ibid. p. 260.

co-founder of the Historical and Literary Society in 1832, president of the Society for Scientific Aid and the Polish Library in Paris (1838). His guests were outstanding representatives of Polish literature and music, such as Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Fryderyk Chopin. Prince Adam Czartoryski was also the author of poems *Bard Polski* from 1814 (published in Paris in 1840)[11] and, *Powązki* from 1818[12], translations Horace, Sophocles and Pindar from 1819[13], historical dissertations *Królowa Jadwiga* from 1818[14] and works in the field of politics *Thoughts striving to improve the living conditions of Polish peasants*, Poznań 1814[15] and *Essai sur la diplomatie ou manuscript d'un Philhellene. Publie par M. Toulouzan*, from 1827[16]. He also left behind two volumes of his memoirs that were published in French in Paris, in 1887.[17] These were translated into Polish and published in Kraków in 1904–1905.[18]

1.2. Towards balance in European policy

Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski's political views and his visions of the European political order were influenced by many factors. These included: the nature of the young prince's upbringing and education, travels around Europe, political activity and deep Polish patriotism. The young prince's European profile began to emerge in his early youth thanks to a thorough education, the direction of which was set by his father Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski – one of the most enlightened people of his era. The young prince, imbued with the ideas of the European Enlightenment, was able to quickly confront them with the political events of the period of the reforms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the era of the Great Seym 1788–1792. The observation of the first sessions of the Great Seym, convened to carry out thorough political and social reforms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, left a deep impression on Prince Adam. It was a time of great hope, heated political discussions and a lively patriotic atmosphere, which the young statesman personally absorbed while living in Warsaw. Prince Adam Czartoryski's European nature was shaped by his travels abroad, during which he not only got acquainted with the political institutions of the leading countries of Western Europe – from France's Ancien Régime to the parliamentary monarchy in Great Britain – but also absorbed new intellectual and political trends that heralded profound political changes in Europe of that time. Thanks to these trips and contacts with representatives of the political and intellectual elites of these countries, Czartoryski became a part of the same. His fluency in foreign languages, social position and charming manner allowed him to easily break through the facade of strangeness, and quickly find

11 Czartoryski, 1814a, passim.
12 Czartoryski, 1818b, passim.
13 Czartoryski, Translations, 1818.
14 Czartoryski, 1818a, passim.
15 Czartoryski, 1814b, passim.
16 Czartoryski, 1830, passim.
17 Czartoryski, 1887, passim.
18 Czartoryski, 1904–1905, passim.

common ground for discussion and exchange of views. His excellent education also allowed him to contextualise his accumulated knowledge and impressions. As his biographer wrote, *'Europe ceased to be a 'abroad' for him, it began to appear to him as a specific civilizational whole, the components of which showed many differences, but even more common features*'.[19] These common features are: Hellenic, Roman and Christian tradition. He was to build his vision of the future united Europe on them. The paradox was that he could not implement them in his own country, which had disappeared from the map of Europe, but only in cooperation with foreign courts.[20]

Two periods can be distinguished in the formation of Prince Adam Czartoryski's views on the political future of Europe. The first is the period of Tsar Alexander I's cooperation with Russia and hopes for building a European order based on the anti-Napoleonic and anti-Prussian alliance of Russia and Great Britain, reformed in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The second is the period after the death of Alexander I, the defeat of the Polish November Uprising, and his and the prince's emigration to France, where he created a conservative-liberal political camp and saw the future of the European order in the Franco-British alliance directed against the despotic Russia of Nicholas I.[21]

Prince Czartoryski's views on European relations in the '*Russian*' period coincided with the hegemony of Napoleonic France, whose monarch, having proclaimed himself emperor in 1804, aimed to unite Europe within the so-called Grand Empire. In this empire, drawing clear reference to the time of Charlemagne, there was no room for other powers, and smaller states were to submit to French military and political domination. Czartoryski was a strong opponent of this 'Napoleonic system', which was based on the principle of subordination of states and nations. In 1803, he expressed his views in two memoranda addressed to Emperor Alexander I: '*Sur le sisteme politique que devrait suivre la Russie*'[22] and '*On national self-determination as the basis of an independent existence*'.[23] He saw Europe as a voluntary union of states – a federation, based on the principles of respecting the sovereignty of courts and nations. The principle of nationality should be regarded as a particularly important element of Czartoryski's views. Speaking of the nation, Czartoryski meant not an ethnic community but a community of culture, language, historical experiences and folk traditions, one often unnaturally divided by the borders of dynastic states, oppressed and deprived of the possibility of free development within its own political organisation, just like the Polish, German or Italian communities. Consequently, he argued that ensuring lasting peace in Europe or achieving international cooperation within the framework of a voluntary and permanent association of states was impossible, if the independence or unification aspirations of individual European nations were not met. The second element distinguishing Czartoryski's

19 Łukaszewski, 2002, pp. 51–52.
20 Ibid. p. 53.
21 Kukiel, 1955, pp. 3–12.
22 Czartoryski, 1986b, pp. 504–560.
23 Czartoryski, 1986a, passim.

pro-European views was the principle of balance. According to him, the eternal aspirations for hegemony, tensions and armed conflicts between European states were the result of too great disproportions between individual states. Therefore, he proposed that the great powers should be counterbalanced by voluntary federations of smaller states. Czartoryski considered to the creation of a German federation but without Prussia and Austria, and an Italian and Balkan federation necessary. According to him, an important element of the future European order was the adoption by states of liberal institutions and a representative form of government. Finally, the durability of supra-state unions of European states needed to be based on an agreement, that is, a kind of European constitution that obliged its signatories to maintain peace, observe the rules and norms of international law, and respect state sovereignty. In order to ensure the sense of security of the signatories of such a union and to maintain universal peace in Europe, Czartoryski allowed for the possibility of intervention in the event of a violation of the accepted norms in international relations. As the foreign minister of Russia in 1804 –1806, Czartoryski attempted to implement these views, seeking an anti-French agreement between Russia and England, at the expense of Prussia and Austria. Despite Tsar Alexander I's initial enthusiasm for this idea, in 1805 Russia chose an alliance with Prussia and Prince Adam was dismissed; as a result, he left active politics.[24]

Czartoryski returned to the idea of creating a pan-European political order and creating a system of European security and balance in 1814 during the Congress of Vienna, as a special plenipotentiary of Tsar Alexander I. As a result of the final acts of this summit of rulers and representatives of European powers, the political principles and institutions that were the foundation of Prince Adam Czartoryski's European doctrine of were established. The decisions of the Congress of Vienna in the years 1814–1815 were based on the principle of European balance, preventing excessive territorial growth and hegemony of any of the superpowers. The principle of nationality was implemented by creating a supra-state confederated German Union, the Kingdom of Poland, with the right of Poles living in the Polish territories belonging to Russia, Prussia and Austria to freely develop their culture and national identity. After 1815, out of 83 European countries, as many as 57 adopted constitutions. Finally, the Holy Alliance, established in 1815, despite all its shortcomings, was the first supra-state, international organisation to guard the observance of the provisions and principles of the Congress of Vienna and the foundations of international law created there.[25]

The Congress of Vienna marked the peak of the success of Prince Adam Czartoryski's political doctrine in the international arena. Most of his ideas were implemented in the final act of the Congress and remained mostly unchanged until the beginning of the 20th century. Czartoryski remained faithful to these ideas until the end of his life. However, his attitude towards Russia and its role in Europe under

24 Dupuis, 1929, passim.
25 Wandycz, 1953, p. 17.

the rule of Tsar Nicholas I changed. Czartoryski presented his views on this subject in '*Essai sur la diplomatie*' – written in 1827 and published in Marseilles in 1830. In the essay, he emphasised the risk in maintaining balance and European security from despotic Russia and its aspirations for expansion in the Balkans and breaking the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland. In this situation, he saw the preservation of general peace and the political unity of Europe through a close political alliance between France and England, as able to oppose the despotism of imperial Russia.[26]

Throughout his life, Prince Adam Czartoryski remained an ardent Polish patriot. However, he always combined his patriotism with concern for the future and unity of Europe. As a realist, he always associated the Polish cause with current international politics, always looking for an opportunity for Poland to regain independence. However, he did not forget about other nations either. In the name of historical justice, preservation of peace and European balance, he supported the national aspirations of the Hungarians and the Balkan nations. Therefore, it should be recognised that Prince Adam Czartoryski's ideas and principles served as the precursor on which the modern system of balance, European security and the supranational union of nation states within the European Union is based.[27]

2. Walerian Krasiński (1795–1855)[28]

'*Poles will not lose more by becoming Slavs than Scots by becoming British*'.[29]

2.1. Life and achievements

Walerian Krasiński Skorobohaty was a political activist during the November Uprising and the Great Emigration. He was also a historian, publicist, translator and publisher. He was born in 1795 in Lithuania to Zygmunt Krasiński, a nobleman impoverished after the partitions of Poland. His family descended from the Calvinist line of the Krasiński family – Skorobohaty (Borzobahaty) from Krasne.[30] Wincenty received his initial education in Kiejdany, and then studied history and philosophy at the Vilnius University from 1818 to 1822, which was the best period of its activity. His teacher was the outstanding Polish historian Joachim Lelewel, and his colleagues were Tomasz Zan and Adam Mickiewicz. After graduation, he moved to Warsaw, the capital of the, then Kingdom of Poland, where he took up a job in the Government Commission (ministry) of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment in the Department of Religious Affairs. He was active in the Warsaw community of the Evangelical-Reformed Church. As an official administering the affairs of non-Christian confession, he contributed to the revival of the Jewish rabbinic school.

26 Czartoryski, 1830, passim.
27 Henning, 1992, pp. 3–25.
28 Picture not found.
29 Krasiński, 1848, p. 87.
30 Górczyk, 2019, pp. 37–56.

He quickly became a well-known person in Warsaw's intellectual circles. In 1826 in Warsaw, Krasiński founded the first *stereotypowa* printing house in Poland, where he published Franciszek Karpiński's '*Psałterz Dawidowy*', translations of numerous novels by Walter Scott, and '*The Polish Encyclopedia*'.[31] In 1829, in recognition of his merits, he was honored by Tsar Nicholas I with the title of Cameroon.[32]

After the beginning of the November Uprising in 1830, Krasiński, like his former teacher and now the leader of the democratic party, Joachim Lelewel, became an ardent advocate of extending the Polish uprising to Lithuania and Russia, hoping for the creation of a pan-Slavic monarchy. In 1831, he was sent to England by the insurgent National Government, in order to support Margrave Aleksander Wielopolski, Aleksander Walewski and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, who were actively working there for the Polish cause. After the uprising's failure, he remained in England, residing in London and then Edinburgh. While in exile, Krasiński took up academic work, publishing works on the history of the Reformation, Polish history, politics and religion. He knew several Slavic and Western European languages, and was fluent in English, German and French. He maintained an animated correspondence with booksellers and publishers from various countries, successfully soliciting the translation and editing of his works in their countries.[33] The work that brought him scientific fame was a two-volume history of the Reformation in Poland, published in English in the years 1838–1840 under the title: '*Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Reformation in Poland and of the Influence which the Spiritual Doctrines Have Exercised on that Country in Literary, Moral and Political Respects.*'[34] This work aroused interest in Polish affairs in the Anglican Church circles in Great Britain, and the French and German translations brought Krasiński political and scientific recognition in Germany, France and Switzerland. As a result, Krasiński became a scientist known throughout Europe. In 1845 and in the following years he was a lecturer at the University of Cambridge.[35]

Krasiński's scientific fame helped him establish scientific, political and social contacts. In 1844, in London, he met the Prussian ambassador Christian Karl von Bunsen, who was fascinated by his work on the Reformation. Quickly, a bond of friendship was formed between them, based on common faith, philosophy of life and political views. Through Bunsen, Krasiński's work reached the King of Prussia, from whom he received a personal letter of praise, gold medal and offer to take a chair at the University of Berlin (an honour he politely declined).[36] Krasiński used his close acquaintance with Bunsen to convey to the Berlin court the political suggestions of Prince Adam Czartoryski's Hotel Lambert regarding the Prussian policy towards Poles in the Prussian partition. Krasiński's pro-Prussian position

31 Okopień, 2002, pp. 23–35.
32 Paszkiewicz, 1970, p. 192.
33 Ibid. pp. 193–194.
34 Krasiński, 1838–1840, passim.
35 Paszkiewicz, 1970, p. 194.
36 Ibid.

reached its apogee during the Spring of Nations. In March 1848, Krasiński sent the '*Memorial of March 27, 1848*' to the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV, regarding Prussian support for the Polish cause.[37] This document, drafted with the participation and approval of Bunsen, assumed the reconstruction of independent Poland in alliance with Prussia and Great Britain, thereby forming a bloc of countries that would inhibit Russia's and Austria's hegemony in Eastern and Southern Europe. He proposed the proclamation of the Kingdom of Poland headed by Prince Wilhelm Waldemar Hohenzolern, the announcement of a Polish levy and Prussia's declaration of war on Russia. In an equally utopian manner, Krasiński outlined the prospects and benefits of a future Polish–Prussian union. Its foundation was to be a political and economic union, modeled on the structure of the German Confederation (political union) and Customs Union (economic union). For Prussia, the connection with the future Poland united at the expense of Russia and Austria – according to Krasiński, clearly inspired by Bunsen – the benefits were obvious. Poland, rich in raw materials and labor, could become the driving force of the Prussian economy and its natural market. Its vast, sparsely populated in the eastern provinces would serve the overpopulated German countries, and the population influx would contribute to the economic and cultural development of this part of Poland. It is evident that in such an alliance, Poland would be a weaker partner and would only constitute an economic base for Prussia and, in the future, a united Germany. The course of the Spring of Nations thwarted these hopes and plans. As a result of the anti-Polish actions of the Prussian government and army against Poles in the Poznań province (regular warfare with Polish military units), Krasiński departed from the pro-Prussian orientation in his views. Krasiński's (Bunsen's) memorial was not supported by any of the Polish emigration groups, and went unnoticed; today, it is known only to historians.[38]

2.2. From Pangermism to Panslavism

Krasiński expressed his disappointment with Prussia's attitude on the Polish matter in his book '*Panslavism and Germanism*', published in London in 1848, outlining the future of Poland's reconstruction within the Slavic federation under Russia's leadership.[39] Thus, rejecting the pro-Prussian orientation, Krasiński became a spokesperson for the pan-Slavic idea. Pan-Slavism is an ideological and political movement developed during the Habsburg Monarchy in the mid-1820s. The first person to use this expression was the Slovak publicist Jan Herkel (1786–1853) in his work entitled '*Elementa universalis linguae Slavicae e vivis dialectis eruta et sanis logicae principiis suffulta*', published in Buda in 1826, to mark the cultural and linguistic unity of the Slavic people.[40] The political interpretation of the term '*Pan-Slavism*' gained

37 Knapowska, 1948, pp. 169–186.
38 Ibid. pp. 178–185.
39 Krasiński, 1848, passim.
40 Herkel, 1826, passim.

significance during the Spring of Nations, and was promoted mainly by Czech and Slovak activists (Frantisek Palacky, Pavel Safarik, Jan Dvoracek). On their initiative, the Slavic Congress was held in Prague from 2 June 1848 to 14 June 1848. The programme manifesto adopted at this Congress announced the creation of an all-Slavic federation within which there should be no borders other than those set by the will of individual Slavic nations in the spirit of justice and respect for sovereignty and democracy. The Congress also adopted the design of the Slavic flag and the anthem ('*Hey Slavs*'). The implementation of this programme was thwarted by the restoration of absolute rule in the Habsburg Monarchy (the so-called '*Bach era*') and the Russian intervention in Hungary. Nevertheless, the idea of Pan-Slavism remained alive in the intellectual life of many Slavic nations in Europe, leading to the introduction of political concepts such as Illyrianism, Yugoslavism and Austroslavism.[41] For Poles, the attractiveness of pan-Slavic ideas was weakened by the expected participation of Russia – the main opponent of Polish ideas of independence. This was in stark contrast to the anti-Russian political programmes of the Polish émigré groups, such as the liberal Polish Democratic Society or Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski's conservative Hotel Lambert camp. As a result, pan-Slavic ideas did not influence the political views of representatives of the Polish Great Emigration, and they did not gain – apart from a few – recognition. Among those few was Walerian Krasiński, for whom '*Pan-Slavism*' became the antithesis of '*Pan-Germanism*'.

According to the findings of Alexander Maxwel, who researched '*Pan-Slavism*' ideas and movements, Krasiński was most probably introduced to the idea of Pan-Slavism through Slovak Lutheran pastor Jan Kollar's book titled '*Ueber die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slavischen Nation*' (*Reciprocity between different tribes and dialects of the Slavic nation*), which published in Pest in 1837.[42] This work indicated the common origin of the Slavic peoples, their linguistic and cultural impendence. According to Kollar, this '*Slavic reciprocity*' is so deep that one can speak of one Slavic nation, although under the rule of different powers.[43] When publishing his work, Kollar had no political ambitions. He called on related Slavic peoples to engage in mutual respect and cooperation in the cultural field, regardless of their nationality. Kollar's Pan-Slavism was therefore not political, but only cultural.[44]

Krasiński combined Kollar's vision of a single Slavic nation with purely Polish political goals, thereby giving the '*Pan-Slavic*' idea a political character. He understood '*Pan-Slavism*' as the unification of the Slavic nations into a supranational federation under the aegis of Russia. At the same time, he emphasised the voluntary nature of such a union and respect for the linguistic, cultural and religious distinctiveness of the united Slavic peoples. Unlike Kollar, who intended the principle

41 Moraczewski, 1848, pp. 2–56.
42 Kollar, 1837, passim.
43 Maxwel, 2008, pp. 101–120.
44 Pynsent, 1994, pp. 83–100.

of '*Slavic reciprocity*' to tranform every Czech, Slovak or Pole into a Slavo-Czech, Slavo-Slovak or Slavo-Pole, Krasiński believed that this idea can be reconciled with the preservation of national identity, thereby creating not a a Slavo-Pole, but Pole-Slav. He stated, '*Poles will not lose more by becoming Slavs than Scots by becoming British*'.[45] Through this process, Krasiński tried to reconcile Polish patriotism with the political necessity of cooperation with the strongest Slavic country – Russia, which he saw as a force capable not only of the territorial reconstruction of Poland, but also creating a Slavic empire to oppose German expansion in Europe. According to Krasiński, in the near future, Russia, joined by an alliance and interests with France, would expand into German countries and take over all Slavic lands, including the Polish ones, extending as far as the Oder River. France at this time would shift its borders, at the expense of Germany, to the river Rhine. In this way, the German countries caught between the Oder and Rhine would be unable to continue their current political role in Europe, and their place would be taken by the Slavic federation. This federation would include all Slavic peoples, although at different times. Its membership would be voluntary. All Slavic nations and their states would be connected by the bond of an equal personal union with the Tsar of Russia as its president, rather than a self-serving ruler. The foundation of such a union was supposed to be the Polish–Russian agreement, which would form the core of its power and importance in Europe.[46]

According to Krasiński, in such a vision of the future of Europe, the Russian-Polish alliance could mutually benefit both parties. Thanks to the unification of lands at the expense of Prussia and Austria, Russia would become the most powerful force in continental Europe, capable of stopping German expansion, and leading to the liberation of the Balkan Slavs from Turkish authority. A territorially united Poland, connected by a voluntary and equal personal union with Russia, would become an area of freedom and social equality, as well as religious tolerance (diversity in unity). Its system and social reforms (e.g., abolition of serfdom and enfranchisement of peasants) would spread to Russia, influencing similar internal reforms. In other words, Krasiński saw '*Pan-Slavism*' as an opportunity for a tactical Polish-Russian alliance, in order to unite Polish lands and rebuild Polish statehood.[47] However, the proposal of a Polish–Russian union within the Slavic federation did not find supporters either in Russia or in Polish emigration circles. Krasiński himself abandoned this idea before the end of the decade, on seeing Russia sinking into the despotism of Nicholas I and his fight against all freedom movements in Europe.[48]

In the last years of his life, Krasiński dealt with issues of current politics. The outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853 prompted him to publish a series of essays

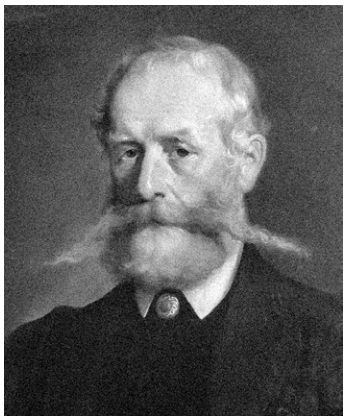
45 Krasiński, 1848, p. 87.
46 Ibid. pp. 87–144.
47 Ibid. p. 226.
48 Maxwel, 2008, pp. 117–119.

on the importance of the Polish cause in international politics, and its significance for the new European order expected after the war. In 1854, '*Russia and Europe, or the Probable Consequences of the Present War*'[49], '*Russia, Poland and Europe; or the Inevitable Consequences of the Present War.*'[50] and in 1855 – '*Is the Power of Russia to be Reduced or Increased by the Present War?*',[51] and '*Opinions of Napoleon the First on Russia and Poland Expressed at St. Helena, With their Adaptation to the Present War*'[52]. Through these publications, he presented to British politicians as well as the British public, the need to rebuild independent Poland as a necessary barrier to protect Europe from the despotism and imperialism of Russia, and a guarantor of European balance and universal peace. These views were inspired by the political goals of Prince Adam Czartoryski's Hotel Lambert camp, with whom Krasiński sympathised.[53]

Walerian Krasiński devoted the last year of his life to developing and editing a monumental work on the history of Poland, titled '*Poland, its History, Constitution, Literature, Morals, Customs*', which he was unable to complete. He died childless on 22 December 1855 in Edinburgh and was buried there.[54]

3. Franciszek Smolka (1810–1899)[55]

'*Give the peoples united under the scepter of Austria liberties adapted to their separate needs [...] and you will build a free, strong and powerful Austria*'.[56]



3.1. Life and achievements

Franciszek Jan Smolka, a Polish attorney, independence conspirator, Galician and Austrian politician, was born on 5 November 1810 in Kałusz. He was the son of Wincenty Smolka, an officer of the Austrian Lancers, and Anna Nemetha, a Polish woman of Hungarian descent. He received his initial education in middle schools in Drohobych, Sambor and Lvov. Franciszek Smolka then took up law studies at

49 Krasiński, 1854a, passim.
50 Krasiński, 1854b, passim.
51 Krasiński, 1855a, passim.
52 Krasiński, 1855b, passim.
53 Nowak, 1994, p. 347.
54 Paszkiewicz, 1970, p. 195.
55 Franciszek Jan Smolka, Polish-Austrian politician, painting of Sigmund Nadel, in: Historian Museum Lemberg, Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication, source of the picture: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Franciszek_Smolka_1810-1899.jpg.
56 Smolka, 1861, p. 78.

the, then-Germanised, University of Lvov, graduating in 1831. However, due to his family's difficult financial situation, he did not open a lawyer's practice, but took a job with the Austrian tax administration in Lvov. In 1834, he joined a secret Polish independence organisation, the Association of People's Friends, ideologically associated with the Polish Democratic Society in exile. In 1836, he received a doctorate in law at the University of Lvov, and four years later opened his own law firm in the city. In 1840 he married the daughter of a high Austrian official – Leokadia Becker von Salzheim, and had three sons: Władysław, Karol and Stanisław, and a daughter, Jadwiga.[57]

Franciszek Smolka's underground activity came to an end with his arrest in 1841. He spent over three and a half years in prison, including over a year in a single cell. In 1845, he was sentenced to death for treason. The sentence was announced to him along with the emperor's pardon. Smolka was able to retain his life and freedom, but was deprived of his doctorate and attorney's rights. Following his release from prison, he gave up political activity. He did not participate in the '*Cracow Uprising*' in February and March 1846, which he considered devoid of military chances.[58]

The year 1848 was decisive in Franciszek Smolka's political career. Upon learning about the events of the '*Springtime of Nations*' in Paris, Berlin and Vienna, a Citizens' Committee was established in Lvov on 18 March 1848. The leading roles in this committee were played by lawyers: Franciszek Smolka and Florian Ziemiałkowski – Smolka's friend from during his conspiracy and arrest, and his greatest future adversary. They were co-authors of the petition of the inhabitants of the Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria to Emperor Ferdinand I, in which they demanded: the abolition of serfdom and the enfranchisement of peasants; convening of a national parliament; establishment of municipal government; establishment of juries; organisation of folk education; national guard; and freedom of printing and an amnesty for those persecuted for their political beliefs. In May and June 1848, Smolka took part in the Slavic Congress in Prague as an envoy of the Lvov National Council. He assessed the congress negatively, pointing out that the majority of delegates were in favour of Pan-Slavism based on '*wild and despotic Russia*', which, in his opinion, was incompatible with Polish democratism and patriotism. In June 1848, Smolka was elected as deputy to the Seym of Vienna (Reichstag). At the same time, his attorney's rights were revoked, and a year later his doctoral degree was reinstated. In the Chamber of Deputies, Smolka became known as an active politician and an excellent speaker, gaining recognition not only in the Polish circle, but also from representatives of other nationalities and deputies, who elected him vice-chairman of the Chamber. During the September 1848 Viennese Revolution, 1848, Smolka exhibited extraordinary firmness and personal courage. Being in the minority, he voted for the admission of the deputies

57 Kieniewicz, 1999, pp. 314–315.
58 Pol, 2000, pp. 200–201.

of the Hungarian Seym, and tried mediate between the revolutionaries on the barricades and the army; he also organised the Viennese National Guard. Following Antonin Strobach's resignation, Smolka became the president of the Chamber of Deputies. He also maintained this function after the Seym sessions were moved from Vienna to Kromeryż. On 8 January 1849, Franciszek Smolka gave one of his most important speeches in the Seym, in defense of the federalist principles of the draft constitution, a concept to which he would remain faithful for the rest of his political activity:

> [...] Give the peoples united under the scepter of Austria liberties adapted to their separate needs and to the requirements of the spirit of the times – respect their national independence as far as it is compatible with the interests of the state as a whole – do not hinder their free development along the routes marked out by their past – leave intact their historical memories and treat those memories as they deserve – and you will build a free, strong and powerful Austria.[59]

However, Smolka's pleas was not heeded to. By a 7 March 1849 decree, the emperor dissolved the Sem of Kromeryż. Smolka considered this decree illegal and withdrew from political life. He returned to Lvov, where he began practicing as an attorney.[60]

Smolka returned to active politics after ten years – during the period of structural reconstruction of the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1860, he supported Count Agenor Gołuchowski's efforts to transform the multinational Monarchy into a federation of autonomous crown countries. These efforts resulted in the famous '*October Diploma*' issued by Emperor Franz Joseph I on 20 October 1860, which aimed at implementing the federalist concept.[61] Following Gołuchowski's resignation and the return of Austrian policy to centralist rule, embodied by Prime Minister Anton Schmerling, Smolka began to defend the autonomous rights of Galician society. In April 1861, he was elected a councilor of the Lvov City Council, member of the Galician National Parliament. and member of the Viennese State Council. In the National Seym, he represented the democratic left, and in the Viennese State Council – the conservative right, because such a political position was occupied by the Polish Circle. In the State Council, Smolka quickly became known as an outstanding orator. He received particular recognition for his parliamentary speeches on respecting the personal inviolability of deputies, and his defense of individual nationalities of the Habsburg Monarchy, particularly Hungary. As an unwavering supporter of a federation of nations under the Habsburg Monarchy, he worked on extending the scope of autonomy of individual Crown countries, outlined for

59 Smolka, 1861, p. 78.
60 Wildman, 1883, pp. 21–43.
61 Grodziski, 1976, pp. 12–23.

them in the imperial '*February Patent*' of 26 February 1861. As efforts to transform the Habsburg Monarchy into a federal state met with strong opposition from the '*centrists*' and the emperor himself, Smolka resigned from his role in the Viennese State Council.[62]

He returned to Lvov, where, as a member of the National Department of the National Seym, he devoted himself to the work to extend the scope of autonomy within Galicia. To achieve this, together with Florian Ziemiałkowski, he founded '*Dziennik Polski*', edited by Karol d'Abancourt. Immediately preceding the outbreak of the January Uprising in the Kingdom of Poland, he joined the secret Committee of Eastern Galicia, where he tried to support the uprising, albeit not militarily – which he was against – but only diplomatically.[63]

In 1865, Smolka returned to the Viennese political scene on the Austrian Prime Minister Richard Belcredi's request to compile a memorial on the condition and political aspirations of Galicia. In this memorial, Smolka pointed to the changes expected by the Galician society, emphasising the need to extend the scope of autonomy granted to it. Simultaneously, he persistently forced his idea of rebuilding the multinational Habsburg Monarchy into a federation, which gained him recognition in Hungary and the Czech Republic.[64] After the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian agreement ('*Ausgleich*' of 1867) and the transformation of the Danube Monarchy into a dualistic Austro-Hungarian state, Smolka began making efforts to grant Poles and Czechs such distinction as achieved by the Hungarians. For this purpose, in 1868–1869, he published '*Political Letters*', in which he warned Austrian politicians against the Russian Tsardom's possessiveness, pointing out that the Habsburg Monarchy could only survive if it fairly resolved the problems of the Slavic nations inhabiting it.[65] At the same time, in 1868, Smolka founded the National-Democratic Society, which, referring to the Polish Democratic Society in exile, proclaimed the following postulates: equality of citizens, democratisation of the electoral system and political system of the state, improvement of social relations, extension of self-government, and national autonomy of Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, who cultivated national traditions and strived to regain independence by Poland.[66] He was against the excessive – in his opinion – conciliatory attitude of the members of the Polish Circle in Vienna. However, his demands not gain significant support. He actively participated in the sessions of the Viennese State Council, holding the office of its president, from which he resigned in 1893 at the age of 83. He became famous for his ability to resolve procedural issues and curb the chauvinistic excesses of radical German and Czech members of parliament. He died on 4 December 1899 in Lvov and was buried there at the Łyczakowski Cemetery.

62 Pol, 2000, p. 207.
63 Ibid. p. 207.
64 Dziadzio, 1998, pp. 91–92.
65 Smolka, 1868–1869, passim.
66 Panenkowa, 1918, pp. 197–213.

In 1913, the city's grateful society funded the construction of a monument dedicated to him. Franciszek Smolka's literary legacy includes: '*The Peoples of Austria*' Vienna1848[67], '*Speeches*', Lvov 1861[68] and '*Political Letters about Russia and Poland*', Lvov 1868–1869.[69]

3.2. Federalism and autonomy of the nations of the Habsburg Monarchy

Franciszek Smolka was one of the most outstanding representatives of the Polish political elite of the 19th century. He represented the democratic trend, which not only aimed to win Poland's independence, but also to democratize its system and ensure just social relations. However, he had to act in political circumstances that ruled out an effective fight for independence, which he experienced when he was repressed for his conspiracy activities. The only option was to work legitimately, under the legal and systemic conditions of the Habsburg Monarchy, which included the Polish lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, now called the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. Smolka was presented the opportunity to actively participate in the turbulent political transformations of the Danubian Monarchy during the Spring of Nations, as well as during the political transformations of the 1860s. As a representative of Galician society, he was involved with almost all the Austrian representative bodies of that period, with the ability to influence the direction of their agenda. For over half a century, he presented his views with unwavering consistency, seeking support for them in real politics. His contemporary, Kazimierz Chłędowski, wrote about him the following:

> [...] Smolka had his idee fixe in politics, certain, so to speak, unearthly faith in the rightness of his views, and he considered himself a providential man of Austria. This faith allowed him to persevere on the principles and political goals adopted during the Spring of Nations.[70]

Franciszek Smolka was primarily a democrat. He recognised the right of every citizen to participate in public life. He considered universal suffrage to be the foundation of this right, for which he fought unsuccessfully throughout his political career. He demanded equality for all citizens before the law, abolition of serfdom, and enfranchisement of peasants. He considered the existence of self-government institutions, freedom of speech, printing, religious and political beliefs, and the creation of independent juries to protect them as guarantees of individual public rights of citizens. Franciszek Smolka understood political freedom as the right of every citizen to participate directly in the institutions of parliamentary democracy.

67 Smolka, 1848, passim.
68 Smolka, 1861, passim.
69 Smolka, 1868–1869, passim.
70 Chłędowski, 1957, p. 271.

He expected state authorities to act on the basis and within the limits of the law (‘*Rechtsstaat*’). As a legalist and thoroughly honest man, he ruled out behind-the-scenes activities in politics, as well as failure to honour concluded agreements and promises. He understood political struggle as a clash of arguments and rights presented openly in the parliamentary forum, while observing legal procedures. He was a politician with unshakable moral principles, and unchanging views and political goals. He rejected political corruption, as he repeatedly proved by his refusal to accept high state positions in exchange for resigning from defending his political views.[71]

Smolka was also an ardent Polish patriot. This was evident not only by his engagement with underground pro-independence activities, but also all his subsequent public actions. He understood patriotism as respect for national values and traditions combined with work for his country. He never gave up on the overarching goal of regaining Polish independence. He expressed this sentiment directly, at the State Council on May 29, 1861: ‘*We always consider Poland, although torn, to be one and uniform whole, and we believe that it has not perished yet*.’[72] He considered Russia to be the greatest threat to the Polish cause and European order. In Political Letters about Russia and Poland, published in 1868–1869, he warned against Russian despotism and expansionism and pointed out that the Austrian Monarchy would only be able to resist it if it managed to solve the basic problems of its own Slavic nations in a just manner.[73] Smolka was a realist in his championing of Polish causes. He rejected armed struggle, focusing on goals that could be achieved legally within the political system of the Habsburg Monarchy. As mentioned earier, he considered such a goal to be the transformation of the Habsburg Monarchy into a federal state, respecting the identity and rights of the nations inhabiting it, including Poles in Galicia.[74]

As a supporter of federalism, Smolka believed that the multinational character of the Habsburg Monarchy required equality of rights of the nations inhabiting it, and respect for their political autonomy. In order to achieve this goal and simultaneously maintain the Monarchy’s political unity, its existing centralist system should be transformed into a federation of crown countries with equal rights, giving their inhabitants autonomous rights and freedom to appoint their own political representation, self-government and cultural and educational institutions, while preserving foreign policy and military as affairs of the central government. Smolka’s federalist concept meant not only decentralisation but, above all, far-reaching political autonomy of the Crown countries. The federal character of the Habsburg state was to determine its strength and firmness, and prevent internal tensions and secessionist aspirations of individual nations.

71 Kieniewicz, 1999, pp. 315–316.
72 Smolka, 1861, p. 112.
73 Smolka, 1868–1869, pp. 37–43.
74 Ibid. pp. 39–40.

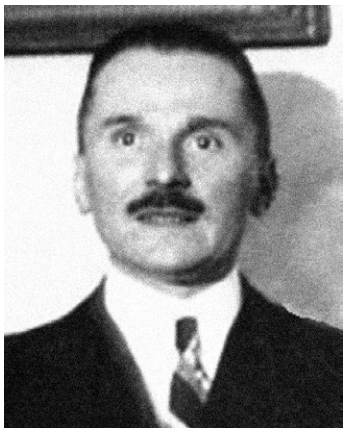
Through federalism interpreted in this manner, Smolka became a spokesperson for understanding and cooperation between the nations of the Habsburg state. Rembering his Galician mandate, he guarded the inviolability of the interests of all crown countries of the Habsburg Monarchy, represented in the Chamber of Deputies of the Council of State.[75]

The idea of a federation of nations under the Habsburg Monarchy, in the form presented by Franciszek Smolka to Polish political parties, forced them to go beyond their own particular interests and encouraged them to broad international cooperation. Unfortunately, the idea was not accepted by the noble deputies of the Polish Circle in the Viennese Council of State, to which, nolens volens, Smolka was also a part of. For Smolka, the ultimate goal was the creation of the federation, whereas the nobility was content with autonomy. In the existing social and economic relations, the federation in Galicia meant the unlimited power of the Polish nobility in Galicia. Yet, they did not believe in the feasibility of the federalist concept and could not agree with Smolka's strategy to achieve this goal – i.e., following the example of the Czechs, through permanent opposition to the central government and cooperation with all nationalities of the Habsburg Monarchy. Thus, Smolka's political activities related to the entire Monarchy, unlike the Polish deputies from Galicia, for whom involvement in domestic affairs made them hostages of Viennese politics. Smolka's powerlessness and helplessness in the activities of the Viennese parliament testified to the weakness of Galician democracy. While in the National Seym, the deputies – democrats could pursue their own policy, in Vienna they were at the mercy of noble politicians.[76]

However, despite numerous disappointments and setbacks, Smolka remained a consistent federalist. Hence his positive attitude towards '*the Hungarian settlement*', which he saw as an introduction to the federalization of the entire Monarchy. For this reason, he made efforts to cooperate with the Czechs and autonomists from other Austrian provinces and Crown countries. Due to his consistency and uncompromising character in the fight for the rights of nations, Smolka gained universal respect and was held in high esteem in the country. At the end of his life, he resigned himself to the impossibility of achieving his federalist dreams. He enjoyed the fame of a great politician whose concepts were not implemented, to the detriment of Austria-Hungary; It was to turn out several years after his death.

75 Pol, 2000, p. 197.
76 Fras, 1980, pp. 113–117.

4. Witold Kamieniecki (1883–1964)[77]



'*The Jagiellonian idea is a political system based on attracting territories between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea to the Polish State by means of voluntary unions*.'[78]

4.1. Life and achievements

Witold Kamieniecki, a Polish historian, academic teacher, diplomat, political activist, member of parliament and senator of the Republic of Poland in the interwar period, was born on 9 March 1883 in Warsaw. He was the son of Feliks and Maria née Raczyńska. He attended a middle school in Warsaw and then in Baku, where in 1902, he received his secondary school certificate. From 1902 to 1907 he studied history, philosophy and history of literature at the universities in Warsaw, Krakow and Vienna. In 1906, he received his doctorate from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. In 1909 to 1910 he worked as an assistant at the Historical Seminar at the Jagiellonian University, and was the head of the Geographical and Historical Cabinet of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków. From 1910 to 1914 he held the position of deputy director of the Krasiński Estate Library in Warsaw. He was also a member of the Society of History Enthusiasts, Warsaw Scientific Society, Society for International Research, Institute of National Minorities Affairs, and Historical and Geographical Commission. He specialised in Lithuanian affairs, in particular in the history of the Lithuanian political system. In 1915, he was offered a chair at the renewed University of Warsaw, which he rejected, choosing instead to stay in Lithuania at that time. However, from 1915 to 1917 he taught classes in the history of the Polish political system at the Warsaw University of Technology. In May 1911, he married Jadwiga Stempkowska, with whom he had two daughters: Krystyna and Anna, and a son, Andrzej.[79]

Kamieniecki began his political activities during the First World War. He was one of the signatories of the 'Declaration of One Hundred' of 22 February 1916, supporting the reconstruction of an independent Polish state. In the 1917–1918 period he held many functions in the structures of the Provisional Council of State and the Regency Council of the Kingdom of Poland. He was the deputy director of the

77 Witold Kamieniecki, Polish politician, unknown photographer, in: Archiwa Państwowe, public domain, source of the picture: https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q9375698#/media/File:Kamieniecki.jpg.
78 Kamieniecki, 1929, p. 2.
79 Tatarkiewicz, 1964–1965, pp. 520–521.

Department of Political Affairs of the Provisional Council of State and, together with Prince Eustachy Sapieha, headed the Lithuanian Committee, representing the federalist programme towards the lands and nations of the pre-partition Poland. For hald a year in 1917, he was a member of the Archival Committee of the Provisional Council of State. He was also the deputy director of the State Department of the Regency Council. During the political crisis caused by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of 3 March 1918 and the resignation of Jan Kucharzewski's government, Kamieniecki resigned from the position of deputy director of the State Department. However, despite his resignation, he remained politically active. In February 1918, he became involved in the work of the State Building Association, wherein he represented a group of political supporters of activism and building Polish statehood, based on the Central Powers.[80]

After Poland regained its independence, in 1919, Kamieniecki was elected as a member of the Legislative Seym on behalf of the People's National Union. He actively participated in its deliberations as a member of the constitutional, legal, foreign affairs and petition committees, making himself known as a supporter of federative concepts towards the Republic of Poland's neighbouring nations. In July 1919, he was elected a member of a commission to investigate the activities of the administration in the east. In April 1919, as a recognised expert on Lithuanian affairs, Kamieniecki took part in Polish-Lithuanian negotiations aimed at stabilising mutual diplomatic relations and the course of borders. He was also a member of the Polish delegation during the Polish-Bolshevik peace negotiations, which ended with the signing of the Treaty of Riga in 1921. From 1 February 1920 to 1 September 1921, he was the *charge d'affaires* in Latvia. For his merits in strengthening good neighbourly relations between Poland and Latvia, Kamieniecki was awarded the Latvian Order of Three Stars, 1st class.[81]

In the 1920s, Kamieniecki left politics in favour of teaching and research. He was socially active, founding the Polish Pan European Union. From 1925, he was a member of the board of the Institute for the Study of Nationalities, and also contributed to the development of the 'National Matters' magazine. He was a freemason – a member of the Grand National Lodge of Poland in Warsaw. In 1928 he obtained his postdoctoral degree at the University of Lvov.[82]

He returned to politics after the May 1926 *coupe d'etat*, supporting the Piłsudski camp. In 1928, he obtained the mandate of a senator on behalf of the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government, which he held until 1935. In the Senate of the 2nd term, he participated in the work of the following committees: education and culture, foreign affairs and military, and during the 3rd term in the constitutional committee and the foreign affairs committee as a secretary. In 1929, he published the well-known brochure '*The Jagiellonian Idea*', which was a synthesis

80 Winnicki, 2017, p. 56.
81 Tatarkiewicz, 1964–1965, p. 521.
82 Ibid.

of his views on Polish foreign policy towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.[83] From 1932 to 1937, he worked as a lecturer at the Diplomatic College in Lvov. In 1938, he was appointed as director of the Krasiński Estate Library in Warsaw, where he had worked 27 years earlier. During World War II, he stayed in his estate in Barchów. After the end of the war, he worked as a lecturer in medieval history at the University of Warsaw. He died on 9 March 1964 in Łódź.[84]

4.2. Federation of nations and states of the former Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth

In the history of Polish political doctrine, Witold Kamieniecki is remembered as a supporter of the reconstruction of an independent Polish state after World War I in the form of a multinational federation, with a vision of a supranational union of Central and Eastern European countries – understood as a kind of bulwark of Europe against the Soviet threat and – and, economic, military and cultural cooperation.

The federalist concepts of the Polish political elites were derived from the tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Union of 1569 and the so-called '*Hadzia settlement*' of 1658, which was an (unsuccessful) attempt to transform the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the Two Nations into a union of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia. The concepts were firmly rooted in the Polish national consciousness and constituted the political programme of the 19th century Polish uprisings. They assumed the reconstruction of an independent Polish state as a voluntary and equal federation of nations that were part of the pre-partition Republic within the borders of 1772. The idea of a federation of nations of the former Republic of Poland became valid after the fall of Tsarist Russia in 1917, and the defeat of the Central Powers after World War I. Its supporters were representatives of Polish independence groups associated with socialist parties, and Józef Piłsudski. They recognised the right of nations to self-determination and and also the national aspirations of Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians. They viewed the idea of a federation as an opportunity to reconcile their national interests with the Polish raison d'état. They also hoped to build a strong state that would resist the Bolshevik or Great Russian threat from the east. The federalist concept was also supposed to function as an 'antidote' to the ethnic differentiation of the former Republic of Poland's eastern territories, which precluded drawing a fair border line according to the nationality criterion. The right-wing parties with their leader Roman Dmowski strongly opposed the idea of rebuilding the Polish state as a federation of nations. Their opposition was towards the idea of a federation with the concept of a unitary state with a predominance of the Polish element. In relation to the eastern lands, they pushed through the incorporation policy, assuming their division between the Polish and Russian states.[85]

83 Kamieniecki, 1929, passim.
84 Zawadzki, 2012, pp. 325–326.
85 Grygajtis, 2001, passim.

In November 1918, the Committee for Eastern Affairs was established in Warsaw, which, apart from Leon Abramowicz, Tytus Filipowicz, Marceli Handelsman, Mieczysław Niedziałkowski, also included Witold Kamieniecki, who was considered an expert on Lithuanian matters. The Committee's task was to prepare the Polish position on the issue of Poland's eastern borders, for the Polish government in Warsaw and Polish delegation to the Paris peace conference. In December 1918, Witold Kamieniecki published a book titled '*Lithuanian State*' in a series of publications under the common title '*Free with the Free, Equal to Equal*'.[86] In it, he postulated the reconstruction of Lithuanian statehood within its historical borders as a federation of autonomous lands: Samogitia, Aukštaitija, Podlasie, Belarus and Polesie, or – alternatively – a federation consisting of three cantons: Kaunas, Vilnius and Minsk. They were to have extensive internal autonomy, separate national parliaments with powers similar to those of the Galician National Parliament from the autonomous times, and a central government in Vilnius. These cantonal solutions proposed by Kamieniecki for the lands of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania were to be similar for the system of the Swiss Confederation.[87] Kamieniecki's federalist concept was developed by an outstanding Polish socialist activist, Mieczysław Niedziałkowski. He proposed a cantonal–federal concept, consisting of a larger number of federation components than that proposed by Kamieniecki. They were supposed to be more ethnically and religiously homogeneous. He demanded the separation of ethnographic Lithuania (Kaunas region) with the capital in Kaunas; the Catholic Polish-Belarusian zone (Grodno region) with the capital in Grodno; the Vilnius region with the capital in Vilnius; and the Orthodox-Belarusian district (Minsk region and Polesie) with the capital in Minsk. The borders between the cantons would be determined by voting. Each canton would have at least two official languages and would form the United States of Lithuania and Belarus with a common parliament. Political organisms organised in this way in the east would join a voluntary and equal interstate union with Poland.[88]

Witold Kamieniecki's federalist concept was based on the belief that the nations comprising the eastern territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth would see that Bolshevik Russia was the greatest threat to their freedom and national existence. Therefore, their natural political choice, justified by rationally understood national egoism, would be to join the Polish state. According to Kamieniecki, only the Polish state in this region of Europe could serve as a guarantor of the preservation of these nations' national identity, civil liberties, religious freedoms and unhindered development. Therefore, it can be expected that, guided by their own political interest, they would voluntarily join a state union with Poland on equal terms. The national aspirations of individual nations in such a federation will be guaranteed and implemented by a separate law, national representation

86 Kamieniecki, 1918, passim.
87 Pisuliński, 2002, pp. 103–108.
88 Niedziałkowski, 1920, p. 4.

and autonomous administration, thereby insulating Poland from accusations of dominance and partition plans.[89] In order to avoid suspicions of a hidden annexation policy towards the nations in the East, Kamieniecki wrote:

> [...] Recognizing all the benefits of the above solution, let us not delude ourselves that it may take place immediately. We anticipate difficulties on the part of those national activists who, not believing in the strength of their nations, will be afraid of a closer relationship with a stronger nation. These concerns must be respected; no nationality can be forced into unpleasant political unions, and the right or wrong need for their particularism must be satisfied.[90]

Polish federalist concepts aimed at rebuilding the political unity of the nations of the former Republic of Poland dissipated in the 1919 to 1920. The seizure of the Vilnius region, unsuccessful 'Kiev expedition', and 1921 Treaty of Riga, eliminated the possibility of Polish-Lithuanian and Polish-Ukrainian understanding. The reborn Republic of Poland became – apart from the autonomy of Silesia – a unitary state striving to create a nationally homogeneous society. Nevertheless, the idea of a federation remained valid in the intellectual spheres that Witold Kamieniecki was a part of. In the 1920s and 1930s, it took the form of the so-called '*Jagiellonian idea*', which was on the one hand a historical reflection on the power and importance of the multinational Republic of Poland in the past, and on the other hand a vision of the future union of Central and Eastern European countries, directed against the Soviet threat and German reclaims in this part of Europe.[91]

One of the more comprehensive definitions of the Jagiellonian idea was presented by Witold Kamieniecki in his 1929 book entitled '*The Jagiellonian Idea*'.[92] It read:

> [...] The Jagiellonian idea is a political system based on attracting to the Polish State, by way of voluntary accessions, unions, neighboring territories filling the geographical area between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea. The Jagiellonian Republic, created by way of union, was based on the following principles: union system (Crown-Lithuania), autonomy of individual components within it, administration composed of local citizens, linguistic equality, religious tolerance, development of democratic civil liberties, reconciliation of the state patriotism of the Republic of Poland with local and local-national patriotisms, apostolate of civilization west.[93]

89 Lewandowski, 1962, pp. 88–93.
90 Kamieniecki, 1918, p. 7.
91 Pisuliński, 2002, pp. 114–117.
92 Kamieniecki, 1929, passim.
93 Ibid. p. 6.

In Kamieniecki's opinion, the '*Jagiellonian idea*' was the most important product of Polish political doctrine that became part of the Polish collective awareness. In his opinion, a well-thought-out and firm organisation of coexistence within one state of several nations created an excellent formula, manifesting the Polish political doctrine's strength and unity. Kamieniecki also emphasised that all accusations of deliberate and thoughtful Polonisation and denationalisation of Lithuanian, Belarusian or Ukrainian elements, addressed to Polish creators of the EU project, had no factual basis. In his opinion, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a unique political union of '*free with free and equal with equal*', based on voluntariness and mutual respect for national and religious differences. The absence of any legislative acts or ordinances concerning Polonization or denationalisation was to prove national tolerance. According to Kamieniecki, such a union can serve as a model in contemporary times, connecting countries and nations with a community of political interests, countering external threats (Soviet and German) and influencing cooperation and approximation between nations sharing a common history and geopolitical location.[94] In his '*Jagiellonian idea*', Kamieniecki also expressed a kind of '*Prometheism*' towards the nations of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth incorporated into the Soviet Union, counting on their 'awakening' and emancipation.[95]

5. Stefan Gużkowski (1884–1959)

'*Five hundred years ago, the Jagiellonian dynasty took the protection of the foundations of Europeanness against the deluge of the East. How they understood and fulfilled their historical mission is evidenced by Horodło, Lublin, Varna and Mohacz.*'[96]

5.1. Life and achievements

Stefan, Marceli, Jan Gużkowski, was a Polish lawyer and political writer of the interwar period. He was born on 21 October 1884 in Saint Petersburg. He was the son of Bronisław Gużkowski, a Russian administration official. In 1904, he graduated from the Mikołajów Middle School in Tsarskoye Selo, and in the same year enrolled at the Faculty of Law at the University of St. Petersburg. He graduated from law studies in 1910–1912 from the University of Dorpat (Russian Yuriev, Estonian Tartu).[97]

During the First World War, Gużkowski was active in the Polish Society for Aid to War Victims.[98] After the 1917 Russian Revolution, he returned to Poland. He went down in the history of Polish political doctrine as the author of a study entitled '*Imperium Jagellonicum. About the Eastern European Union*'. This study, published in

94 Mackiewicz, 2014, pp. 14–24.
95 Kornat, 2008, pp. 76– 86.
96 Gużkowski, 1931, p. 37.
97 Gużkowskij, 1912, pp. 2–11.
98 Korzeniowski et al., 2018, p. 95.

Poznań in 1931, proposed an original concept of Polish federative ideas, linking the '*Jagiellonian idea*' with the concept of '*Intermarium*'.[99]

'*Intermarium*' ('*Międzymorze*') is a Polish foreign policy doctrine of the interwar period, referring to the tradition of the multicultural and multinational Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The rise of this doctrine can be dated to the years 1920–1921, although its sources date back to the period of the Jagiellonian dynasty in Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and the Czech Republic at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries (the so-called 'Jagiellonian lands'). The '*Intermarium*' doctrine assumed the creation of a voluntary and equal political, economic and military alliance of Central and Eastern European countries located in the area between three seas: the Adriatic, Baltic and Black seas (the so-called 'ABC Seas'). It was to include Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia and Finland, and in the future also Belarus, Ukraine and Georgia. This union of the states was to be defensive by nature against the threat posed by Germany and Soviet Russia. It was to be based on solidarity and cooperation of member states in the pursuit of common political and economic interests, while respecting their sovereignty and subjectivity in the international arena.[100]

The first attempt to implement this unique idea of an alliance between Central and Eastern European countries, linked by a common history and threats, was through Józef Piłsudski's federalist concepts in the years 1918–1920. They concerned the lands and nations of the former Republic of Poland, i.e. Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, served as an attempt to reconcile the national distinctiveness of these regions, while maintaining political unity within a strong political union that was capable of opposing the domination of Germany or Russia. However, these plans failed. Opposition to this idea came not only from Russia, but also from most Western powers (with the exception of France) that were afraid of Poland's growing importance on the international arena. Also, the nations of the former Republic of Poland, which sought independence: Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Belarusians, did not express any interest in joining the union. Border conflicts between Poland and its neighbours – Soviet Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania and Czechoslovakia also reduced the chances of implementing Piłsudski's concept. Ultimately, the implementation of the project of a federation of Central and Eastern European countries was thwarted by the war with Russia (1919–1921). The failure of the project prompted Piłsudski to reinterpret the eastward-oriented idea of the Jagiellonian federation, and to create the concept of an alliance of the Baltic and Balkan states. In view of Piłsudski's departure from active politics after 1921, these ideas ceased to be valid.[101]

The return to the federal concept in Polish foreign policy occurred at the beginning of the 1930s, with the publication of Stefan Gużkowski's book. In it, Gużkowski proposed a confederation of Central and Eastern states – from Finland in the north

99 Gużkowskoi, 1931, passim.
100 Lasecki, 2020, pp. 14–15.
101 Okulewiocz, 2001, pp. 342–343.

to Greece in the south – as an antidote to the economic crisis that was consuming them and the threat of growing German revisionism and Soviet expansionism. The idea of creating a defense bloc connecting Poland, Romania and Hungary grew in the Polish government spheres. The next step was the creation of the '*Intermarium*', i.e. a counterbalance to Western countries, Soviet Russia and fascist countries, which led to the idea of '*Third Europe*'. According to the creators of this concept, Central European countries were too politically and economically weak to count on the international arena. Therefoore, they should unite to create a significant defense and economic capability together. In order to achieve this, the initial plan was extended to include Italy and Yugoslavia.[102] However, the concept of the '*Third Europe*' collapsed due to territorial disputes between Poland and Czechoslovakia and between Hungary and Romania. Additionally, the fall and partition of Czechoslovakia in 1938 led to the creation of a different geopolitical situation in Europe, in which the particular interests and threats of Central European countries forced them to political egoism in international relations.[103]

5.2. The Eastern – European Idea (Pansarmatia)

The starting point for Stefan Gużkowski's deliberations on the possibilities and need for a union of the '*Jagiellonian countries*' was his analysis of the nature of the 'Great Economic Crisis' of 1929. He opined that the crisis revealed, with all its force, the division of European countries into industrialised countries in the West, and agricultural countries in the East and Center. This division also supposedly coincided with the division of Europe into countries that were active in granting loans and foreign investments – the so-called '*creditor countries*', and those passive in this aspect, that is recipients of loans and foreign investments – the '*debtor countries*'. The economy of the former was characterised by discounting profits from capital turnover, loans and foreign investments, the latter – which included the '*Jagiellonian states*' – was marked by overpopulation, chronic unemployment and the economy of raw materials. Thus, the '*Jagiellonian countries*' poor economic conditions, Gużkowski concluded, was the inhibition of the inflow of the capital and foreign investment to them, caused by their economic weakness and political uncertainty of these countries.[104]

However, the situation could be altered. The ten '*Jagiellonian states*' had considerable combined economic and demographic potential. The territory they occupied was three times the size of Germany, and together they had four times the population and one and a half times the birth rate per year. It was only possible to develop these ever-growing masses of people by creating a large-scale industry that would provide them with employment and sustenance. To achieve this, capital was necessary. Summing up, Gużkowski put forward a thesis, in which he stated that:

102 Gedeon and Halász, 2022, pp. 197–224.
103 Morawiec, 2012, pp. 409–427.
104 Gużkowski, 1931, pp. 7–12.

> [...] The economic crisis affecting the Jagiellonian countries, which have a predominantly agricultural structure of the economy and a huge birth rate and an equally great need to raise capital, results from these two constant factors and differs in its structure from the causes of the world crisis, which consists in an excess of free capital, which cannot find certain places of their placement. The connection between the two crisis cycles seems obvious, but restoring the investment circulation interrupted by the war can only be done by creating conditions for the allocation of capital in large investment areas – primarily in the territory occupied by the Jagiellonian states.[105]

According to Gużkowski, this can be achieved by political and economic unification of relatively weak nations and states located between Germany and Russia into one Central European power – the Eastern European Union, capable of defending them against Germanic pressure and Soviet barbarism. Since none of the '*Jagiellonian states*' was clearly superior to the others, the only way for the emergence of such a power was the creation of a voluntary and equal federation, which Gużkowski termed '*Pansarmacja*'[106]

The Eastern European Union ('*Pansarmacja*') was to cover the territories of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. It would be created through voluntary agreements of individual members and remain open to accession to it by any '*Jagiellonian state*'. It was to take the form of a federation, granting maximum autonomy to its individual constituent states, which would, in turn, concede a minimum of their sovereignty and competences–only necessary to achieve common goals. These goals were: ensuring security and peace in the region, creating a military force to deter potential aggressors (Germany, Soviet Russia and possibly Turkey), and in the future a common foreign policy, customs and monetary union. The legal basis for the organisation and functioning of such a supra-state union as the Eastern European Union was to be its constitution. Its provisions were to include: 1. the principle of the inviolability and indissolubility of the Union, 2. guarantee of the territorial integrity and inviolability of the member states, 3. mutual guarantee of collective security in the event of war, 4. the principle of peaceful coexistence and settlement of disputes without the use of force, and 5. the principle of joint responsibility for the obligations of its members. Other issues, such as the organisational structure and scope of competences of the common central authorities of the Union as well as of their functioning, were to be defined in the future through a voluntary and generally accepted intra-EU agreement.[107] Gużkowski also recognised that all contradictions and antagonisms existing between the '*Jagiellonian states*' were possible

105 Ibid. pp. 17–18.
106 Ibid. p. 26.
107 Ibid. pp. 26–27.

to overcome, as seen in the '*Little Entente*' covering Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia – i.e. the countries of the future Eastern European Union. According to Gużkowski, the exception was Hungary, which, humiliated by the Treaty of Trianon and limited in territory to neighboring countries, carried a sense of deep injustice and was reluctant to ally with its recent enemies. In order to break the Hungarian resistance, Gużkowski proposed economic arguments and Polish mediation.[108]

Such a Eastern European Union would constitute a significant demographic and economic power. It would also be a counter-proposal to the pre-war German concepts of '*Mitteleuropa*' and the post-war idea of '*Paneurope*'. Populated by over 100 million citizens, of which more than half were professionally active, with a mixed agricultural and industrial economy, relatively low foreign debt and high gold reserves and national assets exceeding USD 50 billion, '*Pansarmatia*' would have to be a significant entity in international economic relations, and thus a significant subject of the European policy of balance and collective security. In addition to economics and foreign policy, the link between the countries forming this kind of '*Imperium Jagiellonicum*' was to be a civilisational community based on Christian values, individualistic elements of Roman law and the tradition of Greek philosophy and culture.[109]

> The protection of these foundations of Europeanness against the deluge of the East was taken over five hundred years ago by the Jagiellonian dynasty in their mighty and gracious hands. Horodło, Lublin, Varna and Mohacz testify to how they understood and fulfilled their historical mission. The idea of cooperation without violence, the idea of love of peace and understanding, the idea of perfecting the masses to the level of the elite and not vice versa, the idea of a union of salt and equal states and nations in these areas of Europe, today as once threatened by expansion from the East – this is the legacy of the Jagiellonian dynasty, still alive and multi-faceted and shining with the undying splendor of truly great things. May this indestructible light be for us, their contemporary heirs, a guiding star on the difficult path to liberation from the difficulties of today.[110]

108 Ibid. p. 27.
109 Ibid. pp. 35–36.
110 Ibid. p. 37.

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