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***The Political Philosophy of August Cieszkowski: Messianism as a Path to Depoliticized
Universalism - abstract***

The presented dissertation constitutes a critical analysis and commentary on the philosophical-political aspects of the thought of one of the most prominent representatives of Polish Romantic messianism, August Cieszkowski. The dissertation employs the method of reconstructing the philosopher's views along with a description of their ideological-philosophical sources. These studies encompass the connections between Cieszkowski's thought and the philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, the social concepts of Claude Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, and various trends in Christian theology and philosophy.

In analysing and examining the significance of Cieszkowski's political philosophy, it was subsequently decided to utilise the conceptual framework and methods developed by Carl Schmitt. Their application helped to better understand the specificity of the theories under investigation through their interpretation in the light of theoretical perspectives such as: conducting analysis involving the friend-enemy opposition, inquiring about the conditions of establishing a global political community, or the anthropological grounding of philosophical-political concepts. Furthermore, this approach revealed fundamental theorems and tacitly accepted assumptions by Cieszkowski, situated at the margins of the discussed body of work, which nevertheless have significant theoretical consequences. Hence, this dissertation can be read not only as a historical-philosophical study but also as an attempt to assess the hermeneutic power of the categories embedded in Schmitt's works.

The dissertation consists of two main parts. The first one concerns the examination of the ideological background on which the concepts of a Polish messianist have been growing.

In the chapter first, it was attempted to show the links between the philosophy of August Cieszkowski and the system created by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. The initial parts of this chapter focus on outlining the ideological framework provided by the romantic worldview, which dominated the culture during the lifetime of both thinkers. The fundamental romantic diagnosis of the situation of European culture was the belief in an antinomic character of reality. The resolution of overwhelming antinomies was supposed to be Hegelian dialectics. One of its versions determined the whole of Cieszkowski's thought. Therefore, one of the subchapters

features the way in which dialectics was adapted to the theoretical needs of the Polish philosopher. This reception, however, forced Cieszkowski to refute some of the important theses for Hegelian philosophy of history and political philosophy regarding historical development and, strictly associated with it, possibilities of socio-political changes. The refutation of Hegelian post-factualism and contemplativism opened the way to much more optimistic and radical views on the transformation of commune life of humanity than the views embedded in Hegel's work. The aspects of an idealistic system which could not fulfil the philosophical hopes of Cieszkowski are outlined in the subsequent paragraphs of the dissertation.

The second chapter concentrates on another ideological source of Polish thinker messianism, which was a French social romanticism. This part contains some terminological remarks justifying the use in the examination of the Cieszkowski thought of the term 'social romanticism' instead of, more popular, 'utopian socialism.' Furthermore, in this chapter, one can find an attempt to grasp the cultural meaning of this current in the realms of nineteenth-century France, the characteristics of the theories of Claude Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, and the description of how social romanticism influenced the Cieszkowski body of work.

The third chapter shows the ways how Cieszkowski uses ideas that originated in the theological traditions of Christianity. After highlighting the philosopher's relations with chiliasm, subsequent parts of the chapter focus on reconstructing the links between Cieszkowski's philosophy and catholic and protestant theology, in the context of his historiosophical theses. Special emphasis is placed on a critique of the contemporary shape of Catholicism and its fundamental views on the status and the role of the Church and Christians in the temporality. These inquiries were related to politics. This issue was the subject of one of the subchapters. The last part of the chapter is an attempt to determine how the Polish messianist understood religion *per se*. In this aspect, a strong anti-individualism was distinguished.

The second main part of the dissertation directly considers Cieszkowski's political philosophy. The first chapter contains remarks on the importance of anthropology in political philosophy and the reconstruction of the concept of human encompassed in philosopher's texts, which can be described as dialectical-historical. The theses on the status of community and the interpretative operations focused on the idea of the original sin (considered as a symbolic presentation of inclination to evil embedded in human nature) are recognised as the key concept in this matter. These topics are interpreted as the justification of the thesis on the historicity of the agonistic idea of the political.

The next chapter is a portraiture of these political-philosophical ideas of Cieszkowski which were considered the most important for understanding the specificity of his theories. In the introduction, the conceptual matrix created by Carl Schmitt was sketched on which the commentary on the theses of Polish thinkers was based. The subsequent parts of the chapter present a very important theoretical turn that occurred in Cieszkowski's political thought. The thing is the turning down of Hegelian particularism which allegedly ruled the international politics and the acceptance of Kantian universalism. Universalism is the basis for the constitutional principles of the, postulated by Cieszkowski, global political community. Later in this chapter, the problems of role of the nations in the global community, the fundamentals of its political system and related with it conception of the law were emphasised. According to Schmitt, the version of universalism presented by Cieszkowski can generate the absolute kind of political enmity which is the subject of examination in further sub-chapter.

The following parts of the dissertation expose the peculiar argumentative oscillation of analysed political philosophy that takes place between the conservative and liberal-progressive motives. As an illustration of this movement, not only works of Cieszkowski but also his activity in the Prussian parliament have been used. In addition, it have been described Polish thinker's critique of revolutionism as a method of political activity. The problem of adequate terminology to explain Cieszkowski's political theories has been discussed separately. The final parts of this chapter emphasise the ideological ambiguity of the examined thought as a consequence of the dialectical method of reasoning adopted by Cieszkowski.

The last chapter is devoted to the institutional aspect of messianism. This dimension of Cieszkowski's political philosophy can be considered as the most unintuitive feature of his work. This section, in addition to pointing out the importance of a 'institutionalistic' approach to politics presented by the Polish philosopher, includes: reconstruction and critical analysis of the project to reform the upper house of parliament, some of the economical propositions, and educational and pedagogical ideas. The purpose of these investigations was to show these senses of Cieszkowski's institutional projects, which are related to his political and philosophical theories. The closing parts of the chapter attempt to explain certain discursive and rhetorical operations conducted by the Polish messianist to temper the emancipatory implication of his texts, which was caused by the specificity of their expected audience, which was mostly highly conservative.

The conclusion of the dissertation contains a summary of the research results, an assessment of the theoretical feasibility of the methods used, and a brief consideration of the validity of the examined theories.