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“Civilizational” Boundaries in Christian-Jewish Relations

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“The Jewish question is neither racial nor religious,
but civilizational.” - Feliks Koneczny¹

The Koneczny Renaissance in Poland

Beginning in February 2007, members of the radical party *Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski* (National Rebirth of Poland - NOP)² have gathered in Kraków each year to commemorate the life and work of Feliks Koneczny (1862-1949). The “Koneczny Conference” coincides with the historian’s birthday, and after the proceedings a small group marches to his grave in the Salvator Cemetery to pay homage to the man dubbed by one admirer the “Copernicus of the Third Millennium.”³ Participants at the inaugural event discussed the need for “wiping out” in contemporary Poland the influence of the same non-Latin civilizations identified by Koneczny as threats in the interwar period: Turanian, Byzantine, and Jewish. Central to this vision

is the belief that these civilizations aim to diminish Catholicism, which is at the heart of Latin civilization. One young activist, Marcin Jendrzeczak, concluded that it is “necessary in our hard times of culture wars to cooperate with Catholics and Latinists from all western regions in a sort of ‘white international’...”⁴

At the 2008 Koneczny Conference, Kamil Sawczak delivered a paper “On the Resolution of the Jewish Problem.”⁵ Citing Koneczny as an authority, the author contended that the “Jewish problem” is not a racial or religious issue, but a civilizational one. The presentation was filled with resentment about the “civilizational sickness” that accompanies the “Judaization” (*zażydzenie*) of Polish thinking. This is an old complaint, one that Catholic critics voiced frequently in the interwar period.⁶ Linked in today’s conspiratorial vision with the “new world order,” Sawczak identified Jewish influence in the bureaucratization of Polish society, the proliferation of pornography,⁷ and most significantly in the focus on the “letter of the

¹ Feliks Koneczny, “Państwo w cywilizacji łacińskiej,” in *Państwo i prawo w cywilizacji łacińskiej* (Warszawa and Komorów, Wydawnictwo Antyk, 2001), 8. The manuscript was completed in October 1941.

² The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism reported in 2007 that the NOP was “the most aggressively antisemitic organization in Poland.” See *Antisemitism Worldwide 2007 – Poland*, <http://www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2007/poland.html> (accessed 12 August 2010).

³ Andrzej J. Horodecki, “Ciemności europejskie,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 11 (2004), no. 5-6, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2004_05_06/OKW-Horodecki_CIEMNOZCI-EUROPEJSKIE.html (accessed 21 June 2006). In this essay Horodecki specifically calls for Koneczny’s works to be required reading in religious education classes in middle schools. He has been active in the nationalist movement since his days as a member of the *Polski Związek Katolicko-Społeczny* (Polish Catholic-Social Union), which was founded in January 1981. Koneczny’s ideas were an important component of nationalist ideology among a new generation of Polish activists that emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As a frequent contributor to *Myśl Polska*, but more importantly as an editor and contributor to *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski*, Andrzej Horodecki has produced dozens of essays that apply Koneczny’s civilizational paradigm to a myriad of contemporary problems.

⁴ Marcin Jendrzeczak, “Nacjonalizm bizantyjski” (28 June 2007), *Prawica.net*, <http://www.prawica.net/node/7547> (accessed 8 July 2010). Several dozen people reportedly attended the conference. Topics of speeches included: Dariusz Tarnowiecki, “Polska między Wschodem a Zachodem;” Bartosz Biernat, “Cywilizacja Łacińska a Cywilizacja Zachodu;” and Zbigniew Lignarski, “Talmud a ideologia III Rzeszy.” See *Nacjonalista.pl – Portal Narodowy-Radykalny*, <http://www.nacjonalista.org/galeria.php?id=110> (accessed 20 November 2009). Also see Zbigniew Lignarski, “Talmud ze swastyką w tle?” (20 May 2009), *Archipelag-Instytut Norwida*, http://archipelag.org.pl/newsdesk_info.php?newsPath=4&newsdesk_id=4 (accessed 21 November 2009).

⁵ Kamil Sawczak, “Poglądy: O rozwiązaniu kwestii żydowskiej. Referat wygłoszony na II Konferencji Konecznańskiej, Kraków, 9.02.2008,” *Nacjonalista.pl – Portal Narodowo-Radykalny*, <http://www.nacjonalista.org/artykuly.php?id=88> (accessed 2 April 2008).

⁶ See Ronald Modras, “The Interwar Polish Catholic Press on the Jewish Question,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 548 (November 1996): 179-180.

⁷ In his book on “Jewish civilization,” Koneczny discusses this issue. See Feliks Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska* (London: Wydawnictwa Towarzystwa

law” rather than its ethical content. Echoing Koneczny’s fears from an earlier era, Sawczak proclaimed: “The Judaization of Polish society has become a fact; thus the problem of the solution of the Jewish question stands before us.”⁸

In his *Cywilizacja żydowska*, Koneczny opined that “One cannot be civilized in two ways...Either we must de-Judaize or we will perish miserably in Judaization. There is not any anti-Semitism in this thesis, but only a warning about civilizational mixtures...the Jewish question is neither religious nor racial, but civilizational. In the civilizational sense of the word, who will not be an anti-Semite?...In any country, who will thirst for civilizational Judaization?”⁹ Indeed, Koneczny claimed that anti-Semitism was a defense of Latin civilization “against the claims of Israel for world domination.”¹⁰

Koneczny and his heirs have consistently defined Poland’s basic problem as a lack of civilizational purity. Koneczny’s influence on extremist thinking goes back to the interwar period, especially among the so-called “youth” who eagerly sought to combine their Catholicism and nationalism into a coherent ideology. Rafał Łętocha has identified an undoubted influence of Koneczny on the *endek* vision of history that emerged during World War II, and his “clash of civilizations” theory can also be found in their wartime analyses.¹¹ His influence is evident in concepts and terms, such as “Latin

civilization,” which were borrowed from his works. Also, their rhetoric has a Konecznian emphasis on ethics as a key factor in distinguishing civilizations.¹²

While Koneczny’s works fell into disfavor in communist Poland, several key manuscripts were published in exile by Jędrzej Giertych (1903-1992). Jędrzej’s ideology is sometimes referred to as “Christian Nationalism,” which is the title of a brochure that he published in 1948.¹³ His thinking reflects the attitudes of the nationalist “youths” who came of age in the interwar period. In recent years, Jędrzej’s son, Maciej (b. 1936), has served as the leading ideologue for the League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodziń – LPR, formed in 2001), as well as a deputy to the European Parliament (2004-2009). Moreover, Maciej’s son, Roman (b. 1971), served briefly (May 2006-August 2007) as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education in a coalition government. Maciej, in particular, has elevated Koneczny’s “science of civilizations” to a new level of importance in nationalist ideology.¹⁴

Jarosław Tomaszewicz opined that “the influence of Koneczny on the contemporary *endecja* [nationalist movement] is difficult to overestimate. The ‘theory of civilizations’ is a sort of ‘metatheory’ for the Catholic nationalism of the *endecja*.”¹⁵

imienia Romana Dmowskiego, 1974), 383-384. In his introduction, Jędrzej Giertych notes that Koneczny claimed to have most of this book finished by 1934, when his *Plurality of Civilisations* was completed. Giertych gives 1943 as the final date of completion, with a few changes added after that. Ibid., 8.

⁸ Sawczak, “O rozwiązaniu kwestii żydowskiej.”

⁹ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 407-409.

¹⁰ Ibid., 388.

¹¹ Rafał Łętocha, *Katolicyzm a idea narodowa. Miejsce religii w myśli obozu narodowego lat okupacji* (Lublin: Fundacja *Servire Veritati* Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, 2002), 88-89.

¹² Ibid., 284-285.

¹³ See Jędrzej Giertych, *Nacjonalizm chrześcijański*, 3rd ed. (Krzeszowice: Dom Wydawniczy “Ostoja,” 2004).

¹⁴ Ulrich Schmid finds that the Giertychs have sought to blend Roman Dmowski’s ideas with Koneczny’s Catholic historical philosophy. See “Eine glückliche Familie Die Giertychs und ihre Ideologie,” *Osteuropa* 56 (November-December 2006), no. 11-12: 69.

¹⁵ Jarosław Tomaszewicz, *Ugrupowania neoendekkie w III Rzeczypospolitej* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2003), 219. Grzegorz Tokarz also finds that Koneczny’s theories about civilizational conflict are important to contemporary nationalists. In the opinion of nationalists, he argues, anti-Semitism is “an existential conflict.” See Grzegorz Tokarz, *Ruch narodowy w*

Today, nationalists argue that despite centuries of pressure from alien civilizations, “the rebirth of Latin civilization must begin in Poland.”¹⁶ As the “*apostle of Latin civilization*” [emphasis in original],¹⁷ Poland must fulfill its messianic mission as described by Koneczny: “Our duty and historical mission are one and the same: the spread of Latin civilization.”¹⁸ While Koneczny was not a member of the *endecja*, “the notion of ‘Latin civilization’—which is a key to his theory—has become the standard for the new *endeks*”¹⁹ as they don their “civilizational armor”²⁰ and fight to defend Poland’s civilizational boundaries. For Koneczny and his heirs this struggle has been “three-fold” in nature: “material, moral, and intellectual.”²¹ Koneczny insisted that the “issue of civilization—the psychical issue—is not

dependent on the bodily, the racial. We see that here the spirit is stronger than the body. The independence of civilization from race is a valuable *contribution to the problem of the superiority of the soul over matter* [emphasis in original].”²² In their rhetoric, Koneczny and his heirs place a primary significance on morality and ethics.

Since its formation, leaders of the League of Polish Families have consistently used Konecznian terminology. This is evident in many phrases, such as “the unbridgeable civilizational difference,” “the law of the impossibility of the civilizational synthesis,” “the law of harmfulness of the merging of civilisations—civilisations cannot coexist,” and “contact of different civilizations is the greatest challenge for society.”²³ Hanna Kwiatkowska has found similar echoes of the past in the pages of *Nasz Dziennik*,²⁴ noting “an ideological continuation from the thoughts of the pre-WWII nationalists such as R[oman] Dmowski and Prof. F. Koneczny, whose writing[s] are very much promoted in the newspaper. The newspaper never sees

Polsce w latach 1989-1997 (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), 211-213.

¹⁶ Andrzej Horodecki, “Kościoł wobec personalizmu i gromadnościowości: Konsekwencje lekceważenia grzechu pierworodnego,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 11 (2004), no. 3-4, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2004_03_04/ZRE-Horodecki_KOSCIOL-WOBEC.html (accessed 30 June 2008).

¹⁷ Andrzej Horodecki, “Wychowanie do wolności w prawdzie,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 11 (2004), no. 9-10, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2004_09_10/PIS-Horodecki_wychowanie-do-wolnosci.html (accessed 30 June 2008).

¹⁸ Feliks Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe. Oraz dodatek Byzantyzm niemiecki* (London: Wydawnictwa Towarzystwa imienia Romana Dmowskiego, 1982), 324. Koneczny’s “neo-messianism” is noted by many scholars; for example, see Sonia Bukowska, “Feliksa Konecznego historiozoficzna refleksja nad narodem,” *Folia Philosophica* 20 (2002): 247. On Koneczny’s romanticism, see Joanna Nowak, “Jedność w różności – czyli o romantycznych korzeniach koncepcji narodu Feliksa Konecznego,” *Sprawy Narodowościowe* 30 (2007): 75-94.

¹⁹ Tomaszewicz, *Ugrupowania neoendeckie*, 219.

²⁰ Editorial, “Miłość przebija pancerze,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 14 (2007), no. 1-2: 1, <http://www.npw.pl/pdf/npw.2007.1-2.pdf> (accessed 27 August 2009).

²¹ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 251; and Feliks Koneczny, *On the Plurality of Civilisations*, tr. Jędrzej Giertych, intro. Anton Hilckman, pref. Arnold Toynbee (London: Polonica Publications, 1962), 172.

²² Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 216.

²³ Joanna Kurczewska, et al. *The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination. Project Report: Work Package 6. Discourse Analysis of Politics: LPR’s Rhetoric* (Warsaw: Institute of Public Affairs, 2005), <http://www.isp.org.pl/files/11297950200606281001164194296.pdf> (accessed 30 June 2008), 73.

²⁴ Established in 1998, *Nasz Dziennik* “quickly became the most influential religious paper in Poland” and sells an estimated 200,000 copies every day. The daily is closely linked to *Radio Maryja*, which since its founding in 1991 has been formally run by the Order of Holy Redeemer (Ojcowie Redemptoryści), but is really managed by its Director, Father Tadeusz Rydyk. See Stanisław Burdziej, “Voice of the Disinherited? Religious Media after the 2005 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Poland,” *East European Quarterly* 42 (June 2008), no. 2: 208. Koneczny is frequently referenced in *Nasz Dziennik* and *Radio Maryja* commentaries, including those by Father Rydyk. See Rafał Maszkowski, “Inny świat – obraz Żydów w Radiu Maryja,” *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* (2006), no. 4: 671.

the Jews who lived in Poland as Poles but as strangers or guests who abused the Polish hospitality.”²⁵

Stefan Zgliczyński of *Stowarzyszenie Nigdy Więcej* (Never Again Association, an anti-racist watchdog group) has correctly identified Koneczny as the “unquestioned authority” today among nationalists who construct defenses against “civilizational threats.”²⁶ Marian Bębenek also has found that Koneczny’s views are embraced by the extreme Catholic nationalists in Poland.²⁷ Writing in the “Never Again” periodical, Katarzyna Stańczak-Wiślicz adds that Koneczny’s *Cywilizacja żydowska* is “a source of arguments for contemporary anti-semitic discourse.” She argues that Koneczny’s vision of “anti-Semitism as a positive program leading to the ‘dejudaization’ and rescue of Latin civilization” provides a “scientific” basis for similar arguments today.²⁸ Indeed, Koneczny admirers believe that his science of civilizations is “the key to understanding the present world situation.”²⁹ Mirosław Dakowski warns fellow Poles that a dangerous “mélange of various moralities” threatens Poles with civilizational chaos and that they must decide to which civilization they want to belong. Moreover, Koneczny is often cited as an authority by those who seek to marginalize the

Jewish roots of Christianity as another way to create civilizational boundaries between the two faiths.³⁰ In order to better understand why and how Koneczny’s vast intellectual legacy can be used in this way, we must first become familiar with his work on what he termed the “science of civilizations.”

The Quest for Civilizational Purity

Koneczny’s “science of civilizations” matured during a peculiar period of war, revolution, and cultural anxiety.³¹ Despite witnessing the rebirth of the Polish state, he feared threats from all around: To the east, there was “Turanian” Russia. To the west, there was “Byzantine” Germany. Finally, there was the danger within, represented by the “flowering in Poland of Jewish civilization.”³² These three civilizations threatened the existence of “Christian-classical civilization, represented in Poland by Catholicism.”³³ Like other civilizational schemes concocted in the 20th century, Koneczny’s is highly normative.³⁴ Koneczny even conceded that “it is difficult not to admit that a

²⁵ Hanna Kwiatkowska, “Conflict between the Image of the Jews and the Self-Image of the Poles in the Light of the Articles Published in ‘Nasz Dziennik’ 1998-2003,” *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 2 (2003): 91.

²⁶ Stefan Zgliczyński, *Antysemityzm po polsku* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Książka i Prasa, 2008), 114.

²⁷ Marian Bębenek, “Paradygmat polityki w cywilizacji łaćńskiej,” in *Feliks Koneczny dzisiaj. Praca zbiorowa*, ed. Jan Skoczyński (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000), 90.

²⁸ Katarzyna Stańczak-Wiślicz, “W pułapce kołobłędu, czyli antysemityzm uczonego,” *Nigdy Więcej* 16 (Winter-Spring 2008): 18.

²⁹ Mirosław Dakowski, “Potencjały rozpraszające a instynkt samozachowawczy narodów (cywilizacja według Feliksa Konecznego),” (12 March 2007), *Strona Mirosława Dakowskiego*, http://dakowski.pl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=47&Itemid=49 (accessed 23 August 2009).

³⁰ Ewa Maj, “Sposoby zaprzeczania Zagładzie: przypadek środowisk neoendeckich” (14 October 2003), *Forum Żydzi- Chrześcijanie-Muzułmanie*, <http://www.znak.org.pl/?lang1=pl&page1=studies&subpage1=studies00&info1=83&scrt1=sn> (accessed 12 August 2010).

³¹ Marek N. Jakubowski, *Ciągłość historii i historia ciągłości Polska filozofia dziejów* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2004), 214-216.

³² Feliks Koneczny, *Polska między wschodem a zachodem* (Lublin: “Onion,” 1996), 47.

³³ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁴ Zbigniew Pucek, “Feliks Koneczny: teoria pluralizmu cywilizacyjnego,” in *Szkice z historii socjologii polskiej*, ed. Kazimierz Z. Sowa (Warszawa: PAX, 1983), 158.

hierarchy of civilizations exists."³⁵ Latin civilization was the best, of course, and Jewish civilization was "at the very bottom."³⁶

Poland has a special role in world history as a defender of Latin civilization, and Koneczny's works provided a thorough analysis of its salient characteristics that are referenced by many nationalists today as they argue for a purification of Poland's culture. In Koneczny's mind, the process of purification entailed purging Poland of influences from alien civilizations. Koneczny believed in the "plurality of civilizations;" he rejected the notion of any sort of overarching "supra-civilization" to which all humanity belongs. As he put it: "Mankind does not exist either historically or sociologically."³⁷ Thus, there never has been a "global civilization," nor will one ever exist.

Koneczny developed several key concepts and "historical laws" that help us better understand the civilizational boundaries that separate Jews and Catholics. His early theoretical works refer to the concepts of *logos* (theory) and *ethos* (practice).³⁸ One author notes that "*logos* is a thought, an opinion, an idea, a conception. But *ethos* is the practical side of life..."³⁹ A harmony between *logos* and *ethos*, between thought and action, is not constant, but it is required for a civilization to make progress.⁴⁰ Over time Koneczny introduced his notion of

³⁵ Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe*, 100.

³⁶ Leszek Gawor, *O wielości cywilizacji: Filozofia społeczna Feliksa Konecznego* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2002), 124.

³⁷ Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe*, 31.

³⁸ The title of one of Koneczny's earliest works in civilizational theory is *Polskie logos a ethos: Roztrząsanie o znaczeniu i celu polski*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Komorów: Wydawnictwo Antyk, 1997). It was originally published in 1921.

³⁹ Marian Szczęsny, "Rola chrześcijaństwa w tworzeniu cywilizacji łacińskiej według Feliksa Konecznego," *Studia Teologiczne* 20 (2002): 397.

⁴⁰ Jan Skoczyński, *Koneczny: Teoria cywilizacji* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2003), 63-64.

the "*quincunx* of existential values" or "categories of being," which explains the innermost essence of each civilization: Health, Prosperity, Truth, Goodness, and Beauty. The first two categories belong to the "material world," while the next two belong to the "spiritual world;" the final, Beauty, belongs to both worlds. Piotr Grabowiec pointed out that Thomism was embraced by Koneczny as "the most persistent foundation" of his social theory.⁴¹

His *quincunx* clearly demonstrates how "Koneczny builds his theory on a foundation of dualism. That is why he emphasizes the existence of two substances, material and spiritual, which make up reality."⁴² The spiritual side of life was more important, and Koneczny argued that only in Latin civilization was it dominant. Significantly, Koneczny took the position that civilizational differences were not seen so much in the material realm, such as technological developments, but in the "spiritual" sphere of human thought.⁴³ Koneczny cleverly applied this notion to the story of Poland itself, holding that "the nation is the soul, whose body is the state."⁴⁴ A stateless nation for over a century, Poland nevertheless could claim civilizational supremacy over its colonizers, especially "Byzantine" Germany and "Turanian" Russia, where spiritual concerns were overshadowed by material ones. Indeed, Zbigniew Pucek has determined that the "relativizing interpretation of the *quincunx* allows for the introduction of the idea of defective civilizations...which developed weakly in general or did not develop in

⁴¹ Piotr Grabowiec, *Model społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w historiozofii Feliksa Konecznego* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000), 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴³ Zbigniew Pucek, *Pluralizm cywilizacyjny jako perspektywa myśli socjologicznej* (Kraków: Akademia Ekonomiczna, 1990), 109.

⁴⁴ Feliks Koneczny, "O kierunek polskości," *Cywilizacja* 4/5 (2003), 218. Originally published in *Tęcza* 2 (26 V 1928), z. 21: 1-2.

certain areas.⁴⁵ In Koneczny's judgement, Latin civilization was the only complete civilization, while all others were defective.

The concept of the *quincunx* of existential values fit nicely within the Thomist revival among Catholic intellectuals in Europe.⁴⁶ The Thomist revival was inspired in part by Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903), whose *Aeterni Patris* (1879) and *Rerum Novarum* (1891) were regarded as seminal documents.⁴⁷ An historian who focused on the medieval period,⁴⁸ Koneczny joined other Catholic scholars who used Thomism as "an intellectual grid" to formulate responses to the challenges of modernity.⁴⁹ Indeed, Koneczny cited Thomism as a foundation for "normality" in Latin civilization.⁵⁰ During the interwar period and through World War II, both Thomism and the medieval

ideal of a harmonious and unified Christendom proved very appealing to Polish nationalists.⁵¹

Anton Hilckman (1900-1970) explained that "[t]he attitude towards these values [of the *quincunx*], the valuation of them and the determination of the relation between them can be very different. The understanding of these differences gives a key which opens the riddle of the diversity of civilizations."⁵² Koneczny posited that "it is not possible to be civilized in two ways."⁵³ According to Koneczny's "law of commensurability," a lack of cohesion among the different categories of the *quincunx* is the main source of societal decline.⁵⁴ Societies can flourish, according to Koneczny, only when all categories of the *quincunx* are in civilizational harmony. He believed that Poland lacked this clarity.⁵⁵

One of Koneczny's "historical laws" stated that civilizational mixing leads to moral and psychological damage and a general decline in the "culture of action."⁵⁶ Another indicated

⁴⁵ Pucek, "Feliks Koneczny," 173.

⁴⁶ Koneczny's debt to Aristotlean Thomism is frequently pointed out in the context of his emphasis on commensurability among the existential values of the *quincunx*, which calls for harmony and balance between the material and spiritual. See Ryszard Polak, *Cywilizacje a moralność w myśli Feliksa Konecznego* (Lublin: Fundacja *Servire Veritati* Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, 2001), 31, 35; and Mieczysław Ryba, "Człowiek, naród, państwo w cywilizacji łacińskiej," *Cywilizacja* 1 (2002), 8; available online at <http://cywilizacja.ien.pl/?id=77> (accessed 27 August 2009). Koneczny frequently mentioned Thomism in his works. For example, see *Rozwój moralności*, reprint ed. (Warszawa and Komorów: Wydawnictwo Antyk, 1997), 268, 277. It was originally published in 1938.

⁴⁷ Paul Robichaud, *Making the Past Present: David Jones, the Middle Ages & Modernism* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 140.

⁴⁸ See Anna Frątczak, *Feliks Koneczny o państwie i wartościach* (Kraków: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej; Księgarnia Akademicka, 2003), 111-113.

⁴⁹ Peter Kivisto, "The Brief Career of Catholic Sociology," *Sociological Analysis* 50 (Winter 1989), no. 4: 351.

⁵⁰ Feliks Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe*, 2nd rev. ed. (Komorów: Wydawnictwo Antyk Marcin Dybowski, 2001), 58.

⁵¹ On this matter, see Bogumił Grott, *Nacjonalizm i religia. Proces zespalania nacjonalizmu z katolicyzmem w jedną całość ideową w myśli Narodowej Demokracji 1926-1939* (Kraków: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1984), 140-141; and Łętocha, *Katolicyzm a idea narodowa*, 92-94;

⁵² Anton Hilckman, "Feliks Koneczny and the Comparative Science of Civilization," in Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 11. Koneczny claimed that there are seven civilizations. Four are ancient: Brahmin, Jewish, Chinese, and Turanian. Three developed in the middle ages: Byzantine, Latin, and Arabic.

⁵³ Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 322.

⁵⁴ Sonia Bukowska, "Feliks Koneczny – indukcyjna nauka o cywilizacji a prawa dziejowe," *Folia Philosophica* 8 (1991): 211.

⁵⁵ Feliks Koneczny, "O kierunek polskości," 220.

⁵⁶ Piotr Grabowiec sees the notion of a "culture of action" as a key to understanding Koneczny, as it represents for him a "connection between thought, word, and action, as well as internal convictions about the correctness of one's aims. Thinking in the context of aims creates a culture of action. . ." This effectively represents a link between *logos* and *ethos*. See *Model społeczeństwa obywatelskiego*, 30.

that “lower” civilizations generally overcome “higher” civilizations in confrontations.⁵⁷ In historical terms, the Roman civilization declined as it became culturally Orientalized; likewise, modern Latin civilization was now confronted with a variety of “Oriental” threats. This included the danger within: Jewish civilization. Robert Piotrowski has detected hygienic ideas in Koneczny’s civilizational discourse, with a pathological aspect being an important feature of inter-civilizational contacts.⁵⁸ Moreover, as both Piotrowski and Sonia Bukowska have pointed out, members of Latin civilization bear a heavy burden in maintaining their civilizational purity, since “higher” civilizations require more effort to preserve than “lower” ones.⁵⁹ This is why Koneczny concluded that Latin civilization was in peril.

Koneczny was not alone in his calls for civilizational purity, as other commentators in the interwar period complained that “our civilization is poisoned.”⁶⁰ The need for cultural (or civilizational) purification was becoming a key part of *endek* thinking,⁶¹ and Koneczny’s theories were embraced as “scientific” validation. The idea of a “Catholic state of the Polish Nation” thus emerged as a favorite *endek* notion during the interwar period as the “re-Catholicization” of Europe became the

ideal, with Poland renewing its historical role of “bulwark of Christendom.”⁶² While nationalists commonly rejected racism as a materialist conception, they began to absorb theories that focused on spiritual, psychological, or cultural differences.⁶³ Koneczny’s “science of civilizations” thus filled an ideological need. His civilizational hierarchy rejected “Others” as inferior and dangerous to Polish culture, but not in terms of biological racism. Rather, he stressed a sort of “civilizational fundamentalism” that advocated cultural purity in the face of threats from inferior civilizations. As Koneczny opined: “Race does not rule, but civilization; not matter, but spirit.”⁶⁴

He clearly stated that “civilizational unity is the only way to the development of culture,” and as early as 1921 he was warning that foreign civilizational influences, including Jewish civilization, would lead to societal problems and the collapse of the state if allowed to flourish in Poland.⁶⁵ Societal progress, according to Koneczny, only takes place when there is civilizational agreement among all five elements of the *quincunx*.⁶⁶ This yearning for purity and harmony reflects Koneczny’s historical context: a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state, Poland seemed bedeviled by civilizational uncertainty. Koneczny believed that internal cohesion was needed for Poland to survive.⁶⁷ Indeed, civilizational mixing would remain in

⁵⁷ Jan Skoczyński, *Idee historiozoficzne Feliksa Konecznego* (Kraków: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1991), 110-112.

⁵⁸ Robert Piotrowski, *Problem filozoficzny ładu społecznego a porównawcza nauka o cywilizacjach* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2003), 69, 128. For examples, see Feliks Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe* (2001), 165, 172.

⁵⁹ Piotrowski, *Problem filozoficzny*, 78; and Sonia Bukowska, *Filozofia polska wobec problemu cywilizacji. Teoria Feliksa Konecznego* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2007), 132-133.

⁶⁰ Bogumił Grott, *Nacjonalizm Chrześcijański: Narodowo-katolicka formacja ideowa w II Rzeczypospolitej na tle porównawczym*, 2nd ed. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo “Ostoja”, 1996), 85.

⁶¹ Bogumił Grott, “Mediewalizm w koncepcjach Obozu Wielkiej Polski ze studiów nad religijnymi uwarunkowaniami myśli politycznej,” *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Religiozoficzne* 7 (1982): 61.

⁶² See Bogumił Grott, “The Conception of ‘Roman-Catholic Totalism’ in Poland before World War II,” *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Religiozoficzne* 8 (1982): 101-107.

⁶³ Bogumił Grott, “Chrześcijańskie i świeckie inspiracje w doktrynach nacjonalizmu polskiego,” *Przegląd Humanistyczny* (1994), no. 4: 85.

⁶⁴ Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe* (2001), 164.

⁶⁵ Koneczny, *Polskie logos a ethos*, vol. 2: 473-474.

⁶⁶ Stanisław Jedynek, “Aksjologiczne zagadnienie rozwoju cywilizacji według Feliksa Konecznego,” *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 32 (1988), no. 3: 122.

⁶⁷ Andrzej Bokiej, *Cywilizacja łacińska: studium na podstawie dorobku historiozoficznego Feliksa Konecznego* (Legnica: Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Legnickiej, 2000), 55.

Koneczny's eyes "the main sickness" of Poland even after World War II,⁶⁸ since it implied the mingling of rival ethical systems. This led to ethical confusion, or a "Bedlam of ethics,"⁶⁹ and impeded moral progress.⁷⁰ And ethical concerns, as many scholars point out, are at the center of Koneczny's "science of civilizations."⁷¹ Marian Bębenek labels Koneczny "ethocentric" and concludes that his ideal society represents a sort of "ethocracy."⁷² Koneczny's fear was that morality can regress through exposure to non-Latin ethical principles. Most important for our discussion, he was concerned about the growing "intellectual influence of Jewish civilization"⁷³ and the consequent "Judaization" of Polish society.

These ideas were especially embraced by the nationalist youth movement, which was inspired by visions of a "new medievalism."⁷⁴ A distinct Polish medievalism thus emerged, with a call for a "return to the middle ages" invoking a time when Catholicism had greater cultural influence.⁷⁵ Other countries in Europe were experiencing a similar development. In France, for example, the Middle Ages were glorified in part because "medieval culture was perceived as alien to the

⁶⁸ Feliks Koneczny, "Polskie Logos a Ethos," *Tygodnik Warszawski* 3 (6 July 1947), no. 27: 4.

⁶⁹ This is the title of an article by Koneczny. See Feliks Koneczny, "Harmider etyk," in *O cywilizację łacińską* (Krzeszowice: Dom Wydawniczy „Ostoja,” 2006), 38-44. Originally published in *Mysł Narodowa* 16 (7 VI 1936), no. 24: 369-371.

⁷⁰ Koneczny, *Rozwój moralności*, 25-27.

⁷¹ Stefan Zabieglik, "Feliksa Konecznego teoria cywilizacji," *Toruński Przegląd Filozoficzny* 5/6 (2003), 118.

⁷² Bębenek, "Paradygmat polityki," 86-88.

⁷³ Koneczny, *Rozwój moralności*, 213-214.

⁷⁴ Witold Wojdyło and Grzegorz Radomski, "W obronie niezależności narodu. Ruch narodowy w Polsce wobec wspólnot wyższego rzędu oraz idei integracyjnych w Europie w XX w.," *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 50 (2006), no. 3: 91-92.

⁷⁵ Grott, "Medievalizm w koncepcjach Obozu Wielkiej," 68.

Jew."⁷⁶ Laura Morowitz has found that in France "during the fin-de-siècle, medievalism and anti-Semitism were often linked. Ideologies contributing to the spread of anti-Semitism—anti-materialism, anti-modernism, fanatical neo-Catholicism—could lead simultaneously to a glorification of the medieval era. Fear of modernity manifested itself in hatred of the Jew (who symbolized urbanism, industrial capitalism, the collapse of traditional Christian values)."⁷⁷ Polish nationalists today still discuss the medieval era with a touch of nostalgia. Yearning for Konecznian societal solidarity and civil harmony, Andrzej Horodecki has dreamed of the more "civilizationally pure" medieval period. As he put it: "Hatred of the Middle Ages is a hatred of a time when Jewish civilization did not yet have a decisive influence on life in Christian states."⁷⁸

Koneczny and "Jewish Civilization"

Koneczny's most notorious commentary on the Jewish threat to Poland and Latin civilization is his posthumously published *Cywilizacja żydowska* (1974), but his works from the interwar period consistently addressed the civilizational boundaries between Poles and Jews. Koneczny's substitution of "civilization" for "race" in his theoretical writings is clearly evident in his opening sentences of *Cywilizacja żydowska*: "The Jewish question among nations is not a racial one, nor is it a confessional one. The question of Jewry is one of an entirely different civilization, or separate method of collective life."⁷⁹ As Robert Piotrowski pointed out, Koneczny is much closer to a

⁷⁶ Laura Morowitz, "Anti-Semitism, Medievalism and the Art of the Fin-de-Siècle," *Oxford Art Journal* 20 (1997), no. 1: 38.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁷⁸ Andrzej Horodecki, "Totalna walka z cywilizacją łacińską, część II," *Nowy Przegląd Wszepolski* 9 (2002), no. 5-6, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2002_05_06/PIS-Horodecki_Totalna-Walka.htm (accessed 21 June 2006).

⁷⁹ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 12.

culturalist perspective than a racial one in his analysis of Jewish civilization.⁸⁰ Koneczny is concerned primarily with the way in which Jewish ethics represent something totally opposite to the Catholicized morality of Latin civilization.⁸¹

He was not alone; *endek* rhetoric of the interwar period had become focused on Jewish culture rather than race, and the threat to Catholicism's "moral-cultural code."⁸² Describing the rhetoric in the Catholic press from the interwar period, Anna Landau-Czajka found that what "distinguished Jews from Christians was not their blood, but the character or psyche which resulted from their religion or customs. It was a psyche completely different from that of Catholics, such as to rule out completely the possibility of the two peoples, Polish and Jewish, inhabiting the same territory. Jews were different not only because of their religion and customs, but also because of the way they thought, their morality, culture, and principles..."⁸³

Koneczny was quite explicit in his judgment of "Jewish civilization." In his learned opinion, since its origins it had been "an incomplete civilization, defective, not possessing all the categories of being, without Truth and Beauty."⁸⁴ Indeed, he detected only "the tiniest provision of the intellectual categories of being."⁸⁵ As an example of these shortcomings, Koneczny

⁸⁰ Piotrowski, *Problem filozoficzny*, 84.

⁸¹ Bukowska, *Filozofia polska wobec problemu cywilizacji*, 96.

⁸² Joanna Beata Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 86-88.

⁸³ Anna Landau-Czajka, "The Image of the Jew in the Catholic Press during the Second Republic," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry 8. Jews in Independent Poland, 1918-1939*, ed. Antony Polonsky, Ezra Mendelsohn and Jerzy Tomaszewski (London, Washington: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994), 167.

⁸⁴ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 43. Likewise, Judaism is "a defective religion." *Ibid.*, 32.

⁸⁵ Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 252.

noted that for Jews "historical thought itself is very, very difficult. From my own experience, I know that for Jewish students it is difficult to acquire this sense, difficult to understand the historical nature of people and things..."⁸⁶ He consistently maintained in his works that the civilizational question is more a matter of mentality than one of race. Thus, the key concern with Jewish civilization was the threat that the "Jewish way of thinking" posed to Latin civilization.⁸⁷

For Koneczny, Jewish civilization was frozen in time. Already in his *Plurality of Civilisations* (1935), Koneczny was maintaining that "the whole of community life—the whole structure of Jewish civilization with a mass of detail—is contained in the rules of the Old Testament. It is a sacral civilization."⁸⁸ Jewish civilization "added in time a second source-book of Jewish religion and civilisation—the Talmud... It may safely be said that there is nothing in heaven or earth which is not debated there, but always exclusively from the sacral angle... Not a corner of life escapes the restraint of rules allegedly coming from Jehovah. Jewish civilisation would become even more strongly sacral."⁸⁹

The fundamental flaw in Jewish civilization is that it is "sacral," which leads Jews to embrace "apriori thinking" and a suspiciousness towards secular learning.⁹⁰ As early as 1926, Koneczny was writing in *Ateneum Kapłańskie* (the most important organ for the Polish clergy during the interwar period)⁹¹

⁸⁶ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 177.

⁸⁷ Feliks Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe* (2001), 36.

⁸⁸ Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 252.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Koneczny adds that a third source, the cabbala, was later added to the mix. *Ibid.*, 253.

⁹⁰ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 32.

⁹¹ Dariusz Libionka, "Antisemitism, Anti-Judaism, and the Polish Catholic Clergy during the Second World War, 1939-1945," in *Antisemitism and its*

that “of all religions the Jewish one is most identical with a civilization. The Talmud is this civilization, because it contains the method of collective life in all its details, not neglecting a single category, but with several huge defects (such as the lack of scholarship)... In Jewry religion and civilization are the same.”⁹² He added that while religion “is the most important part of a civilization...only religions of a lower order create civilizations and these are also of a lower type.”⁹³ Koneczny later concluded that in “sacral civilisations religion acts as a brake on progress. A religion which defines everything in categories of being must at the same time petrify everything, and in consequence its adherents are often helpless in face of new currents emerging in the process of time. Where everything is established *a priori*, where there is no doubt and no inquiry, progress is excluded and instead there is danger of stagnation.”⁹⁴ For Jewish civilization, this meant that there was no “creative originality.”⁹⁵

Koneczny placed special emphases on Jewish “legalism,” which is evident in Mosaic law. He believed that the “contractual” agreement between them and their god meant that Jews placed law before ethics. Koneczny found that “over the course of centuries there emerged here and there apriori law. It imparted sanction not to existing circumstances and was not created in a natural manner, but it was imagined, invented...Mosaic law was a prototype of apriori law.”⁹⁶ Koneczny

Opponents in Modern Poland, ed. Robert Blobaum (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 236.

⁹² Feliks Koneczny, *Religie a cywilizacje* (Krzeszowice: Dom Wydawniczy „Ostoja”, 2004), 10. Originally published in *Ateneum Kaplańskie* 12 (1926), t. 17: 1-14, 117-131.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁴ Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 284. Another civilizational theorist from the time, Arnold Toynbee, regarded Jews as “fossilized relics.” See Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), vol. 1: 51.

⁹⁵ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 256.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

believed that this focus on apriori law is a fundamental feature of Judaism, and consequently Jewish civilization. He stressed that “[a]mong Jews...law is not based on ethics, but precisely the opposite: ethics are based on law.”⁹⁷ He theorized that this sacralized law became the regulator for all aspects of Jewish life, leaving no room for the development of ethics. An “elephantiasis of law” thus emerged: “the more law the better!”⁹⁸

Another important factor for Koneczny was the notion of Jewish “chosenness.”⁹⁹ He concluded that this special relationship with God and the “faith that all must end with the Jews ruling the world” was the most immutable, distinguishing characteristic of Jewish civilization.¹⁰⁰ Koneczny thus identified an “ethic of exclusivity” that “generated contempt, then hatred, for foreigners. In all of universal history, Jews have developed hatred to the highest degree...”¹⁰¹ This all highlights the “defective” nature of Jewish civilization. This “collective predestination” reflects Jewish emphasis on the collective, rather than the individual, and precludes a personal relationship with God that is found in Catholicism.¹⁰²

Koneczny posited that even while Jewish civilization embraced the “ethic of exclusivity,” Jews have been forced to live among other peoples, to live within other civilizations. According to Koneczny, “Jewish civilization experienced significant changes among other ‘nations,’ but what is most interesting is that the changes occurred for the better: the

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 176. For Koneczny’s discussion of this “sickness” in the form of excessive legislation and bloated government, see Feliks Koneczny, “Elephantiasis’ prawodawcza,” *Myśl Narodowa* 12 (18 December 1932), no. 55: 798-801.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 100, 105, and 108.

¹⁰⁰ Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 256.

¹⁰¹ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 40.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 163-67.

supplement of a defective civilization in many directions and lifting it to a higher level in each case."¹⁰³ For example, Jews embraced other languages in order to express a higher order of abstract thought, since Hebrew was itself "a language able to facilitate civilizational development only to a certain level, beyond which it becomes a brake on higher development."¹⁰⁴

A chief concern for Koneczny, however, was that the Jewish presence had weakened the civilizational integrity of Latin Christendom. Writing in 1928, he explicitly described the struggle in Poland between Jewish and Latin civilizations. He expressed the fear that "Christian-classical civilization" will cease to be, instead "becoming gradually a kind of strange mixture. How many purely Jewish notions are running rampant among us! Our literature, legal ideas, political views—all of them have been subjected to judaization. A civilizational mixture endangers us—and with the same sort of results as in Russia."¹⁰⁵

For Koneczny, the health of Latin civilization in Poland was inextricably linked with the integrity of Catholicism. "Poland either will be Catholic, or it will not be."¹⁰⁶ Koneczny used the stereotype of infection to argue that "Judaization" would weaken Poland, as would a disease.¹⁰⁷ The lack of ethics in economics, for example, was blamed on the "spiritual influence

of Jews."¹⁰⁸ While Jews borrowed and learned from the aposterior ways of non-Jews, they in turn "infected them with their apriorism;" "Jewish thinking" (apriorism) was a disease that if contracted weakened civilizations and led to their stagnation.¹⁰⁹ Koneczny concluded that if "the success of an association depends on the suitability and uniformity of its system, that no lasting and strong association can be organised on conflicting systems, then what I regard in history as the law of laws—for me the achievement and outcome of the labours of an entire life—must also be true: *It is not possible to be civilised in two ways.*"¹¹⁰

This rhetoric found an audience within the growing public debate in interwar Poland about the dangers of Jews spreading a "spiritual disease" within Polish culture; indeed, even radical nationalists were more concerned about the "dangerous Jewish soul" than the "dangerous Jewish race."¹¹¹ Perhaps the most insidious effects could be found in the Jewish emphasis on law before ethics, or what Koneczny calls "the Jewish method of legal thinking" that he argued had come to dominate in Europe. This resulted in law losing its moral compass.¹¹² Jewish civilization inverted the relationship between law and ethics in comparison to Latin civilization, in which laws are created in response to ethical determinations of situations as they arise. In Jewish civilization, in comparison, there was a

¹⁰³ Ibid., 153. See also Feliks Koneczny, "Nauka a cywilizacja," in *O cywilizację łacińską* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Milla,” n.d.), 16. Originally published in *Myśl Narodowa* 16, no. 49 (29 XI 1936): 765-767. Here Koneczny conversely argued that if surrounded by a less intellectually stimulating civilization, then Jewish civilization would suffer.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 141.

¹⁰⁵ Feliks Koneczny, *Kościół w Polsce wobec cywilizacji* (Krzeszowice: Dom Wydawniczy „Ostoja,” 2005), 15-16. First published in *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 14 (1928), no. 22: 413-429.

¹⁰⁶ Koneczny, *Polska między wschodem a zachodem*, 51.

¹⁰⁷ Stańczak-Wiślicz, "W pułapce kołobłędu," 19.

¹⁰⁸ Feliks Koneczny, "Amoralność życia gospodarczego," in *O sprawach ekonomicznych* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2000), 121-122. Originally published in *Myśl Narodowa* 13 (2 July 1933): 413-414.

¹⁰⁹ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 168; and Feliks Koneczny, *Etyki a cywilizacje* (Krzeszowice: Dom Wydawniczy „Ostoja,” 2004), 7. Originally published in *Przegląd Powszechny* 48 (1931), t. 189: 129-148, 332-345.

¹¹⁰ Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 322.

¹¹¹ Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other*, 100, 171.

¹¹² Koneczny, "Państwo w cywilizacji łacińskiej," 8.

reliance on the “letter of the law.”¹¹³ Koneczny here depicted Latin civilization as the antithesis of Jewish civilization; indeed, he noted that “we Latins, we follow the Romans” in legal views.¹¹⁴ He elaborated on the Christian-Jewish civilizational boundaries even further in the context of law and ethics: “The most important thing is that the Church derives law from ethics...[but] law was not and is not sacral among Catholics, [it] is not possessed of a religious character. There is a link with Roman civilisation, for it was among the Romans that law first ceased to be sacral. The Church accepted this state of affairs, giving the faithful a free hand in the secular development of law.”¹¹⁵

There are peculiar twists in this analysis of Jewish civilization and Judaism, especially in regard to Jewish cultural influences in Germany. As early as 1921 he was explaining that Jewish funding of German militarization cleared the “path to domination for Judaism, but it was the ruin of Christian-Classical civilization.”¹¹⁶ He thus sees a continuation of the old conflict between Judaism and Christianity, except now in the guise of a civilizational struggle. The connection between German militarism and opportunities for Jewish domination was

¹¹³ Koneczny referred to this as the “Shylock method.” Ibid., 37. In his analyses, Adolf Nowaczyński used the term “Shylockracja.” See Małgorzata Domagalska, *Antysemityzm dla inteligencji? Kwestia żydowska w publicystyce Adolfa Nowaczyńskiego na łamach “Myśli Narodowej” (1921-1934) i “Prosto z mostu” (1935-1939) (na tle porównawczym)* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2004), 180, 182.

¹¹⁴ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 176.

¹¹⁵ Koneczny, *Plurality of Civilisations*, 275.

¹¹⁶ Koneczny, *Polskie logos a ethos*, vol. 2: 539. Ewa Maj has explored commentary by nationalist ideologues who also saw a similarity in Jewish and German desires for “domination of the world, for the disruption of the existing social and political order, for the weakening of Christianity as the moral foundation of European nations.” See Ewa Maj, *Związek Ludowo-Narodowy, 1919-1928: Studium z dziejów myśli politycznej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000), 194.

most evident to Koneczny in the alleged German-Jewish plan for “Judeopolonia,” a Jewish state on Polish territory.¹¹⁷ Fore-stalled by Germany’s defeat in World War I, Jewish hopes had since turned eastward, to Bolshevik Russia. During World War II, Koneczny lamented that “[w]e Poles are only waiting for the time when they will not be among us, but we among them.”¹¹⁸ Commenting in 1945, Koneczny noted that all of Poland had indeed come under Jewish control in the form of communism. Insensitive to the horrible realities wrought by the Holocaust, Koneczny concluded that Judeopolonia was being created by the Russians.¹¹⁹

This insensitivity is perhaps most evident in Koneczny’s discussion of the impact of Jewish culture in Germany. The Nazi idea of German world supremacy allegedly developed under the influence of Jewish notions of the “chosen people” and collective predestination. Koneczny was not alone, as other commentators in Poland also found “striking analogies between the Talmud and *Mein Kampf*.”¹²⁰ Koneczny concluded that “Germans have assimilated Jewish civilization most visibly. Hitler murders Jews, but he thinks and feels in the Jewish manner.”¹²¹ Konecznian commentary today still makes these vulgar connections. Holocaust denier Dariusz Ratajczak (1962-2010) cited Koneczny in this regard, noting the shared “rebellion against Christianity and Latin civilization” found in the

¹¹⁷ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 352-363. For a recent Konecznian analysis of German-Jewish plots for the creation of a “state within a state,” see Andrzej Leszek Szcześniak, *Judeopolonia: żydowskie państwo polskim* (Radom: Polskie Wydawnictwo Encyklopedyczne, 2004).

¹¹⁸ Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe* (2001), 220.

¹¹⁹ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 363.

¹²⁰ Landau-Czajka, “Image of the Jew in the Catholic Press,” 160.

¹²¹ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 389. For similar commentary, also see Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe* (2001), 283-287.

“ideas of Jewish civilization” and “the Hitlerite worldview.”¹²² Andrzej Horodecki not only assigned Hitler’s notion of Germans as a chosen people to Judaism, but he blamed it for Stalin’s revulsion to Christianity. In this way, he uncovered Jewish roots for two totalitarianisms.¹²³

Koneczny’s treatise on “Jewish civilization” represented what one reviewer termed “‘high anti-semitism’ revived.”¹²⁴ When Koneczny’s book was published in London in 1974, it seemed like a blast of fear and intolerance from the past. In a critical review of *Cywilizacja żydowska*, S. L. Shneiderman judged that while “Hitler had his racial purity...Koneczny has his cultural purity...Obsessed with defending the purity of Latin civilization, Koneczny looks into the crystal ball and predicts that when the War ends, ‘Jewish influence in Europe will have grown immensely’...”¹²⁵ Polish scholars have since pointed out the “completely grotesque” depiction of Jewish influences on Nazism.¹²⁶ Yet Koneczny’s ideas fit firmly within the framework of nationalist discussions of the “Jewish question” during the interwar period and wartime, which included rhetoric of “‘the dangerous physical exposure’ to Jews and the ‘Jewish way of thinking.’”¹²⁷

¹²² Dariusz Ratajczak, “O cywilizacjach,” (19 January 2009), dariuszratajczak.blogspot.com.
<http://dariuszratajczak.blogspot.com/2009/01/o-cywilizacjach.html> (accessed 26 May 2009).

¹²³ Andrzej Horodecki, “Sejmowe słodycze,” *Myśl Polska* (5-12 January 2003), no. 1-2, <http://www.myslpolska.icenter.pl/> (accessed 26 March 2005).

¹²⁴ S. L. Shneiderman, “‘High’ Anti-Semitism Revived,” *Midstream* 22(August/September 1976): 76-81.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹²⁶ Andrzej Piskozub, “Feliks Koneczny (1862-1949) jako pionier nauki o cywilizacji w Polsce,” *Kultura i Edukacja* (1999), no. 1: 137.

¹²⁷ Joanna Michlic, “The Soviet Occupation of Poland, 1939-41, and the Stereotype of the Anti-Polish and Pro-Soviet Jew,” *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, n.s. 13, (Spring/Summer 2007), no. 3: 140.

Christian-Jewish Boundaries: Civilizational or Religious?

Koneczny and his heirs have focused on what they regard as issues of civilizational differences between Jewish civilization and Latin civilization. Since Jewish civilization is deemed “sacral” in the Konecznian paradigm, however, the distinction between it and Judaism is difficult to draw and criticism of Jewish civilization can easily devolve into a critique of the Jewish faith. And while Latin civilization is not “sacral,” the pervasive influence of Catholicism is frequently cited as a source of its strength and appeal. Koneczny’s construction of civilizational boundaries between Latin and Jewish civilizations, therefore, has a corollary effect of erecting barriers between Catholics and Jews.

Koneczny feared the “moral and spiritual Judaization of Europe,”¹²⁸ which he envisioned might even lead to a sort of “religious synthesis” of the two faiths.¹²⁹ Indeed, he claimed that “[t]he Judaization of the Church would be the pinnacle of success for Israel.”¹³⁰ It is important to recall that he regarded Protestantism as a Judaized version of Christianity. In *Cywilizacja żydowska* and other studies, he argued that while Protestants had embraced “rejudaizing” by emphasizing the teachings of the Old Testament, Catholicism remained critical in its stance toward Judaism.¹³¹ Discussing the early history of the Church, Koneczny bluntly declared that “Judaism did not exert any essential influence on Christianity in matters of faith.”¹³² Koneczny also faulted historiographical approaches

¹²⁸ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 372.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 386.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 17. For a concise discussion, see Feliks Koneczny, *Protestantyzm w życiu zbiorowym* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Milla,” n.d), 16-18. This work was originally published in 1938.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 125. For further commentary, see Andrzej Bokiej, *Cywilizacja łacińska: studium na podstawie dorobku historyczno-filozoficznego Feliksa Konecznego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Milla,” n.d), 16-18.

that placed undue emphasis on ancient Israel as the center of attention for pre-Christian history. He blamed Jacques Benigne Bossuet (1627-1704), in particular, since due to his efforts “the history of Israel became as if the essential component of our religion.” Bossuet stressed the unity of religions, Koneczny claimed, thus paving the way for the “historical unity of the Christian and Jewish faiths...”¹³³ Koneczny concluded that in this way “Bossuet became the father of judeocentrism.”¹³⁴

One of Koneczny’s key authorities on this matter was Tadeusz Zieliński (1859-1944), whose *Hellenizm a Judaizm* (1927) posited that the classical pagan world connected “psychologically” more readily than Judaism with Christianity.¹³⁵ As Zieliński put it: “Christianity emerged from Judaism—this is often written and stated—but despite this it is false.” There “was no psychological continuity between Judaism and Christianity;” rather, “continuity existed between Hellenism on the one side and Christianity on the other. This means that the religion of the Hellenes was better prepared mentally to receive Christianity than Judaism.” Thus there emerged a “paradox”: “the true Old Testament of our Christianity is the religion of the Hellenes.”¹³⁶ Zieliński insisted that this was not heretical, since he simply

znego (Legnica: Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Legnickiej, 2000), 99-100.

¹³³ Feliks Koneczny, “Geneza Judeocentryzmu,” *Myśl Narodowa* 9 (6 January 1929), no. 1: 3-4.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5

¹³⁵ Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 120. Koneczny used other controversial sources in his work. For example, he extensively cited Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak (1873-1944). His *Mesjanizm a kwestia żydowska* (1934) “belonged to the ‘classics’ of interwar antisemitic literature. . . . He was a national and international ‘expert’ on the ‘Jewish question,’ his international fame resting on his activity in the Nazi-sponsored Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for Research of the Jewish Question), headquartered in Erfurt.” See Libionka, “Antisemitism, Anti-Judaism, and the Polish Catholic Clergy,” 257.

¹³⁶ Tadeusz Zieliński, *Hellenizm a Judaizm* (Warszawa, Kraków: Wydawnictwo J. Morkowicza, 1927), vol. 1: 2-3.

identified the obvious “psychological continuity.”¹³⁷ This understanding of the theological boundaries between Judaism and Christianity was not uncommon in Polish nationalist circles during the early 20th century and interwar period.¹³⁸ It bears mentioning that Jędrzej Giertych, a leading ideologue of the *endek* youth in the 1930s and publisher of Koneczny’s works in postwar London, denied any Jewish-Christian ties in the traditional sense.¹³⁹

The resurrection of Koneczny’s theories in recent years, especially his notions about civilizational boundaries that separate Christians and Jews, has proven problematic for Catholic intellectuals. For example, some commentators have attempted to make it seem as if Koneczny’s worldview is an integral part of Catholicism. Krzysztof Nagrodzki, for example, finds parallels between then-Cardinal Ratzinger’s thinking and the Konecznian “laws of history”: one cannot be civilized simultaneously in two ways; the inevitable clash of civilizations; and the contention that “lower” civilizations will dominate and defeat “higher” civilizations without constant vigilance in defense of traditional values.¹⁴⁰ Commentators also discuss Koneczny’s ideas in the

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³⁸ See Bogumił Grott, *Nacjonalizm i religia*, 128-129; Bogumił Grott, *Nacjonalizm Chrześcijański*, 82-83; and Łętocha, *Katolicyzm a idea narodowa*, 250-251.

¹³⁹ Artur Domosławski, “Saga rodu Giertychów – część II,” *gazeta.pl*. <http://serwis.gazeta.pl/kraj/1.62905.1074233.html> (accessed 10 June 2005). Originally published in *Gazeta Wyborcza* (18 October 2002).

¹⁴⁰ Krzysztof Nagrodzki, “Analiza współczesności kard. Josepha Ratzingera,” *Myśl Polska* (11-18 September 2005), no. 37-38, <http://www.myslpolska.icenter.pl/> (accessed 28 January 2006). The notion of “lower” civilizations overcoming “higher” ones is frequently discussed in Konecznian analyses. It encapsulates Social Darwinian notions of “survival of the fittest,” a fear of “Others,” and the centrality of cultural traditions in one’s identity. For example, see Andrzej Horodecki, “Wojna światów,” *Myśl Polska* (4-11 December 2005), no. 49-50, <http://www.myslpolska.icenter.pl/> (accessed 28 January 2006).

context of the teachings of Pope John Paul II.¹⁴¹ For example, the term “Latin civilization” is sometimes equated with the notion of “civilization of love,” a concept embraced by Popes Paul VI and John Paul II.¹⁴² Jarosław Paszyński even claims that the “civilization of love” is “nothing other than a new name for Latin civilization.”¹⁴³

Another Giertych—Maciej’s younger brother, Wojciech (b. 1951)—is also worth mentioning in the context of Koneczny’s renaissance. Father Wojciech was appointed as Papal Theologian in December 2005.¹⁴⁴ In a lecture delivered in March 2006 at the Warsaw Dominican monastery, Father Wojciech cited Koneczny in the first sentence. He pointed out that Koneczny would regard current attempts to create civilizational mixtures as “absurd.”¹⁴⁵ And his article on “The Moral Natural Law” included extensive references to Koneczny’s “science of civilizations”:

Koneczny claimed that it is not possible to be civilized in two differing ways at the same time, because it is

¹⁴¹ For example, see Henryk Nowik, “Ekshortacja Jana Pawła II Kościoł w Europie w kontekście historiozoficznym,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 11 (2004), no. 1-2, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2004_01_02/ZRE-Nowik_Ekshortacja-jana-pawla.html (accessed 21 June 2006); and Editorial, “Jan Paweł II odnowiciel,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 13 (2006), no. 5-6: 1, <http://www.npw.pl/pdf/npw.2006.5-6.pdf> (accessed 27 August 2009).

¹⁴² Maciej Giertych, “Z nauczania Feliksa Konecznego,” *Opoka w Kraju* 11(32) (March 1995), <http://opoka.giertych.pl/> (accessed 15 August 2010).

¹⁴³ Jarosław Paszyński, “Tożsamość Polski a cywilizacje,” *Człowiek w Kulturze* 10 (1993): 85.

¹⁴⁴ Maciej Giertych, “Teolog domu papieskiego,” *Opoka w Kraju* 55(76) (December 2005), 16, <http://opoka.giertych.pl/55.pdf> (accessed 15 August 2010). Maciej proudly declared that his brother was named on 1 December 2005 as “theologian of the papal home.”

¹⁴⁵ Wojciech Giertych, “Niewykorzystany kapitał?” *W drodze* (2008), no. 3, <http://www.mateusz.pl/goscie/wdrodze/nr415/04-wdr.htm> (accessed 28 November 2008).

common ethical convictions that generate social cohesiveness and condition civilizations. Ethical standards are more decisive for a civilization than dogmatic subtleties.... In the past, when people belonging to different civilizations lived geographically close to each other, they had to live in separate social groups according to the mores of the entity to which they belonged, without mixing, because mixtures of differing civilizations cannot function in the long run. The transfer from one civilization to another would entail the embracing of a completely new set of ethical values that would require social uprooting... When civilizations mix, Koneczny claimed, it is normally the less morally demanding civilization that wins, because the maintaining of a demanding ethos requires effort and perseverance.

Among the civilizations that he had studied, Koneczny specified the Latin civilization as the most demanding, because it requires that all dimensions of life, including the social and political, be bound by ethical norms. Today, however, Western Europe is rapidly losing, or totally transforming, its age-old Christian ethical convictions, and in this it is drifting away from the moral foundations in which for centuries it was anchored.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ See Wojciech Giertych, “The Moral Natural Law: Problems and Prospects,” *Catholic Online* (25 February 2007), <http://www.catholic.org/featured/headline.php?ID=4093> (accessed 26 February 2007). Koneczny advocated natural law over positivist law, fitting with his insistence on the primacy of ethics and morality in public life. In his view, ethical considerations should shape the law, rather than the reverse. Koneczny closed associated Judaism with the latter view, frequently criticizing Jews’ adherence to “the letter of the law” rather than ethics. The debate about the distinction between natural law and positive law emerged in the controversy over the preamble for the constitution in the late 1990s. Geneviève Zubrzycki summarizes the distinctions: “Natural law refers to ‘principles of law and morality, supposedly universal in scope and binding on human conduct’ . . . Following St. Thomas Aquinas, it was believed to be God-given, but from the

Other Polish clergy have been less receptive to Konecznian concepts. Father Romuald Jakub Weksler-Waszkinel is particularly critical of Koneczny's rejection of the Jewish roots of Christianity and the influence this view has on Catholics who embrace his theories.¹⁴⁷ For example, Andrzej Horodecki cites Koneczny as an authority as he flatly rejects any notion of a "Judeo-Christian tradition" in Europe. In his mind, this connotes "civilizational chaos."¹⁴⁸ Weksler-Waszkinel is disturbed in part because this is contrary to doctrine that emerged as a result of decisions made at Vatican II (as well as the teachings of John Paul II), which held that Judaism was a root religion for Christianity.¹⁴⁹ Koneczny's

Reformation onward, natural law was given secular foundations in human nature and reason. Natural law stipulates that there is a normative system given in nature; that norms are not subject to change in time or place. The logic of positive law is different: it is the law that defines the normative system; norms are a human creation and therefore are subject to change and interpretation. The law could then define norms that are against natural law or humanity. (Nazi Germany is often given as an example of the dangers of a strict positive law.) This is why it is often insisted that positive law be based on natural law. The Polish case is complex in that regard." See Geneviève Zubrzycki, "We, the Polish Nation': Ethnic and Civic Visions of Nationhood in Post-Communist Constitutional Debates," *Theory and Society* 30 (2001), no. 5: 667.

¹⁴⁷ Ryszard Montusiewicz, "Jezus i judaizm. Z ks. Prof. Romualdem Jakubem Wekslerem-Waszkinelom rozmawia Ryszard Montusiewicz," *Forum: Żydzi-Chrześcijanie-Muzułmanie*, <http://znak.org.pl/?lang1=pl&page1=pressreview&subpage1=pressreview00&nfopassid1=3669&scrt1=sn>

(accessed 21 August 2009). Weksler-Waszkinel was born to a Jewish family in 1943 in Wilno. Before her death, his mother asked a Christian family to raise him. They did, but when he decided to become a priest they were shocked. He is also critical of Tadeusz Zieliński, whose *Hellenizm a judaizm* (1927) was a source for Koneczny's commentary in his posthumously published *Cywilizacja żydowska* (1974).

¹⁴⁸ Andrzej Horodecki, "Polowanie na Polskę," *Myśl Polska* (28 March 2004), no. 13, <http://www.myslpolska.icenter.pl/> (accessed 22 March 2005).

¹⁴⁹ Ks. Romuald Jakub Weksler-Waszkinel, "Antysemityzm bez Żydów," *Miesięcznik "Znak"* (December 2008),

renaissance is thus a point of concern to advocates of Christian-Jewish amity, such as Weksler-Waszkinel; he notes that "according to Koneczny, *Jewish civilization* was the greatest enemy of *Latin civilization*..."¹⁵⁰

Archbishop Józef Życiński alludes to this attempt at the separation of Christianity from its Jewish roots when he condemns the way some Poles regard Koneczny as more relevant than Abraham in their understanding of Catholicism. "This leads to painful consequences" for the "disorientated person" who focuses on materials that "have nothing in common with the Catholic tradition."¹⁵¹ A disparity of views toward Jewish-Christian relations is an element of the tensions found in Poland between the progressive "Open Church" and the "Closed Church," which supports a more traditionalist approach "based on the pre-1939 model of Polish Catholicism."¹⁵² Critics have accused the Closed Church of failing to adopt the pronouncements of the Second Vatican Council that "upheld the view that

<http://www.tezeusz.pl/cms/tz/index.php?id=3773> (accessed 5 January 2010). For a Konecznian critique of Vatican II, see Andrzej Horodecki, "Wobec dziedzictwa wiary," *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 14 (2007), no. 1-2: 26, <http://www.npw.pl/pdf/npw.2007.1-2.pdf> (accessed 27 August 2009).

¹⁵⁰ Romuald Jakub Weksler-Waszkinel, "Księdza Stanisława Musiała zmagania z pamięcią," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 2 (2006): 443. For further commentary on Koneczny, see also Romuald Jakub Weksler-Waszkinel, "A Breakthrough in the Teachings of the Church on Jews and Judaism," in *Imaginary Neighbors: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations after the Holocaust*, ed. Dorota Glowacka and Joanna Zylińska (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 227.

¹⁵¹ See Józef Życiński (arcybiskup), "Siła słabych," *Gazeta Wyborcza* (5 April 2007), <http://www.gazetawyborcza.pl/gazetawyborcza/2029020,79328,4042232.html> (accessed 15 April 2007).

¹⁵² Joanna B[ęta] Michlic, "Antisemitism in Contemporary Poland. Does It Matter? And For Whom Does It Matter?" In *Rethinking Poles and Jews: Troubled Past, Brighter Future*, ed. Robert Cherry and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 160.

Jews were Catholics' 'elder brothers in spirit' with whom 'Christianity has a special bond.'¹⁵³

The teaching of Koneczny's ideas has also become more widespread at some institutions, especially Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). Most important there is the Lublin School of Philosophy,¹⁵⁴ where Father Mieczysław Albert Krąpiec (1921-2008) was a leading figure in the "renaissance of Koneczny's thought" in the 1990s.¹⁵⁵ Mieczysław Ryba attributes the resurgence of interest in Koneczny at KUL to the efforts of Krąpiec. He regards this as one of his most important legacies.¹⁵⁶ Perhaps, as one observer noted, "the interest in Koneczny's thought among contemporary Thomists [at KUL] should not seem strange to us."¹⁵⁷ Yet Joanna Beata Michlic has observed that the "support of the Closed Church in the post-1990 period by members of the university faculty is intellectually disturbing, because in the 1980s the Catholic University of Lublin was known for its liberal and progressive traditions."¹⁵⁸ Weksler-Waszkinel adds that the KUL case is

¹⁵³ Joanna Michlic and Antony Polonsky, "Catholicism and the Jews in Post-Communist Poland," in *Jews, Catholics, and the Burden of History*, ed. Eli Lederhendler (Oxford University Press, 2006), 40-41.

¹⁵⁴ Radosław Brzózka, "Czytajmy Feliksa Konecznego," *Cywilizacja* 1 (2002): 68.

¹⁵⁵ Mieczysław Ryba, "O cywilizacjach," http://home.chello.no/~jskorups/KMFK/mieczyslaw_ryba3.htm (accessed 25 August 2009). On Krąpiec and Koneczny, also see Piotr Jaroszyński, "Ojca M.A. Krąpca bój o polską kulturę (cz. 2)," *Nasz Dziennik* (21-22 May 2008). For comments by a recent student, see Mirosław Król, "Pomagał zrozumieć człowieka i jego dzieje," *Nasz Dziennik* (16 May 2008). In one of many tributes to Krąpiec at the time of his death, the author recalls that he and fellow students from the History Department attended Krąpiec's lectures in order to learn about Koneczny.

¹⁵⁶ Mieczysław Ryba, "O ludzką politykę," *Nasz Dziennik* (16 May 2008).

¹⁵⁷ Artur Soboń, "Konceptcja historiozoficzna Feliksa Konecznego," <http://ciapek.uci.agh.edu.pl/~kwlodarc/teksty/asobon.html> (accessed 28 June 2004).

¹⁵⁸ Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other*, 269.

especially discouraging, since John Paul II taught there during an earlier progressive period.¹⁵⁹

Civilizational Fundamentalism in Poland Today

In recent years Konecznian critics have decried a perceived civilizational chaos in Poland that is caused by "open society," "multiculturalism," or "guests from other civilizations."¹⁶⁰ The problem is obvious: "Cosmopolitanism is synonymous with the resignation and renunciation of the idea of Latin civilization."¹⁶¹ The solution is equally clear: Poland needs to spearhead a "reevangelization of Europe"¹⁶² based on the values of Latin civilization that will lead to its rechristianization.¹⁶³ Only with a return to the ethics of Latin civilization and a "moral reconstruction"¹⁶⁴ can Polish culture be healthy. Some Konecznian critics, such as Józef Kossecki, blame the influence of Jewish civilization for the economic ills of the old socialist system, as well as capitalism of the post-communist era. The common denominator, it seems, is the tendency of apriori thinking, which leads to the implementation of

¹⁵⁹ Weksler-Waszkinel, "Antysemityzm bez Żydów."

¹⁶⁰ For example, see Andrzej J. Horodecki, "Bez dyskusji," *Mysł Polska* (5 September 2004), no. 36, <http://www.myslpolska.icenter.pl/> (accessed 19 March 2005).

¹⁶¹ Elżbieta Holz, "Kuc – czy pony? Cywilizacja łacińska a współczesne postawy polskiego środowiska jeździeckiego," *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 9 (2002), no. 1-2, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2002_01_02/OKW-Kuc_czy_pony.htm (accessed 21 June 2006).

¹⁶² Tomasz Jaźwiński, "Rządowa deklaracja w sprawie moralności i etyki nie ma znaczenia," *Mysł Polska* (2 March 2003), no. 9, <http://www.myslpolska.icenter.pl/> (accessed 26 March 2005). Also see Andrzej Horodecki, "Ciemności europejskie."

¹⁶³ Editorial, "Jan Paweł II odnowiciel," 1.

¹⁶⁴ Adrian Nikiel, "Eko-filozofia czy ekologia chrześcijańska?" *Wydawnictwo "Zielone Brygady"*, <http://www.zb.eco.pl/publication/eko-filozofia-czy-ekologia-chrzescijanska-p217511> (accessed 6 May 2009).

preconceived and inflexible economic programs that do not take into account the social realities of a given situation.¹⁶⁵

Andrzej Horodecki is a pundit who consistently views the world through a Konecznian lens. For example, he considers globalism a “Byzantine-Jewish civilizational mixture taking the form of a global pseudo-civilization, which aims to construct a so-called ‘open society.’”¹⁶⁶ Globalization is thus labeled a “new totalitarianism,” and even “a Satanic totalitarian doctrine.”¹⁶⁷ The tool of “the elite of the ‘*world intellectual aristocracy*’ [emphasis in original], globalization certainly will undermine the purity of Latin civilization in Poland, where politicians representing Byzantine, Turanian, and Jewish civilizations have recently been “*practically uncontrolled*” [emphasis in original].¹⁶⁸ Horodecki is deeply concerned that the “dictatorship of the minority” that manifested itself in the form of Jewish domination during the communist era now threatens to reemerge.¹⁶⁹ Using one of Koneczny’s historical laws,

¹⁶⁵ Józef Kossecki, *Podstawy nowoczesnej nauki porównawczej o cywilizacjach. Socjologia porównawcza cywilizacja* (Katowice: „Śląsk” Sp. z o.o. Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2003), 48-49, and 120.

¹⁶⁶ Andrzej Horodecki, “Gdzie jest inicjatywna polityka Polska?” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 7 (2000), no. 5-6, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2000_05_06/TMS-Horodecki_Gdzie-jest-inicjatywna.htm (accessed 21 June 2006).

¹⁶⁷ Jan Piwowarski, “Oddolne zorganizowanie się Polaków warunkiem przetrwania Narodu i Państwa Polskiego,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 8 (2001), no. 5-6, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2001_05_06/TMS-Piwowarski_Oddolne-organizowanie-sie.html (accessed 21 June 2006). Also see Andrzej Horodecki, “Neotalitaryzm,” *Mysł Polska* (2-9 November 2003), no. 44-45, <http://www.myslpolska.icenter.pl/> (accessed 22 March 2005).

¹⁶⁸ Andrzej Horodecki, “Totalna walka z cywilizacją łańską, część I,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 9 (2002), no. 3-4, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2002_03_04/PIS-Horodecki_Totalna-walka-z-CL.htm (accessed 21 June 2006).

¹⁶⁹ Andrzej Horodecki, “Wobec zamachu na patriotyzm,” *Nasza witryna*, http://www.naszawitryna.pl/jedwabne_297.html (accessed 7 May 2008). Originally published in *Mysł Polska* (22 June 2001), no. 24-25 and in *Nowy*

Horodecki bemoans this as an example of the “lower” Jewish civilization dominating the “higher” Latin civilization. This, he assumes, is one of the costs of the transition to democracy.¹⁷⁰

Another cost of the continued interaction with Jewish civilization is the “moral schizophrenia” that has typically emerged as a sickness associated with civilization mixing.¹⁷¹ Bemoaning Poles’ “ignorance of the fundamental difference between Latin and Jewish civilizations,” Horodecki reminds readers that the two are incompatible and cannot be partners in any sort of civilizational dialogue.¹⁷² Moreover, even conversion to Christianity from Judaism does not mean an automatic membership in Latin civilization, since it is so radically different from Jewish civilization.¹⁷³ Between Latin and Jewish civilizations, therefore: “A state of war continues!”¹⁷⁴ As Radosław Brzózka notes: “The moral life of society [in Latin civilization] ought to be...dynamic—Koneczny postulated—it ought to rely on an active struggle with evil, which is present in foreign civilizational influences.”¹⁷⁵

Przegląd Wszechpolski 8 (2001), no. 1-2, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2001_01_02/PIS-Horodecki_Wobec-zamachu.html (accessed 21 June 2006).

¹⁷⁰ Andrzej Horodecki, “Totalna walka z cywilizacją łańską, część II.”

¹⁷¹ Andrzej Horodecki, “Rozum zagrożony,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 14 (2007), no. 5-6: 39, <http://www.npw.pl/pdf/npw.2007.5-6.pdf> (accessed 27 August 2009).

¹⁷² Andrzej Horodecki, “Walka cywilizacyjna,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 8 (2001), no. 3-4, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2001_03_04/TMS-Horodecki_Walka-Cywilizacyjna.html (accessed 21 June 2006).

¹⁷³ Andrzej Horodecki, “Wobec zamachu na patriotyzm.” Koneczny devoted an entire chapter (“The Dejudaeized Jew”) of *Cywilizacja żydowska* to this problem. See Koneczny, *Cywilizacja żydowska*, 395-406. Interestingly, Kamil Sawczak also refers to Koneczny’s thoughts on this issue. See Sawczak, “O rozwiązaniu kwestii żydowskiej.”

¹⁷⁴ Andrzej Horodecki, “Walka cywilizacyjna.”

¹⁷⁵ Radosław Brzózka, “Polityka międzynarodowa w cywilizacji łańskiej: Konecznikana,” *Cywilizacja* 4/5 (2003): 35.

The most vocal and high-profile advocate of Koneczny's worldview today is Maciej Giertych. He explicitly stated in his controversial 2007 booklet, *Civilisations at war in Europe*: "What I am going to present...is based on the teaching of Feliks Koneczny, a Polish historian and philosopher, who developed his own school of thinking on civilisational differences."¹⁷⁶ In this booklet, Giertych expressed his worldview as a true "koneczni-anista":¹⁷⁷

Civilisations differ so much that it is not possible to be civilised in two different ways. Civilisations, by their very nature, must be at war with each other. This war has nothing to do with military activity or force. It is a war of ideas.

When a civilisation ceases to fight for its own identity, when it treats other civilisations as being of equal value, the lower one wins. 'Lower' means the one that is less demanding. Civilisational mixtures can only be mechanical, never organic, and they soon perish because they are inconsistent. There are no historical examples of civilisational mixtures surviving for any length of time.¹⁷⁸

Building on Koneczny, Giertych also elaborated on the way civilizational boundaries are constructed. "Civilisation is a very strong marriage barrier. People normally look for a spouse in the same civilisation as their own. They expect to share civilisational norms with the spouse. As a result, the civilisational barrier becomes also a biological one... However, it is not the

race that makes a civilisation. It is civilisation that can make a race..."¹⁷⁹

Critics have detected in Giertych's ideas the echo of a discourse from the interwar period that replaced the concept of "race" with the euphemism of "civilization."¹⁸⁰ In an interview with *Gazeta Lubuska* conducted after the publication of his Koneczny primer (*Civilisations at war in Europe*, 2007), Maciej Giertych was directly asked by the reporter: "Pan Professor, are you a racist?" Giertych replied: "Of course not." In response to another question about whether he would object to his son marrying a Jewish woman, Giertych voiced reservations about "intercivilizational marriages." While he would not oppose such a union if she "belonged spiritually to our civilization and professed our values," he noted that if she were not Catholic it would be very difficult for this to be the case.¹⁸¹

Giertych commented at some length on how the civilizational boundary is drawn between Christians (particularly Catholics) and Jews. Basing his commentary on Konecznian ideas, Giertych posits that:

Jews are not pioneers. Jews do not go conquering the wild world or overpowering the hazards of nature. They settle among other civilisations, preferably among the rich. They tend to migrate from poorer to richer lands. They do so always as a group, immediately forming their own separate community. Jews do not represent

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁸⁰ Rafał Maszkowski, "Otwarte społeczeństwo i jego radio," *Stowarzyszenie Nigdy Więcej (Never Again Association)*, (2004), http://www.nigdywiecej.org/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=91 (accessed 26 August 2009).

¹⁸¹ "Bronię naszej cywilizacji przed polityką bez etyki," *Gazeta Lubuska* (31 March/1 April 2007); "Monitoring prasy," 03-2007, p. 777, *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny* (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw.

¹⁷⁶ Maciej Giertych, *Civilisations at war in Europe* (Bruxells: Maciej Giertych, 2007), 3. Available online at *Opoka w Kraju* (<http://opoka.giertych.pl/>).

¹⁷⁷ This term is used by other scholars. For example, see Jakubowski, *Ciągłość historii*, 258.

¹⁷⁸ Giertych, *Civilisations at war*, 4-5.

any specific race. It is a great misunderstanding to consider anti-Semitism as racism... However, the fact that they stick to their own community, their own civilisation, their own separateness, results in biological differences developing. It is not the race that forms the Jewish civilisation but the civilisation can cause a biological separateness.¹⁸²

This is all for the best, it would seem, since Giertych argues that aspects of Jewish civilization, especially its “situational ethics,” pose a “spiritual threat” to Latin civilization and must be avoided.¹⁸³ This concern is shared by other civilizational fundamentalists who have warned Poles about the need to regulate interaction with “lower” civilizations.¹⁸⁴

Giertych received broad public criticism at home and abroad for his booklet, which was published in English in order to expose an international audience to the ideas of Koneczny. Most of the criticism targeted his discussion of “Jewish civilization,” which repeated many of the same themes expressed by Koneczny during the interwar period and in posthumous publications (especially *Cywilizacja żydowska*).¹⁸⁵ Rafał Pankowski

¹⁸² Giertych, *Civilisations at war*, 23.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 24. Giertych has warned elsewhere about the need to prevent pollution by foreign civilizational elements. See “Rozumienie świata a podziały cywilizacyjne prof. dr hab. Maciej Giertych,” *Nasza witryna*, http://www.naszawitryna.pl/jedwabne_497.html (accessed 6 November 2007). Originally published in *Nasz Dziennik* (6 February 2001).

¹⁸⁴ Editorial, “Czy jestem Polakiem?” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 13 (2006), no. 1-2, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2006_01_02/index.html (accessed 20 June 2006).

¹⁸⁵ A review of Polish press reports collected by the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw) from February-April 2007 indicates that over 50 articles appeared in reaction to the Giertych booklet during those months. Analysis focused mainly on Giertych’s comments about Jews, and the terms “shock” or “shocking” were commonly used. See “Monitoring prasy,” 02-2007, 03-2007, and 04-2007. *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny* (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw.

of “Never Again” noted that the book was “consistent with his previous writings, as disappointing as that may be.” Piotr Kadłcik, president of the Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Poland, did not find explicit anti-Semitic comments, but added that the book contained “dangerous thoughts that could elicit anti-Semitism.”¹⁸⁶

Writing in his periodical *Opoka w Kraju* in April 2007, Giertych explained that he “wanted to popularize” Koneczny’s ideas outside of Poland. As a result, he says, “I was proclaimed an anti-Semite, a racist, a xenophobe, a violator of the values on which the European Union was constructed, etc.” Despite the criticism, he is glad for the publicity in a way, since it might “build interest in the works of Koneczny, and finally this author will gain the international recognition that he deserves.”¹⁸⁷ Giertych certainly had his defenders, too. Mirosław Dakowski wrote an open letter in February 2007 to President Kaczyński, in which he made clear that Giertych’s book was based on Koneczny’s ideas, which were explicitly “anti-racist.”¹⁸⁸ Others

¹⁸⁶ Dinah A. Spritzer, “Jews are a Detriment to Europe, Polish Politician Says,” *The Jerusalem Post* (19 February 2007) <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1170359892598&pagename=JPArticle%2FShowFull> (accessed 6 January 2010).

¹⁸⁷ Maciej Giertych, “Wojna cywilizacji w Europie,” *Opoka w Kraju* 61(82) (April 2007): 1-2, <http://opoka.giertych.pl/owk61.htm> (accessed 30 June 2008). Giertych responded to his critics in many interviews with the press. In a second booklet from 2007, he recalled that “My publication of a booklet entitled “Civilisations at war in Europe” which presents the endless ideological struggle between various civilizations that have made Europe over the centuries and which pertains very much to the conflicts we are dealing with today, has created quite a turmoil in the Parliament and particularly in the media. Having distributed this booklet to the pigeonholes of all Members of the European Parliament I was accused of all sorts of sins, including racism, anti-Semitism and disrespect for human values. The booklet pertains very much to the issue of European values. I believe I defend them and I am accused of abusing them.” See *European values* (Bruxells: Maciej Giertych, 2007), 6.

¹⁸⁸ Mirosław Dakowski, “Nie potępiamy Konecznego!” *Myśl Polska* (23 February 2007),

have questioned why Koneczny should be marginalized, since many pre-war authors wrote more harshly about Judaism.¹⁸⁹ Piotr Jaroszyński of the Lublin School of Philosophy frequently comments on Koneczny in *Nasz Dziennik* and *Radio Maryja*. He has advised that “Jewish civilization is a very sensitive topic, because it is to a certain degree today embraced by the censorship of *political correctness* [emphasis in original]” and there are consequences if one is labeled an anti-Semite. He added that “Koneczny does not attack a race, a nation, or a religion. For Koneczny was neither a racist, nor a fascist, nor a xenophobe; he was an analyst of civilization. It is possible to agree or not with this analysis, but it is not possible to classify him as *anti-Semitic* [emphasis in original].”¹⁹⁰

Koneczny’s heirs today reject any efforts at civilizational compromise as “naive ecumenism”¹⁹¹ that would result in what Koneczny termed a “civilizational caricature.”¹⁹² Rather than decline into “cultural and political nothingness,” Poles should cherish their role in Latin civilization, which is grounded in Catholicism. Early in the Communist period, Koneczny proclaimed: “We support three great pillars of our existence, and these are: Catholicism, Latin civilization, and

Polishness.”¹⁹³ In post-Communist Poland, his heirs have revived this credo as a rallying cry to construct civilizational boundaries between Jews and Christians.

http://www.myslpolska.org/?idx=janek_art&lusterko=193442 (accessed 16 March 2007).

¹⁸⁹ Karol Brandt, “Niezapomniany Feliks Koneczny,” *Myśl Polska* (2-9 August 2009), no. 31-32, <http://www.myslpolska.org/node/10210> (accessed 21 August 2009).

¹⁹⁰ Piotr Jaroszyński, “Koneczny o tożsamości Zachodu,” in *Przywracanie pamięci* (Warszawa: Dom Polski, 2007), 119.

¹⁹¹ Andrzej Horodecki, “Nie ma patriotyzmu bez personalizmu,” *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 11 (2004), no. 1-2, http://www.npw.pl/ARCHIWUM_NPW/2004_01_02/PIS-Horodecki_nie-ma-patriotyzmu.html (accessed 21 June 2006).

¹⁹² Koneczny, *Polska między wschodem a zachodem*, 2.

¹⁹³ Feliks Koneczny, “Warunki powodzenia,” in *Zwierzchnictwo moralności ekonomia i etyka* (Komorów: Wydawnictwo Antyk, 2006), 67. Originally published in *Niedziela* 17 (21-27 December 1947), no. 51: 472.