# Thinking My Country:
# A Philosophical Study of Patriotism and an Analysis of Polish Patriotism in the Thought of Pope John Paul II

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When I think my Country—
I express what I am, anchoring my roots.
And this is what the heart tells,
as if a hidden frontier ran from me to others,
embracing us all within a past
older than each of us;
and from this past I emerge
when I think my Country,
I take her into me as a treasure,
constantly wondering how to increase it,
how to give a wider measure to that space
it fills withal.
– Pope John Paul II, *The Place Within* (141)

ABSTRACT

*Patriotism is a prominent and powerful concept in daily politics and nation-building and is often closely connected to both personal identity and national identity. Using a cultural-philosophical approach, this essay aims to develop a theoretical understanding of patriotism as a universal concept and as a distinct cultural phenomenon. In the first section, this essay explores the theoretical underpinnings of patriotism as a universal concept, accepting the definition of patriotism as 'love of one's homeland,' but seeking to expand on this understanding by discussing the deeper meaning of the patria or homeland, the evolution of the patria, and love of the patria. It discusses four central elements of the patria: territory, culture, values, and history, which are often considered to be essential. It is postulated that the patria, understood here as a conceptual (rather than political or cultural entity), is not an objective reality but is created subjectively when individuals identify with the patria. Nevertheless, the patria is a real community, and therefore should not be regarded as 'imagined.' The patria is created by connection and dialogue between the individual and the group as a whole. The essay also discusses what it means to love the patria, the ethical limitations of such love, and the problems of radical, extreme forms of patriotism which leads many to condemn patriotism either because it appears to contradict universal morality or because it does not seem to constitute 'true love.' In the second section, this essay discusses the relationship between patriotism as a universal concept and the patriotism found in concrete cultural contexts. Rather than viewing each individual or culture as having their own patriotism, it is argued that such forms of patriotism are manifestations of a more universal patriotism and as such may also be described as popular patriotism. Using the speeches and writing of Pope John Paul II as a case study, the essay takes Polish patriotism as an example. Three aspects are discussed as examples of how specific cultural concepts contribute to the flavour of popular patriotism. Firstly, Pope John Paul II views Catholicism as deeply connected to Polish identity. This connection can also be seen in the thought of other prominent Poles (such as Jan Matejko and Adam Mickiewicz), in the Solidarity Movement, in Polish Messianism, and in the Polish Constitution. Secondly, solidarity, both towards one's compatriots and universal human solidarity, also play a role in Polish patriotism. Thirdly, it discusses resilience, which is connected to the role of suffering during events such as the partitions, WWI and WWII, and can be seen in the national anthem.*

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*For Poland*

# INTRODUCTION

As Stephen Nathanson writes, "For all of its apparent simplicity and its association with visceral emotions, patriotism is a complicated concept, and its evaluation involves us in a host of complex and sometimes theoretical issues" (xv).[1] From the development of the concept of the patria in ancient Rome and Greece[2] to its evolution as a powerful force within contemporary society in the sphere of international politics and the development of national identity, patriotism has played a profound role in shaping the way people perceive their identity both as individuals and as part of a wider cultural community. Patriotism has been closely intertwined with expressions of culture in communities throughout the world and "has been a major source of themes and inspiration in literature, music, and art" (Primoratz and Pavković 1). While patriotism often shapes the way we connect with a specific cultural community, patriotism also has a universal dimension, because, as love of one's homeland, patriotism has also been described as a deeply human phenomenon, one which is closely linked to the human need for belonging and community. As Pope John Paul II writes, "both the family and the nation have a particular bond with human nature, which has a social dimension" (*Memory* 67). Pope John Paul II is not alone in viewing patriotism as a natural human sentiment. John H. Schaar describes patriotism as "one of the basic human sentiments" (235)[3] and argues that even if states no longer existed, "the conception of the community would not be threatened. It will exist as long as

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Nathanson are from his book, *Patriotism, Morality, and Peace*.
[2] Ross Poole links patriotism to a long history of republican tradition, which "can be traced back at least to the era of the Roman Republic, and perhaps even earlier to the city-states of Greece" (129).
[3] He explains further:

> If not a natural tendency in the species, it is at least a proclivity produced by realities basic to human life, for territoriality, along with family, has always been a primary associative bond. We become devoted to the people, places, and ways that nurture us, and what is familiar and nurturing seems also natural and right. This is the root of patriotism. (235)

mankind exists. Patriotism is the emotion and bond characteristic of community. Hence, it too will exist, in more-or-less pure form, as long as humanity exists" (251).

As Simon Keller writes, "there is good reason to look more closely and critically at the sorts of motivations, feelings and beliefs by which patriotism is constituted. Patriotism is not just another form of partiality. It is a singular, powerful and perplexing psychological phenomenon" (73). Yet in many ways, its role in modern society is becoming increasingly ambiguous with increased global influence and the existence of multiethnic societies as well as "a widespread tendency to move toward supranational structures, even internationalism" (John Paul II, *Memory* 66). Nevertheless, I believe this provides all the more reason to re-examine the concept of patriotism from both a universal perspective and from the perspective of individual cultures.

In order to understand the role of patriotism in modern society, both at the level of individual identity and national consciousness, it is necessary to ask: what does it mean to be patriotic? What is the essence of patriotism? As Igor Primoratz and Aleksandar Pavković note, "philosophers tend to debate patriotism primarily as a moral issue" (2), and therefore the discussion of patriotism in academic debates has focused primarily on the ethics of patriotism and whether patriotism is morally acceptable, especially in relation to universalism, with less focus on the issue of defining patriotism on a deeper level.[4] For this reason, my essay will discuss in greater depth the conceptual issues surrounding patriotism in order to gain a fuller understanding of the essential features of patriotism and lay the foundation for discussions of patriotism's ethical implications, with the idea that "If we want to know whether patriotism is good, we need to have a definition of what patriotism is" (Nathanson xiv).

[4] In addition, much of the discussion has centred on the differences between patriotism and nationalism rather than patriotism itself.

Patriotism has played an especially prominent role in the development of national identity in Poland. The theoretical significance of patriotism in the Polish understanding of Polish history and Polish identity is evidenced by the recurrence patriotism as a theme in both scholarly and political debates. Dorota Szeligowska comments on this tendency, writing that "On a theoretical level, the concept of patriotism is important for most countries of the world, as it provides a basis of political allegiance and identification of the citizens with the state. In Poland, however, its usage in political contestations can have important repercussions on the country's foreign, cultural or historical policies" (1-2), and observes that "A recurring contestation over the concept of patriotism within a number of public debates has marked the last 25 years of Polish public discourse" (2). This makes Poland an ideal case study for understanding the complex role patriotism has played in the evolution of national consciousness and in the modern understanding of cultural identity.

Nevertheless, perhaps because patriotism is such a significant theme in Polish thought, there are also varied approaches to the topic both in current society and historically. Rather than discussing the range of perspectives on patriotism, for the purposes of this essay, I will focus on the patriotism of a single individual: Pope John Paul II. An influential figure both in Poland and around the world, his writing and his speeches serve as an interesting and valuable case study, not only because they often contain expressions of patriotism, but also because they show that his deep personal feelings for Poland did not prevent him from feeling a connection to other nations and cultures. Although the issue of Pope John Paul II's international outlook goes beyond the scope of the present essay, it is important to take note of this aspect in order to understand the complex ways his unique interpretation of patriotism, as expressed towards Poland, influenced his worldview. His feeling of connection towards his own nation and heritage

in certain respects expanded towards other Slavic nations, which shared a certain cultural-historical heritage. For example, when visiting Ukraine, he says, "I embrace you all, beloved Ukrainians, from Donetsk to Lviv, from Kharkiv to Odessa and to Simferopol! In the very name Ukraine there is a reminder of the greatness of your Country which, with its history, bears witness to its unique vocation as the frontier and gate between East and West" ("Arrival" sec. 7). He also says, "With joy I greet you, splendid city of Kyiv, lying midway along the river Dnieper, cradle of the ancient Slavs and of Ukrainian culture" ("Meeting, Kyiv" sec. 2). However, he also felt a strong connection to non-Slavic countries as well. For example, during his visit to Hungary in 1991, he said, "I can share your traditions and your present harmonious effort to build a more happy and humane future because I am a son of the Polish Nation, which has so much in common with Hungarian history" ("Welcoming Ceremony, Hungary" sec. 2). His focus on the shared element of history[5] shows that his patriotism is focused not only on his own homeland, but also on the connection *between* his country and other countries. Rather than solidifying division, his patriotism draws from historical relationships between Poland and other nations. On one occasion, he even says: "Men and women of Hungary! I speak to you as one who considers himself your compatriot, sharing in your destiny with you. The Pope shares your joys and your sufferings, your plans and your efforts, aimed at building a better future. He feels close to you" ("Welcoming Ceremony, Hungary" sec. 3). These two examples show that Pope John Paul II's Polish patriotism also led him to feel a connection with other nations and cultures in a direct and personal way. This international element of his patriotism is something which makes, I think, his expressions of patriotism particularly interesting and relevant in today's world, especially at a

[5] His feeling of connection to Hungary through history is not surprising given the long history of friendly relations between Poland and Hungary. This feeling of connection continues to the present day, as in 2007 a Day of Polish-Hungarian Friendship was established, and 2016 was declared the Year of Polish-Hungarian Solidarity.

time when many countries struggle to define their physical and philosophical boundaries more clearly.

Nevertheless, as Geert Hofstede notes, “the study of anything of the size of a nation is dazzling” (“National Cultures” 286). This essay is by no means comprehensive, nor does it claim to offer solutions to all the problems of patriotism. Rather, the goal is to delve into the complex dynamics of patriotism at the theoretical level and to highlight key issues and complications it involves in order to propose a general philosophical framework for understanding it and its intricate relationship with culture, history, values, belonging, and cultural identity. As Nathanson observes, “Patriotism remains a powerful force, capable of both uniting and dividing people in profound ways. It is a force that requires more systematic thought and discussion than it has received” (xiv).

This essay will take a philosophical approach to the issue of patriotism, seeking to understand its metaphysical significance and its role in the development of individual and collective identity. By examining the core elements of patriotism and by using the writing of Pope John Paul II as a case study to analyse expressions of patriotism in the Polish context, it will construct a philosophical understanding of patriotism which can function as a framework for analysing the role of patriotism both as an abstract concept and within specific cultural contexts.

## DEFINING PATRIOTISM: PATRIOTISM AS A UNIVERSAL CONCEPT

How should the concept of patriotism best be understood? As Keller writes, “Our ordinary notion of patriotism is elusive. It cannot be easily articulated with a quick definition” (73). Schaar further describes the difficulty of articulating the full scope of patriotism’s meaning, writing:

> Since patriotism is a complex and dangerous word, we must give some care to definition. But not too much care, for like all the important political words, it cannot be protected against the vicissitudes of history and passion; and not the wrong kind of care either, for the word comes not from the laboratory but from life. The word will not hold still while we attach a single, universal meaning to it, but we can describe a nucleus of meanings (235).

Patriotism is almost universally understood as simply "love of one's homeland."[6] This understanding of patriotism captures its essential meaning, both from a practical and philosophical perspective, because as Schaar writes, "At its core, patriotism means love of one's homeplace, and of the familiar things and scenes associated with the homeplace" (235). However, while accurately capturing the sentiment of patriotism, it also raises several questions for those who wish to develop a more in-depth understanding of patriotism. What *is* the patria? What does it mean to *love* the patria? And how does this love develop? Therefore, while the idea of patriotism as love of one's country or love of one's homeland provides a solid starting point for discussions of patriotism, as Primoratz notes, "it might well be thought too thin and in need of fleshing out" ("Patriotism" sec. 1.1).

**What is the Patria?**

In order to understand patriotism and its significance, it is necessary to examine the meaning of the patria. The concept of the patria or the nation[7] is one which is firmly embedded

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[6] As Primoratz notes, "The standard dictionary definition reads 'love of one's country.' This captures the core meaning of the term in ordinary use" ("Patriotism" sec. 1.1).

[7] There is considerable debate surrounding the use of the terms 'patria,' 'nation,' and 'state,' which is connected to the contentious issue of the differences between patriotism and nationalism and also to the historical evolution of each of these terms. While these issues are beyond the scope of this essay, the use of these terms requires a brief explanation. For the purposes of this essay, I will use the term 'patria' to refer to the country as a *conceptual entity* (the homeland *as a concept*), the term 'nation' to refer to the country as an *ethnic or cultural entity*, and the term 'state' to refer to the country as a *political entity*. Clearly, there is significant room for overlap between these terms,

in modern society, politics, and thought. Nevertheless, these concepts are also notably ambiguous, and while there is a general consensus about the significance and legitimacy of these terms, in practice their meaning is often ambiguous with the borders of each concept being rather blurry. What is the defining feature of the patria? To what extent and in what ways is the patria related to time, space, individuals, and society? Does it exist objectively, or is it created by individuals, by society, or by history? If so, how is it created? These questions all concern the origin of the patria and thus the origin of patriotism.

The patria is often associated with a particular culture and language, a distinct history with significant events and heroes, a certain ethnic group, and a political entity in the form of a state or geographical region. Nevertheless, each of these individual factors poses its own problems when it comes to defining the patria. To tie a definition of the patria to any one of these aspects would make the concept of the patria geographically, temporally, or culturally dependant. In addition, all these aspects are subject to change over time. Pope John Paul II describes patriotism as "a love for everything to do with our native land: its history, its traditions, its language, its natural features" (*Memory* 65-66). Therefore, it is valuable to discuss a few of the central dimensions of the patria and develop an understanding of how they interact with each other, in order to determine the ultimate meaning of the patria. Based on Schaar's description of "a nucleus of meanings," this essay will focus on a few key aspects of the patria which are often considered by patriots to be essential parts of the patria or even as constituting the patria itself.

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and for this reason, they should not be considered entirely separate. For example, the nation provides a concrete context in which the concept of the patria is often most visible. The nation may establish itself as a nation-state, and culture may become a central aspect of state ideology. My goal is to separate the concept of the 'homeland' from the politically charged notions of the 'nation' and the 'state' in order to discuss it on a more abstract level; my goal is not to make a statement about the political or ethical value of any of these terms or to disregard their historical legacy and the way these terms may have been understood in certain traditions of thought.

After the complexities of each of these elements are discussed, an understanding of *what* the patria is may be developed.

*Territory*

The patria is often viewed in terms of its physical manifestation – in terms of territory. The concept of the patria is usually historically linked to a certain geographical location which seems to embody the 'essence of the patria.' The landscape and geography of the area become a source of affection for the patriot. Furthermore, geography often heavily influences the development of culture: national dress is affected by the requirements of the climate, cultural dishes are based on local ingredients, and social interactions and linguistic change are affected by the population distribution within a given region. In addition, historic events create associations with particular locations, causing the locations to play a role in preserving the historical memory of the patria.

An attachment to territory, the patria in its physical dimension, is perhaps one of the most foundational elements of patriotism. Schaar proposes the idea of 'natural patriotism' which is based on a connection between individuals and the land or city where they live. He argues that this "primary patriotism of place," is an essential human emotion and "has been a treasured and defining experience of most of humankind" (237).

At the same time, the association of the patria with a specific territory, while undoubtedly important, can also be problematic if taken too far. The patria is not the same as the state, and the borders of the patria are often not clearly defined.[8] One example of the complications of associating the patria with a certain territory is the case of nations which are denied territory

[8] Although arguably the borders of the patria (which is defined at the conceptual level) shift less quickly than the borders of the state (which is defined politically), or even the nation (which is culturally defined) because they are not subjected to political processes of change to the same extent as the state or nation.

altogether, for example those which are under foreign domination as Poland was following the partitions.[9] Pope John Paul II describes the survival of Poland even without territory, writing, "even when the Poles were deprived of their territory and the nation was partitioned, they maintained their sense of spiritual patrimony, the culture received from their forbears. Indeed, this sense developed in them in an extraordinarily dynamic way" (*Memory* 60). Andrzej Walicki notes how the Polish conception of the patria became less associated with territory, writing that "With the passage of time their idea of nation was becoming more and more spiritualized and thus more and more independent of 'bodily existence' in the form of a state" (104). The existence of the patria, in spite of the fact that it is unable to claim any land as its own, shows that while territory is a defining feature of the patria, it is arguably not essential. At the same time, the patria may still maintain a close connection to its historical lands, and while it may not have political control over a given territory, it may not be correct to view the patria as detached from the land. Rather, the patria may simply have a different relationship to the land. While the territory may not be connected to the patria in a political sense, the patria may still be connected to certain locations because they are culturally significant and therefore may still be deeply rooted (in a cultural sense though not political sense) within a particular location.

Another issue is that the borders of the patria often go far beyond a given territory through its immigrants and diaspora communities. While such communities are often viewed (and indeed often view themselves) as 'beyond' or 'outside' the patria, they still belong to the patria, form a significant part of it, and participate in it. To view the patria as strictly corresponding to a certain territory would exclude such groups from the concept of the patria,

[9] A similar situation may take place due to border changes which cause certain ethnic groups to suddenly find themselves dislocated.

despite the fact that this concept may be more firmly embedded in the minds of those who leave, as they are constantly contrasting their life in a new place with their 'homeland.'

*Culture*

As Pope John Paul II writes, "Every nation draws life from the works of its own culture" (*Memory* 83).[10] While territory is an important piece of the patria, the patria also has other aspects which are immaterial.[11] The patria is a combination of both material factors, such as territory, and immaterial aspects, such as culture. Pope John Paul II emphasizes the intimate connection between these two aspects, writing:

> [T]he very idea of "native land" presupposes a deep bond between the spiritual and the material, between culture and territory. Territory seized by force from a nation somehow becomes a plea crying out to the "spirit" of the nation itself. The spirit of the nation awakens, takes on fresh vitality, and struggles to restore the rights of the land. (*Memory* 61)

Thus, while the territory is a very real part of the patria, the patria also draws heavily from culture,[12] which gives it an immaterial and abstract dimension.[13]

Indeed, culture is perhaps the element which is most often perceived as representative of the patria as a whole. This is likely because "Culture carries a great emotional charge and its

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[10] While culture is often deeply rooted in tradition and history, Ross Poole highlights the fact that culture continues to remain an important element in various aspects of modern society, writing that "in the condition of modernity, culture is and ought to be an essential ingredient in politics" (132).

[11] Although it should be noted that even the territorial aspect of the patria has an immaterial aspect -- the territory is valued not only for its own sake, but also because of what it has come to *represent*.

[12] Pope John Paul II draws attention to the significance of the cultural element of the patria, writing, "Our native land is thus our heritage and it is also the whole patrimony derived from that heritage. It refers to the land, the territory, but more importantly, the concept of patria includes the values and the spiritual content that make up the culture of a given nation" (*Memory* 60).

[13] The view of the patria as consisting of *more* than the territory it encompasses can arguably be seen even in ancient thinking; Mary G. Dietz observes that "Aristotle's remark that 'the identity of a *polis* is not constituted by its walls' is at least partly indicative of the extent to which territory alone was not the focal point of Greek political identity or loyalty" (202).

members are highly conscious of their participation in it" (Gellner). Culture represents the immaterial, intangible element of the patria and pervades its identity in a particularly significant way. Of course, culture also consists of tangible elements, such as food, clothing, artwork, and literature. Edward T. Hall's proposal of the 'iceberg model' of culture highlights how the tangible and intangible elements of culture are connected, with the intangible elements (though less visible) shaping how the tangible elements of culture are expressed.[14] The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also makes a distinction between tangible and intangible elements of culture, describing three broad categories of tangible cultural heritage[15] and describing several examples of intangible cultural heritage such as language and oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, traditional events, and craftmanship.[16] UNESCO then defines culture as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, that encompasses, not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (qtd. in UNESCO Institute for Statistics 9). The issue of culture is dynamic, multi-faceted, and complex. Indeed, as Hofstede et al. note, "Culture is not a universally accepted notion, and there are a great many ways to define it" (*Exploring* 40). Culture's diversity and the varied ways of expressing it seem to make most attempts at defining it prohibitive, as arguably any definition will be influenced by a certain perception of culture which is determined by one's own society. In addition, the possible

[14] It has been argued that the concepts of tangible and intangible cultural heritage create an artificial opposition between both concepts, which in reality are closely integrated. It is true that both aspects are closely integrated; my point is simply that the concept of culture contains both tangible and intangible elements, not that these elements are necessarily separate.

[15] These categories are: "movable cultural heritage (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts), immovable cultural heritage (monuments, archaeological sites, and so on), underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities)" (UNESCO).

[16] Among the vast range of cultural expressions, language deserves attention as an aspect of culture which can play an especially important role in defining the identity of patria because as an essential means of human communication, it creates natural connections and divisions between individuals during social interactions and often influences how individuals perceive themselves and their community.

expressions of culture are unlimited: any object, artefact, practice, or theory has the potential to become imbued with cultural significance. While this makes it extremely difficult to present a substantive definition of culture, a functionalist definition of culture may briefly be formulated. An object, place, practice or concept gains cultural significance by fulfilling two criteria: 1) it must be shared, and 2) it must be viewed as connected to the identity of the group. In order to be considered part of culture, an object (understood here in the most general sense) must be *shared*; it must be perceived as belonging to the group collectively; it must be viewed as relating to the group *as a whole* rather than simply to isolated individuals. In addition to this, the object must be viewed as connected in some way to the *identity* of the group. While this does not necessarily mean that all members of the group are involved in it or take interest in it, the object must be viewed as significant to and contributing to the identity of the group as a whole.

Both conditions are necessary for something to be considered culture. For example, a community building may be viewed as belonging to a specific group and therefore *shared* among the members of the culture but still be viewed as insignificant because it lacks connection to the *group's identity*. On the other hand, if the community building is viewed as a core expression of the group's identity, being the center of all group activity and thereby representing the core values of the group, then it would acquire cultural significance for that group. This is because, as Andrew Oldenquist notes, "people do not feel proud of just *any* features their community or nation possesses. We value in themselves certain features of a family, community, or nation which enter into our definition of its 'flourishing'" (30).[17] Culture, then, can be understood as the

[17] Because it is usual for an object to be viewed as belonging to the group before it is necessarily viewed as part of the group's identity, it seems rather unlikely that a group would perceive something as connected to their own identity unless it were viewed as belonging to the group in some way. In order for such a thing to occur, it seems that the group must either claim the object as belonging to them (such a claim may take on a more abstract sense – it may not be viewed as belonging to their group exclusively) or else identify with the object in a rather superficial way.

collection of objects, places, practices or ideas which are designated as culturally significant by a particular group.

What role is played by cultural elements in the patria? How and in what ways does the patria "draw life from the works of its own culture"? Culture lays the foundation for the patria as a unique entity and for the development of a group identity. Here it is useful to consider Hofstede's pyramid model of culture, which places culture between individual personality on the one hand and human nature on the other.[18]

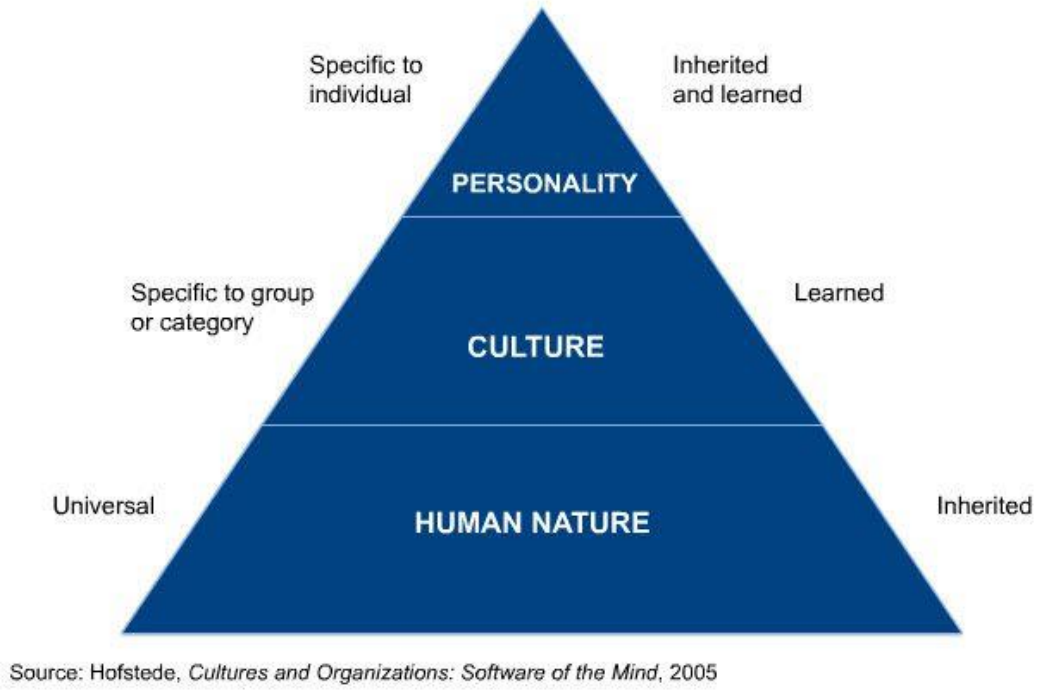


Fig. 1. Pyramid Model for Culture by Geert Hofstede. *Социалното унаследяване в полето на психологията,* by Manolov, M., et al. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, no. 7, 2019, pp. 50-59. *Катедра Психология (Великотърновски университет)*, Доклад: Социалното унаследяване в полето на психологията – КАТЕДРА ПСИХОЛОГИЯ (uni-vt.bg).

[18] Of course, in reality, the boundaries may not be clearly defined, and the questions of what constitutes human nature, what is defined by culture, and what is influenced by personality, may be riddled with ambiguities, but the model nevertheless provides a good starting point for discussing these complications.

Though broad, such a model is intuitive and is valuable for understanding the role of culture in defining group identities. Culture plays a critical role in creating distinct group identities because, like human nature, it is broad enough to go beyond the self and allows individuals to relate with one another within a shared framework of understanding, but at the same time, it has specific features which distinguish it from both human nature and other group identities.[19] It is not surprising then that culture should play such an important role in defining the patria. Culture is one of the defining features of the patria because the patria is "a community based in a given territory and distinguished from other nations by its culture" (John Paul II, *Memor*y 69-70). As the shared heritage of a specific group, culture can be used to distinguish the patria from other entities. Thus, culture serves as a means both to unite people within a certain group and also to create a unique group identity which distinguishes them from others.

*Values*

Perhaps the patria can be understood in terms of the values it espouses. While values are just one aspect of culture, they often play a very active role in the development of the patria and shape the way individuals perceive the patria. The connection between values and the patria is very deep and can be traced back to the development of the concept of the patria in the Roman context: "As Hannah Arendt . . . has observed, it was in Rome that the full meaning of the word *patria* and its emotional resonance came into being; the *patria*, Rome itself, was the site and symbol of all values – moral, religious, political, and ethical – for which a soldier or citizen might care to live and die" (Dietz 202). Thus, Rome embodied certain values, and these values were closely associated with the identity of the patria.

[19] Although it should be noted that the borders of culture are not always as clearly defined as they may appear at first glance. Nevertheless, from the perspective of identity, cultural differences may be considered a distinguishing factor because they are *perceived* as distinctive.

Schaar's proposition of 'covenanted patriotism' to explain American identity is an example of how values are often looked upon as a distinguishing feature of the patria, especially in multicultural contexts, where culture cannot necessarily serve as a defining feature. Schaar writes:

> [W]e are a nation formed by a covenant, by dedication to a set of principles and by an exchange of promises to uphold and advance certain commitments among ourselves and throughout the world. Those principles and commitments are the core of American identity, the soul of the body politic. They make the American nation unique, and uniquely valuable, among and to the other nations. (239)

This shows clearly how values can play a critical role in the formation of the patria's identity and can even serve as the ideological foundation of the patria.[20] At first glance, it seems that in many ways a patria founded on values is ideal[21] because values have the ability to unite people in the patria regardless of their place of residence and regardless of their cultural background.[22] However, as Schaar rightfully points out, when the patria is based on values, the patria's identity quickly becomes questionable should it fail to live up to these values: "But the other side of this conception contains a warning very like the warnings spoken by the prophets to Israel: if we fail in our promises to each other, and lose the principles of the covenant, then we lose everything, for they are we" (239). This raises important questions about the role of values in identity. While

[20] The idea of values as the foundation of the patria is especially important in the idea of constitutional patriotism. For example, Margaret Canovan writes that "In their concern to replace the bond of nationhood with something less visceral and exclusive, constitutional patriots often suggest that citizens are better bound together by shared principles or values" (279). At the same time, it is important to note that values are also an important part of culture, and therefore the significance of values is not limited to constitutional patriotism. Indeed, it could be argued that, to a greater or lesser extent, most conceptions of the patria rely on values because all communities have their own priorities and therefore put certain ideals before others, thereby elevating those ideals to the level of values.

[21] Although of course this depends on the values chosen. Some values may be far from admirable.

[22] At the same time, it must be noted that values also have the ability to divide people who share a territory or cultural background and, in some cases, may be used (deliberately or accidentally) to exclude certain individuals.

the patria may embody values which are praiseworthy, how should it be judged when its members fail to live up to its ideals or even deliberately contradict them? In fact, it is rather debatable whether it is even possible for the patria to live up to its ideals. When it comes to the relationship between the patria and values, are values real, ideal, or imagined?

In the case of values, there is often a significant divergence between the values which are considered important or embraced by society and the values which are in fact practiced. How should this difference between theory and practice be interpreted? Should it be viewed as a dangerous hypocrisy that cultivates bad faith? Nathanson comments on this problem, writing, "One might go further and argue that while it is bad enough if nations engage in evil practices, it is worse if at the same time they express lofty ideals that are contrary to their own practices. This adds the sin of hypocrisy to the already admitted evil of the institutions themselves" (124). Also, Schaar describes how the values of a patria (or in this case the nation-state) can be manipulated to conceal ulterior motives, such as expansionism:

> Very early in its progress the nation-state added ideology to its armory of weapons for aggression and expansion. Those ideologies have been many, but each claims that it is not partial, so that the expansion of the nation-state can be presented as something other than the victory of the stronger. Ideology lets the nation-state parade its might and cloak its ambition as the embodiment of a universal principle. (250)

In this case the values are not simply imagined but deliberately used in a deceitful way to conceal the activities which go on behind the scenes.

However, the issue of values is complicated because there may also be cases in which there are very real attempts to aspire to the values of the patria, but these attempts fall short. In response to this issue, Nathanson raises the issue of reasonable expectations. After all, it is

practically impossible for all the members of the patria to live up to its values at all times, especially if these values are especially praiseworthy. As Nathanson writes, "It does make a difference what the ideals of a country are, and it is not reasonable to expect a country to measure up to its highest ideals" (124). He adds the requirement, however, that such ideals must be genuine and that there must be actual attempts to put these ideals into practice:

> Granted, then, there is a point about evaluating a nation by its aspirations, but the aspirations must be genuine, and the judgement that they are genuine must be based to some degree on actual practice. Recognition of its own failings may raise a nation in our esteem, but if not connected to remedial efforts, it may simply be evidence of hypocrisy. (124)

How should the problem of hypocrisy be interpreted in the context of the patria? With regards to the patria, the situation is unique, because unlike an individual, the patria is not an independent agent[23] and therefore is not directly responsible for certain actions or events but rather is tainted through its association with them. Nathanson also makes this point, commenting that "We often speak of nations as if they were individual agents" (124), but argues that, in reality, many of the problematic actions of the nation or the patria reflect the flaws of the government rather than the patria itself. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the values of the patria are valid regardless of the actions of its members because, as Nathanson notes, "while we can distinguish nations from governments, it does not follow that nations are never tainted by the acts of those in power. If government policies are widely supported and reflect the dominant values of the nation and its people, then the nation itself may be made unworthy by the government's actions" (126). Even if government policies do not reflect dominant values, if the policies influence the identity of the

[23] Of course, this argument does not apply to the state, which, being a political construction rather than a purely ideological construction, may be said to be an agent in the political sphere.

patria and change the values of its members, the legitimacy of the patria's values may be undermined, and this may pave the way for the replacement of these values with new values.

At the same time, even if values are not practiced, they may still play a role in determining the identity of the patria because "even if we fail to live up to our own values, the fact that those values represent our aspirations will differentiate us from others and make us appear superior to ourselves" (Nathanson 6). While the simple endorsement of certain values may be rather weak as the basis for claims of superiority, the mere fostering or prioritization of values may still be significant, because even if such values are not adopted in practice, they may still influence the orientation and moral development of a community. For example, even if a political system is corrupt, a society which claims to be founded on democratic principles is arguably more likely to promote an accurate view of justice than a system which glorifies dictatorship. As Nathanson writes, "Keeping in mind the notion of reasonable expectations, one might argue that while we know that no country lives up to its ideals, what is important is that the country's ideals be good ones. Even if it fails to live up to its ideals, at least it is attempting to move in the right direction" (123). He notes, however, the danger that such an approach could be used "as an excuse for virtually anything" (124). Of course, it must be noted, that simply promoting democratic principles can in no way justify or excuse corruption. The advantage of a situation in which positive values are promoted but not practiced (as opposed to *rejected* and not practiced) is that having positive values may raise society's expectations and influence what is viewed as acceptable. Thus, while the divergence between theory and practice in terms of promoted values is problematic and questionable, theory often lays the foundation for practices and may still play a role in shaping the expectations of society. In this sense, values may serve to

represent the *ideal*, and therefore may still be very relevant to the identity of the patria, despite the imperfections of reality.

Another issue that arises when basing the identity of the patria on values is the issue of uniformity. Can the patria as a whole really be said to have values when, in practice, the values of each individual may be wildly different? While it can certainly be argued that a society may have certain underpinning values, these values may still be far from universally held. And the idea that the patria should be based on the values of the majority seems to pose a problem for the perceived unity of the patria.[24] As Margaret Canovan notes, "the difficulties of achieving practical consensus on such principles should not be underestimated" (279). Because of this, it may be difficult to determine which of the patria's values are essential or even what the values are at all:

> One problem is that it is hard to tell what a nation's ideals actually are. Do we determine them by looking at ceremonial remarks and proclamations? Or do we decide by looking at how it actually behaves? Perhaps ideals and actualities are more closely related than the argument suggests. Perhaps the real ideals are revealed in the actual behavior of individuals and officials. (Nathanson 124)

There is, perhaps, no single, fool-proof way to determine which values are an essential part of the patria or even which values are part of it at all. At the same time, without claiming that the values of the patria are necessarily embraced by all its members, it may be argued that

[24] Sometimes differences in values may arise from religious or ethnic variation among those within the patria. Nevertheless, even in relatively homogeneous societies (although in most cases the concept of a 'homogeneous society' may itself be somewhat questionable), there is room for considerable variation in opinion, and there may not be a complete consensus. However, likely the most common cause of variation is historical change. Changes over time often lead to a change in values, and this can raise questions about the identity of the patria. How does one interpret the changes of modernity which often cause values which were previously viewed as an essential part of the patria to become less relevant to younger generations? While values may be viewed as the defining feature of the patria, few would argue that the patria is now a new entity altogether if these values change. Nevertheless, such changes can create a challenge for the patria to maintain its legitimacy and identity.

the patria is *associated* with certain values. Some values are associated with the patria more strongly than others, and thus it is not necessarily a question of which values 'belong' to the patria *per se*, but which values are most strongly associated with it. Values which are more strongly associated with the patria will likely play a more significant role in defining the identity of the patria, even if they are not universally accepted. Values generally become associated with the patria through historical processes[25] and events.

*History*

History often plays a crucial role in the formation of the patria, because, as Schaar writes:

> From a group's political history come most of the points of pride, the revered heroes, the memories of sacrifice and courage, and the goals and values which form the ordinary members' sense of shared identity and shape his conception of patriotic duty. Through that history one becomes a participant in the corporate life, sharing its destiny, appropriating its triumphs and defeats, making its will one's own. (244)

The concept of the patria is closely connected to the idea of a common history. History creates the foundation of the patria and gives it legitimacy. The identity of the patria can be understood as evolving over the course of various historic events. Nevertheless, while it is true that history plays a fundamental role in the understanding of the patria and its development in individual and group consciousness, it is difficult to say that history *in and of itself* creates the patria's identity, because while it is clear that every patria has a history of its own and that this history is unique, history is complex and has many possible interpretations and many potential perspectives. Therefore, it is not history, but *a certain understanding of history* which creates the patria.[26] In

[25] For example, the ideal of freedom is often important in nations which gained independence by means of a revolution (such as the United States and France).

[26] This is not to say, of course, that the historical foundation of the patria is illegitimate or arbitrary. There are many legitimate ways of conceiving history which may lead to different or even contradictory conclusions. Janna

other words, the patria needs a strong historical basis, but this basis is not created by history itself (history does not dictate the formation of the patria, though it contributes to its development) but by an interpretation of history. This means that the patria is created by an *interpreter*. Thus, it could be said that it is not so much history as historiography which shapes the identity of the patria because it is through historiography that historical figures and events become inscribed in the consciousness of the patria. As Pope John Paul II writes,

> Like individuals, then, nations are endowed with historical memory. So it is understandable that they should seek to record in writing what they remember. In this way, history becomes historiography. People write the history of the particular group to which they belong . . . And the histories of nations, objectified and recorded in writing, are among the essential elements of culture – the element which determines the nation's identity in the temporal dimension. (*Memory* 73-74)

**The Creation of the Patria: Objective Reality or Subjective Consciousness?**

As can be seen from the previous discussion, the concept of the patria is multi-faceted and is composed of both material elements such as territory and more abstract elements such as values and history, as well as aspects in which the material and immaterial are are merged, such as culture. Nevertheless, while the integration of these elements forms the patria, the process of integration is not immediate or inevitable – elements do not integrate automatically into a cohesive entity. There are cases when many or all of these elements may be present, but this does not necessarily entail the creation of a patria. There may be ethnic groups which have their own culture and language, their own values, and their own traditions, but they view themselves as part

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Thompson also describes the possibility of some level of disagreement within the patria itself: "a common patriotism is compatible with some disagreements about heroes and history (although probably not with radical or complete disagreement). Indeed, the predisposition of different groups in a country to remember and honour different forebears could be regarded as a good thing" (154).

of a wider community. They have a history, but they do not view it as *their own* history; they live on certain land, but they identify with a different homeland, which they also view themselves as belonging to, in some cases even despite cultural differences. Would such a group be mistaken in identifying with a broader homeland which does not involve all the traditions specific to their particular community? Do they have their own patria which they simply have not yet discovered or recognized?

To argue that the existence of the patria is directly contingent upon certain cultural and social factors (such as traditions, values, or a common history), regardless of whether its members recognize it as an independent entity, would suggest that the patria is an *objective concept* and that the patria is formed simply by the coexistence of certain factors. On this view, if a community develops its own culture, language, and values, it is already a patria regardless of whether the members of the community view it as such. It is a patria-yet-to-be-discovered.

An opposing argument is that the patria is created *subjectively*, that the patria is not formed by the individual elements themselves, nor by their coming together, but rather that these elements must be integrated in subjective consciousness. On this view, the patria is formed by its *recognition as such* by the members of a community.

The problem with the idea of the patria as an objective reality is that the cultural and social factors involved in the creation of the patria are not distinctive enough to distinguish the patria from other potential patriae.[27] Where, for example, does one draw the border between one

[27] A more frequent criticism of the idea that the patria exists objectively is the argument that if the patria or the nation is viewed as objective it is likely to solidify stereotypical views of other nationalities. David McCabe criticizes the idea that national borders "are somehow ontologically given in the world" arguing that "It is not hard to see how this second response would be supported by such factors as quasi-racist ideologies, mythologies of divine provenance, and a carefully cultivated aversion to all that is alien" (132). Canovan also raises this issue, writing, "A charge traditionally raised against nationalism is that it teaches the false doctrine that human beings are naturally divided into separate (and probably unequal) nations" (286). Whether such an objective view of the patria inevitably cultivates such stereotypes is open for debate, but I will argue against the idea of the patria being created objectively on other grounds.

culture and another? One culture may contain multiple traditions, and variation within traditions is not necessarily viewed as creating a new culture but rather is often viewed simply as regional variety or personal preference. Meanwhile, there are some cultures which are viewed as completely separate which have many elements and traditions in common with other cultures. The issue of language presents a similar problem. It can be difficult to discern where one language ends and another begins, especially when it comes to the issue of languages versus dialects. As Barbara Törnquist-Plewa notes, "As is always the case with a division of a dialect continuum into separate languages, there is scope here for manipulation" (199). Indeed, the division between language and dialect is, more often than not, a political rather than a linguistic distinction.[28] The Kashubian language (which was recognized as an official regional language of Poland in 2005) is one example of this. The issue of whether Kashubian should be considered a dialect of Polish or an independent language was controversial and "The status of Kashubian has been the subject of prolonged disputes among linguists" (Törnquist-Plewa 199). Arguably, the debate surrounding Kashubian's status has been intensified by political motivations. Törnquist-Plewa writes that "Since both Poles and Germans have in the course of history made claims on the territory that is inhabited by Kashubians, the Poles were eager to prove that the Kashubians belonged to Poland, while the Germans wanted arguments for the opposite" (199-200). At the same time, as she also notes, even among linguists, the distinction between language and dialect is complicated, with different linguistic approaches yielding contradictory conclusions: "From a synchronic point of view, Polish linguists therefore view Kashubian as a Polish dialect. This is refuted by non-Polish linguists who in their analyses assume the diachronic perspective"

[28] This is likely a result of the significant role played by language in ethnic nationalism, where language is a defining factor in the conception of national identity and 'language status' is associated with entitlement to sovereignty and independent statehood.

(Törnquist-Plewa 199). In sum, if, from an objective point of view, there is no clear division between different languages and between different cultures, then it seems that the formation of the patria must involve a certain degree of subjectivity.

*The Patria as an Imagined Community?*

There are a few implications that must be addressed if one is to assume that the patria is created by the formation and integration of elements in the subjective consciousness. Firstly, if the patria is framed as a subjective concept, it may appear that it does not really exist at all – that it is simply imagined or that it is purely a social construct. The idea of the patria as an "imagined community" relates directly to Benedict Anderson's discussion of the nation. As Canovan notes, Anderson's concept of the imagined community has figured prominently in discussions of the patria as a subjective construction: "nationalist discourse has been shifting further away from the nineteenth-century Romantic conception of nations as natural entities, towards the belief that nations are (in Benedict Anderson's indispensable phrase) 'imagined communities'" (286). In his well-known argument, Anderson describes nations as 'imagined communities' because their members have an illusory sense of community: "in the minds of each lives the image of their communion," when, in reality, in "even the smallest nation," (Anderson 6) most of the members will never come to know each other.

There are a few different ways to understand Anderson's use of the word 'imagined' as a characteristic of national communities. On one interpretation, it seems to imply that national communities are artificial or illegitimate – that they do not actually exist but are simply a popular fiction of modern society or a social construct. This interpretation deserves further consideration. In order to contextualize the issue of whether the patria should be considered an 'imagined community,' it is useful to consider briefly the structure of communities in general.

Communities are formed by two interconnected processes – a process of identification and a process of inclusion. The first process is an act of the individual, and the second is a collective act of the community. Even if one is born into a community, identification is necessary to sustain belonging. Because of subjectivity, if an individual no longer perceives themselves as part of the community, they will likely cease to be part of that community, because they abandon the community and no longer participate in its activities. If they do continue to participate in the life of the community, they will likely participate as an outsider – even if not excluded or forced to, because they will interact with their community in a different way.

It is essential to note the significance of the act of identification with the community. It is the act of identification which creates the community, rather than any shared features between community members. Individuals may identify with a group because of common traits or a certain criterion (common cultural practices, language preferences, place of residence, etc.), and the group may include or exclude individuals on the basis of such differences, but ultimately it is the *act of identification* and *acceptance* that determines membership. For example, a family is generally perceived as being a community determined by biological connection between members, but this criterion (biological connection) is not actually the determining factor. If, for example, a child is adopted into a family, or if an individual is connected to the family through marriage, they will come to identify with the family; they will form relationships with its members and will likely be accepted into the family and considered a member of this community. Physical proximity or being acquainted with one another is not a prerequisite to being part of the family either; two cousins could be born in different countries and never meet each other, but both would identify with the same family and would not question each others' membership in that community. Anderson's argument brings attention to a critical observation –

that communities are often viewed as being determined by a certain criterion, when in fact this criterion is arbitrary and has little to do with the actual formation or composition of the community.

Therefore, communities are not determined by actual similarities or criteria of commonality among their members, nor by participation in common actions, nor by physical proximity. These features are not essential to any community, and therefore on this view most of the kinds of communities which are commonly accepted as such must be considered imagined. It would seem that only a very specific set of circumstances would allow a group of people to consider themselves a 'non-imagined' community. While an intimate community in which there is an element of face-to-face contact among members is different in many ways from the larger communities, to view larger communities as imagined seems to overlook a very important aspect of group relationships and overlook the complex ways in which people connect. In other words, the concept of the imagined community seems to condemn national communities for the fact that their basis is abstract and based on identification, when, in truth, identification is the defining basis of every community. Thus, as Anderson himself admits, the result of this argument is that most, if not all, communities must be considered 'imagined': "In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (6). Therefore, Anderson's argument relates more to the nature and essence of communities in general than to the nation or patria in particular.

However, if Anderson views his argument of the imagined community as applying to all communities in general, then perhaps his idea of a 'imagined communities' is not necessarily intended to be a condemnation of the nation or patria, but a more neutral description of the nature of communities. This possibility seems to be confirmed by Anderson's reaction to Ernest

Gellner's argument, which he views as problematically suggesting that nations are artificial or illegitimate:

> With a certain ferocity Gellner makes a comparable point when he rules that 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it *invents* nations where they do not exist.' The drawback to this formulation, however, is that Gellner is so anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences that he assimilates 'invention' to 'fabrication' and 'falsity,' rather than to 'imagining' and 'creation.' In this way he implies that 'true' communities exist which can be advantageously juxtaposed to nations. (Anderson 6)

Anderson's distinction between a negative view of the nation as a *false illusion* and a positive (or arguably neutral) view of the nation as a '*creation*,' suggests that his own proposition of the 'imagined community' is not necessarily intended to classify the concept of the nation as artificial or suggest that the 'imagined' nature of the community should discredit it. Rather, he seems to be referring simply to the abstract or subjective element of communities – they are not the product of concrete human interactions, and they are not natural or preordained. Rather, they are formed by a process of 'imagining' by which the individual *identifies* with the community. It does perhaps require some degree of imagination to bridge the gap between the self and the other. At the same time, it is critical to note that while the community is created subjectively, it is also a *fundamental reality* of human society. Indeed, society is only possible because community is a reality, and therefore, the community is arguably an essential element of human existence and flourishing. Insofar as the community and the patria are created by subjective consciousness, they are imagined. The way in which the community is created, where it is created, and whom it includes is not natural or predetermined but the result of subjective

factors which may be completely arbitrary. However, once the community is created, it should no longer be considered 'imagined' because whether or not there is contact between the members of the community, if there is a sustained sense of unity between the members of the community and if there is mutual care among members (regardless of whether the members know each other), the community *does* exist objectively. This is because 1) people do not need physical proximity to have feelings of care and concern for others[29] or to identify with others; in other words, physical proximity is not required to have a psychological connection, and 2) community is an abstract concept and is not characterized by physical contact but by a psychological connection. Therefore, *provided there is a sense of psychological connection within a community, the community is real*. In other words, while the basis for the psychological connection may be imagined, the psychological connection it creates is real in the fullest sense. How should these conclusions be interpreted in the context of the patria? I would argue that the patria does not exist as an objective reality prior to being recognized as such by its members, but rather, is created by a subjective consciousness which causes individuals to recognize themselves as part of the patria. Nevertheless, the patria may be considered an objective reality rather than an 'imagined community' because it *is* a real community – not because its members have common features such as language, culture, or a shared history (because these factors are not necessarily distinctive enough to distinguish the community or its members from those around

[29] While physical proximity is certainly beneficial to maintaining connections with others (consider the well-known idiom, 'out of sight, out of mind'), patriotism, which, as Anderson notes, involves care for those one may never even meet, is a clear indication that individuals are fully capable of having an emotional connection to those beyond their immediate social circles. As Nathanson writes, in the case of patriotism, "People who are unknown to us become relevant by virtue of their being fellow citizens of our towns, cities, states, and nation. We come to think of ourselves as sharing a certain fate with them, as part of a common endeavor, even though we lack direct, personal connections to them" (166).

them) – but because they identify with each other and identify themselves with a common goal: the patria.[30]

**Who Creates the Patria? Individual vs. Collective Consciousnesses**

A second issue which must be discussed if one is to accept a subjective view of the patria's creation is the issue of which agent is involved in creating the patria. If the patria is not objective, but is created by its 'coming into consciousness,' then to whose subjective consciousness do we refer? Does the patria come into being within the individual consciousness or the collective consciousness of a community?

Put simply then, the question becomes: who creates the patria, and how do they do it? These questions also have direct implications for understanding the nature of patriotism and whether it is individual or collective. Here it is valuable to return briefly to the discussion of how communities are formed. If we accept the idea that communities are formed by an individual's identification with a community and then by a collective acceptance of the individual into the community by others, it seems logical to conclude that the creation of the patria is a two-way street and is formed by two processes of consciousness, one individual and another collective. Both processes are necessary for the formation of the patria and the processes are simultaneous.

The patria is a community, and as a community, it is not surprising that group consciousness should play an important role.[31] An individual consciousness is insufficient to create a community, unless it is to be an 'imagined community' in the most literal sense. At the same time, if we investigate the formation of group consciousness more deeply, it seems that individual consciousness must play a critical role in the formation of any group identity.[32] The

[30] In a word, the patria is *created subjectively*, but *exists objectively*.
[31] Indeed, it could be argued that the essence of the patria is its role as a group identity.
[32] It is worth noting that it is fairly common for certain individuals to play a highly influential role in the development of national consciousness and to shape the way the patria is perceived. This is illustrated by the

concept of identity loses much of its meaning when it does not have some degree of connection to the individual. Group identity is dependent on an individual identifying with the group. Arguably, the very legitimacy of group identity consists of a perceived sameness in individual identity; group identity is formed when individuals perceive themselves as similar to or connected to others and therefore identify with them.[33] When multiple individuals identify with each other, then a group identity is cultivated.

However, the *way* in which the group identity is cultivated is based upon the ways in which the individuals' acts of identification are interpreted *by the group*. The way the group identity is developed and elaborated is usually a process of negotiation among members, with the final interpretation being the result of the clashing and merging of various members' contributions.[34] Thus, individual agency plays a crucial role in the initial formation of a discernable group; however, the further development of group identity is no longer a clear result of individual decisions but an often blurred merging of various conceptions of what the group is, which continues to evolve over time.

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centrality of certain individuals in a particular culture and is especially common in the case of famous writers, artists, poets, politicians, and those who advocate or fight for political independence or cultural recognition. It is often the speeches or writing of such individuals that causes the concept of the patria to take hold over the rest of society. On the other hand, arguably the role of these figures lies not so much in their promotion of a certain conception of the patria but in their glorification within the collective national consciousness as heroes. Thus, in some cases, it is not so much the individuals themselves (or their actual actions or creations) that contribute to the formation of the patria, but rather, the fact that they become accepted as part of the culture itself (and therefore a source of unity and shared pride) which causes them to play a significant role.

[33] Theoretically, the opposite argument could also be postulated – that individual identity is dependent on group identity – that without society, individuals would have no basis for formulating an independent identity. However, it seems more natural to take the view that, like Oldenquist's concentric circles model, individuals first become aware of the self and their concern later expands to include those around them as they become aware of their identity as part of a group.

[34] While the patria is characterized by a certain group identity, it should be noted that the way the patria is perceived – the question of what it is like, and even the question of what it is – may vary significantly. Within one society, there are a wide range of views about what the patria is, what is important to it, and how it should be promoted or protected. As Cynthia Townley writes, "groups are internally complex," and there can be problems "when groups are misconceived as homogenous or unified" (175).

**Loving the Patria**

*Degrees of Love*

> Where is the dividing line between those generations who paid too little
>
> and those who paid too much?
>
> On which side of that line are we?
>
> (John Paul II, *Memory* 74)

What is the meaning of true love? This question has had unquestionable significance for humanity and is no less relevant in the context of patriotism. It is especially significant when considering the ethical dimension of patriotism. Love always requires a certain degree of sacrifice. How much should one be prepared to sacrifice for the patria? *Is it possible to love the patria too much*? At first glance, it may seem that such a thing would be impossible, after all, if true love is often characterized by selflessness, it seems that it would not need to be limited. Nevertheless, it is often noted that in the case of patriotism, the same passion which compels individuals to lay down their lives for their country is very often the same passion which compels them to kill others for little or no reason. In this light, Pope John Paul II's question, "Where is the dividing line?" becomes essential for evaluating patriotism. While the fervour of patriotic sentiment may seem to suggest that unconditional love of the patria is desirable, the poem of Pope John Paul II is a reminder that it is possible to give up too much for the sake of the patria and also highlights the fact that it can be difficult to determine how much is 'too much.' One does not have to look far to see why there is concern about patriotic love being taken too far. A common argument against patriotism is that it promotes hatred of other communities by encouraging othering. In this way, patriotism is often viewed as responsible for catastrophic wars

and acts of violence.[35] Tolstoy held this view and therefore viewed patriotism as contrary to Christian values.

Nathanson argues that there are three levels of concern – three ways of loving – which one may feel towards one's country in relation to other countries, arguing that not all forms of patriotic commitment lead to hatred of others:

> First, there is *special* concern for one's country, a higher degree of concern for one's country than for others. Second, there is *exclusive* concern. This couples concern for one's own country with indifference or hostility to others. Finally, there is *aggressive* concern, a form that requires not only benefits to one's own country but dominance over others. (7)

This distinction is highly significant because it shows that feelings of affection for the patria are not necessarily linked to negative feelings towards those outside the patria and therefore these negative feelings are not an essential part of patriotism. However, this quotation also illustrates the danger of having an aggressive form of concern for the patria, which may well lead to the support of violent means to promote one's own patria at the expense of others.

The way in which love is viewed is a distinguishing factor and can be said to mark the division between the two kinds of patriotism described by Nathanson: moderate patriotism and extreme patriotism. Extreme patriotism is characterized by an extreme, almost fanatical commitment to the patria which takes priority over all other concerns. In his critique of extreme

[35] As Nathanson and Schaar acknowledge, this is a morally significant accusation and cannot simply be ignored, "While love of one's country might appear to be a noble sentiment, it should certainly be rejected if it in fact leads inevitably to armed conflict and widespread human suffering" (Nathanson 11), and "Patriotism obviously costs too much if its price is world peace and justice" (Schaar 252). Nevertheless, as Nathanson later shows, it is not clear that all forms of patriotism should be viewed as inseparable from war and injustice.

patriotism, Primoratz provides an example of the problematic approach taken by some proponents of this form of patriotism:

> 'When the safety of one's country wholly depends on the decision to be taken, no attention should be paid either to justice or injustice, to kindness or cruelty, or to its being praiseworthy or ignominious.' Whatever the paramount political concern is – the power and glory of a prince, or the safety of a republic – if it requires setting aside moral considerations, including even those most weighty, that is what a true prince, and a true citizen, should do. If he succeeds in establishing and preserving a principality . . . or in safeguarding a republic, all this injustice, cruelty, and ignominy will be soon forgotten. 'Our country, right or wrong.' ("Patriotism and Morality" 20)

This shows very clearly that extreme patriotism promotes a focus on the *end* rather than the *means*. With extreme patriotism, the goals of the patria are to be pursued at all costs, regardless of whether the means used to pursue these ends are praiseworthy or respectable. The ethical value of a given action is secondary to the well-being of the patria. Extreme patriotism, then, is not only extreme. It is *absolute*. It requires one to view the goals and values of the patria as being unquestionable and of the utmost importance. As Nathanson observes, "It is characterized by a belief in the superiority of one's country, a desire that one's own country dominate others, an exclusive concern for one's country, a rejection of any constraints on the pursuit of national well-being, and uncritical support for one's government with respect to war" ("Is" 76). Extreme patriotism puts the needs, goals, and well-being of the nation *above all else*.

Moderate patriotism, on the other hand (sometimes referred to as 'emasculated patriotism,' especially by those who unfavourably contrast it with extreme patriotism), is proposed by Nathanson as an alternative to extreme patriotism; it acknowledges that the ways in

which one may love the patria are restricted by universal morality and therefore accepts the fact that it is immoral to foster hatred towards other nations in the act of loving one's own and that it is immoral to pursue the goals of the patria if this involves a violation of human rights or significant harm to those of other nationalities (or significant harm to members of one's own nationality).

As Nathanson notes, one of the challenges against moderate patriotism is that it is not considered to be 'true love' of the patria. The limits imposed by universal morality are viewed as making the love of moderate patriotism 'conditional.' Nevertheless, it should be noted that most human commitments are viewed as limited in some way by morality, and this does not in any way diminish the *degree of love or care* associated with these commitments. For example, it would be considered outrageous and scandalous if an individual were to murder a person because that person insulted their spouse's haircut. Yet the fact that an individual might not be prepared to do such a thing for their spouse would not be viewed as diminishing their marital love in any way. Similarly, a parent may choose not to lie to or for their child, not because they love the child any less, but because they feel (for various reasons, such as ethics, or the desire that their child develop a sense of responsibility, or to avoid problems for the child in later life) that such an action would not be in the best interests of the child. Having moral standards does not undermine the legitimacy of personal relationships or reduce the fervour felt towards one's loved ones. One may still have unconditional love (insofar as such a thing is humanly possible) for an *individual* or for the *patria* while not being ready to offer unconditional support for whatever *project or action* that individual choses to pursue.

Thus, moderate patriotism is not distinguished from extreme patriotism by a less passionate love for the patria but rather by the fact that the ways in which this love is expressed

are also influenced by a concern for morality and care for humanity. Moderate patriotism is certainly no less heartfelt than extreme patriotism,[36] and in virtue of its greater subtlety, may well be considered more emotionally compelling.

*Extreme Patriotism vs. Ethical Patriotism*

It can be seen that the *means* utilized by extreme patriotism may be morally repulsive, but although the focus of extreme patriotism is on the ends rather than the means, its *ends* are also somewhat questionable. What does it mean to do anything for the 'well-being' of the patria? The problem with extreme patriotism's goal of promoting the well-being of the patria at all costs lies in the fact that what is considered essential to the 'well-being' of the patria will depend on what each individual views as an essential part of the patria and what their own priorities are. In other words, the understanding of 'well-being' is not objective and may vary from individual to individual. Does one define well-being in terms of economic well-being, political well-being, cultural well-being, social well-being, or ecological well-being, for example? One might argue that well-being must be understood as the sum (or perhaps average) of various aspects of well-being. However, this approach, too, is complicated because it is very often the case that the pursuit of one of these goals may undermine the others. For example, the use of military force to defend the *political* well-being of the patria and its territorial integrity may undermine its *ecological* well-being because of the damaging effects of war on the environment, its *cultural* well-being of the patria if important historic sites are destroyed, its *economic* well-being because of the immense cost of war, or its *social* well-being if many citizens are killed or lose their homes.

[36] As will be seen, the writing of Pope John Paul II provides an interesting example of a patriotism which is limited by moral concerns but still has all the emotion and passion which is characteristic of patriotism. His deep love of Poland can be seen, for example, when he says, "I take leave of Poland! I take leave of my native land! As I depart I kiss the ground, from which my heart can never be detached" ("Farewell Ceremony" sec. 2).

If the concept of well-being itself is essentially subjective, perhaps it cannot be understood in singular terms – perhaps it is impossible to refer to an 'overall well-being,' and one must instead understand this well-being in terms of such categories (for example 'economic well-being,' or 'cultural well-being'). Nevertheless, the difficulty of dividing the category of 'well-being' into separate groups is that it presents a temptation to view all categories as equal. For example, it is clear that in certain situations, the *overall good* of the patria would be jeopardized if one were to give priority to the economic well-being of the patria (such as during a time of natural disaster when the lives of citizens are at risk). It seems that there must be an internal ranking of priorities in terms of the patria's well-being, but it is still unclear whether such a ranking can be objective or whether it is necessarily subjective. There is also the possibility that it is conditional – that the ordering of the different aspects of a patria's well-being is entirely dependent on the circumstances.

Primoratz's proposition of an ethical version of patriotism, a patriotism which focuses on preserving the *moral* well-being of the patria, provides a valuable starting point for discussing some of the less commonly noticed aspects of the well-being of the patria. Considering the importance of values in the formation of the patria, moral issues may well be a central part of the patria's identity. Primoratz describes an ethical version of patriotism as being concerned with:

> the country's distinctively moral well-being, its moral identity and integrity. A patriot of this sort would not express her love for the *patria* by seeking to husband her country's resources and preserve its natural beauty and its historical heritage, or make it rich, powerful, culturally predominant, or influential on the world scene. Instead, she would want to see her country live up to moral requirements and promote moral values, both at home and internationally. She would work for a just and humane society at home, and

> seek to make sure that her country acts justly beyond its borders, and shows common human solidarity towards those in need. ("Patriotism and Morality" 32)

The idea of a patriotism focused on the *moral* well-being of the patria highlights the fact that the power or influence of the patria, or even the goals or activities promoted by the patria, are not the only aspect, nor even the most important aspect, of its well-being. In addition, the idea of moral well-being contradicts the argument that patriotism is at odds with universal morality. While one may view unconditionally supporting the activities associated with the patria as the ultimate expression of concern for the patria's well-being, if these activities harm the moral well-being of the patria, then opposing such activities may be just as great an expression (if not a greater expression) of patriotism.

Thus, extreme patriotism involves somewhat of a misconception in that it does not actually prioritize the *well-being* of the nation above all else but prioritizes *a certain aspect* of the well-being of the nation above all else. This results not only in problems of universal morality (not to mention the political and social problems at the practical level) but also means that extreme patriotism may actually damage the overall good of the patria because it does not balance the various aspects of the patria's well-being and may thereby overlook aspects of the patria's well-being which are essential to its existence.

Therefore, despite claims that extreme patriotism is the only full-fledged or acceptable form of patriotism, it seems that extreme patriotism is actually contrary to its own goals. Not only is extreme patriotism incompatible with the requirements of morality, but it is actually *detrimental to the good of the patria*. Extreme patriotism is not characterized, then, by a stronger, deeper, or more intense love of the patria, but rather by a misguided love. This sheds light on an

important aspect of patriotism: it is not possible to love one's country too much; it is simply a matter of loving it *in the right way*.

*Expressions of Love*

Oldenquist sums up the emotions which one may feel towards the object of one's loyalty (in the case of patriotism, the feelings one has towards the patria): "I am disposed to feel pride when it prospers, shame when it declines, and anger or indignation when it is harmed" (27). Those who dismiss moderate patriotism as being too weak often overlook the fact that patriotic love can be expressed in various ways and assume that pride is the only emotion which exemplifies the patriotic sentiment. However, this is not the case. It is possible and appropriate that a patriot should have "feelings of pride when the country acts well or shame when it acts poorly" (Nathanson 35). Marcia Baron draws attention to the fact that shame is not often considered to exemplify patriotic sentiment, writing that pride "is often easier to pinpoint as an expression of patriotism that is familiar to many of us [than] the shame we feel over our government's actions – and over our compatriots, for supporting a leader we believe to be morally abominable" (77).[37] Nevertheless, both a sense of pride and shame may be expressions of patriotism because both originate from a feeling of connection with one's country and both may arise as a result of love of one's country. Oldenquist illustrates this point, writing:

> Feeling shame about something is as much a sign of loyalty as is pride . . . I cannot be proud or ashamed, or loyal or alienated, unless I somehow view the thing as mine. I can be neither proud nor ashamed of an iceberg unless I am able to discover or create some

[37] The role of disappointment as an expression of patriotism is perhaps not so difficult to perceive when considered in other contexts – in the context of sport, for example. If one's team loses at an important event, declarations of pride in one's team would not necessarily be the most appropriate reaction. Rather, those who care most about the team will likely express their feelings in terms of disappointment, not because they want to distance themselves from the team or no longer care for it, but because in such a situation, this is actually the most genuine expression of connection with one's team. Similarly, in a time of moral crisis, the best expression of connection to the patria may be expressed through shame or disappointment.

> connection between myself and the iceberg which enables me to think of it as *my* iceberg (38).

Baron writes that "shame *does* reflect a concern for our country's flourishing, and thus really does, I think, express a patriotic attitude . . . But there is pride as well as shame, and there is commitment, too – commitment to trying to improve our community, rather than giving up on it" (77). Indeed, if the patria is tainted by evil actions, one who cares about the patria (in a broader sense than the extreme patriot) will care about the moral state of the patria and its reputation and will feel a sense of shame or disappointment when it does wrong. Nevertheless, as Baron notes, patriotic commitment can serve as a motivating factor to overcome this disappointment, not by ignoring or overlooking the flaws of the patria, but by *striving to improve it* in whatever way possible. The fact that patriotism can be expressed both through pride in the patria or through disappointment is significant, especially for the idea of moderate patriotism, because unlike extreme patriots, moderate patriots may not always support all the projects, activities, or decisions associated with the patria and therefore may experience disappointment as well as pride.

*Love as Transcendence*

Schaar writes that "patriotism is a way of being in the world, rather than a doctrine or program of action" (254). One of the ways in which patriotism gains significance is through its role in *transcendence*. All relationships which involve a genuine feeling of love necessarily involve an element of transcendence because love involves transcending the self in a unique way. Love causes one to view one's own concerns as secondary to the concerns and well-being of another individual and to be ready to make great sacrifices in order to promote the well-being of one's loved ones. Because patriotism also involves love, it creates a similar experience of

transcendence because it allows individuals *to go beyond themselves* and to view themselves as 'part of something bigger' – as members of a broader community – whose concerns they share and whose victories they treasure. This dimension of patriotism can be seen when Primoratz refers to patriotism's role in fulfilling the "need to belong to a collectivity and to be a part of a wider narrative, to be related to a past and a future that transcend the narrow confines of the individual's life" (*Patriotism* 11-12). Pope John Paul II describes how culture also paves the way for this transcendence, writing, "Culture is that through which man, as man, becomes more man, 'is' more . . . The nation exists 'through' culture and 'for' culture and it is therefore the great educator of men in order that they may 'be more' in the community. It is this community which possesses a history that goes beyond the history of the individual and the family" (*Memory* 85). The concept of 'being more' illustrates how culture and the patria can both be used to endow life with deeper meaning and in this way allow individuals to transcend themselves and be part of a larger community and also to have a sense of historical continuity through the history of the patria. Ross Poole describes this process in greater detail when he writes:

> In other words, our conception of ourselves connects us to the nation and also to our fellow members. This provides us with the capacity to identify with a larger and more satisfying narrative than that provided by our private affairs. It provides a sense of oneself as belonging to an historical community, such that one's own well-being is bound up with that of the community. It provides a glimpse – indeed, an experience – of the powers and triumphs, glories and tragedies which are part of the nation's histories and achievements. It even allows, for a moment, the transcendence of one's finitude. (145)

Poole shows how the patriot's identification with the patria creates a sense of belonging which provides transcendence through the experience of a shared history and thus provides greater

meaning and allows individuals to understand themselves as part of a story[38] which goes beyond their own lives.

## POLISH PATRIOTISM: THE PATRIOTISM OF POPE JOHN PAUL II[39]

### Manifestations of Patriotism

While it can be seen that patriotism, as love of one's homeland, can be considered a *universal experience* and even an essential human sentiment, there are many different ways to connect with the patria, and the patria is often characterized in very different ways in different cultures. This can be seen at even the most superficial level in terms of how one refers to the patria. In some cultures (such as Russian culture), the patria is referred to as the 'motherland' and thus given a maternal image, while in other cultures (in Polish and Ukrainian culture for example), the patria is generally referred to as the 'fatherland,' emphasizing a fatherly, and, arguably, paternalistic perspective on the patria. In still other cultures (in North American culture, for example), the patria is most often considered simply as the 'homeland' without being given a filial connotation. At a deeper level, there may be even more variation in terms of what duties are associated with the patria, what is viewed as the flourishing of the patria, and how individuals perceive their relationship with the patria. In light of these differences, how should one approach the issue of patriotism in the context of *individual cultures*? Should different

[38] Alasdair MacIntyre uses this analogy to illustrate the role of transcendence in patriotism, when he writes:

> Each one of us to some degree or other understands his or her life as an enacted narrative; and because of our relationships with others we have to understand ourselves as characters in the enacted narratives of other people's lives. Moreover the story of each of our lives is characteristically embedded in the story of one or more larger units. I understand the story of my life in such a way that it is part of the history of my family or of this farm or of this university or of this countryside; and I understand the story of the lives of other individuals around me as embedded in the same larger stories, so that I and they share a common stake in the outcome of that story and in what sort of story it both is and is to be: tragic, heroic, comic. (54-55)

[39] Some of the ideas in this section are a further development of thoughts put forward in the presentation, "Pope John Paul II and Polish Patriotism" (Sophia Jewell and Isabel Jewell).

cultures be viewed as having their own patriotisms which correspond to their specific cultural, historical, and social circumstances? These questions are especially significant when studying the patriotism of a particular culture. To what extent should patriotism be approached as a universal concept, and to what extent should it be viewed as culturally specific?

This issue is complicated by the fact that the image of the patria is often surrounded by an aura of uniqueness. Of course, the idea of the patria as being unique is not necessarily false. There is a certain level on which each patria *is* and *should be considered* a unique entity. However, in the context of the patria, 'uniqueness' may also be used as a pretext for a certain community to view itself as superior to other communities. The idea that there are multiple patriotisms may quickly lead to the problem that can occur when nationalism is contrasted with patriotism[40] because other patriotisms may then be contrasted with one's own patriotism, with the idea that one's own patriotism is acceptable and wholesome, while the patriotisms of others are dangerous and destructive. There is also the issue of plurality. If one adopts the model proposed by Nathanson, which separates moderate patriotism from extreme patriotism, then it seems that it would be possible for either variation to be present in any culture. Therefore, it seems rather dangerous to propose that each culture has its own variety of patriotism, with the risk that it may soon be found that there are multiple patriotisms within one culture or even that each individual has their own vision of patriotism. In certain ways, there may be some truth in this approach. After all, it would be a mistake to assume that all individuals take the same approach to the patria and express their patriotism in the same way. However, to reduce

[40] There has been a common view of the relationship between patriotism and nationalism which suggests that patriotism is love of one's country without belief in its superiority, while nationalism involves hatred of other countries in addition to love of one's own. This *in and of itself* is not necessarily an issue (being an issue of terminology and word usage), but it does become problematic, when, as Poole writes, "we are inclined to think of ourselves as patriots and to reserve the term 'nationalist' for those on the other side" (129).

patriotism to the level of the individual also seems to deny the fact that patriotism is not created only by the individual but is created by a two-way process involving both the individual and the community. Therefore, it seems that while an individual's patriotism may differ from that of the wider community in many ways, it should not necessarily be viewed as wholly separate from it or as a separate patriotism altogether.

Given the interconnectedness of an individual's patriotism, the patriotism of the community, and patriotism as a universal concept, perhaps it is best to explain variety within patriotism in terms of patriotism's *manifestations* or *expressions*, rather than referring to individual patriotisms. Thus, there do not exist multiple *varieties* of patriotism but simply multiple *manifestations* of patriotism. Patriotism may take on different characteristics in different cultural contexts and may develop in various ways over time, but it can still be identified with universal patriotism. Similarly, while the way in which one is patriotic and the way in which one views the patria may differ from individual to individual, this may be viewed as an expression of a more general phenomenon, as it is still closely connected to the patriotism of the group as a whole. In this way, it is possible to account for the differences in the way various cultures express patriotism. Understood in such a way, variations within patriotism can be examined without the danger of generalizing these variations to be representative of patriotism as a universal concept.

What is the relationship between universal patriotism and the specific manifestations of patriotism? How should one go about analysing patriotism in terms of its specific manifestations? Perhaps the manifestations of patriotism can be understood in terms of Nathanson's description of popular patriotism or "patriotism as we ordinarily think of it" (Nathanson 199). Unlike patriotism as a universal concept, popular patriotism takes on different forms in different cultural contexts. However, Nathanson views popular patriotism as incoherent

and problematic, writing that popular patriotism "is not a definite doctrine at all. It is a diffuse and often inconsistent set of attitudes" and arguing that "If we could shake it off, we would have an enriched and healthier popular conception of patriotism" (210). Most of Nathanson's critique of popular patriotism seems to arise from his reservations about the specific flavour of American patriotism. Nathanson observes that in the United States, popular patriotism is characterized primarily by a ritualistic focus and militarism: "In the United States, the most prominent patriotic images involve the flag and military service" (200).

Nathanson's primary goal is to distinguish the universal form of patriotism, as love of one's country, from its manifestations in popular culture. This can be seen when he writes, "it is a mistake to equate patriotism with the popular images of patriotism" (205). This is an essential point because as can be seen, if an individual were to allow their personal experience of a specific manifestation of patriotism to shape their view of patriotism as a universal concept, they would get a distorted sense of patriotism. To confuse a manifestation of patriotism with patriotism as a universal concept would be a serious mistake and could lead one to reject patriotism altogether, simply because one manifestation of patriotism has problematic features.

At the same time, I feel that when popular patriotism is characterized as a *manifestation* of patriotism as a universal concept, rather than as a rival to it, popular patriotism is not a distortion, but a useful concept for understanding patriotism in specific cultural contexts.[41] It is true that the values espoused by popular patriotism may at times be less than admirable but they are revealing because they reflect the way patriotism is expressed in various ways by various cultures. Popular

[41] At the same time, it should be noted that patriotism (as a universal concept) may also play a role in specific cultural contexts, especially in cases where the values of popular patriotism are less than ideal. In such cases, as Nathanson describes in the context of the United States, individuals may (and in many cases should) reject the popular form of patriotism and choose to express universal patriotism in their own way. This is possible because, as Nathanson writes, "Ordinary thought is not limited to the popular image. It also includes the general concept of love of country, and this concept provides the basis for criticizing the narrowness of the popular image" (206).

patriotism, then, is important because it provides the starting point for evaluating the characteristics (positive or negative) which patriotism takes on in different cultural settings and for comparing various expressions of patriotism. Therefore, I will examine the characteristics of popular patriotism in the Polish context.

There are a variety of ways to approach the study of popular patriotism. I will approach popular patriotism by analysing the works of Pope John Paul II. Nevertheless, in any case in which one expression of patriotism is used to study popular patriotism, it is necessary to ask: to what extent can the patriotism of a single individual be viewed as representative?

Patriotism of the individual may differ in substantial ways from the patriotism of the group as a whole. At its heart, patriotism is a personal experience of connection to the patria and therefore, each individual is likely to express their feelings of patriotism in their own way. While the individual shares a feeling of commitment with fellow members of their community, different individuals may prioritize different aspects of the patria's well-being. Therefore, one must avoid the danger of generalizing the experience of one individual to the group as a whole. At the same time, the patriotism of the individual is influenced by the patriotism of the group and can be considered an *expression* of this patriotism. In the case of certain individuals, it may even be the case that their own version of patriotism influences the way others express their patriotism or even how the community as a whole approaches patriotism. Because the individual expression of patriotism is linked to the community, an analysis of individual expressions of patriotism may still offer valuable insight into the patriotism of the group, and may serve as a valuable case-study, even if only a tentative assessment of the group's patriotism may be offered based on it. Therefore, while the patriotism of the individual may not be able to serve as a *representation* of

the patriotism of the group as a whole, the patriotism of the individual is still an *example* of the patriotism of the group and shows one interpretation of this patriotism.

## The Flavour of Polish Patriotism: A Tentative Assessment

### *Catholicism*

Turning to Polish culture, if each culture has its own manifestation of patriotism, it is valuable to consider some of its primary characteristics as expressed in the writing of Pope John Paul II. One of the central aspects of Pope John Paul II's patriotism is its spiritual aspect. Poland is understood not only in a territorial or cultural sense but also in a deeply spiritual sense. As he writes, "trudno jest zrozumieć dzieje naszej Ojczyzny, nasze historyczne «wczoraj» a także i «dzisiaj», bez Chrystusa" 'It is difficult to comprehend the history of our Homeland, our historical "yesterday" and also "today" without Christ' ("Solemn Concelebration" sec. 3; my trans.). The spiritual element in his conception of the patria can also be seen in his speech to the Polish community in Mexico, where he describes the close relationship between Polish identity and the Catholic Church:

> For the Poles, wherever they may be in the world, maintain ties with their native country through the Church, through the memory of the Mother of God of Jasna Gora,[42] through our patron saints, through the ties maintained thanks to the religious traditions with which the people have lived for a thousand years and still live. ("Address, Mexico")

This speech shows how elements of religious significance, such as patron saints and spiritual traditions, can also become a key part of the patria. It also shows how for Pope John Paul II, the religious element is inseparable from Polish identity and Polish tradition. These elements are so intertwined with Polishness that religious traditions which are specifically Polish may serve as a

[42] Polish diacritics are not added in cases when they were absent from the original translation.

unifying force, allowing those in the diaspora to experience the patria in a special way. The significance of religious-Polish symbols is noted by Törnquist-Plewa, who describes their development historically, writing that:

> National (in the meaning of that time) and religious goals were linked and that resulted, among other things, in a number of myths and symbols of national-cum-religious character, such as the icon of the Virgin Mary of Częstochowa, known as 'the Black Madonna' and 'the Queen of Poland' . . . In the process of nation-building these myths and symbols became part of Polish national identity. They had a mobilizing and integrating function. (196-97)

Another example of the close relationship between the Church and Polish patriotism can be found when Pope John Paul II says, during the last day of his first trip to Poland:

> And so, before I leave you, I wish to give one more look at Krakow, this Krakow in which every stone and every brick is dear to me. And I look once more on my Poland. So, before going away, I beg you once again to accept the whole of the spiritual legacy which goes by the name of "Poland," with the faith, hope and charity that Christ poured into us at our holy Baptism. ("Holy Mass" sec. 5)

Pope John Paul II emphasizes the significance of Poland's spiritual legacy and its close connection to Poland's identity as a nation. In another speech, Pope John Paul II says:

> I greet you in the name of Christ, as I learned to greet people here in Poland . . . in Poland, this country in which, as the poet Cyprian Norwid wrote, "people gather up, through respect for heaven's gifts, every crumb that falls to the ground;" where the first greeting is an eternal confession of Christ: Praised by Jesus Christ! ("Welcoming Ceremony, Warsaw" sec. 3)

This quotation reveals how in his own personal experience, the experience of religion is closely associated with Polish identity. The phrase, "as I learned to greet people here in Poland" shows how he views Poland as his homeland and the place of his childhood. Poland is "the place in which he came to the light of day and the light of faith" (John Paul II, "Address, Rome"). This connection can also be seen when he describes Poland as "that blessed and fertile land in which I put down my roots as man, as a priest and as a bishop" ("Address, Rome"). Therefore, just as religion is a defining feature of his Polish identity, his Polish identity also shaped the development of his religious experience.

While the religious element of Pope John Paul II's patriotism might be dismissed as simply the result of his personal faith, this would be a mistake, because religion has also played an influential role in the development of Polish identity. Törnquist-Plewa describes how historically "The Catholic faith itself was an identity-marker" (197), especially among peasants in border areas. Nevertheless, the role of religion in Polish culture, especially in contemporary times, is a contentious issue.[43] Therefore, it is important to note that the suggestion here is not that all Poles associate their patriotism with religion, or that religion has played an equally relevant role at all times, or that religiosity is a requirement of Polish patriotism. Indeed, it has been argued that the prevalence of religious influence on Polish patriotism has been declining in recent times[44] (or at least has become more questioned), which may be reflected in an increased separation between Church and State. Nevertheless, religion has been a significant factor in the

[43] It is sometimes argued that there is a lack of separation between Church and State, and there have been controversies regarding abortion, religious education, as well as anti-Semitism in cases when anti-Semitism was expressed by individuals who belonged to the Church (and in some cases even clergy). The goal of this essay is not to assess the effects of the Church's influence on Polish society but to discuss the connection between the Church and the patria.

[44] Törnquist-Plewa notes, for example, how "Catholic religion as a marker of nationality gradually diminished in importance during the twentieth century, even though the position of the Catholic Church in Polish society was fortified during the years of Communist persecution" (198).

development of Polish patriotism and Polish identity, and because of its influence on Polish culture, it continues to remain an important element of Polish patriotism for some. As Norman Davies writes, "Some scholars have chosen to minimize the Catholic contributions to Polish nationhood . . . But to deny that Catholicism acted as one of the major spurs to national consciousness is as absurd as to maintain that Polishness and Catholicism were identical" (15-16). Pope John Paul II succinctly summarizes the relationship between Polish identity and Catholicism, writing, "They are clearly distinct from one another, yet their mutual influence is profound" (*Memory* 91).

It should be noted that the centrality of religion in Polish identity should not be viewed as a promotion of religious homogeneity. The significance of Christianity in Polish identity should not be perceived as a barrier to religious diversity. While it is true that at certain times Christianity was viewed as being in opposition to other religions, which sometimes led to a lack of religious tolerance, this was certainly not always the case and should not be the case. Pope John Paul II noted on several occasions the importance of cultural and religious diversity, especially with regards to Poland, writing that the Polish spirit of the Jagiellonian era "made possible the emergence of a Republic embracing many nations, many cultures, many religions. All Poles bear within themselves a sense of this religious and national diversity" (*Memory* 87). Pope John Paul II also notes the patriotism of those from other religious backgrounds, showing that Polish patriotism is by no means limited to those of a certain religious or ethnic background, "A further element of great importance in the ethnic composition of Poland was the presence of the Jews . . . what struck me about some of them was their Polish patriotism. Fundamental to the Polish spirit, then, is multiplicity and pluralism, not limitation and closure" (*Memory* 87). Nevertheless, he also laments the fact that this ideal is not always the reality, "It seems, though,

that the 'Jagiellonian' dimension of the Polish spirit, mentioned above, has sadly ceased to be an evident feature of our time" (*Memory* 87). Stefan Auer notes the extremely damaging effects of Catholic individuals who propagated anti-Semitic ideas, but also clarifies that "the Polish Catholic Church as a whole should not be equated with Father Jankowski's views, nor the broadcasts of Radio Maryja. The pope, who certainly enjoys more respect and popularity than Jankowski or Rydzyk, is known for his stance against anti-Semitism" (73). Törnquist-Plewa discusses the relationship between Polish identity and Catholicism, arguing that while Catholic tradition is a central aspect of Polish culture, being Catholic is by no means a requirement of Polish identity:

> However, it is not the Catholic faith itself, but Catholic tradition, entwined with the national element in the Polish cultural heritage, that is relevant for Polish national identification. It is the internalization of this cultural code (including myths, customs, attitudes) and not affiliation to the Catholic Church, that today is significant for one's national identity in Poland. (198)

For Pope John Paul II, the roots of religion's connection with Polish identity lie in its role in the historical development of the Polish State. He describes this connection, stating that "throughout the course of history [Poland] has been linked with the Church of Christ and the See of Rome by a special bond of spiritual unity" ("Welcoming Ceremony, Warsaw" sec. 3). This bond of spiritual unity begins at the very start of Poland's history, as Pope John Paul II traces the beginning of the Polish State to Poland's baptism into the Catholic Church:

> When we speak of Poland's baptism, we are not simply referring to the sacrament of Christian initiation received by the first historical sovereign of Poland, but also to the event which was decisive for the birth of the nation and the formation of its Christian

> identity. In this sense, the date of Poland's baptism marks a turning point. Poland as a nation emerges from its prehistory at that moment and begins to exist in history. (*Memory* 77)

This shows the extent to which the history of Poland is linked to its religious development. Pope John Paul II is not alone in attributing such historical significance to the baptism of Poland. The painting of the famous Polish artist Jan Matejko, "Zaprowadzenie chrześcijaństwa" ("Adoption of Christianity"), also illustrates the significance of this event in the context of Polish history. Matejko's painting, which depicts the acceptance of Christianity by Mieszko I on Lake Lednica,[45] is the first painting in his series on Polish history. The fact that the series begins with this painting echoes the idea of Poland's baptism marking the beginning of Poland's history as a nation. In Matejko's painting, Mieszko I stands with his hand on the cross, while his brother Czcibor is baptized by St. Adalbert.

[45] Although the exact location of the baptism is unknown.

Fig. 2. Matejko, Jan. “Zaprowadzenie chrześcijaństwa R.P.965.” *Dzieje Cywilizacji w Polsce*, 1889, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, MP 3894 MNW. cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/pl/katalog/509496.

The white eagles circling overhead against the flaming sky may symbolize the Polish nation and may also be a reference to the legend of Lech, Cech, and Rus, which was originally described in the Wielkopolska Chronicle. The banner depicted in the background also resembles the Polish coat of arms. Such symbols emphasize the significance of the event in Polish history. As Andrzej M. Wyrwa writes of Poland’s baptism, “Tak czy inaczej, przy opisie historycznych dziejów Polski ukazywanie historii społeczeństwa żyjącego na terytorium nazwanym nieco później Polonią zawsze jednak rozpoczyna się właśnie od tego wydarzenia,” ‘One way or another, in accounts of Poland's history, depictions of the history of the society living on the territory later called Polonia always begin from precisely this event’ (Ciciora 9; my trans.).

Pope John Paul II draws again from historical examples when discussing the development of the patria and Polish culture, writing:

> We Poles, for example, trace ours [Polish culture] back to the song *Bogurodzica (Mother of God)*, the earliest Polish poetry to be written down, and also to the centuries-old melody which accompanies it: from this and all that followed, we draw life . . . The song *Bogurodzica* comes specifically from the Gniezno tradition in Polish culture. This is the tradition of Adalbert, Poland's patron saint, to whom the song is actually attributed. It is a tradition stretching back through centuries. The song *Bogurodzica* became the national anthem, and it guided the Polish and Lithuanian armies in their battle against the Teutonic Order at Grunwald. There is a distinct tradition, originating from Kraków and linked to the cult of Saint Stanislaus. (*Memory* 83)

This again reveals the significance of Christianity to the development of a specifically Polish identity and shows how some of the oldest elements of Polish culture are linked to religion. It also highlights the significance of patron saints such as St. Adalbert (St. Wojciech) and St. Stanislaus (St. Stanisław), who were significant in the Church but who also had a special place in Polish culture and thus served as another link between Poland and Catholicism. The connection between religion and the development of the Polish nation has been noted at various points in Polish history. Törnquist-Plewa describes the relationship between Poland and the Church in the seventeenth century:

> Moreover, the connection between Polishness and Catholicism had its roots in the Nobility Republic of the seventeenth century, when the Counter-Reformation had its heyday. At that time, Poland had fought wars with neighbours of other creeds: Protestant Swedes, Orthodox Russians, Muslim Turks. Poland adopted the role of 'the bulwark of Christianity' (196).

The influence of religion has also been observed following the partitions, when the Church served to unite Poles in the absence of the State:

> Another unifying factor was the Catholic Church, not least because the Poles now found themselves as minorities among an Orthodox majority in the Russian Empire and a Protestant majority in Prussia (Austria was Catholic.) The Church also represented the continuity of the vanished state, since it was the only Polish institution that had survived the state's fall. It cultivated the Polish language; priests of lower rank joined in the struggle for liberation. (Törnquist-Plewa 196)

Auer notes the cooperation between religion and culture in resisting Communism in Poland: “The Catholic religion became the unifying force of Polish resistance to the communist regime” and also explains how the Solidarność movement was often connected to religion. He describes how the Church “was symbolized by the ever-present crucifix at the meetings of Solidarność. Not only did all the gatherings have some religious connotations, but most religious ceremonies increasingly assumed the role of political demonstrations” (70).

This is not to suggest that members of the Church were always in support of nationalist movements or that religion was the sole factor in the development of national consciousness. My point is simply that the Church was often involved in some way at key points in Polish history. Pope John Paul II summarizes the close connection between Polish history and spirituality vividly, writing:

> *It is therefore impossible without Christ to understand the history of the Polish nation*—this great thousand-year-old community—that is so profoundly decisive for me and each one of us. If we reject this key to understanding our nation, we lay ourselves open to a substantial misunderstanding. We no longer understand ourselves. It is impossible without Christ to understand this nation with its past so full of splendour and also of terrible difficulties. It is impossible to understand this city, Warsaw, the capital of Poland, that undertook in 1944 an unequal battle against the aggressor, a battle in which it was abandoned by the allied powers, a battle in which it was buried under its own ruins—if it is not remembered that under those same ruins there was also the statue of Christ the Saviour with his cross that is in front of the church at Krakowskie Przedmiescie. It is impossible to understand the history of Poland from Stanislaus in Skalka to Maximilian

> Kolbe at Oswiecim unless we apply to them that same single *fundamental criterion* that is called Jesus Christ. ("Homily" sec. 3b)

From this it can be seen that Pope John Paul views religion not only as a significant aspect of the development of the Polish nation, but also as *essential* to understanding its history.

The spiritual element of Polish patriotism can also be seen in other sources, such as the Polish Constitution of 1997, which makes specific reference to God and the role of Christian values[46] in the development of Polish culture:

> We, the Polish Nation - all citizens of the Republic,
>
> Both those who believe in God as the source of truth, justice, good and beauty,
>
> As well as those not sharing such faith but respecting those universal values as arising from other sources, . . .
>
> Beholden to our ancestors for their labours, their struggle for independence achieved at great sacrifice, for our culture rooted in the Christian heritage of the Nation and in universal human values (Sejm)

The Polish Constitution[47] seems to echo Törnquist-Plewa's comment that Catholic tradition is "entwined with the national element in the Polish cultural heritage" (198).

The connection between religion and Polish patriotism can also be seen in Polish Messianism, a Romantic nationalist tendency which views Poland as having a unique historical destiny to redeem the world through its suffering following the example of Christ. Messianism can be found in the writing of prominent Polish poets such as Juliusz Słowacki, Zygmunt

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[46] I discussed the role of Christian values in the preamble of the Polish Constitution in an unpublished paper, "Shared Values: A Reaction to the Preambles of Three Slavic Constitutions."

[47] For an analysis of the Catholic element in the Polish Constitution and also the controversy regarding how the relationship between the Polish State and the Catholic Church should be represented in the Polish Constitution, see Stefan Auer, "Polish Nationalism" in *Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe*.

Krasiński, and most famously, Adam Mickiewicz. As Auer writes, "Adam Mickiewicz popularized the evocative metaphor of Poland as a saviour of humanity, as the 'Christ of nations,' that would, one day, liberate the world from injustice" (60).[48] The use of religious metaphors to understand the suffering and defeats of the Polish nation reveals how the two concepts were often deeply intertwined in patriotic thought.

*Solidarity*

The value of solidarity also plays an important role in Pope John Paul II's patriotism. The value of solidarity in the Polish context has two aspects. Firstly, it refers to solidarity at the national level, solidarity *with one's compatriots*, but it also refers to a broader solidarity *with all of humanity*, which can be seen in a general sense of purpose and responsibility towards Europe but also towards international goals.

Solidarity is characterized by a sense of unity and mutual concern. In many ways, it is not surprising that solidarity should play an important role in Polish patriotism because, to a certain extent, solidarity must play a central role in any manifestation of patriotism, as a sense of belonging and shared concern for a group and common goals is an essential aspect of patriotism. In his encyclical, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, Pope John Paul II describes solidarity in the following way:

> It is above all a question of interdependence, sensed as a system determining relationships in the contemporary world, in its economic, cultural, political and religious elements, and accepted as a moral category. When interdependence becomes recognized in this way, the correlative response as a moral and social attitude, as a "virtue," is solidarity. This then is

[48] The concept of Messianism has been criticized for cultivating a sense of victimhood which makes it more difficult to come to terms with negative aspects of Polish history. Fr. Musiał, for example, says in an interview that "We have a mythology of ourselves as martyr nation . . . We are always good. The others are bad. With this national image, it was absolutely impossible that Polish people could do bad things to others" (qtd. in Engelberg).

> not a feeling of vague compassion or shallow distress at the misfortunes of so many people, both near and far. On the contrary, it is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good; that is to say to the good of all and of each individual, because we are all really responsible for all. (sec. 38)

Solidarity can have several focuses. Firstly, it may express a sense of commitment and attachment to a specific group and the well-being of that group. Secondly, it may express a sense of shared goals and commitment to a certain cause. Thirdly, it may foster a sense of loyalty to the individual members of the group and therefore a sense of belonging. All these elements of solidarity can be found in the speeches of Pope John Paul II. For example, in his speech to the civil authorities in Poland, he says:

> I also permit myself to express *my happiness for all the good things* that are shared in by my fellow-countrymen, living in the motherland, of whatever nature these good things may be and whatever be the inspiration from which they come . . . This good, and every further success in the greatest abundance and in every sector of life, I wish for Poland. Gentlemen, permit me to continue to consider this good as my own, and to feel my sharing in it as deeply as if I still lived in this land and were still a citizen of this State. And with the same, or perhaps even with increased intensity by reason of distance, I shall continue to feel in my heart everything that could threaten Poland, that could hurt her, that could be to her disadvantage, that could signify stagnation or a crisis. ("Meeting, Warsaw")

Pope John Paul II displays his feelings of solidarity with Poland because, firstly, he expresses a feeling of *sharing* in the experience of his fellow Poles, both by the joy he feels when Poland prospers and also by the suffering he experiences when she does not. In addition, his sense of solidarity can be seen in his genuine care for the well-being of fellow Poles and for

Poland, wishing them "every further success in the greatest abundance" regardless of the source it may come from or the form this good may take. This reveals his patriotic commitment and also the prominent role that solidarity plays in the expression of his patriotic sentiment. His great hopes for Poland, his feeling of connection, and his sense of sharing in their experience show clearly the fact that despite living away from Poland, he continued to have a strong sense of solidarity and commitment to the good of his compatriots. His speech shows that he continues to feel an acute connection to them and shares their concerns. Indeed, it seems that his absence from Poland gives him an even greater urge to express and emphasize his feelings of solidarity with fellow Poles and his deep support for the Polish cause. This desire can also be seen when he says, "*I greet you, Poland, my homeland*! Although I happen to live a long way away, still I do not cease to feel a son of this land, and nothing which concerns it is alien to me. Citizens of Poland, *I rejoice with you at your achievements and I share in your concerns!*" ("Welcome Ceremony, Wrocław" sec. 2).

His deep feeling of connection to the lives and concerns of his compatriots can be seen when he refers to himself as having a "sacrosanct right to share the sentiments of his own nation" ("Farewell Ceremony" sec. 2). This shows the deepness of his desire to share in the experience of fellow Poles and to be unified with them through his care and concern for the well-being of Poland. His care for Poland's well-being can also be seen when he says, "In my spirit, I embrace the whole of my beloved Homeland. I rejoice in its successes, in its positive aspirations and in its courageous undertakings" ("Departure Ceremony" sec. 1). His desire to continue to be part of the patria and to share in its concerns shows his desire to maintain solidarity with his fellow Poles. This desire can also be seen when he writes, "And you, dear fellow-countrymen, today and whenever you receive the blessing of Pope John Paul II, remember that he came from your midst

and has a special claim to your affection and your prayer" (*Letter*). This shows the mutual aspect of solidarity and also his desire to be viewed as part of the Polish community.

The second aspect of solidarity, universal human solidarity, also plays a significant role in the thought of Pope John Paul II. While he has a strong sense of unity with and loyalty to fellow Poles, his speeches also display a broader sense of solidarity between Poland and other nations. There is also a close sense of solidarity with Europe, which can be seen when he writes, "A Pole cannot reflect in depth on his native land without speaking of Europe" (*Memory* 91). His sense of solidarity is characterized by a sense of purpose and a distinct conception of Poland's place among the community of nations. Poland is viewed as having a special responsibility to uphold universal values and play an active role in promoting international goals. An example of these goals can be found in Pope John Paul II's farewell speech in Kraków when he describes the "great need of an act of witness openly expressing the desire to bring nations and regimes closer together, as an indispensable *condition for peace in the world*" ("Farewell Ceremony" sec. 2).

The ideal of solidarity among nations can also be seen when Pope John Paul II speaks to the State authorities in Poland, saying:

> In the telegrams and letters which the supreme State Authorities of Poland were good enough to send me . . . there repeatedly appeared the thought of peace, coexistence, and of the drawing together of the nations in the modern world. Certainly, the desire expressed in this thought has *a profound ethical meaning*. Behind which there also stands the history of Polish science, beginning with Pawel Wlodkowic. ("Meeting, Warsaw")

In addition, on two separate trips to Poland, Pope John Paul II quotes Pope Paul VI, stating that "A Poland that is prosperous and serene is also beneficial for tranquility and good collaboration among peoples of Europe" ("Meeting, Warsaw"). This illustrates how Poland is not

understood in isolation but in collaboration with other nations of Europe and is viewed as having a special place among them. Nevertheless, this sense of solidarity also comes with a sense of responsibility. This sense of responsibility can be seen in Pope John Paul II's interpretation of the implications of his election to the pontificate:

> At the same time, this fact that the Catholic Pope comes from Poland, or, as you say, is a "Polish Pope," lays special duties in the first place on me, and then on you, all Poles all over the world. It is not just a source of our joy, that in this way we can find a place in the heart of the Church, but also it brings with it tasks, which face the Church in Poland and the Poles scattered all over the world. ("Address, Mexico")

While I have analysed the concept of solidarity in terms of its significance as a value in the writing of Pope John Paul II, it is important to note that in Polish history, the value of solidarity takes on added cultural significance because of its deep association with the Solidarność movement. As Janina Petelczyc writes:

> The Solidarity trade union movement, which has dominated the discourse on "solidarity" for years, has exerted a strong influence on the people . . . Thus, the meaning of "solidarity" in Poland is strongly anchored in specific socio-cultural background and the legacy of the "Solidarity" movement during communist times. (129)

Thus the concept of solidarity has deep roots and is charged with meaning.[49] Pope John Paul II also played a role in this aspect of solidarity, as Petelczyc writes:

> In particular, Pope John Paul II significantly contributed to the existence of "solidarity" in public discourse, saying: "*there is no freedom without solidarity*" in his speech during his

[49] Nevertheless, as Petelczyc notes, the concept of solidarity has also been influenced by modern political discourse (the dichotomy created between 'solidarity Poland' vs 'liberal Poland' for example), and she writes that "neoliberal policies implemented after 1989 have digressed far from this principle [of the Solidarity movement]" (129).

> pilgrimage to Poland in 1987. Given the political context, this was a clear reference to the solidarity action against the regime in general and to the labour union's "*Solidarność*." (130)

The Solidarność movement gave the value of solidarity added significance in expressions of patriotism, and the value of solidarity is named in the Polish Constitution:

> We call upon all those who will apply this Constitution for the good of the Third Republic to do so paying respect to the inherent dignity of the person, his or her right to freedom, the obligation of solidarity with others, and respect for these principles as the unshakeable foundation of the Republic of Poland. (Sejm)

Petelczyc comments on the significance of the inclusion of solidarity in the preamble[50] of the Constitution:

> [S]olidarity is mentioned in the Preamble, which means that it should be considered as one of the first in the hierarchy of constitutional principles of Poland. In the Preamble, "obligation of solidarity" is considered as one of the three universal values, next to "inherent dignity of the person" and "right to freedom." (134)

Interestingly, the Polish Constitution alludes to both forms of solidarity found in the speeches and writing of Pope John Paul II, by including not only a reference to solidarity among compatriots, but also including implicitly the value of solidarity at a more international, universal level, with the lines: "Bound in community with our compatriots dispersed throughout the world, / Aware of the need for cooperation with all countries for the good of the Human Family" (Sejm). This illustrates how the value of solidarity is deeply embedded in Polish identity and

[50] Although she writes that the principle of solidarity does not appear explicitly in the main body of the text.

Polish patriotism. Pope John Paul II again speaks to the importance of both national and international solidarity when he says, upon leaving Poland:

> May the spirit of mercy, of fraternal solidarity, of concord in authentic concern for our homeland reign among you. While Polish society cultivates all these values, I hope that Poland, which has belonged to Europe for centuries, will find its proper place in the structures of the European community. Not only will it not lose its own identity, but it will enrich the continent and the world with its tradition. ("Departure Ceremony" sec. 1)

*Resilience*

The theme of resilience also plays an interesting role in the thought of Pope John Paul II. In the Polish context, resilience has great significance because of the place of suffering in the history of Poland. As can be seen from the concept of Messianism, suffering is often accorded a significant role in Polish thought and often shapes the way history is interpreted, especially in the context of the patria's identity. The role of suffering is often noted as a key factor in understanding Polish identity and is discussed by scholars who note that "an emphasis on suffering is something that characterizes Polish attitudes to the First World War" (Stokłosa 184), that "Polish cultural identity is based, to a high degree, on collective suffering" (Zechenter and Prokop-Janiec 4), and that "the loss of independence (1795–1918) and the subsequent struggles to regain it can be read as Poland's most important cultural trauma that heavily marked Polish identity" (Zechenter 7). The significance of suffering in Polish identity also influences how victories are perceived. Ewa Ochman discusses the victory at the Battle of Warsaw in 1920 and argues that "Glory, pride and this sense of triumph are usually associated with victory, but if the dominant historical path of a nation is perceived to be that of martyrdom, the nation's past—even its victorious episodes—is usually placed in a continuum of suffering" (120).

Because of suffering, resilience comes to play an especially important role, and the survival of Poland in spite of its defeats is itself a victory, one which influences the development of Polish patriotism even more than military triumphs. Thus, the value of resilience, of perseverance in the face of great difficulty, and the ability to survive even when it seems all is lost, allows the sufferings and defeats of Poland to be interpreted in a new light. Rather than interpreting these episodes of Polish history as something to avoid or be ashamed of, they become a source of pride and patriotism. This is illustrated by the speech of Pope John Paul II:

> We Poles feel in a particularly deep way the fact that the *raison d'être of the State is the sovereignty of society, of the nation, of the motherland.* We have learned this during the whole course of our history, and especially through the hard trials of recent centuries. We can never forget that terrible historical lesson—the loss of the independence of Poland from the end of the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth. This painful and essentially negative experience has become as it were a new forge of Polish patriotism. ("Meeting, Warsaw")

This reveals the important role of suffering and resilience in the cultural consciousness of Poles. Pope John Paul II describes how the negative experiences of suffering became a source of unity and identity. The ability of the Poles to preserve the patria in spite of all challenges thus became a central aspect of the patria's identity.

As can be seen, the themes of suffering and resilience were often linked to concrete historical episodes in the history of Poland. Pope John Paul II recalls the reality of the difficult experiences of World War II, memories which were still fresh in the historical consciousness, writing: "How difficult it has been! How hard! A symbol of this crucial period is certainly the figure of Blessed Maximilian Mary Kolbe who, a few years ago, was raised to

the glory of the altars by the unforgettable Holy Father Paul VI" (*Letter*). Auer draws attention to the historical aspect of Polish resilience when he refers to Poland's "long tradition of underground campaigns against foreign oppression" (63). Resilience is linked to the struggles of Poland, especially when Poland was deprived of territory and during World War II. Piotr Szlanta comments that:

> Since the division of their country at the end of the eighteenth century, the Polish had repeatedly demonstrated their commitment to the idea of independence and their preparedness to sacrifice themselves for it. They had taken part in the Napoleonic Wars and organized three rebellions against the Russian partitioning power. (108)

Resilience is linked to the brave acts of resistance even during the darkest and most hopeless of times. Because of the danger often associated with preserving Polish culture and identity during World War II, sacrifice played an important role in resilience. Resistance took many forms; there were both cultural[51] and military forms of resistance during World War II. Pope John Paul II highlights the significance of these acts of resistance, saying:

> We cannot however forget everything that influenced the experiences of the war and of the Occupation. We cannot forget the sacrifice of the lives of so many men and women of Poland. Neither can we forget the heroism of the Polish soldier who fought on all fronts of the world "for our freedom and for yours." ("Meeting, Warsaw")

The relevance of the theme of resilience in Polish identity can also be seen in the national anthem which begins with the line, "Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła,"[52] 'Poland has not yet perished.'

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[51] Pope John Paul II participated in this form of resistance through his involvement in theatre. George Weigel describes how "Karol [later Pope John Paul II] and his literary friends were determined that the German attempt to stamp out Polish culture would not deter them" (62) and writes that "Karol Wojtyła deliberately chose the power of resistance through culture, through the power of the word" (66).

[52] Interestingly, this line has become a symbol of resilience not only for Poles but also for members of other nationalities. This can be seen in the German idiom "noch ist Polen nicht verloren" (Poland is not yet lost) and the Swedish idiom "än är inte Polen förlorat" (Poland is not yet lost) which mean 'all is not lost.' The power of this line

This phrase captures the special place resilience has in Polish culture. Although this phrase, which seems to present Poland as on the verge of perishing, may come across as somewhat pessimistic, it is deeply endowed with patriotic meaning, and when interpreted in the context of the Polish struggle for independence and statehood, it actually contains great hope because it emphasizes the fact that Poland has survived and continues to survive *even in spite of* the efforts of others[53] to destroy her. Therefore, the survival of Poland is a testimony to her resilience.

The theme of resilience can also be seen in the work of Pope John Paul II when he reflects on Polish identity in his book, *Memory and Identity*, writing:

> I am the son of a nation which has lived the greatest experiences of history, which its neighbours have condemned to death several times, but which has survived and remained itself. It has kept its identity, and it has kept, in spite of partitions and foreign occupations, its national sovereignty, not by relying on the resources of physical power but solely by relying on its culture. This culture turned out, under the circumstances, to be more powerful than all other forces. (85)

This reflection reveals the significant effect Poland's historical experience had on its cultural identity and how the value of resilience influences how this historical experience is interpreted. Pope John Paul discusses Poland's resilience and its ability to preserve its culture and identity, despite the fact that it has been "condemned to death several times." Pope John Paul II's discussion of this resilience reveals how closely resilience is connected to Polish patriotism. Poland's resilience represents one of its greatest triumphs and one which became a defining feature of its identity. Pope John Paul II's description of Poland as a nation "which has lived the

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can also be seen in the fact that it inspired other anthems, such as the song, "Hej, Sloveni" which was written by Samo Tomášik.

[53] The concept of others deliberately trying to destroy Poland is emphasized by the fact that the verb 'umrzeć' (to die) was replaced by the verb 'zginąć' (to perish, to be killed) in the official version of the lyrics.

greatest experiences of history" shows how he takes pride in Poland's history and the fact that it was able to endure despite all challenges. His emphasis on the power of culture shows that for him, patriotism is not rooted in military successes or power but in the richness of Poland's cultural traditions. This shows how the value of resilience cannot be understood only in terms of 'who came out on top' in history or in terms of the results that were achieved (for example military victories or cultural dominance). Resilience must be understood in terms of the *efforts* of those who supported Poland. Regardless of the outcome of historical events, the focus on resilience as a source of pride and identity means that so long as Poles do not give up the patria, Poland has, to a certain extent, already triumphed. It was in the *desire* of the Poles to preserve their culture and to persevere in their efforts to restore Poland that resilience was manifested. It is because of these efforts that they could say, "Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła, *kiedy my żyjemy*" ("Poland has not yet perished, *so long as we still live*"). The patria endured because of the resilience of its members and the persistence of its memory in their hearts. The persistence of patriotism enabled this resilience to stay alive and served as a unifying force during times of difficulty and suffering. As Pope John Paul II writes:

> Love of our country unites us and must unite us above all divergences. It has nothing in common with a narrow nationalism or chauvinism, but springs from the law of the human heart. It is a measure of man's nobility: a measure that has been put to the test many times during our difficult history. (*Letter*)

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this essay has explored the concept of patriotism both as a universal concept, which captures a significant aspect of the human experience of culture and community,

and as a specific cultural phenomenon which is shaped by social and political factors as well as by the experience of the individual.

By discussing the philosophical significance of the concept of the patria and its intimate connection with territory, culture, values and history, and by evaluating the complex process of identification and belonging which creates patriotism, and by considering the ethical complications of patriotic love, this essay has investigated the theoretical intricacies of patriotism in order to develop a deeper and more nuanced understanding of patriotism at the philosophical level. Secondly, by analysing patriotism in the Polish context through the lens of Pope John Paul II's work and discussing the recurring themes of religion, solidarity, and resilience found in his expression of patriotism, this essay has examined patriotism's distinct manifestations, while drawing from the rich tradition of Polish patriotism.

The issue of patriotism continues to have great relevance and play an influential role both in the history of individual nations and as a basic human sentiment because, as Mary G. Dietz notes, "'the problem of patriotism' is not simply a rhetorical or an analytical matter, but a historical reality, in need of our remembrance" (212). Patriotism is not only an abstract concept but also a profoundly emotional experience, shaping the way we relate with those around us. From the influential political speeches of the politician, to the individual's most private sentiments of affection, patriotism has been, and continues to be, an enduring expression of cultural identity. Patriotism, as love of one's homeland, is, as Schaar notes, "a complexly human and rich idea, connected with life, supportive of liberty and diversity" (253), and therefore it is worthwhile to consider its philosophical significance.

While there is still much room for further inquiry both in terms of the philosophical and practical implications of patriotism, the study of patriotism itself is valuable because it reminds

us to consider what it means to belong to the community of the patria for ourselves and others and to evaluate the deep sense of attachment, care, and affection evoked by patriotism. In this way, analysing patriotism allows us to "deepen our understanding of ourselves as moral beings who are at the same time separate individuals, members of numerous groups, and members of the human species" (Nathanson 49).

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